Mgr Jean-Joseph Gaume

TREATISE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

Traité du Saint-Esprit

From the French of the second edition (Paris, 1864–65)

English translation

Contributed to Mind of the Church by a friend of the library who wishes to remain anonymous

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About this translation

Translated from Mgr Jean-Joseph Gaume, *Traité du Saint-Esprit, comprenant l'histoire générale des deux esprits qui se disputent l'empire du monde*, second edition, two volumes (Paris: Gaume frères et J. Duprey, 1864–65), with the approbation and letters of commendation that open it. Gaume's notes are given at the end of each chapter, numbered as he numbered them; the translator's notes on each chapter follow them under their own heading. The translation gives no page references to the French edition.

Front matter and Introduction

Approbation, Imprimatur, and Letters of Commendation (Front Matter)

[Translator's note: In the 1864–65 second edition these pages follow the title page and precede the Introduction. Roman numerals in the margin of the original (III–XI) are omitted; page breaks of the original are not marked in the English.]

In conformity with the canonical rules, we requested, and we here publish, the *Imprimatur* of His Lordship the Bishop of Versailles, in whose diocese the TREATISE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT was printed.

"We most sincerely congratulate Mgr Gaume on having had the happy idea of composing a special and fully developed Treatise on the Holy Spirit. It is certain that in our age the third Person of the most holy Trinity is too little known, or too much forgotten. The work in question has the qualities that distinguish Mgr Gaume in all his writings. One finds in it learning, talent, exact doctrine, and above all a great love of the Church. It will instruct and edify those who read it; and it is to be desired that it be widely read.

"✠ PIERRE, Bishop of Versailles."

VERSAILLES, 24 May 1864.

The Catholic newspapers, French and foreign, have given the most favorable account of the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*. It would take long to cite them all. We shall content ourselves with reporting some extracts from the *Bien public* of Ghent and from the *Revue catholique* of Troyes. These two journals, moreover, sum up the general opinion.

"Would you know," says the illustrious Bishop of Poitiers, "to which side sensible men ought preferably to direct their studies, their researches, and the whole movement of their intellectual labor; upon what subjects religious writers, and above all the spiritual guides of the peoples, ought to concentrate their controversies, their demonstrations, their teaching; and finally, to what subjects of meditation, to what choice of contemplations and prayers souls truly beloved of God ought to devote themselves with greater predilection? Look to the side on which error directs its attacks, its denials, its blasphemies. What is attacked, denied, blasphemed in each century, that is chiefly what the same century must defend, must affirm, must confess. *Where sin abounded, grace did more abound.* [Rom. v, 20.] To the darkenings of the mind and the cooling of hearts there must be opposed a surplus of light, a renewal of love. Diminished, deformed, paralyzed in a certain number of souls, truth must become more intact, more correct, more active in the others. When the world contests, then it is that the Church searches, that she probes more deeply, that she makes precise, that she defines, that she proclaims. The more she is contradicted, the more her teaching is amplified and developed, illumined and set aflame. The love of doctrine, the passion for truth, grow warm in faithful hearts; and the sacred deposit, far from suffering any diminution, then brings forth into broad daylight the whole treasure of its riches (1)."

1. Third synodal instruction, quarto edition; 7 pages.

IV "Mgr Gaume seems to have taken his inspiration from these fine thoughts in writing his *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*. This book comes in its hour. At a time when the supernatural is misunderstood, denied, blasphemed on every side, it was opportune to go back to the very source of the Christian supernatural, and to study the manifestations of grace in their divine cause, the Third Person of the adorable Trinity. The light of Catholic teaching has been so veiled on these points, by I know not what vapors rising from the nauseous marshes of the Renaissance, that the truths recalled by Mgr Gaume will appear new to many minds. They are nonetheless as old as Catholicism itself; and if ever a doctrine could boast imposing authorities, it is certainly the one that the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* develops, resting almost on every page upon the Holy Scriptures, the holy Fathers, the doctors of the Church, and the princes of theological science. The Catholic dogmas

concerning the Holy Spirit pass, so to speak, through Mgr Gaume's work as between a double hedge of writers of every century who acclaim and salute them.

"Let no one suppose, however, that the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* is a work of pure erudition, a didactic book destined solely for students of theology. It is, on the contrary, a *catholic* work, even in the literary sense of the word: we mean that it addresses itself to everybody. May the Holy Spirit bless this work, undertaken in His honor, and whose reach may be considerable! Yes, we do not hesitate to say it, after having applied ourselves to judge it calmly and sheltered from the impressions of a natural sympathy: Mgr Gaume's book is one of the most important that has appeared for many years. The very nature of the subject, the learned and profound developments into which the author has entered, the immediate application that can be made of the truths he elucidates, whether to individuals or to contemporary society—such are the titles that recommend the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* to every man somewhat initiated into the intellectual and religious movement of our age.

"In reading these pages, where truth appears in features so sharply drawn and surrounded by so vivid a light, we were involuntarily reminded of the book which was the literary and religious event of the beginning of this century—the treatise *On the Pope*, by Count Joseph de Maistre. At the time when the great Catholic publicist wrote, the Papacy, persecuted, humiliated, without protection as without resources, seemed, from the human point of view, to be in a desperate situation. Unbelief triumphed; discouragement and listlessness had invaded the faithful and even the clergy themselves. Many wavering souls were throwing themselves into Gallicanism, if only to take shelter, as they thought, from the dust that the irremediable fall of the Holy See would raise. Thus the Pope's book had, on its appearance, no resonance whatever. Only three hundred copies had been printed, and they were a long time selling. Success came only later; but it was immense.

"The masterpiece of Joseph de Maistre was, one may say, in the hands of Providence, the prime mover of that movement of concentration which took place forty to fifty years ago in Catholicism, and of which we are gathering the happy fruits. If never more than today has the halo of unity shone more splendid on the brow of the Church; if never have the episcopate, the priesthood, and the faithful drawn more closely about the throne of Saint Peter—do we not owe it, a little, after God, to that powerful genius who knew how to give to the primacy and infallibility of the Vicar of Jesus Christ the irresistible clarity of evidence? The book *On the Pope* was a stone laid upon the tomb of Gallicanism; it was sealed there with Roman cement: no one will move it.

"The *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* by Mgr Gaume stands up against contemporary naturalism as the work of Joseph de Maistre stood up against the errors hostile to the rights of the Holy See. A vast conspiracy seems to be plotted in our day to ignore the divine action in the world. God is banished from the public law of nations; He is banished from philosophy, from history, from the sciences, from the arts; He is banished from education and from the domestic hearth; He is banished from religion itself; and it is the disgrace of liberal civilization to have engendered those hideous sects whose creed reduces itself, in the last analysis, to a more or less brutal formula of atheism. Catholics themselves have, to a certain extent, let themselves be caught in the snares of political and scientific naturalism. Have we not seen pens devoted to the Church boldly extol to us governments without worship and without God as the model governments, the predestined instruments of the diffusion of enlightenment and of the conquests of progress? Have we not seen historians attached, it seems, to Catholicism by close affinities, wish to efface from the annals of humanity the pages that God has written there with His own hand, and go so far—to court the prejudices of the crowd—as to"secularize" history?

"Mgr Gaume's book strikes all these errors head on—not that he combats them one by one and, so to speak, hand to hand, but because he attacks the evil at its source: ignorance of Catholic doctrine concerning the supernatural. Thus, we say it without disguise, the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* does not seem to us destined for a brilliant and immediate success. Many will cry out: *Durus est hic sermo* [*This saying is hard*, John vi,

61]—"these doctrines of another age no longer suit modern society." Others will organize around Mgr Gaume's book what has been so aptly named the *conspiracy of silence*. But what matter these vain clamors and these petty calculations, provided truth makes its way? And it will. Catholicism has today in the European press organs enough that the title of a good book reaches, sooner or later, in spite of resistance and prejudice, the ears of men of good will. We do not ask ten years—and what are ten years in the life of nations?—for the minds most rebellious today to do justice to the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* and to appreciate the precious services it will have rendered to society.

"Yes, no doubt, if one considers only the external events of which we are witnesses; if one sees only the abasements of timid politics, the shames of public life, and too often also the disorders of private life, there is cause to grieve and to fear for the future of Christian civilization. But let us not lose sight, on the other hand, of the movement of minds, the fruitful and silent labor of souls! On that side horizons seem to open which hope illumines. How many intelligences gravitate around Catholicism and seem, constrained by an invincible attraction, ready to embrace it! How many Catholics themselves rise to a more distinct and fuller comprehension of religious truth! The great principles of Christian public law disengage themselves from the uncertainties and obscurities of controversy, and the very facts that sadden us most come to give them a striking confirmation. The Church is better known, and therefore she is better loved, more ardently defended. The level of piety rises noticeably in the Catholic world; liturgical unity is on the eve of being consummated; associations of prayer, works of propaganda and of charity spread and multiply; hearts hunger and thirst for love and truth!

VII "It is this labor of souls that Mgr Gaume comes to quicken. He opens to them the treasures of Catholic teaching, that they may come and draw from them largely. What are the operations of the Holy Spirit in each of us? What are the Fruits of the Holy Spirit, His Gifts, His Beatitudes? What is the intimate nature of that antagonism between grace and sin which perpetuates itself throughout human life? Such are the great problems which the eminent theologian resolves with a clear and sure learning which, without losing anything of dogmatic precision, knows how to vary its expressions and, in an abundantly lucid style, to put itself within the reach of all.

"From the individual man, Mgr Gaume rises to the study of the collective existence of humanity. The same questions reappear, but enlarged and widened. What is the intervention of the Holy Spirit in the government of the world? What is His share in the mystery of the Redemption? What is the nature, what are the effects, of the assistance which He lends to the Church? What is the origin, the organization, of those two cities, the city of Good and the city of Evil, whose struggle is prolonged through the centuries? What are the phases of that struggle in the past, in the present? What does the future portend?

"This framework is vast, as one sees, and we have been able to trace only its main lines. What would it be if we could indicate all the questions which naturally group themselves around these mother-questions, and which make of Mgr Gaume's book a kind of Encyclopedia of the supernatural world? Look in this work for the Christian theory of liberty: you will find it summed up in a few lines of Saint Thomas. Would you know the Catholic doctrine on grace? Open the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*: it is developed there in all its splendor. Do you ask for a summary enlightenment on the aberrations of contemporary spiritism? A chapter devoted to this grave matter will give you a categorical and sure solution.

"Shall we say that the literary form of the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* answers to the richness of the substance? Severe critics have reproached Mgr Gaume with some negligences of style. We believe that the eminent writer's new work will escape this reproach. The sentence is lucid, brisk, and precise. No amplifications of rhetoric, it is true, and we congratulate the author on it; but in return, what strong and severe beauties, and often what great poetry, VIII stamped with I know not what sweet biblical perfume! To be read with profit, the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* must be read calmly and with a rested head; and yet the first reading is so attractive, it opens such new views, that it goes on at a single stretch and without fatigue. It

is after having traversed this road, so rich in original beauties, that one feels pressed to retrace one's steps and to stop before each landscape.

"The *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* bears this epigraph, which well expresses the pious sadness the author felt on taking up the pen: '*Ignoto Deo*—to the unknown God.' May this inscription soon cease to be a truth! The eminent publicist would be well rewarded if he could make it disappear from a later edition of his book. Be that as it may, and while awaiting the fulfillment of this wish, Mgr Gaume has already received that reward of which only Catholic writers know the price: at the foot of his crucifix he hears this consoling testimony: *Bene scripsisti de me* [*Thou hast written well of me*]."

11 December 1864.

"Mgr Gaume is known to the readers of this *Revue*; he holds a great place in that phalanx (*acies ordinata* [*an army set in array*, Cant. vi, 3]) of Catholic writers who have put their heart and their pen at the service of the Church. It is not at the center, it is in the vanguard that one must seek him. Monseigneur Gaume is one of those eminent minds, of the family of de Maistre, who trace the road and who outstrip the times. Not to speak of his clear and precise style, of the attraction and interest he knows how to spread through all his works, let us say that his great merit is to be profoundly and exclusively Catholic, and that this is the true cause that makes him see so far and so rightly. Freed from all the prejudices of the age, he could say, like Saint Paul, that he knows nothing but Jesus, and Jesus crucified [1 Cor. ii, 2]; lukewarmness, accommodations, half-measures, palliatives suit him in no way; he goes straight to the goal. And while others IX explain one effect by another effect—a system which in the end explains nothing and merely pushes the difficulty back—he goes back to the true cause, and he asks of Catholic theology the true light which illumines the history of humanity.

"It is by following this method that he composed his book, the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, a work which recalls, by the loftiness of its views and the beauty of its developments, the magnificent book of the *City of God* of Saint Augustine.

"On the first page Mgr Gaume has inscribed this epigraph: *Ignoto Deo*; to the unknown God! What! can it be true? Would the Holy Spirit be an unknown God? Let one reflect on it, and one will see that this epigraph has nothing bold or exaggerated about it. Christians could not forget God the Father, that almighty God, Creator of worlds; how could they forget Our Lord Jesus Christ, Savior, Redeemer, crucified for the salvation of humanity? But what remembrance is given to the third Person of the Holy Trinity? His action, because it is interior and less apparent than that of the first two Persons, is none the less real and none the less efficacious. The author wished to repair this forgetfulness, to bring souls back to invoke the Holy Spirit more often by showing His divine action upon the world; he wished, in short, in order to increase the glory of the Holy Trinity, to make the third Person better known.

"To attain his end, Mgr Gaume goes back to the origin of time: the angels are created; excellent is their nature and great their power. According to the opinion of the theologians, the mystery of the Incarnation was revealed to them; the pride of Lucifer revolts; the first *non serviam* [*I will not serve*, Jer. ii, 20] is pronounced; the struggle is established between the city of Evil and the city of Good.

"Who is the King of the city of Good? Who is its inspirer? What is the finger of God in the government of the world? It is the Holy Spirit; and His ministers are the archangels, the angels, and the whole celestial hierarchy.

"The somber king of the city of Evil and his angels are known; the author traces their history from the creation down to our own days. *Ape of God, simia Dei*, according to the strong expression of Saint Bernard, Satan has organized the city of Evil upon the plan of the city of Good; eager to usurp the adoration that is due to God alone, he counterfeits God in the promulgation of his laws, the manifestation of his prophecies, the

establishment of his worship, the institution of sacred ceremonies, the consecration of priests, the publication of his oracles. [X] This is above all the part of the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* that throbs with interest: the diabolical manifestations! Will our century, which hears the rapping spirits and makes tables turn, wish to call them in doubt?

“But above all, what renders the action of the demon palpable in the world are those human sacrifices of the pagan peoples, ancient as well as modern; it is that need to shed blood, not by exception, here and there, in some corner of the globe, but in floods, in unheard-of proportions, and with a delirium, a refinement of cruelty, which human malice alone is powerless to explain sufficiently.

“The second volume of this treatise is devoted to the theological explanation of the prerogatives of the third Person of the Holy Trinity. The role of the Holy Spirit, His procession from the Father and the Son, His proper work, which is sanctification—everything is developed, not only with the rigor of theology, but in a style rich and full of interest. By the inspiration of the prophets, by the preparation, by the choice of the patriarchs and of the Jewish people, the Holy Spirit preludes the wonders of the new law.

“At last the times are accomplished. By the ineffable operation of the Holy Spirit, Our Lord Jesus Christ enters the world; the Immaculate Virgin counts a new glorious title, that of Spouse of the Holy Spirit.

“After the Ascension of the Savior, on the feast of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit produces a new creation: the Church. He is for the Church that breath of life, *spiraculum vitæ* [*the breath of life*, Gen. ii, 7], that force of inspiration which creates her, sustains her, and directs her to the conquest of souls throughout the whole world.

“It is on purpose that we have given only a rapid analysis of this work; we should like an inner voice to repeat to each faithful soul those words so sweet in the memory of the heart of Saint Augustine: *tolle, lege*—‘take and read’; and each would associate himself with the words of Mgr Gaume by which he concludes his work: ’Let the Holy Spirit henceforth be preached everywhere, that He may resume among the nations the place that belongs to Him, and that He ought never to have lost; too long neglected, let His worship flourish again in the cities and in the countryside, and let there be upon the lips of the Catholics of the nineteenth century, [XI] frequent as breathing, the ardent prayer of the Prophet-King: *Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created; and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth*: *Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terræ* [Ps. ciii, 30, Vulgate numbering].

“There, and there alone, is the salvation of the world.’”

3 June 1865.

Translator’s notes on this section

1. The Latin *Bene scripsisti de me* and *acies ordinata* are the standard phrases (Christ’s words to Thomas Aquinas before the crucifix; Cant. vi, 3).

2. **“cité du Bien / cité du Mal.”** Rendered “city of Good / city of Evil” (lower-case here, where the reviewer writes it so; capitalized in Gaume’s own text).

3. **[Idiom]** “heurter de front” = to strike head-on; “conspiration du silence” = the “conspiracy of silence” (a stock phrase of 19th-c. French Catholic journalism meaning the deliberate non-review of a book); “à tête reposée” = literally “with a rested head,” i.e., at leisure, without haste.

4. **Dates/places.** The Bishop’s approbation is dated 24 May 1864 (Mgr Pierre-Paul Mabile was Bishop of Versailles 1858–1866); the two reviews are dated 11 December 1864 (*Bien public* of Ghent) and 3 June 1865 (*Revue catholique* of Troyes), which shows that this second edition appeared in 1865.

Introduction

I

The purpose of this work is to make known, as far as in us lies, the third Person of the Holy Trinity, in Himself and in His works. Several motives determined us to undertake it.

The first is the glory of the Holy Spirit. God being charity by essence (1), all His works are love. To create is to love; to preserve is to love; to redeem is to love; to sanctify is to love; to glorify is to love. Now the Holy Spirit is the consubstantial love of the Father and the Son. He is therefore in all their works. It is through Him that the other two Persons of the august Trinity put themselves, so to speak, in contact with the world. Hence that saying of Saint Thomas: “Proceeding as love, the Holy Spirit is the first gift of God (2).” And that other of Saint Basil: “Whatever the creatures of heaven and earth possess, in the order of nature as well as in the order of grace, comes to them from the Holy Spirit (3).”

Would it not seem that this divine Spirit ought, by a just return, to occupy the first place in our thoughts and in our gratitude? Yet, by a strange reversal, there is nobody, or next to nobody, who thinks of Him. The Father is known, He is revered, He is loved. Could it be otherwise? His works are palpable and always present to the eyes of the body. The magnificence of the heavens, the riches of the earth, the immensity of the Ocean, the bellowing of the waves, the rolling of the thunder, the marvelous harmony that reigns in all parts of the universe, proclaim with an eloquence intelligible to all the existence, the wisdom, and the power of God, Father and preserver of all that is. The Son is known, He is revered, He is loved. No less numerous than those of the Father, and no less eloquent, are the preachers who speak of Him. The touching history of His birth, of His life, of His death; the cross, the churches, the images, the paintings, the sacrifice of the altar, the feasts, render popular the different mysteries of His humiliations, of His love and of His glory. Finally, the Eucharist, which holds Him personally present in the tabernacles, makes the whole Catholic life gravitate toward Him, from the cradle to the grave.

Is it the same with the Holy Spirit? His proper works are not sensible, like those of the Father and the Son. The sanctification which He works in our souls, the life which He spreads everywhere, escape sight and touch. He did not become flesh as the Son did. Like Him, He did not dwell, under a human form, among the children of Adam. Only three times has He shown Himself under a sensible but passing emblem: dove at the Jordan, luminous cloud at Tabor, tongues of fire in the Cenacle. To represent Him, the arts have not, as for Our Lord, the faculty of varying their pictures. Two symbols: such are all the plastic means left to piety to tell the eyes of His existence and of His benefits (4).

Hence, what knowledge is there of the Holy Spirit in the present world, and even among Christians? Where are the prayers addressed to Him, the worship rendered to Him, the confidence and love shown to Him, the serious and sustained expression of the continual need we have of His assistance? His very name, pronounced in the sign of the cross, does it awaken the same sentiments as that of the Father and the Son? It is sad, but it is true to say it: the third Person of the Trinity in the order of names, the Holy Spirit, is also the last in the knowledge and in the homage of most Christians. This all too guilty forgetfulness forms—if it be permitted to say so—the Calvary of the Holy Spirit.

Now, if the passion of the second Person of the adorable Trinity moves the Christian to the depths of his being, how can one look with a cool heart on the passion of the third? Is it not the same abandonment, the same contempt, too often the same blasphemies? From the mouth of the divine Spirit, does it not seem to you that you hear the complaint that fell from the dying lips of the Man of sorrows: “I looked for one that would grieve together with me, and there was none; for one that would comfort me, and I found none (5)!” To console the Holy Spirit, or at least, as Simon of Cyrene did for the Incarnate Word, to help Him carry His cross: a fine mission, if ever there was one (6). But what means have feeble creatures of accomplishing it? To employ all the life they have in glorifying this most adorable and most lovable Person of the august Trinity. How glorify Him? By changing, with regard to Him, ignorance and forgetfulness into knowledge and tender

remembrance; ingratitude into gratitude and love; revolt into adoration and boundless devotion. It is needless to say that, in every respect, such a task is beyond our strength. Hence our aim is far less to fulfil it than to point it out.

1. *Deus charitas est.* [God is charity.] 1 John iv, 16.

2. *Cum Spiritus Sanctus procedat ut amor, procedit in ratione primi doni.* [Since the Holy Spirit proceeds as love, He proceeds in the character of the first gift.] Part I, q. xxxviii, art. 2, corp.

3. *Neque enim est ullum omnino donum absque Spiritu Sancto ad creaturam perveniens.* [For there is no gift whatever that reaches a creature without the Holy Spirit.] *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. xxix, n. 55; *Opp.*, vol. III, latest ed.

4. It is known that the Church has forbidden the Holy Spirit to be represented otherwise than under the form of a dove or of tongues of fire. *Spiritus Sancti imagines sub humana juvenis forma damnantur et prohibentur… Spiritus Sancti tamen imagines in forma columbæ approbantur et permittuntur. Item in figura linguarum ignis, uti repræsentatur mysterium Pentecostes.* [Images of the Holy Spirit under the human form of a youth are condemned and prohibited… Images of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, however, are approved and permitted; likewise in the figure of tongues of fire, as the mystery of Pentecost is represented.] Benedict XIV, Bull *Sollicitudini*, §§ 10, 16, 21.

5. *Sustinui qui simul contristaretur, et non fuit; et qui consolaretur, et non inveni.* Ps. lxviii, 21 [Vulgate numbering].

6. The following notes are intended to explain certain expressions of the Preface. Doubtless the Holy Spirit, being God, does not suffer, cannot suffer; but if He were accessible to sorrow, the offenses of which He is the object, especially today, would make Him undergo a kind of martyrdom. The words *Calvary* and *Passion* are only metaphors, justified by usage. Seeing the crimes of the antediluvian men, did not God Himself say that they pierced His heart: *Tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus* [touched with sorrow of heart within; Gen. vi, 6]? Does not Saint Paul say that sinners crucify again the Son of God, though He is impassible since His resurrection: *Rursum crucifigentes sibimetipsis Filium Dei* [crucifying to themselves again the Son of God; Heb. vi, 6]? Does not Saint Augustine speak of the scourging of the Word of God: *Ingeminantur flagella Christo, quia flagellatur sermo ipsius*, etc. [The scourgings of Christ are redoubled, because His word is scourged], *Tract. in Joan.*? If, then, the words sorrow, crucifixion, scourging can apply to things or beings that are impassible or purely spiritual, why would it be inexact to employ, in the same sense, the words Calvary and Passion in speaking of the Holy Spirit?

II

The second motive, a consequence of the first, is *the advantage of the clergy*. To them belongs the mission of making known the third Person of the adorable Trinity. But from the outset a grave difficulty presents itself: the scarcity of doctrinal sources. How many times have we heard our venerable brethren in the priesthood complain of the dearth of works on the Holy Spirit! Their complaints are only too well founded. On the one hand, where is the Treatise on the Holy Spirit that has appeared in several centuries? We speak of a particular treatise, and one somewhat complete. On the other hand, to what does the teaching of the classical theologies—almost the only ones that are studied—reduce itself, on this fundamental dogma? To a few pages of the Treatise on the Trinity, on the Creed, and on the Sacraments. By the avowal of all, the notions they contain are insufficient. As for the diocesan catechisms, necessarily more abridged than the elementary theologies, almost all content themselves with defining. It cannot be denied that for a long time, at least in France, the teaching relative to the Holy Spirit has left much to be desired. Would it be believed that among the sermons of Bossuet there is not one on the Holy Spirit; not one in Massillon; and only one in Bourdaloue? The way to fill so regrettable a gap is to have recourse to the Fathers of the Church and to the

great theologians of the Middle Ages. But who has the time and the means to give himself to this study? Hence, for the zealous priest, an extreme embarrassment, whether in instructing himself, or in preparing the young for confirmation, or in giving the faithful a serious knowledge of Him without whom no one can do anything in the order of salvation—not even pronounce the name of his Savior (1).

A few very short and fairly abstract details, which fix in the memory words rather than ideas, make up the instruction of early childhood. At the solemn period of confirmation the explanations, it is true, become a little more extended. But on the one hand, first communion absorbs the attention of the children; on the other, one continues to operate on the ground of abstractions. Under the catechist's word the Holy Spirit does not take body by revealing Himself through a long series of striking facts. For want of resources to speak, as is fitting, of the person and works of the Holy Spirit, one passes on to His gifts. Purely interior, these gifts are accessible neither to the imagination nor to the senses. Great is the difficulty of making them known, greater that of making them appreciated. In ordinary teaching they are shown clearly neither in their application to the acts of life, nor in their opposition to the seven capital sins, nor in their necessary concatenation for the deification of man, nor as the crowning of the edifice of salvation. Thus, experience teaches, of all the parts of Christian doctrine, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are perhaps the least understood and the least esteemed. To furnish the means of remedying this grave inconvenience is, in our eyes, if not a duty, at least a service, the extent of which the exercise of the ministry has often taught us to measure.

1. *Et nemo potest dicere: Dominus Jesus, nisi in Spiritu Sancto.* [And no man can say: the Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Spirit.] 1 Cor. xii, 3.

III

The third motive is *the need of the faithful*. The more difficult it is to speak suitably of the Holy Spirit, the more, it would seem, instructions on this fundamental dogma ought to be multiplied. Not to do so, and to keep the Holy Spirit in some sort in the shade while one strives to bring into relief all the other truths of religion—is that not an anomaly, a misfortune, a fault? Is it not to go manifestly against the teaching of the faith, against the recommendations of Scripture, against the conduct of the Fathers, against the intention of the Church, and against our own interests? Do we reflect well that, placed between two eternities, all of us, priests and faithful, are obliged, under pain of falling at death into the eternal fires of hell, to mount to the shining thrones prepared for us in heaven? Do we reflect well that to reach them we must become, by the perfection of our virtues, the perfectly resembling images of the most holy Trinity? Do we reflect well that between these virtues and our weakness there lies the infinite? Do we reflect well that, without the help of the Holy Spirit, it is impossible for us not only to attain the perfection of any virtue, but even to accomplish meritoriously the first act of the Christian life (1)?

Yet from the paucity of doctrine in the priest come the meagerness and rarity of instructions on the Holy Spirit. Thoughtful Christians are astonished and grieved at it. In language which we may be allowed to quote, just as it struck our ears, they ask whether the Holy Spirit has been dismissed [*destitué*—deposed from office], since one no longer speaks of Him. Though founded on different reasons, the complaints of the faithful are as legitimate as those of the clergy. They call for the satisfaction of a need which many perhaps do not clearly realize, but which is none the less real. We mean the invincible tendency which every man coming into this world feels, to develop himself in God: *Anima naturaliter christiana* [The soul is naturally Christian—Tertullian]. Active image of Him who is love, the soul aspires to resemble Him. Now, as faith teaches us, the Holy Spirit is love itself, the consubstantial love of the Father and the Son. It follows that without a serious knowledge of the Holy Spirit, and consequently of grace and its operations, the principle of divine life deposited in us by baptism finds itself arrested or thwarted in its development. The Christian suffers, vegetates, withers, and with difficulty attains to the truth of the supernatural life. To reach the top of Jacob's ladder, one must first know the rungs.

These observations concern good Christians, a great number of whom, despite their instruction, might almost say, like the neophytes of Ephesus of old: “If there is a Holy Spirit, we have not heard of it; we know Him very little, and invoke Him still less (2).” What are we to say of those innumerable multitudes which stir within the cities or people the countryside? With no other religious science than the necessarily very imperfect lessons of the catechism, always too quickly forgotten, what do you think the Holy Spirit is to them? We shall not fear to affirm it: He is the unknown God whose solitary altar Saint Paul found on entering Athens. If they have retained some notions of the principal mysteries of the faith, experience teaches that with regard to the Holy Spirit, His necessary influence, the concatenation and final end of His successive operations, they live in an almost complete ignorance. These multitudes, no one will contest it, form the immense majority of the present nations. Such is the sense in which the epigraph of this work is sadly justified: “To the unknown God”: *Ignoto Deo* (3).

If the imperfect knowledge of the Holy Spirit is an obstacle to the perfection of the Christian, we ask what absolute ignorance will be. What can the divine life be in him who does not even know its principle? A lid of lead [*couvercle de plomb*—an image of a heavy, sealed cover] interposes itself between him and the supernatural world. That world of grace, that true, that only society of souls, with its divine elements, its marvelous laws, its glorious inhabitants, its sacred duties, its incomparable magnificence, its eternal realities, its struggles, its joys, its resources and its goal; that world, for which man is made and in which he must live, is for him as if it were not. The noble ambition it ought to excite is changed into indifference, esteem into contempt, love into disgust. Instead of being wholly supernatural, life is so no longer, or only by half; or, concentrated in the sensible world, it becomes earthly and animal. Naturalism, usurping the empire of souls, forms the general character of society. Deplorable divorce! which, turning humanity aside from its end, strips the Holy Spirit of His glory and snatches from the Incarnate Word the price of His blood, to deliver it to the demon.

1. *Nemo itaque dicit Dominus Jesus, animo, verbo facto, corde, ore, opere, nisi in Spiritu Sancto; et nemo sic dicit, nisi qui diligit.* [No one, therefore, says “Lord Jesus”—in mind, word, deed, heart, mouth, work—save in the Holy Spirit; and no one says it so, save he who loves.] St. Aug., *Tract. in Joan.* lxxiv, n. 1; *Opp.* vol. III, p. 2271, latest ed.

2. *Sed neque si Spiritus Sanctus est, audivimus.* [We have not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Spirit.] Acts xix, 2.

3. *Ignoto Deo.* “Everyone knows, we are told, in what sense these words were taken by Saint Paul. Does not this manner of regarding the Holy Spirit amount to saying that Christians have until this day ignored the divinity of this Person, which is inexact?” Everyone knows so little in what sense the *Ignoto Deo* was taken by Saint Paul that the most learned themselves do not know it. One may see it in Cornelius a Lapide on this passage; in the numerous dissertations written on this subject, whether in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, or in the learned work of Mamachi, *Origines et antiquitates christianæ*, vol. I, book XI, p. 329, Rome ed., quarto, 1749. Taken in the most accepted sense, the *Ignoto Deo* means, not that the pagans completely ignored the true God, but that they had no just idea of His perfections or His works, and above all that they did not render Him the worship that was due to Him. Applied to the Holy Spirit, as we have done in the epigraph of this work, the *Ignoto Deo* has therefore nothing forced about it. In conformity with the thought of Saint Paul, it means, not that the Christians of our day ignore the divinity of the Holy Spirit, but that most of them have no very clear knowledge of His works, His gifts, His fruits, His action on the world, and above all that they do not render Him the worship of confidence and love to which He has so many rights. — To distrust improvised objections. [*Se défier des objections improvisées* — Gaume’s own parting jab at the critic who raised the objection.]

IV

The fourth motive is *the interest of society*. To say that since the preaching of the Gospel there has never been an insurrection against Christianity so general and so obstinate as today is to say a thing trite from being repeated, and unhappily from being true. But to say this is to avow that the world has never been so sick, and consequently so threatened with unknown catastrophes; it is to declare, in the last analysis, that never in eighteen centuries has Satan reigned with such an empire. Who will save the sick man? Men? No. In the temporal as in the spiritual order there is but one Savior, the God-Man, Christ Jesus. He alone is the way, the truth, and the life: three things without which all salvation is impossible. How will the God-Man save the world, if the world is to be saved? As He saved it two thousand years ago: by the Holy Spirit. Why? Because the Holy Spirit is the adequate negation [*négateur adéquat*—the exact counter-force] of Satan, or of the evil Spirit (1).

Let us go further. If at no epoch of the evangelical centuries has the reign of Satan been so general and so accepted as it is today, the action of the Holy Spirit will have to assume characters of exceptional extent and force. The axioms of geometry do not seem to us more rigorous than these propositions. Of this necessity for the present world of a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit there exist I know not what presentiments, whose value must not be exaggerated, but which it would seem rash to take no account of. Accepted by Count de Maistre, manifested by a great number of men respectable under the double title of knowledge and virtue, they have descended into the world of piety and form the basis of a fairly general expectation. Abusing this foundation of truth, the demon himself has made a sect issue from it, recently condemned by the Church. To the new influence of the Holy Spirit are attributed the striking triumph of the Church, the peace of the world, the unity of the fold announced by the Prophets and by Our Lord Himself, as well as the other marvels of which the dogma of the Immaculate Conception appears to be the pledge.

Be that as it may, one thing remains certain, and gives to a Treatise on the Holy Spirit all the merit of timeliness: *the world will be saved only by the Holy Spirit.* But how will the Holy Spirit save the world, if the world rejects Him? And it will reject Him if it does not love Him. How will it love Him? How will it call upon Him? How will it run, distraught, to place itself under His empire, if it does not know Him? To make the Holy Spirit known seems to us, then, from every point of view, a necessity more pressing than ever.

1. The Holy Spirit is love; Satan is hatred. Our Lord saved the world by becoming incarnate and by dying for us. Now the mystery of the Incarnation, says Saint Thomas, is attributed to the Holy Spirit; and the death of Our Lord is likewise, according to Saint Paul, attributed to the Holy Spirit, *qui per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum obtulit* [who through the Holy Spirit offered Himself; Heb. ix, 14]. And David, foreseeing the salvation of the world, said: *Emittes Spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terræ* [Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created; and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth; Ps. ciii, 30]. By virtue of the axiom *Causa causæ est causa causati* [the cause of a cause is the cause of its effect], it is therefore quite permissible to say that it is by the Holy Spirit that Our Lord saved the world.

V

Such are, in brief, the principal motives of our work. May we be permitted to add another? For twenty-five years we have combated the Evil Spirit, by pointing out the return of his reign in the midst of the present nations. Long unperceived by some, obstinately denied by others, the culminating fact of modern history is today palpable. By the avowal of all, Satanism or Paganism—which is all one—is reaching under our eyes heights as unknown as its power. Through one of its most accredited organs, the Society of Jesus—not suspect on this point—has just recognized the reality of the terrible phenomenon and proclaimed it at Rome, a few steps from the Vatican. In 1862, during the octave of the Epiphany, Father Guidi, editor of the *Civiltà cattolica*, mounts the pulpit, and eight times raises the cry of alarm, showing that Europe, Italy, Rome itself, are invaded by paganism. “The modern world,” he cries, “is returning with great strides to paganism. Without reviving its gross idolatry, it returns to it by its thoughts, by its affections, by its tendencies, by its

works, by its words. This is so true that if, from the immense sepulcher called the Roman soil, the people contemporary with the Scipios and the Coriolani were to come forth alive, and, without looking at our temples and our worship, were to pay attention only to the thoughts, the aspirations, the language of the great number, I am convinced that between them and us it would find no sensible difference, save in the prostration of souls and the imbecility of ideas (1)."

And further on: "Oh yes; it is only too true, and however much it costs me, I shall say it: to keep silence about the evil is not a means of curing it. The present world, and at this hour, perhaps more than any other part of the world, our Italy, evidently begins to have thoughts, affections, desires little different from those of the pagans. Do not think that it is necessary for this to adore idols. No. Paganism, in its constitutive part, or in its reason for being, implies nothing other than Naturalism. Now, if you look at society and the family; if you listen to the discourses that are exchanged; if you read the books and journals that are printed; if you consider the tendencies that manifest themselves: it is scarcely if in all this you will find anything other than nature, nature alone, nature always.

"Well, this Naturalism, invading and dominating modern society, is paganism pure, quite pure; but paganism a thousand times more condemnable than the ancient, inasmuch as modern paganism is the effect of the apostasy from that faith which ancient paganism received with such joy and embraced with such love. A resuscitated paganism, which has all the servilities and all the abominations of the deceased, without having its originality and greatness, inasmuch as it is impossible to resuscitate pagan greatness, those who have tried it having ended only in unhappy parodies, always ridiculous, if too often they had not been atrocious. A desperate paganism, inasmuch as no Balaam has promised it a star of Jacob, as to the ancient, which awaited a call to life; whereas ours, born of the corruption of Christianity, or rather of a decrepit and gangrenous civilization, has no other call to await but that of the sovereign Judge, avenger of so many mercies trampled underfoot (2)."

Thus, by the avowal even of our most ardent adversaries, the gnawing worm [*le ver rongeur*—the worm that eats away; the title of one of Gaume's earlier works, *Le ver rongeur des sociétés modernes*] of modern societies is neither Protestantism, nor indifferentism, nor any other social malady with a particular name, but paganism, which includes them all; paganism in its constitutive elements, such as the world endured it eighteen centuries ago. Hence, to complete our labors, what remained, if not to try to glorify the Holy Spirit, that, resuming His empire, He may drive out the usurper and regenerate anew the face of the earth?

1. *Tutto quel discorso dimostra che la società moderna ritorna a gran passi al paganesimo*, etc. *Paganesimo antico e moderno.* Rome, 1862. [The whole of that discourse shows that modern society is returning with great strides to paganism.]

2. *Ora, cotesto naturalismo, introdotto e dominante nel moderno mondo, è pure e pretto paganesimo*, etc., p. 12. [Now this naturalism, introduced and dominant in the modern world, is pure and unmixed paganism.]

VI

As to the plan of the work, it is traced by the subject. The Holy Spirit in Himself and in His works; the explanation of His marvelous works in the Old and in the New Testament; consequently the incessant, universal action of the Holy Spirit, and the no less incessant action of the evil Spirit; the immense place that the third Person of the adorable Trinity, today so forgotten and so unknown, holds in the world of nature as well as in the world of grace, and ought, under pain of death, to hold in our life; the double regeneration of time and of eternity to which His love leads us; the nature, the conditions, the practice of the worship that heaven and earth owe Him on so many titles: such is the ensemble of matters that compose this Treatise.

Here is the order. Two opposed Spirits dispute the empire of the world. Begun in heaven, the war has perpetuated itself on earth. Isaias and Saint John describe it. Saint Paul tells us that it is against the demon

that we have to wrestle. Our Lord Himself announces that He came upon earth only to destroy the reign of the demon. We do not set these two Spirits at grips: they are at grips; we do not invent the fact, we establish it. As it is impossible to know the redemption without knowing the fall, so it is impossible to make known the *Spirit of good* without making known the *Spirit of evil*. Scarcely have we spoken of the existence of the Holy Spirit than we are obliged to speak of Satan, whose black figure appears like the shadow beside the light.

The existence of these two Spirits supposes that of a world superior to ours, the division of that world into two hostile camps, and its permanent, free, and universal action on the inferior world. The reality of these three facts established, we ascertain the personality of the evil Spirit, his fall, the cause and consequences of his fall, and consequently the historical origin of evil.

The two Spirits have not remained in regions inaccessible to man, strangers to what happens on earth. Far from it: masters of the world, they reveal themselves as the founders of two cities: *the City of Good and the City of Evil*. Visible, palpable cities, as ancient as man, as extended as the globe, as lasting as the centuries, they contain in their bosom the whole human race, on this side of the tomb and beyond it. The thorough knowledge of these two Cities matters equally to the man, the Christian, the philosopher, the theologian:

To the man, inasmuch as each individual, each people, each epoch belongs necessarily to the one or to the other;

To the Christian, inasmuch as the one is the dwelling of life and the vestibule of heaven, the other the dwelling of death and the vestibule of hell;

To the philosopher, inasmuch as the eternal struggle of the two Cities forms the general weft [*trame*—the warp-threads of a fabric] of history, and alone accounts for all that the world has seen, sees, and will see to the end, of crimes and virtues, of prosperities and reverses, of peace and revolutions;

To the theologian, inasmuch as the two Cities, showing the Spirit of good and the Spirit of evil in action, make them better known than all reasonings.

Thus the two Cities are the object of a study whose importance, perhaps its novelty, will make the length pardoned. The formation, the organization, the government, the end of the City of Good; its king, the Holy Spirit, revealed by the names He bears in the Holy Books; its princes, the good angels; their nature, their qualities, their hierarchies, their orders, their functions, the reason of the one and the other: so many subjects of particular investigation. They are followed by an analogous work on the City of Evil. We make known its formation, its government, its end; its king, Satan, revealed by his biblical names; its princes, the demons; their qualities, their hierarchies, their dwelling, their action on man and on creatures.

Every city divides into two classes: the governing and the governed. After the princes come the citizens of the two cities: men. We show their existence placed between two hostile armies who dispute it, as well as the ramparts with which the Holy Spirit surrounds the City of Good, to prevent man from leaving it or the demon from penetrating it.

To know the two Cities in themselves and in their metaphysical existence does not suffice for our needs: we must see them in action. Hence the religious, social, political, and contemporary history of the one and the other. This tableau embraces, in its inmost causes, the whole history of humanity: we could only sketch it. Nevertheless our sketch brings into relief the capital point, that is, the frightful parallelism which exists between the City of Good and the City of Evil, between the divine work to save man and the satanic work to ruin him. To expose this parallelism not only in its ensemble but also in its principal features seemed to us the best means of unmasking the Spirit of darkness and of making the present world, unbelieving or frivolous, feel keenly the permanent presence and the multiform action of its most redoubtable enemy. Thence results, evident as light, the perpetual and perpetually imperious obligation under which we all lie,

peoples and individuals, to stand on our guard and, under pain of death, to remain or to place ourselves again under the empire of the Holy Spirit. This consequence ends the first volume of the work and leads to the second.

VII

For man and the world to feel the necessity of placing themselves again under the empire of the Holy Spirit, they must first of all know this divine Spirit: *Ignoti nulla cupido* [There is no desire for the unknown—Ovid]. A general and purely philosophical knowledge cannot suffice. A science intimate, detailed, practical is needed: to give it is the aim of our efforts. After showing the divinity of the Holy Spirit, speaking of His procession and His mission, explaining His attributes, we follow His special action on the physical world and on the moral world in the Old Testament. This work prepares us for the evangelical times. Here is revealed, in all the magnificence of His love, the third Person of the adorable Trinity. Before us present themselves four great creations: the Blessed Virgin, the Incarnate Word, the Church, the Christian. These four masterpieces are studied with the more care in that they are the whole philosophy of history; for they sum up the whole mystery of grace, that is, the whole action of God upon the world.

This mystery of grace, by which man becomes god, is, as far as it has depended on us, set forth in its admirable details. We tell the principle of our divine generation, the elements of which it is composed, their nature, their concatenation, their successive development until the son of Adam has attained to the measure of the Incarnate Word, Son of God and God Himself. The Virtues, the Gifts, the Beatitudes, the Fruits of the Holy Spirit, all the intimate work of grace, so little esteemed in our day because it is so little known, are explained with the extent necessary to the Christian who wishes to instruct himself, and to the priest charged with instructing others. The beatitudes of time lead to the beatitude of eternity. Become a child of God by the Holy Spirit, man has a right to the inheritance of his Father. Crossing the threshold of eternity, we try to lift a corner of the veil thrown over the splendors and delights of that kingdom created by love, ruled by love, where everything is, for the body as for the soul, light without shadow, life without limits—that is, the full, incessant communication of the Holy Spirit to the elect and of the elect to the Holy Spirit; flux and reflux of an ocean of love which will plunge the nurslings of the Chrism, *alumni Chrismatis*, into an eternal inebriation.

So many benefits on the part of the Holy Spirit demand a proportionate gratitude on the part of man. We show how this gratitude has manifested itself in the course of the centuries, how it must manifest itself still. It shines in the picture of the worship of the Holy Spirit, of the feasts, the associations, the public and private practices established in honor of the eternal Benefactor, to whom every creature of heaven and earth is indebted for what it is, for what it has, for what it hopes: *Neque enim est ullum omnino donum absque Spiritu Sancto ad creaturam perveniens* [For there is no gift whatever that reaches a creature without the Holy Spirit].

VIII

To fulfil our task, thrice difficult by its nature, by its extent, and by the theological precision it demands, we have, not to speak of the councils and pontifical constitutions, called to our aid the oracles of true science, the Fathers of the Church. Their doctrine on the Holy Spirit is so profound and so abundant that nothing can replace it. Let us add that today it is so little known that it offers all the interest of novelty.

Is it a question of making dogmatic truths precise by rigorous definitions, of giving the last reason of things, or of showing the hierarchical concatenation that unites the elements of our divine formation? In these delicate questions Saint Thomas has served us as master. May the numerous citations we have borrowed from him make him more and more known, and hasten the movement which today brings serious minds back to that incomparable hearth of all true science, divine and human!

Is it not time to return—we shall ask on this occasion—from the aberration which has been so fatal to the clergy, to the faithful, to the Church, to society itself? There exists a genius, unique of his kind, whom the admiration of the centuries calls the Prince of Theology, the Angel of the School, the Angelic Doctor. In a vast synthesis this genius embraces all the sciences, theological, philosophical, political, social, and teaches them with an incomparable clearness and depth. Although, in form, sometimes even in substance, his doctrine is from time to time marked with the inevitable stamp of humanity, it is nevertheless so sure in its ensemble that at the Council of Trent his writings, by a privilege unknown in the annals of the Church, deserved, according to tradition, to be placed beside the Bible itself.

This great genius is a saint to whom the Vicar of Jesus Christ, in canonizing his virtues, rendered this solemn testimony: "As many articles as Brother Thomas wrote, so many miracles did he work. He alone has enlightened the Church more than all the other doctors. He is an encyclopedia that takes the place of everything. In his school one profits more in a year than in that of all the other doctors in a whole lifetime (1)."

"Finally, that nothing may be wanting to his glory, he is a genius so powerful that a heresiarch of the sixteenth century did not fear to say: 'Take away Thomas, and I will destroy the Church (2).'" Thus Saint Thomas, placed in the midst of the centuries, may be regarded at once as a reservoir into which all the rivers of doctrine of the East and the West came to gather, and as a sieve through which, freed from all that is not high and pure science, the waters of tradition reach us fresh and limpid, having lost nothing of their fecundity.

Now this doctor, this saint, this master so useful to the Church and so redoubtable to heresy, the Renaissance had all but banished from the seminaries, as it banished from the colleges all Christian authors. Less than thirty years ago, what professor of theology, of philosophy, of social law, spoke of Saint Thomas? Who knew his works? Who read them? Who meditated them? Who printed them? By whom and by what has he been replaced? Without knowing it, then, the wish of the heresiarch had been realized, in part at least. Hence what has happened? Where is, today among us, the science of theology, of philosophy, and of public law? In what state do the Church and society find themselves? What is the temper of the weapons employed in their defense? What is the depth, the breadth, the solidity, the nutritive virtue of the doctrine distributed to minds in most modern works: books, journals, reviews, conferences, sermons, catechisms? We have not to answer. It is sweeter to us to hail the movement of return which is showing itself toward Saint Thomas. Happy if these few lines, escaped from what is most intimate in the soul, sorrow and love, could make it more general and more rapid!

1. *Quot articulos edidit, tot miracula fecit… Ipse plus illuminavit Ecclesiam, quam omnes alii doctores… pace aliorum dixerim, unus divus Thomas est instar omnium… In cujus libris plus proficit homo uno anno, quam in aliorum doctrina toto tempore vitæ suæ.* [Words of Pope John XXII, as quoted in the Life of Saint Thomas by Fr. Touron, art. 53, 7 March, n. 81; the Latin has been left as Gaume gives it, and the English above renders it.]

2. *Tolle Thomam, et Ecclesiam dissipabo.* [Take away Thomas, and I will scatter the Church.] — Despite the denials of Bayle, this saying is Bucer's.

IX

We shall express one last wish: it is to see awakened in the clergy and in the faithful an apostolic ardor for the Holy Spirit. If it is true that between the present times and the first centuries of Christianity there exists more than one resemblance, let us add a new trait of likeness by our eagerness to know and our fidelity in invoking the third Person of the adorable Trinity, inexhaustible source of light, of strength, and of consolation. Let the words of the Wise Man, applied to the Holy Spirit and so well understood by our forefathers, become the encouragement of our efforts and the rule of our conduct:

“Blessed is the man that shall continue in Wisdom, and that shall meditate in her perfections, and with her study the marvels of God—Creator, Redeemer, and Glorifier; who ponders her ways in his heart [*rumine*—literally ”ruminates,” chews the cud], and understands her secrets; who goes after her as one that traces, and stays in her ways, who looks in at her windows, and hearkens at her doors; who lodges near her house, and fastening a pin in her walls shall set up his tent nigh unto her, where good things shall rest in his lodging for ever. He shall set his children under her shelter, and shall lodge under her branches; he shall be protected under her covering from the heat, and shall rest in her glory: *Et in gloria ejus requiescet* (1).”

1. Ecclus. xiv, 22 ff. [The passage is Ecclus. xiv, 22–27 in the Vulgate numbering. Gaume’s quotation is a free paraphrase; the English follows his French, with the Douay-Rheims wording where it coincides.]

Translator’s notes on the Introduction

1. **“Holy Spirit.”** Throughout I render *Saint-Esprit* as “Holy Spirit.” “Holy Ghost” is not used.

2. **Calvary of the Holy Spirit.** Gaume’s footnote 6 (on the “Calvary and Passion” of the Holy Spirit) is a defense of metaphor against a theological objection—it states that God cannot suffer, but that these words are used as Scripture itself uses them.

3. **“Chrism.”** *alumni Chrismatis* (nurslings of the Chrism) refers to the confirmed.

4. **Note numbers.** The note numbers are Gaume’s, although the printed numbering restarts on each page of the original.

5. **Dates.** The “twenty-five years” of combat against the Evil Spirit refers to Gaume’s *Le ver rongeur des sociétés modernes* (1851) and subsequent works. Father Guidi’s lectures are in *Paganesimo antico e moderno* (Rome, 1862) [the preacher is Fr. Guidi, S.J., of the *Civiltà cattolica*, not Guidi the philologist].

Volume I

Chapter I. The Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil

Two opposed Spirits, rulers of the world. — Proofs of their existence: the universal faith, dualism. — The existence of these two Spirits supposes that of a world superior to ours. — Necessity of demonstrating it. — The denial of the supernatural, the great heresy of our time. — What the supernatural world is. — Proofs of its existence: religion, history, reason. — Passages from M. Guizot.

Two opposed Spirits dispute the empire of the world (1). History is only the narrative of their eternal struggle. This great fact supposes:

The existence of a world superior to ours;

The division of that world into good and evil;

The double influence of the superior world upon the inferior creation.

1. This expression, the equivalent of which is found almost on every page of the Old and New Testament, will be explained in the course of this chapter.

Four fundamental truths which must, before all, be placed beyond dispute.

That two opposed Spirits dispute the empire of man and of creation, this dogma is written at the head of the theology of all peoples and in the biography of each individual. Revelation teaches it. Ancient paganism shows it in the universal adoration of genii, good and evil. The Buddhism of the Indian, the Chinese, and the Tibetan, the fetishism of the Negro of Africa, like the bloody idolatry of the Oceanian, continue to furnish the incontestable proof of it. At the heart of civilization, no less than at the center of barbarism, experience makes it sensible in a fact ever ancient and ever new, *Dualism.* Unless one denies all distinction between truth and error, between good and evil, between killing one's father and respecting him—that is to say, unless one makes of the human race a herd of cattle—one is quite forced to recognize on earth the coexistence and the perpetual struggle of the true and the false, of the just and the unjust, of good acts and evil acts. Now this phenomenon is a mystery inexplicable otherwise than by the existence of two opposed Spirits, superior to man.

To cite only one proof: human sacrifice has gone round the world. It continues, at this very hour, among all the peoples who do not adore the Spirit of good, the Holy Spirit, as revelation makes Him known. But the idea of human sacrifice is as foreign to the lights of reason as it is opposed to the sentiments of nature. Whatever it may do, reason will remain eternally powerless to find any relation whatever between the murder of my fellow-man and the expiation of my sin. Far from following the instinct of nature, the father, however degraded he may be, has always shuddered, and he will always shudder, in bearing his own child to the sacrificer's knife. Yet the sacrifice of man by man, of the child by the father, is a fact; it has therefore a cause. It is a universal and permanent fact; it has therefore a universal and permanent cause. It is a humanly inexplicable fact; it has therefore a superhuman cause. It is a fact which occurs wherever the Spirit of good does not reign; it is therefore inspired and commanded by the Spirit of evil.

Explaining dualism alone, these two Spirits are the true rulers of the world. It is not at all, and we hasten to say it, that they are equal to one another. To pretend so would be to fall into Manichaeism: a monstrous error which reason rejects and faith condemns. The truth is that these two Spirits are unequal, with an infinite inequality. The one is God, eternal power; the other, a mere creature, an ephemeral being whom a breath could annihilate. Only, by a counsel of His infallible wisdom, but whose depth man here below will never be able to sound, God has left to Satan the redoubtable power to struggle against Him, and, in the possession of the human race, to hold the victory undecided. We shall soon try to lift a corner of the veil that covers this

incontestable mystery.

Meanwhile, the existence of two opposed Spirits supposes the existence of a world superior to ours. By this we understand a world composed of beings more perfect and more powerful than we, disengaged from matter and purely spiritual: God, the good and evil angels, in incalculable number; a world of causes and of laws, without which ours would not exist, or would move at random, like a ship without compass and without pilot; a world for which man is made and toward which he aspires; a world which envelops us on every side, and with which we are incessantly in relations; to which we speak, which sees us, which hears us, which acts upon us and upon material creatures, really, efficaciously, as the soul acts upon the body.

Far from being a chimera, the existence of this superior world is the first of realities. Religion, history, and reason unite to make of it the fundamental article of the faith of the human race. Today more than ever it is necessary to demonstrate it; for the denial of the supernatural is the great heresy of our time. Of late M. Guizot himself made the remark. He wrote:

"All the attacks of which Christianity is today the object, however diverse they may be in their nature or in their degree, start from one and the same point and tend to one and the same end: the denial of the supernatural in the destinies of man and of the world, the abolition of the supernatural element in the Christian religion, in its history as in its dogmas. Materialists, pantheists, rationalists, skeptics, critics, scholars, some loudly, others very discreetly, all think and speak under the empire of this idea, that the world and man, moral nature as well as physical nature, are governed solely by general, permanent, and necessary laws, whose course no special will has ever come or ever comes to suspend or modify (1)."

1. *L'Église et la Société chrétienne en 1861*, ch. iv, pp. 10 and 20.

Nothing is more exact. We shall add only that to point out the evil is not to cure it. To put us on the road to the remedy, he should have said how, after eighteen centuries of Christian supernaturalism, present-day Europe finds itself peopled with naturalists of every shade, a race which, flourishing in pagan antiquity, had disappeared since the preaching of the Gospel (1).

Be that as it may, individual denials vanish before general affirmations. Now the human race has always affirmed the existence of a supernatural world. The existence of a religion among all peoples is a fact. This fact is inseparable from belief in a supernatural world. "It is," continues M. Guizot, "upon a natural faith in the supernatural, upon an innate instinct of the supernatural, that every religion is founded. In all places, in all climates, in all epochs of history, in all degrees of civilization, man bears in himself this sentiment—I should prefer to say this presentiment—that the world which he sees, the order in the midst of which he lives, the facts which succeed one another regularly and constantly around him, are not all.

"In vain he makes every day in this vast whole discoveries and conquests; in vain he observes and learnedly establishes the permanent laws that preside over it: his thought does not shut itself up in this universe given over to science. This spectacle does not suffice for his soul; it springs elsewhere; it seeks, it glimpses something else; it aspires, for the universe and for itself, to other destinies, to another master. 'Beyond all the heavens the God of the heavens dwells,' said Voltaire; and the God who is beyond the heavens is not nature personified, he is the supernatural in person. It is to Him that religions address themselves; it is to put man in relation with Him that they are founded. Without man's instinctive faith in the supernatural, without his spontaneous and invincible impulse toward the supernatural, religion would not be (2)."

1. We have said it in our work *Le Rationalisme*. — In his pretended *Life of Jesus*, Renan has just sadly proved M. Guizot right. Renan is only an echo.

2. *L'Église et la société chrétienne en 1861*, ch. iv, p. 21.

The human race does not believe only in the isolated existence of a supernatural world; it believes also in the free and permanent, immediate and real action of its inhabitants on the inferior world. Of this constant faith

we find the proof in a fact no less striking than religion itself: it is *prayer*:

“Alone among all beings here below, man prays. Among the moral instincts there is none more natural, more universal, more invincible than prayer. The child gives himself to it with eager docility. The old man withdraws into it as into a refuge against decay and isolation. Prayer rises of itself on the young lips that scarcely stammer the name of God, and on the dying lips that have no longer the strength to pronounce it.

“Among all peoples, famous or obscure, civilized or barbarous, one meets at every step acts and formulas of invocation. Wherever men live, in certain circumstances, at certain hours, under the empire of certain impressions of the soul, the eyes are raised, the hands are joined, the knees bend, to implore or to give thanks, to adore or to appease. With transport or with trembling, publicly or in the secret of his heart, it is to prayer that man turns as a last resort, to fill the voids of his soul or to bear the burdens of his destiny. It is in prayer that he seeks, when everything fails him, support for his weakness, consolation in his sorrows, hope for virtue (1).”

1. *L’Église et la société chrétienne en 1861*, ch. iv, p. 22.

Let it not be thought that this confidence in the power and goodness of supernatural beings is a chimera. First, I should like to be shown a universal chimera. Next, no one fails to recognize the moral and interior value of prayer. By the very fact that it prays, the soul is relieved, lifted up, appeased, strengthened. It experiences, in turning toward God, that sentiment of return to health and rest which spreads through the body when it passes from a stormy and heavy air into a serene and pure atmosphere. God comes to the aid of those who implore Him, before and without their knowing whether He will hear them. If there is a single man who regards these happy effects of prayer as chimerical because he has never experienced them, he is to be pitied; but he is not refuted.

Prayer has a form higher than speech: it is *sacrifice*. Easier to establish, since it is always palpable, this second form is no less universal than the first. In use among all peoples, in all epochs, under all latitudes, sacrifice has been offered to beings good or bad, but always foreign to the inferior world. Never has the blood of a bull streamed on altars in honor of a bull, of a material being, or even of a man. The right to sacrifice begins for man only when flattery sees a personified genius in him, and it is to this genius that the sacrifice is addressed; or when, withdrawing him from the inferior world, death has made him an inhabitant of the supernatural world. Now, in the thought of the human race, sacrifice has the same significance as prayer. Perpetually offered, it is therefore the perpetual proof of humanity’s faith in the permanent influence of the superior world upon the inferior world.

Man has never contented himself with admitting a general and indeterminate action of supernatural agents upon the world and upon himself. Question him at any moment you please of his long existence, and he will tell you: I believe in the government of the material world by the spiritual world, as I believe in the government of my body by my soul; I believe that each part of the inferior world is directed by a special agent of the supernatural world, charged with preserving it and maintaining it in order. I believe these truths as I believe that in visible governments—pale reflection of this invisible government—sovereign authority, personified in its functionaries, is present in each part of the empire, in order to protect it and make it concur in the general harmony.

No one is ignorant that the peoples of pagan antiquity, without any exception, admitted the existence of heroes, of demigods, to whom they attributed the marvelous facts of their history, their legislations, the establishment of their empires. No one is ignorant that they believed, wrote, sang, that each part of the material world is animated by a spirit which presides over its existence and its movements; that this spirit is a supernatural being, worthy of man’s homage and powerful enough to make of the creature whose care is entrusted to it an instrument of good or an instrument of evil. The same belief is still today in full vigor among all the idolatrous peoples of the five parts of the world. In this unanimous belief, basis of religion and

of poetry as well as of the public and private life of the human race, is there not a particle of truth? Unless struck with madness, who would dare maintain it?

The world of bodies is governed by the world of spirits: such is—though altered on some secondary points—the fundamental dogma of which the human race has always been in possession. Would we have it in all its purity? Let us reread the divine oracles. From the first page of the Old Testament we see the Spirit of evil render himself sensible under the form of the serpent, and this supernatural seducer exercise over man and over the world a domination which he has never lost. We see, on the other hand, the Spirits of good govern the people of God, as the ministers of a king govern his kingdom. From Abraham, father of the chosen nation, to the Machabees, last champions of its independence, all the men of the Bible are directed, helped, protected by supernatural agents, whose influence determines the great events recorded in the history of this people, type of all the others. Successor—let us say rather, development—of the Jewish people, the Christian people offers us the same spectacle.

But if the most perfect among all societies have always been, and are still, placed under the direction of the angelic world, with all the more reason are the less perfect societies, because of their very inferiority, subject to the same government. As for purely material creatures, let us hear the testimony of the greatest geniuses who have enlightened the world. “The angels,” says Origen, “preside over all things: over earth, water, air, fire—that is, over the principal elements; and, following that order, they reach all animals, all germs, and even the stars of the firmament (1).” Saint Augustine is no less explicit. “In this world,” he says, “each visible creature is entrusted to an angelic power, according to the testimony, several times repeated, of the Holy Scriptures (2).” The same language is in the mouth of Saint Jerome, of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, and of the most authentic organs of the faith of the regenerated human race.

1. *Omnibus rebus angeli president, tam terræ et aquæ, quam aeri et igni, id est præcipuis elementis, et hoc ordine perveniunt ad omnia animalia, ad omne germen, ad ipsa quoque astra cœli.* [The angels preside over all things, over earth and water as over air and fire—that is, over the principal elements—and in this order they reach all animals, every germ, and even the stars of heaven.] Homily viii on Jeremias.

2. *Unaquæque res visibilis in hoc mundo habet angelicam potestatem sibi præpositam, sicut aliquot locis Scriptura divina testatur.* [Every visible thing in this world has an angelic power set over it, as the divine Scripture testifies in several places.] *De diversis quæstionibus LXXXIII*, q. lxxix, n. 1; *Opp.* vol. IV, p. 125.

Of this universal, invincible faith, true philosophy gives two peremptory reasons: *the harmony of the universe* and *the nature of matter*.

The harmony of the universe. There is no leap in nature: *Natura non facit saltum* [Nature makes no leaps]. All the creatures visible to our eyes are superposed, fitted into one another, linked to one another by mysterious bonds, whose successive discovery is the triumph of science. By degrees they all come to end in man. Spirit and matter, man is the weld [*soudure*—the soldered joint] of two worlds. If by his body he is at the highest degree of the ladder of material beings, he is, by his soul, at the lowest of the ladder of spiritual beings. The reason is that the perfection of beings, and consequently their hierarchical superiority, is reckoned by their more or less complete resemblance to God, the being of beings, the uncreated spirit, perfection par excellence. Now the purely material creature is less perfect than the creature at once material and spiritual. In its turn, this is less perfect than the purely spiritual creature. Since there is no leap in the works of the Creator, above purely material beings there are therefore mixed beings; above mixed beings, purely spiritual beings; above man, the angels. Pure spirits, these brilliant creatures, hierarchically arranged, continue the long chain of beings and are, with regard to man, what he himself is with regard to purely material creatures, or those inferior to him; they bind him to God, as man himself binds matter to spirit (1).

1. The perfection of the universe required this gradation of beings; this is the remark of Saint Thomas: *Necesse est ponere aliquas creaturas incorporeas. Id enim quod præcipue in rebus creatis Deus intendit, est*

bonum quod consistit in assimilatione ad Deum. Perfecta autem assimilatio effectus ad causam attenditur, quando effectus imitatur causam secundum illud per quod causa producit effectum; sicut calidum facit calidum. Deus autem creaturam producit per intellectum et voluntatem. Unde ad perfectionem universi requiritur quod sint aliquæ creaturæ intellectuales. [It is necessary to posit some incorporeal creatures. For what God chiefly intends in created things is the good that consists in likeness to God. Now the perfect likeness of an effect to its cause is attained when the effect imitates the cause in that whereby the cause produces the effect; as the hot makes hot. But God produces the creature by intellect and will. Hence the perfection of the universe requires that there be some intellectual creatures.] I, q. 50, art. 1, corp.

All this is founded on two great laws which reason cannot contest without falling into the absurd. The first, that all creation, descended from God, tends incessantly to remount to God, for every being gravitates toward its center. The second, that inferior beings can return to God only through the intermediary of superior beings (1). Now, as we have seen, the purely material being being, by its very nature, inferior to the mixed being, it is through the latter alone that it can return to God. In its turn, the mixed being being naturally inferior to the pure spirit, it is through the latter alone that it can return to God. Catholic theology therefore formulates an axiom of lofty philosophy when it says: "All corporeal beings are governed and maintained in order by spiritual beings; all visible creatures by invisible creatures (2)."

1. *Ordo est divinitus institutus in rebus, secundum Dionysium, ut per media, ultima reducantur ad Deum.* [There is an order divinely instituted in things, according to Dionysius, that the last be brought back to God through the middle ones.] *Sent.*, dist. xlv, q. iii, art. 2.

2. *Cum, secundum Augustinum (lib. III, De Trinit., et S. Th., pars I, quæst. cx, art. 1, corp.), omnia corpora regantur et disponantur per spiritum et creaturam invisibilem, et natura angelica sit nobilior corporea, necesse est angelos habere præsidentiam super ea.* [Since, according to Augustine, all bodies are ruled and disposed by spirit and invisible creature, and the angelic nature is nobler than the corporeal, the angels must have presidency over them.] Viguier, ch. iii, p. 87, quarto ed., 1571.

The nature of matter. Matter is inert by its nature; no one can deny it. "Yet," says Saint Thomas, "we see matter in motion on every side. Motion can be communicated to it only by beings naturally active. These beings are, and can only be, spiritual powers, which, superposed one on another, end in the angels and in God Himself, principle of all motion. Hence these words of Saint Augustine: *All bodies are ruled by a spirit of life endowed with intelligence*; and these of Saint Gregory: *In this visible world nothing can be set in order and in motion except by an invisible creature.* Thus the whole world of bodies is made to be ruled by the world of spirits (1)."

1. *Omnia corpora reguntur per spiritum vitæ rationalem* [All bodies are ruled through a rational spirit of life] (*De Trinit.*, lib. III, ch. iv). *In hoc mundo visibili nihil nisi per creaturam invisibilem disponi potest* [In this visible world nothing can be disposed save through an invisible creature] (*Dialog.* iv, ch. v). *Et ideo natura corporalis nata est moveri immediate a natura spirituali secundum locum* [And therefore corporeal nature is by nature moved immediately by spiritual nature as to place] (I, q. cx, art. 1, ad 3). — There are therefore as many souls as there are lives: vegetative life and soul, sensitive life and soul, intellective life and soul. It is needless to say that the first two souls are not of the same nature as ours, any more than is the life of which they are the principle.

To this proof drawn from the motion of matter is joined a fact "which deserves," says M. Guizot again, "all the attention of the adversaries of the supernatural. It is recognized and established by science that our globe is anterior to man. In what manner and by what power did the human race begin on earth? There can be only two explanations of its origin: either it was the proper and intimate work of the natural forces of matter; or it was the work of a supernatural power, exterior and superior to matter. Spontaneous creation or free creation: for the appearance of man here below one or the other of these causes is necessary.

“But admitting—what for my part I do not admit at all—spontaneous generations, this mode of production could not, could never have produced anything but infant beings, at the first hour and in the first state of nascent life. No one, I believe, has ever said, and no one will ever say, that by the virtue of a spontaneous generation man—that is, man and woman, the human couple—could have issued, and did issue one day, from the bosom of matter, fully formed, fully grown, in full possession of their stature, their strength, all their faculties, as Greek paganism made Minerva issue from the brain of Jupiter.

“Yet it is only on this condition that, appearing for the first time on earth, man could have lived there, perpetuated himself there, and founded the human race. Can one picture the first man being born in the state of earliest infancy, living but inert, unintelligent, powerless, incapable of sufficing for himself for a moment, trembling and moaning, without a mother to hear him and to feed him? Yet this is the only first man that spontaneous generation can give.

“Evidently the other origin of the human race is the only admissible one, the only possible one. The supernatural fact of creation alone explains the appearance of man here below… And the rationalists are constrained to stop before the supernatural cradle of humanity, powerless to make man come forth from it without the hand of God (1).”

1. *L’Église et la société chrétienne en 1861*, ch. iv, p. 26.

In sum, questioned on the supernatural world, the human race answers by three acts of faith:

I believe, and I have always believed, in the existence of a superior world.

I believe, and I have always believed, in the government of the inferior world, not by immutable laws, but by the free action of superior agents.

I believe, and I have always believed, that in certain cases God intervenes, by Himself or by His agents, in an exceptional manner, in the government of the inferior world—that is, that He suspends or modifies the laws of which He is the author, and that He works miracles.

I believe in particular, adds the modern world, the elite of humanity, that I was born of a miracle. My whole existence rests on faith in the resurrection of a dead man, and my civilization has a tomb for its pedestal.

To charge with error this constant, universal, invincible faith, one must prove that the human race, from its origin to our own day, is stricken with a triple folly: the folly of having believed in the existence of a supernatural world; the folly of having believed in the influence of superior beings over inferior beings; the folly of having believed that the supreme Legislator is free to modify His laws or suspend their course. These three operations of filial piety having been religiously performed, and the human race duly convicted of having always been struck with dementia, there remains a fourth: the denier of the supernatural will have to prove that he himself is not mad.

Translator’s notes — Chapter I

1. **“Esprit du bien / Esprit du mal”** — rendered “Spirit of good / Spirit of evil” (Gaume capitalizes “Esprit”; I keep “Spirit” capitalized and “good/evil” lower-case in running text; the chapter title keeps both capitalized).

2. **Guizot.** All the long quotations are from François Guizot, *L’Église et la société chrétienne en 1861*. Gaume quotes Guizot on the Church’s side against rationalism.

3. **[Idiom]** *Le ver rongeur* (Introduction) and *soudure* (here, “weld”) are discussed in the notes; *il faut le plaindre; mais on ne le réfute pas* — “he is to be pitied, but he is not refuted”; *bétail* = “cattle/livestock,” used contemptuously.

4. **Latin references.** The footnote Latin follows the standard texts of Aquinas (*Summa* I, q. 50, a. 1; q. 110, a. 1), cited as Gaume does.

5. **Ethnic terms.** Gaume's period vocabulary ("le nègre de l'Afrique," "l'Océanien") is translated in a plain parallel register ("the Negro of Africa") to preserve his nineteenth-century wording; it is not an endorsement.

6. **Origen / Augustine / Gregory.** Passages as cited by Gaume; the Origen passage is from Hom. viii on Jeremias (in Jerome's/Rufinus's Latin).

Chapter II. Division of the Supernatural World

Certainty of this division: universal and permanent dualism. — Cause of this division: a guilty act. — Historical origin of evil. — Explanation of the passage of Saint John: "And there was a great battle in heaven," etc. — Nature of this battle. — Greatness of this battle. — In what heaven it took place. — Two orders of truths: natural truths and supernatural truths. — The angels know the former naturally and with certainty. — The trial had for its object a truth of the supernatural order. — Fall of the angels.

We have just seen that the superior world, the world of pure intelligences, necessarily governs man and the world that is inferior to him. Logically it follows that the King of the superior world is the true King of all things. Angels, men, forces of nature are only His agents. Everything depends on Him; He alone depends on no one. Hence it would seem that in the universe all should be peace and unity. The reality is otherwise: dualism is everywhere. Now dualism is in the inferior world only because it is in the superior world; in the world of facts, only because it is in the world of causes. Division and war therefore broke out in heaven before descending upon earth. Profound, relentless, universal, permanent, as they are among men, so they are among the angels. In a word, the supernatural world divided into good and evil: such is the second fundamental truth that must be brought to light.

God being goodness by essence, all that comes from His hands can only be good (1). Since a part of the inhabitants of the superior world are evil, and since they are not such by nature, it must necessarily be concluded that they have become so. No one becomes evil except by his own fault. Every fault supposes free will. The evil angels were therefore free, and they abused their liberty. But what is the trial in which they voluntarily failed? If reason establishes its existence, revelation alone can explain its nature. Under pain of reasoning wrongly forever, one must therefore question God Himself, author of the trial and witness of its results. Here is what the Ancient of days says to His most intimate confidant: "And there was a great battle in heaven; Michael and his angels fought with the Dragon; and the Dragon fought, and his angels (2)."

1. *Deus charitas est.* [God is charity.] 1 John iv, 16. — *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.* [God saw all the things that He had made, and they were very good.] Gen. i, 31.

2. *Et factum est prælium magnum in cælo; Michael et angeli ejus prœliabantur cum Dracone; et Draco pugnabat, et angeli ejus.* Apoc. xii, 7.

These few words contain treasures of light. There, and there alone, is the historical origin of evil. Everywhere else, uncertainties, contradictions, darkness, eternal groping. Since we are touching on the great problem of the world, let us dwell on each syllable of the divine oracle.

What is this battle, *prælium*? The angels being pure spirits, this battle was not a material struggle, like that of the Titans of mythology; nor a battle like those fought on earth, where the combatants in turn attack from afar with missiles, grapple hand to hand, overthrow one another and trample each other underfoot. Like the beings who are its actors, a battle of angels is purely intellectual. It is an opposition between pure spirits, some of whom say yes to a truth, and the others no.

It is a *great* battle, *prælium magnum*. It is great, in fact, from whatever point of view one regards it. Great by the number and power of the combatants; great because it was the beginning of all the others; great by its

immense, eternal results; great by the truth which was its object. To divide heaven into two irreconcilable camps, to drag into the abyss the third part of the angels, and to assure forever the felicity of the others: the truth in dispute must have been a fundamental dogma (1).

1. *Et cauda ejus trahebat tertiam partem stellarum cœli, et misit eos in terram.* [And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth.] Apoc. xii, 4.

What can be the nature of this truth proposed, as a trial, to the adoration of the celestial hierarchies? For angels, as for men, there are two kinds of truths: truths of the natural order and truths of the supernatural order. The first do not exceed the natural faculties of the angel and of man. It is otherwise with the second: let us explain this point of doctrine.

Being the work of an infinitely good God, every being is created for happiness. The happiness of a being consists in its union with the end for which it was created. All beings having been created by God and for God, their happiness consists in their union with God. In intelligent beings, made to know and to love, this union takes place by knowledge and by love. Developed as far as the forces of nature permit, this knowledge and this love constitute the natural happiness of the creature. God was not content with this. In order to procure for intelligent beings an infinitely greater happiness, His goodness, essentially communicative, willed that angels and men should be united to the supreme Good by a much clearer knowledge and a much more intimate love than their natural happiness required: hence supernatural happiness.

Hence, too, two kinds of knowledge of God or of the truth: a *natural* knowledge, which consists in the sight of God as far as the creature is capable of it by its own forces; a *supernatural* knowledge, which consists in a sight of God superior to the forces of nature and infinitely clearer than the first. This second knowledge is an entirely gratuitous favor. Free beings, angels and men must, in order to secure its possession, fulfil the conditions on which God promises it. Hence, finally, as has just been said, with regard to angels and man, two kinds of truths: truths of the natural order and truths of the supernatural order.

The angels know perfectly, completely, in their principles and in their last consequences, in the whole and in the detail, all the truths of the natural order—that is, those which fall within the native sphere of their intelligence. In that sphere, for them, no error, no doubt, and consequently no possible contradiction (1). Whence comes this admirable prerogative? From the very excellence of their nature. Let us explain again this point of high philosophy, so well known to the barbarism of the Middle Ages and so unknown to our age of enlightenment.

1. *Angelus intelligendo quidditatem alicujus rei, simul intelligit quidquid ei attribui potest, vel removeri ab ea… per se non potest esse falsitas, aut error, aut deceptio in intellectu alicujus angeli… Nescientia autem est in angelis non respectu naturalium cognoscibilium, sed supernaturalium.* [The angel, in understanding the quiddity of a thing, understands at once whatever can be attributed to it or removed from it… of itself there cannot be falsity, or error, or deception in the intellect of any angel… Ignorance in the angels is not with regard to natural knowables, but to supernatural ones.] S. Th., I, q. lviii, art. 4; ibid., art. 5; ibid., q. lviii, art. 2; ibid., q. lviii, art. 5 [Gaume's references repeat; cf. I, q. 58, aa. 2–5].

The angel is a pure intelligence. His understanding is always in act, never in potency: that is to say, the angel has not merely, like man, the faculty or the possibility of knowing, but he knows actually. Let us listen to those great philosophers, always ancient and always new, who are called the Fathers of the Church and the scholastic theologians. "To know," they say, "the angels have need neither to seek, nor to reason, nor to compose, nor to divide; they look at themselves, and they see. The reason is that from the first instant of their creation they had all their natural perfection and possessed the intelligible species, or representations of things, perfectly luminous, by means of which they see all the truths they can know naturally. Their understanding is like a perfectly pure mirror, in which the rays of the sun of truth are reflected and imprinted without shadow, without increase or diminution.

“Different is the understanding of man. It is an imperfect mirror, sown with spots more or less thick and more or less numerous, which disappear only in part under the laborious and ever-renewed effort of study and reasoning. The reason is that the human soul, being united to the body, must receive successively from sensible things, and through sensible things, a part of the intelligible species by means of which truth is known to it. It is even for this that the soul is united to the body (1).”

1. *Angelus semper est actu intelligens, non quandoque actu et quandoque potentia, sicut nos.* [The angel is always actually understanding, not sometimes in act and sometimes in potency, as we are.] S. Th., I, q. l, art. 1, corp.; and q. liv, art. 4, corp.; ibid., q. lv, art. 2, corp.; ibid., q. lviii, art. 1, corp.; ibid., q. lxxxvii, art. 1, corp. — *Angeli non congregant divinam cognitionem a rebus divisibilibus aut a sensibilibus.* [The angels do not gather divine knowledge from divisible or sensible things.] S. Dionys., *De divin. nom.*, ch. vii, § 2. — Viguier, *Institut.*, etc., ch. xi, § iii, p. 63.

Since from the instant of their creation the angels knew perfectly all the truths of the natural order, their trial necessarily had for its object some truth of the supernatural order. Inaccessible to the native forces of their understanding, these truths are known to them only by revelation. “In the angels,” says Saint Thomas, “there are two knowledges: one natural, by which they know things either by their essence or by innate species. By virtue of this knowledge they cannot attain to the mysteries of grace, for these mysteries depend on the pure will of God. The other supernatural, which beatifies them, and by virtue of which they see the Word and all things in the Word. By this vision they know the mysteries of grace—not all, nor all equally, but according as it pleases God to reveal them to them (1).”

1. I, q. lvii, art. 5, corp.

“And the battle took place in heaven”: *in cælo*. What is this heaven? There are three heavens, or three spheres of truths: the heaven of natural truths; the heaven of the beatific vision; the heaven of faith, intermediate between the first two.

We have just seen that from the first instant of their creation the angels know perfectly, in their ensemble and in their last consequences, all the truths of the natural order. This knowledge is their glory; for it establishes their immense superiority over man. Hence, on their part, no interest in protesting against any of these truths. No possibility even of doing so; for every being invincibly shrinks from its destruction. The truths of the natural order being *connatural* to the angels, to protest against them would have been to protest against their very being: to deny them would have been a kind of suicide. The battle therefore did not take place in the heaven of natural truths.

Neither did it have for its theater the heaven of the beatific vision. Reward of the trial, this heaven is the eternal abode of peace. There all angelic and human intelligences, placed face to face with truth, which they contemplate unveiled, confirmed in grace, united in charity and consummated in glory, live the same life, without oppositions, without divisions, without possible rivalries.

What, then, is the heaven of the battle? Evidently the abode or the state in which the angels had, like man, to undergo the trial in order to merit glory. In what did the trial consist? Evidently again, in the admission of some unknown mystery of the supernatural order. To be meritorious this admission had to be costly. It therefore had for its object some mystery which, in the eyes of the angels, seemed to shock their reason, to derogate from their excellence, and to injure their glory.

To admit humbly this mystery on the word of God, to adore it in spite of its obscurities and the repugnances of their nature, in order to see it after having believed it: such was the trial of the angels. By this act of submission these sublime intelligences, bowing their radiant brows before the Most High, said to Him: “We are only creatures; Thou alone art the Being of beings. Thy knowledge is infinite. However great ours may be, it is not so. Thy charity equals Thy wisdom: we embrace in the fullness of love the mystery which Thou

deignest to reveal to us." In the counsels of God this act of adoration, which implies love and faith, was decisive for the angels, as a like act was for Adam, as it is for each of us: "He that believeth not shall be condemned (1)."

1. *Qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.* Mark xvi, 16.

"And Michael and his angels fought against the Dragon": *Michael et angeli ejus prœliabantur cum Dracone*. The dogma to be believed is scarcely proposed when one of the most brilliant archangels, Lucifer, raises the cry of revolt: "I protest. They would have us descend; I will ascend. They would lower my throne; I will raise it above the stars. I will sit on the mount of the covenant, on the sides of the north. It is I, and no other, who shall be like the Most High (1)." A part of the angels repeat: "We protest (2)." At these words an archangel, no less brilliant than Lucifer, cries out: "Who is like unto God? Who can refuse to believe and to adore what He proposes to the faith and adoration of His creatures? I believe and I adore (3)." The multitude of the celestial hierarchies repeats: "We believe and we adore."

No sooner guilty than punished, Lucifer and his adherents, changed into horrible demons, are hurled into the depths of hell, which their pride had just dug (4).

1. *Conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis… similis ero Altissimo.* [I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north… I will be like the Most High.] Is. xiv, 13–14.

2. Such is the first origin of Protestantism. In that sense it may flatter itself that it is not of yesterday. [*Gaume's sarcasm: the word "protest" is playfully traced to the revolt of the angels.*]

3. *Quis ut Deus?* [Who is like God?—the meaning of the name "Michael".]

4. *Simul fuit peccatum angeli persuasio et consensus; sicut est accensio candelæ, illuminatio aeris et visio, quæ omnia sunt instantanea.* [In the angel, the suggestion and the consent were simultaneous in the sin; as the lighting of a candle, the illumination of the air, and the seeing are all instantaneous.] S. Th., *in Sent.*, lib. II, dist. 6, art. 2. — 2 Pet. ii, 4.

Terrifying severity of the justice of God! What is its cause, and why was there mercy for man and not for the angel? The reason lies in the superiority of the angelic nature. The angels are irrevocable [*irrévertibles*—incapable of turning back], whereas man is not. "It is an article of Catholic faith," says Saint Thomas, "that the will of the good angels is confirmed in good, and the will of the evil ones hardened in evil. The cause of this obstinacy is not in the gravity of the fault, but in the condition of the nature. Between the apprehension of the angel and the apprehension of man there is this difference, that the angel apprehends or grasps immutably by his intellect, as we ourselves grasp the first principles that we know. Man, on the contrary, by his reason apprehends or grasps truth in a variable manner, going from one point to another, having even the possibility of passing from yes to no. Whence it follows that his will adheres to a thing only in a variable manner, since it keeps even the power of detaching itself from it and attaching itself to the contrary thing. It is otherwise with the will of the angel. It adheres fixedly and immutably (1)."

1. Part I, q. lxiv, art. 2, corp.; and I–II, q. lxxxv, art. 2, ad 3.

We know the existence, the place, and the result of the trial; but what was its nature? In other words: What is the precise dogma whose revelation became the stumbling-stone for a part of the celestial intelligences? The examination of this question will be the object of the following chapters.

Translator's notes — Chapter II

1. **"Un combat eut lieu dans le ciel."** Gaume's French of Apoc. xii, 7 is rendered with the Douay-Rheims sense ("a great battle in heaven"), keeping the Latin *prælium magnum*, since the commentary dwells on the single word *prælium* and on *magnum*.

2. **[Idiom] “irrévertibles.”** A theological coinage (not standard French): beings who cannot “revert” or turn back once they have chosen—Thomas’s doctrine that the angelic choice is irrevocable. I render “irrevocable.”

3. **“Pierre d’achoppement.”** “Stumbling-stone” (Rom. ix, 32–33; 1 Pet. ii, 8).

4. **“Siège sur le mont de l’alliance, aux flancs de l’Aquilon.”** Vulgate *in monte testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis* (Is. xiv, 13); Douay renders “in the sides of the north.”

5. **Footnote 3 on Protestantism.** It is Gaume’s own sly polemical aside; kept as is.

Chapter III. The Dogma That Gave Rise to the Division of the Supernatural World

The Incarnation of the Word, cause of the fall of the angels. — Proofs: the teaching of the theologians. — Saint Thomas. — Viguier. — Suarez. — Catharinus.

Decreed from all eternity, the dogma of the Incarnation of the Word was, in its hour, proposed to the adoration of the angels. Some humbly accepted the superiority which it created in favor of man; the others, revolted by the preference given to human nature, protested against the divine counsel. Such is the thought of a great number of illustrious doctors. In every respect it deserves the attention of the theologian and of the philosopher. The first finds in it the solution of the highest questions of divine science. To the second it explains, and explains alone, the intimate character of the eternal struggle of good and evil.

Three incontestable propositions seem to us, moreover, to demonstrate its correctness. The mystery of the Incarnation was the trial of the angels: *if, first,* they had knowledge of this mystery; *if, second,* this mystery was of a nature to wound their pride and to excite their jealousy; *if, third,* the Incarnate Word is the sole object of the hatred of Satan and his angels. Let us hear the doctors establishing this triple truth.

“From the beginning of their existence,” says Saint Thomas, “all the angels knew in some manner the mystery of the kingdom of God accomplished by Christ, but above all from the moment when they were beatified by the vision of the Word—a vision which the demons never had, for it was the reward of the faith of the good angels (1).”

1. *Mysterium regni Dei, quod est impletum per Christum, omnes quidem angeli a principio aliquo modo cognoverunt; sed maxime ex quo beatificati sunt visione Verbi, quam dæmones nunquam habuerunt.* P. I, q. lxiv, art. 1, ad 4.

That all the angels, without exception, had from the first instant of their creation a certain knowledge of the eternal Word, reason rises to the point of understanding. The Word is the sun of truth that enlightens every intelligence emerging from the night of nothingness: there is no other. Mirrors of a rare perfection, the angels could not fail to reflect some rays of that divine sun, of which they were the most perfect images. But although they had consciousness of themselves and of the truths of which they were in possession, these rays were still veiled, and they had to be. Created in the state of grace, the angels did not enjoy the beatific vision from the beginning. They therefore knew only imperfectly the reign of God through the Word. That this adorable Word, by whom all things were made, would be the link between the finite and the infinite, between the Creator and the whole creation, and that thus He would gloriously establish the reign of God over the universality of His works: such was the rudimentary knowledge of the angelic spirits. It was the mystery of the Incarnation, or of the hypostatic union of the Word with the creature, in germ; but nothing more (1).

1. The same must be said of Adam himself, and for the same reasons. S. Th., II–II, q. ii, art. 7, corp., etc.; and I, q. xciv, art. 1, corp.

Expounding the words of the master, “The angels,” says a learned disciple of Saint Thomas, “have a double knowledge of the Word, a natural knowledge and a supernatural knowledge.

“A *natural* knowledge, by which they know the Word in His image, shining in their own nature. This first knowledge, illumined by the light of grace and referred to the glory of God and of the Word, constituted the natural beatitude in which they were created. However, they were not yet perfectly happy, since they were capable of a greater perfection, and could lose it, which in fact happened for a great number.

“A *supernatural* or gratuitous knowledge, by virtue of which the angels know the Word by essence and not by image. This was not given them at the first instant of their creation, but at the second, after a free election on their part (1).”

1. *Angeli duplicem habent cognitionem Verbi, unam naturalem et aliam gloriæ. Naturalem quidem, qua cognoscunt Verbum per ejus similitudinem in eorum natura relucentem, in qua etiam relucent omnes creaturæ inferiores. Et talis cognitio lumine gratiæ illustrata et ad Verbum sive ad laudem Dei relata, dicitur matutina imperfecte… In illa cognitione naturali Verbi… consistebat eorum beatitudo naturalis, in qua creati sunt… per hanc tamen non erant beati simpliciter, cum essent majoris perfectionis capaces, et ab illa possent deficere, sicut quidam illorum defecerunt… Aliam vero habent Verbi cognitionem, quæ dicitur gloriæ, qua cognoscunt Verbum per essentiam, et non per similitudinem, et hæc dicitur matutina perfecte, clarissima. Et hanc non habuerunt in primo instanti, sed in secundo post liberam electionem.* [The angels have a double knowledge of the Word, one natural, the other of glory. The natural is that by which they know the Word through His likeness shining in their nature, in which all inferior creatures also shine. This knowledge, illumined by the light of grace and referred to the Word or to the praise of God, is called “morning” knowledge imperfectly… In this natural knowledge of the Word consisted their natural beatitude, in which they were created… yet by this they were not simply blessed, since they were capable of greater perfection and could fall from it, as some of them fell… The other knowledge of the Word is called the knowledge of glory, by which they know the Word through essence and not through likeness; and this is called “morning” knowledge perfectly, most clear. And this they did not have in the first instant, but in the second, after free election.] Viguier, ch. iii, § 11, vers. 6, p. 79.

Let us now lend an ear to Suarez, through whose mouth, says Bossuet, the whole school speaks: “The opinion which holds that the sin of pride committed by Lucifer was the desire of the hypostatic union must be held as extremely probable: which made him from the beginning the mortal enemy of Jesus Christ. I said that this opinion is very likely, and I continue to say so. We have shown that all the angels, in the state of trial, had revelation of the mystery of the hypostatic union which was to be accomplished in human nature. It is therefore infinitely credible that Lucifer found in this the occasion of his sin and of his fall (1).”

1. *Valde probabilis est sententia credens Luciferum de facto peccasse per superbiam, appetendo unionem hypostaticam, et a principio adversarium Christi fuisse… Hanc opinionem valde verisimilem esse dixi, eodemque modo de illa nunc censeo… Ostendimus habuisse omnes angelos in via revelationem mysterii unionis hypostaticæ in natura humana perficiendi. Ergo longe credibile est inde accepisse Luciferum peccandi occasionem.* [The opinion is very probable that believes Lucifer in fact sinned through pride, by desiring the hypostatic union, and was from the beginning the adversary of Christ… I said this opinion is very likely, and I judge of it in the same way now… We showed that all the angels, in the state of the way, had revelation of the mystery of the hypostatic union to be accomplished in human nature. Therefore it is far more credible that Lucifer took from this the occasion of sinning.] *De Malig. Ang.*, lib. VII, ch. xiii, nn. 13 and 18.

One of the theological glories of the Council of Trent, Catharinus, maintains the same opinion loudly. With other commentators he explains thus the text of Saint Paul: “And again, when He bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, He saith: And let all the angels of God adore Him (2)”: “Why this word *again*, a

second time? Because the eternal Father had already introduced His Son a first time into the world, when, from the beginning, He proposed Him to the adoration of the angels and revealed to them the mystery of the Incarnation. He introduced Him a second time when He sent Him upon earth to become incarnate in fact. Now at that first introduction or revelation Lucifer and his angels refused to Jesus Christ their adoration and their obedience. Such was their sin.

"In fact, according to the common doctrine of the Fathers, the demon sinned through envy against man; and it is more probable that he sinned before man was created. Now one must not believe that the angels envied the natural perfection of man, as created to the image and likeness of God. On that supposition each angel would have had the same reason, and even a stronger one, to be jealous of the other angels. It is therefore more likely that the demon sinned through envy of the dignity to which he saw human nature raised in the mystery of the Incarnation (3)."

2. Heb. i, 6.

3. …*Communi Patrum doctrina constat, dæmonem peccasse invidia hominum. Probabilius autem est peccasse antequam homo crearetur. Ita sentiunt S. Isidorus, S. Cyprianus, Beda et alii… Neque æstimare debemus angelum invidia excellentiæ humanæ, secundum illius propriam naturam peccasse. Qua enim ratione invideret dæmon hominem fuisse creatum ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei? Sic enim facilius invideret alteri angelo. Ergo verisimilius est peccasse dæmonem invidia dignitatis humanæ, quam prævidit evehendam ad dignitatem hypostaticæ unionis, quam invidia excellentiæ naturalis ejus.* [By the common doctrine of the Fathers it is established that the demon sinned from envy of men. It is more probable that he sinned before man was created. So think St. Isidore, St. Cyprian, Bede and others… Nor should we suppose that the angel sinned from envy of human excellence according to its proper nature. For on what ground would the demon envy man having been created to the image and likeness of God? For in that way he would more easily envy another angel. Therefore it is more likely that the demon sinned from envy of the human dignity which he foresaw would be raised to the dignity of the hypostatic union, than from envy of its natural excellence.] Catharinus, *Opusc. de gloria Beator.*, apud Vasquez, pars I, q. lxiii, disp. 233.

In the following chapter new authorities will come to confirm the opinion of the illustrious theologian.

Translator's notes — Chapter III

1. **Terms.** *union hypostatique* = "hypostatic union" (the union of the divine and human natures in the one Person of the Word). *Verbe* = "Word" (capitalized: the Second Person). *Verbe incarné* = "Incarnate Word."

2. **"Matutina imperfecte / perfecte."** In the Augustinian/Thomist doctrine of the angels' "morning" and "evening" knowledge (*cognitio matutina / vespertina*); Viguier's terms are kept in Latin with an English rendering.

3. **"Catharin."** Ambrosius Catharinus Politus (Lancelot Politi, O.P., 1484–1553), who took part in the Council of Trent. Gaume's "Catharin" is rendered "Catharinus," the usual English form.

4. **"Suarez."** Francisco Suárez, S.J. (1548–1617); the citation is to his *De angelis* (here "De Malig. Ang."). *Bossuet* is quoted for saying that all the school speaks through Suárez.

Chapter IV. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Naclantus. — A new passage from Viguier. — Rupert. — Reasoning. — Testimonies of Saint Cyprian, Saint Irenaeus, Cornelius a Lapide. — Conclusion.

Another member of the Council of Trent, the very learned Bishop of Chioggia, Naclantus, expresses himself thus: "From the beginning, Lucifer, and Adam himself, knew Christ, at least by the light of faith or of a particular revelation, as Creator, Lord, and Ocean of all goods. But, led astray by their own fault, they turned

their eyes from the light; and, as if they had not known Him for the Lord and the author of all grace and felicity, they refused to submit to Him. They even despised Him in the most impious manner; this is what Scripture calls *not knowing* Him. As to Lucifer, the thing is evident: not only did he pretend to raise himself by himself even into heaven, but also to kill Christ, to invade His throne, and to walk as His equal (1)."

1. *Et mundus eum non cognovit* [And the world knew Him not]. *Sicut tota civitas aliquid fecisse dicitur, cum præcipui fecerunt ex ea; ita et orbis universus dicitur non cognovisse Christum, quia præcipuæ ejus partes, Lucifer et protoplastes, non cognoverunt eum, non quod illum ab initio saltem lumine fidei aut revelationis particularis, ut opificem, dominum et omnium bonorum pelagus non cognoverint, sed quia propria iniquitate subversi oculos diverterunt a luce. Et non secus ac si non cognovissent illum, ut Dominum et totius gratiæ ac felicitatis auctorem, non modo non approbarunt, sed impiissime contempserunt; quod in Scripturis, tropo non insolito, est non cognoscere. Et quidem de Lucifero res est perspicua, cum non solum præsumpserit per sese in cœlum conscendere, sed Christum occidere, solium ejus invadere et se illi persimilem constituere.* [As a whole city is said to have done something when its chief men have done it, so the whole world is said not to have known Christ, because its principal parts, Lucifer and the first-formed man, did not know Him—not that from the beginning they did not know Him, at least by the light of faith or of particular revelation, as Maker, Lord and sea of all goods, but because, overthrown by their own iniquity, they turned their eyes from the light. And just as if they had not known Him as Lord and author of all grace and felicity, they not only did not approve but most impiously despised Him; which in the Scriptures, by a not unusual trope, is "not to know." And as to Lucifer the matter is clear, since he presumed not only to ascend into heaven by himself, but to kill Christ, to invade His throne, and to make himself wholly like Him.] *Enarrat. in Epist. ad Eph.*, ch. i, p. 49, folio.

In order to establish that hatred of the Incarnate Word was the sin of Lucifer, and that it has still no other aim than to fight Him, Naclantus shows that in turn the Incarnate Word has no other thought than to fight Satan and destroy his work. "Christ came to destroy the works of the devil. In fact, Christ dies, and the head of Satan is crushed, and he himself driven from his empire. Christ descends into hell, and Satan is despoiled; the arms and trophies in which he put his confidence are taken from him. Christ triumphs, and Satan, naked and a prisoner, is delivered to the contempt of the world and left as an example to his partisans (1)."

1. *Venit Christus ut dissolvat opera diaboli. Christo moriente, contritum est caput ejus; et ipse foras est a principatu dejectus. Christo descendente, Tartarus est spoliatus, et arma et tropæa in quibus confidebat sunt direpta. Christo triumphante, nudus et captivus palam est ostentatus, et reliquis ejus membris in exemplum traductus.* [Christ came to destroy the works of the devil. At Christ's dying, his head was crushed, and he himself was cast out from his principality. At Christ's descending, Tartarus was despoiled, and the arms and trophies in which he trusted were plundered. At Christ's triumphing, he was openly displayed naked and captive, and led as an example to the rest of his members.] *Enarr. in Epist. ad Eph.*, ch. xi, p. 100.

The same teaching is found, but in a much more explicit manner, in the great Spanish theologian Viguerius. Starting from the text of Saint Thomas (1), he says: "Lucifer, considering the beauty, the nobility, the dignity of his nature and his superiority over all creatures, forgot the grace of God, to which he owed everything. He misunderstood, moreover, the means of attaining the perfect felicity which God reserves for His friends. Swollen with pride, he coveted this supreme felicity, and the heaven of heavens, the portion of the human nature which was to be hypostatically united to the Son of God. He envied that place which, in Scripture, is called the right hand of God; he was jealous of human nature, and communicated his desire to all the angels of whom he was naturally the chief.

"As in the natural gifts he was superior to the angels, he wished to be so also in the supernatural order. He therefore insinuated to them that they should choose him as mediator, or means of attaining supernatural beatitude, in place of the Incarnate Word, predestined from all eternity to this mission. Such is the sense of his words: *I will ascend into heaven; I will place my throne above the highest stars. I will sit on the mount of*

the covenant, on the sides of the north. I will ascend above the clouds; I will be like the Most High (2).

"At the same instant the good angels, remembering the grace of God, principle of all goods, and knowing by faith the passion of the true Mediator, the Incarnate Word, to whom the eternal decrees had reserved the place and office of mediator which Lucifer wished to seize, refused to associate themselves with his rapine. They resisted him; and, thanks to the merit of the foreseen passion of Christ, they conquered *by the blood of the Lamb*. Thus the gravitation toward God which, from the first instant of their creation, they had begun—partly by natural inclination, partly by the impulse of grace, freely but imperfectly—they continued in full and perfect freedom.

"As to the evil angels, there were some of all the hierarchies and of all the orders, forming in all the third part of heaven. Dazzled, like Lucifer, by the nobility and beauty of their nature, they let themselves be taken by the desire to obtain supernatural beatitude by their own forces and by the help of Lucifer; they acquiesced in his suggestions, applauded his project, envied human nature, and judged that the hypostatic union, the office of mediator, and the right hand of God were more fitting for Lucifer than for human nature, inferior to the angelic nature.

"After this instant, whose duration is unknown to us, of free and complete election, the almighty God communicated to the good angels the clear vision of His essence, and condemned to eternal fire the evil ones, with Lucifer their chief, to whom He said: *Thou shalt not ascend, but thou shalt descend, and be dragged down into hell* (3). At once the good angels, with Michael and Gabriel at their head, executed the order of God, and commanded Lucifer and his partisans to leave heaven, where they claimed to remain. Willy-nilly, they had to obey.

"From what precedes it is evident: first, that Lucifer did not sin by aspiring to be equal to God. He was too enlightened not to know that it is impossible to equal God, since it is impossible that there be two infinites. Moreover, it is impossible that a nature of an inferior order become a nature of a higher order, since for that it would have to annihilate itself. He could not have such a desire, inasmuch as every creature desires, above all and invincibly, its own preservation. Thus the prophet Isaias does not make him say: *I will be equal*, but: *I will be like* God.

"It is evident, second, that Lucifer sinned by desiring in a culpable manner likeness to God. He aspired to be chief of the angels, not only by the excellence of his nature, a privilege which he enjoyed, but by wishing to be their mediator in order to obtain supernatural beatitude—a beatitude which he wished to acquire himself by his own forces. Thus he desired the hypostatic union, the office of mediator, and the place reserved for the humanity of the Word, as suiting him better than human nature, to which he knew that the Word was to be united. To wish to seize it was therefore on his part an act of rapine. Hence Our Lord Jesus Christ calls him a thief (4)."

1. Part I, q. lxiii, art. 3; and *De malo*, q. xvi, art. 3, ad 4.

2. Is. xiv, 13–14.

3. Is. xiv, 15. Cf. also Apoc. xii, 11 ("they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb").

4. *Lucifer in secundo instanti pulchritudinem, nobilitatem et dignitatem suæ naturæ considerans, et se esse super omnes creaturas, non advertens ad gratiam, quam Deus illi dederat, nec considerans media perveniendi ad beatitudinem consummatam et supernaturalem, quam Deus diligentibus se præparavit, in superbiam elatus, illam, et eminentissimum cœli empyrei locum humanitati Christi Filio Dei hypostatice uniendæ præparatum, qui locus dextera Dei in sacris Litteris nuncupatur, appetiit, et humanæ naturæ invidit, votumque sive desiderium suum omnibus aliis angelis, quibus naturaliter præerat, indicavit… Appetiit præesse multitudini angelorum… quantum ad hoc quod alii per ejus mediationem consequerentur beatitudinem, quam ipse volebat consequi per suam naturam. Sic appetiit unionem hypostaticam et*

mediationem et locum humanitatis Christi, tanquam melius ei conveniret, quam naturæ humanæ, quam ex fide cognoscebat uniendam. Et sic secundum rapinam voluit eam habere. Ideo vocatur fur a Christo. [The Latin renders in the text above.] John x. — Viguier, ch. iii, § 11, vers. 15, pp. 96–97.

Ruard, Molina, and other eminent theologians profess the same doctrine in a manner no less absolute, *absolute*. Long before them the celebrated Rupert had expressed the same sentiment. On these words of the Savior—*He was a murderer from the beginning, and you will do the desires of your father*—he says: "The Son of God speaks here of His death. Thus nothing prevents one from understanding by this primitive murder the ancient hatred of Satan against the Word. This hatred, anterior to the birth of man, Satan burns to satisfy. To accomplish it he employs every means of putting to death this same Word of God, now clothed with human nature.

"This is all the more true because Our Lord adds: *And he stood not in the truth*; which took place before the creation of man. In fact, at the very instant when, rising up against the Son, who alone is the image of the Father, he said in his pride: *I will be like the Most High*, he became a murderer before God, to become one before men also, by putting to death by the hand of the Jews the eternal object of his hatred… These words, *he stood not in the truth*, signify that he did not continue to love Him who is the truth, the Son of God. For to stand in the truth is the same as to love the truth, and to remain or stand in Christ is the same as to love Christ. Satan is therefore a murderer from the beginning, because he has always had for the truth, which is the Word, an unspeakable hatred (1)."

1. *Proinde, quoniam et de sui ipsius interfectione nunc loquitur Filius Dei… Nomine homicidæ antiquum diaboli odium intelligere nihil vetat, quo et ante hominem conditum se intorsit adversus eumdem Filium Dei, quem nunc hominem factum desiderabat et festinabat interfici… Et revera mox ut contra Filium Dei, qui solus similitudo Patris est, superbo tumescens odio, dixit in corde suo: Similis ero Altissimo, quoniam odium illud per manus Judæorum homicidio consummandum erat, jam tunc in conspectu Patris et ipsius qui hæc loquitur Filii homicida erat… Et in veritate non stetit, idem ac si dixisset: Filium Dei, Verbum Dei… non dilexit. Stare namque in veritate, idem est quod veritatem amare; stare vel esse in Christo, idem est quod Christum diligere… Idcirco veritas in illo non est; quia homicida est ab initio, veritatem, quæ est ipse Dei Filius, semper abhorrens ineffabili odio.* Rupert, *Comment. in Joan.*, lib. VII, on the words *Ille erat homicida*, nn. 222–224. [Latin as above is rendered in the text.]

This remarkable testimony may be summed up thus: before his fall Lucifer knew the adorable Persons of the Holy Trinity, and he loved them (1). Too great were his lights to allow him to be jealous of God, still less to pretend to become so. Then he stood in the truth. But when he learned that the Word was to unite Himself to human nature, in order to deify it and, in deifying it, to raise it above the angels, above himself—Lucifer: then he stood not in the truth. Pride entered into him; pride brought revolt; revolt, hatred; hatred, the fall.

1. See S. Th., part I, q. lxiii, art. 1, ad 3.

Moreover, for a mind that reflects at all, reason itself is persuaded without difficulty that the trial of the angels must have consisted in faith in the mystery of the Incarnation. First, the sin of the angels was a sin of envy: this is an incontestable point of Catholic teaching. Among all the Fathers let us hear only Saint Cyprian, speaking of envy: "How great, beloved brethren," he cries, "is that sin which made the angels fall; which fascinated those lofty intelligences and overthrew from their thrones those sublime powers; which deceived the deceiver himself! It is from thence that envy came down upon earth. It is by it that he perishes who, taking for model the master of perdition, obeys his inspirations, as it is written: *By the envy of the devil, death came into the world* (1)."

1. *Quale peccatum, fratres dilectissimi, quo angelus cecidit, quo circumveniri et subverti alta illa et præclara sublimitas potuit; quo deceptus est ipse qui decepit! Exinde invidia grassatur in terris, dum livore periturus magistro perditionis obsequitur, dum diabolum qui zelat imitatur, sicut scriptum est: Invidia diaboli mors*

introivit in orbem terrarum. [As rendered above.] *De zelo et livore* [On Jealousy and Envy].

Next, the jealousy of the angels could have only two objects: God or man. With regard to God, to wish to be like unto God, equal to God, considered in Himself and apart from the mystery of the Incarnation, is a desire the angel could not have had. “This desire,” says Saint Thomas, “is absurd and against nature; and the angel knew it (1).” Man was therefore the object of the jealousy of Lucifer. “It is through the jealousy he had against man,” says Saint Irenaeus, “that the angel became an apostate and an enemy of the human race (2).” But, as we have seen, the angel had no reason to envy the natural dignity of man. That dignity consists in creation to the image and likeness of God. Now the angel himself is made to the image of God, and even in a more perfect manner than man (3). One thing alone raised man above the angel and could excite his jealousy: the hypostatic union.

1. *Scivit hoc esse impossibile, naturali cognitione… et dato quod esset possibile, hoc esset contra naturale desiderium.* [He knew that this was impossible, by natural knowledge… and granted that it were possible, it would be against natural desire.] Part I, q. lxiii, art. 3, corp.; cf. Petavius, *De Ang.*, ch. xi, n. 22.

2. *Ex tunc enim apostata est angelus et inimicus, ex quo zelavit plasma Dei et inimicum illum Deo facere aggressus est.* [For from that time the angel is apostate and enemy, from the time he envied the handiwork of God and set about making him an enemy to God.] Bk. IV, *Adv. hær.*, ch. lxxviii.

3. S. Aug., *De Trin.*, lib. XII, ch. vii.

If the dogma of the Incarnation, considered in itself, suffices to explain the fall of Lucifer, it explains it better still when viewed in its relations and effects. On the one hand, this mystery is the foundation and the key of the whole divine plan, as well in the order of nature as in that of grace. On the other hand, it demanded of the angels, to be accepted, the greatest act of self-abnegation: a sublime act in proportion to the sublime reward that was to crown it.

Descended from God, the whole creation, material, human, and angelic, must remount to God; for the Lord has made all things for Himself and for Himself alone (1). But an infinite distance separates the created from the uncreated. To bridge it a mediator is necessary, and since he is necessary, he will be found. Forming the point of junction and, as it were, the weld of the finite and the infinite, this mediator will be the mysterious bond that will unite all creations among themselves and with God (2). Who will he be? Evidently he who, having made all things, cannot leave his work imperfect: it will be the eternal Word. To the divine nature He will hypostatically unite human nature, in which material creation and spiritual creation meet. Thanks to this union, in one same person, of the divine Being and the human being, of the finite and the infinite, God will be man, and man will be God. This God-Man will become the deification of all things, principle of grace and condition of glory, even for the angels, who will have to adore Him as their Lord and their master (3).

1. *Universa propter semetipsum operatus est Dominus.* [The Lord hath made all things for Himself.] Prov. xvi, 4. — *Ego Dominus, hoc est nomen meum; gloriam meam alteri non dabo.* [I am the Lord, this is My name; My glory I will not give to another.] Is. xlii, 8.

2. *Nec pars parti in lapide adhæret, nec in aliquo creatorum, nisi quia per Verbum conservantur, per quod omnia facta sunt.* [Nor does part cling to part in a stone, nor in any created thing, except because they are preserved by the Word, through whom all things were made.] S. Aug., *Soliloq.*, ch. vi.

3. *Factus est Deus homo, ut homo fieret Deus.* [God was made man, that man might be made God.] S. Aug., *Serm.* xiii, *de Temp.* — *Cum Verbum divinum humanam naturam assumpsit, quasi res omnes in summam redactas sibi conjunxit, et ad se quasi ad auctorem et primam originem, ad Verbum scilicet quo creata sunt, revocavit; sicque Incarnatione sua Christus magnam rebus omnibus attulit dignitatem, omnesque quasi deificavit.* [When the divine Word assumed human nature, He joined to Himself, as it were, all things gathered into a sum, and recalled them to Himself as to their author and first origin, the Word by whom they

were created; and thus by His Incarnation Christ brought great dignity to all things, and as it were deified them all.] S. Iren., *Adv. hær.*, lib. III, ch. viii; and Cornelius a Lapide on Eph. i, 10.

A God-Man, a virgin-mother, the highest elevation of the lowest being, human nature preferred to angelic nature, the obligation of adoring, in a God-Man, their inferior become their superior! At this revelation the pride of Lucifer revolts, his jealousy bursts forth. God saw it. Swift as lightning, justice strikes the rebel and his accomplices, in those culpable dispositions which, by eternalizing their crime, eternalize their punishment. Such is the great battle of which Saint John speaks. Heaven was its first theater: earth will be the second.

Translator's notes — Chapter IV

1. **Naclantus.** Jacobus Nacchianti (Naclantus), Bishop of Chioggia (Clugia), a Dominican, a member of the Council of Trent; Gaume's "Foggia" is a slip for Chioggia (*episcopus Clodiensis*). The commentary is on Ephesians.

2. **"Viguiero."** Fr. Viguerius (Jean Viguier, O.P.), *Institutiones ad Christianam theologiam* (1565, folio 1571); cited by Gaume throughout.

3. **[Idiom]** *Malgré eux, il fallut obéir* = "Willy-nilly they had to obey." *La soudure du fini et de l'infini* = "the weld [soldered joint] of the finite and the infinite" (same image as ch. I).

4. **Quotations.** The long Latin passages (Viguier; Rupert on John viii, 44; Naclantus) are rendered in the body of the chapter in Gaume's French (which is a faithful condensation), with an English rendering of the Latin in the notes. Where the French paraphrase and the Latin differ slightly, I followed Gaume's French in the body.

5. **Scripture.** "Il fut homicide dès le commencement" (John viii, 44); "par la jalousie du démon la mort est entrée dans le monde" (Wis. ii, 24); "ils vainquirent par le sang de l'Agneau" (Apoc. xii, 11). Douay-Rheims readings used where they fit.

Chapter V. Consequence of This Division

Expulsion of the rebel angels. — Their dwelling: hell and the air. — Passages of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, — of Porphyry, — of Eusebius, — of Bede, — of Viguier, — of Saint Thomas. — Reason of this double abode. — From heaven the struggle descends to earth. — Hatred of the dogma of the Incarnation, the last word of all heresies and all revolutions, before and after the preaching of the Gospel. — Satan's particular hatred of woman. — Proofs and reasons.

"And the Dragon," adds the Apostle, "was cast down to the earth: *projectus in terram* (1)." What is this earth? Speaking of the fall of Lucifer and his accomplices, Saint Peter says that God cast them down into hell, where they are tormented and kept in reserve until the day of judgment (2). Elsewhere he exhorts us to vigilance by warning us that the devil, like a roaring lion, goes about unceasingly around us to devour us (3). For his part Saint Paul calls Satan the prince of the powers of the air, and warns the human race to put on its divine armor, that it may be able to resist the attacks of the demon. "For us," he says, "the struggle is not against enemies of flesh and blood, but against the princes and powers, against the rulers of this world of darkness, the spirits of wickedness that dwell in the air (4)."

1. *Et postquam vidit Draco quod projectus esset in terram*, etc. [And when the Dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth…] Apoc. xii, 13.

2. *Rudentibus inferni detractos in tartarum tradidit cruciandos, in judicium reservari.* [Delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment.] 2 Pet. ii, 4.

3. *Vigilate, quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret.* [Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour.] 1 Pet. v, 8.

4. *Secundum principem potestatis aeris hujus.* [According to the prince of the power of this air.] Eph. ii, 2. — *Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli. Quoniam non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem; sed adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiæ, in cælestibus.* Eph. vi, 11–12.

Thus the two most illustrious organs of truth, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, give in turn, as the dwelling of the fallen angels, hell and the air that surrounds us. Despite an apparent contradiction, their language is exact: it is the resounding echo of universal tradition. Under the name of Pluto or of Serapis, did not the ancient peoples admit a king of the infernal regions, dwelling in the somber abodes of Tartarus and surrounded by infernal gods, his satellites and courtiers? Did they not at the same time proclaim, by a thousand sacrifices, a thousand supplications, a thousand different rites, the presence of these infernal gods in the lower strata of our atmosphere, as well as their malign action on man and on the world? “It is not in vain,” says Porphyry, “that we believe the evil demons to be subject to Serapis, who is the same god as Pluto. As this kind of demons inhabits the places nearest to the earth, in order to satisfy more freely and more often their abominable inclinations, there is no sort of crime that they are not wont to attempt and to cause to be committed (1).”

1. *Improbos dæmones Serapi subditos esse haud temere suspicamur… atque idem prorsus qui Pluto deus iste est.* [We do not rashly suspect that the wicked demons are subject to Serapis… who is altogether the same as the god Pluto.] Porphyry, apud Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, lib. IV, ch. xxiii. — *Hoc genus dæmonum, ut in locis terræ vicinioribus cupiditatis explendæ causa libentius frequentiusque versatur, nihil plane sceleris est, quod moliri non soleat.* [This kind of demons, as it dwells more willingly and more frequently in the places nearer the earth for the sake of satisfying its desire, there is plainly no crime that it is not wont to contrive.] Ibid., lib. IV, ch. xxii.

In this respect the language of Christian humanity is like that of pagan humanity. The Fathers of the Church speak like the philosophers. Addressing Lucifer, the Lord says: “Thou wast engendered on the holy mountain of God; thou wast born in the midst of the shining stones of fire. Thou didst surpass them in brilliance, until the day when iniquity entered thy heart. Thy wisdom was corrupted with thy beauty, and I have cast thee down to the earth (1).”

“By these words and others,” says Eusebius, “we learn clearly the first state of Lucifer among the most divine powers, and his fall from the most eminent rank because of his secret pride and his revolt against God. But beneath him we find myriads of spirits of the same kind, inclined to the same prevarications, and because of their impiety expelled from the abode of the blessed. Instead of that enclosure shining with light, dwelling of the Divinity; instead of that glory which gleams in the palace of heaven; instead of the society of the angelic choirs, they inhabit the dwelling prepared for the impious by the just sentence of the almighty God: Tartarus, which the holy books designate by the name of abyss and darkness.

“In order to exercise the athletes of virtue and to enrich them with merits, a part of these malevolent beings has received from God the permission to dwell around the earth, in the lower regions of the air. It is they who have become the concomitant cause of polytheism, which is worth no more than atheism; it is they whom Scripture names by the names that suit them: evil spirits, demons, principalities and powers, princes of the world, malevolent kings of the airs. At other times, with a view to reassuring men, His beloved, God designates them under symbols, for example when He says: *Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk; thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon* (2).”

1. Ezech. xxviii, 14 ff.

2. Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, lib. VII, ch. xvi.

To omit twenty other names: in the eighth century, Bede the Venerable spoke in the West as Eusebius, in the fourth century, had spoken in the East. Here are his words: “Whether the demons flit in the air, or run over the earth, whether they wander in the center of the globe or are chained there, everywhere and always they carry with them the flames that torment them: like the feverish man who, in a bed of ivory, or exposed to the rays of the sun, cannot avoid the heat or cold inherent in his illness. So whether the demons are honored in splendid temples, or traverse the plains of the air, they cease not to burn with the fire of hell (1).”

1. *Comment. in cap. iii epist. Jacob.* [Commentary on ch. iii of the Epistle of James.]

Later, another witness of the universal faith expresses himself in these terms: “A part of the evil angels, driven from heaven, has remained in the obscure region of the clouds—that is, in the middle and lower strata of the atmosphere—carrying hell with them. They are there by a disposition of Providence to exercise men. The other part was cast down into hell, stripped of all nobility and all dignity—not natural, however, since, as Saint Denis [Dionysius] teaches, the fallen angels have not lost their natural gifts, but rather the gratuitous gifts: the friendship of God, the virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit, called by Isaias the delights of Paradise (1).”

1. Viguier, ch. iii, § 2, vers. 15, p. 97.

With his ordinary penetration, Saint Thomas discovers the reason for this double abode: “Providence,” says the angelic doctor, “leads man to his end in two ways: *directly*, by moving him to good—this is the ministry of the good angels; *indirectly*, by exercising him in the struggle against evil. It was fitting that this second way of procuring the good of man should be entrusted to the evil angels, that they might not be entirely useless to the general order. Hence for them two places of torment: the one by reason of their fault—this is hell; the other by reason of the exercise they are to give man—this is the dark atmosphere that surrounds us.

“Now, to procure the salvation of man must last until the day of judgment. Until then, therefore, will last the ministry of the good angels and the temptation by the evil. Thus, until the last day of the world the good angels will continue to be sent to us, and the evil to dwell in the lower strata of the air. Nevertheless there are some among them who remain in hell, to torment those whom they have drawn into it; just as a part of the good angels remains in heaven with the souls of the saints. But after the judgment all the wicked, men and angels, will be in hell, and all the good in heaven (1).”

1. *Dicendum quod angeli secundum suam naturam medii sunt inter Deum et homines. Habet autem hoc divinæ providentiæ ratio, ut inferiora per superiora in bonum ducantur… Bonum autem hominis dupliciter procuratur per divinam providentiam: uno modo directe, dum scilicet aliquis inducitur ad bonum et retrahitur a malo; et hoc convenienter factum est per bonos angelos. Alio modo indirecte, dum scilicet aliquis exercetur per impugnationem contrarii; et hoc convenienter fiebat per malos angelos, ne omnino post peccatum inutiles essent naturali ordini… Procuratio autem salutis humanæ protenditur usque ad diem judicii. Unde et usque tunc durat ministerium angelorum, et exercitatio dæmonum.* [Angels, by their nature, are intermediate between God and men. Now this belongs to the plan of divine providence, that lower things be led to good through higher… The good of man is procured by divine providence in two ways: directly, when someone is led to good and drawn back from evil, and this was fittingly done through the good angels; indirectly, when someone is exercised by the assault of the adversary, and this was fittingly done through the evil angels, lest after sin they be wholly useless to the natural order… The care of human salvation extends to the day of judgment. Hence until then lasts the ministry of the angels and the exercise by the demons.] Part I, q. lxiv, art. 4, corp.

The sacred text continues, saying: “Once cast down to the earth, the Dragon set himself to persecute the woman: *persecutus est mulierem*.” What is this persecution? It is nothing other than the continuation of the

great battle of Lucifer and his angels against the Incarnate Word. On earth as in heaven, today as in the beginning and until the end of the world: the same combatants, the same arms, the same aim. Therein lies the whole philosophy of history, past, present, and future. Whoever does not understand this will never understand anything of the great enigma called the life of the human race on earth.

We have seen, and, borrowing the words of Cornelius a Lapide, we repeat: “The sin of Lucifer and his angels was a sin of ambition. Having had knowledge of the mystery of the Incarnation, they saw with jealousy human nature preferred to angelic nature. Hence their hatred against the son of the woman, that is, Christ. Hence their war in heaven: a war to the knife [*à outrance*] which they continue on earth (1).” Having been unable to oppose the decree of the hypostatic union of the divine nature with human nature, Lucifer and his satellites are constantly and solely occupied in frustrating it of its effects. To render faith in the dogma of the Incarnation impossible or useless: such is the last word of all their efforts.

1. *Idcirco enim insectus est puerum masculum quem peperit mulier, puta Christum, ob eumque in cælo cum Michaele dimicavit, volens eum morti tradere, quia invidit ei hanc unionem. Omne enim ejus bellum est contra puerum hunc, adeoque duellum quod cum eo inchoavit in cælo, illud ipsum continuat jugiter in terra.* [For this reason he pursued the man-child whom the woman brought forth, namely Christ, and on his account fought in heaven with Michael, wishing to deliver Him to death, because he envied Him this union. For all his war is against this Child, and the duel which he began with Him in heaven he continues ceaselessly on earth.] *In Apoc.* xii, 4.

Let us open history. Thanks to the malice of the demon, man, who was above all to benefit from the Incarnation, begins by becoming a prevaricator. In order to keep him eternally far from the Word, his deliverer, Satan loads his noble slave with a triple chain. Until the coming of the Messias, three great errors dominate the nations: *Pantheism, Materialism, Rationalism*. These three great errors are summed up in a single one, which is their principle and their end: *Satanism*. Mothers of all the others, these monstrous heresies tend, as is easy to see, to render radically impossible the belief in the dogma of the Incarnation. Pantheism: if everything is God, the Incarnation is useless. Materialism: if everything is matter, the Incarnation is absurd. Rationalism: if the supreme wisdom is to believe in reason alone, the Incarnation is chimerical.

So much for the pagan nations. As for the Jewish people, charged with preserving the promise of the great Mystery, all the efforts of Satan have for their aim to make it fall into some one of these errors and to draw it into idolatry. Several times he succeeds, at least in part. At the feet of idols Israel forgets the Incarnate Word, future liberator of the world. Then Satan reigns in peace over the conquered human race, and the history of antiquity is only the history of his insolent triumph.

When the fullness of time arrives, what do we see? On every side the infernal powers roar. The war against the dogma of the Incarnation recommences with unspeakable fury. To prevent it from establishing itself, Satan unchains persecutions. To ruin it in the minds of those who have accepted it, he unchains heresies. For eight centuries, from the time of the Apostles to Elipandus and Felix of Urgel, passing by Arius, the effort of hell bears directly on the dogma of the Incarnation. More or less masked, the same attack continues in the following centuries. By a too significant return, the divinity of Our Lord, or the mystery of the Incarnation, keystone of the supernatural world, has become again, before our eyes, what it was at the beginning: the avowed aim, the capital point, the last word of the eternal combat. Has not Arius risen again, and embellished, in Strauss, in Renan and company, coryphaei of the present struggle?

While awaiting the almost total ruin of faith in the reparative dogma—a fatal victory which is announced to him for the last days of the world—Satan multiplies his efforts to render it useless to those who still preserve it. As formerly with the Jews, he pushes Christians today to all sorts of iniquities: this is what Saint Paul calls “spiritual idolatry, whose immediate effect is to annihilate in whole or in part the saving influence of the

august mystery (1)."

1. *Quod est idolorum servitus.* [Which is the service of idols.] Gal. v, 20 [Gaume's reference is to Col. iii, 5 / Gal. v, 20].

Thus the Incarnate Word: this is the eternal object of the hatred of Satan; this is the last word of the persecutions, the schisms, the heresies, the scandals, the temptations, and the social revolutions; in other terms, this is the explanation of the great battle which, begun in heaven, perpetuates itself on earth, to end in the eternity of happiness or the eternity of misery.

But why has the Incarnation been, is it still, and will it always be the sole object of the struggle between heaven and hell? This question is fundamental. The answer alone can explain the eternal relentlessness of the combat, as well as the nature and the ensemble of the means employed by the attack and by the defense.

The Incarnation is the whole of Christianity. But what is the aim of the Incarnation? We have already indicated it: it is to deify man. God has not hidden it. His words, repeated twenty times, manifest His counsel. "I have said: You are gods, and all of you the sons of the Most High. They shall be called: Sons of the living God. Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect; for you are partakers of the divine nature. Power was given them to be made the sons of God. Behold what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called and should be the sons of God (1)."

1. *Ego dixi: Dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes.* Ps. lxxxi, 6. — *Dicetur eis: Filii Dei viventis.* Osee i, 10. — *Estote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester cælestis perfectus est.* Matt. v, 48. — *Divinæ consortes naturæ.* 2 Pet. i, 4. — *Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri.* John i, 12. — *Videte qualem charitatem dedit nobis Pater, ut filii Dei nominemur et simus.* 1 John iii, 1.

Man knows the divine counsel; he has always known it. He knows, he has always known, in the Catholic sense of the word, that he must become God. He aspires to it with all the powers of his being. Satan knows it too, and he takes man on that side. "Eat of this fruit, and you shall be as gods" is the first word he addresses to him (1). Its sense is this: "You are to be gods, I know it and I do not dispute it. I propose to you only a short and easy means of becoming so. To be gods, you have been told: Humble yourselves; obey; abstain; acknowledge your dependence. To submit to such conditions is to turn your back on the goal. Abasement cannot lead to elevation. Would you arrive? Break your fetters. The first step toward deification is liberty."

1. Gen. iii, 5.

As in every heresy, there is truth in this word. The truth is that man must be deified. The falsehood is that he can be so by following the way indicated by Satan. Notice well, moreover, that however strange it is, this promise of deification arouses in the fathers of the human race neither astonishment, nor indignation, nor smile of contempt. They welcome it; and, for having taken it in the tempter's sense, they are lost by welcoming it. Hence Saint Thomas remarks with reason that the principal sin of our first parents was neither disobedience nor gluttony, but rather the inordinate desire of becoming like God. Disobedience and gluttony were the means: the illegitimate ambition to be as gods, the final end of their prevarication. "The first man," says the great doctor, "sinned principally by the desire of becoming like God as to the knowledge of good and evil, according to the suggestion of the serpent: so as to be able, by the sole forces of his nature, to fix for himself the rules of good and evil; or to know beforehand and by himself the happiness or the misery that might befall him. He sinned secondarily by the desire of becoming like God as to the power of acting, so as to arrive at beatitude by his own forces (1)."

1. I, q. lxiii, art. 3 [cf. II–II, q. clxiii, art. 2, corp.]. — "*Sed vir,*" continues Saint Thomas, "*non credidit hoc esse verum.*" [But the man did not believe this to be true.] Nevertheless, as Sylvius observes, *valde probabilis est veterum patrum sententia quod non sola Eva, sed etiam Adamus crediderit serpentinum illud: Eritis sicut dii, esse verum, fueritque etiam ipse deceptus ac seductus.* [the opinion of the ancient Fathers is very

probable that not Eve alone, but Adam also, believed that serpent's word "You shall be as gods" to be true, and was himself deceived and seduced.] Note to St. Thomas.

Saint Thomas is here only the echo of Saint Augustine, who says plainly: "Adam and Eve wished to snatch divinity, and they lost felicity (1)." Let certain anthropologists, whose audacity goes so far as to deny the unity of the human species, explain the magical influence of this word on all the inhabitants of the globe: *You shall be as gods*. Victorious over the fathers of our race six thousand years ago, this word Satan repeats constantly to their posterity, and obtains the same success. He knows no other. That one, in fact, suffices him. Studied with care, the psychology of evil demonstrates that a desire of divinity is at the bottom of all temptations: the victims of Satan are his victims only for having wished to be as gods.

1. *Adam et Eva rapere voluerunt divinitatem et perdiderunt felicitatem.* [Adam and Eve wished to seize divinity and lost happiness.] *Glossa in Ps.* lxiii.

In sum, on the part of the Spirit of light and on the part of the Spirit of darkness, everything turns on the deification of man. The first wishes to effect it by humility; the second, by pride. The one says to man on earth the deifying word that he says to the angel in heaven: *Submission*. The other repeats to man the radically corrupting word that he himself pronounced in heaven: *Independence*. From these two opposed principles flow, like two streams from their sources, the contradictory means of divine deification and of satanic deification. Needless to add that the first is the truth; the second, a counterfeit; that the one makes man truly son of God, living image of His perfections, heir of His kingdom, companion of His glory; and the other, son of Satan, accomplice of his revolt and companion of his punishment: *Ex patre diabolo estis* [You are of your father the devil—John viii, 44].

Nevertheless, between these opposed means there exists a complete parallelism. We shall make it known later; for it is not the least danger of the great persecution of the fallen angel. "Lucifer and his minions will work great signs and wonders, so as to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect (1)": such is the too-forgotten warning of the divine Master. True at all times, it seems to become so today more than ever, and tomorrow it will be so still more than today.

1. Matt. xxiv, 24.

The Apostle ends the great history of evil by saying: "And the Dragon persecuted the woman who brought forth the man-child: *Persecutus est mulierem quæ peperit masculum*." The persecution is known to us; but what woman is its object? It is the Woman *par excellence*, mother of the Son *par excellence*. It is the woman of whom it was said to the Dragon himself, immediately after his first victory: "I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel (1)." Would you know her? Lend your ear to the voice of past centuries and of present centuries: all repeat the name of MARY.

1. *Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus.* Gen. iii, 15.

But how can Mary, whose passage on earth was accomplished in a few years, in an obscure corner of Palestine, be the object of a persecution as lasting as the centuries, as extended as the world? Mary is the immortal woman. Forty centuries before her birth she lived in Eve; and Satan knew it. For eighteen centuries she has lived in the Church; and Satan knows it still.

Mary lived in Eve. She lived there as the daughter in her mother, or rather as the type in the portrait. According to the Fathers, Adam was formed on the model of the Incarnate Word, and Eve on the model of Mary. From the origin Mary was, in Eve, the mother of all the living, because she was to bring forth Life: *Mater cunctorum viventium* [Mother of all the living—Gen. iii, 20]. This mystery, known to Satan, explains his particular hatred against woman.

Doubtless the guilty woman was condemned to the domination of man and to sufferings proper to her sex. But does this condemnation suffice to explain her sad condition in all centuries and on all points of the globe? What are the sufferings of man compared with the humiliations, the outrages, the tortures of woman? Whence this difference? To believe that it has its cause solely in the greater guilt of the primitive woman seems to us a hazardous affirmation, not to say an error. It is true, according to Saint Thomas, that the sin of Eve was, in several respects, greater than that of Adam; but it is also true, according to the same doctor, that, as to the person, the sin of Adam was greater than that of Eve (1). How prove that in the eyes of divine justice there is not a kind of compensation which brings the guilty back to equality? If there remains a difference unfavorable to woman, does it suffice to justify the enormous aggravation of her penalty? Does it suffice above all to explain the incontestable preference she has always had in the hatred of Satan?

1. II–II, q. clxiii, art. 4, corp.

In all the countries where he has reigned, where he reigns still, woman is the most unhappy creature under heaven. Born slave, beast of burden, beaten, sold, outraged in every way, overwhelmed with the hardest labors, her history can be written only with tears, blood, and mud. Why this relentlessness of the Dragon against the weakest being, and from whom he seems consequently to have less to fear? Whence this predilection for choosing woman, and above all the young girl, as medium, as organ of his lies, as instrument of his ridiculous or culpable manifestations (1)? We cannot doubt it: it is a vengeance of the Dragon. In woman, in the virgin above all, he sees Mary. He sees her who is to crush his head; and at any price he wishes to torture woman, to debase her, to degrade her, whether to avenge himself for his defeat, or to prevent the world from believing in the incomparable dignity of woman, and thus to shake to its foundations the dogma of the Incarnation: *Persecutus est mulierem* (2).

1. History is full of these shameful preferences.

2. This preference of hatred, says Camerarius, is observed even in the purely physical order. The opinion is that serpents, cruel enemies of man, are still more so of woman; that they attack her more often, and that more often they kill her by their bites. An evident fact confirms it, namely that in a crowd of men, if there is a single woman, it is she whom the serpent seeks to bite. *Id enim in eo maxime perspicitur, quod etiam in turba frequentissima virorum, serpens unius mulieris, etiam si sola fuerit, calcibus insidiari consueverit.* [This is especially seen in this, that even in a very dense crowd of men, the serpent is wont to lie in wait for the heels of a single woman, even if she be alone.] *Medit. hist.*, part I, ch. ix, p. 31.

At this rate, does it not seem that it is man, and not woman, who ought to have the preference in the hatred of Satan? For after all it is not woman, but the God-Man, who destroyed the empire of the demon. Doubtless the conqueror of the Dragon is the son of the woman; but it is also true that without the woman, without Mary, this conqueror would not have existed, and that Satan would peacefully continue to be what he formerly was, the god and king of this world. The observation is all the more just in that the conqueror of Satan did not come from man, but from woman, without any participation of man. It is therefore with good reason that the Dragon blames his defeat, not on man, but on woman. It is therefore with good reason that God Himself announced to him that woman, and not man, would crush his head. It is therefore with good reason that the Church pays homage to Mary for her victories, and repeats to her from all points of the globe: “Rejoice, O Virgin Mary; thou alone hast destroyed all heresies throughout the whole world (1).” It is therefore with good reason that woman is the preferred object of the hatred of Satan: *Persecutus est mulierem.* It is therefore with good reason, finally, that to all the triumphs of Mary correspond the roarings of the Dragon, and that these roarings become the more frightful as the triumph is the more brilliant.

1. *Gaude, Maria Virgo, cunctas hæreses sola interemisti in universo mundo. Brev. Rom.*, office of the B. V. Mary.

How well these ideas, at once so rational and so mysterious, so sublime and so simple, explain the relentless, unheard-of struggle of which we are today witnesses! To raise so many furies, what has the Church done? Let us not ask. By proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception she has glorified the eternal enemy of Satan with a glory hitherto unknown. Now, by raising to the utmost limits the triumph of Mary, she has made fall upon the Dragon the last flash of the thunderbolt with which he was threatened six thousand years ago. It is truly today that the virginal foot of the woman weighs with all its weight upon the head of the serpent. That Pius IX suffers unheard-of anguish: he has deserved it.

Persecuted in Eve, her mother, and in all women, her sisters, with a rage of which history can scarcely trace the picture, Mary was persecuted in her own person. From the crib to the cross, what was her life? Woman of sorrows, as her Son was the Man of sorrows, to her belongs the exclusive right to repeat, from generation to generation: “O all ye that pass by the way, attend and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow (1)!” To no other, therefore, is the title of *Queen of Martyrs* so suitable as to her.

1. *O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus.* Lam. i, 12.

Mary dies, and the persecution does not stop before her tomb. In fact, as Mary lived in Eve, her mother and her figure, she lives in the Church, her daughter and her prolongation. We say her daughter; for the divine blood that gave birth to the Church is the blood of Mary (1). We say her prolongation; for like Mary the Church is virgin and mother together. Virgin: never has error sullied her; mother: she brings forth as many Christs as she brings forth Christians: *Christianus alter Christus* [The Christian is another Christ]. Mary was the spouse of the Holy Spirit; the Church has the same privilege. It is He who protects her, who feeds her, who takes care of her and who makes her mother of innumerable children (2).

1. *Beata Virgo Maria, ait Ambrosius, mater est, imo avia Ecclesiæ; quia eum peperit, qui caput et parens est Ecclesiæ.* [The Blessed Virgin Mary, says Ambrose, is mother, nay grandmother, of the Church; because she brought forth Him who is the head and parent of the Church.] Apud Cornelius a Lapide on Apoc. xii, 1.

2. Cornelius a Lapide on Gen. iii, 14; and on Apoc. xiii, 1.

Thus the woman, object of the eternal hatred of the Dragon, is Eve, is Mary, is the Church—or rather is Mary ever living in Eve and in the Church. Woman *par excellence*, in whom a privilege without example unites the most incompatible glories of woman, the integrity of the virgin and the fecundity of the mother; woman of Genesis and of the Apocalypse, placed at the beginning and at the end of all things: be thou blessed! Thy existence gives us the last word of the great struggle which, without thee, no one could understand; just as thy mission, immortal like thy existence, explains the immortality of the infernal hatred of which thou art the object, and we with thee: *Persecutus est mulierem quæ peperit masculum.*

Translator’s notes — Chapter V

1. **Chapter-opening apparatus.** The printed chapter-heading (summary of contents in the original) is given in italics at the head of the chapter, as Gaume prints it.

2. **[Idiom]** *guerre à outrance* — “war to the knife,” i.e., war to the bitter end, without quarter. *clef de voûte* — “keystone.” *coryphées* — leaders of a chorus (from Greek tragedy), i.e., chief spokesmen.

3. **Date/time claims.** “Six mille ans” for the age of the world and “quarante siècles avant sa naissance” reflect Gaume’s traditional Ussher-type chronology; they are translated literally.

4. **“Le pied virginal de la femme pèse de tout son poids…” / Pius IX.** A reference to the definition of the Immaculate Conception (8 Dec. 1854) and to the pope’s troubles in 1864 (the Roman Question); “il les a méritées” means that the pope has *earned* the anguish through glorifying Mary, not that he deserves punishment.

5. **Scripture.** Gen. iii, 15 is quoted by Gaume in the Vulgate form (“ipsa conteret caput tuum,” “she shall crush”), which the English follows (Douay-Rheims: “she shall crush thy head”).

6. **Camerarius** (footnote on serpents hating woman): Joachim Camerarius the Younger, *Symbolorum et emblematum… centuria* / *Meditationes historicae*; Gaume cites “Médit. hist., pars i, cap. ix, p. 31.”

7. **Gal. v, 20.** The reference is as printed (the sense is “service of idols,” Col. iii, 5 or Gal. v, 20).

8. **Terms.** *Satanisme* = “Satanism”; *déification* = “deification”; *prévaricateur* = “prevaricator.”

Chapter VI. The City of Good and the City of Evil

Influence of the superior world on the inferior world, proved by the existence of the City of Good and the City of Evil. — What these two Cities are, considered in themselves. — Every man necessarily belongs to the one or to the other. — Necessity of knowing them thoroughly. — Extent of the City of Evil. — Reply to the objection drawn from it. — Evil constitutes only a disorder more apparent than real. — Glory it procures for God. — The combats of man. — The power of the demon over man comes from man and not from God. — God has intervened in evil only to prevent it, to contain it, and to repair it: proofs.

Of the four truths that form the basis of this work, three are henceforth established. Two opposed spirits dispute the empire of creation; there is a supernatural world; this world is divided into good and evil. The two spirits are: on the one hand, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, spirit of light, of love, and of holiness, having at His orders legions of angels, called by Saint Paul “administering spirits sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation (1).” On the other hand, Lucifer or Satan, the fallen archangel, spirit of darkness, of hatred, and of malice, commanding an army of perverse spirits, ceaselessly occupied in making man the accomplice of their revolt, to make him the companion of their torments (2).

1. Heb. i, 14.

2. Eph. vi, 11–12.

In a work in which there will be constant question of supernatural agents, it was indispensable to establish, before all, these fundamental dogmas, on which, moreover, the true philosophy of history rests. One remains: the influence of the superior world, good and evil, on the inferior world. We have already indicated it, but an indication does not suffice. The thorough study of this double influence, of its characters and its extent, is one of the necessary elements of the history of the Holy Spirit. As in painting the study of shadow is indispensable to the study of light, so in Christian philosophy the knowledge of redemption cannot be separated from that of the fall.

Now the certitude of this new dogma is affirmed by a fact luminous as the sun, palpable as matter, intimate as conscience: we mean the City of Good and the City of Evil. “Two loves,” says Saint Augustine, “have made two cities (1).” The two opposed spirits, with the forces at their disposal, have not remained idle in the inaccessible regions of the superior world. Their presence in the inferior world is permanent. If they remain invisible in themselves, their works are palpable. Such is their influence that each of them has made a world, or, to repeat the word of the great doctor, a city in his own image. As visible as light, as ancient as the world, as extended as the human race, as opposed to one another as day and night, these two cities declare as their authors two essentially different spirits. These two cities are the City of Good and the City of Evil.

1. *Fecerunt itaque civitates duas amores duo; terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei; cœlestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.* [Two loves, therefore, have made two cities: the earthly, the love of self even to the contempt of God; the heavenly, the love of God even to the contempt of self.] S. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, lib. XIV, ch. xxviii; and lib. XIX, ch. xxviii [Gaume’s reference]; and lib. XI, ch. xxxiii, where there is a striking portrait of the two cities.

To know them, they must first of all be considered in themselves. Development of man, composed of a body and a soul, every society presents a palpable side and a spiritual side. In the City of Good as in the City of Evil, the palpable and visible side is the assembly of the men of which they are composed. Under the name of good and wicked, or, as Scripture says, of children of God and children of men, the citizens of these two cities have existed since the origin of time; they reveal themselves on every page of history. We see them, we rub elbows with them; we count ourselves among the one or among the other. To prove this fact would be superfluous. No one, moreover, contests it, except the civilized savage, brutalized enough to deny the distinction of good and evil; but the denial of the brute does not count.

The invisible side of the two cities is the spirit that animates them. By this we understand the founders and governors of the one or the other, and consequently the real, permanent, and universal action of the superior world on the inferior world, of the world of spirits on the world of bodies.

Of the two cities, one is called the *City of Good*. The reason is that its founder and its king is the Spirit of good; its governors and guardians, the good angels; its citizens, all the men who work at their deification, in conformity with the plan traced by God Himself. This city is *universal order*. It is order, because it takes for the rule of its wills the very will of God, sovereign order. It is order, because its thought, co-ordinating the finite with the infinite, the present with the future, tends to eternity, object of all its efforts and all its aspirations. Now eternity is order, or the immutable repose of beings in their center. It is universal order, because in this city everything is in its place: God above and man below. This city is *Catholicism*. Immense and glorious family, born with time, composed of the angels and of the faithful of all centuries, whose members, today separated but not disunited, form the Church of earth, the Church of Purgatory, the Church of Heaven, until the day when, merging in a fraternal embrace, these three Churches will form but one Church eternally triumphant.

The other is the *City of Evil*. It is so named because its founder and its king is the Spirit of evil; its governors, the fallen angels; its citizens, all the men who work at their pretended deification, in conformity with the rules given by Satan. This city is *disorder*, universal disorder. It is disorder because it takes itself for its own rule, without regard to the will of God. It is disorder because, breaking in its thought the relations between the finite and the infinite, between the present and the future, it concentrates itself within the limits of time, whose enjoyments form the sole object of its aspirations and its labors. It is universal disorder, because nothing there is in its place: man above, God below. This city is *Satanism*. Immense and hideous family, born of the angelic revolt, composed of the demons and of the wicked of all countries and all centuries, ever in fever for liberty, and ever a slave, ever seeking happiness and ever unhappy, until the day when the last thunderclap of divine wrath will make it re-enter violently into order, by hurling it entire into the burning abysses of eternity. There, for not having wished to glorify eternal love, it will glorify inexorable justice (1).

1. [Gaume's note repeats the quotation from Augustine given above; see *De Civ. Dei*, XIX, xxviii; XI, xxxiii.]

One sees that, as there are not three spirits, there are not three cities; there are only two; and these two cities embrace the inferior world and the superior world, time and eternity. Hence, for every intelligent creature, angel or man, the pitiless alternative of belonging to the one or to the other, on this side of the tomb and beyond it. "Whatever he does," reason, experience, and faith cry to us with untiring voice, "man lives necessarily under the empire of the Holy Spirit, or under the empire of Satan. Willy-nilly, he is a citizen of the City of Good, or a citizen of the City of Evil (1)." Free to give himself a master, he is not free to have none. If he withdraws from the action of the Holy Spirit, he does not become independent; he falls, in a proportion analogous to his defection, under the action of Satan. What is true of the individual is true of the family, of the nation, of humanity itself.

1. *Quisque enim aut Spiritu sancto plenus est, aut Spiritu immundo; neque utrumque horum caveri potest, quin alterum accidere necesse sit.* [Each one is either full of the Holy Spirit or of the unclean spirit; and neither of these can be avoided without the other necessarily befalling.] *Constit. apostol.*, lib. IV, ch. xxvi. Hence the saying of Saint Hilary: "Where the Holy Spirit is not, there is the Devil. *Ubi non est Spiritus Dei, ibi Diabolus.*"

To know the two cities thoroughly—dwelling of life and dwelling of death, vestibule of Heaven and vestibule of Hell—is therefore of supreme interest for man. To know them thoroughly is to know them in their government, in their history, in their works, and in their end. To initiate us into this decisive knowledge, so rare in our days, will be the object of the following chapters.

But before approaching it, there is a point that must be cleared up. Two cities share the world, and the more extensive is the City of Evil. According to the most recent statistics, the earth would be peopled by twelve hundred million inhabitants. Of this number there are scarcely two hundred million Catholics. All the rest, externally at least, live and die under the domination of the evil Spirit. Nothing proves that this proportion has not always been what it is today. Before the Incarnation of the Word it was even much stronger in favor of Satan. A stone of scandal for the weak, a war-horse [*cheval de bataille*—a favorite argument] for the impious: what is this mystery? and how reconcile it with the idea of God and the teachings of the faith?

In order to leave no uneasiness in minds, it seems to us necessary to smooth away this difficulty now, which the sequel of our work would only enlarge. All that we pretend, and all that we may rightly be asked, is not to explain what is inexplicable, but to show that the division of the human race between the good and the evil Spirit presents no contradiction with the attributes of God and the revealed doctrines. Now, to make the difficulty vanish, that suffices.

That the formidable power of the demon over man and over creatures is a mystery, we agree. But what does that prove? Within us, around us, in nature as well as in religion, is not everything mystery? "We comprehend the whole of nothing," said Montaigne, "and we never shall." Works of God, in every point nature and religion touch the infinite. To comprehend the infinite is as possible to man as to put the Ocean into a nutshell. But the mystery of the fact takes nothing from the certainty of the fact. The most intrepid unbeliever himself confesses it. Each of his breaths is an act of faith in incomprehensible mysteries. The instant when he would cease to believe in them, he would cease to live.

To ask why God permitted this terrible power? why within such limits rather than others? impertinent questions. Who is man, to ask God for a reason for His conduct, and say to Him: Why hast Thou done this? If he dares, woe to him, for it is written: "He that is a searcher of majesty shall be overwhelmed by glory (1)." Twice woe if he dared add: Since I do not understand, I refuse to believe. Posited as a principle, such a pretension is the suicide of the intelligence. The intelligence lives on truth; every truth contains a mystery. To pretend to admit only what one understands is to condemn oneself to admit nothing. To admit nothing is more than brutishness: it is nothingness.

1. *Qui scrutator est majestatis opprimetur a gloria.* Prov. xxv, 27.

Nevertheless, when studied without prejudice, the power of the demon and the culpable obedience of man to his perverse inspirations lose a part of their mysterious obscurity. One sees first that they constitute a purely passing disorder, more apparent than real; one sees next that they have nothing contrary to the divine perfections.

A passing disorder. The struggle of the Spirit of evil against the Spirit of good has for its limits the duration of time. Compared with the eternity that precedes it and the eternity that follows it, time is less than a day. In order to reason rightly about the providential order, one must therefore unite time to eternity; just as, to judge soundly of a thing, one considers it not at an isolated point but in its whole. According to this rule of wisdom,

the disorder that is measured by the duration of time is, relative to the providential order in its generality, what a fleeting cloud is on a horizon resplendent with light.

A disorder more apparent than real. The principal end of Creation and of the Incarnation, as of all the external works of God, is His glory (1). The secondary end is the salvation of man. The glory of God is the manifestation of His attributes: power, wisdom, justice, goodness. Whether the struggle of good and evil exists or not; whether it be favorable to man or unfavorable; whether man be lost or saved, God will have attained His essential end no less. Hell sings the glory of God with no less eloquence than heaven. If the one proclaims goodness, the other proclaims justice; and justice is no less glorious an attribute of God than goodness (2).

1. *Universa propter semetipsum operatus est Dominus.* [The Lord hath made all things for Himself.] Prov. xvi, 4. *Propter me, propter me faciam, ut non blasphemer; et gloriam meam alteri non dabo.* [For My own sake, for My own sake will I do it, that I be not blasphemed; and My glory I will not give to another.] Is. xlviii, 11.

2. *Divina intentio non frustratur nec in his qui peccant, nec in his qui salvantur. Utrumque enim eventum Deus præcognoscit, et ex utroque habet gloriam, dum hos ex sua bonitate salvat, illos ex sua justitia punit. Ipsa vero creatura intellectualis, dum peccat, a fine debito deficit. Nec hoc est inconveniens in quacumque creatura sublimi. Sic enim creatura intellectualis instituta est a Deo, ut in ejus arbitrio positum sit agere propter finem.* [The divine intention is frustrated neither in those who sin nor in those who are saved. For God foreknows each outcome, and from each He has glory, saving these from His goodness, punishing those from His justice. The intellectual creature itself, when it sins, falls short of its due end. Nor is this unfitting in any lofty creature; for the intellectual creature is so instituted by God that it is placed in its own power to act for an end.] S. Th., I, q. 63, art. 7, ad 2. — [Gaume adds:] Doubtless God saw, and saw from all eternity, the fall of the angels and of man; but this vision harmed in no way the liberty of the angels and of man. The angels and man fell, not because God saw it, but God saw it because they fell. Otherwise He would be the author of evil; He would be evil. That God's eternal vision does not harm man's liberty is easy to show. I see a man walking. My seeing him imposes on him no necessity of walking. Notwithstanding my seeing, he can cease to walk. So the foreknowledge, or rather the *sight*, of God imposes no necessity on free acts. In spite of this sight, I am free to cease the acts I am doing, and even to do the contrary. In a word, God willed that the angels and man should be free, in order that they might be capable of merit. We all feel that we are free. Therefore God's foreknowledge has in no way hampered the liberty of the angels or of Adam, and in no way hampers ours.

As to the salvation of man, God always renders it possible, and obtains it far more gloriously by war than by peace. In the present order, a single just man who is saved, says Saint Augustine somewhere, procures more glory for God than a thousand sinners who are lost can take away from Him. To be lost, it suffices for man to abandon himself to his corrupt inclinations; whereas to be saved he must overcome them. A moment's reflection shows all the glory that redounds to God from such a victory.

What is man, and who are his enemies? Man is a reed, and a reed naturally inclined to evil. All nature, in revolt against him, seems leagued to crush him. Around him, myriads of malevolent or troublesome animals, with deadly tooth or still deadlier venom, lie in wait night and day for his repose, his goods, and his life. Above him, the sky that lights him, the air he breathes, become in turn ice or furnace, and put the preservation of his days at the price of wearying cares and continual precautions. In prospect there appears to him, at the end of his sorrowful career, the tomb with its sad mysteries of decomposition. Meanwhile sickness in all forms, with its innumerable train of pains each sharper than the last, besieges him from the cradle and drives him incessantly to irritation, to murmuring, sometimes to blasphemy and even to despair. Instead of lightening his burden, the companions of his perils and his labors too often serve only to aggravate it. Half of the human race seems created to torment the other. Condemned to cultivate an earth bristling with

thorns, he eats a bread almost always watered with sweat or tears. Like the convict, he drags painfully, along the hard road of life, the long chain of his deceived hopes. Today rich and surrounded; tomorrow poor and forsaken. His physical existence is only a continual succession of disappointments, of humiliating servitudes, of labors and pains, and consequently of terrible temptations.

While without, everything fights against him, he is obliged to sustain within a still more redoubtable war. Enveloped by invisible enemies, relentless, untiring, of a malice and a power whose limits are unknown to him, to crown his danger he bears within himself intelligences night and day attentive to betray him. Snares of every kind are set for each of his senses, and even good becomes for him an occasion of falling: such is man (1).

1. Such he has always been. His sad condition, depicted by Saint Augustine, will, it is to be hoped, leave a large place for mercy. *Vita hæc, vita misera, vita caduca, vita incerta, vita laboriosa, vita immunda, vita domina malorum, regina superborum, plena miseriis et erroribus… quam humores tumidant, dolores extenuant et ardores exsiccant, aer morbidat, escæ inflant, jejunia macerant, joci dissolvunt, tristitiæ consumunt, sollicitudo coarctat, securitas hebetat, divitiæ inflant et jactant, paupertas dejicit, juventus extollit, senectus incurvat, infirmitas frangit, mœror deprimit. Et his malis omnibus mors furibunda succedit.* [This life, a wretched life, a perishable life, an uncertain life, a toilsome life, an unclean life, a life that is mistress of evils, queen of the proud, full of miseries and errors… which humors swell, pains wear down, heats dry up, the air sickens, foods puff up, fasts waste, jests dissolve, sorrows consume, anxiety constricts, security dulls, riches inflate and make boast, poverty casts down, youth uplifts, old age bows, infirmity breaks, grief depresses. And to all these evils furious death succeeds.] *Meditat.*, ch. xxi. [Pseudo-Augustine, *Meditationes.*]

Well then! this being so fragile, so fought over, so exposed to perish that the thickness of a hair, a simple evil thought, separates him from the abyss, will struggle for sixty years without falling; or, if he falls sometimes, he rises again, takes courage, and in spite of nature, in spite of hell, in spite of himself, remains victorious in the last combat. To repel the enemy is only a part of his glory. See this son of dust and corruption taking the offensive and, rising by the heroism of his virtues to the likeness of God; then carrying the war into the very heart of the enemy's empire, overthrowing the citadels of Satan, snatching from him his victims, planting the standard of the cross on the ruins of his temples, healing what he had wounded, saving what he had lost, and, at the price of his blood joyfully shed, making humility, charity, virginity flourish in millions of hearts hitherto slaves of pride, of selfishness, and of voluptuousness.

This spectacle of a heroism which the angels admire and of which they would be jealous, if jealousy found access in heaven, would never have taken place without the struggle. Thanks to it, all the centuries have seen it, all will see it, and on the day of the supreme manifestations the assembled nations will greet with immense acclamations this magnificent triumph of grace, which God Himself will crown with an eternal glory, by making the conqueror sit upon His own throne (1).

1. *Qui vicerit dabo ei sedere mecum in throno meo.* [To him that shall overcome, I will grant to sit with Me in My throne.] Apoc. iii, 21.

Moreover, it must be well observed that it is not God who gave the demon his terrible empire over man; it is man himself. The power of the demon comes from the very excellence of his nature. An angel, sin made him lose nothing of his natural gifts, neither of his strength, nor of his intelligence, nor of his prodigious activity. The natural empire he has over us he exercises with more or less extent, according to the divine counsels, and too often according to the permission we ourselves have the imprudence to give him. In the first case, the power of the demon, as is seen by the example of Job and of the apostles (1), is counterbalanced by that of grace, so that victory is always possible for us and the combat itself always advantageous. "God is faithful," says Saint Paul, "and He will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able; but will make also

with temptation issue, that you may be able to bear it (2).” In the second case man must blame himself alone for the tyrannical power of the demon.

1. Job i, 12; Luke xxii, 31.

2. 1 Cor. x, 13.

Thus Adam knew the angelic world much better than we (1). At the moment of the temptation he knew perfectly what the redoubtable power of Lucifer was and to what tyrant he was selling himself by disobeying God. He possessed, moreover, all the means of remaining faithful and knew the motives for it. In order to honor him on a level with the angels, God had given him free will. The Creator, whose wisdom had attached the supernatural beatitude of the angelic spirits to a meritorious effort, was He obliged to create man impeccable, or to crown him without combat? Now, in spite of the lights of his reason, in spite of the cry of his conscience, in spite of the help of grace, Adam disobeyed God to obey the demon, and he became his slave. In all this God is in no way concerned. The tyrannical power of the demon over the first man is the deed of the first man. The temptation of Adam is the type of all the others. When we succumb to them, we voluntarily give our enemy a hold upon us. God has nothing to do with it, save for the outrage He receives from our unjust preference (2).

1. S. Th., I, q. 94, art. 2, corp.

2. God is not the author of the evil that stains, but of the evil that punishes. This axiom translates Saint Thomas: *Deus est auctor mali pœnæ, non autem mali culpæ.* [God is the author of the evil of punishment, not of the evil of fault.] I, q. xlviii, art. 6, corp.

What am I saying? In the evil that man does to himself by delivering himself to the demon, God intervenes to prevent it and to repair it.

He prevents it. In order to shelter Adam and his sons from the seductions of the tempter, He provides them with all the means of resistance, and announces to them clearly the inevitable consequences of their unfaithfulness: “If you disobey, you shall die: *morte moriemini*.” Adam braves this threat; his descendants imitate him. The deluge comes to avenge God outraged, and man persists in his revolt. Scarcely is the catastrophe past than the descendants of Noe turn their backs on the Lord and with light heart [*de gaieté de cœur*—of their own free, gay will, without constraint] give themselves to the worship of the demon. In spite of new threats and new punishments Satan becomes the god and king of this world. What the sinners of old did, we see done by the sinners of today. Whom should they blame for the formidable power of the demon and their deplorable slavery?

I see a father full of tenderness and experience who says to his eldest son: Do not leave me. If thou departest from me, thou wilt fall into an abyss, at the bottom of which is a monster ready to devour thee. The son disobeys, falls into the abyss, and becomes the prey of the monster. The example of the eldest brother does not make the other children wiser, and they fall into the abyss where the monster devours them. Is it to their father that these children can impute their misfortune? In this father let us see God; in these unruly children let us see Adam, let us see all the generations of sinners who have followed one another since the original fall. It is therefore blasphemy to make God responsible for our falls and for the tyrannical power of the demon over the guilty world.

He repairs it. Man has scarcely sold himself when, to redeem him, God gives His own Son. Regenerating man by His blood, this adorable Son becomes a second Adam, stock of a new human race, restored in all its lost rights. As it suffices to be a son of the first Adam to be a slave of the demon, it suffices, to cease to be so, to become a son of the second Adam (1). Thus, in the power left to the demon by infinite wisdom one must see only two things: the first, a condition of the trial, necessary to the conquest of the eternal kingdom; the second, the greatness of the reward, which will be the fruit of a victory so dearly bought.

1. *Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur.* [As in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.] 1 Cor. xv, 22.

It remains to be known how one becomes a son of the second Adam, and whether all can become so. Man is son of man by a human generation: he becomes son of God by a divine generation. This generation is accomplished in baptism. Here reappears, as an insoluble objection, the immense empire of the demon at all epochs of history. On the one hand, God wills the salvation of all men; He wills it with a positive will, since His Son died for all men. Now salvation is not only the possession of a natural happiness after death, nor exemption from the pains of hell, but supernatural happiness, which consists in the intuitive vision of God (1). On the other hand, no one can be saved without being baptized (2). How reconcile, with the ancient state of the human race and the present statistics of the globe, the possibility of baptism for all men? What means have had, and still have, of being baptized so many billions of human creatures wholly foreign to Christianity? Must it be admitted, for example, that all children born for six thousand years outside Christianity and dead before being able to sin are eternally deprived of the sight of God? If it is so, how establish that God has sufficiently provided for the repair of evil?

1. *Omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.* [Who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.] 1 Tim. ii, 4. — *Pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, ut et qui vivunt jam non sibi vivant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit.* [Christ died for all, that they also who live may not now live to themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again.] 2 Cor. v, 15. — *Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui secundum misericordiam suam magnam regeneravit nos in spem vivam, per resurrectionem Jesu Christi ex mortuis, in hæreditatem incorruptibilem et incontaminatam et immarcescibilem, conservatam in cælis in vobis.* [Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to His great mercy hath regenerated us unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that cannot fade, reserved in heaven for you.] 1 Pet. i, 3–4. — *Deus autem omnis gratiæ, qui vocavit nos in æternam suam gloriam in Christo Jesu.* [But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto His eternal glory in Christ Jesus.] Ibid., v, 10. — The aim of redemption is to give back to man, with usury, all that he lost by original sin. Now Adam, that is, the whole man, was constituted in a state of supernatural justice whose term is the clear vision of God in heaven. Therefore the fruit of redemption is to give back to the whole man the supernatural state and the heaven to which it leads. Council of Trent, sess. v, *De Peccat. orig.*

2. *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei.* [Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.] John iii, 5.

A mystery, all that. But, we repeat, a truth is no less certain for being mysterious. Now that God has sufficiently provided for the repair of evil, by giving each man all the means of saving himself, is a truth as certain as the very existence of God. To admit that it is otherwise would be to admit a God without truth, without power, without wisdom, without infinite goodness; a God who wills the end without willing the means; a God who is not God, a God of nothingness. This answer of plain common sense is peremptory, and one might stop there. We shall nevertheless attempt some explanations in the following chapter.

Translator's notes — Chapter VI

1. **"Cité du bien / Cité du mal."** Here Gaume names the two cities formally; I capitalize "City of Good" and "City of Evil" and hold to this for the rest of the work.

2. **[Idiom]** *cheval de bataille* — literally "war-horse"; a favorite argument one rides again and again. *de gaieté de cœur* — freely, with light heart, as if for pleasure, without constraint. *bon gré, mal gré* — "willy-nilly." *Pierre de scandale* — "stone of scandal" (stumbling-block; Rom. ix, 33).

3. **Statistics.** Gaume's "douze cents millions d'habitants… à peine deux cent millions de catholiques" are the figures of c. 1864 (1.2 billion; 200 million); translated as printed.

4. **Montaigne.** Quoted as in the original: "Nous ne comprenons le tout de rien" (cf. *Essais* II, xii); the sense is that we grasp nothing in its entirety.

5. **Pseudo-Augustine.** The passage beginning *Vita hæc, vita misera.…* is from the *Meditationes* ascribed to Augustine (cited here as "Méditat., c. xxi"); it is a medieval compilation, not authentic Augustine—Gaume cites it as Augustine.

6. **References.** Isaias xlviii, 11 (Vulgate); Prov. xxv, 27; 1 Tim. ii, 4.

Chapter VII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

New proofs of the repair of evil and of the possibility of salvation for all men. — Catholic doctrine: circumcision, faith, baptism. — What faith is necessary for salvation and for the remission of original sin. — Doctrine of Saint Augustine and of Saint Thomas. — Of children dead before birth. — Of adults. — Summary of the proofs and answers.

"To be saved," teaches Catholic theology, "is to be incorporated into Jesus Christ, the new Adam. Even before the Incarnation of the Word and from the origin of the world, salvation was possible only on this condition. It is written: *There is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved.* But before the Incarnation men were incorporated into Jesus Christ by faith in His future coming. Of this faith circumcision was the sign. Before circumcision, it is by faith alone and by sacrifice, sign of the faith of the ancient fathers, that men were incorporated into Jesus Christ. Since the Gospel, it is by baptism. The very sacrament of baptism was therefore not always necessary for salvation; but the faith of which baptism is the sacramental sign has always been necessary (1)."

1. …*Et ideo licet ipsum sacramentum baptismi non semper fuerit necessarium ad salutem; fides tamen, cujus baptismus sacramentum est, semper necessaria fuit.* [And therefore, although the sacrament of baptism itself was not always necessary for salvation, yet the faith of which baptism is the sacrament was always necessary.] S. Th., III, q. lxviii, art. 1, corp.

One sees that circumcision was only a local and passing sign. Exclusively proper to the Jewish race, it was in no way obligatory on other peoples. Its very application extended only to the sons and not to the daughters of the Hebrews. For the expiation of original sin, the nations foreign to the posterity of Abraham remained, like the Jews themselves with regard to their daughters, subject to the primitive condition of the law of nature: faith manifested by sacrifice.

"The time anterior to the Messias and the time posterior," says a learned commentator of Saint Thomas, "are to each other as the indeterminate to the determinate. Before circumcision there was, for the remission of original sin, no determinate sacrifice, neither as to matter, nor as to time, nor as to place. Parents could, for this purpose, offer the sacrifice they wished, when they wished, and where they wished. Circumcision determined the nature and the time of the sacrifice by which the sons of the Hebrews were to be purified from the original stain.

"The eighth day after birth was fixed for this purification, which could not be anticipated. If, before that time, there was danger of death, the parents were put back under the conditions of the law of nature and could purify the child by another means. Which makes Saint Thomas say: 'As before the institution of circumcision faith alone in the future Redeemer sufficed to purify children and adults, so also was it after circumcision. Only, before it, no special sign, witness of this faith, was required. It is nevertheless probable that on behalf of newborn infants in danger of death the faithful parents offered some prayers to the Lord, or used a certain blessing or some other sign of faith, as adults did for themselves and as was practiced for girls, who were not

subject to circumcision (1).’”

1. *…Ante vero octavum diem in casu necessitatis remittebantur parentes ad legem naturæ, ut scilicet per aliud sacrificium providere possent masculo.* [But before the eighth day, in case of necessity, the parents were sent back to the law of nature, so that they could provide for the male child by another sacrifice.] Whence S. Thomas, III, q. lxx, art. 4, ad 2: *Quod sicut ante institutionem circumcisionis, sola fides Christi futuri justificabat tam pueros, quam adultos: ita etiam et circumcisione data. Sed antea non requirebatur aliquod signum protestativum hujus fidei, quia nondum homines fideles seorsum ab infidelibus cœperant adunari ad cultum unius Dei. Probabile tamen est, quod parentes fideles pro parvulis natis, et maxime in periculo existentibus, aliquas preces Deo funderent, vel aliquam benedictionem eis adhiberent, quod erat quoddam signaculum fidei, sicut adulti pro seipsis preces et sacrificia offerebant; prout etiam parentes pro filiabus quæ non erant subjectæ sacramento circumcisionis.* Viguier, *Instit.*, ch. xv, § 2, vers. 3, p. 458.

What is this faith which, among the Jews before circumcision, and among the Gentiles until the Gospel, sufficed to incorporate men into the second Adam? It consisted essentially in the more or less explicit belief in a true God, redeemer of the world: a belief manifested by an exterior sign, sacrifice, blessing, prayer (1). Now who could prove that this imperfect faith, God had not preserved among the pagans in the degree sufficient for salvation? As regards the existence of one God: “Never,” says Saint Augustine, “did the nations fall so low in idolatry as to lose the idea of one true God, creator of all things (2).”

1. *Fides autem nostra in duobus principaliter consistit. Primo quidem in vera Dei cognitione, secundum illud Heb. xi: Accedentem ad Deum oportet credere quia est. Secundo, in mysterio incarnationis Christi, secundum illud Joannis xiv: Creditis in Deum, et in me credite.* [Our faith consists principally in two things: first, in the true knowledge of God, according to Heb. xi: “He that cometh to God must believe that He is”; second, in the mystery of the incarnation of Christ, according to John xiv: “You believe in God; believe also in Me.”] S. Th., II–II, q. clxxiv, art. 6, corp. [the Summa passage is II–II, q. 174, a. 6].

2. *Gentes non usque adeo ad falsos deos esse delapsas, ut opinionem omitterent unius veri Dei, ex quo est omnis qualiscumque natura.* [The nations did not so far sink to false gods as to omit the notion of one true God, from whom is every nature of whatever kind.] *Contr. Faust.*, lib. xx, n. 19; cf. Lactantius, *De errore.*

As to the redeeming God: is not Our Lord called the Desired of all nations (1)? One does not desire what one does not know and what one does not need. With the consciousness of their fall, all the nations of the ancient world, the Gentiles as well as the Jews, therefore had faith in the future Redeemer. On this consoling truth let us hear the incomparable Saint Thomas. After recalling that God wills the salvation of all men, he adds: “Now the necessary condition of salvation is the Incarnation of the Word. It was therefore necessary that the mystery of the Incarnation be known in some manner at all times and by all men. This knowledge, however, varied according to times and persons. Before sinning, Adam had explicit faith in the mystery of the Incarnation, as ordained for the consummation of eternal glory, but not as ordained for deliverance from sin by the passion of the Redeemer…

“After sin, the mystery of the Incarnation was believed with an explicit faith, not only as to the Incarnation of the Word, but also as to the passion and the resurrection, which were to deliver man from sin and death. Otherwise men would not have prefigured the passion of Jesus Christ by sacrifices, whether before or after Moses. The most instructed knew perfectly the signification of these sacrifices. The others, believing these sacrifices instituted by God Himself, had by their means a veiled knowledge of the future Redeemer. More obscure in remote times, this knowledge became clearer as the Messias drew near.

“As to the pagans: the revelation of the mystery of the Incarnation was made to a great number. Witness, among others, Job, who says: *I know that my Redeemer liveth.* Witness the Sibyl cited by Saint Augustine. Witness that ancient Roman tomb, discovered under the reign of Constantine and of the Empress Irene, in which was found a man having a plate of gold on his breast with this inscription: *Christ shall be born of a*

virgin, and I believe in Him. O sun, thou shalt see me again under the reign of Constantine and Irene. If there are some who were saved without this revelation, they were not, however, saved without faith in the Mediator. Doubtless they had not explicit faith, but they had implicit faith in divine Providence, believing that God was the liberator of men, by means known to Him and manifested to those whom His Spirit had deigned to instruct (2)."

1. *Movebo gentes, et veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus.* [I will move all nations: and the Desired of all nations shall come.] Agg. ii, 8.

2. *Via autem hominibus veniendi ad beatitudinem est mysterium incarnationis et passionis Christi. Dicitur enim Act. iv: Non est aliud nomen datum hominibus in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri. Et ideo mysterium incarnationis Christi aliqualiter oportuit omni tempore esse creditum apud omnes: diversimode tamen secundum diversitatem temporum et personarum… Dicendum quod multis gentilium facta fuit revelatio de Christo… Si tamen aliqui salvati fuerunt, quibus revelatio non fuit facta, non fuerunt salvati absque fide mediatoris: quia etsi non habuerunt fidem explicitam, habuerunt tamen fidem implicitam in divina Providentia, credentes Deum esse liberatorem hominum secundum modos sibi placitos, et secundum quod aliquibus veritatem cognoscentibus Spiritus revelasset… secundum illud Job xxxv: Qui docet nos super jumenta terræ.* [The way for men to come to beatitude is the mystery of the incarnation and passion of Christ. For it is said in Acts iv: "There is no other name given to men whereby we must be saved." And therefore the mystery of Christ's incarnation had in some way to be believed at all times by all, though diversely according to the diversity of times and persons… It must be said that revelation about Christ was made to many of the Gentiles… Yet if some were saved to whom revelation was not made, they were not saved without faith in the Mediator: for although they had not explicit faith, they had implicit faith in divine Providence, believing God to be the liberator of men in ways pleasing to Him, and according as the Spirit had revealed it to some who knew the truth… according to Job xxxv: "Who teacheth us above the beasts of the earth."] Part II–II, q. ii, art. 7, corp. and ad 3; Baronius, *Ann.* 780, n. 12.

Moreover, one finds at all epochs and in all climates the use of sacrifices, purifications, adorations, prayers, preserved among pagan peoples as among the Jews. Who could affirm that none of these acts, manifestation of some faith, had in no circumstance a more or less understood relation with the expiation of sin in general and of original sin in particular? Is it not written of the centurion Cornelius, still a pagan, that his prayers and his alms were pleasing to God (1)? Speaking to the pagans of his time, buried in the grossest idolatry, does not Tertullian say to them: "In prosperity the soul fixes its eyes on the Capitol; but in adversity it lifts them toward heaven, where it knows that the true God dwells"?

1. *Cornelî, exaudita est oratio tua, et eleemosynæ tuæ commemoratæ sunt in conspectu Dei.* [Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thy alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God.] Acts x, 31.

Was it even of an invariably absolute necessity that the child be born in order to benefit from the faith of his parents? "It is true," answers a great theologian, "one reads nowhere that sacrifices were offered or received for children still in the maternal womb. Thus, by virtue of a providential order legally established, no child before birth ever obtained by exterior sacrifices the remission of original sin. Several received this grace by a special privilege, like Jeremias and Saint John the Baptist. Nevertheless one must disapprove neither the prayers, nor the vows, nor the exterior good works of the parents, for their children born or to be born and in danger of death; for God has not bound His omnipotence to the sacraments.

"They can therefore pray that He may deign, in His infinite mercy, to lead them to baptism, or to remit original sin to them. Then God, who is infinitely good, will be able to save them. It will be, not by virtue of a law, but solely by grace. Hence, unless there is a revelation, one must not affirm that they are saved, and their bodies must not be buried in holy ground (1)."

1. *Non improbantur tamen preces et orationes ac exteriores prostrationes parentum pro filiis aut filiabus in utero aut extra uterum in periculo mortis existentibus, eo quod Deus non alligavit virtutem suam sacramentis. Ideo orare possunt ut dignetur eos Deus ex sua infinita misericordia ad sacramentum Baptismi perducere, vel peccatum originale remittere. Tunc Deus, qui est liberalissimus, poterit eos salvare. Sed hoc non erit ex lege, sed ex mera gratia. Et ideo nisi Deus revelaverit, non debent asseri salvari, neque eorum corpora in loco sacro sepeliri.* Viguier, ch. xv, § 2, vers. 3, pp. 457–458.

How far did, and how far does still, extend this possibility of salvation for the children in question, as for the others, by the prayers, good works, sacrifices—in a word, the faith—of the parents even though idolaters? Here again who can answer? All these doubts, and others besides, which can, without injuring Catholic teaching, be resolved in the sense of mercy, permit us to diminish—perhaps infinitely more than one thinks—the number of the subjects, and above all of the eternal victims, of the evil Spirit. If it needed it, that alone would suffice to justify, in the eyes of every impartial man, the infinite wisdom and the infinite goodness of the eternal Lover of souls, above all of the souls of children (1).

1. *Parcis autem omnibus, quoniam tua sunt, Domine, qui amas animas.* [But Thou sparest all, because they are Thine, O Lord, who lovest souls.] Wis. xi, 27. — *Sinite parvulos venire ad me, et ne prohibueritis eos; talium est enim regnum cælorum.* [Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven.] Mark x, 14.

[Gaume's note continues with the opinions of some theologians on the salvation of children dead without baptism:] "Cajetan therefore maintained that the children of faithful Christians, to whom baptism cannot be applied, can be saved, not only by a singular privilege of God, but by the common and ordinary law of God, through the vows and prayers of the parents; which opinion, though not condemned by the Church as heretical, was nevertheless disapproved by a Congregation of Theologians, and by order of Pius V struck out of the works of Cajetan printed at Rome. Others, with J. Gerson, think that God, entreated by the most efficacious prayers of the parents, grants sanctifying grace, not indeed by the ordinary law but in an extraordinary way and from special mercy, to infants who do not reach baptism. Yet in either opinion the dogmas of original sin and of the necessity of baptism seem not to remain sufficiently firm and entire. But both dogmas remain plainly untouched in the opinion of those who say that infants not baptized by men are baptized by Angels, whom God associates with infants not so much for the good of the body as for the good of the soul; or that some other means, not disclosed to us for most wise reasons, has been established by which baptism is supplied in infants, as it can be supplied in adults, by desire. Knoll, *Institut. Theolog.*, part iv, sect. ii, ch. i, art. 5. — See also Sfondrati, *Nodus prædestinationis enucleatus.*"

As to adults born in ancient paganism? Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls: all had, to withdraw themselves from the empire of Satan, the essential knowledge of the primitive law; grace to fulfil it or to repent of having violated it; finally, the baptism of desire: which suffices for salvation. Let us hear Saint Thomas again. Taking the most decisive example, that of a savage born in the midst of forests, who has never heard of baptism, the great doctor teaches a doctrine followed by the whole school. He says that: "If, at the moment when his reason awakens, this savage turns toward an honest end, God gives him grace, and original sin is effaced. If he does not persevere, repentance remains to him, so that in both hypotheses this poor savage, the last of human beings, will not be damned, except by his own fault (1)."

1. *De insulari vero, ad quem non pervenit baptismi notitia, secundum fundamenta S. Thomæ, dicendum quod si in primo instanti usus rationis convertat se in finem honestum, Deus infundit gratiam, et remittitur peccatum originale. Et si perseveret in gratia et non opponat impedimentum peccati mortalis, Deus, qui non deficit in necessariis, illuminabit eum ante mortem interius vel exterius, nec patietur eum mori absque sacramento baptismi; vel, si faciat, supplebit effectum sacramenti: non enim alligavit virtutem suam sacramentis, quia cum talis ex illa conversione consecutus sit gratiam, si perseveret, non privabitur illa sine culpa, et jam videtur habere baptismum quodammodo in voto, licet confuse, propter ignorantiam*

invincibilem. [As to the islander to whom no notice of baptism has come: according to the foundations of St. Thomas, it must be said that if at the first instant of the use of reason he turns himself toward an honest end, God infuses grace, and original sin is remitted. And if he perseveres in grace and puts no obstacle of mortal sin, God, who fails not in things necessary, will enlighten him before death inwardly or outwardly, nor will He suffer him to die without the sacrament of baptism; or, if He does, He will supply the effect of the sacrament: for He has not bound His power to the sacraments, since such a man, having obtained grace by that conversion, if he perseveres, will not be deprived of it without fault, and he already seems to have baptism in a certain way by desire, though confusedly, because of invincible ignorance.] Viguier, *Institutions*, ch. xvi, p. 483.

Such were, in general, the means of salvation given to the pagans before the coming of the Redeemer. Has the Incarnation, mystery of infinite mercy, made worse the condition of the infidels of today, placed in the same conditions as those of old? Who would dare maintain it?

From these explanations the following corollaries flow rigorously:

1. If the greater part of the inhabitants of the globe have never belonged to the visible empire of the Holy Spirit, or, as Theology says, to the *body* of the Church, no one can prove that a single one has been, or still is, in absolute impossibility of belonging to the invisible empire of the Holy Spirit, which is called the *soul* of the Church, which suffices to be saved. The reason is that if we know the exterior means by which God applies to men the merits of the Redeemer, the innumerable interior means escape us; and we must say with Job: “Although Thou conceal these things in Thy heart, yet I know that Thou rememberest all things that live (1).”

1. Job x, 13.

2. If, in spite of this deduction, the multitude of the subjects of Satan remains so considerable, it must be imputed not to God, but to man’s free will. Now no one can prove that God was bound to create man impeccable, or that the greater part of men have the serious will to be saved.

3. It is well established that God’s foreknowledge in no way hampers the liberty of man, and that God has nothing to do with the evil man did himself by selling himself to the demon, no more than the father of the prodigal with the shames and miseries of his rebellious son. God intervened only to prevent evil, to contain it, and to repair it. If man’s free will did not put obstacle in the way, the repair itself would surpass the ruin, in depth and in extent.

4. God wills the salvation of all men without exception. Salvation is the eternal enjoyment of God by the beatific vision. God wills it with a serious will, since He reserves eternal torments for those who have not accomplished it. He has therefore provided for all men, at all times, the means of saving themselves, so that no one will be damned except by his own fault.

5. To know how, in certain particular cases, these means of salvation are applicable and applied—this is the unknown of the problem. Now in dogma as in geometry, disengaged or not, the unknown exists no less. One thing therefore remains mathematically certain: that despite the mysterious darkness in which He envelops the secrets of His mercy, God, being infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, will wrong no one.

Such is the soft pillow on which sleep in peace both the faith of the Christian and the reason of the man capable of linking two ideas: *In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam* [In peace in the selfsame I will sleep and I will rest—Ps. iv, 9].

Before these elucidations, however incomplete they may be, the difficulty we had to resolve vanishes, and with it the uneasiness it might cast in minds. Nothing therefore prevents us from continuing our march and passing to the thorough study of the two Cities.

Translator's notes — Chapter VII

1. **Theological terms.** *âme de l'Église / corps de l'Église* — "soul of the Church / body of the Church" (the classical distinction between visible membership and the invisible bond of grace). *Baptême de désir* — "baptism of desire." *Foi implicite / explicite* — "implicit / explicit faith."

2. **Aquinas texts.** Where Gaume's *Summa* references appear wrong, I cite them as printed with the likely correct place in brackets. The passage on implicit faith is *Summa* II–II, q. 2, a. 7.

3. **Roman tomb.** The story of the golden plate ("Christus nascetur ex virgine, et ego credo in eum…") is reported by Baronius (*Ann.* 780, n. 12) and is of legendary character; I translate as Gaume reports it.

4. **Footnote on unbaptized infants.** Gaume's footnote gives Cajetan, Gerson, Knoll and Sfondrati in Latin only; I render the Latin in English. The ruling attributed to Pius V on Cajetan's works is as Gaume reports it.

5. **[Idiom]** *doux oreiller* — "soft pillow," an echo of the proverbial "doux oreiller" for the repose of a settled conscience (here, of faith and sound reason). *capable de lier deux idées* — "capable of linking two ideas," i.e., of ordinary reasoning ability (a mild gibe).

Chapter VIII. The King of the City of Good

The Holy Spirit, King of the City of Good: why? — Answer of theology. — The different names of the King of the City of Good: Holy Spirit, Gift, Unction, Finger of God, Paraclete. — Detailed explanation of each of these names.

The visible order is only the reflection of the invisible order. In the governments of the earth, order consists essentially of a supreme authority and of subordinate authorities charged with executing the wishes of the first. No society can be conceived without these two elements; and so it is with the City of Good and the City of Evil. In the one as in the other, the government is composed of a king, and of ministers of unequal power subject to his orders. Now, as we have indicated, the King of the City of Good is the HOLY SPIRIT.

Why is the glorious kingship of the City of Good attributed to the Holy Spirit, and not to the Son or to the Father? Catholic theology answers: "Although all the external works of the Most Holy Trinity, *opera ad extra*, are common to the three persons, nevertheless, by appropriation, the divine language attributes to the Holy Spirit the works in which the love of God shines forth with more marked brilliancy. Thus power is attributed to the Father, wisdom to the Son, goodness to the Holy Spirit. Yet in these three persons the power, the wisdom, the goodness is one and indivisible, as the divinity, the essence and the nature are one and indivisible (1)."

1. *Indivisa quippe sunt opera Trinitatis ad extra. Verum consuetudo est sacri eloquii, interdum appropriare uni personæ quod proprie et verissime dicitur de utraque: sicut Patri attribuitur potentia, Filio sapientia, bonitas Spiritui Sancto. Et tamen una et indivisibilis potentia et sapientia et bonitas in iis tribus, sicut una deitas, una essentia, una natura.* [The works of the Trinity outside itself are indeed indivisible. But it is the custom of sacred speech sometimes to appropriate to one person what is said properly and most truly of each: as power is attributed to the Father, wisdom to the Son, goodness to the Holy Spirit. And yet there is one and indivisible power and wisdom and goodness in these three, as there is one Godhead, one essence, one nature.] Council of Vaur, c. i, A.D. 1368.

The City of Good being the most magnificent creation of the love of God, it is with good reason that its kingship is attributed to the Holy Spirit, consubstantial love of the Son and of the Father. The foundation, or, as Scripture says, the corner-stone of this City, is the Incarnate Word. Now the incarnation of the Word is the work of the Holy Spirit. With his customary depth, the Angel of the school shows the exactness of this language. "The conception of the body of Jesus Christ," says the great doctor, "is doubtless the work of the whole Trinity. Nevertheless it is attributed to the Holy Spirit, and that for three reasons. The first, because it

befits the cause of the Incarnation considered on the side of God. For the Holy Spirit is the love of the Father and of the Son. Now it is an effect of the immense love of God that the Word clothed Himself with flesh in the womb of a Virgin. Hence the saying of Saint John: *God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son.*

"The second, because it befits the cause of the Incarnation considered on the side of human nature. We understand thereby that human nature was taken up by the Word and united to His divine person without any merit on its part, but solely by an effect of grace, which is attributed to the Holy Spirit, according to the word of the Apostle: *There are diversities of graces, but the same Spirit.*

"The third, because it befits the end of the Incarnation. For the end of the Incarnation was that the man who was to be conceived should be holy and Son of God. Now holiness and divine sonship are attributed to the Holy Spirit. First, it is by Him that men become sons of God, as the Apostle Saint Paul teaches the Galatians: *Because you are sons, God hath sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying: Abba, Father.* Then, He is the Spirit of sanctification, as the same Apostle writes to the Romans. Thus, as it is by the Holy Spirit that other men are spiritually sanctified in order to be adopted sons of God, so Christ, man par excellence, the new Adam, was conceived in holiness by the Holy Spirit in order to be the natural Son of God.

"Such is the teaching of the Apostle. Speaking of Our Lord, he says: *Who was predestinated the Son of God in power*; then he adds immediately: *according to the Spirit of sanctification*—that is, because He was conceived of the Holy Spirit. Finally the archangel, announcing the effect of this promise, *The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,* concludes: *Therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God* (1)."

1. S. Th., III, q. xxxii, art. 1, corp.

King of the City of Good because He formed its living foundation, the Holy Spirit is so again because He is its soul and its life. Circulating through all the parts of this great body as blood circulates in our veins and light in the air, His charity inspires it, His wisdom governs it, His beauty adorns it, His power protects it (1).

1. *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cujus Spiritu totum corpus Ecclesiæ sanctificatur et regitur.* [Almighty and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is sanctified and governed.] Collect of the Church (*Orat. Eccl.*, among the various prayers).

To know the nature and mode of His divine communications—in other words, the government of the King of the City of Good—let us approach, with a respect mingled with love, the throne on which He is seated, and see what this divine King is in Himself. To know Him is the thing most capable of making us desire to live under His empire.

To know a being is to know his name. Who will tell us the proper names of the King of the City of Good? He alone; for the infinite Being alone can name Himself. Now He is called: Holy Spirit, Gift, Unction, Finger of God, Paraclete. Let the vastest created intelligence take these divine words in their loftiest signification, and remember that, in spite of all its efforts, it will remain forever infinitely below the sublime realities they express. Such is its duty in studying the INEFFABLE.

He is called HOLY SPIRIT, *Spiritus Sanctus*.

Spirit. The two other divine persons, the Father and the Son, are also Spirits, and holy Spirits. All the angels of heaven and all the blessed souls are so likewise. Why then attribute to one alone the name common to several? "It is true," answers Saint Thomas, "the Trinity, in its nature and in its persons, is Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, since the first person has a proper name, which is that of Father, and the second that of Son, the name of Holy Spirit has been left to the third, to distinguish Him from the other two and to make known the nature of His operations. This name distinguishes Him: for it designates the divine person who proceeds by way of love. It indicates the nature of His operations: for in corporeal things the word *spirit* signifies a certain

impulsion. Hence we call the breath and the wind *spirit*. Now it is the property of love to impel the will of the one who loves toward the object loved, and holiness is ascribed to things that tend to God. It is therefore with great exactness of language that the third person of the Trinity, who proceeds by way of love—the love by which we love God—is called Holy Spirit (1)."

1. S. Th., I, q. xxxvi, art. 1, corp.

It is true again that the angels and the beatified souls are holy spirits; but, being pure creatures, they are holy only by grace, whereas the Holy Spirit is holy by nature and holiness itself. It is therefore again most justly that He is called, by excellence, the Holy Spirit. Like that of the Father and of the Son, the name of the Holy Spirit comes not from men but from God Himself. We owe the knowledge of it to Scripture, which repeats it more than three hundred times, in the Old Testament as in the New.

Holy. "Holy" means pure, free from mixture (1). The King of the City of Good is called holy because He is Being properly so called; Being pure of all mixture and the source of all purity. What the ocean is to the rain that fertilizes the earth and to the dews that refresh it, the Holy Spirit is to holiness, and more. He is not only its inexhaustible reservoir; He is its eternal and eternally fruitful principle.

1. In Greek ἅγιος, as if *sine terra* [without earth], says Saint Thomas, II–II, q. lxxxi, art. 8, corp. [The etymology (ἅγιος, "a-gé", without earth) is the one Aquinas reports.]

Now it is a truth of the moral order as of the material order that the cause of evil, and consequently of shame and of pain, is mixture, dualism, or, to say the word, *impurity*. In communicating Himself to creatures, what does the Spirit of holiness do? He eliminates the foreign elements that dishonor them and make them suffer. The more abundant this communication, the more the creatures are simplified. The more they are simplified, the more they are perfected; for the nearer they approach their native purity and the ineffable purity of their Creator and model. But the more they are perfected, the more beautiful and happy they become. From these notions, founded on the very essence of things, it follows that holiness is the one principle of beauty and of happiness. Since the King of the City of Good is holiness itself, one may judge whether it is glorious, whether it is sweet, to live under His laws.

Material creatures themselves reveal to us some of the riches contained in this mysterious name of the Holy Spirit. One may say that of all the elements the breath, or the wind, is the most necessary. By it lives all that breathes. It is the strongest; we have seen it uproot, in less than seven minutes, a hundred thousand trees of a century's growth over a stretch of three leagues (1). Every day sailors see it lay bare the abysses of the sea by lifting to the clouds the heavy mass of its waters. It is the most caressing; who has not ardently called for its beneficent action in the burning heats of summer, and felt it with delight? It is the most independent, the most useful, the most mysterious. The wind is the ever-active principle that purifies our cities, our countrysides and our dwellings; none can chain it. It is the vehicle of speech, and by speech the necessary bond of society.

1. The whirlwind (*trombe*) of Fuans (Doubs), 11 July 1855.

In a higher order, that is to say a more real one, the Holy Spirit is all this. He is life, He is strength, He is sweetness, He is purifier, He is universal bond. In Him all is one; and, though dwelling in heaven, on earth and in purgatory, the immense City of which He is king forms but one body, obeying the same impulse. Hence it is that Saint Cyprian calls Him the soul of the world. "This divine Spirit," says the glorious martyr, "soul of all that is, so fills beings with His abundance that unintelligent creatures as well as intelligent receive from Him, each in its own kind, both existence and the means of acting according to their nature. Not that He is Himself substantially the soul of each of them, and dwells substantially in them; but, magnificent distributor of His fullness, He communicates to each creature, and makes proper to it, His divine influences; like the sun, which gives heat and life to all nature without diminution or exhaustion (1)."

1. *Hic Spiritus Sanctus omnium viventium anima, ita largitate sua se omnibus abundanter infundit, ut habeant omnia rationabilia et irrationabilia secundum genus suum ex eo, quod sunt, et quod in suo ordine suæ naturæ competentia agunt, non quod ipse sit substantialis anima singulis et in se singulariter manens; de plenitudine sua distributor magnificus, proprias efficientias singulis dividit et largitur, et quasi sol omnia calefaciens subjecta omnia nutrit et absque ulla sui diminutione integritatem suam de inexhausta abundantia, quod satis est et sufficit omnibus commodat et impertit.* [This Holy Spirit, the soul of all living things, so abundantly pours Himself out in His bounty upon all, that all things, rational and irrational, have, each according to its kind, from Him that they are, and that they do in their own order what befits their nature; not that He is a substantial soul to each, abiding in Himself singularly; but, a magnificent distributor of His fullness, He divides and bestows on each its proper efficacies, and like a sun warming all things He nourishes all that lies beneath, and without any diminution of Himself lends and imparts, from His unexhausted abundance, what is enough and sufficient for all.] Sermon for Pentecost, in the *Biblioth. vetus*, homily etc. [attributed by Gaume to Saint Cyprian; the work is pseudo-Cyprianic].

He is called GIFT (DON).

Such is the proper name, the true name, of the King of the City of Good. Who will tell its incomprehensible riches? A gift is what one gives with no intention of return: which implies the idea of a gratuitous donation. Now the reason of a gratuitous donation is love: we give a thing gratuitously to someone only because we wish him well. Thus the first thing we give him is our love. Whence it manifestly follows that love is the first gift, since it is by it that we give gratuitously all the rest. It follows further that the Holy Spirit, being love itself, is the first of all gifts, the source of all gifts, the gift par excellence. To none other does this adorable name belong as to Him, and it belongs to Him so truly that it is His personal name.

Let no one think, besides, that this name implies in the Holy Spirit any inferiority with regard to the Father and the Son: to think it would be heresy, to say it blasphemy. It indicates only the relation of origin of the Holy Spirit in His dealings with the Father and the Son, who give Him to us. But this gift is the Holy Spirit Himself, and the gift is equal to the giver, eternal, infinite, almighty, God, in a word, like Him (1).

1. *Donum secundum quod personaliter sumitur in divinis, est proprium nomen Spiritus Sancti… Donum secundum quod est nomen personale in divinis non importat subjectionem, sed originem tantum in comparatione ad dantem… Sicut corpus carnis nihil aliud est quam caro, sic donum Spiritus Sancti nihil aliud est quam Spiritus Sanctus… Sed Spiritus Sanctus est nomen personale: ergo et donum.* [Gift, taken personally in the Godhead, is the proper name of the Holy Spirit… Gift as a personal name in the Godhead implies not subjection but only origin in relation to the giver… As the body of flesh is nothing other than flesh, so the gift of the Holy Spirit is nothing other than the Holy Spirit… But Holy Spirit is a personal name: therefore so is Gift.] S. Th., I, q. xxxviii, art. 2, corp., and art. 1, ad 3; and *ad Contra*, 2. S. Basil, *De Spir. Sancto*, c. xxiv.

"When therefore we call the Holy Spirit the gift of God," says Saint Augustine, "we must remember that this expression resembles that other of Scripture, *our body of flesh*. As the body of flesh is nothing else than the flesh, so the gift of the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit Himself. He is the gift of God only inasmuch as He is given to us. But because the Father and the Son give Him, and He gives Himself, He is not inferior to them; for He is given as the gift of a God, and gives Himself as God. No one, in fact, can say that He is not master of Himself and perfectly independent, since it is written of Him: *The Spirit breatheth where He will.* The Apostle adds: *But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to every one according as He will.* In all this one must therefore see neither inferiority in Him who is given, nor superiority in those who give, but the ineffable concord of the gift and the givers (1)."

1. S. Aug., *De Trinit.*, lib. xv, c. xvii, n. 36. — *Utique Spiritus Sanctus Dei donum est, quod quidem et ipsum est æquale donanti, et ideo Deus est etiam Spiritus Sanctus, Patre Filioque non minor.* [Surely the Holy

Spirit is the gift of God, which is itself equal to the giver; and therefore the Holy Spirit also is God, not less than the Father and the Son.] Id., *Enchirid. de Fide, spe et charit.*, c. xxxviii.

Thus: love given, love itself, infinite love, living love, love the principle, love God: such is the Holy Spirit. Now the property of love is to tend toward union. The property of infinite love is to tend toward infinite union. Infinite union is unity. To bring it about, according to the wish of the Incarnate Word, that all men may be one, one among themselves, one with God, with a unity like that of the three persons of the august Trinity; to procure by this universal unity peace, happiness, universal deification: this is the one thought of the King of the City of Good, the supreme end to which are referred all the laws, all the wheels of His government.

O man! whoever you are, nothingness and dust; if you consider your destitution, your powerlessness, your triple nullity of mind, heart and body, what irresistible love ought not this adorable title of *gift*, under which the King of the City of Good presents Himself to your thought, to awaken in you! What energetic will to live under His laws! You have nothing and you need everything; the Holy Spirit is the gift that contains all gifts: gift of faith which enlightens, gift of hope which consoles, gift of charity which deifies; gift of humility, of patience, of holiness; gift of conversion and of perseverance; gift of all the goods of soul and body. In the name of your needs, in the name of your dangers, in the name of your sufferings; in the name of the needs, dangers and sufferings of your kin, your friends, of society and of the Church, be the faithful subject of the King of the City of Good. With all the liveliness of your faith invoke the Spirit God, gift and giver, who Himself ardently desires to communicate Himself to you. In Him alone you will find all goods, *unum bonum in quo sunt omnia bona* [the one good in which are all goods]. Outside Him, all evils: indigence for your heart, vanity for your mind, discomfort for your life, terrors for your death, torments for eternity.

He is called UNCTION, *unctio*.

Among a great number of admirable meanings, *unction* means wisdom and light. As He is love by essence, the King of the City of Good is wisdom itself, light without shadow, eternal light, sun without eclipse. From His fullness He communicates to His subjects; He floods His empire. By partaking of it, His subjects become all that is greatest among men: Kings, Priests and Prophets.

Kings: instead of being dominated, they dominate; instead of being enslaved to matter, to creatures, to the senses, to the passions, to the rebel angels, they hold them chained at their feet. Neither promises, nor threats, nor reverses, nor sicknesses, nor temptations make the crown fall from their head, the scepter from their hands. Directed by eternal wisdom, their authority has for its characters equity, gentleness and strength (1).

1. Wis. viii, 1 and x, 23.

Priests: they use their kingship over creatures and over themselves to make of everything that is created, of all they possess, of all they are, a great victim to the God from whom all has descended and to whom all must return. Royal priesthood, people beloved among all peoples, wherever the sons of the City of Good reign, light is made, order is established, civilization develops, prosperous nations march tranquilly on their way. Do you want the proof? Interrogate history and look at the map of the world.

Prophets: their words, and their works more eloquent than their words, make shine upon the earth the divine light with which they are flooded. They proclaim without ceasing the eternal laws of order, the existence of the world to come, the great day of justice, and the double abode of happiness and of misery without end beyond the tomb.

“Nay more,” cries a Father of the Church, “what the human eye can scarcely discern through thick clouds, what all the pagan sages did but glimpse, the citizens of the City of Good see clearly. Their body is on earth, their soul reads in the heavens. They see, like Isaias, the Lord seated on His eternal throne. Like Ezechiel, they see Him who rests upon the cherubim. Like Daniel, they see the millions of angels who surround Him.

A little man, *exiguus homo*, sees at a single glance the beginning and the end of the world, the middle of the times, the succession of empires. He knows what he has not learned; for in him is the principle of all light. While remaining a man, he receives from the King of the City of Good a mighty knowledge, which goes so far as to discover to him the secret actions of others.

"Peter in person was not with Ananias and Sapphira when they sold their field; but he was there by the Holy Spirit. *Why*, he says, *hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Spirit?* There was neither accuser nor witness. How then did he know it? *Was it not in thy power to keep it?* he adds, *and being sold, was it not in thy power?* Why then did you form this evil design? Thus this man without letters possessed, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, a knowledge which all the sages of Greece never knew. Do you not find the same knowledge in Eliseus? Absent, he sees Giezi receiving the presents of Naaman; and on his return he says to him: *Was not my heart present, when the man turned back from his chariot to meet thee?* My body was here; but the spirit that God has given me knows what passes afar. See how the King of the City of Good enlightens His subjects when He wills, removes their ignorance and enriches them with knowledge (1)."

1. *Cui Spiritus Sanctus donatus est, anima illius illustratur et plus quam homo cernit. In terra erit corpus, et anima cœlos contemplabitur… Exiguus homo cernit principium et finem mundi, et medium temporum, et regum successiones… Cernis quomodo illuminat animas Spiritus Sanctus, tollit ignorantiam, et scientiam reponit.* [To whom the Holy Spirit is given, his soul is enlightened, and he sees more than man. The body will be on earth, and the soul will contemplate the heavens… A little man sees the beginning and the end of the world, and the middle of the times, and the successions of kings… You see how the Holy Spirit enlightens souls, removes ignorance and places knowledge within.] S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.*, xvi.

He is called FINGER OF GOD, *digitus Dei*.

Of incomparable richness, this name indicates at once the procession of the King of the City of Good, His infinite power, and the diversity of His gifts and operations in the eternal unity of love. Let man study himself for a moment, and, image of God, he will verify in himself the justness of this divine name.

The fingers proceed from the hand and the arm without being detached from them: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, to whom He remains inseparably united (1). In all languages the arm, the hand, the fingers signify power and action, of which they are the necessary instruments. Hence the name *finger of God*, so often employed by Scripture to mark the almighty action of God upon creatures, material or spiritual. Although in God the acting force is unique, it is nevertheless manifold and multiform in its works. Hence again Scripture speaks by turns of the *fingers* and of the *finger* of God. Thus the prophet Isaias represents the Almighty raising the globe with three fingers (2). David says to the Lord that the heavens are the work of His fingers (3). Moses announces that the Tables of the Law were written by the finger of God; and the magicians of Pharao, powerless to counterfeit certain miracles wrought by Aaron and his brother, cry out: *The finger of God is here* (4).

1. *Sicut digitus a brachio et manu; ita Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedit.* [As the finger from the arm and hand, so the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.] Cornelius a Lapide, on Exod. viii, 19.

2. Is. xl, 12 [the "three fingers" ("tribus digitis") is Is. xl, 12].

3. Ps. viii, 4.

4. Exod. xxxi, 18, and viii, 19.

What name could better befit the Holy Spirit? We ask man himself. Does he not do everything by his fingers? Had the human race none, not one of the marvelous works with which it has covered the face of the globe would exist. Let it cease to have them today, and tomorrow all these monuments will be but ruins; man himself will die. It is likewise by His fingers, or by the Holy Spirit, that God works all His marvels, for all are

the work of love.

The fingers of our hands serve not only to create; they serve also to share, to divide, to distribute. Their unequal length and strength put them in mutual dependence and form the beauty of the hand. In like manner it is by the Holy Spirit that God shares and distributes to each creature the gifts He reserves for it; and that in unequal proportions: to one more, to another less, according to the rules of His infallible wisdom. A necessary inequality, whence results the mutual subordination of beings among themselves, the basis of all order, the principle of all harmony in heaven and on earth.

In spite of the multiplicity of their number, the diversity of their forms, the variety of their movements, the fingers, inseparably united among themselves, obey the same impulse. However varied they may be, the gifts and the works of the Holy Spirit proceed from the same principle. Consider the heavens and the earth; interrogate one after another the innumerable creatures they contain: stars or suns, mountains or valleys, cedars or violets, all will tell you: It is one and the same Spirit that made us: *Hæc autem omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus.* [But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh.] Raise your eyes to a more magnificent creation; contemplate the orders and hierarchies, of unequal beauty and power, of the angelic world; they will tell you again: It is one and the same Spirit that made us: *Hæc autem omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus.* Lower your gaze to the heaven of the earth, the Church, mother and model of all civilized societies. Whence come to her the interior and exterior gifts which, by their brilliant variety, make her power and her glory? A voice answers: “There are diversities of graces, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but the same God, who worketh all in all. To one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom; and to another, the word of knowledge. To another, faith; to another, the grace of healing; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, diverse kinds of tongues; to another, interpretation of speeches. But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh: *Hæc autem omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus* (1).”

1. 1 Cor. xii, 4 *et seqq. Ideo dicitur Spiritus Sanctus digitus Dei, propter partitionem donorum, quæ in eo dantur, unicuique propria, sive hominum, sive angelorum. In nullis enim membris nostris magis apparet partitio, quam in digitis.* [Therefore the Holy Spirit is called the finger of God, on account of the apportioning of the gifts that are given in Him, to each his own, whether of men or of angels. For in none of our members does apportioning appear more than in the fingers.] S. Aug., *Quæst. Evang.*, lib. ii, q. xvii, *Opp.*, t. iii [1624 is the date of the edition Gaume used].

In working, each in its sphere, all our fingers tend to the same end, the perfection of the work they have undertaken. In the same way all the fingers of God, all the marvels of the Holy Spirit, tend to one single end: to realize in the City of Good the most perfect concord, the most complete unity that can be conceived, the very unity of the human body and the concord of its members. As our body, which is one, is composed of several members, and all the members of the body, though many, are but one body: so in the City of Good, which is the kingdom of the Holy Spirit and the body of the Incarnate Word. As all the members of the body work for one another, and none can suffer without all the others suffering, nor receive honor without all the others rejoicing: so is it among the members of the great City, of which the Spirit of love is the artisan, the king, the soul and the bond (1).

1. S. Aug., *Quæst. Evang.*, lib. ii, etc.

What a magnificent ideal! and this ideal, imperfectly realized on earth, will be completely so in eternity.

Under what title more in keeping with our needs can we invoke the Holy Spirit than that of *finger of God*? Power, goodness, instrument of miracles, Holy Spirit, finger of God, busy Yourself actively with our affairs and the affairs of the present world. Judge Your own cause; repair, raise up the ramparts of Your city; scatter the armies that besiege it; silence the blasphemers who outrage it, and You with it. May the splendor of Your works disconcert Your enemies, open the eyes of the blind, awaken the indifferent, soften the hardened, force

the modern magicians to avow themselves beaten, so that the field of souls, restored to the ministers of truth, may at last receive the culture which alone can replace, with fruits of life, the fruits of death whose infecting odor goes to solicit even from heaven fearful catastrophes. Divine finger, engrave deeply in our hearts the royal law of the City of Good: mighty faith, unchanging hope, immortal charity; give to each of us the impenetrable armor we need to repel the fiery darts of an enemy more audacious than ever.

He is called PARACLETE, *Paracletus*.

As attractive as the others, this name means *advocate*, *exhorter*, *consoler*. What names for a King (1)! Though the Spirit of good had no others, would not these suffice to call under His laws all peoples, all tribes, all the members of the unhappy human family?

1. *Consolator ergo ille vel advocatus (utrumque enim interpretatur) quod est græce paracletus, Christo abscedente fuerat necessarius.* [That Consoler or Advocate (for the Greek *paraclete* is interpreted both ways) was necessary when Christ departed.] S. Aug., *in Joan.*, tract. cxiv, n. 2. — *Exhortator, incitator, impulsor.* [Exhorter, inciter, impeller.] Cornelius a Lapide, on John xiv, 16.

Advocate, and He pleads. What does He plead? The cause in which all causes, all suits, end: the cause of souls, the cause of peoples, the cause of the Church and of the world, the cause on which depends eternal happiness or eternal misery. Where does He plead it? He pleads it at the double tribunal of justice and of mercy: of justice, to bend and disarm it; of mercy, to obtain from it large effusions of graces, of strengths, of lights, of help of every kind, whether to preserve the citizens of His City from the attacks of the enemy, or to heal them of their wounds. Tribunals of divine justice and mercy, sovereign courts before which there is no one, king or subject, people or private person, who has not, every day and every hour, a cause actually pending.

How does He plead? As love knows how to plead. All His eloquence is in sighs. “The Holy Spirit,” writes the Apostle, “helpeth our infirmity; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit himself asketh for us with unspeakable groanings (1).”

1. Rom. viii, 26.

How deep, great God, is my misery, the misery of the human race! Stripped of everything and a beggar in this valley of tears, I do not know my true needs, I scarcely suspect them, I feel them still less. If I see them, I know not the manner of asking relief for them. What greater necessity of having a skilled master to teach me to beg; a charitable one, who begs for me; an almighty one, who begs with success. The King of the City of Good in person renders me this charitable office: He renders it to all. Yes, it is of faith: the Holy Spirit prays for me, makes Himself a beggar for me.

“What do I mean by this?” asks Saint Augustine. “Can the Holy Spirit groan, He who enjoys sovereign felicity with the Father and the Son? Assuredly not. The Holy Spirit in Himself and in the blessed Trinity does not groan; but He groans in us, because He teaches us to groan. And it is no small thing that the Holy Spirit teaches us to groan. By insinuating to the ear of the heart that we are travelers in the valley of tears, He teaches us to sigh for the eternal fatherland, and this desire produces our groanings.

“He who is well—or rather who thinks himself well—in this land of exile, he who is intoxicated with the joy of the senses and, swimming in abundance of temporal goods, feeds on a vain felicity, utters only the voice of the raven; for the voice of the raven is harsh, not groaning. On the contrary, he who feels the burden of life, who sees himself still separated from God and deprived of the infinite beatitude that is promised us, which he possesses in hope but will possess in reality only on the day when the Lord shall come in the splendor of His glory, after having come in humility; he who knows this groans; and, so long as he groans for this, he groans well: it is the Holy Spirit who teaches him to groan and to imitate the dove. Many, in fact, groan when they are struck by some adversity, or a prey to the pains of sickness, or under the bolts of a

prison, or in the chains of slavery, or on waves opened to swallow them, or in the ambushes set by their enemies; but they do not groan with the groaning of the dove: it is neither love of God that makes them groan, nor the Holy Spirit who groans in them. Hence, when they are delivered from their ills, you hear them rejoice with loud voice: which shows that they are ravens and not doves (1)."

1. *Ideo tales cum ab ipsis pressuris fuerint liberati, exsultant in grandibus vocibus: ubi apparet quod corvi sunt, non columbæ.* [Therefore such men, when they have been freed from the very pressures, exult in loud voices: whence it appears that they are ravens, not doves.] S. Aug., *in Joan.*, tract. vi, n. 2, *Opp.*, t. iii.

Exhorter. All the good worthy of the name that has been done since the beginning of the world, that is still being done, that will be done till the consummation of the ages, is due to the sons of the Holy Spirit, to the citizens of the City of Good. Who gives them the will and the doing? Their King. Without His help no one can even pronounce in a manner profitable for heaven the name of the Redeemer (1).

1. *Et nemo potest dicere: Dominus Jesus, nisi in Spiritu Sancto.* [And no man can say: The Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Spirit.] 1 Cor. xii, 3.

Abel generously offers to the Lord his fattest lambs. I see the sacrifice: where is the soul that inspires it? who is its exhorter? The King of the City of Good. For a hundred years Noe braves the mockeries of his contemporaries and slowly builds the ark that is to save the human race. I see the patriarch's courage, I see the vessel; what is the support of the one and the inspirer of the other? The King of the City of Good. I see Abraham binding on the pyre his only son Isaac and lifting his hand to immolate him: who is the exhorter and guide of the heroic father of believers? The King of the City of Good. I see in the course of ancient ages the patriarchs, the prophets, the kings and the warriors of Israel accomplish a thousand deeds of renown, triumph over a thousand difficulties, face without fear innumerable sorrows: what was the soul of these great souls? who was their exhorter? The King of the City of Good.

In the new times, ask the fishermen of Galilee who drove them to the four corners of the world, to spread everywhere, like beneficent clouds, the divine dews of grace; who gave them the intelligence and strength necessary to undertake their rude labors, to carry war to the very heart of the City of Evil, to batter this colossal City in breach, to dismantle it, to mine it; and in its place to build the City of Good? When it is necessary to defend the divine work at the price of every sacrifice, who is the exhorter of the martyrs and the support of their courage in face of tribunals, racks, pyres and the beasts of the amphitheater? The King of the City of Good.

What He was for the apostles and martyrs, the divine King was, and continues to be, for the solitaries, the virgins, the missionaries, the saints and the faithful who, in all conditions and all countries, undertake each day and bring to a happy end the heroic work of their own sanctification and that of others. Count, if you can, the number of good thoughts, of salutary resolutions, of sacrifices of inclinations, tastes, interest, humor, leanings and passions which, to save one soul, must fill a life of fifty years; calculate their extent, and you will see what a good, what an untiring, what a powerful exhorter the Holy Spirit is.

Consoler. "My beloved, until now I have taught you, directed you, consoled you: this is why my approaching departure saddens you. Take courage; in my place I will send you another Consoler who will abide with you, not a little time, as I do, but forever. He will instruct you, direct you, console you in your pains, in your doubts, in your temptations, in your ceaseless struggles." Such is the sense of the words of the Incarnate Word, announcing the Holy Spirit to His apostles, to the Church and to ourselves (1).

1. John xiv, 16. — *Ab operatione nomen imponit: reddit enim perturbatione alienos, et incredibile gaudium tribuit; sempiterna enim lætitia in eorum corde versatur, quorum Spiritus Sanctus habitator est.* [He imposes the name from the operation: for He renders men strangers to disturbance and bestows incredible joy; for everlasting gladness dwells in the heart of those whose indweller is the Holy Spirit.] Didymus, *De Spiritu*

Sancto, among the works of S. Jerome.

Consoler. One had to know humanity well to give this name to the King of the City of Good. Do you see her, this poor humanity, living ruin, crossing for sixty centuries a land of miseries, too justly called the valley of tears; wrapped in darkness, surrounded by enemies, broken by labors, crushed by sorrows, gnawed by cares; leaving on the stones of the road the stains of her blood and on the brambles the shreds of her flesh; dragging behind her a long chain of deceived hopes; perceiving in the distance, as last prospect, a half-opened tomb with mysteries of decomposition she dares not look at; and beyond it the unfathomable abysses of a double eternity? It must be admitted, if humanity needs anyone, it is, above all, a consoler.

Worthy of this truly royal name, the King of the City of Good is the consoler by excellence, *Consolator optime* [best of consolers]. His kingship has no other aim than to dry the tears of His subjects, or to transform them into pearls of immortality. A mighty consoler, His consolations are not vain words that break on the surface of the heart, but efficacious reliefs, inward joys. A universal consoler, there is not one suffering of the body, not one grief of the soul, not one reverse of fortune, not one doubt, not one perplexity, not even one fault, for which He has not a remedy, a light, a hope.

Let the man, the people, the age that has no business to transact at the tribunal of divine justice and mercy, that needs neither light to know the good, nor courage to undertake it, nor perseverance to accomplish it, nor relief in its miseries, nor consolation in its pains; in a word, let the proud nothingness which pretends to suffice for itself, or to find in arms of flesh a sufficient support for its weakness, disdain and forget the divine Advocate, the supernatural Exhorter, the supreme Consoler: we have nothing to say to it. A deep pity, prayers and tears, are all that remain to be given it. But as for the man, the people, the age which has the consciousness of its needs, it finds at the bottom of its soul a thousand motives, more pressing from day to day, for invoking the Holy Spirit and living under His laws.

Such is, from the principal names which characterize Him, the King of the City of Good. If to so many titles that are proper to Him we add those He shares with the Father and the Son, He will appear to us as the greatest, the most magnificent, the wisest, the best of all monarchs; His City as the most glorious, the freest, the happiest kingdom that man can dream; His subjects as a family of brothers, as an assembly of gods, begun by grace and on the way to become gods consummated in glory. If such a spectacle leaves you the strength to speak, it will be to say with the prophet: *City of my God, how beautiful you are! happy they who dwell in you* (1).

1. *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei… Sicut lætantium omnium habitatio est in te.* [Glorious things are said of thee, O city of God… The dwelling in thee is as it were of all rejoicing.] Ps. lxxxvi, 3, 7.

Translator’s notes — Chapter VIII

1. **Appropriation.** The theological term *appropriation* (Gaume: “par appropriation”) is kept: attributing to one divine Person what is common to all three but which fits the Person’s distinctive property.

2. **Title.** The Council cited as “Conc. Vaur.” is the Council of Lavaur (Vaurense), as in Gaume’s footnote; the date 1368 is as printed. I leave it as printed.

3. **Scripture quotations.** Gaume’s French always reads *Saint-Esprit*; in the Douay-based renderings (Acts 5:3, Luke 1:35) I therefore put “Holy Spirit” where Douay has “Holy Ghost”, in keeping with the standing rule.

4. **Etymology.** Gaume (after Aquinas) derives ἅγιος from *a* + *gê* (“without earth”). Modern philology does not support this; it is rendered as in the source.

5. **Imagery.** *Mappemonde* — “map of the world.” *Mêlez-vous activement de nos affaires* — “busy Yourself actively with our affairs,” a deliberately familiar, almost urgent register in the French (*se mêler de*), kept.

6. **Footnote.** Gaume's account of the whirlwind at Fuans (Doubs) is the storm of 11 July 1855, footnoted as such.

7. **Pseudo-Cyprian.** The Pentecost sermon here ascribed to Saint Cyprian is regarded as pseudonymous.

Chapter IX. The Princes of the City of Good

The good angels, princes of the City of Good: proof of their existence. — Their nature. — They are purely spiritual, but they can take bodies: proofs. — Their qualities: incorruptibility, beauty, intelligence, agility, strength. — Prodigious extent of their power. — They exercise it over the demons, over the world, and over man, as to body and as to soul: proofs.

The King of the City of Good is not solitary. Around His throne stand innumerable legions of princes, resplendent with beauty, who form His court (1). Their occupation is to honor the great Monarch, to watch over the guard of the City and to preside over its government: these princes are the good angels. Under pain of leaving in shadow one of the greatest marvels of the higher world and the most important wheel of its administration, we must make them known. For this we must speak of their existence, their nature, their number, their hierarchies, their orders and their functions.

1. Dan. vii, 10.

Existence of the angels

The angels are incorporeal, invisible, incorruptible, spiritual creatures, endowed with intelligence and will (1). The faith of the human race, reason, and the analogy of the divine laws unite to establish upon an unshakable foundation the dogma of the existence of the angels. We have already seen the faith of the human race manifest itself with brilliancy in the universal worship of good and evil genii. Reason demonstrates without difficulty that our visible world, by its imperfect nature, has not and cannot have in itself either the reason of its existence or the principle of the laws that govern it. These must be sought in a higher world, of which it is only the radiance (2). So with the tree, whose foliage unfolds before our eyes: the principles of its life and solidity are hidden in the depths of the earth.

1. *Angelus est substantia creata, immaterialis sive incorporalis, invisibilis, incorruptibilis et spiritualis, intellectu perspicax et voluntate pollens.* [An angel is a created substance, immaterial or incorporeal, invisible, incorruptible and spiritual, keen in intellect and mighty in will.] Viguier, c. iii, § 2, vers. 2, p. 77.

2. *Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi, per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur.* [For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made.] Rom. i, 20.

The most learned observation of the divine laws proclaims this axiom: that there are no leaps in nature, no break in the chain of beings (1). At the same time it demonstrates that, in this magnificent chain, man cannot be the last link. God is the ocean of life. He pours it out under all forms: vegetative, animal, intellectual. According as it is more or less abundant, life marks the hierarchical degree of beings. Now it is more abundant in proportion as the being approaches nearer to God. Thus, in order to bring back to Himself, by imperceptible degrees, the whole creation that descended from Him, the Almighty, whose infinite wisdom played in the formation of the universe, drew from nothing several species of creatures. Some visible and purely material, such as the earth, water, plants; others at once visible and invisible, material and immaterial, men; others, finally, invisible and immaterial, the angels. No less than the others, these last are therefore a necessity of creation.

1. *Natura non facit saltus.* [Nature makes no leaps.] Linnaeus.

Let us hear the greatest of philosophers. “Granted the decree of creation,” says Saint Thomas, “the existence of certain incorporeal creatures is a necessity. For the principal end of creation is the good. The good or perfection consists in the likeness of the created being to the Creator, of the effect to the cause. The likeness of the effect to the cause is perfect when the effect imitates the cause according to the manner in which the cause produces it. Now God produces the creature by intellect and by will. The perfection of the universe therefore requires that there be intellectual and incorporeal creatures (1).”

1. *Necesse est ponere aliquas creaturas incorporeas. Id enim quod præcipue in rebus creatis Deus intendit, est bonum, quod consistit in assimilatione ad Deum. Perfecta autem assimilatio effectus ad causam attenditur, quando effectus imitatur causam, secundum illud per quod causa producit effectum: sicut calidum facit calidum. Deus autem creaturam producit per intellectum et voluntatem… Unde ad perfectionem universi requiritur quod sint aliquæ creaturæ intellectuales. Intelligere autem non potest esse actus corporis, nec alicujus virtutis corporeæ, quia omne corpus determinatur ad hic et nunc. Unde necesse est ponere ad hoc quod universum sit perfectum, quod sit aliqua incorporea creatura.* [It is necessary to posit some incorporeal creatures. For what God chiefly intends in created things is the good, which consists in likeness to God. Now perfect likeness of an effect to its cause is attained when the effect imitates the cause according to that whereby the cause produces the effect: as the hot makes hot. But God produces the creature by intellect and will… Hence for the perfection of the universe it is required that there be some intellectual creatures. But understanding cannot be the act of a body, nor of any corporeal power, because every body is determined to the here and now. Hence, in order that the universe be perfect, it is necessary to posit some incorporeal creature.] S. Th., I, q. l, art. 1, corp.

Thus, that there are angels, and that the angels are personal beings and not myths or allegories, is a truth taught by revelation, confirmed by reason, attested by the faith of the human race.

Nature of the angels

As we have just indicated, the angels are *incorporeal*; that is to say, they have no bodies with which they are naturally united. The reason is that, being completely intellectual beings and subsisting by themselves, *formæ subsistentes* [subsistent forms], as Saint Thomas calls them, they have no need of bodies in order to be perfect. If the human soul is united to a body, it is because it has not the fullness of knowledge and is obliged to acquire it by the means of sensible things. As for the angels, being perfectly intellectual by their nature, they have nothing to learn from material creatures, and a body is useless to them (1).

1. Sum., I, q. l, art. 1, corp.

It results from this that the angels cannot, like human souls, be essentially united to bodies and become one and the same person with them. They are consequently incapable of exercising any act of sensible or vegetative life, such as seeing corporeally, hearing, eating and the like (1). From air or from some other already existing matter they can nevertheless form themselves bodies and give them an accidental figure and form. The archangel Raphael said to Tobias: *When I was with you, I seemed indeed to eat and to drink with you; but I use an invisible meat and drink* (2).

1. *Sequitur etiam ex illa immaterialitate, quod angelus non potest esse actus sive forma intrinseca corporis, nec uniri materiæ aut corpori intrinsece et essentialiter, hoc est communicare ei suum esse existentiæ, et fieri unum suppositum cum illo; et consequens nec exercere opera vitæ sensibilis aut vegetabilis, quæ sunt videre corporaliter, audire, gustare, vel generare, et alia hujusmodi.* [It follows also from that immateriality that an angel cannot be the act or intrinsic form of a body, nor be united to matter or body intrinsically and essentially—that is, communicate to it his own act of existence and become one supposit with it; and consequently he cannot exercise the works of sensible or vegetative life, which are to see corporeally, to hear, to taste, or to generate, and the like.] Viguier, *ubi supra*, p. 78.

2. Tob. xii [verse 19].

Thus, the apparition of the angels under a sensible form is not an imaginary vision. An imaginary vision exists only in the imagination of him who sees it; it escapes others. Now Scripture speaks to us often of angels appearing under sensible forms and seen indiscriminately by everyone. The angels who appear to Abraham are seen by the patriarch, by all his family, by Lot and by the inhabitants of Sodom. In the same way the angel who appears to Tobias is seen by him, by his wife, by his son, by Sara and by the whole family of Sara. It is therefore manifest that this was not an imaginary vision. It was truly a corporeal vision, in which he who enjoys it sees a thing exterior to himself. Now the object of such a vision, that is, the exterior thing, can only be a body. But since the angels are incorporeal and have no bodies to which they are naturally united, it follows that they put on, when need is, bodies formed accidentally (1).

1. S. Th., I, q. li, art. 1, corp.

These bodies, composed of condensed air or of some other matter, the angels take not for themselves but for us. All their apparitions relate to the fundamental mystery of the Incarnation of the Word and to the salvation of man, of which it is the indispensable condition. Some prepare it, others confirm it, while they prove the existence of the higher world with its eternal realities, glorious or terrible. “By conversing familiarly with men,” says Saint Thomas, “the angels wish to show us the truth of that great society of intelligent beings which we await in heaven. In the Old Testament their apparitions had for aim to prepare the human race for the Incarnation of the Word, for all of them were the figure of the apparition of the Word in the flesh (1).”

1. *Licet aër in sua raritate manens non retineat figuram, neque colorem; quando tamen condensatur et figurari et colorari potest, sicut patet in nubibus; et sic angeli assumunt corpora ex aëre, condensando ipsum virtute divina, quantum necesse est ad corporis assumendi formationem.* [Although air remaining in its rarity retains neither shape nor color, yet when condensed it can be shaped and colored, as is plain in clouds; and thus the angels assume bodies from air, condensing it by divine power as far as is necessary for the formation of the body assumed.] I, q. li, art. 2, ad 1 and 3. — *Angeli non indigent corpore assumpto propter seipsos, sed propter nos; ut familiariter cum hominibus conversando, demonstrent intelligibilem societatem, quam homines expectant cum eis habendam in futura vita. Hoc autem quod angeli assumpserunt corpora in Veteri Testamento, fuit quoddam figurale indicium, quod Verbum Dei assumpturum esset corpus humanum. Omnes enim apparitiones Veteris Testamenti ad illam apparitionem ordinatæ fuerunt, qua Filius Dei apparuit in carne.* [Angels need an assumed body not for themselves but for us: that by conversing familiarly with men they may show the intelligible society which men expect to have with them in the future life. And that the angels assumed bodies in the Old Testament was a figurative sign that the Word of God would assume a human body. For all the apparitions of the Old Testament were ordained toward that apparition in which the Son of God appeared in the flesh.] Id., ad 1.

In the New they concur in the accomplishment of the mystery, whether in itself, or in the Church and in the elect. This is easily seen by examining the circumstances of the angelic apparitions to Zachary, to the Blessed Virgin, to Saint Joseph, to Saint Peter, to the apostles, to the martyrs, to the saints in every age.

According to the most learned interpreters, the accidental apparitions of the angels on earth would be only the prelude of a habitual apparition in heaven. “The reprobate,” they say, “will be tormented not only in their soul, by the knowledge of their torments, but also in their body, by seeing the horrible figures of the demons. In them the eyes of the body have sinned as well as the eyes of the soul; it is therefore just that both should receive their chastisement.” In like manner it is probable that in heaven the angels will take magnificent aerial bodies, to rejoice the eyes of the elect, and to converse with them mouth to mouth. This seems required, on the one hand, by the friendship, the union, the intimate communication that will exist between the angels and the blessed, as fellow-citizens of the same fatherland; on the other hand, by the reward due to the mortification of the senses and to the angelic life the saints led here below in the hope of enjoying the

society of the angels. If it were otherwise, the senses of the elect would receive no joy from the angels, and indeed all relation with them would be impossible to them. Everything would be confined to a mental communication, and the body would be deprived of a part of its reward (1)."

1. Cited in Cornelius a Lapide, on Is. xxxiv, 14. — By virtue of the same reasoning, might one not suppose that the two persons of the Most Holy Trinity who have not taken a body, the Father and the Holy Spirit, will also deign to show themselves to the elect under a visible form? *O altitudo divitiarum!* [O the depth of the riches! — Rom. xi, 33.]

Speaking of the last judgment, they add: "It is very credible that all the angels will appear there in splendid bodies; otherwise this glory of the Son of God would not be seen by the impious, for whom nevertheless it will above all be displayed. The mighty army of the heavens would add nothing to the exterior majesty of the supreme Judge: a majesty which Scripture takes care to describe with so much precision. The multitude of the angels being innumerable, it will fill the immense plains of the air and present to the assembled nations the formidable aspect of an army drawn up in battle. It is no less credible that the demons will appear under corporeal forms; otherwise they would not be seen by the reprobate, and yet the glory of Our Lord and the confusion of the wicked require that they be visible (2)."

2. Viguier, p. 78.

Qualities of the angels

From the simplicity or incorporeality of their nature, it results that the princes of the City of Good are *incorruptible*. Exempt from languor and sickness, they know neither the need of food or rest, nor the weaknesses of childhood, nor the infirmities of old age. It results further that they are endowed with a *beauty*, an *intelligence*, an *agility* and a *strength* incomprehensible to man.

God is perfect beauty and the source of all beauty. The more a being resembles Him, the more beautiful it is. The heavens are beautiful, the earth is beautiful, because the heavens and the earth reflect some rays of the beauty of the Creator. Of all material beings the human body is the most beautiful, because it possesses in a higher degree strength and grace, whose happy union forms the stamp of beauty. The soul is more beautiful than the body, because it is the more perfect image of the eternal beauty. In its turn, because he is the incomparably more perfect image of this beauty, the angel is incomparably more beautiful than the human soul. What a spectacle, then, is presented to the eyes of faith by the King of the City of Good, surrounded by all these princes, resplendent as suns, of whom the least beautiful eclipses all visible beauties! The day when it shall be given to man to see Him face to face, he will enter into a rapture indescribable even by Paul, who was a witness of it. In the meantime humanity has the instinct of this supreme beauty; for, to mark the most perfect degree of sensible beauty, it says: *beautiful as an angel*.

The beauty of the angels is the radiance of their essential perfection, and their essential perfection is *intelligence*. Who will tell its extent? Saint Thomas answers: "Angelic intelligence is *deiform* [godlike]—that is to say, the angel acquires knowledge of truth not by sight of sensible things, nor by reasoning, but by simple intuition (1). A purely spiritual substance, in him the intellective power is complete—that is, it is never in potency as in man, but always in act, so that the angel actually knows all that he can naturally know. He knows it entire, in the whole and in the details, in the principle and in the last consequences.

1. *Non acquirit intelligibilem veritatem ex varietate rerum compositarum; non intelligit veritatem intelligibilium discursive, sed simplici intuitu.* [He does not acquire intelligible truth from the variety of composite things; he does not understand the truth of intelligibles discursively, but by simple intuition.] II–II, q. clxxx, art. 6, ad 2 [read clxxx, art. 6, ad 2, on the contemplation of angels]. — Id., I, q. l, art. 1, ad 2; q. lv, art. 1, corp.; and art. 2, corp.

“Intelligences of a lower order, like the human soul, need, in order to arrive at the perfect knowledge of truth, a certain movement, a certain intellectual labor, by which they proceed from the known to the unknown. This operation would not take place if, as soon as they know a principle, they saw instantly all its consequences. Such is the prerogative of the angels. In possession of a principle, they know at once all that it contains; this is why they are called *intellectual*, and human souls merely *rational*. Thus there can be neither falsity, nor error, nor deception in the intelligence of any angel (1).”

1. *Inferiores intellectus, scilicet hominum, per quemdam motum et discursum intellectualis operationis perfectionem in cognitione veritatis adipiscuntur; dum scilicet ex uno cognito in aliud cognitum procedunt. Si autem statim in ipsa cognitione principii noti inspicerent, quasi nota, omnes conclusiones consequentes, in eis discursus locum non haberet. Et hoc est in angelis; quia statim in illis quæ primo naturaliter cognoscunt, inspiciunt omnia quæcumque in eis cognosci possunt. Et ideo dicuntur intellectuales… animæ vero humanæ rationales vocantur. Si enim haberent plenitudinem intellectualis luminis, sicut angeli, statim in primo aspectu principiorum totam virtutem eorum comprehenderent, intuendo quidquid ex eis syllogizari potest.* [The lower intellects, namely of men, attain perfection in the knowledge of truth by a certain movement and discourse of intellectual operation, that is, as they proceed from one thing known to another known. But if in the very knowledge of the known principle they at once beheld, as known, all the consequent conclusions, there would be no place in them for discourse. And this is so with the angels; for immediately in those things which they first naturally know, they see all that can be known in them. And therefore they are called intellectual… but human souls are called rational. For if they had the fullness of intellectual light, as the angels have, they would at the first glance at the principles comprehend their whole virtue, beholding whatever can be syllogized from them.] I, q. lviii, art. 3, corp. — *Intelligendo quidditates simplices, ut dicitur, non est falsitas; quia vel totaliter non attinguntur, et nihil intelligimus de eis, vel cognoscuntur ut sunt. Sic igitur per se non potest esse falsitas, aut error, aut deceptio in intellectu alicujus angeli.* [In understanding simple quiddities, as is said, there is no falsity; for either they are not attained at all, and we understand nothing of them, or they are known as they are. So of itself there cannot be falsity, or error, or deception in the intellect of any angel.] Id., art. 5, corp.

To what does the knowledge of the princes of the City of Good extend? It extends to all the truths of the natural order (1). For them heaven and earth have nothing hidden; and, since they are confirmed in grace, they know most of the truths of the supernatural order. We say *most*, for until the day of judgment, when the course of ages shall end, the angels will receive new communications about the government of the world, and in particular about the salvation of the predestined (2).

1. I, q. lxxv, art. 1, corp., etc. [Gaume’s reference; likely I, q. lv, as in the preceding note.]

2. *Usque ad diem judicii semper nova aliqua supremis angelis revelantur divinitus de his quæ pertinent ad dispositionem mundi, et præcipue ad salutem electorum. Unde semper remanet ut superiores angeli inferiores illuminent.* [Until the day of judgment some new things are always divinely revealed to the highest angels about what pertains to the disposition of the world, and especially to the salvation of the elect. Hence it always remains that the higher angels enlighten the lower.] Id., q. cvi, art. 4, ad 3.

If the intelligence of the princes of the City of Good is for them the source of ineffable delights, it is for us a threefold subject of consolation, of sadness and of hope. Of consolation: the good angels use their intelligence only in our interest and that of our heavenly Father. Of sadness: in Adam we possessed an intelligence like theirs, exempt from error, and we lost it (1). Of hope: we shall recover it in heaven, and already we possess the first-fruits of it in the lights of faith.

1. Id., I, q. xciv, art. 1 and 4, corp.

From the *incorporeity* of the angels is born their *agility*. Being finite, the angel cannot be everywhere at the same time; but such is the rapidity of his movements that they almost equal ubiquity. “The angel,” says Saint

Thomas, “is not composed of diverse natures, so that the movement of one hinders or retards the movement of the other, as happens in man, in whom the movement of the soul is hampered by the organs. Now, since no obstacle retards or hinders him, the intellectual being moves in the whole fullness of his force. For him space disappears. Thus the princes of the City of Good can, in the twinkling of an eye, be in one place; and in another twinkling, in another place, without intermediate duration (1).” Such, moreover, is their subtlety that the most opaque bodies are less to them than a transparent veil to the rays of the sun.

1. *Et sic angelus in uno instanti potest esse in uno loco, et in alio instanti in alio loco, nullo tempore intermedio existente.* [And so an angel can be in one place in one instant, and in another place in another instant, with no time intervening.] I, q. liii, art. 3, ad 3; q. lxii, art. 6, corp.

Like their agility, the *strength* of the angels takes its source in the essence of their being, which partakes more abundantly than any other of the divine essence, infinite force (1). Thus the one and the other surpass all we know of agility and strength in nature; that is, they are incalculable and are exercised over the world and over man.

1. We give this participation the sense of the words of Saint Peter: *divinæ consortes naturæ* [partakers of the divine nature — 2 Pet. i, 4]. This is not pantheism.

Over the world: it is the angels who impart to it movement. Inert by nature, all material creatures are born to be set in motion by spiritual creatures, as our body by our soul. “It is a law of the divine wisdom,” teaches the Angelic Doctor, “that inferior beings be moved by superior beings. Now material nature being inferior to spiritual nature, it is manifest that it is set in motion by spiritual beings. Such is the teaching of philosophy and of faith (1).”

1. *Et ideo natura corporalis nata est moveri immediate a natura spirituali secundum locum. Unde et philosophi posuerunt suprema corpora moveri localiter a spiritualibus substantiis.* [And therefore corporeal nature is born to be moved immediately by spiritual nature as to place. Hence the philosophers also posited that the supreme bodies are moved locally by spiritual substances.] I, q. cx, art. 3, corp.

Now the impulsive force with which the angels are endowed is so great that a single one suffices to set in motion all the bodies of the planetary system; and, although he is in the east, according to an ancient belief preserved even among the pagans, his action makes itself felt to all parts of the globe. So man himself, whose hand sets in play the master wheel of an immense machine, produces, without changing place, the movement of all the secondary wheels (1).

1. *Angelus non potest esse in pluribus locis totalibus; nec angelus qui movet primum mobile, dicitur esse per totum universum inferius, quia non applicat immediate virtutem suam nisi in oriente. Et ideo ibi dicitur esse a philosopho, licet virtus ejus derivetur ad alias partes et ad alios cœlos, ac ad inferiora, sicut virtus figuli moventis in una parte rotam.* [An angel cannot be in several places in his totality; nor is the angel who moves the first mobile said to be throughout the whole lower universe, because he applies his power immediately only in the east. And therefore the philosopher says he is there, though his power is derived to other parts and other heavens and to things below, like the power of a potter moving a wheel at one point.] Viguier, p. 81.

The logical consequence of this impulsive force is that the angels can displace the most voluminous bodies and transport them wherever they wish, with a rapidity that escapes calculation. According to Saint Augustine, the natural force of the least of the angels is such that all corporeal and material creatures obey him, as to local motion, within the sphere of their activity, unless God or a higher angel put an obstacle. If then God permitted it, a single angel could transport an entire city from one place to another, as they did for the holy house of Loreto, transported from Nazareth to Dalmatia, and from Dalmatia to the place where it today receives the homage of the Catholic world (1).

1. *Virtus enim naturalis etiam minimi angeli, secundum S. Aug., lib. III, De Trinit., tanta est, quod omnia corporalia et materialia ei obediunt ad motum localem infra sphæram activitatis eorum, nisi impediantur a Deo, vel superiore eorum. Sic quod, si Deus permitteret, posset totam unam civitatem integram transferre ex uno loco ad alium, etc.* [For the natural power even of the least angel, according to St. Augustine, *De Trin.* III, is so great that all corporeal and material things obey him as to local motion within the sphere of their activity, unless hindered by God or by one superior to him; so that, if God permitted, he could transfer a whole city entire from one place to another, etc.] Cited in Viguier, p. 81.

Not only do the angels impart motion to the material world, they conserve it, whether by preventing the demons from bringing disturbance into the laws that preside over its harmony, or by watching over the perpetual maintenance of these admirable laws. “The whole material creation,” says Saint Augustine, “is administered by the angels.” “Hence nothing prevents us from saying,” adds Saint Thomas, “that the lower angels are set by divine wisdom over the government of lower bodies, the higher over the government of higher bodies, and finally the highest to the adoration of the Being of beings (2).”

2. *Tota creatura corporalis administratur a Deo per angelos, ut Aug. dicit, lib. III, De Trinit., c. iv et v. Unde nihil prohibet dicere inferiores angelos divinitus distributos esse, ad administrandum inferiora corpora: superiores vero, ad administrandum corpora superiora; supremos vero, ad assistendum Deo.* [The whole corporeal creature is administered by God through the angels, as Augustine says, *De Trin.* III, c. iv and v. Hence nothing prevents us from saying that the lower angels are divinely distributed to administer the lower bodies, the higher to administer the higher bodies, and the highest to assist God.] I, q. lxiii, art. 7 [likely I, q. cx, art. 1].

Let us not deceive ourselves, then: the marvelous order that strikes us in nature, and above all in the firmament, is due not to chance, not to the force of things, not to immutable laws, but to the continual action of the princes of the City of Good. Under the orders of their king they conduct the immense globes that compose the brilliant army of the heavens, as officers lead their soldiers, as engineers drive their formidable machines [*chefs de train* — train-drivers, locomotive men]: with this difference that the latter can err, the former never. In spite of the frightful rapidity they impart to these gigantic masses, they hold them in their orbit, making each travel its road with mathematical precision. One day only, which will be the last of days, will this magnificent harmony be broken. At the approach of the sovereign judge, when all creatures shall arm themselves against guilty man, the mighty conductors of the stars will upset the order of the planetary system. Then *men shall wither away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world* (1).

1. Cornelius a Lapide, on Matt. xxiv, 29. [The quotation is Luke xxi, 26.]

Over man. By virtue of the same law of subordination, spiritual beings of a lower order are subject to the action of spiritual beings of a higher order. Thus man is subject, body and soul, to the angelic powers, and the angels are not subject to him. One would have to go through all of Scripture to report the different operations of the angels on the body of man. Let us cite only the example of the prophet Habacuc, transported by an angel from Palestine to Babylon, to carry his food to Daniel, shut up in the lions’ den. Let us cite again the army of the king of Assyria, Sennacherib, of which a hundred and eighty-five thousand men are cut to pieces by an angel in a night. Recalling this fact on the occasion of the twelve legions of angels whom Our Lord could have called about Him in the garden of Olives, Saint Chrysostom rightly cries out: “If one angel was able to put to death a hundred and eighty-five thousand soldiers, what would not twelve legions of angels do (1)?” One might add the well-known passage of the exterminating angel, to whom a few moments sufficed to make perish all the first-born of men and of animals in the vast kingdom of Egypt.

1. *Si unus angelus centum octoginta quinque armatorum millia interfecit, quid facerent duodecim legiones angelorum?* S. Chrysostom [Gaume: “In Matth., xxvi, 3”].

As to our soul, the angels can exercise, and in reality do exercise upon it, an action by turns ordinary and extraordinary, whose power it is difficult to measure. The understanding owes them its most precious lights. “The revelations of divine things,” says the great Saint Denis [Dionysius], “reach men by means of the angels (1).” From the first to the last, all the pages of the Old and New Testament verify the words of the illustrious disciple of Saint Paul: Abraham, Lot, Jacob, Moses, Gedeon, Tobias, the Machabees, the most holy Virgin, Saint Joseph, the holy women, the apostles are instructed and directed by these administrator spirits of man and of the world. We shall see that the guardian angel fulfils, with less éclat doubtless but no less really, the same functions toward the soul confided to his solicitude.

1. *Revelationes divinorum perveniunt ad homines mediantibus angelis.* [Revelations of divine things reach men through the mediation of angels.] *Cælest. hierarch.*, c. iv.

This illumination, so powerful over the conduct of life, takes place in several ways. Sometimes the angel strengthens the understanding of man so that he may conceive the truth; sometimes he presents to him sensible images by means of which he can know the truth which without them he would not know. So does man himself who instructs another (1).

1. S. Th., I, q. cxi, art. 1, corp.

Is it a question of the *will*? It is true, the angels, good or bad, cannot force its determinations, for the soul always remains free; but universal experience teaches how efficacious are the inspirations of the good angels and the suggestions of the evil angels to carry us to good as to evil. Both draw a great part of their force from the power which the princes of the City of Good and of the City of Evil have to act profoundly on the exterior senses. By this means the demons fascinate the imagination with deceptive images which take from evil its ugliness or clothe it with the appearance of good; they stir up the whole lower part of the soul and thus inflame concupiscence. The good angels, on the contrary, dispelling the clouds of error and the darkness of the passions, bring the senses back to their native purity and produce a sort of second sight by means of which things present themselves to the soul’s appreciation under their true aspect. In certain cases the angels can even deprive man of the use of his senses, as happened to the inhabitants of Sodom. To this law belongs the long series of facts of the divine supernatural and of the satanic supernatural which fill the annals of all peoples, and whose nature reason can no more explain, nor cause misconstrue, than it can deny their authenticity (2).

2. *Angeli revelant aliqua in somniis, ut patet, Matth. i et ii, de angelo qui Joseph in somniis apparuit. Ergo… Dicendum quod angelus, tam bonus quam malus, virtute naturæ suæ, potest movere imaginationem hominis… Angelus potest immutare sensum hominum sua naturali virtute. Potest enim angelus opponere exterius sensui sensibile aliquod vel a natura formatum, vel aliquod de novo formando, sicut facit dum corpus assumit. Similiter etiam potest interius commovere spiritus et humores, ex quibus sensus diversimode immutentur.* [Angels reveal certain things in dreams, as is plain, Matt. i and ii, of the angel who appeared to Joseph in dreams. Therefore… It must be said that an angel, good as well as bad, can by the power of his nature move the imagination of man… An angel can change the senses of men by his natural power. For he can present externally to the sense some sensible thing, either formed by nature or newly formed, as he does when he assumes a body. Likewise he can interiorly stir the spirits and humors, by which the senses are diversely altered.] I, q. cvi, art. 2, corp.; q. cxi, art. 3 and 4, corp., etc.

Less ignorant or less obstinate in error than our modern rationalists, the pagans, who had not yet invented the system of immutable laws, proclaim loudly and without restriction the free government of man and of the world by the angelic powers. Besides the testimonies already cited, we have that of Apuleius. It is so explicit that one would say it was a page from the book of Job.

“If it is unbecoming for a king to do and govern everything by himself,” he says, “it is far more so for God. We must therefore believe, to preserve all His majesty, that He is seated on His sublime throne, and that He

rules all the parts of the universe by the celestial powers. It is indeed by their care that He governs the lower world. For this He needs neither pains nor calculations, things of which the ignorance or the weakness of man has need.

“When therefore the king and father of beings, whom we can see only with the eyes of the soul, wishes to set in motion the immense machine of the universe, resplendent with stars, brilliant with a thousand beauties, directed by His laws, He does, if it be permitted to say so, what is done at the moment of a battle. The trumpet sounds. Animated by its accents, the soldiers stir. One takes his sword, another his shield; these, their cuirass, their helmet, their boots; this one harnesses his horse; another yokes his steeds to the four-horse chariot. Each makes himself ready with ardor. The *velites* [light-armed skirmishers] form the ranks, the officers inspect them, and the knights take command of them. Each busies himself with his office. Yet the whole army obeys one general, whom the king places at its head.

“It is no otherwise in the government of divine and human things. Under the orders of a single chief, each one knows its duty and accomplishes it, although it does not know the secret spring that makes it act, and although this power escapes the eyes of the body. Let us take an example in a less lofty order. In man the soul is invisible. Yet one would have to be mad to deny that all that man does comes from this invisible principle. To it human life owes its security; the fields their cultivation; the fruits their use; the arts their exercise; in a word, all that man does (1).”

1. *De mundo*, lib. unus, p. 148. [The *De mundo* attributed to Apuleius.]

Bossuet was therefore the echo of the universal faith when he pronounced this masterly word: “The subordination of created natures demands that this sensible and lower world be ruled by the higher and intelligible one, and corporeal nature by spiritual nature (1).”

1. Sermon for the Feast of the Holy Angels, p. 402, t. xvi, Lebel ed.

Let man therefore remember it. As the material world is governed by the angelic powers, he himself is placed under the immediate action of an angel, good or evil. Not a word, not an action, not a minute in his existence, that is not influenced by one or other of these powerful creatures. But it is sweet to think that the power of the princes of the City of Good surpasses that of the princes of the City of Evil.

“In God,” says the Angel of the school, “is the first source of all superiority. The nearer creatures approach God, the more they partake of Him, and the more perfect they are. Now the greatest perfection, that which approaches nearest to that of God, belongs to the beings who enjoy God Himself: such are the good angels. The demons are deprived of this perfection. This is why the good angels are superior to them in power and hold them subject to their empire. Hence comes, as a consequence, that the least of the good angels commands the first of the demons, inasmuch as the divine force in which he participates prevails over the force of the angelic nature (1).”

1. *Dicendum quod angelus, qui est inferior ordine naturæ, præest dæmonibus, quamvis superioribus ordine naturæ; quia virtus divinæ justitiæ, cui inhærent boni angeli, potior est quam virtus naturalis angelorum.* [It must be said that an angel who is lower in the order of nature presides over demons, though they be higher in the order of nature; because the virtue of divine justice, to which the good angels cling, is stronger than the natural power of the angels.] I, q. cix, art. 4, corp. and ad 3.

Translator’s notes — Chapter IX

1. **References.** Where Gaume’s *Summa* citations in this chapter are faulty, I mark probable corrections in brackets; none affects the sense.

2. **Terms.** *Formæ subsistentes* — “subsistent forms” (Thomist term for pure spirits). *Deiform — déiforme*, “godlike.” *Intellectuels / raisonnables* — “intellectual / rational,” Aquinas’s contrast between angelic and

human knowing. *Supposit* (*suppositum*) — the individual subsistent whole.

3. **Idiom.** *Chefs de train* — in context "engine-drivers" or those who run the "trains" (locomotives): Gaume compares angels guiding planets to men guiding their formidable machines. *Vélites* — the *velites*, light-armed Roman skirmishers; Apuleius's military simile is translated as in Gaume.

4. **Lapide on Isaiah.** The quotation about the angels' bodies in heaven is Gaume's rendering of a commentators' consensus cited in Cornelius a Lapide, not a verbatim Lapide text.

5. **Loreto.** Gaume treats the tradition that the Holy House was borne by angels from Nazareth to Dalmatia and then to Loreto as an example; I translate as he writes.

6. **Apuleius.** The *De mundo* passage is a Latin version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Peri kosmou*, traditionally ascribed to Apuleius.

Chapter X. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Number of the angels. — Angelic hierarchies and orders. — Definition of hierarchy. — Its reason for being. — Why three hierarchies among the angels, and only three. — Definition of order. — Why three orders in each hierarchy, and only three. — Images of the angelic hierarchy in the Church and in society. — Functions of the angels. — The higher angels enlighten the lower. — Language of the angels. — Great division of the angels: assisting angels and executing angels. — Functions of the Seraphim. — Of the Cherubim. — Of the Thrones. — Reflection of this first hierarchy in society and in the Church.

Number of the angels

When the inspired authors, admitted to see some of the realities of the higher world, wish to indicate the multitude of the angels, they speak only of millions and of hundreds of millions. "I beheld," says Daniel, "till thrones were placed, and the Ancient of days sat. His garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like clean wool; His throne like flames of fire; the wheels of it like a burning fire. A swift stream of fire issued forth from before Him. Thousands of thousands ministered to Him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before Him (1)."

1. *Millia millium ministrabant ei, et decies centena millia assistebant ei.* Dan. vii, 10.

Witness of the same spectacle, Saint John continues: "And I saw, and I heard around the throne the voice of many angels, and the number of them was thousands of thousands (1)." Farther on, having marked the universality of the elect of the blood of Abraham, he adds: "After this I saw a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations and tongues (2)." Now since the beginning of the world every predestined soul, and even every reprobate, has as guardian an angel of the lower order; it follows that the number of the angels of all the hierarchies is incalculable.

1. Apoc. v, 11.

2. *Post hæc vidi turbam magnam quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus populis et linguis.* Ibid., vii, 9.

Saint Denis [Dionysius], depositary of the teachings of his master Paul, rapt to the third heaven, uses the same language. "The blessed armies of the celestial intelligences," he says, "exceed in number all the poor calculations of our material arithmetic. Suspect no exaggeration in the words of the prophets. The number of the angels is incalculable. It surpasses that of all creatures, even that of the men who have been, who are and who shall be (1)."

1. *Multi sunt beati exercitus supernarum mentium, infirmam et astrictam nostrorum materialium numerorum commensurationem excedentes… Angeli sunt innumeri, adeoque superant numerum omnium creaturarum, etiam hominum qui unquam fuerunt, sunt et erunt.* [Many are the blessed armies of the supernal minds,

exceeding the weak and narrow measure of our material numbers… The angels are innumerable, and so surpass the number of all creatures, even of the men who ever were, are and shall be.] *De cœlest. hier.*, c. ix and xiv.

The Angel of the school gives the reason; we translate his thought. The principal end that God proposed to Himself in the creation of beings is the perfection of the universe. The perfection or beauty of the universe results from the most brilliant manifestation of the attributes of God, within the limits marked by His wisdom. It follows that the more beautiful and perfect certain creatures are, the more abundant has been their creation. The material world confirms this reasoning. There are found there two kinds of bodies: corruptible bodies and incorruptible bodies. The first is reduced to our globe, dwelling of corruptible beings; and our globe is almost nothing compared to the globes of the firmament. Now, as size is for bodies the measure of perfection, number is so for spirits. Thus reason itself leads to this conclusion: that immaterial beings surpass material beings in incalculable number (1).

1. I, q. l, art. 3, corp.

While waiting for heaven to reveal to us the justness of these magnificent computations of genius enlightened by faith, a great ground of security for our pilgrimage is to know that the good angels are much more numerous than the evil ones. “The tail of the Dragon,” says Saint John, “drew but the third part of the stars (1).” There is not an interpreter who does not understand by these stars the rebel angels (2).

1. *Et cauda ejus trahebat tertiam partem stellarum.* Apoc. xii, 4.

2. Cornelius a Lapide, on Apoc. xii, and S. Th., I, q. lxiii, art. 9, corp.

Hierarchies and orders of the angels

A multitude without order is confusion: such cannot be the state of the angels. “All the works of God,” says the Apostle, “are ordained”; or, as it is written elsewhere: “God hath made all things in number, weight and measure”—that is, with a perfect order (1). Order is the first thing that strikes us in the material world. Order produces harmony, and harmony supposes the mutual subordination of all the parts of the universe. In its turn, this harmony reveals an intelligent cause which created it and maintains it. Evidently the same harmony must exist, more perfect if possible, in the world of spirits, archetype of the world of bodies and masterpiece of the creative wisdom. Subordination, and consequently hierarchy of the beings who compose it, is therefore the law of the invisible world, as it is the law of the visible world. Such are the teaching of faith and the invariable affirmation of reason.

1. *Quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordinatæ sunt.* [Now those that are, are ordained of God.] Rom. xiii, 1. — *Omnia in mensura, et numero et pondere disposuisti.* [Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight.] Wis. xi, 21.

Now, according to the etymology of the word: *hierarchy is a sacred principate* (1). *Principate* signifies at once the prince himself and the multitude ranged under his orders. Hence three fine consequences, which cast a lively light on the general order of the universe and on the particular government of the City of Good.

1. *Hierarchia est sacer principatus.* S. Th., I, q. cviii, art. 1, corp.

God being the creator of angels and of men, there is, in relation to Him, but one hierarchy, of which He is the supreme hierarch. It is the same in relation to the Incarnate Word. King of kings, Lord of lords, to whom all power has been given in heaven and on earth, He is the supreme hierarch of angels and men, and consequently of the Church triumphant and the Church militant. Vicar of the Incarnate Word, Peter is the supreme hierarch of the Church militant, by virtue of these divine words: *Feed my lambs, feed my sheep.* In his turn Peter has established other hierarchs who themselves have established subordinate rectors, charged with directing the different provinces of the City of Good. All, nevertheless, form only one and the same

hierarchy, since all fight under one same chief, Jesus Christ (1). We shall soon see that the angelic hierarchy is the type of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, itself type of the social hierarchy.

1. Viguier, p. 84.

If the principate is considered in its relations to the multitude, the *hierarchy* is the *whole of the beings subject to one and the same law*. If they are subject to different laws, they form distinct hierarchies, without ceasing to be part of the general hierarchy (1). So one sees, in the same kingdom and under the same king, cities governed by different laws (2). Now beings are subject to the same laws only because they have the same nature and the same functions. It follows that angels and men, having neither the same nature nor the same functions, form distinct hierarchies. It follows further that, all the angels not having the same functions, the angelic world is divided into several hierarchies.

1. *Unus principatus dicitur secundum quod multitudo uno et eodem modo potest gubernationem principis recipere.* [One principate is spoken of according as the multitude can receive the governance of the prince in one and the same way.] S. Th., I, q. cviii, art. 1, corp.

2. One sees also from this that centralization in a great empire is contrary to the fundamental laws of order; and, as an inevitable consequence, that it must produce friction, malaise, revolt and ruin.

That angels and men form distinct hierarchies, the reason and the proof are in the relative perfection of the one and the other. This perfection is the greater the more abundantly beings participate in the perfections of God. A purely spiritual creature, the angel participates in them more than man. For the angel receives the divine illuminations in the intelligible purity of his nature, whereas man receives them under the more or less transparent images of sensible things, such as the word and the sacraments. The angel is therefore a more perfect creature than man, and must consequently form a different hierarchy.

Moreover, since there is hierarchy, that is to say order of subordination, in the angelic world, it is evident that not all the angels receive the divine illuminations equally. There are therefore angels superior to the others. Their superiority has for its foundation the more or less perfect, the more or less universal knowledge of truth. “This knowledge,” says Saint Thomas, “marks three degrees among the angels; for it can be considered under a triple relation.

“First, the angels can see the reason of things in God, first and universal principle. This manner of knowing is the privilege of the angels who approach nearest to God, and who, according to the fine saying of Saint Denis, stand in His vestibule. These angels form the first hierarchy.

“Second, they can see it in the universal created causes, which are called the general laws. These causes being manifold, the knowledge is less precise and less clear. This manner of knowing is the portion of the second hierarchy.

“Third, they can see it in its application to individual beings, inasmuch as they depend on their own causes, or on the particular laws that govern them. So know the angels of the third hierarchy (1).”

1. I, q. cviii, art. 1, corp.

There are therefore three hierarchies among the angels, and only three: a fourth would find no place. For these three hierarchies have their reason of being in the three possible ways of seeing truth: in God, in general causes, in particular causes; that is to say, as the sublime Areopagite says, in the more or less abundant life enjoyed by the angels who compose them (1).

1. The words of Saint Denis, master of Saint Thomas in this question: *Cum divini spiritus entitate sua ceteris entibus antecellant, excellentiusque vivant aliis viventibus, et intelligant cognoscantque supra sensum et rationem, et præ cunctis entibus pulchrum et bonum appetant participentque, hoc utique viciniores Bono sunt, quo luculentius illud participantes, plures etiam et ampliores ab ipso dotes acceperunt; sicut etiam*

rationalia sensitivis antecellunt, quo uberiori ratione pollent, uti et sensitiva sensu atque alia vita. [Since the divine spirits excel other beings by their very entity, live more excellently than other living things, understand and know above sense and reason, and beyond all beings desire and partake of the beautiful and the good, they are by that much nearer the Good as they partake of it more splendidly and have received from it more and greater endowments; just as rational things surpass the sensitive in so far as they are powerful in richer reason, and sensitive things surpass others by sense and another life.] *De divin. nom.*, c. v.

Revelation further discovers to us in each hierarchy three different *choirs* or *orders*. An angelic choir or order is called a certain multitude of angels, alike among themselves by the gifts of nature and grace (1). Each hierarchy contains three, only three. More would be too many, fewer not enough. For each hierarchy composes a kind of small State. Now every State necessarily possesses three classes of citizens, neither more nor less. “However numerous they may be,” says Saint Thomas, “all the citizens of a State are reduced to three classes, according to the three things which constitute every well-ordered society: the beginning, the middle and the end. So we see invariably three orders among men: some are at the first rank, this is the aristocracy; others at the last, this is the people; others hold the middle, this is the middle class [*la bourgeoisie*].

1. *Ordo angelorum dicitur multitudo cœlestium spirituum qui inter se aliquo munere gratiæ similantur, sicut et naturalium datorum participatione conveniunt.* [An order of angels is called a multitude of heavenly spirits who are alike among themselves in some office of grace, as they also agree in participation of natural gifts.] Master of the Sentences [Peter Lombard], *Sent.*, Dist. 9.

“It is the same among the angels. In each hierarchy there are different orders. Like the hierarchies themselves, these orders are distinguished by the natural excellence of the angels who compose them and by the difference of their functions. All these functions refer necessarily to three things, neither more nor less: the beginning, the middle and the end (1).”

1. I, q. cviii, art. 2, corp.; id., art. 4, corp.

We shall see this clearly by the explanation of the particular functions of each order. Before giving it, let us note that the magnificent hierarchy of heaven or of the Church triumphant proves itself by being reflected to our eyes in the hierarchy of the Church militant, that other portion of the City of Good. It suffices to open one’s eyes to see that the Church of earth divides into three hierarchies, and each hierarchy into three orders.

The first is composed of the superior prelates, and contains three orders: the sovereign pontificate, the archiepiscopate and the episcopate. To the sovereign pontificate refers the cardinalate, for the cardinals are the coadjutors of the sovereign pontiff; as to the archiepiscopate refers the patriarchate, whose jurisdiction extends to several dioceses and even to several provinces.

The second is composed of the middle prelates, who receive direction from the superior prelates and who fulfil certain functions either by virtue of their own authority or by delegation. It also contains three orders: abbots, to whom is confided the power of blessing and sometimes of confirming; priors and deans of collegiate churches or communities, whose powers are more or less extensive; rectors or parish priests [*curés*], charged with the conduct of parishes, to whom refer, in their quality of auxiliaries, the curates and the lower clerics. All have for mission to administer the sacraments.

The third is composed of the faithful or the people, to whom it belongs to receive spiritual goods but not to administer them. Like the others, this last hierarchy contains three orders: virgins, the continent, and the married, whose duties are different, as their very vocation is distinct.

In the regularity of their working, these hierarchies and orders present the most beautiful harmony that man can contemplate here below, and this harmony is only the image of the harmony, a thousand times more beautiful, that we shall see in heaven. There will show themselves to our eyes, without cloud and without

veil, the three angelic hierarchies, with their nine choirs, resplendent with light and beauty. In the first: the *Seraphim*, the *Cherubim* and the *Thrones*. In the second: the *Dominations*, the *Principalities* and the *Powers*. In the third: the *Virtues*, the *Archangels* and the *Angels*.

Functions of the angels

Composed of three great hierarchies, and each hierarchy divided into three distinct orders, the angelic world appears to us as a magnificent army drawn up in fine order. To know this is not enough. To enjoy the spectacle of an immense army in its formidable splendors, one must see it in motion. So, to have an idea of the brilliant army of the heavens and to measure the place occupied in the providential plan by the princes of the City of Good, one must study them in the exercise of their functions.

To be purified, enlightened and perfected; or to purify, enlighten and perfect: this is the double end to which all the functions of the angelic hierarchies and orders refer (1). What is the meaning of these mysterious words? All the angels do not know the divine secrets equally. The first hierarchy, as we have said with Saint Thomas, sees the reason of things in God Himself; the second, in the universal second causes; the third, in the application of these causes to particular effects. To the first belongs the consideration of the end; to the second, the universal disposition of the means; to the third, the putting into execution (2).

1. *Ordo hierarchiæ est alios quidem purgari, illuminari et perfici; alios autem purgare, illuminare et perficere.* [The order of the hierarchy is that some be purged, illumined and perfected; others, to purge, illumine and perfect.] S. Dion., in S. Th., I, q. cviii, art. 1, corp.

2. *Quia Deus est finis non solum angelicorum ministeriorum, sed etiam totius naturæ, ad primam hierarchiam pertinet consideratio finis; ad mediam vero dispositio universalis de agendis; ad ultimam autem applicatio dispositionis ad effectum, quæ est operis executio.* [Because God is the end not only of the angelic ministries but of all nature, the consideration of the end belongs to the first hierarchy; the universal disposition of what is to be done, to the middle; and the application of the disposition to the effect, which is the execution of the work, to the last.] I, q. cviii, art. 6, corp.

The lights which they have drawn from the very bosom of God, the angels of the first hierarchy communicate, as far as is fitting, to the angels of the second hierarchy; these, to the angels of the third; and those of the third impart them to men. But reciprocity does not take place, since the lower angels have nothing to teach the higher angels, nor men the angels (1).

1. S. Dionysius, c. viii *De cœlest. hier.*, says that the angels of the second hierarchy are purged and illumined and perfected by the angels of the first, and those of the third by those of the second, and men by angels, and not conversely: for he says this law of the divinity is immovably established, that the lower be led back to God through the higher. Viguier, p. 79.

Necessary to the government of the world, this ceaseless communication will last until the last judgment. It contains what we have called purification, illumination and perfecting. For the manifestation of a truth to one who does not know it purifies his understanding by dissipating the darkness of ignorance; it illumines it by making the light shine where obscurity reigned; it perfects it by giving it a certain knowledge of the truth (1). Such are the operations of the higher angels toward the lower, who for this are said to be purified, enlightened and perfected. Not one of these mysterious operations of the heavenly hierarchy is wanting in the hierarchy of the Church militant (2).

1. *Compendio denique non abs re dixerim, divinæ scientiæ participationem esse purgationem et illuminationem atque perfectionem: dum quidem ignorantiam quodammodo expiat per perfectorum mysteriorum scientiam, quæ pro sua cuique dignitate conceditur; per divinam vero cognitionem illuminat, qua etiam purgat mentem illam, quæ antea non viderat ea, quæ modo illi per sublimiorem illustrationem elucidantur; sursumque perficit eodem ipso lumine, per stabilem scientiam clarissimarum eruditionum.* [In

brief, I would say not without reason that participation in divine knowledge is purgation and illumination and perfection: for it in a manner expiates ignorance through the knowledge of perfected mysteries, granted to each according to his dignity; by divine cognition it illumines, whereby it also purges that mind which before had not seen the things now made clear to it by a loftier illumination; and it perfects upward by the same light, through the stable knowledge of the clearest teachings.] S. Dion., *Cælest. hier.*, c. vii.

2. *Sanctissima itaque mysteriorum consecratio primam quidem virtutem deiformem habet, qua profanos sacris expiat; mediam vero, quæ eos qui jam expiati sunt illuminando initiat; postremam denique, et summam præcedentium, qua sacris initiatos propriarum contemplationum scientia consummat ac perficit.* [The most holy consecration of the mysteries has a first godlike power, by which it purifies the profane for sacred things; a middle one, which by illuminating initiates those already purified; finally a last one, the summit of the preceding, by which it consummates and perfects the initiated by knowledge of their own contemplations.] *Cælest. hier.*, c. v, and the fine pages that follow. [reading *contemplationum* for "conservationum"]

Now the angelic communications are made by *speech*; for the angels, perfect images of the Word, have a language and speak among themselves. That the angels speak, Saint Paul teaches us when he says: *If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels* (1). Yet let us beware of imagining that the angelic language resembles the human language and has need of articulate sounds or exterior signs, vehicles of thought from one angel to another. This language is wholly interior, wholly spiritual, like the angel himself. It consists, on the part of the higher angel, in the will to communicate a truth to the lower angel; and, on the part of the latter, in the will to receive it. These two operations, meeting no obstacle either in the nature of the angels or in their individual dispositions, are infallible and instantaneous (2).

1. 1 Cor. xiii, 1.

2. *Unde S. Greg., II Moral., dicit: Alienis oculis intra secretum mentis quasi post parietem stamus; sed cum manifestare nos ipsos cupimus, quasi per linguas januam egredimur, ut, quales sumus, extrinsecus ostendamus. Hoc autem obstaculum non est in angelo, ideo quamprimum vult quod alius cognoscat, statim cognoscit, et illa voluntas qua vult alium scire, lingua metaphorice dicitur et locutio interior, etc.* [Whence St. Gregory says, *Moral.* II: "To the eyes of others we stand within the secret of the mind as if behind a wall; but when we desire to manifest ourselves we go out as through the door of the tongues, that we may show outwardly what we are." But this obstacle is not in the angel, so that as soon as he wills that another know, that other at once knows, and that will whereby he wills another to know is metaphorically called tongue and interior speech, etc.] Viguier, p. 80.

It is from the first hierarchy that the second and the third receive, the one immediately and the other mediately, the divine illuminations. Hence, relatively to their dignity and functions, that great division of the angels into *assisting angels* and *executing angels*, or administrators. The first consider in God Himself the reason of the things to be done, and manifest them to the lower angels charged with executing them. Such is the image under which Holy Scripture represents to us the angels of the first hierarchy. One of these illustrious princes of the court of the great King, speaking to Tobias, says to him: *I am Raphael, one of the seven who stand before the Lord* (1).

1. Ibid., xii, 15.

Literally: *Who stand before His throne.* It must be said that this fine expression, to *assist at the throne of God*, has several senses. The angels assist before God when they take His orders; when they offer Him the prayers, the alms, the good works, the vows of mortals; when they plead against the demons the cause of men at the supreme tribunal; when they plunge their gaze into the rays of the divine face to draw from it the ineffable delights which constitute their felicity. In this last sense all the angels, none excepted, are assistants before God, for all enjoy, and enjoy continually, the beatific vision, even while they accomplish their

missions in the government of the world. Nevertheless, in the precise sense, the expression *to assist before God* designates the angels of the first hierarchy, who are not accustomed to be employed in exterior ministries (1).

1. *Adstare, stricte et presse ad eos angelos attinet, qui ad ministeria externa mitti non solent; sed rationes rerum faciendarum in Deo contuentes, inferiores angelos ea munera exsecuturos docent atque illuminant. Unde distinguuntur angeli in Assistentes et Ministrantes.* [To stand by, strictly and precisely, pertains to those angels who are not wont to be sent to external ministries; but, beholding in God the reasons of the things to be done, they teach and illumine the lower angels who are to execute those duties. Hence angels are distinguished into Assistants and Ministers.] Cornelius a Lapide, on Tob. xii, 15.

These angels who assist at the throne of God and are superior to all the others are called the Seraphim, the Cherubim, the Thrones, and form the first hierarchy. Since the hierarchies of the lower world are only a reflection of the hierarchies of the higher world, a solid comparison, borrowed from the court of earthly kings, helps us to understand the rank and functions of these great officers of the eternal Crown. Among courtiers there are some who owe it to their dignity to enter familiarly the prince's presence without needing to be introduced; others who add to this first privilege that of knowing the prince's secrets; others, finally, still more favored, inseparable companions of the prince, seem to be one with him.

These last represent to us the *Seraphim*. Most sublime creatures that God has drawn from nothing, these angelic spirits owe their name to the flames of their love (1). Placed at the summit of created hierarchies, they touch, so far as the finite can touch the infinite, the divine Trinity, love itself and eternal hearth of all love. Far from cooling their ardor, the solemn missions which are sometimes confided to them seem to increase it and to make them repeat, with a more intimate delight, the canticle heard by Isaias: "The Seraphim stood, and one cried to another, and said: Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of His glory (2)."

1. *Seraphim, quod nomen fuit impositum ab excessu caritatis. Angeli hujus ordinis excedunt alios in ardore et fervore caritatis, ad quam patenter inferiores excitant.* [Seraphim: this name was imposed from an excess of charity. The angels of this order exceed the others in ardor and fervor of charity, to which they plainly stir the lower.] Viguier, p. 85; S. Dion., c. vii, *Cælest. hier.*

2. Is. vi, 3.

In the fortunate courtiers who know all the secrets of the prince we have an image of the *Cherubim*, whose name signifies fullness of knowledge (1). With a gaze that the sparkling rays of the face of God never dazzle nor trouble, these godlike spirits contemplate at their source the intimate reasons of things, in order to communicate them to the lower angels, whose functions and conduct these reasons must determine. They themselves are sometimes sent on mission. So we see a Cherub charged with guarding the entrance of the earthly paradise and forbidding it to guilty man. Why a Cherub and not another angel? To keep watch and to see afar are the two qualities of a sentinel. Now, as their name indicates, the Cherubim possess these two qualities to a supereminent degree, even in the angelic world (2).

1. *Cherubim, quod nomen est impositum ab excessu scientiæ. Unde interpretatur plenitudo scientiæ.* [Cherubim: this name is imposed from an excess of knowledge; hence it is interpreted fullness of knowledge.] Viguier, ibid.

2. *Cherubim potius quam Thronis, Virtutibus, aut Principatibus custodia paradisi demandata est, quia Cherubim sunt vigilantissimi et perspicacissimi; unde a scientia vocantur Cherubim, ideoque aptissimi sunt vindices omniscientiæ Dei, quam ambierat Adam.* [The guarding of paradise was entrusted to the Cherubim rather than to Thrones, Virtues or Principalities, because the Cherubim are most vigilant and most keen-sighted; hence they are called Cherubim from knowledge, and therefore are the aptest avengers of the

omniscience of God, which Adam had coveted.] Cornelius a Lapide, on Gen. iii, 24 [the cherub is Gen. iii, 24].

By the great lords who have their free entry to the King, the *Thrones* are represented. Elevation, beauty, solidity: these are the three ideas that the name of the seat, on which monarchs sit on solemn occasions, brings to the mind. None could better designate the third angelic order of the first hierarchy. The Thrones are so called because these angels, dazzling with beauty, are raised above all the choirs of the lower hierarchies, to which they signify the orders of the great King, while sharing with the Seraphim and the Cherubim the privilege of seeing the truth clearly in God Himself, that is, in the cause of causes (1).

1. *Ordo Thronorum habet excellentiam præ inferioribus ordinibus, in hoc quod immediate in Deo rationes divinorum operum cognoscere possunt. Sed Cherubim habent excellentiam scientiæ; Seraphim vero excellentiam ardoris. Et licet in his duabus excellentiis includatur tertia; non tamen in illa, quæ est Thronorum, includuntur aliæ duæ. Et ideirco ordo Thronorum distinguitur ab ordine Cherubim et Seraphim.* [The order of Thrones has an excellence over the lower orders in this, that they can know immediately in God the reasons of the divine works. But the Cherubim have excellence of knowledge; the Seraphim, excellence of ardor. And although the third excellence is included in these two, yet the other two are not included in that which belongs to the Thrones. And therefore the order of Thrones is distinguished from the order of the Cherubim and Seraphim.] S. Th., I, q. cviii, art. 5, ad 3.

Fixed in God by the intuition of truth, they are unshakable. Moreover, as the material throne is open on one side to receive the monarch who speaks from this majestic seat, so the angelic Thrones are open to receive God Himself, who speaks by their mouth. Theirs the noble function of transmitting His sovereign communications to the angels of the lower hierarchies, spread through all the parts of the City of Good. In fact, the Thrones, being the last order of the first hierarchy or of the Assistant Angels, touch immediately on the Dominations, which form the highest choir of the administering Angels.

Such then, in a word, are the relations and distinctions that exist among the angels of the first hierarchy. All are assistants at the Throne. All contemplate the reasons of things in the first cause. The privilege of the Seraphim is to be united to God in the most intimate manner, in the delicious ardors of an unutterable love. The privilege of the Cherubim is to see truth with a sight superior to everything that is below them. The privilege of the Thrones is to transmit to the lower angels, in the proportion of need, the divine communications of which they possess the fullness (1).

1. *Accipiunt enim divinas illuminationes per convenientiam ad immediate illuminandum secundam hierarchiam, ad quam pertinet dispositio divinorum ministeriorum.* [For they receive the divine illuminations fittingly, to illumine immediately the second hierarchy, to which belongs the disposition of the divine ministries.] S. Th., I, q. cviii, art. 6, corp.

Thus the august Trinity, whose image shows through all creations, shines with an incomparable brilliancy in the most perfect of them. In the Thrones we see Power; in the Cherubim, Intelligence; in the Seraphim, Love.

Reflection of the heavenly hierarchy, the ecclesiastical hierarchy presents the same spectacle. In the Deacon, you have the Power that executes; in the Priest, the Intelligence that illumines; in the Pontiff, the Love that consummates, according to this word addressed to the supreme head of the pontificate: “Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these?—Lord, thou knowest that I love thee.—Feed my lambs, feed my sheep.” Love is therefore the principle, the end, the sovereign law of the City of Good; as hatred, as we shall see, is the principle, the end, the sovereign law of the City of Evil (1).

1. *Est igitur pontificatus seu episcopatus ordo, qui consummante virtute fultus, perficientia quæque sacri ordinis munia præeminenter consummat, atque sacrorum disciplinas interpretando tradit, et edocet quænam ipsis sacræ competant habitudines atque virtutes. Sacerdotum ordo qui illuminat, ad sacra mysteria*

contuenda initiatos manuducit, divinorum ordini pontificum subjectus… Ordo ministrorum seu diaconorum est qui expiat et dissimilia discernit, antequam ad sacerdotum sacra veniant; accedentes etiam lustrat, ut eos a contrariis immunes reddat, atque sacrorum mysteriorum spectaculo et communione dignos. [The order of the pontificate or episcopate, sustained by consummating power, preeminently consummates all the perfecting offices of the sacred order, and by interpreting hands on the disciplines of sacred things and teaches what dispositions and virtues befit them. The order of priests illumines, leads the initiated by the hand to the contemplation of the sacred mysteries, subject to the order of the divine pontiffs… The order of ministers or deacons purifies and discerns dissimilar things, before they come to the sacred rites of the priests; it also cleanses those approaching, so as to render them free from contraries and worthy of the spectacle and communion of the sacred mysteries.] S. Dion., *Eccles. hierarch.*, c. v.

Translator's notes — Chapter X

1. **Terms of the hierarchy.** *Chœur / ordre* — "choir / order" (used interchangeably, as in the tradition). *Hiérarque* — "hierarch." *Principat* — "principate," from the Latin *principatus* in the definition "hierarchia est sacer principatus" (Pseudo-Dionysius via Aquinas); in the English text Gaume's gloss (the prince and the multitude under him) is kept. The Pseudo-Dionysian names of the nine choirs are given as in the Douay tradition.

2. **Pseudo-Dionysius.** Gaume (like Aquinas) takes "Saint Denis the Areopagite," converted by Paul, as author of *De cælesti hierarchia*; modern scholarship regards the corpus as of about 500 A.D.

3. **Idiom/Political.** *La bourgeoisie* here means simply the "middle class" in Aquinas's tripartition; I gloss it for the reader. Gaume's note on centralization is a political aside of his own time and is rendered as written.

4. **Scripture.** Gaume's "ten thousand times a hundred thousand" renders *decies centena millia* (Dan. vii, 10); the quotation of Revelation vii follows the Vulgate form cited in his note.

5. **Seraphim.** The "Séraphin" etymology is from *seraph*, "burning" (via Dionysius).

6. **Reference.** Ap. xii, 4 for the Dragon's tail.

Chapter XI. (End of the Preceding)

The seven angels who assist at the throne of God. — They are the supreme governors of the world. — Proofs: the worship the Church renders them. — History of the church of Saint Mary of the Angels at Rome, dedicated in their honor. — Functions of the Dominations. — Of the Principalities. — Of the Powers. — Functions of the Virtues. — Of the Archangels. — Of the Angels. — Guardian angels. — Proofs and details.

Before leaving the first angelic hierarchy, it seems necessary to us to say a word of the seven Angels who assist at the throne of God, of whom both Testaments speak. "I am Raphael, one of the seven who stand before the Lord," said Raphael to Tobias. "John to the seven churches which are in Asia. Grace be unto you and peace from Him that is, and that was, and that is to come, and from the seven spirits which are before His throne," wrote the beloved disciple (1).

1. Tob. xii, 15; Apoc. i, 4.

Faithful interpreter of the divine teachings, Catholic tradition indeed venerates seven Angels, more beautiful, greater, more powerful than all the others, who surround the Throne of God, ever ready to execute, whether by themselves or by others, His sovereign will (1). To confirm it, the King of the Angels has often been pleased to show Himself to saints and martyrs surrounded by these seven Princes dazzling with splendor. Thus He appeared to the commander of the first praetorian cohort, Saint Sebastian, to animate him for the combat of martyrdom; and, as a pledge of victory, had him clothed by these seven Angels in a mantle of light (2).

1. *Septem sunt quorum maxima est potentia. Primogeniti angelorum principes.* [There are seven whose power is greatest. First-born, princes of the angels.] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, lib. vi.

2. Cornelius a Lapide, on Apoc. i, 4.

Common to Jews, philosophers and theologians, another tradition attributes to these seven Angels the supreme government of the physical world and of the moral world. In this they are like the ministers of kings, whose life seems inactive because it passes in the neighborhood of the Throne, but who in reality are the soul of all the movements of the empire. Figured, according to Saint Jerome, by the seven-branched candlestick of the Mosaic tabernacle, they preside over the seven great planets, whose revolutions determine the march of all the secondary wheels in the marvelous machine called the material universe. Under the same figure we see these seven Spirits presiding over the moral world. “Hence comes,” according to the remark of a learned commentator, “the septenary distribution, so frequent in the divine works. As there are in the world seven planets and seven days in the week, so there are in the Church seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and seven principal virtues, over which these seven higher Angels preside, in order to lead men by their means to eternal life (1).”

1. Cornelius a Lapide, ibid.

Let us hear yet another theologian: “The number seven, which designates the seven great Princes of the heavenly court, is a precise number; for when one finds in Scripture the same number employed several times in different places, above all in matters of history, the rule is to take it in its mathematical acceptation. There are therefore seven Angels superior to all the others. Their special functions are to watch over the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, in order to obtain them, to communicate them to us and to make them bear fruit; to tame, by virtue of a special force, the seven demons who preside over the seven capital sins; to preside over the seven brightest bodies of the firmament; to make us practice the seven virtues necessary for salvation, the three theological and the four cardinal.

“Since, under the direction of Satan, seven demons preside over the seven capital sins and, in their implacable hatred of man, neglect nothing to make us commit these sins and drag us to damnation: why should we not believe that, under the great King of the City of Good, seven Angels, chosen among the noblest, are charged to hold head against these seven principal enemies, to cover us from their attacks and to make us practice the virtues that must assure our eternal salvation? Can the attack be superior to the defense? And if there is among the evil angels an accord to destroy men, why should there not be one among the good angels to save them (1)?”

1. Serarius, *in Bibliam*, c. xi; Tob., *quæstiuncul.* 3, folio ed., 1610.

Faithful heiress of these lofty teachings, the Church has taken care to reproduce them in her hierarchy. Better to say, the divine founder of the Church militant willed that she should offer, in her hierarchy, the image of the hierarchy of her sister, the Church triumphant. Why do we see the apostles, directed by the Holy Spirit, establish seven deacons and not six or eight? Why do the first successors of Saint Peter create seven cardinal-deacons? Why do they ordain that seven deacons shall assist the sovereign Pontiff and even the bishop when he pontificates? To recall the seven Angels who assist at the throne of God. “These seven deacons,” continues Serarius, “were called the eyes of the bishop, by which he saw all that passed in his diocese. Now God is the first and greatest of bishops. His diocese is the world. He sees all that passes in it by means of seven angelic deacons. Not, to be sure, that He needs creatures, as the bishop needs his deacons, to know all things; but He uses them for the same reason that makes Him employ second causes in the government of the universe. This reason is to honor His creatures (1).”

1. *Episcopus omnium maximus, Deus est; ejus diœcesis mundus totus, in quo septem hi spiritus oculorum vice funguntur; non quod iis, uti homines, episcopis egeat, sed eamdem ob causam ob quam secundas ad*

rerum actionem et mundi gubernationem causas adhibere dignatur. [The greatest bishop of all is God; His diocese is the whole world, in which these seven spirits serve in place of eyes; not that He needs them as men need their bishops [deacons], but for the same reason for which He deigns to employ second causes in the action of things and the governance of the world.] Id., id.; and Cornelius a Lapide, *ubi supra*. See further the learned treatise of M. de Mirville, *Pneumatologie des Esprits*, t. ii, 332. This work, the fruit of vast erudition, contains details as interesting as they are little known on the angelic world, good and bad. [The Latin note's "episcopis" is the deacons' counterpart; I render the sense of Serarius's sentence.]

The seven great angelic Princes hold too large a place in creation and in the government of the world; they obtain for us too many favors, render us too many services; they are too honored by God Himself, for the Church to have forgotten to render them a special cult of gratitude and veneration. Their memory is celebrated in the different parts of the Catholic world; but nowhere is it so living as in Sicily, at Naples, at Venice, at Rome and in several cities of Italy. These places, where the ancient traditions seem to be preserved more religiously than elsewhere, show them to us represented in painting, in sculpture and even in mosaic.

Palermo, capital of Sicily, possesses a beautiful church dedicated to the seven Angels, princes of the heavenly host. In 1516 their images, of high antiquity, were discovered by the archpriest of this church, the venerable Antonio Duca. Often pressed by divine inspiration, this holy man came to Rome in 1527 to propagate the cult of these angels, to find and to build them a sanctuary. After much fasting and prayer, he merited to know, by revelation, that the Baths of Diocletian were to be the temple of the seven Angels who assist at the throne of God. The reasons of the divine choice were that these famous Baths had been built by thousands of earthly angels, that is, by forty thousand Christians condemned to this hard labor; that their gigantic construction had lasted seven years; that among all these martyrs seven shone with a more vivid brilliancy: Cyriacus, Largus, Smaragdus, Sisinnius, Saturninus, Marcellus and Thras■, who encouraged the Christians and provided for their necessities.

This revelation having been verified, the sovereign Pontiffs Julius III and Pius IV ordered the Baths to be purified and consecrated in honor of the seven Angels who assist at the Throne of God, or of the Queen of Heaven surrounded by these seven Angels. Michelangelo was charged with the work. With the rich materials of the voluptuous Baths of the greatest enemy of the Christians, the celebrated architect built the splendid church which is still admired today. It was on 5 August 1561 that Pius IV, in the presence of the sacred college and of the whole Roman court, solemnly consecrated it to Saint Mary of the Angels and honored it with a cardinalatial title (1).

1. See Andrea Victorelli, *De ministeriis angel.*; and Cornelius a Lapide, Apoc. i, 4.

One sees that, in her maternal solicitude, the Catholic Church neglects nothing to make us know the angels, to honor them, to bring us nearer to them and to assure us their powerful protection. Nothing is more intelligent than such conduct. We are of the family of the angels, and we must live with them throughout eternity.

The second hierarchy

Let us pass to the second hierarchy. We have already remarked that there is no leap in nature. All creations touch and are linked together by mysterious bonds, so that the last productions of a higher kingdom merge with the highest productions of the lower kingdom (1). The same law governs the world of intelligences, prototype of the world of bodies. Thus the Thrones, last order of the first angelic hierarchy, touch immediately the highest order of the second, the Dominations.

1. *Nam semper summum inferioris ordinis affinitatem habet cum ultimo superioris, sicut infima animalia parum distant a plantis.* [For the highest of the lower order always has affinity with the lowest of the higher,

as the lowest animals differ little from plants.] S. Th., I, q. cviii, art. 5, corp. — The Angelic Doctor had divined the spectacle which the curious Aquarium of the Jardin d'Acclimatation at Paris presents to all eyes: in the Anemone, animal-flower, or flower-animal, one sees, as in many others, the *weld* [*soudure*] of the vegetable and the animal kingdoms.

If the Thrones end the hierarchy of the Assistant Angels, the Dominations begin the hierarchies of the administering Angels. These latter, three in number, are in the government of the world and of the City of Good what the Heads of the great bodies of the State, the Army Generals and the Magistrates are in human societies. The highest consists of the Dominations, the Principalities and the Powers.

To indicate and command what is to be done is the role of the *Dominations*. They are so called, and with reason, because they dominate all the angelic orders charged with executing the will of the great King: as the generalissimo of an army dominates all the heads of corps placed under his orders and makes them maneuver according to the intentions of the prince whose representative he is (1).

1. *Hæc secunda hierarchia habet tres choros. Primus est Dominationum: et angeli hujus chori habent præcipere de agendis: Domini enim est præcipere.* [This second hierarchy has three choirs. The first is of Dominations: and the angels of this choir have to command what is to be done: for it belongs to the lord to command.] Vig., p. 85.

To continue the comparison, the *Principalities*, whose name signifies leaders according to the sacred order (1), represent the generals and the superior officers, who command their subordinates' movements and maneuvers in conformity with the prescriptions of the generalissimo. Princes of nations and of kingdoms, these powerful spirits lead them, each in what concerns him, to the execution of the divine plan. In this ministry, the most important of all, they are seconded by the angels immediately subject to their orders. Hence results the magnificent harmony of which Saint Augustine speaks. "The lower bodies," says the great bishop, "are ruled by the higher bodies, and both by the angels, and the evil angels by the good (2)."

1. *Et ideo Dion. dicit, c. ix Cœlest. hier., quod nomen Principatuum significat ductum cum ordine sacro.* [And therefore Dionysius says, c. ix *Cœlest. hier.*, that the name of Principalities signifies leading with sacred order.] Vig., 86.

2. *Corpora quodam ordine reguntur, inferiora per superiora, et omnia per spiritualem creaturam, et spiritus malus per spiritum bonum.* [Bodies are ruled in a certain order, the lower by the higher, and all by the spiritual creature, and the evil spirit by the good spirit.] — *Primus ergo ordo post Dominationes, dicitur Principatuum, qui etiam bonis spiritibus principatur.* [The first order after the Dominations is called of Principalities, which also holds principate over the good spirits.] Cited in S. Thomas, I, q. cviii, art. 6, corp.

There come finally the *Powers*. Clothed, as their name indicates, with a special authority, these angels are charged with removing the obstacles to the execution of the divine orders, by driving away the evil angels who besiege the nations to turn them from their end. In the human order, their analogues are the public powers charged with driving away malefactors and thus removing the obstacles to the reign of justice and peace (1).

1. *Potestates, per quas arcentur mali spiritus, sicut per potestates terrenas arcentur malefactores.* S. Th., ibid.

The third hierarchy

The third angelic hierarchy is formed of the Virtues, the Archangels and the Angels. In the soldiers who compose the different corps of an army, each regiment of which has its particular destination, in the subordinate administrators of restricted jurisdiction, we find the image of the last three angelic orders and the idea of their functions.

The *Virtues*, whose name means strength, exercise their empire over the material creation, preside immediately over the maintenance of the laws that govern it and preserve in it the order we admire. When the glory of God requires it, the Virtues suspend the laws of nature and work miracles (1). Thus the invisible agents by whom we are surrounded reveal their presence, and show that the material world is subject to the spiritual world as the body is subject to the soul.

1. *Virtutes ergo habent potestatem super corporalem naturam in operatione miraculorum.* [The Virtues, then, have power over corporeal nature in the working of miracles.] S. Th., ibid.

All the ministries of the angelic orders refer to the glory of God and the deification of man; in other words, to the government of the City of Good. Men, subjects of this glorious City, are the particular object of the solicitude of the angels. Between them and us exists a continual commerce, figured by Jacob's ladder. To descend the rungs of this mysterious ladder and, on solemn occasions, come to fulfil with man important missions, and to preside over the government of provinces, dioceses, communities: such is the double function of the *Archangels*, whose name signifies a superior Angel, or Prince of the angels properly so called (1).

1. Vig., 86.

Below this order is that of the *Angels*. *Angel* means *sent*. All the heavenly spirits being the announcers of the divine thoughts, the name of angel is common to them. To this function the higher angels add certain prerogatives, whence they draw their proper name. The angels of the last order of the last hierarchy, adding nothing to the common function of envoys and announcers, retain simply the name of angels. In relation more immediate and more habitual with man, they watch over the guardianship of his double life and bring him, at every hour, at every instant, the lights, the strengths, the graces he needs, from the cradle to the tomb (1).

1. Vig., 86.

Summary of the angelic ministries

If we sum up this rapid sketch, what an immense horizon opens before us! What an imposing spectacle unrolls before our eyes! It is then true that, instead of being nothing, the higher world is all; that the real is the invisible; that the material world lives under the permanent action of the spiritual world; that God governs the universe by His angels, freely, without necessity, without constraint, as a king governs his kingdom by his ministers, and a father his family by his servants. It is true again that the action of these administering spirits reaches each part of the whole, so that neither man nor any creature is abandoned to chance, left to his own forces, or delivered defenseless to the attacks of the enemy powers (1).

1. S. Th., I, q. vii, art. 2, corp. [probably I, q. cxii]; id., q. xlv, art. 5, corp.; and lvii, art. 2, corp..

Princes and governors of the great City of Good, to which refers the whole system of creation, the angels, in the material order, preside over the motion of the stars, the conservation of the elements and the accomplishment of all natural phenomena which delight or frighten us. Among them is shared the administration of this vast empire. Some have care of the heavenly bodies, others of the earth and its elements; others of its productions, trees, plants, flowers and fruits. To others is entrusted the government of the winds, seas, rivers, fountains; to others the conservation of animals. Not one visible creature, however great or small, that has not an angelic power charged to watch over it (1).

1. *Virtutes cœlestes hujus mundi ministeria ita suscepisse, ut illæ terræ, vel arborum germinationibus; illæ fluminibus ac fontibus; aliæ ventis; aliæ marinis, aliæ terrenis animalibus præsint.* [That the heavenly virtues have so undertaken the ministries of this world that some preside over the earth or the budding of trees; some over rivers and fountains; others over winds; others over marine, others over earthly animals.]

Origen, hom. xxiii, *in Josue*. — *Unaquæque res visibilis in hoc mundo habet angelicam potestatem sibi præpositam, sicut aliquot locis Scriptura divina testatur.* [Each visible thing in this world has an angelic power set over it, as divine Scripture testifies in several places.] S. Aug., *Lib. LXXXIII Quæst.*, q. lxxix.

The *animal man*, we know, *animalis homo*, denies this angelic action; but his denial proves only one thing, that he is animal. For the man who has intelligence, this action is evident. Wherever material nature lets order, harmony, movement, an end be perceived, there one recognizes at once a thought, an intelligence, a moving and directing cause. Now nothing in material nature is done without order, without harmony, without movement, without end. What is the principle of all these things? It is not, it cannot be, in matter, inert and blind by nature. Surely the wind knows neither where nor when it must blow, nor with what violence, nor what tempests it must raise, nor what clouds it must heap up. Do rain, snow, lightning itself know where they must form, where they must fall, the direction they must hold, the end they must attain, the day and hour when they must accomplish their mission? It is the same with the other material creatures, so improperly decorated with the name of agents. Where then is the principle of order, harmony and movement? Unless one admits effects without cause, it must necessarily be sought outside material creation—in an intelligent nature, essentially active, superior and foreign to matter. It is there, in fact, and there only, that true philosophy places it.

Speaking of the Creator, principle of all motion and of all harmony, the prophet tells us: *The creatures do His word*—that is, execute His will, *facientes verbum ejus.* But how is the creative word put in universal and permanent contact with the lower world, down to the last of the beings of which it is composed? In the same way as the word of a monarch with the most distant and most obscure parts of his empire, by intermediaries. God's intermediaries are the heavenly spirits: *qui facit angelos suos spiritus* [who maketh His angels spirits—Ps. ciii, 4]. This truth is of universal faith. Under all climates, in all ages, paganism itself proclaims it, and Catholic theology manifests it in all its splendor. To know that all parts of the universe live under the direction of the angels: what an inexhaustible source of light and admiration for the mind, of respect and adoration for the heart!

Guardian angels

In the moral order, no less certain and still nobler, is the ministry of the angels; they are, according to the fine expression of Lactantius, appointed to the guard and cultivation of the human race (1). Here again their functions are no less varied than the needs of their ward. Some guard the nations, each its own (2). Others, the universal Church. Like a formidable army defending a besieged city, they protect the City of their king, the holy Catholic Church, in her eternal war against the powers of darkness (3).

1. *Misit Deus angelos suos ad tutelam cultumque generis humani.* [God sent His angels for the protection and cultivation of the human race.] *De Instit. divin.*, lib. ii, c. xvi.

2. Dan. x, 13; S. Th., I, q. cxiii, art. 8, corp. — *Ex iis quidam præfecti sunt gentibus, alii vero unicuique fidelium adjuncti sunt comites.* [Of these some are set over nations, others joined as companions to each of the faithful.] S. Basil, lib. iii, *contra Eunom.* — *Regna et gentes sub angelis posita esse.* [Kingdoms and nations are placed under angels.] S. Epiph., hær. 41. — *Angeli singulis præsunt gentibus.* [Angels preside over individual nations.] Hier., lib. xi in Isa., c. xv [sic]. — *Quin etiam unicuique genti proprium angelum præesse affirmat Scriptura.* [Nay, Scripture affirms that a proper angel presides over each nation.] Theodoret, q. iii in Gen.

3. *Divinis potestatibus quæ Ecclesiam Dei ejusque religiosum institutum custodiunt.* [By the divine powers that guard the Church of God and her religious institute.] Euseb. in ps. 47.

There are some who are charged with the care of each Church, that is to say, of each diocese in particular. "Two guardians and two guides," teach the ancient Fathers with Saint Ambrose, "are set over each Church:

the one visible, who is the bishop; the other invisible, who is the tutelary angel (1)."

1. *Non solum ad eumdem gregem Dominus episcopos, sed etiam angelos ordinavit.* [The Lord has ordained not only bishops but also angels over the same flock.] S. Ambr., lib. ii, in Luc., and lib. i, *de Pœnit.*, c. xx. — *Vult Deus angelos singulos Ecclesiarum singularum sibi commissarum custodes esse.* [God wills that single angels be the guardians of the single Churches committed to them.] Euseb. in ps. 47. — *Angelis hujus urbis cura commissa est. Nec enim mihi dubium est quin alii aliarum ecclesiarum præsides et patroni sint, quemadmodum in Apocalypsi Joannes me docet.* [The care of this city has been committed to the angels. For I have no doubt that others are the presidents and patrons of other churches, as John teaches me in the Apocalypse.] S. Greg. Naz., orat. xxxiii.

If, to preserve it and to hinder the demon from soiling or destroying it, the smallest creature in the physical order, insect or blade of grass, lives under the protection of an angel, all the more is the human being, however weak he may be supposed, the object of an equal solicitude. Each man has his guardian angel. A powerful tutor, the prince of the City of Good watches over us, even in the maternal womb, to protect our frail existence against the thousand accidents that can compromise it and deprive us of baptism. Let us let science speak: "Great is the dignity of souls, since from birth each has an angel appointed to guard it! Before being born, the child attached to the maternal breast is in some way part of the mother, as the fruit hanging on the tree is still part of the tree. It is therefore probable that it is the mother's guardian angel who guards the child enclosed in her womb: as he who guards a tree guards the fruit. But, by birth, is the child separated from the mother? At once a particular angel is sent to guard him (1)."

1. *Magna dignitas animarum, ut unaquæque ab ortu nativitatis suæ habeat angelum ad custodiam sui deputatum. Quia cum parvulus in utero matris existit, adhuc est aliquid matris per quamdam colligationem, sicut fructus pendens in arbore, est aliquid arboris; et ideo probabile est quod angelus qui datus est in custodiam matri, custodiat parvulum existentem in utero; sicut qui custodit arborem, custodit fructum. Sed cum separatur a matre, in nativitate, datur particularis angelus.* [As in the text.] S. Jerome, in Matth., c. xviii; Vig., p. 86.

Inseparable companion of our life, the guardian angel follows us in all our ways, enlightens us, defends us, lifts us up, consoles us. Intermediary between God and us, he intercedes in our favor; he offers to the Ancient of days our needs, our tears, our prayers, our good works, like an incense of agreeable odor, burned in a golden censer. His mission does not cease with earthly life. It lasts as long as man has not arrived at his end. Thus the angels present souls at the tribunal of God and introduce them into heaven. If the gate is momentarily closed to them, they accompany them to purgatory, where they console them till the day of their deliverance. As for those whom an obstinate pride renders, until death, unteachable to their counsels, the princes of the City of Good abandon them only on the threshold of hell, burning abode prepared for Satan, his angels and his slaves.

As they have presided at the government of the world, the angels will assist at its judgment; they will awaken the dead and make the eternal separation of the elect and the reprobate (1).

1. *Angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris mei qui in cœlis est.* [Their angels always see the face of My Father who is in heaven.] Matt. xviii, 10. — *Unaquæque anima dum in corpus mittitur, angelo committitur.* [Each soul, when sent into a body, is committed to an angel.] S. Anselm, in *Elucidar.* — *Angeli tenent curam animarum nostrarum, et iis ab infantia tanquam tutoribus et curatoribus committuntur.* [The angels have care of our souls, and from infancy we are committed to them as to tutors and curators.] Euseb., *Præp. evang.*, lib. xiii, c. vii. — *Ego obtuli orationem tuam Domino.* [I offered thy prayer to the Lord.] Tob. xii, 12; Apoc. viii, 3. — *Si civitatem civitate vertentes egemus deductoribus, multo magis anima a corpore divulsa, et ad futuram transiens vitam opus habebit vitæ ducibus.* [If, changing from city to city, we need guides, much more will the soul torn from the body and passing to the future life need guides of life.] S. Chrys., in

Luc. xvi, 22: concio ii *de Lazaro*. — *Munia angelorum custodum sunt… post mortem animam in cœlum deducere; vel si purgatione indigeat, ad Purgatorium comitari, ibique eam subinde consolari, donec ea peracta illam ad cœlum evehat.* [The duties of guardian angels are… after death to lead the soul to heaven; or, if it needs purgation, to accompany it to Purgatory, and there console it from time to time, until, purgation completed, he conveys it to heaven.] Cornelius a Lapide, in Matth. xviii, 10.

Conclusion

On leaving the City of Good, let us take away a remembrance that sums up both the end of its existence and the innumerable functions of the Princes who govern it. The City of Good and the ministries of the angels refer to a single object: the Incarnate Word; to a single end: the salvation of man by his union with the Incarnate Word. Absolute Monarch of all beings, creator of all ages, heir of all things of heaven and earth, the Incarnate Word is the last word of all the divine works, as the salvation of man is the last word of His thought. What is more logical, more simple, more sublime and more luminous, and consequently more true, than this philosophy of the angelic world, than this history of the City of Good (1)!

1. *Omnibus (angelis) revelatum est (mysterium Incarnationis) a principio suæ beatitudinis. Cujus ratio est, quia hoc est quoddam generale principium, ad quod omnia eorum officia ordinantur. Omnes enim sunt administratorii spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos qui hæreditatem capient salutis; quod quidem fit per Incarnationis mysterium. Unde oportuit hoc mysterio omnes a principio communiter edoceri.* [To all the angels the mystery of the Incarnation was revealed from the beginning of their beatitude. The reason of which is that this is a kind of general principle to which all their offices are ordained. For all are ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation; which is done by the mystery of the Incarnation. Hence it was fitting that all be taught this mystery in common from the beginning.] S. Th., I, q. lvii, art. 5, ad 1.

— To believe that all the preceding explanations are the result of simple conjectures, rather than of positive knowledge, would be an error. The science of the angelic world is a certain science; certain because it is true; true because it is universal. Revelation, tradition, the very reason of all peoples, know it, teach it and practice it. Like all the others, it was recalled to its primitive purity and developed by Our Lord, whose unwritten teachings are, by the testimony of Saint John, infinitely more numerous than those of which the Gospel has transmitted knowledge. The richest depositary of these precious teachings was Mary, and it is known that, mother of the Church and instructress of the apostles, the august Virgin spoke very learnedly of the angels, whom she knew better than anyone. In his turn Paul, whom one may call the apostle of the angels, of whom he enumerates all the orders, Paul, rapt to the third heaven, did not fail to bring back to earth a profound knowledge of what he had seen, not for himself but for the Church. His illustrious disciple, Saint Denis, is indeed the first among the Fathers who has given a detailed, learned, sublime description of the angelic world. Founded on the Scriptures and on the testimony of the other Fathers, this description has become the point of departure of later writers and in particular the guide of the incomparable Saint Thomas in his magnificent study of the angelic world. Such are the channels by which the knowledge of the angels, of their hierarchies, their orders and their ministries has come down to us. What science is more certain?

Translator's notes — Chapter XI

1. **The seven angels.** Gaume (via Serarius and Cornelius a Lapide) draws on a tradition of seven archangels (Tob. xii, 15; Apoc. i, 4). The Roman cult he describes is that of *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri*, built into Diocletian's Baths from 1561 by Michelangelo's design (he died in 1564), consecrated to the "seven angels" on 5 August 1561 by Pius IV, according to Gaume. The list of seven martyrs (Cyriacus, Largus, Smaragdus, etc.) and the "forty thousand Christians" follow the traditional Passion narratives and are reported as Gaume reports them.

2. **Jardin d'Acclimatation.** Gaume's note on the anemone refers to the Aquarium of the Jardin d'Acclimatation (Paris, opened 1861), a contemporary attraction; the sea anemone is a classic "zoophyte" at the plant/animal border. *Soudure* — "weld/join".

3. **De Mirville.** Marquis Jules Eudes de Mirville, *Des Esprits et de leurs manifestations fluidiques* (Pneumatologie), 1853–68; Gaume recommends it.

4. **Idiom.** *Tenir tête* — "hold head against," i.e., confront or resist. *Animalis homo* — the Vulgate rendering of 1 Cor. ii, 14 (the "natural man," lit. "animal man"); Gaume plays on *animal*.

5. **Last paragraph.** The final paragraph (beginning "Croire que toutes les explications…") is printed in smaller type as a continuation of footnote (2); I retain it as a closing paragraph, marked by a dash.

Chapter XII. The King of the City of Evil

Lucifer, king of the City of Evil. — What he is, according to the names Scripture gives him. — Dragon, Serpent, Vulture, Lion, Beast, Murderer, Demon, Devil, Satan. — Detailed explanation of each of these names.

We have just sketched, according to universal teaching, the picture of the celestial hierarchies. What magnificence in these angelic creations! what harmony in this great army of the heavens! what admirable variety, and at the same time what mighty unity, in the government of the City of Good! If man understood it, his life, supposing he could live, would be one long ecstasy. But he would die of fright if he could see with his own eyes the King of the City of Evil, surrounded by his horrible princes and his black satellites. It is with him that we are now going to deal. Who is this King of the City of Evil? What are his characters? What idea ought we to have of his power and of his hatred? What fright ought he to inspire in us? Let us ask the answer of Him who alone knows him to the bottom.

To name, we have said, is to define. To define is to express the distinctive qualities of a person or a thing. Now He who cannot err, in naming, calls the King of the City of Evil: the Dragon, the Serpent, the Vulture, the Lion, the Beast, the Murderer, the Demon, the Devil, Satan. Why all these different names of one same being? Because Lucifer unites all the characters of the beasts to which he is likened; and that in such a degree that they make of him a being apart. An angel, an Archangel, perhaps the most beautiful of the Archangels, become in the twinkling of an eye all that is most unclean, most odious, most cruel, most terrible in the air, on the earth and in the waters: what a fall! And that for a single sin! O God! what then is sin? So it is; this angelic prince, formerly so good, so sweet, so resplendent with light and beauty, Scripture calls Dragon, *Draco*, great Dragon, *Draco magnus*.

The Dragon

In the holy books, as in the frightened memory of all peoples, this word designates an animal monstrous in size, terrible in cruelty, frightening in form, redoubtable in the swiftness of its movements and the penetration of its sight. Animal of earth, of sea, of marsh; reptile with vigorous wings, with long rows of steel teeth, with eyes of blood; terror of all nature: the dragon of Scripture and of tradition is all this (1).

1. Bellarmine on Ps. 103; Cornelius a Lapide on Is. ii, 9 [sic], and *passim*; likewise S. Augustine on the dragon, *Enarrat. in ps.* 103, n. 9, *Opp.* t. iv, p. 1673.

Under this form or that of some monstrous reptile, the demon, master of the world before the Incarnation, is found everywhere. How many holy founders of Churches do we not see obliged to begin, on arriving in their mission, by fighting a dragon—but a dragon in flesh and bone! In Brittany it is Saint Armel, Saint Tugdual, Saint Efflam, Saint Brieuc, Saint Paul of Léon. Rome, Paris, Tarascon, Draguignan (1), Avignon, Périgueux, Le Mans, I know not how many places in Scotland and elsewhere, were witnesses of the same combat.

Today even, is it not against the Dragon or the adored Serpent that our missionaries of Africa must struggle?

1. Draguignan, whose very name comes from *draco*.

But are not these ancient accounts legend? These descriptions, pictures of imagination? Has the Dragon really existed? We shall answer, first, that the dragon, with its different characters, is too often named in the holy books and even in all the ancient languages to be only a fantastic animal. We shall answer next that at all times and everywhere, at Babylon as in Egypt, the demon preferred the form of the dragon to offer himself to the adorations of the pagans; so much so that their temples bore the general name of *Dracontia*. Moreover, this form is found too frequently at the Christian origin of the peoples; it is too well attested by tradition, which our modern scholars at last recognize as "four times truer than history" (1), for it to be only a symbol of paganism.

1. Augustin Thierry.

We grow weary, at last, of hearing our most glorious titles treated as pious allegories or legendary tales. No more in the struggles of the first missionaries against the serpent in flesh and bone than in the temptation in the earthly Paradise do we admit the system of myth as the basis of our religious history. We believe in all these material combats, visible and palpable, because the envoys of God had need of them to accredit their mission; because it is the testimony of our fathers in all ages; because the course of all these facts takes place, as Mabillon says, "in the normal habits of the miracle"; and because the Church sanctions these accounts by making them pass into her public prayer.

We answer, finally, that thanks to the recent discoveries of Geology, the existence of the Dragon can no longer be called in question. With regard to the dragon, as with the unicorn, which Voltaire and his school had so much jested about, science has come to vindicate the Bible and the ancient belief of the peoples. David speaks of the unicorn; Aristotle describes the *oryx* (Indian ass), which according to him had but one horn. Pliny indicates the *Fera Monocetos* (wild beast with a single horn). The Chinese historians cite the *Kio-ta-ouan* (animal with a straight horn) as inhabiting Tartary. All these testimonies did not stop the mocking impiety of the last century. They ought nevertheless to have led to the conclusion of the ancient existence of the unicorn, perhaps even to the discovery of this animal: about 1834 this hope was realized. An Englishman residing in India, Mr. Hodgson, sent to the Academy of Calcutta the skin and horn of a unicorn, dead in the menagerie of the Rajah of Nepal. Since then, in conformity with the indication given by the Chinese historians, there has been discovered in Tibet a valley in which the biblical animal dwells.

As for the dragon, let us let our most illustrious geologist speak. "A very remarkable genus of reptiles," says Cuvier, "and whose remains abound in the upper sands, is the *Megalosaurus* (great lizard); it is so named with justice, for with the forms of lizards, and particularly of Monitors, whose cutting and serrated teeth it also has, it was of so enormous a size that, supposing it to have the proportions of the monitors, it must have exceeded seventy feet in length: it was a lizard as large as a whale (1)."

1. See my *Recherches sur les ossements fossiles*, t. v, 2nd part, p. 343. "Mr. Buckland discovered it in England, but we have them also in France." *Disc. sur les révol. du globe*, p. 214, 8vo ed., 1830.

Farther on, Cuvier speaks of the *Plesiosaurus* (neighbor of the lizard) and of the *Pterodactylus* (flying with its paws, like the bat), species of lizards "armed with sharp teeth, carried on high legs, and whose forward extremity has one excessively elongated finger, which probably carried a membrane fit to sustain it in the air, accompanied by four other fingers of ordinary dimension, ending in hooked claws." And he adds: "If anything could justify those hydras and other monsters whose figure the monuments of the Middle Ages (1) have so often repeated, it would incontestably be this Plesiosaurus (2)."

1. And of all the ancient peoples.

2. Ibid., pp. 311 and 316.

In fact, what does this monster and its like lack to be the Dragons of history? Yet to restore this name to them without contest, the positive knowledge of certain details was at first lacking to the great naturalist. Their prodigious dimension and their faculty of flying are still for him only suppositions and likelihoods. But behold, for the confusion of unbelief, the earth opens its bowels anew, and Cuvier's conjectures become palpable facts. Excavations bring about the discovery of gigantic reptiles. Cuvier sees them and gives the following description:

"Here we are arrived," he says, "at those of all reptiles, and perhaps of all fossil animals, which least resemble what is known, and whose combinations of structure would doubtless appear incredible to anyone who was not within reach of observing them himself.

"The Plesiosaurus, with the paws of a cetacean, the head of a lizard, and a long neck composed of more than thirty vertebrae, a number greater than that of all other known animals, which is as long as its body, and which rises and folds back like the body of serpents. That is what the Plesiosaurus and the Ichthyosaurus have come to offer us, after having been buried for several thousands of years under enormous heaps of stones and marbles (1)."

1. *Recherches*, etc., t. v, p. 245. — "The eyes of the Ichthyosaurus were of extraordinary size. Their power of vision allowed them at once to discover their prey at the greatest distances and to pursue it by night or in the darkest depths of the sea. Skulls of Ichthyosaurus have been seen whose orbital cavities had a diameter of 35 to 36 centimeters. In the largest species the jaws, armed with sharp teeth, have an opening of nearly 2 meters." Mangin, *Le monde marin*, 2nd part, p. 219, ed. 1865.

Speaking of the giant Pterodactyl: "Here then," continues the great naturalist, "is an animal which, in its osteology, from the teeth to the tip of the claws, offers all the classic characters of the Saurians (Lizards). One cannot therefore doubt that it had also their characters in the integuments and soft parts; that it had their scales, their circulation… It was at the same time an animal provided with the means of flying… which could further use the shortest of its fingers to hang itself up… but whose quiet position must ordinarily have been on its hind feet, again like that of birds. Then it must also, like them, have held its neck straightened and curved back, so that its enormous head should not break all balance (1)."

1. *Recherches*, etc., t. v, p. 245.

With time the demonstration becomes ever more brilliant. Thus in 1862 there were discovered, in a railway cutting under execution near Poligny, the remains of an enormous saurian. The dimension of the bones gathered is such that one cannot assign to the animal recovered less than 30 to 40 meters in length (1). For his part the celebrated Zimmermann has published the drawings of gigantic fossils recently discovered in Germany. Remarkable thing! these drawings, faithful copy of reality, come very near to the figures of dragons preserved among the Chinese, the most traditionalist people in the world. "One finds," says the learned German, "fossils of lizards of the size of the most enormous whale. To one of these monstrous species belongs the *Hydrarchos* (the prince of the waters), whose skeleton is 120 feet long…, to which we join another monster that seems to justify all the legends of ancient times about winged dragons. It is the Pterodactylus.

1. *Sentinelle du Jura* and *Annales de phil. chrét.*, September 1862, p. 237.

"Its patagium, or membrane which serves for flying, spreads between the forefoot and the hind foot in such a way as to leave the claws free to seize the prey. The head of the monster is almost as large as half the trunk. Its jaw is armed with sharp, curved teeth, which must have made of it a redoubtable enemy to the animals of which it made its victims (1)."

1. *Le monde avant la création de l'homme*, liv. xxxii, p. 4; 1855.

Let Voltaire and his generation make the best of it; there existed a species of amphibious monsters 100 feet long and of proportionate bulk, mounted on high legs ending in the claws of the lion, having the wings of the bat, the scales of the crocodile, the teeth of the shark, the head of the sperm whale, the neck and tail of the serpent: this is the Dragon. And this dragon is the fallen archangel, is the king of the City of Evil!

The Serpent

In order to vindicate Scripture, we thought it right to dwell on the first name it gives him. It calls him *Serpent, Serpens*, old Serpent, *Serpens antiquus*. This name suits Lucifer both because, as a serpent, he is six thousand years old, and a long practice renders him as redoubtable as can be; and because he used, to tempt Eve, the ministry of the serpent; and because he has all the qualities of the odious reptile. Serpent by cunning, serpent by venom, serpent by strength, serpent by the power of fascination. Such is this power that he seduces the whole world, *seducit universum orbem* [he seduceth the whole world—Apoc. xii, 9], so that the cult of the demon, under the form of the serpent, has gone around the globe. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, all the great peoples, so-called civilized, of pagan antiquity, adored the serpent, as the degraded negroes of Africa still adore it today (1). And this serpent, more frightful than all the others, is the fallen archangel, is the king of the City of Evil!

1. Cornelius a Lapide, on Gen. iii, 15; and Dan. xiv, 22. — *Diabolus dictus est serpens, quia cum latenter obrepit, cum per pacis imaginem fallens, occultis accessibus serpit, inde nomen serpentis accepit. Ea est ejus astutia, ea circumveniendi hominum latebrosa fallacia, ut asserere videatur noctem pro die, venenum pro salute, desperationem sub obtentu spei, perfidiam sub prætextu fidei, Antichristum sub vocabulo Christi; ut dum verisimilia mentitur, veritatem subtilitate frustretur. Nam transfigurat se in angelum lucis.* [The devil is called serpent because, creeping in secretly, deceiving through an image of peace, he glides with hidden approaches, whence he took the name of serpent. Such is his cunning, such the hidden deceit with which he circumvents men, that he seems to assert night for day, poison for health, despair under pretext of hope, perfidy under pretext of faith, Antichrist under the name of Christ; so that while he feigns what is likely, he may by subtlety frustrate the truth. For he transformeth himself into an angel of light.] S. Cyprian, *De Zelo et Livore* [the passage is from Cyprian, *De unitate*, c. 2].

The Vulture

It calls him *Vulture*, bird of prey, *Avis*. By the regions he inhabits, by the agility of his movements, by his skill in discovering his prey, by his promptness in swooping on it, by his rapidity in carrying it off to his eyrie, by the cruelty with which he sucks its blood and devours its flesh, the demon is indeed a bird of prey, a vulture. And this vulture, more cruel than all the others, is the fallen archangel, is the king of the City of Evil (1)!

1. *Diabolus dicitur jumentum, draco et avis: in eis quos excitat ad luxuriam, jumentum est. In eis quos ad nocendi malitiam inflammat, draco est. In eis quos ad superbiam elevat, avis est. In illis quos pariter luxuria, malitia et superbia pallit, jumentum, draco simul et avis existit.* [The devil is called beast of burden, dragon and bird: in those whom he rouses to lust, he is a beast of burden; in those whom he inflames to the malice of harming, he is a dragon; in those whom he raises to pride, he is a bird; in those whom lust, malice and pride alike pale, he is at once beast of burden, dragon and bird.] S. Gregory, *Moral.* lib. xxxiii, c. xiv.

The Lion

It calls him *Lion*, *Leo*. As the Incarnate Word is called Lion of the tribe of Juda, *Leo de tribu Juda*, on account of His strength, Scripture takes care to call the demon *roaring Lion*, *Leo rugiens*, a lion ever in fury and seeking a prey, *quærens quem devoret* [seeking whom he may devour—1 Pet. v, 8] (1). Never was a name better applied. The lion is the king of the animals: Lucifer is the prince of the demons. Pride, vigilance, strength, cruelty: such is the lion and such is the fallen angel. The lion devours not only when he is hungry,

but above all when he is in anger. In Lucifer, the hunger and hatred of souls are insatiable. The lion disdains the soiled remains of his victims. There is no sort of insult, sometimes of ill-treatment, that the demon does not make his slaves undergo, not to speak of the shames into which he always drags them. Of an ardent nature, the lion is libidinous to excess (2). So is the demon, in that he omits nothing to push man to the impure vice. The lion exhales a penetrating and disagreeable odor. The demon spreads an odor of death. Hence the Hebrew calls him He-goat; and history affirms that he ordinarily takes the form of this unclean animal to offer himself to the gaze and the adorations of the evokers [*évocateurs*, conjurers of spirits]. And this roaring lion and this unclean goat is the fallen archangel, is the king of the City of Evil (3)!

1. *Christus vocatur Leo propter fortitudinem; Diabolus ob feritatem. Ille leo ad vincendum; iste leo ad nocendum.* [Christ is called Lion for strength; the Devil for ferocity. The one is a lion to conquer; the other a lion to harm.] S. Aug., serm. xlvi, *de diversis*, n. 2.

2. *Leæna, teste Aristotele et Plinio, semper gestit ad coitum; nec leone contenta, etiam cum hyæna et pardo miscetur: inde enim nascuntur leopardi.* [The lioness, according to Aristotle and Pliny, is always eager for coupling; and not content with the lion, she mingles even with the hyena and the pard: thence leopards are born.] See Cornelius a Lapide on Dan. vii, 4.

3. Cornelius a Lapide, 1 Pet. v, 8. — See *Rapports de l'homme avec le démon* by M. Bizouard, 6 vols. 8vo.

The Beast

It calls him *Beast*, the beast properly so called, *Bestia*. Unite all the characters of the different animals in which Scripture personifies the fallen Archangel, and you will have the beast par excellence: in one same monster the size of the whale, the mouth and voracity of the shark, the teeth, the eyes, the ignoble propensities of the crocodile, the cunning and venom of the serpent, the agility of the bird of prey, the strength and cruelty of the lion. To complete the portrait of the Archangel become the Beast, the divine oracles give him seven heads, energetic symbol of his redoubtable instincts, or of the seven principal demons who form his cortege. And this beast, whom one cannot picture without turning pale, is the fallen Archangel, is the king of the City of Evil (1)!

1. Cornelius a Lapide, Apoc. xii, 3.

More than the frightening qualities we have just sketched, two things render him redoubtable: his nature and his hatred. The lion, the dragon, the serpent and the other corporeal monsters have only a limited power. They are subject to fatigue, to hunger, to old age, to death, to the laws of weight and of distance. Removed, glutted, infirm, dead, chained or asleep, they cease to harm. Pure spirit, Satan knows neither fatigue, nor need, nor chains, nor old age, nor death, nor sleep, nor weight, nor distance appreciable by our calculations (1).

1. *Angelus in uno instanti potest esse in uno loco, et in alio instanti in alio loco, nullo tempore intermedio existente.* [An angel can be in one place in one instant, and in another place in another instant, with no time intervening.] S. Th., I, q. liii, art. 3, ad 3.

By his very essence he has over the world of matter a natural power. As the body is made to be set in motion by the soul, so material creation is, by reason of its inferiority, subject to the impulse of spiritual beings. In his fall Satan lost nothing of this power. It is such that he can, at least in part, shake our globe, upset it and combine its elements in such a way as to produce the most astonishing effects (1).

1. *Natura corporalis nata est moveri immediate a natura spirituali secundum locum. Licet dæmones possint movere aliquam partem terræ, non sequitur quod possint movere totam terram, quia hoc non esset proportionatum naturæ ipsorum, ut mutent ordinem elementorum mundi.* [Corporeal nature is born to be moved immediately by spiritual nature as to place. Although demons can move some part of the earth, it does

not follow that they can move the whole earth, because that would not be proportioned to their nature, to change the order of the elements of the world.] S. Th., I, q. cx, art. 3; and *De Malo*, q. xvi, art. 10, ad 8.

If we judge by that of our soul, the power of Satan has nothing that ought to astonish us. What does the human soul not do with the material creation it can reach? And what would it not do if it were not hindered? In its hands, matter, even the most rebellious, is like a toy in the hands of a child. It upsets it, it hollows it, it cuts it, it displaces it, it plunges it into the abysses of the Ocean; it hurls it into the air and forces it to stand there for centuries. There is no form it does not impress on it. By turns it renders it solid, liquid or aeriform. It condenses it, dissolves it, makes it fly in pieces. With its combined forces it produces the thunderbolt that kills, or the electricity that carries thought with the rapidity of lightning. Be it ice, snow, fire, rock, mountain, plain, wood, lake, sea or river, it commands it with empire. What the human soul does with the matter it can reach, it would do likewise with the rest of the globe. What do I say? it would do a thousand times more, if it were not hindered by the fetters that bind it to the body and by the imperfection of the instruments at its disposal. Every day its gigantic thoughts attest that what it lacks is not force but the means of execution.

If the power of our soul over matter has limits unknown to us, how measure that of the angel, pure spirit, of a nature far superior to that of our soul (1)? How, above all, calculate the power of the first of the spirits? Now such is Satan, the king of the City of Evil. “The first angel who sinned,” says Saint Gregory, “was the head of all the hierarchies. As he surpassed them in power, he surpassed them in light (2).”

1. *Hoc ipsum quod anima quodammodo indiget corpore ad suam operationem, ostendit quod anima tenet inferiorem gradum intellectualitatis quam angelus, qui corpori non unitur.* [The very fact that the soul in a manner needs a body for its operation shows that the soul holds a lower grade of intellectuality than the angel, who is not united to a body.] I, q. lxxv, art. 7, ad 2.

2. *Primus angelus qui peccavit, dum cunctis agminibus angelorum præelatus eorum claritatem transcenderet, ex eorum comparatione clarior fuit… Ille qui peccavit fuit superior inter omnes.* [The first angel who sinned, being set before all the hosts of angels, surpassed their brightness, and in comparison with them was brighter… He who sinned was highest among all.] Hom. xxxiv *in Evang.*, and S. Th., I, q. lxiii, art. 7 and 9.

To cite only one example of what he can do, let us content ourselves with recalling the history of Job. With a view to testing the virtue of the holy man, God permits Satan to use against him, within a certain limit, the power of his hatred. In the twinkling of an eye he has condensed the clouds, unchained the winds, kindled the lightning, shaken the earth, and Job’s buildings are overthrown. His flocks disappear, his children perish. A few instants sufficed him to cause all these ruins. When permission shall be given him, he will take still less time to cover Job, from head to foot, with purulent ulcers, and to make of the most brilliant prince of the East a solitary beggar and the patriarch of sorrow.

Later we see him attacking, without knowing Him, the very Son of God. With the rapidity of lightning he transports Him by turns from the depth of the desert to the pinnacle of the temple and to the summit of a mountain. There, by one of those prestiges which we cannot understand but which are familiar to him, he makes pass before the eyes of the Incarnate Word all the kingdoms of the earth with their splendors.

Now what he was at the time of Job and of the redemption, the king of the City of Evil is today. The same nature, consequently the same power and the same hatred of man and of the Word made flesh. Hence comes to him another name.

The Murderer

He is called *murderer*, murderer par excellence, *homicida ab initio* [a murderer from the beginning—John viii, 44]. Murderer always, murderer by will, murderer in deed, murderer of all that breathes, murderer of the body, murderer of the soul. This name he justifies only too well.

Murderer of the Word. — At the very instant when the mystery of the Incarnation was revealed to him, he became a murderer. To make the divine plan fail, he conceived the thought of killing the Incarnate Word. He killed Him in his heart, and was a murderer before the Father, before the Son, before the Holy Spirit, before the Angelic world, while waiting to be so in reality before the human world (1).

1. Rupert, in Joan. lib. vii, on *Ille erat homicida*, n. 242 ff.

Murderer of the Angels. — By drawing them into his revolt, he was for them the cause of damnation, that is to say of eternal death. To make perish, so far as spirits can perish, hundreds of millions of creatures, the happiest and most beautiful that ever issued from nothingness: what carnage and what a crime (1)!

1. *Lucifer fuit aliis causa damnationis sive mortis æternæ. Unde Christus apud Joan. dicit: Ille homicida, scilicet angelorum, quibus fuit causa mortis æternæ, erat ab initio, hoc est post initium.* [Lucifer was to others the cause of damnation or eternal death. Whence Christ in John says: "He was a murderer," namely of the angels, to whom he was the cause of eternal death, "from the beginning," that is, after the beginning.] Vig., lxxxvii [? p. 87].

Murderer of the Saints. What he was in Heaven, he is on earth. Murderer of Adam, murderer of Abel, murderer of the prophets, murderer of the Just of the ancient world, prophetic images of the Incarnate Word. In them it is He whom he persecutes, He whom he tortures, He whom he kills. Murderer of the apostles and martyrs, living continuation of the Incarnate Word. In them again it is He, always He, whom he insults, whom he outrages, whom he scourges, whom he tears, whom he mutilates, whom he burns, whom he kills and will kill until the end of ages.

Murderer of man in general. — It is he who introduced death into the world. Not one agony of which he is not the cause; not one drop of blood shed that does not fall back upon him; not one murder of which he is not the instigator. Poisonings, assassinations, wars, gladiatorial combats, human sacrifices, anthropophagy, come from him. Murderer above all of the child, more perfect and more beloved image of the Word: it is by billions that one must count the children Satan has made be immolated to his hatred, among all the peoples of East and West, and that he continues to make be immolated.

Murderer, not only by pushing man to kill his fellow, but by exciting him to kill himself. Suicide is his work. We shall show it elsewhere, proving that suicide on a large scale has been seen in the world only at the two epochs when the reign of Satan was at its apogee. In the meantime let us cite the testimony of one of our missionary bishops. "How many facts I should have to tell you in order to demonstrate more and more, if one could doubt it, the power of Satan over the infidels. Among a thousand, here is one that is ordinary in China, as much in Su-Chuen as here in Manchuria, and which is attested by thousands of witnesses. When, for some dispute with her mother-in-law or with her husband, for blows received or bitter words, a woman takes a fancy to hang herself, and the case is frequent in this empire, often it is not necessary to have recourse to suspension. This unfortunate woman sits on a chair or on her *khang* (a sort of platform), passes the fatal cord around her neck, and He who was a murderer from the beginning takes charge of the rest… he tightens the knot (1)."

1. *Annales de la Propagation*, etc., 1857, n. 175, p. 428. Letter of Monsignor Verrolles, Bishop of Manchuria.

To kill the body is not enough for him. It is by the soul above all that man is the image of the Incarnate Word, and it is the soul principally that the great murderer is after. His existence is only a hunt for souls: and what carnage he makes of them! Millions of hunters and millions of executioners are at his orders. Everywhere their snares; everywhere their victims. The earth is covered with the one; hell filled with the others. What is idolatry, which has reigned and still reigns over the greatest part of the globe, but an immense butchery of souls? Who is its consummating cause? The great murderer, hidden under a thousand names and a thousand

different forms (1). In the bosom of Christianity itself, whence comes the fatal and ever more general tendency that drives so many millions of souls to the suicide of themselves? If it is not from the Holy Spirit, it is therefore again and always from the eternal Murderer (2).

1. *Causa idololatriæ consummativa fuit ex parte dæmonum, qui se colendos hominibus errantibus exhibuerunt in idolis, dando responsa, et aliqua, quæ videbantur hominibus mirabilia, faciendo. Unde in Ps. xcv, dicitur: Omnes dii gentium dæmonia.* [The consummating cause of idolatry was on the part of the demons, who offered themselves to be worshipped by erring men in idols, giving responses, and doing certain things that seemed wonderful to men. Hence in Ps. xcv it is said: "All the gods of the Gentiles are devils."] S. Th., II–II, q. xciv, art. 4, corp.

2. S. Th., I, q. lxiv, art. 2, corp.; id., id., cxiv, art. 3, corp.; id., I–II, q. lxxx, art. 4, corp. — The *Compte général de l'administration de la justice criminelle en France pendant l'année 1860* records the increase in the number of persons charged with public outrages against modesty. They quintupled from 1826 to 1860, and rose from 727 to 4,108, and from 1856 to 1860 the progression was further accelerated. Add that, for forty years, the number of crimes of every kind has increased by more than 20 per 100.

Such is the relentless, implacable war that Satan makes on the Incarnate Word and which earns him the name of Murderer. He has others still.

The Demon

He is called *Demon*, *Dæmon*. To designate Lucifer, the sacred oracles say *the Demon*, that is to say the most redoubtable demon, the King of the demons. His frightening knowledge of natural things, his no less frightening knowledge of man and of each man, of his character, his inclinations, his habits, his temperament, in a word of his moral dispositions, gave him this name, which means: intelligent, learned, seeing. Not being able to read immediately in our soul, he sees what passes there through the windows of our senses. Our eyes, our face, the tone of our voice, the movements of our limbs, our gait, the way of dressing, of carrying ourselves, of eating, of behaving in all things, are so many indications from which he draws certain conclusions, to lay snares for us and hurl darts at us.

The Devil

He is called *Devil*, or rather *the Devil*, *Diabolus*. Odious above all, this name signifies *calumniator*. Two things constitute calumny: lie and outrage. From this double point of view Lucifer is the calumniator par excellence. From the point of view of lying, his name presents to the mind a frightful compound of hypocrisy, cunning, fraud, craft, deceit, malice, baseness and effrontery. To lie is his life. It is he who invented lying, he is living lying: *Mendax et Pater mendacii* [a liar and the father of lies—John viii, 44]. He lied in heaven, he lies on earth; he lied to Adam, he lies to all his posterity. He lies in his promises, he lies in his terrors; he lies in saying the truth, for he says it only to deceive the better (1). He lies about everything, he lies with audacity, he lies always, and all his lies are outrages.

1. S. Th., I, q. lxiv, art. 2, ad 5.

From this new point of view he is equally worthy of his name. To calumniate, that is to outrage and to blaspheme the Word made flesh; to calumniate Him in His divinity, in His Incarnation, in His veracity, in His power, in His wisdom, in His justice, in His goodness, in His miracles and in His benefits; to calumniate the Church His spouse; to calumniate her in her infallibility, in her authority, in her rights, in her precepts, in her works, in her ministers, in her children; thus to provoke the hatred and contempt of the Incarnate Word and of all that belongs to Him: such, history proves it, is the ceaseless occupation of the King of the City of Evil.

Satan

He is called *Satan, Satanas*. This last name sums up all the others. Satan means *adversary, enemy*. Enemy of God, enemy of the angels, enemy of man, enemy of all creatures; untiring, implacable enemy, on foot night and day, and to whom all means are good; enemy par excellence who, uniting in himself all hostile powers with their cunning and their strength, puts them at the service of his hatred: such is the fallen Archangel.

In the presence of such an enemy, only presumptuous ignorance can remain careless and disarmed. Different are the thoughts of genius; different is its conduct. To walk always covered with the divine armor, which alone can shelter it from the fiery darts of Satan, is its solicitude by day and its preoccupation by night. Let us make our profit of the warnings which a too justified terror inspired in Saint Augustine: "What is more perverse, what more malefic than our enemy? He put war in heaven; fraud in the earthly paradise; hatred between the first brothers; and in all our works he sowed the cockle. See: in eating he put gluttony; in generation, lust; in work, sloth; in riches, avarice; in social relations, jealousy; in authority, pride; in the heart, evil thoughts; on the lips, lying; and in our members culpable operations. Awake, he pushes us to evil; asleep, he gives us shameful dreams. Joyful, he carries us to dissolution; sad, to discouragement and despair. To say all in a single word: all the sins of the world are an effect of his perversity (1)."

1. *Sed ut brevius loquar, omnia mala mundi sua sunt perversitate commissa.* [But to speak more briefly, all the evils of the world have been committed by his perversity.] Serm. *comm.*, iv.

His hatred goes further. As the Incarnate Word adapts His grace to the nature, the position and the needs of each, so Satan, profiting by his penetration, diversifies his poisons according to the particular disposition of each soul. Let us hear another great genius: "The cunning Serpent," says Saint Leo, "knows to whom he should present the love of riches; to whom the attractions of gluttony; to whom the excitements of lust; to whom the virus of jealousy. He knows him whom he must trouble by grief; him whom he must seduce by joy; him whom he must cast down by fear; him whom he must fascinate by beauty. Of all he discusses the life, unravels the solicitudes, scrutinizes the affections, and where he sees each one's preference, there he seeks an occasion to harm (1)."

1. *Et ibi causas quærit nocendi, ubi quemcumque viderit studiosius occupari.* [And he seeks occasions of harming there, where he sees any man more zealously occupied.] Serm. xxii, *de Nativ.*

Such is Satan, the fallen Archangel, the King of the City of Evil.

Translator's notes — Chapter XII

1. **Period science and period attitudes.** The paleontological arguments (Cuvier on the megalosaur, plesiosaur and pterodactyl; Zimmermann's *Hydrarchos*, the "unicorn" of Nepal) reflect the science of the 1860s and are rendered as Gaume gives them. The *Hydrarchos* was a fraudulent composite skeleton exhibited by Albert Koch in 1845; the "unicorn" of Hodgson's skin and horn was a one-horned antelope or a doctored specimen. The statement that African peoples are "degraded negroes" is Gaume's phrase (*nègres dégradés*) and is translated as written, in line with the project rule of keeping the original's period wording without softening or adding to it.

2. **Cuvier references.** Gaume cites the *Recherches sur les ossements fossiles* (t. v) and the *Discours sur les révolutions du globe* (1830). I give the figures as printed (e.g. 70 feet for the megalosaur). The *Grande Encyclopédie* note on the Ichthyosaurus is from Mangin, *Le monde marin* (1865).

3. **Augustin Thierry.** "Four times truer than history" is Gaume's quotation, attributed to Thierry; I cannot trace the wording. Mabillon's phrase "habitudes normales du miracle" is also Gaume's.

4. **Idiom.** *Évocateurs* — conjurers of spirits (necromancers); glossed in brackets. *Un lézard grand comme une baleine* — "as large as a whale." *Zizanie* (Augustine's "cockle") — the weed "tares/cockle" of Matt. xiii, 25.

5. **Missionary letter.** Mgr Verrolles, vicar apostolic of Manchuria, in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1857; the “khang” is the heated brick platform bed of northern China.

6. **Statistics.** Gaume’s footnote cites the official French criminal-justice report for 1860 (*Compte général de l’administration de la justice criminelle*).

7. **Cyprian, Rupert, Viguier.** The Cyprian passage (*diabolus dictus est serpens…*) is found in Cyprian’s *De Zelo et Livore* / *De unitate*; I give the likely source in brackets. Rupert and Viguier page references remain uncertain.

Chapter XIII. The Princes of the City of Evil

The evil angels, princes of the City of Evil. — Their hierarchy. — The seven Demons who assist at the throne of Satan. — Parallelism of the two Cities. — Number of the evil angels. — Their dwelling: hell and the air: proofs. — Their qualities: intelligence.

Their hierarchy

To glut his hatred against God and against man, the King of the City of Evil is not alone. He commands millions of spirits, less powerful indeed, but no less horrible and as malefic as himself. Ape of God, *simia Dei*, as Saint Bernard says, Satan has organized the City of Evil on the plan of the City of Good (1).

1. Brought back to theological exactness, this language means that Satan has profited by a hierarchical order of which he is not the author, turning against the Incarnate Word what had been primitively established for His glory.

Chosen among all, we have in the City of Good seven angels who assist at the throne of God, powerful viceroys of the higher world and of the lower world. And Scripture shows us, in the City of Evil, seven principal demons who surround Lucifer, whose first ministers and intimate confidants they are, as it were. By means of the seven gifts over which they preside, the seven angels of God direct all the movements of humanity toward the Incarnate Word. The seven angels of the Demon, ministers of the seven capital sins, turn the moral world toward the opposite pole, the hatred of the Word. Seraphim of Satan, they plunge their intelligence in the depth of his malice, kindle their hatred at the hearth of his, and transmit to the lower demons the orders of the Master (1).

1. Matt. xii, 45; Mark xvi, 9; Luke viii, 2; Apoc. xii, 4, etc. *Diabolus hostis Dei hisce septem angelis ex adverso opposuit septem dæmones, quos eum septem capitalibus vitiis præfecisse tradit S. Antonius apud Athanasium et Serenus apud Cassianum.* [The Devil, enemy of God, set over against these seven angels seven demons, whom, S. Antony in Athanasius and Serenus in Cassian relate, he set over the seven capital vices.] Coll. vii, c. xix; and from these Serarius, Tob. iii, 8, quæst. vi. — *Per septem capita accipe septem nefarios spiritus, quos sancti Patres dæmoni adscribunt.* [By the seven heads understand the seven wicked spirits whom the holy Fathers ascribe to the demon.] Cornelius a Lapide, in Apoc. xii, 3.

In these seven principal demons, opposed to the seven angelic princes, we have only the first trait of the parallelism of the two Cities. As among the good angels, there is among the demons a complete hierarchy; and, like the City of Good, the City of Evil has its organized government.

That there is a hierarchy among the demons, Scripture does not permit us to doubt. Blasphemers of the Son of God, did not the Jews say: “By the prince of devils He casteth out devils”? And elsewhere: “He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.” Elsewhere again: “Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels.” Finally, in the Apocalypse: “The dragon fought, and his angels (1).”

1. Matt. ix, 34; Luke xi, 15; Matt. xxv, 41; Apoc. xii, 7.

Nothing is clearer than these divine revelations and others that might be cited. But if among the demons there is a prince, a king, a first superior, there are therefore also inferiors, lieutenants, ministers who execute his orders. In a word, there is a hierarchy and a subordination among the fallen angels. Saint Thomas gives the reason. He says: “The mutual subordination between the angels was, before the fall, a natural condition of their existence. Now in falling they lost nothing of their condition nor of their natural gifts. Thus all remain in the higher or lower orders to which they belong. It results from this that the actions of some are subject to the actions of others, and that there exists among them a true hierarchy or natural subordination…; but it must not be believed that the superiors are less to be pitied than the inferiors: the contrary is the truth. To do evil is to be unhappy; to command it is to be more unhappy still (1).”

1. I, q. cix, art. 1 and 2, corp. and ad 3.

Cornelius a Lapide speaks the same language: “It is among the demons,” he says, “as among the angels. Some are inferior, others superior. The latter belong to the highest hierarchies and are of a nobler nature; for, after their fall, the demons preserved their natural gifts intact. Thus those who fell from the order of the Seraphim, the Cherubim, the Thrones, are superior to those who fell from the lower orders, the Dominations, the Principalities and the Powers (1). These in their turn are superior to those who belong to the order of the Virtues, the Archangels and the Angels. So among the revolted soldiers there are standard-bearers, captains, colonels. Without them the army cannot be put in line nor commanded; no more than a kingdom can exist without order and subordination. Now the prince of all the demons is Lucifer, and the prince of all the good angels, Saint Michael (2).”

1. As angels of all the hierarchies fell, and as men must fill the void they left in heaven, there will be Saints placed among the Archangels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim. Among many other proofs may be cited the revelations made, several times, to Saint Margaret of Cortona. Saint Francis of Assisi was shown to her among the Seraphim, occupying one of the most brilliant thrones of the sublime hierarchy. She herself received the assurance of being admitted into the same hierarchy, and one of her companions among the Cherubim. *Vita*, etc., by Marchesi, lib. ii, pp. 256, 290, 391, 353, Italian ed., 8vo.

2. *Omnium vero dæmonum princeps est Lucifer, sicut angelorum est sanctus Michael.* [The prince of all the demons is Lucifer, as of the angels is Saint Michael.] In Matt. ix, 34.

We shall soon hear the two princes of pagan theology, Iamblichus and Porphyry, speaking like the doctors of the Church.

The existence of the satanic hierarchy is a second trait of parallelism between the two Cities. It implies another. Among the good angels, the first hierarchy commands the second, and the second the third. So the superior demons command the inferior, in such a way as to prevent them from doing what they would wish, or to drive them from the bodies and creatures they obsess. Founded on the natural superiority, consequently *inamissible* [unforfeitable], of the one, and on the inferiority of the others, this belief, faithfully preserved among the Jews, as we see by their blasphemies against the miracles of Our Lord, has dominated the whole world and crossed all the ages (1).

1. See the testimonies of Iamblichus and Porphyry, cited below.

To guard themselves against, or free themselves from, the ill-will of the inferior gods, history shows us everywhere the pagans, ancient and modern, having recourse to the superior gods (1). In the very bosom of Christianity, how many persons, under the stroke of a charm or a spell cast by a sorcerer, or, as they say today, a *medium*, go to ask their deliverance from sorcerers or mediums reputed more powerful, and obtain it! But, remarks Saint Thomas, this deliverance is not one. Satan never acts against himself. The body is delivered, but the soul becomes the slave of a more powerful demon. The physical evil will have disappeared, but the moral evil will be aggravated (2).

1. *Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.* [If I cannot bend the gods above, I shall move the Underworld.] Virgil, *Aeneid* vii, 312.

2. *Virtute superiorum dæmonum ita dæmones a corporibus hominum expelluntur, quod tamen remanet dominium eorum quantum ad animam; non enim contra regnum suum Diabolus agit.* [By the power of the superior demons, demons are expelled from the bodies of men so that their dominion nevertheless remains as to the soul; for the Devil does not act against his own kingdom.] I, q. cxiv, art. 4, ad 3.

A hierarchical order therefore exists among the fallen angels: it is a truth of theology, of reason and of experience. Every hierarchy produces a certain concord among the beings who compose it; but let us beware of believing that the concord of the demons takes its source in respect, regard, reciprocal love of these malefic beings. It has for principle hatred, and for end war on the Incarnate Word, in the Church His spouse, in man His brother, in creation His work. Apart from that, the demons hate one another with an immutable hatred whose violence no one can calculate (1).

1. *Concordia dæmonum, qua quidam aliis obediunt, non est ex amicitia quam inter se habeant, sed ex communi nequitia, qua homines odiunt, et Dei justitiæ repugnant.* [The concord of the demons, by which some obey others, is not from any friendship they have among themselves, but from common malice, by which they hate men and resist God's justice.] S. Th., I, q. cix, art. 2, ad 2.

So one sees the wicked, whose inspirers and models they are, united among themselves when it is a question of attacking the Church or the social order, divide infallibly after the victory, accuse one another, proscribe one another and persecute one another *to the knife* [*à outrance*]. Does a new war come to arise? At once the particular hatreds merge in the common hatred. The fugitives rejoin; the army re-forms and remains united until a new victory brings a new division. Such is the circle in which have turned, for six thousand years, both the demons and the men become their slaves.

Their number and their dwelling

If, in the evil days in which we live, the number of our visible enemies is incalculable, who can count the multitude of our invisible enemies? Although the fallen angels are less numerous than the good angels, yet, as spiritual creatures surpass material creatures in almost infinite number, it results that the demons are incomparably more numerous than men (1).

1. *Plures nobiscum sunt quam cum illis.* [There are more with us than with them.] 4 Kings vi, 16; which is expounded of the good angels who are with us for help, and of the evil ones who are against us. S. Th., I, q. lxiii, art. 9. — *Unde rationabile est quod substantiæ immateriales excedant secundum multitudinem substantias materiales, quasi incomparabiliter.* [Hence it is reasonable that immaterial substances exceed material substances in multitude, almost incomparably.] Id., id., q. l, art. 3, corp.

Explaining these words of the Apostle, *Our wrestling is against the spiritual wickednesses in the high places* [or, as Gaume takes it, "the powers of evil that dwell in the air"], Saint Jerome expresses himself thus: "It is the opinion of all the doctors that this air, which lies between heaven and earth and is called the void, is full of hostile powers (1)." Measure, on the one hand, the extent and depth of the atmosphere that envelops our globe; consider, on the other, the tenuity of a spirit: and, if you can, calculate the frightful multitude of evil angels by whom we are surrounded.

1. *Hæc autem omnium Doctorum opinio est, quod aër iste, qui cœlum et terram medius dividens inane appellatur, plenus sit contrariis fortitudinibus.* In ep. ad Eph., vi, 12.

"Their number is such," says Cassian, "that we must bless Providence for having hidden them from our eyes. The sight of their multitudes, of their terrible movements, of the horrible forms they take at will when it is permitted them, would penetrate men with an intolerable fright. Either such a spectacle would make them

die, or it would make them daily more wicked. Corrupted by their examples, they would imitate their perversity. Between men and these unclean powers of the air there would be formed a familiarity, a commerce that would end in universal demoralization (1)."

1. *Per hoc inter homines et immundas atque aëreas potestates fieret noxia quædam familiaritas atque perniciosa conjunctio.* [Hereby there would arise between men and the unclean and aerial powers a certain noxious familiarity and pernicious conjunction.] Coll. viii, c. xii.

Would one know how much profound philosophy there is in the words of the illustrious disciple of Saint John Chrysostom? Let one recall what the pagan world was at the birth of Christianity. By a crowd of dark practices—consultations, evocations, oracles, initiations, sacrifices—the human race had put itself into habitual relation with the gods, that is, with the demons. Under their inspiration it had made common, through the arts and poetry, their prestiges, their shames and their crimes. And the earth had become a cesspool of blood and mud: *Similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea* [Let them that make them become like to them—Ps. cxiii, 8]. What would have happened if man had seen with his own eyes the demons themselves, clothed with aerial bodies, committing their abominations and inviting him materially to imitate them?

The belief in myriads of spirits, of whom idolatry had made so many gods, is common to the pagans of today as to the pagans of old. The Indians count three hundred thousand of them, and the Japanese eight hundred thousand, whom they call *Kamis* (1).

1. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1863, n. 209, p. 508.

Their qualities

Though hidden from our gaze, the infernal legions do not exist the less around us. Taken in particular, each soldier, each subaltern officer is less redoubtable than the supreme chief. Such nevertheless is the power of each demon, even of the lowest order, that it justly frightens whoever tries to measure its extent. For the power of the fallen angels is in direct ratio to the excellence of their nature. Now, we repeat, this nature, incomparably superior to that of man, has lost nothing of its essential prerogatives. These prerogatives are, among others: intelligence, agility, the power of acting on material creatures and on man, by a thousand diverse means and up to unknown limits: all put at the service of an implacable hatred. A word on each of these terrible realities.

Intelligence. — The demons being pure spirits, their intelligence is *deiform* [godlike]. It must be understood by this that they know truth in the twinkling of an eye, without reasoning, without effort, in itself and in all its consequences. The fall neither suppressed nor diminished this prerogative which they hold from their nature. "The angels," says Saint Thomas, "are not like man, who can be punished by taking away a hand or a foot; simple beings, nothing can be taken from their nature. Whence this axiom already cited: *natural gifts remain entire in the fallen angels.* Thus their natural faculty of knowing was in nothing altered by their revolt (1)."

1. *Et ideo dicit Dionysius quod "dona naturalia in eis integra manent." Unde naturalis cognitio in eis non est diminuta.* [And therefore Dionysius says that "natural gifts remain entire in them." Whence natural knowledge in them is not diminished.] S. Th., I, q. lxiv, art. 1, corp. — The angels, become prevaricators, were stripped of supernatural gifts, that is, of the felicity and beatitude with which their person had been enriched by the Creator; but they were in no way deprived of the faculties constitutive of their nature. So in an army, when some soldiers are guilty of certain faults, they are degraded, stripped of the uniform they dishonored, put in prison and declared unworthy of the name of soldier. In a word they lose all the personal privileges of the soldier; but, in spite of all, they keep the nature of man: the same intelligence, the same will, the same means of action. So of the demons. After having been, on account of their revolt, driven from heaven, they remained such as creation had constituted them: that is, Spirits endowed with this sublime

intelligence, this strength, this great power that we have seen.

How far does this faculty, so redoubtable for us, extend? As the very name they have borne among all peoples indicates, the demons, being spirits or pure intelligences, know instantly all the things of the natural order. As soon as they perceive a principle, they apprehend all its speculative and practical consequences. Thus, on the material world and its laws, on the elements and their combinations, on all the truths of the purely moral order; in astronomy, physics, geography, history, medicine, in no science can they err: for them there is no possible error except in the things of the supernatural order (1). Here even they know many things that we ignore; and, among those we know, there are a great number that they know better than we.

1. *Dæmones in his quæ naturaliter ad rem pertinent, non decipiuntur; sed decipi possunt quantum ad ea quæ supernaturalia sunt.* [Demons are not deceived in what naturally pertains to the matter; but can be deceived as to what is supernatural.] S. Thom., I, q. lviii, art. 5, corp.

"The good angels," says Saint Thomas, "reveal to the demons a crowd of things relating to the divine mysteries. This revelation takes place every time the justice of God requires that the demons do certain things, whether for the punishment of the wicked or for the exercise of the good. Thus, in the civil order, the judge's assessors reveal to the executioners the sentence he has pronounced (2)."

2. *Per sanctos angelos multa de divinis mysteriis dæmonibus revelantur, cum divina justitia exigit ut per dæmones aliqua fiant vel ad punitionem malorum, vel ad exercitationem bonorum; sicut in rebus humanis assessores judicis revelant tortoribus ejus sententiam.* Id., q. cix, art. 4, ad 1.

As to the future, their knowledge greatly surpasses ours. Is it a question of *necessary futures*? The demons know them in their causes with certainty. Is it a question of *contingent futures* that happen for the most part? They know them by conjecture: as the physician knows the death or the recovery of the sick man. With the demons this conjectural science is the surer the more universally and perfectly they know causes; as the physician's forecasts are the more certain the more skilful he is. In its purely casual or fortuitous part, the future is reserved to God alone (1). Such is the prodigious intelligence of the demons and the terrible advantage it gives them over us.

1. S. Thom., I, q. lvii, art. 3, corp.

Translator's notes — Chapter XIII

1. **"Ape of God."** *Simia Dei* is a patristic commonplace (found in Tertullian and later writers; Gaume attributes it to Saint Bernard). Gaume's footnote (1) is his own qualification, that Satan only exploits an order not of his making.

2. **Iamblichus and Porphyry** are Neoplatonic philosophers of the 3rd–4th century; Gaume says he will cite their testimony "below"/later in the work.

3. **Inamissible.** Gaume's *inamissibles*: "that cannot be lost," from the Latin *amittere*; kept as an English calque with a gloss, as the term has a theological ring.

4. **Idiom.** *À outrance* — "to the knife". *Singe de Dieu* — "ape of God." Gaume's "mediums" gloss (*ou, comme on dit aujourd'hui, un médium*) refers to the spiritism vogue of the 1850s–60s.

5. **Scripture.** Eph. vi, 12: Gaume's French ("puissances du mal qui habitent l'air") follows the older reading "in the air" (*in aere*); Douay has "in the high places." I mark this in brackets; Jerome's comment in the footnote is on the *aer* reading. *4 Kings* = 2 Kings in modern numbering.

6. **Margaret of Cortona.** Gaume's long footnote on the future position of saints in the angelic choirs (St Margaret of Cortona's revelations as told by Marchesi) is rendered in full; "Italian ed." is Gaume's.

7. **Cassian's "disciple of John Chrysostom."** John Cassian (c. 360–435), *Conferences*, VIII (Abbot Serenus, on principalities).

8. **Chapter end.** The chapter ends at the foot of p. 217; the discussion of the demons' agility and power continues in the next chapter.

Chapter XIV. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Agility of the evil angels. — Their power. — A remarkable passage of Porphyry.

Agility

The agility of the demons does not make them less redoubtable than their intelligence. To transport himself from one place to another, man needs a relatively long time: minutes, hours, days and weeks. Often the means of transport fail him; at other times sickness or old age prevents him from moving. No more than the good angels do the demons know any of these obstacles. In the twinkling of an eye they find themselves, at will, present at the most opposite points of space. Hence that answer of Satan reported in the book of Job: "Whence comest thou?" the Lord asks him. Satan answers: "I have gone round about the earth: *Circuivi terram.*" As there is no distance for the demons, what is actually passing at the far end of Asia they can tell at the far end of Europe, and vice versa.

This agility, as one readily understands, is as perilous for us as it is incontestable. It is perilous: the demons have no more powerful means of throwing man into astonishment, and through astonishment of arriving at confidence, through confidence at familiarity, at submission, at worship even. It is incontestable: who would not admire the counsels of God? Not long ago, a science suspect in origin, young in age, poor in merits but rich in presumption, geology, came to attack Genesis. God said to the earth: Open; show it the remains of the creatures hidden in your bosom for six thousand years. And geology, beaten with its own arms, saw itself obliged to render a brilliant homage to the Mosaic account. Our materialist age has permitted itself to deny spiritual beings and their properties. To confound it, God reserved for it the discovery of electricity. Thanks to this mysterious vehicle, man can make himself present, not only by thought, but by word, at all points of the globe, in an imperceptible time. At sight of such a result, how deny the agility of the Spirits?

Power

As the body, precisely because it is a body, is naturally subject to the soul, so the visible world, by reason of its inferiority, is naturally subject to the angelic world. As soon as one admits anything other than matter, the denial of this truth becomes a contradiction in terms. Now of the superiority or power inherent in their nature the demons have lost nothing. Like that of the good angels, it extends, without exception, to all creatures: earth, air, water, fire, plants, animals and man himself, in his body and in his soul (1). They can vary their effects in a thousand ways which astonish our reason as they alarm our weakness.

1. Hence it is that Our Lord Himself calls the Demon the *Strong armed*, *Fortis armatus* [Luke xi, 21].

Essentially beneficent in the good angels, this power is essentially malefic in the demons. By subjecting to himself, through sin, the king of creation, Lucifer has subjected to himself the whole of creation. On man and on the world he makes his tyranny felt, inoculates his venom, communicates his defilements, and, turning them from their end, changes them into instruments of war against the Incarnate Word.

That this malefic action of the demons is real, that it is as old as the world and as extensive as the human race: no truth is more certain. Universal tradition faithfully preserves it, and experience confirms tradition. There is not a people, even grossly pagan, that has not admitted the malefic action of spiritual powers on creatures and on man. The authentic testimonies of this belief are revealed on every page of the religious, political and domestic history of humanity. To treat this as fable would be folly. To see madmen everywhere

is to be mad oneself.

Among a thousand testimonies, we shall content ourselves with that of Porphyry. The prince of pagan theology expresses himself thus:

“All souls have a spirit united and attached to them perpetually. As long as they have not subjugated it, they are themselves in many things subjugated by it. When it makes them feel its action, it pushes them to anger, it inflames their passions and agitates them miserably. These spirits, these perverse and malefic demons, are invisible and imperceptible to the senses of man, for they have not put on a solid body. All, moreover, have not the same form, but they are fashioned on numerous types. The forms that distinguish each of these spirits sometimes appear, sometimes remain hidden. Sometimes they change them, and these are the wickedest… their corporeal forms are perfectly disordered.

“With the aim of glutting its passions, this kind of demon dwells more willingly and more frequently in the places near the earth; so that there is no crime it does not attempt to commit. A mixture of violence and duplicity, they have subtle and impetuous movements, as if they sprang from an ambush; now trying dissimulation, now employing violence. They do these things and others like them to turn us away from the true and sound notion of the Gods and to draw us to themselves (1).”

1. *Quæcumque animæ conjunctum sibi adhærentemque perpetuo spiritum usque adeo non superant, ut ab eo potius in plerisque omnibus superentur, eæ proinde si quando sese spiritus iracundiæ, et cupiditatum æstus atque impetus effuderit, miserandum in modum jactari solent… Dæmones… improbi ac malefici… nec oculis, nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt. Neque enim aut solidum corpus, aut eamdem omnes formam, sed plures inter seque distinctas figuras præ se ferunt. Porro suo singulæ spiritu certis propriisque notis expressæ imagines modo apparent, modo evanescunt, modo vultum speciemque mutant, ii saltem, qui deteriores sunt. Atque genus hoc dæmonum, ut in locis terræ vicinioribus cupiditatis explendæ causa libentius frequentiusque versatur, nihil plane sceleris est, quod moliri non soleat… Vehementes ac repentinos ut plurimum impetus habet, insidiisque persimiles, partim ut facilius, partim ut vi, quod sibi propositum est, extorqueat.* [Souls which do not overcome the spirit joined and perpetually adhering to them, but are rather overcome by it in almost everything, are accordingly, whenever the heat and impetus of wrath and desires has poured itself out, wont to be tossed in a pitiable manner… The demons… wicked and evil-doing… can in no way be touched by eyes or by any other human sense. For they bear neither a solid body, nor all the same form, but several figures distinct among themselves. Moreover images expressed by the spirit of each, with certain proper marks, now appear, now vanish, now change countenance and aspect—those, at least, that are worse. And this kind of demon, as it dwells more willingly and frequently in places nearer the earth for the sake of satisfying desire, there is plainly no crime it is not wont to attempt… It has for the most part violent and sudden onsets, very like ambushes, partly that it may more easily, partly by force, extort what it has proposed.] Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, lib. iv, c. xxii [Porphyry quoted by Eusebius].

Entering into the detail of their practices, the pagan philosopher goes on and speaks like a Father of the Church.

“They delight in everything that is disordered and incoherent: they enjoy our errors. The bait they use to attract the crowd is to inflame the passions, now by the love of pleasures, now by the love of riches, of power, of voluptuousness or of vainglory. Thus they animate seditions, wars and all that follows in their train.

“They are the fathers of magic. Hence those who, by the aid of occult practices, commit evil actions, venerate them, and above all their chief. They have in abundance vain and false images of things, and by this they are eminently skilful in playing secret springs to organize deceptions. To them must be attributed the preparation of love-philters. From them comes intemperance of voluptuousness, the cupidity of riches and of glory, and above all the art of fraud and hypocrisy; for lying is their element (1).”

1. Apud Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, lib. iv, c. xxii.

After having spoken of the princes of the City of Evil, Porphyry occupies himself with their king, whom he names Serapis or Pluto. Here one thinks one reads not a pagan philosopher, not a Father of the Church, but the very Gospel, so precise is tradition on this fundamental point.

“We are not rash in affirming that the evil demons are subject to Serapis. Our opinion is founded not only on the symbols and attributes of this god, but also on the fact that all the practices endowed with the virtue of calling or driving away the evil spirits are addressed to Pluto, as we showed in the first book. Now Serapis is the same as Pluto (the king of the infernal regions); and what proves incontestably that he is the chief of the demons is that he gives the mysterious signs to drive them away and put them to flight.

“It is he, in fact, who unveils to those who pray to him how the demons borrow the form and likeness of animals to put themselves in relation with men. Hence it is that among the Egyptians, among the Phoenicians and among all the peoples without exception expert in religious things, care is taken, before the celebration of the sacred mysteries, to break the hides that are in the temples and to strike the animals against the ground. The priests put the demons to flight partly by breath, partly by the blood of animals, partly by the percussion of the air, so that, the place being evacuated, the gods may occupy it.

“For it must be known that every dwelling is full of them. This is why it is purified, driving them out, every time one wishes to pray to the gods. Moreover, all bodies are full of them; for they relish in particular a certain kind of food. Hence, when we sit down to table, they do not only take place near our persons, they attach themselves again to our body. Hence comes the use of lustrations, whose chief aim is not so much to invoke the gods as to drive out the demons. They delight above all in blood and in impurities, and, to glut themselves with them, they introduce themselves into the bodies of those subject to them. No violent movement of voluptuousness in the body, no vehement appetite of covetousness in the spirit, that is not excited by the presence of these guests. It is they who constrain men to utter inarticulate sounds and to heave sobs, under the impression of the enjoyments they share with them (1).”

1. *Improbos dæmones Serapi subditos esse haud temere suspicamur: quippe hanc ad opinionem non ejus tantum symbolis et insignibus adducti, sed etiam quod quæcumque vim eos vel conciliandi habent, vel averruncandi, ad Plutonem omnia referuntur, quemadmodum libro primo ostendimus. Atque idem prorsus qui Pluto deus iste est… Dæmones a sacerdotibus partim spiritu, partim animalium sanguine, partim aëris ipsius percussione abiguntur, ut iis ejectis deus interesse velit. Plenæ siquidem eorum sunt ædes universæ, quas ante propterea ipsis ejiciendis expiant, quoties diis supplicaturi sunt. Quin etiam eorumdem plena sunt corpora, quod certo quodam ciborum genere præcipue delectentur. Itaque accumbentibus nobis non accedunt ipsi modo, sed etiam nostrum ad corpus adhærescunt; quæ causa est quamobrem lustrationes adhiberi consueverint, non utique propter deos potissimum, sed potius ut dæmones recedere atque alio migrare cogantur, etc.* [We suspect not rashly that the wicked demons are subject to Serapis: for we are led to this opinion not only by his symbols and insignia but also because all things having power either to conciliate or to ward off them are referred to Pluto, as we showed in the first book. And this god is precisely the same as Pluto… The demons are driven off by the priests partly by breath, partly by the blood of animals, partly by the striking of the air itself, that the god, they being cast out, may be willing to be present. For all houses are full of them, which for that reason they first purify to cast them out, whenever they are about to supplicate the gods. Nay, even bodies are full of the same, because they are specially delighted by a certain kind of food. Thus when we recline at table, they not only approach us but also cling to our body; which is the reason why lustrations were wont to be used, not chiefly on account of the gods, but rather that the demons might be compelled to withdraw and migrate elsewhere, etc.] Apud Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, lib. iv, c. xxiii.

Among all the truths that shine in this passage like the stars in the firmament, there is one we shall point out in passing, for we shall return to it: it is the profound philosophy of the *Benedicite* [grace before meals], and the no less profound stupidity of those who disdain it.

Translator's notes — Chapter XIV

1. **Porphyry via Eusebius.** The long passages come from Porphyry's lost *De philosophia ex oraculis*, preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* IV, 22–23. Gaume quotes through a Latin version; the footnote Latin is retained and rendered. The reference to Serapis = Pluto reflects Hellenistic Egyptian cult. "The first book" is Porphyry's own earlier book.

2. **"Prince of pagan theology."** Gaume's epithet for Porphyry; in ch. XIII he pairs him with Iamblichus.

3. **Geology and electricity.** Gaume's apologetic uses of geology (ch. XII) and the electric telegraph (the "mysterious vehicle") are of his own time. "Battue par ses propres armes" = "beaten with its own arms."

4. **Idiom.** *Voir des fous partout, c'est être fou soi-même* — "To see madmen everywhere is to be mad oneself." *Bénédicité* — the grace said before a meal ("Benedicite" is the Latin opening); I leave it as Gaume has it and gloss it.

5. **Scripture.** Job i, 7 ("Circuivi terram") and Luke xi, 21 ("Fortis armatus") are cited from the Vulgate.

Chapter XV. (Another Continuation of the Preceding)

A new trait of parallelism between the City of Good and the City of Evil. As with the good angels, demons are deputed to each nation, each city, each man, each creature. — Remarkable passages of Plato, Plutarch, Pausanias, Lampridius, Macrobius and other profane historians. — Evocations generally known and practiced. — Evocations by the Roman generals: formulas. — Mysterious name of Rome. — Nature and extent of the action of the demons. — Proofs: Scripture, theology, teaching of the Church. — Words of Tertullian. — The Ritual and the Pontifical. — Reason. — They can put themselves in direct relation with man. — Pacts, evocations. — The wood that comes alive and speaks. — Important testimony of Tertullian. — Present consecration of Chinese children to the demons.

"It appears from the Holy Letters," says Bossuet, "that Satan and the angels go up and come down. They go up, says Saint Bernard (1), by pride, and they come down against us by envy: *Ascendit studio vanitatis, descendit livore malignitatis.* They undertook to go up when they followed him who said: *Ascendam*, I will ascend, and I will make myself equal to the Most High. But their audacity being repulsed, they came down, full of rage and despair, as Saint John says in the Apocalypse: *Woe to the earth and to the sea, because the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath: Væ terræ et mari, quia descendit diabolus ad vos, habens iram magnam* (2)."

1. *In Ps. Qui habitat*, Serm. xii, n. 2.

2. Apoc. xii, 12. — Bossuet, Sermon on the Holy Angels.

In fact, by a new trait of parallelism, and not the least redoubtable, the general action of the demons individualizes itself like that of the good angels. In His infinite goodness God gave to each kingdom, to each city, to each man a tutelary angel, charged to watch over them and to direct them toward their last end, which is the eternal love of the Incarnate Word. In the same way, in his implacable malice, Satan deputes to each nation, to each city, to each man, as soon as they exist, a particular demon, charged to pervert them and to associate them in his hatred of the Incarnate Word (1).

1. *Sicut enim cuilibet homini a nativitate assignatur a Deo angelus bonus ad custodiam; ita eidem a Lucifero angelus malus ad tentationem. Et sicut cuilibet regno assignatur a Deo angelus bonus ad tutelam, quasi præses; ita eidem a Lucifero assignatur angelus malus præses, qui regni statum turbet et evertat.* [For as to

every man is assigned by God from his birth a good angel for guard, so to him is assigned by Lucifer an evil angel for temptation. And as to every kingdom is assigned by God a good angel for tutelage, as president, so to it is assigned by Lucifer an evil angel as president, to disturb and overturn the state of the kingdom.] Cornelius a Lapide, on Dan. x, 13.

Founded on the rigorous parallelism of the two Cities, this satanic delegation is a fact of universal history. The pagans had full knowledge of it. They knew that over each kingdom, each city, as over each individual, particular divinities presided. "As," they said, "at the moment of birth different spirits put themselves in contact with the children; so, on the very day and hour when the walls of a city rise, there arrives a destiny or a genius whose government will assure the power of the city (1)."

1. …*Sicut variæ nascentibus, inquit, Contingunt pueris animæ, sic urbibus affert Hora diesque, quum primum mœnia surgunt, Aut fatum aut genium, cujus moderamine regnent.* [As, he says, various souls befall boys at birth, so to cities the hour and day bring, when first the walls rise, either a fate or a genius by whose rule they reign.] Prudentius, *Adv. Symmach.*, lib. ii.

They knew by name the tutelary divinities of a great number of cities. The protector of Dodona was Jupiter; of Thebes, Bacchus; of Carthage, Juno; of Samos, Juno; of Mycenae, Pluto; of Athens, Minerva; of Delphi, center of the world, Apollo; of the forests of Arcadia, Faunus; of Rhodes, the Sun; of Cnidus and Paphos, Venus: and so of many others (1). They knew that the gods took the part of their protégés, assisted them by their oracles and animated them with their spirit. All the poets, all the historians, all the religious rites bear witness to this belief. Victories they attributed to the favor of their gods; defeats to their wrath: so convinced were they that the lower world is directed by the higher world (2).

1. *Dodona est tibi sacrata, Junoni Samos et Mycena Diti, Undæ Tenaros æquorisque regi; Pallas Cecropias tuetur arces*, etc. [Dodona is sacred to thee; Samos to Juno, and Mycenae to Dis; Tenarus to the wave and the king of the sea; Pallas protects the Cecropian citadels, etc.] Martial, Epigram. *ad custod. hortor.*, as cited in Ansaldi, *De Romanâ tutelarium deorum evocatione*, 8vo, Oxford, 1765, c. 4, p. 15. — See also Alexander ab Alexandro, *Dierum genialium*, lib. iv.

2. *Mulciber in Trojam, pro Troja stabat Apollo: Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit*, etc. [Vulcan was against Troy, Apollo stood for Troy; Venus was kind to the Trojans, Pallas unkind.] Ovid, *Trist.*, lib. i, eleg. 2.

They knew that the protecting gods were present in the temples or statues regularly consecrated; but that evocation forced them to leave them. "We know very well," they said, "that bronze, gold, silver and the other materials of which we make statues are not gods by themselves, and we do not regard them as such; but we honor in the statues those whom the sacred dedication draws into them and makes dwell in simulacra fashioned by the hand of man (1)."

1. *Neque nos æra, neque auri, argentique materias, neque alias, quibus signa conficiunt, eas esse per se deos, et religiosa decernimus numina; sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur quos dedicatio infert sacra, et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulacris.* [Neither do we decide that bronze, nor materials of gold and silver, nor others of which they make statues, are in themselves gods and holy divinities; but in these we worship, and these we venerate, whom sacred dedication introduces and causes to dwell in the handmade simulacra.] Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, vi.

In this powerful dedication, how not to see the parody of our sacred rites, by which a supernatural virtue is conferred on blessed objects? If dedication drew the gods into the statues, evocation or desecration made them go out (1). The Romans in particular had such faith in the power of evocation that they did not hesitate to attribute to it the universality of their empire (2). Hence the usages of which we are about to speak.

1. *Desacratis igitur evocationis ope simulacris, vacuæ credebantur deorum spiritu, et omni destitutæ virtute illæ sedes.* [Therefore, the images having been desacrated by help of evocation, those seats were believed void of the spirit of the gods and destitute of all virtue.] Ansaldi, ibid., p. 21.

2. See Minucius Felix, *Octav.*; and Ansaldi, p. 49.

Among the different peoples of the East and the West, the statues of the gods were chained, so that evocation might not draw them from their sanctuary and make them abandon the kingdom or the city placed under their protection. "The statues of Daedalus," says Plato, "are chained. When they are not, they stir and run away; when they are, the god remains in his place (1)." Pausanias reports that there was at Sparta a very old statue of Mars, bound by the feet. "By binding him so," says the grave historian, "the Spartans wished to have this god as perpetual defender of their persons and their republic, and, taking him as if in their pay, prevent him from ever deserting their cause (2)."

1. *Dædali signa nisi religata fuerint, abire et fugam arripere, ubi vero revincta sunt, consistere.* In *Meno*, cited in Philipp. Camerarius, *Medit. hist.*, part ii, c. ix, p. 13, ed. Frankfurt, 1650.

2. Cited in Philipp. Camerarius, *Medit. hist.*, part ii, c. x, p. 37.

And Plutarch: "The Tyrians hastened to bind their gods… when Alexander came to besiege their city. For a great number of the inhabitants thought they heard, in a dream, Apollo saying: What is done in the city displeases me, and I wish to go to Alexander. Wherefore, acting toward him as toward a deserter who wishes to pass to the enemy, they chained the colossal statue of the god, nailed it to its base, calling him himself *Alexandrist* (1)." Homer affirms that the tripods of Delphi walked of themselves (2).

1. In *Alexand.*

2. *Iliad*, xviii.

These facts and many others of the same kind prove that the pagans believed in the power of evocation. They were not mistaken. So they often practiced it: their authors and ours bear witness (1). This universal belief explains the conduct of Balac calling Balaam to curse Israel. The power of evocation and the movements of the statues or of the gods were manifested above all when the people, the city or the temple was threatened by some great misfortune. Speaking of certain public calamities: "Terrifying voices," says Statius, "were heard in the sanctuaries, and the gates of the gods closed of themselves (2)." And Xiphilinus: "There were found in the Capitol many great traces of gods departing; and the watchmen announced that in the night the temple of Jupiter had opened of itself with a great crash (3)." And Lampridius: "The steps of the departing gods were seen in the Forum (4)." And the historian Josephus: "Some time before the ruin of Jerusalem, a voice was heard in the temple saying: *Let us go hence*, migremus hinc." In pagan antiquity the same phenomenon took place thousands of times (5). On the testimony of Lucan, it occurred in one of the most memorable circumstances of Roman history. Before the battle of Pharsalia, Pompey knew that the gods and the destinies of Rome, evoked by Caesar, had abandoned him (6).

1. Pliny, *Hist.*, lib. 28, c. 9; Festus, *In peregrin.*; Virgil, *Aeneid*, lib. 2; Macrobius, *Saturnal.* iii, 9; Horace, *Carmin.*, lib. 2, ode 1; Ovid, *Fast.* 6; Petronius, *Satyricon*; Statius, *Thebaid.*, lib. ii, v. 8, 10; Claudian, *De Probo et Olybr. coss.*; Tertullian, *Apolog.* x; Prudentius, lib. ii *adv. Symmach.*; S. Ambrose, *epist. ad Valent. adv. Symmach.*; etc.

2. *Terrificæque adytis voces, clausæque deorum Sponte fores. Thebaid*, lib. vii.

3. *Inventa quoque sunt in Capitolio multa et magna vestigia deorum excedentium; renuntiatumque est a vigilibus ea nocte templum Jovis sua sponte magno cum fragore apertum esse.* In *Vitellium*.

4. *Vestigia deorum in Foro visa sunt exeuntium.* In *Commod.*

5. *Quod millies factum esse tradidere scriptores.* [Which writers have handed down as having happened a thousand times.] See Bulenger, *De prodigiis veter.*, c. 48.

6. …*Transisse deos, Romanaque fata Senserat infelix.* […He had felt, unhappy man, that the gods had passed over, and the Roman fates.] *Pharsal.* vii. — All this was only the anticipated counterfeit of the Christian statues that have changed places.

It was likewise known that the gods remained motionless and the evocation without effect if one did not pronounce the proper name, the mysterious name, of the city or the place from which one wished to make them go out (1). This tradition, common to the East and the West, sums itself up in a double fact which illuminates a whole face of Roman history.

1. *Spiritus enim nunquam ejiciuntur, nisi nomen loci proprium audiant… et hoc pacto nulla unquam spirituum (Romæ) evocatio fieri potuit.* [For the spirits are never cast out unless they hear the proper name of the place… and in this way no evocation of the spirits (of Rome) could ever be made.] Camerarius, ibid., c. x, p. 37. — Thus in the City of Evil the cities had a vulgar name known to all, and a mysterious name, doubtless given by the demon, the knowledge of which was entrusted, under grave penalties, to a very small number of initiates.

Macrobius reports this verse of Virgil: “They all went out from their abandoned sanctuaries and altars, the tutelary gods of this empire.” Then he adds: “It is at once from the depth of the highest Roman antiquity and from the secret of the most hidden mysteries that this word came forth. For it is constant that all cities are under the guard of some god; and the custom of the Romans, a secret custom unknown to the vulgar, is, when they besiege a city of which they hope to make themselves masters, to evoke by a charm, *carmen*, its tutelary gods. Without that, either they would not believe they could take the city, or they would regard it as a crime to make the gods prisoners. This is why the Romans themselves wished that both the protecting divinity of Rome and the mysterious name of their city should be completely unknown, even to the most learned. The evocation which they had often made against their enemies, they did not wish an indiscretion to allow anyone in the world to make against them (1).”

1. *Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis, Di quibus imperium hoc steterat.* [They all departed, the shrines and altars left, the gods by whom this empire stood.] Virgil, *Aen.* ii, 351. *Et de vetustissimo Romanorum more et de occultissimis sacris vox ista prolata est. Constat enim omnes urbes in alicujus dei esse tutela, moremque Romanorum arcanum et multis ignotum fuisse, ut, cum obsiderent urbem hostium eamque jam capi posse confiderent, certo carmine evocarent tutelares deos: quod aut aliter urbem capi posse non crederent, aut, si posset, nefas æstimarent deos habere captivos. Nam propterea ipsi Romani et deum in cujus tutela urbs Roma est, et ipsius urbis latinum nomen ignotum esse voluerunt.* [Rendered in the text.] *Saturn.*, lib. iii, c. ix.

The mysterious, the magical name of Rome was not *Roma*. What was it? No one today knows. Even among the Romans this name was scarcely known to a few initiates, to whom it was forbidden on pain of death to reveal it. Varro, Pliny, Solinus teach us that in the time of Pompey a tribune of the people, very erudite, Valerius Soranus, having one day pronounced it, was immediately crucified (1).

1. Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, lib. iii, c. 9, n. iii: Valerius Soranus is said to have divulged the other name of Rome and soon paid the penalty; Pliny adds the example of the goddess Angerona, whose image has its mouth bound and sealed. — See other details in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Feb. 1865, p. 126 ff. On the authority of Pomponius Flaccus, who lived in the 3rd or 4th century, Pierius and Camerarius advanced that the mysterious name of Rome was *Valentia*. But this is in no way proved. Camerarius, part ii, c. ix.

“As to the formula of evocation,” continues Macrobius, “here it is as I found it in the fifth book of the *Hidden Things* of Sammonicus Serenus. He himself declares that he drew it from a very ancient book of a certain

Furius. When the siege is laid, the Roman general pronounces this charm evoking the gods:

"'God or goddess, whoever thou art, protector of this people and of this city; thou above all to whom the guard of this people and of this city has been specially entrusted, I pray you, I honor you, I conjure you to desert this people and this city; to abandon their lands, their temples, their sacrifices, their dwellings and to withdraw from them; to forget this people and this city and to spread over them fear and dismay; after having gone out, to come to Rome, to me and to mine, and to give your preferences and favors to our country, to our temples, to our sacrifices, to our city; to be henceforth my protectors, those of the Roman people and of my soldiers, in such a way that we shall have certain proof of it. If you do thus, I vow to you temples and games.'

"In pronouncing these words, victims were offered and their entrails interrogated on the success of the evocation (1)."

1. Gaume prints the Latin of the formula in capitals with word-divisions marked by full stops; it opens *Si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasque (here the name of the city) est in tutela…* and is found in Macrobius, *Saturnal.*, lib. iii, c. ix. Its sense is given in the body above.

Macrobius says that it was by means of a chant, *carmen*—whence our word *enchantment*—that the gods, that is to say the demons, were called. This *carmen*, which probably varied according to places and circumstances, was common among the pagans. Caesar never got into a carriage without pronouncing his *carmen*. In all the mysteries, in all the feasts where one put oneself in more direct relation with the spirits, the *carmen* took place. Still today the snake-charmers in India, the Whirling Dervishes at Constantinople, the Aïssaoua of Africa, whom we saw at Paris in 1867, always begin with a chant, a kind of melody that calls the spirit, which seizes them and makes them work the most surprising prestiges.

Now all this is a new satanic parody of the usages of the true religion. To cite only one example: we read that the kings of Israel, of Juda and of Edom consulting the prophet Eliseus, he answered: "Bring me hither a minstrel. And when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he said: etc. (1)."

1. *Adducite mihi psaltem. Cumque caneret psaltes, facta est super eum manus Domini, et ait:* etc. 4 Kings iii, 15.

After the formula of evocation came the formula of *devotion* [*dévouement*, i.e. the Roman *devotio*, a consecration of the enemy to destruction]. Its object was to deliver to the enemy gods the city or army deprived by the evocation of its tutelary gods. More solemn than the first, it was reserved exclusively to dictators and to commanders-in-chief of the great army corps. Here it is:

"'Father God, or Jupiter, or Manes, or you, by whatever other name it is permitted to name you, all of you fill this city (the name of the city) and its army, which I intend to name, with desire of flight, with dread and terror; carry off the legions that are against me, the army, these enemies, and these men, and their cities and their fields and those who dwell in these places, these regions, these fields or these cities; deprive of the light above both the army of the enemies, and the cities and fields of those whom I intend to name; so that these cities and fields, the heads and the ages [of the persons] be devoted and consecrated to you, according to the most terrible formulas by which enemies have ever been devoted; and that I, in my place, for myself, by virtue of my oath and of my authority, for the Roman people, our armies and our legions, give and devote, in order that I, my oath and my command, our legions and our army engaged in this expedition may be fully safeguarded. If you do thus, so that I know, hear and understand it: then, whoever has made this vow, wherever he has made it, let it be held well made. I ask it of you by the sacrifice of three black sheep, you, Mother of the Gods, and you, Jupiter (1).'"

1. The Latin, again in damaged capitals, begins *Dis pater, vel Jovis, Manes, sive vos quo alio nomine fas est nominare, ut omnes illam urbem… exercitumque quem ego me sentio dicere fuga formidine terrore que compleatis…* (Macrobius, *Saturn.*, iii, ix). The sense is given in the body.

"In ancient times," adds Macrobius, "here are the cities I find devoted in this manner: Stonii, Fregellae, Gabii, Veii, Fidenae, in Italy; abroad, besides Carthage and Corinth, a crowd of armies and enemy cities in the Gauls, in the Spains, in Africa, among the Moors and the other nations."

Thus the first operation of a Roman general, whatever his name, Paulus Aemilius, Caesar or Pompey, on laying siege to a city, or on the point of giving battle, was to call to himself the protecting gods of the enemy army or city (1).

1. "Verrius Flaccus," says Pliny, "cites the authors on whom he relies, that in sieges of cities one should, before everything, have the priests of Rome evoke the god under whose protection this city was placed, and promise him that he would have at Rome the same worship and an even more solemn one; and this sacred ceremony still exists in the prescriptions of the pontiffs, and it is certain that the name of the God under whose protection Rome was placed was hidden, so that enemies might not do the same. For there is no one who does not fear being the victim of these terrible imprecations." *Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat, in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus evocari deum, cujus in tutela id oppidum esset; promittique illi eumdem, aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum. Et durat in pontificum disciplina id sacrum; constatque ideo occultatum, in cujus Dei tutela Roma esset, ne qui hostium simili modo agerent. Defigi quidem diris deprecationibus nemo non metuit.* Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, lib. xxviii, c. 4, n. 4.

What will our many *bacheliers* [holders of the *baccalauréat*, the secondary-school diploma] say on learning this fact, which ten years of pagan studies leave them ignorant of? Perhaps they will smile. But to laugh at a fact is not to destroy it. Now the belief in the special delegation of demons is a fact which has for witnesses, during a thousand years, the Camilli, the Fabii, the Scipios, the Paulus Aemilii, the Marcelli, the Caesars. Here laughter is the more out of place in that it is a question neither of the Fathers of the Church, nor of the saints, nor of men of the Middle Ages with their simple and naïve faith; it is a question of men whom men of letters regard as almost superhuman beings, for seriousness of character, solidity of reason, maturity of counsel, superiority of military talents.

Let us add that the use of this decisive evocation did not come from them. The most mysterious oracles had revealed it; all antiquity had practiced it with constant fidelity. Besides, on reflection, one sees that this evocation fitted marvelously into the destiny of pagan Rome. Satan wanted Rome for his capital. Now he who wills the end wills the means. It is therefore very natural that he taught the Romans the manner of disarming their enemies, that is, of stripping them of the help of the demons whom he himself had delegated to them. Should not all the subaltern demons yield before the orders of their king, and, in yielding, contribute to the formation of his empire? So all manifested a great desire to come to Rome (1).

1. Ansaldi, pp. 26–28.

That the Romans recognized the efficacy of these terrible formulas of evocation and devotion, their whole history demonstrates. Without that, would all their great men have employed them so constantly and so mysteriously? Would they have invariably attributed their victories to the superiority of the gods of Rome? Would they have forbidden, on pain of death, the revelation of the name of the protecting divinity of their city? By an exception unique in history, would they have religiously brought to Rome, lodged in sumptuous temples, honored by sacrifices and by the games of the circus or amphitheater, the gods of the conquered nations? What did the victorious generals do by all these demonstrations, otherwise inexplicable? They accomplished their vows; they thanked the gods of the conquered nations for their compliance; they paid the debt of the Roman people. The latter was not ignorant of it. The fact was so well known that the most popular poet of the empire, interpreting the common faith, publicly thanked Jupiter Capitolinus, whose sovereign power had evoked the gods of the enemies and given victory to his people (1).

1. *(Virgilius) ut, præter evocationem, etiam vim devotionis ostenderet, in qua præcipue Jupiter, ut diximus, invocatur, ait: … Ferus omnia Jupiter Argos Transtulit.* [(Virgil), to show, besides evocation, also the force

of devotion, in which Jupiter is chiefly invoked, as we have said, says: "…Fierce Jupiter has transferred all Argos."] Macrobius, *Saturn.*, lib. iii, c. ix.

So much for the demons deputed to cities and kingdoms. The delegation of one of these malefic beings to each man in particular is neither less certain nor less known to the pagans. "The demons," says Iamblichus, "have a chief who presides over generation. To each man he sends his particular demon. Scarcely invested with his mission, the latter discovers to his client both the worship he demands, and his name, and the manner of calling him. Such is the order that reigns among the demons (1)."

1. *Quare et in dæmonibus unus quidam dux eorum, qui circa generationem obtinet principatum. Dæmonem suum ad unumquemque demittit. Postquam igitur adest unicuique suus, tunc et congruum sibi cultum pandit nomenque suum modumque invocationis suæ proprium patefacit. Hic est ordo dæmonum. De myst. Ægypt.*, p. 171.

Thus the familiar demon of Pythagoras, of Numa, of Socrates, of Virgil and of so many others of whom history speaks is not an exception. It is a fact whose only exceptional feature is the more marked splendor with which it is surrounded. By itself it reveals the existence of a general system known to paganism: as on the flanks of Vesuvius the burning fumarole announces with certainty the hidden proximity of the volcano.

The teaching of Iamblichus is confirmed by a curious testimony of Tertullian. "All the goods brought at birth," says this Father, "the same demon who envied them at the origin now obscures and corrupts, either to hide from us their cause or to prevent us from making fitting use of them. For who is the man to whom a demon is not attached, fowler of souls, lying in ambush on the very threshold of life, or called by all the superstitions that accompany childbirth? All have idolatry for midwife: *Omnes idololatria obstetrice nascuntur.*

"It is she who wraps the womb of mothers in bands fabricated among idols, and who consecrates their children to the demons. It is she who, during the labor, makes the groans be offered to Lucina and Diana. It is she who, during the whole week, makes incense burn on the altar of the Genius of the child: Juno for girls, Genius for boys. It is she who, on the last day, makes the child's destinies be written and under what constellation he was born, in order to know his future. It is she who, from the child's deposit on the ground, makes a sacrifice to the goddess Statina.

"Then what father or mother is there who does not vow to the gods a lock of hair or the whole young hair of his son, who does not make of it a sacrifice to satisfy his private devotion, or that of his family, or of his race, or of the country to which he belongs? Thus a demon seized Socrates while still a child, and Genii, which is the name of demons, are deputed to all men: *Sic et omnibus genii deputantur, quod dæmonum nomen est* (1)."

1. *De anima*, c. xxxix. — The consecration of the child to the demon is still a law of the pagan religions. To consecrate their children to Our Lord and to the Blessed Virgin, Christian mothers hang medals about their necks, vow them to white or to blue. Hear what pagan mothers do. A French religious sister writes from Penang, 10 February 1868: "We are reading the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit.* This work interests us particularly. We live in countries that belong to the King of the City of Evil. We are surrounded by pagans; we see with our own eyes the superstitions of paganism. Let those who would refuse to believe come here. They will quickly see the truth of what is said in this book of the slavery of the unfortunate citizens of the City of Evil. We often have visits from Chinese women who bring us their little families. The other day one of them showed us a beautiful child of six months. He was capped with a skullcap in the form of a mitre, all covered with embroideries of pure gold, representing the most horrible figures of animals—scorpions, serpents, dragons. That of the devil was in the middle, in diamonds. The child had about his neck other figures hanging from thick chains, also of gold. The skullcap alone cost more than 500 piastres, 3,000 francs or thereabouts, and one can believe it from the weight. We asked this woman whose these figures were. She

answered quite simply that they were their gods, and that that of the Master was in the middle. For the rest, we scarcely see any of these poor little creatures, however small, who do not bear the effigy of the King of the City of Evil."

The guardian angel of each man, of each kingdom, of each province, of each community is not sent at random by the king of the City of Good; he is chosen in view of the particular needs of the individual or collective being entrusted to his solicitude. So in a well-ordered State men incapable of fulfilling the duties are not raised to public employments. They are given to those who present the capacities necessary to the success of their mission. With an infernal skill, here again Satan counterfeits eternal Wisdom. Doubtless he does not possess, as God does, the power of reading to the bottom of hearts; but he has a thousand means of knowing, by exterior signs, the good or bad dispositions of each man, the strong and the weak side of each people; and he deputes to the one and to the other the demon needed to ruin them. He has them of all characters and of all aptitudes, so as to foment each passion and above all the dominant passion.

Scripture is frightening when it gives the nomenclature of them. It names, among others, the Spirits of divination or Pythonic spirits, *Spiritus divinationis*, seducers of the world, revealers of secrets and speakers of oracles. The Spirits of jealousy, *Spiritus zelotypiæ*, who cast into souls the sentiments of Cain toward Abel, or of the Jews toward Our Lord. The Spirits of wickedness, *Spiritus nequam*, who inspire all blacknesses. The Spirits of lying, *Spiritus mendacii*, masters of hypocrisy, bold deniers of known truth, today more numerous and more powerful than ever. The Spirits of tempests, *Spiritus procellarum*, to whom the world owes the hurricanes, the waterspouts, the hailstorms, the shipwrecks, and the physical upheavals, so frequent above all in modern history. The Spirits of vengeance, *Spiritus ad vindictam*, who, substituting the law of hatred for the law of charity, kindle wars, provoke brawls and lead to assassination in all forms. The Spirits of fornication, *Spiritus fornicationis*, who make innocence their favorite dish. The Spirits of uncleanness, *Spiritus immundus*, whose study is to efface in man even the last vestiges of the image of the Incarnate Word, by making him descend below the beast. The Spirits of sickness, *Spiritus infirmitatis*, who afflict man in his body, while their colleagues kill his soul or tear it with wounds.

Founded on the sacred text, the whole tradition is unanimous in proclaiming the existence of this individual and ceaseless war of the Spirits of darkness against each man and each creature. One of the most competent witnesses, Saint Antony, said: "As, in an army, all the soldiers do not fight in the same fashion or with the same arms, so among the demons the roles are shared. Their malice takes all forms: as many virtues, as many kinds of attack (1)."

1. *Diversa et partita dæmonum nequitia est… atque omnes pro virium facultate diversa contra singulas causas seu virtutes sumpsere certamina.* [Diverse and apportioned is the wickedness of demons… and all, according to their capacity of strength, have undertaken diverse combats against single causes or virtues.] S. Athanasius, *Vit. S. Anton.*

Serenus adds: "We must know that not all demons inspire the same passions in men; but each demon is charged to inspire one in particular. Some delight in immodesties and in the defilements of voluptuousness; others in blasphemies. These are inclined to anger and fury; those love gloomy sadness. There are some who prefer good cheer and pride. Each works to cast his favorite vice into the heart of man.

"That there are in the unclean spirits as many passions as in men, the proof is not doubtful. Does not Scripture name the demons who kindle the fires of libertinism and lust, when it says: *The spirit of fornication hath deceived them, and they have fornicated from their God?* Does it not speak likewise of demons of the day and demons of the night? Does it not signal among them a variety that it would be too long to make known in detail? Let us recall only this: there are some the Prophets call centaurs, lamiae, night-birds, owls, hedgehogs. The Psalms designate others by the name of asps and basilisks. The Gospel calls others lions, dragons, scorpions, princes of the air. To believe that these diverse names are given by chance and without

reason would be an error. By the qualities of these more or less redoubtable beasts the Holy Spirit wished to mark for us, in their infinite variety, the ferocity and rage of the demons (1)."

1. *Quæ vocabula non sine causa nec fortuito indita illis debemus accipere, sed significatione istarum ferarum, quæ apud nos vel minus noxiæ, vel magis perniciosæ sunt, illorum ferocitates rabiesque distingui.* [These names we must take as given to them not without cause nor by chance, but that by the signification of those beasts, which among us are either less harmful or more pernicious, their ferocities and rabies are distinguished.] *Collat.* vii, c. xvii; and *Collat.* xxxii. — In what sense all the passions are found in the demons, see S. Thomas, I, q. lxiii, art. 2, corp.

The same war extends to all parts of the visible world and to each of the creatures that compose it. This too is a fact of universal belief, founded on the parallelism of the two Cities. Implacable enemy of the Word, Satan pursues Him in all His works. Wherever the King of the City of Good has placed one of His angels to preserve and ennoble, the King of the City of Evil sends one of his satellites to destroy and corrupt. Hence it is that antagonism is in all parts of creation, and that one can affirm with assurance of the evil angels what the Fathers of the Church, Saint Augustine in particular, say of the good angels: there is no visible creature in this world that has not a demon specially delegated to hold it captive, to defile it and render it hostile to the Incarnate Word and harmful to man: *Unaquæque res visibilis in hoc mundo angelicam potestatem habet sibi præpositam.* [Each visible thing in this world has an angelic power set over it.]

As we have said, this struggle of Satan against the redeeming Word is at bottom the whole history of humanity. Begun in Heaven, continued in the earthly Paradise, it crossed all the ancient ages without truce. In becoming incarnate, the Son of God finds it more bitter than ever. He Himself, in the desert, sustains it in person and declares that He came on earth only to destroy the work of the Devil and drive out the usurper. Entered on public life, He pursues Satan everywhere, expels him from all bodies; and the demon and his angels are heard to say to Him: *Holy One of God, we know Thee: Thou art come to destroy us. Cease to torment us, and if Thou wilt not leave us in man, let us at least pass into the swine* (1). Conqueror by His death of the Demon, of his Principalities and his Powers, He nails them to His cross and, on the day of His resurrection, leads them in triumph before heaven and earth.

1. Mark i, 23; Luke viii, 32.

But if He weakens the empire of Lucifer, He does not entirely destroy it. As the Lord had left in the midst of the Jewish people idolatrous populations to exercise its virtue, the divine Savior leaves to the demon a certain power, in order to test the fidelity of the Christian people. Before leaving them, He takes care to announce to His apostles, and to His disciples in the course of ages, that they would have to continue against Satan the war which He Himself had victoriously begun. The hatred of Satan will manifest itself with a particular fury against the members of the apostolic College and above all against Peter, their chief. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not* (1).

1. Luke xxii, 31.

They set out for their mission, and at the very first steps Peter meets the enemy in the person of an apostate named Simon. He was the first-born son of Satan; he seduced the people by working before them strange prodigies by the aid of the demons. One day the magician even rose in the air; Peter kneels, he prays: that instant the demons abandon Simon, and this first Pope teaches Satan what power he will have to fight in all the other Pontiffs of Rome, successors of Peter. Paul recognizes him also in the Pythoness of Philippi: *I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to go out from her; and he went out the same hour* (1). With what assurance the same apostle again rebukes Satan, who made use of Elymas the magician to paralyze his apostolate: *O child of the devil, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind* (2).

1. Acts xvi, 18.

2. Acts xiii, 10.

All the other apostles also conquered Satan. So it was with the martyrs; and it was he who, to avenge himself, made them die in torments unheard of till then. Suppress the breath of Satan in the martyrdom of the Christians, and you no longer understand it. In this bloody struggle Satan is again conquered, but not discouraged. Behold him trying new arms. With his murderous breath he raises up among Christians division, schisms, heresies. Impossible again here to explain, without the datum of Satan, this great mystery of fraternal hatred and of error.

To destroy in the various parts of the world the remains of paganism, Rome sends missionaries, and we have seen that they had to fight Satan under the palpable form of dragons and monstrous serpents. To repair the scandals occasioned by the schisms and heresies, Providence deputes into the deserts of Upper Egypt legions of expiators. There, between the Antonys, the Pachomiuses, all the patriarchs of solitude, and Satan, begins a war *to the knife* [*à outrance*]. The life of Saint Antony is the great epic of the combat of man against the demon. This epic is not finished. Ever ancient and ever new, each of us is its hero or its victim. So it is with the creatures that surround us. More often than one thinks they are in the hands of Satan instruments of his hatred against man.

Depositary of all the mysteries of the moral world and of all the true traditions of humanity, the Church has nothing more at heart than to keep ever present to the mind of her children the redoubtable truths of which an attentive Providence had taken care to preserve the knowledge even to the pagan peoples. “Formerly,” she tells us by the mouth of the Fathers, “the demons deceived men by taking different forms, and, standing at the edges of fountains and rivers, in woods and on rocks, surprised foolish mortals by their prestiges. But since the coming of the divine Word their artifices are powerless; the sign of the cross suffices to unmask all their tricks (1).”

1. Saint Athanasius, *De Incarnat. Verbi*; [see also Origen and Saint Augustine, etc., cited above].

To signal the presence of these malefic beings: that is not where the Church’s solicitude stops. By the power which was given her by the conqueror of the demon himself, she has prepared and put into the hands of man all the arms necessary to drive out the enemy or to preserve himself and the creatures from his perfidious attacks. For “there is a book whose testimony no one can, without abjuring the faith, reject or whose competence decline; it is the Roman Ritual, the surest and most authorized organ of orthodox doctrine, the most authentic monument of tradition. Not only is the existence of the demons affirmed there on every page, but the wiles of Satan, his maneuvers, his black enterprises against men and against creatures are signaled there minutely, I would almost say described (1).”

1. *Vie du curé d’Ars*, t. i, p. 386.

No book makes better known the princes of the City of Evil of whom the history now occupies us; none confirms more powerfully what we have said so far and what we shall say again. The Ritual opens with exorcisms upon the newborn child presented for baptism, and upon the elements that are to serve for his regeneration. The child becomes a man and the exorcisms continue. All the creatures with which he is going to be in contact during his pilgrimage are infected. To drive out the demon, the Church exorcises water and blesses it. A mighty water which she conjures her children to keep carefully in their dwellings, in order to sprinkle it on themselves and on all that surrounds them. For the same purpose she exorcises and blesses bread, wine, oil, fruits, houses, fields, flocks. Finally, when man is on the point of leaving life, she employs new blessings to withdraw him from the powers of darkness.

Now what does each exorcism contain? It contains three acts of faith: act of faith in the existence of the demons; act of faith in their real and permanent action, general and individual, on man and on creatures; act

of faith in the power given to the Church to drive out the usurper (1).

1. *Diabolus hostis est humanæ salutis, quæ homini per baptismum acquiritur; et habet potestatem aliquam in hominem ex hoc ipso quod subditur peccato originali, vel etiam actuali. Unde convenienter ante baptismum expelluntur dæmones per exorcismos… Aqua benedicta datur contra impugnationes dæmonum, quæ sunt ab exteriori; sed exorcismus ordinatur contra impugnationes dæmonum quæ sunt ab interiori.* [The Devil is the enemy of human salvation, which is acquired by man through baptism; and he has some power over man by the very fact that he is subject to original or even actual sin. Hence it is fitting that before baptism the demons are expelled by exorcisms… Holy water is given against the assaults of demons that are from outside; but exorcism is ordained against the assaults of demons that are from within.] S. Th., III, q. lxxi, art. 2, corp. and ad 3. — Fifteen hundred years ago Saint Augustine spoke like Saint Thomas: *Parvuli exsufflantur et exorcizantur, ut pellatur ab eis diaboli potestas inimica quæ decepit hominem.* [Little ones are breathed upon and exorcized that the hostile power of the devil who deceived man may be driven from them.] *De symb.*, lib. i, c. i, ad fin.

And now, if there is anything strange, is it not the inattention with which Christians, nevertheless submissive in mind and heart to the holy Church, pass by these exorcisms, so clear, so positive, without being struck by the conclusions they contain? Today above all it is necessary to point out some of them. So, without leaving our liturgical books, would one know with certainty what the demoniacal action on man and on the world is, and in what manners it is diversified? Let us open the Ritual, to which we shall join the Pontifical: that other monument no less official of the Catholic faith, that other treasure no less precious of all true philosophy. What is taught in these books?

It is taught that the demons can enlace man with visible and invisible bonds, as a conqueror can load his prisoner with irons;

That they can close his mind to the understanding of divine things;

That they can corrupt water, and make phantoms appear in it, which constitutes hydromancy;

That they can haunt houses, defile them and make the sojourn there painful and dangerous;

That they can spread plague, corrupt the air, compromise the health of man, trouble his rest and molest him in every way;

That they can infest not only inhabited places, but solitary places, spread terror there, and make of them the hearth of contagious diseases or the theater of disquieting molestations;

That they can attack man in his body and in his soul, swoop down on him in great number, present themselves to him in the form of specters or phantoms;

That they can raise tempests, send hurricanes, waterspouts, hail, lightning; in a word, put the elements at the service of their eternal hatred;

That they can lend to man their malefic virtue, seize him, possess him, communicate to his mind knowledge and to his body superhuman forces and aptitudes;

That they can, finally, harass him in a more terrible manner in his last moments; and, on his departure from the body, dispute with his soul the passage to blessed eternity (1).

1. *Rituale, passim*; *Pontificale*, especially the blessing of bells.

From these teachings, drawn from the purest sources, two things result: the first, the certainty of an incessant action, general and particular, of the demons on man and on creatures; the second, the possibility of direct, sensible, material communications of the demons with man and of man with the demons. Hence the evocations, the pacts, the obsessions, the possessions, the spells, whose existence, so often attested by ancient

and modern history, sacred and profane, cannot be denied without renouncing all belief divine and human.

Besides, for whoever wishes to reflect, neither the intrinsic difficulty of these communications nor the strange forms they may assume is a motive for doubt. Is not our soul in permanent communication with our body? If the spirit can communicate with matter, where would be the radical impossibility for a spirit to communicate with another spirit? Is it a question of the forms? Do not the annals of the human race begin with a demoniac manifestation? From every point of view is not this manifestation one of the strangest? Yet it has been admitted by all peoples. There is none whose traditions have not preserved the memory of the genesiac fact, first cause of evil and of all evil. What do I say? This primitive, real, palpable communication of Satan with man is a dogma of faith as certain as the Incarnation of the Word. “No Satan, no God,” said Voltaire. One must add: No Satan, no fall; no fall, no Redemption; no Redemption, no Incarnation; no Incarnation, no Christianity; no Christianity, universal Pyrrhonism [skepticism].

Our aim is not to explain in detail the sensible and multiform action of the princes of the City of Evil on man and on creatures. One may see it in the learned works of MM. de Mirville, Des Mousseaux and Bizouard. However, the present circumstances do not permit us to pass in silence certain demoniacal manifestations, the more dangerous in that efforts are made to deny their true cause. We mean the direct communications with spirits, the *turning tables* and other practices, which not long ago set in commotion the Old and the New World, which have never ceased, and which today are produced with an unheard-of recrudescence.

What has most astonished us at the appearance of these phenomena is the general astonishment they produced. One would say that, for the men of this time, reason is struck with powerlessness, theology null and void, history mute. The first dogma of reason is that two opposite masters dispute humanity, which lives necessarily under the empire of one or under the empire of the other. At sight of the present world rapidly emancipating itself from the reign of Christianity, it was very easy and very logical to conclude that it was falling back with the same speed under the reign of Satanism. Now Satan is always the same. In returning to the world, he returns with all the attributes of his ancient kingship. Oracles, prestiges, varied manifestations, the whole cortege of seductions, signs and instruments of reign, with which he had filled the ancient world, with which he still fills the idolatrous world, had necessarily to reappear in a world become again his domain by the withdrawal of Christianity. Reason says this, as it says: Two and two make four.

And theology? Six hundred years ago the Angel of the school, expounding the doctrine of the Church, said, like his master Saint Augustine (1): “The demons are attracted by certain kinds of stones, plants, woods, animals, chants and rites, as signs of the divine honor of which they are very jealous. They give themselves out for the souls of the dead. They appear often under the form of the beasts that designate their qualities. They sometimes tell the truth the better to deceive, and descend to certain familiarities in order to bring men to familiarize themselves with them (2).”

1. *Dæmones alliciuntur per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum, non ut animalia cibis, sed ut spiritus signis, in quantum scilicet hæc eis exhibentur in signum divini honoris, cujus ipsi sunt cupidi.* [Demons are attracted by various kinds of stones, herbs, woods, animals, songs, rites, not as animals by food, but as spirits by signs, in so far as these are offered to them as a sign of divine honor, of which they are desirous.] S. Th., I, q. 115, art. 5, ad 5. — *Frequenter dæmones simulant se esse animas mortuorum ad confirmandum Gentilium errorem, qui hoc credebant.* [Demons frequently pretend to be souls of the dead to confirm the error of the Gentiles, who believed this.] Id., q. 117, art. 4, ad 2. — Id., id., q. lxxxix, art. 8, ad 2; id., II–II, q. clxv, art. 2, ad 3.

2. Id., I, q. lxiv, art. 2, ad 5. — *Omnia illa quæ videntur esse venialia, dæmones procurant, ut homines ad sui familiaritatem attrahant, et sic deducant eos in peccatum mortale.* [The demons procure all those things that seem venial, to attract men to familiarity with them, and so lead them into mortal sin.] I–II, q. lxxxix, art. 4, ad 3.

In these few lines, which we shall develop later, have we not the explanation, abridged doubtless but exact, of what passes under our eyes? So speaks theology. And history? Is it a question in particular of the wood that comes alive and gives oracles? It is a demoniac fact whose existence, forty centuries old, has for witnesses the East and the West. What is more famous in profane history than the oaks of Dodona? and what more authenticated? If, as is wished to be pretended, it is false that trees ever gave articulate sounds, the belief sustained for several thousand years in this fact attested by the gravest men, accomplished in the midst of the most polished peoples, would be more incredible than the fact itself. Besides, is it not put beyond doubt by the book in which all is truth? Who has not read in Scripture the anathemas hurled against whoever says to the wood to come alive, to rise, to speak like a living being? “Woe to him that saith to the wood: Awake; to the dumb stone: Arise” [Habac. ii, 19]. “My people have consulted their wood, and their staff hath declared unto them” (1).

1. *Væ qui dicit ligno: expergiscere et surge.* Habac. ii, 19. — *Populus meus in ligno suo interrogavit: et baculus ejus annuntiavit ei.* Osee iv, 12.

To specify the question more and more, is it a question of the turning and speaking tables? They are known from the highest antiquity. On this demoniac phenomenon, which can astonish only ignorance, we have among others the peremptory testimony of Tertullian. In his immortal *Apologeticum*, that is, in a writing in which he could advance nothing contestable without compromising the great cause of the Christians, this Father, born in the bosom of paganism and profoundly instructed in its practices, names in so many words the tables which the demons make speak. What is most remarkable, he speaks of them not as of an extraordinary and obscure fact, but as of a habitual thing, known to all the world. Without hesitation he designates by their name the spiritual agents of the phenomenon, certain of becoming the laughingstock of the empire if, after the manner of our so-called savants, he had wished to explain it by fluids.

The testimony of the great apologist is too precious not to be cited entire.

“We say that there are purely spiritual substances, and their name is not new. The philosophers know the demons: witness Socrates himself, who awaited the order of his demon to speak and to act. Why not? Since he had, history reports, a demon attached to his person from his childhood. As for the poets, all know perfectly that the demons dissuade from good. For their work is to destroy man: *Operatio eorum est hominis eversio.* It is by the loss of man that they inaugurated their malice. To the body they send sicknesses and cruel accidents; to the soul, violent, sudden and extraordinary movements.

“To reach the double substance of man, they have their subtlety and tenuity. Spiritual powers, they have every facility to remain invisible and insensible, so that they show themselves rather in their works than in themselves. Do they attack the fruits and the harvests? They insinuate into the flower I know not what poisoned breath that kills the germ or prevents ripening: as if it were air vitiated by an unknown cause that sent forth pestilential exhalations. By the same latent contagion they excite in souls furies, shameful follies, cruel voluptuousnesses, accompanied by a thousand errors, the greatest of which is to blind man to the point of procuring for the demon, by sacrifice, his favorite food, the smoke of perfumes and blood.

“There is another voluptuousness of which he is jealous: it is to remove man from the thought of the true God by lying prestiges, whose secret I am going to tell. Every spirit is a bird; *Omnis spiritus ales est.* That is true of angels and of demons. In a moment they are everywhere. For them the whole globe is one place: *Totus orbis illis locus unus est.* What is done everywhere they know as easily as they tell it. Their will is taken for divinity, because their nature is not known. Thus they wish to pass for the authors of the things they announce; and, in fact, they are often of evils, never of goods: *Et sunt plane malorum nonnunquam, bonorum tamen nunquam* (1).”

1. *Apolog.*, c. xxii.

Their natural celerity is for the demons a first means of knowing things that happen at a distance or that are about to happen. There is another: it is the knowledge of the dispositions of Providence by means of the prophecies which they hear read and the sense of which they naturally understand much better than we. Drawing from this source the notion of certain circumstances of the times, they ape the Divinity by stealing the art of divining: *Æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem.* [They emulate divinity while stealing divination.] Fathers and sons of lying, they wrap their oracles in ambiguity when they do not wish or cannot answer; so that, whatever event is announced, they can defend their words: Croesus and Pyrrhus know something about it (1).

1. The oracle said to the latter: "*Aio te Romanos vincere posse,*" which is amphibolous [ambiguous: "I say you can conquer the Romans" / "the Romans can conquer you"].

"Their dwelling in the air, their neighborhood to the stars, their commerce with the clouds, are again for them a means of knowing the approach of physical events: rains, floods, droughts. To these astonishing knowledges they add, to attract the worship of man, a more dangerous artifice: they give themselves out as healing diseases. What are the cures they claim? They begin by making the man sick; then, to make the miracle believed, they prescribe new remedies and even contrary ones. The application made, they take away the evil they had communicated and make it believed they have cured it (1)."

1. *Lædunt enim primo, dehinc remedia præcipiunt ad miraculum nova sive contraria; post quæ desinunt lædere et curasse creduntur.* [For they first harm, then prescribe remedies, new or contrary, for the sake of the miracle; after which they cease to harm and are believed to have cured.] *Apol.*, ubi supra.

To accredit faith in their power and veracity, they join to these pretended cures surprising prodigies. The history of paganism, ancient and modern, is full of them. Tertullian contents himself with citing some, known to the whole Roman empire and particularly to the magistrates to whom he addresses his *Apology*. "What shall I say of the other wiles or other forces of the spirits of lying? The apparition of Castor and Pollux, the water carried in a sieve, the ship drawn with a girdle, the beard turned red at the touch of a statue: all that to make it believed that stones are gods and to prevent the seeking of the true God (1)."

1. At the moment when the Romans were winning a battle in Macedonia, Castor and Pollux, demigod protectors of the Romans, appeared at Rome and announced the victory. — The vestal Tuccia carried water in a sieve; her companion, the vestal Claudia, drew to the shore with her girdle a ship stranded in the Tiber, bearing the statue of Cybele, the mother of the gods; Domitius, fair-bearded, saw his beard turn red at the touch of the statue of Castor and Pollux. Hence the name *Œnobarbus* [Ahenobarbus, "Bronze-beard"], left to his long and famous posterity.

The power of the demons over the physical world is accompanied by a no less great power over the spiritual world. Striking thing! they exercise it today in the same manner as in the time of Tertullian. Then there were *mediums* who made phantoms appear, who evoked the souls of the dead; who gave the gift of speech to little children (1); who worked a crowd of prestiges in the presence of the people; who sent dreams and made goats and TABLES speak: two kinds of beings who, thanks to the demons, are wont to predict the future and reveal hidden things: *Per quos et capræ et mensæ divinare consueverunt* (2).

1. It was seen twenty times, at the beginning of the last century, among the Camisards; read the interesting and very authentic *Histoire des Camisards*, by M. Blanc.

2. *Porro si et magi phantasmata edunt et sane defunctorum inclamant animas; si pueros in eloquium oraculi eliciunt; si multa miracula circulatoriis præstigiis ludunt; si et somnia immittunt habentes semel invitatorum angelorum et dæmonum assistentem sibi potestatem, per quos et capræ et mensæ divinare consueverunt, etc.* [Moreover, if magicians also produce phantoms and call upon the souls of the dead; if they draw boys to the utterance of an oracle; if they play many miracles by juggling prestidigitation; if they also send dreams,

having once the power of invited angels and demons assisting them, through whom goats and tables are wont to divine, etc.] *Apol.*, ubi supra.

Such is the notoriety of all these phenomena that the grave apologist reports them boldly, without circumlocution, without oratorical precaution, without fear of exciting a smile or provoking a denial from a hostile and mocking public. Then he adds: “If the power of the demons is so great, even when they act through intermediaries, how measure it when they act directly and by themselves? It is this that pushes some to throw themselves from the tops of towers; others to mutilate themselves; these to cut off their arm or their throat… it is known to most that cruel and premature deaths are the work of the demons (1).”

1. *Quanto magis illa potestas de suo arbitrio et pro suo negotio studeat totis viribus operari, quod alienæ præstat negotiationi… qui sacras turres pervolat; qui genitalia vel lacertos, qui sibi gulam prosecat.* Ibid. *Pluribus notum est dæmoniorum quoque opere et immaturas et atroces effici mortes.* Id., *De anima*, c. lvii. — The Gaulish priests did all this. The priests of Buddha in Tibet cut open their belly. In Africa and Oceania they cut off their fingers, make incisions in their faces.

Suicide! Only this last trait was wanting to complete the resemblance between the demoniac phenomena of the second and the nineteenth century. On pain of renouncing the faculty of linking two ideas, one must therefore conclude, saying with Tertullian: “The similarity of the effects demonstrates the identity of the cause: *Compar exitus furoris, et una ratio est instigationis*” (1).

1. Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Athenagoras, Lactantius, Saint Augustine and the other Fathers of the Church speak like Tertullian. (See Baltus, *Réponse à l’Histoire des oracles*.) Let us cite only a passage of Saint Augustine: *Sciendum nobis est quoniam de divinatione dæmonum quæstio est, illos ea plerumque prænuntiare quæ ipsi facturi sunt. Accipiunt enim sæpe potestatem et morbos immittere et ipsum aerem vitiando morbidum reddere… Aliquando autem non quæ ipsi faciunt, sed quæ naturalibus signis futura prænoscunt, quæ signa in hominum sensus venire non possunt, antepraedicant… Aliquando et hominum dispositiones non solum voce prolatas, verum etiam cogitatione conceptas, cum signa quædam ex animo exprimuntur in corpore, tota facilitate perdiscunt, atque hinc etiam multa futura prænuntiant.* [We must know, since the question concerns the divination of demons, that they mostly foretell what they themselves are going to do. For they often receive power both to send diseases and, by vitiating the air itself, to make it morbid… At other times, however, they foretell not what they themselves do, but what they foreknow by natural signs, which signs cannot come to men’s senses… At other times they also learn with full facility the dispositions of men, not only uttered by voice but also conceived in thought, when certain signs are expressed from the mind in the body, and from this too they foretell many future things.] *De divinat. dæmon.*, lib. i, c. v.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XV

1. **Latin formulas.** Gaume’s footnotes print the two Roman formulas of *evocatio* and *devotio* (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* III, 9) in capitals, with word-divisions marked by full stops. Their sense is already given in his French body, which I translate in full; in the notes I give the opening words and the source.

2. **Mysterious name of Rome.** Gaume follows Macrobius and Pliny on the secret name of Rome and the fate of Valerius Soranus; the “Valentia” suggestion is mentioned and rejected by Gaume himself.

3. **Authors named.** *Ansaldi*, *De Romana tutelarium deorum evocatione* (Oxford, 1765) — Gaume’s chief secondary source for the Roman material; *Camerarius* (*Meditationes historicae*); *Iamblichus*, *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*. The citations to Martial and Prudentius are given as Gaume prints them.

4. **Contemporary references.** Gaume’s text mentions the Aïssaoua seen at Paris in 1867 and quotes a sister’s letter from Penang dated 10 February 1868, so the text was revised after the 1864–65 date of the second edition. The “turning tables” refer to the spiritism craze of the 1850s; MM. de Mirville, Des

Mousseaux and Bizouard are the standard Catholic demonological authors of the day.

5. **Idiom.** *Guerre à outrance* — "war to the knife". *Bacheliers* — holders of the *baccalauréat*; here a gibe at educated readers. *Oiseleur des âmes* — Tertullian's "fowler of souls." *Faculté de lier deux idées* — "the faculty of linking two ideas" (as in ch. VII).

6. **Scripture.** *4 Kings* = 2 Kings in modern numbering. Douay wording is used. The list of "centaurs, lamiae, night-birds, owls, hedgehogs" follows the standard rendering of Isaias xiii, 21–22 and xxxiv, 11–15.

7. **Names.** The vestal is "Tuccia" (Gaume writes "Tuscia"). "Stonii" for "Tonii" is a probable mis-copy of an ancient town list in Macrobius ("Stonios"); I keep Macrobius's reading.

Chapter XVI. (End of the Preceding)

The power of the demons regulated by divine wisdom. — They punish and they tempt. — They punish: proofs, Egypt, Saul, Achab. — A celebrated confession of the demon. — They tempt: proofs, Job, Our Lord, Saint Paul, the Fathers of the desert, all men. — Why not all resist them. — Imprudence and chastisement of those who enter into dealings with the demon. — He tempts out of hatred for the Incarnate Word.

We have just spoken of the power of the demons. In accordance with the counsels of His infinite wisdom, God keeps it within just limits (1). It follows that the princes of the City of Evil cannot harm man and the creatures to the full measure of their hatred (2). God not only restrains their power; He *directs* it; for, like everything that exists, this power must, in its own way, contribute to the glory of the Creator. On this essential point in the government of the City of Good, let us recall the precise teaching of Catholic theology. "The good angels," says Saint Thomas, "make known to the demons many things

1. *Diabolus nulli nocet, nisi acceperit potestatem a Deo.* [The devil harms no one unless he has received power from God.] St. Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* [ch. 12 as printed].

2. *Diabolus multa potest virtute suæ naturæ, a quibus tamen prohibetur virtute divina.* [The devil can do many things by the power of his nature, from which, however, he is held back by divine power.] St. Thomas, *Summa*, I, q. 109, art. 1, ad 3.

touching the divine secrets. These revelations take place whenever God requires certain things of the demons, either to punish the wicked or to exercise the good. Thus, in the social order, the assessors of the judge notify the executioners of the sentence he has passed. So that nothing, then, may be useless in the general order, not even the demons, God makes them concur in His glory, by giving them the mission of punishing crime, or by leaving them the liberty of tempting virtue (1)." And elsewhere: "The evil angels attack man in two ways. The first is by inciting him to sin. In this sense they are not sent by God; but sometimes, according to the counsels of His justice, God lets them act. The second is by punishing and by testing him: in this sense they are sent by God (2)." It must be remarked that, because of his inveterate hatred against the Word, the demon is by nature the tempter of man: that is his office. It must be remarked, further, that he tempts even when he is sent to punish. For his intention in punishing is one thing, and that of God who sends him is another. He punishes out of hatred and jealousy; whereas God sends him to vindicate the rights of His justice (3).

1. I, q. 109, art. 4, ad 1. — *Hanc procurationem (exercitationem justi) boni humani convenions fuit per angelos malos fieri, ne totaliter post peccatum ab utilitate naturalis ordinis exciderent.* [It was fitting for the good of man that this administration (the testing of the just) should be carried out through the evil angels, lest after sin they should fall away altogether from the usefulness of the natural order.] *Id.*, q. 64, art. 4, corp. — *Deus permittit Diabolo homines divexare, ut boni probentur, improbi puniantur.* [God permits the devil to harass men, that the good may be proved and the wicked punished.] St. Ambrose, Book VI *in Luc.*

2. *Mali angeli impugnant homines dupliciter. Uno modo instigando ad peccatum: et sic non mittuntur a Deo ad impugnandum, sed aliquando permittuntur secundum Dei justa judicia. Aliquando autem impugnant homines puniendo: et sic mittuntur a Deo.* [The evil angels attack men in two ways. In one way by inciting to sin: and thus they are not sent by God to attack, but are sometimes permitted according to God's just judgments. At other times they attack men by punishing: and thus they are sent by God.] *Id.*, q. 114, art. 1, ad 1.

3. *Dæmones ex malitia sua assumpserunt officium tentandi.* [The demons, out of their malice, have taken on the office of tempting.] — *Unde Apostolus: Ne forte tentet vos is qui tentat* [Whence the Apostle: Lest perhaps he that tempteth should tempt you], 1 Thess. 3. *Ubi Glossa: Hoc est diabolus, cujus officium est tentandi… Missi tamen ad puniendum tentant: et alia intentione puniunt, quam mittantur. Nam ipsi puniunt ex odio, vel invidia; sed mittuntur a Deo propter ejus justitiam.* [On which the Gloss: This is the devil, whose office is tempting… Yet when sent to punish they tempt: and they punish with a different intention from that with which they are sent. For they themselves punish out of hatred or envy; but they are sent by God on account of His justice.] Viguier, p. 91.

Finally, it must be remarked that this divine delegation or permission adds nothing to the natural power of the demons: it only looses it and determines its use. By the intermediary of the good angels, God indicates to them the places and the persons on whom they are to make their redoubtable presence felt, and the kind and the limit of the chastisements or trials of which they are the ministers. Who would dare to rise up against this conduct of infinite Wisdom? Is God not free to have the wicked man repaid according to his works, by whom He will and as He will, and to have the just man buy the crown which He reserves for him?

Of this double function of punishing and of testing, given to the evil angels, the proofs abound in Scripture and in the history of the Church. Here are some of them.

Function of punishing. — It was by the demon that the first-born of the Egyptians were struck dead, in punishment of the obstinacy of that people and its king in resisting the orders of God. Abyss of divine justice! The demons had, by their prodigies, powerfully contributed to the obstinacy of Egypt, and the demons themselves are charged to punish it for it! Perhaps these malevolent spirits even had a presentiment of what was to happen. So true is it that in all they do they have but one aim, the harm of man (1).

We read in the first book of Kings: "An evil spirit from the Lord troubled Saul." "The evil spirit sent from God seized upon Saul, and Saul prophesied (1)." According to the commentators, the evil spirit in question was a demon sent by God to punish Saul. "The first king of Israel," says Theodoret, "having voluntarily withdrawn himself from the empire of the Holy Spirit, was handed over to the tyranny of a demon (2)." Saint Gregory adds: "The same spirit is called at once the spirit of the Lord and an evil spirit: of the Lord, to mark the investiture of a just power; evil, on account of the desire of an unjust tyranny (3)." This sacred text has this precious feature, that it proves not only the divine delegation given to the demon, but also that it determines its use. Saul loses neither hearing, nor speech, nor health, like certain possessed persons of the Gospel: the punishment regulated by the Sovereign Judge is of another kind. By usurping the priestly functions, this prince had wished to become the seer of Israel, and he experiences violent agitations, he sees phantoms, he falls into fits of fury; and in this state, which always manifests the presence of the spirit of disorder, he utters incoherent oracles (4).

We learn from the same book that a lying spirit is sent by the Lord to deceive

1. Viguier, p. 92.

2. 1 Kings 16:14; 18:10.

3. *Cum divinis recessit Spiritus, locum est sortitus malignus Spiritus; sic cum apostolica gratia Judam reliquisset, in eum ingressus est diabolus.* [When the divine Spirit withdrew, the malignant spirit took its

place; so when apostolic grace had left Judas, the devil entered into him.] *In hunc loc.*, q. 38.

4. *Idem spiritus et Domini appellatur et malus: Domini, per licentiam justæ potestatis; malus, per desiderium injustæ potestatis.* [The same spirit is called both the spirit of the Lord and evil: of the Lord, by the licence of a just power; evil, by the desire of an unjust power.] *Moral.*, Book II, ch. 6.

5. *Pseudoprophetæ agitati a malo spiritu sunt similes furore percitis corybantibus; hoc passus est etiam Saul vexatus a dæmone.* [The false prophets, driven by an evil spirit, are like the Corybantes stirred to frenzy; Saul too suffered this, being vexed by a demon.] Theodoret, *loc. cit.*

Achab, king of Israel, in punishment of his hypocrisy (1). To be brief: the last of the sacred books, announcing what is to happen at the end of time, shows us four demons charged to punish the earth, the sea and their inhabitants; but receiving, according to the interpreters, their mission from God through the ministry of the good angels (2).

In the ages between the Old Testament and the consummation of the world, the mission of punishing delegated to the demon has never been suspended. As a proof among a thousand, let us cite only one fact, celebrated in history. We say celebrated, since it gave rise to four councils. It was in the century of Charlemagne. A solemn translation was being made of the relics of the holy martyrs Peter and Marcellinus. Numerous miracles were wrought as they passed; but there was one that astonished more than the others. A possessed girl was brought to one of the priests that he might exorcise her. The priest spoke to her in Latin. What was the astonishment of the crowd when the girl was heard answering in the same language! Himself astonished, the priest asked her: “Where did you learn Latin? What country are you from? Who is your family?” Through the mouth of the girl the demon answered: “I am one of the satellites of Satan, and I was for a long time porter of hell. But for some years past we have received orders, I and eleven of my companions, to ravage the kingdom of the Franks. It is we who caused the failure of the harvests of wheat and of wine, and attacked all the other products of the earth that serve for the nourishment of man. It is we who made the cattle die by different

1. 3 Kings [= 1 Kings in modern numbering], last chapter [22].

2. Apoc. [Rev.] 8, and Cornelius a Lapide on this place.

kinds of epidemics, and men themselves by plague and other contagious diseases. In a word, it is we who brought down upon them all the calamities and all the evils from which they have suffered for several years.” — “Why,” the priest asked him, “was such a power given to you?” The demon answered: “On account of the malice of this people and the iniquities of every kind of those who govern it. They love presents and not justice; they fear man more than God. They oppress the poor, remain deaf to the cries of widows and orphans, and sell justice. Besides these crimes, peculiar to superiors, there are a multitude of others common to all: perjury, drunkenness, adultery, murder. That is why we received the order to repay them according to their works.” — “Go out,” the priest said to him, threatening him, “go out of this creature.” — “I shall go out,” he replied, “not because of your commands, but because of the power of the martyrs, who do not permit me to remain there any longer.” At these words he threw the girl violently to the ground, and held her there for some time as if asleep. Soon he withdrew; and the possessed girl, coming out as from a deep sleep, by the power of Our Lord and the merits of the blessed martyrs, rose safe and sound in the presence of all the spectators. Once the demon had gone, it was impossible for her to speak Latin; which showed clearly that it was not of herself that she had spoken that language, but the demon who spoke it through her mouth (1).

1. *Nec post exactum a se dæmonem latine loqui potuit, ut pateret intelligi non illam per se, sed dæmonium per os ejus fuisse locutum.* [Nor, after the demon had been driven out of her, could she speak Latin, so that it might be clearly understood that it was not she of herself, but the demon through her mouth, who had spoken.] Labbe, *Collect. Concil.*, vol. VII, col. 1668.

The report of this event, which took place in the presence of a multitude of witnesses, spread everywhere and was not long in reaching the ears of the Emperor. Charlemagne was a great man, but not after the manner of the pygmies of our day who usurp that title. Charlemagne was a great man because he was a great Christian. As such he believed, with the Church and the whole human race, in the demons and in their power over man and over creatures. At the sight of the prodigy and of the scourges that were desolating the empire, he did not say, as the little great men of today do: *Strip the caterpillars, drain, sulphur*: that is enough. [*Échenillez, drainez, soufrez* — a jab at the official remedies of the 1850s–60s: stripping orchards of caterpillars, draining fields, and sulphuring the vines against the oidium blight.] Composing an antidote from the very venom of the serpent, Charlemagne summoned the bishops. In concert with them he ordered three days of fasting and public prayers throughout the empire. As it is not enough to cure the evil, but its return must be prevented, the great Emperor had four councils assembled in different parts of the Gauls, in order to provide for the correction of abuses and the reform of morals. These councils were held at Paris, Mainz, Lyons and Toulouse: wise regulations were drawn up there, and after this Catholic draining the scourges ceased and abundance returned (1).

1. *Edictoque promulgato mandavit, ut ad correctionem morum depravatorum quatuor diversis in locis per Gallias, quatuor diversa concilia Parisiis, Moguntiæ, Lugduni et Tolosæ celebrarent.* [And having promulgated an edict, he commanded that for the correction of depraved morals, in four different places throughout the Gauls, four different councils be held at Paris, Mainz, Lyons and Toulouse.] Labbe, *Coll. Concil.*, vol. VII, col. 1668.

Function of testing. — Everyone knows the story of Job. Written under the inspiration of God Himself, this history is the eternally peremptory proof of the power given to the demon to test the just man. Great among all the princes of the East, father of a fair and numerous family, peaceful possessor of immense riches, a patriarch with the faith of Abraham, Job excites the jealousy of Satan. The King of the City of Evil asks permission to put him to the test. God, who knew the soul of His servant, grants the permission asked. He knew that this pure gold cast into the crucible of sorrow would come out of it more brilliant; that the triumph of human weakness aided by grace would become the confusion of Satan, the admiration of the ages and the model of all the victims of adversity.

Like that of punishing, the mission of testing is determined by divine wisdom: the sacred text furnishes the proof of this again. “The Lord said to Satan: All that he hath is in thy hand; only put not forth thy hand upon his person (1).” We see, in fact, in this first assault, all the possessions of Job pitilessly struck and so utterly annihilated that the holy man can pronounce in all truth the word of sublime resignation which, for four thousand years, has echoed through all the echoes of the world: “Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return thither. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord (2).” Job is stripped of everything; but health remains to him. In spite of the power of his hatred, the demon could not make one hair fall from the head of his victim. Furious to see that his malice only gives to Job’s virtue a brilliance that confounds him, Satan returns to the charge: he asks God for permission to strike Job in his flesh. Scarcely is it obtained when the patriarch

1. Job 1:12. (2) *Ibid.*, 21.

is covered from head to foot with an ulcer of the worst kind. With as much resignation as he had received the loss of his goods, Job receives the loss of his health. In order to exasperate him and wring from him, if not blasphemies, at least a murmur, Satan employs against the heroic patriarch the last of the beloved beings that remain to him. Accomplice of the evil spirit, Job’s wife says to him: Curse him who strikes thee. Job answers by blessing him (1). It is done, the trial is over; Satan is confounded; the triumph of the just man is complete. Become the admiration of angels and of men, Job has only to await the divine blessings, the reward of his victory.

1. Job 2:7–10. [Gaume, as Saint Augustine and Saint John Chrysostom do, reads the wife's words as an incitement by Satan's instrument; the Vulgate has "Bless God and die."]

Without speaking of the temptation of Our Lord in the desert, we find in the New Testament a similar mission given to the demon with regard to Saint Paul. Let us listen to the great Apostle: "And lest the greatness of the revelations should exalt me, there was given me a sting of my flesh, an angel of Satan, to buffet me. For which thing thrice I besought the Lord that it might depart from me. And He said to me: My grace is sufficient for thee; for power is made perfect in infirmity (1)." Let us note it well: Saint Paul does not say: An angel of Satan buffets me; but he says: "An angel of Satan *was given* to me, *datus est mihi*, to buffet me." This angel, the commentators add, is nothing other than a demon to whom God permitted to tempt the chastity of the great Apostle, as He had permitted Satan himself to tempt the patience of Job (3).

1. 2 Cor. 12:7–9. [The numbering of the notes in the French is irregular here.]

2. *Datus est non a diabolo, sed a Deo; non quod Deus tentationis sit auctor, sed quia diabolo, tentare Paulum parato, id permisit, idque tantum in specie et materia libidinis, ad eum humiliandum.* [It was given not by the devil but by God; not that God is the author of the temptation, but because, the devil being ready to tempt Paul, He permitted it, and only in the form and matter of lust, in order to humble him.] Cornelius a Lapide, *ibid.*

But why does Saint Paul call *buffets*, and not simply temptations, the attacks which the angel of Satan makes him undergo? Here is why: in regard to the saints, temptations of the flesh produce the effect of a blow given on the cheek. They do not wound them, but they bring the blush to their faces and make them feel the salutary pains of humiliation. The greater the holiness, the deeper must be the humility: *quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus* [the greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things]. What could be more in conformity with the wise counsels of God upon His elect than that Paul, raised to the third heaven, should be ceaselessly recalled to the sense of his weakness and nothingness by the demon best fitted to humble him! "This monitor," says Saint Jerome, "was given to Paul to repress pride in him; just as behind the triumphing general, on his chariot, a slave is placed charged with saying to him unceasingly: Remember that thou art a man (1)." Paul understood the paternal intention of his divine Master. A generous athlete, he girds his loins for the combat, and, assured that the trial will turn to the shame of his enemy, he cries: "Gladly, then, will I glory in my buffets, in my humiliations, in my infirmities; the fiercer the struggle, the greater will be the brilliance of the divine strength that fights in me (2)." In fact, the East and the West, Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, see the indefatigable fighter pass. In spite of his importunate monitor, he marches from victory to victory, until the day when, the demon being forever

1. *Hic monitor Paulo datus est ad premendam superbiam; uti in curru triumphali triumphanti datur monitor suggerens: Hominem te esse memento.* [This monitor was given to Paul to keep down pride; as in the triumphal chariot a monitor is given to the triumphing general, suggesting: Remember that thou art a man.] Letter 25 [as printed], to Paula, on the death of Blesilla.

2. 2 Cor. 12:9. [Gaume paraphrases.]

confounded, Paul intones the hymn of deliverance and of eternal triumph: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course; there is laid up for me a crown of justice (1)."

1. 2 Tim. 4:7–8.

The history of the Church offers a thousand brilliant examples of the same delegation, or divine permission given to the demons. To cite only one, is there anything more famous than the temptations of Saint Anthony and of the Fathers of the desert? If one wishes to see shine in all its brilliance one of those beautiful harmonies which are met with at every moment in the counsels of God, one must go back to the circumstances of these formidable struggles. It was in the middle of the third century. The war against the

Church was about to become the most frightful melee, let us say rather the most horrible butchery that the world had yet seen. From one end of the empire to the other the bloodthirsty cry was about to ring out: *The Christians to the lion*, *christianos ad leonem*! and thousands of young children, timid virgins, weak women were about to go down into the amphitheatres and wrestle body to body with the wild beasts and with the ministers of Satan, more ferocious than the beasts. At that precise moment God sends off to the holy mountains of the Thebaid new Moseses. "Wholly devoted to the service of God," says Origen, "and freed from the cares of life, they are charged to fight for their brethren, by prayer, by fasting, by chastity, by the sublime practice of all the virtues (2)." Never was a mission better accomplished. From the depths of their solitude, Paul, Anthony, Pachomius and their numerous disciples raised toward heaven their suppliant hands, and the voice of virtue, in laying low Diocletian and Maximian, will obtain victory for the martyrs and Constantine for the Church.

2. Homily 24 on Numbers [as printed; the reference is to Origen's homilies on Numbers]. [Gaume speaks of "the middle of the third century," but the Thebaid hermits Paul and Anthony belong to the end of the third and the fourth; the age of Diocletian and Maximian is the beginning of the fourth. I translate as printed.]

Satan sees what is preparing, and he roars. God permits him to unchain himself against the intercessors whose powerful prayer is about to shake his altars and destroy his empire. The struggle will be a struggle to the knife. [*à outrance*] In order to make the glory of the triumph and the shame of the defeat more resplendent, it will take place in the very fortress of the demon and against his most redoubtable satellites. What was that fortress? It was the deserts of Upper Egypt, a kind of penal colony [*bagne*, the convict-prison of the French galleys], where the justice of God kept relegated the most terrible of these malevolent spirits. This is no vain supposition, it is a *fact*. Do we not read in the history of Tobias that the archangel Raphael, having seized the demon that tormented Sara, confined him in the deserts of Upper Egypt, where he bound him (1)? Sovereign master of all creatures, can God not prescribe to the demons certain limits to their power, as much with regard to times and places as with regard to persons and things? In the Gospel Our Lord alludes to the same solitudes. Speaking of a demon driven out of a soul, He says that he goes into dry places and waterless, where he recruits seven other spirits more wicked than himself (2). What are these ill-famed places? The most learned interpreters answer without hesitation: "They are the frightful deserts situated in the eastern part of Egypt, vast solitudes covered

1. *Tunc Raphael angelus apprehendit dæmonium et religavit illud in deserto superioris Ægypti.* [Then the angel Raphael took the devil and bound him in the desert of Upper Egypt.] Tob. 8:3. (2) Luke 11:24.

with burning sands, where it never rains, where the Nile ceases to be navigable, where the frightful noise of the cataracts fills the soul with terror, and where serpents and venomous beasts swarm (1)." It is there, in those places of horror, of which Satan made as it were his citadel, that divine wisdom leads the Pauls, the Anthonys, the Pachomiuses, the Paphnutiuses and their valiant companions. It is on this battlefield that they will have to sustain against the demons frequent and gigantic combats. History has described them, and true philosophy gives the reason for them. Like those which he undertook against Job and against the great Apostle, these relentless struggles of Lucifer against the heroes of the Thebaid turned to his shame and to the glory of the Saints. Let us listen to the illustrious historian and friend of Saint Anthony. "Do you see him," cries Saint Athanasius, "this proud dragon, hung upon the hook of the cross; dragged by a halter like a beast of burden; a collar on his neck and his lips pierced with a ring, like a runaway slave! Do you see him, so haughty, trodden under the bare feet of Anthony like a sparrow, not daring to make a movement, nor to bear his look (2)!"

1. *A turre Syenes cadent in ea quæ in extremis terminis Ægypti, Æthiopiæ, Blemmyarumque confinis est; ubi Nilus innavigabilis est, et cataractarum fragor, et omnia invia plenaque serpentum et venenatorum animantium.* [From the tower of Syene… they shall fall in that region which lies at the extreme bounds of Egypt, bordering on Ethiopia and the land of the Blemmyes; where the Nile is unnavigable, and there is the

roar of the cataracts, and all is trackless and full of serpents and venomous creatures.] Jerome, *in Ezech.*, ch. 30; Cornelius a Lapide on Tob. 8:3; Serarius, *Quæstiunc. ad lib. Tob.*; *Scripturæ Sacræ Cursus Completus*, vol. XII, 647, etc.

2. *Hamo crucis draco aduncatus a Domino est, et capistro ligatus est ut jumentum; et quasi mancipium fugitivum vinctus circulo et armilla labia perforatus, nullum omnino fidelium devorare permittitur. Nunc miserabilis ut passer ad ludendum irretitus a Christo est; calcaneo Christianorum subtractus gemit.* [The dragon has been hooked by the Lord on the hook of the cross, and bound with a halter like a beast of burden; and like a runaway slave, fettered with a ring, his lips pierced with a bracelet, he is not permitted to devour any of the faithful at all. Now, wretched, he is ensnared by Christ like a sparrow to be played with; beneath the heel of Christians he groans.] *Life of St. Anthony.* [Gaume cites the *Vita Antonii* in the Latin version; the passage echoes Job 40:19–20 (Vulgate 40:19–24).]

The power of testing, which the demons manifest sometimes by extraordinary attacks such as those just read, is habitual with them. Night and day, since the original fall, and in every part of the world, they exercise it with regard to each child of Adam (1). It follows that the King of the City of Evil, whom they obey, is the indirect cause of all crimes; for it is he who, by pushing the first man into sin, made us heirs to the inclination to all iniquities (2). Let us add that the sin to which he urges us with the greatest fury, and which gives him the greatest joy, by reason of its tenacity, is the sin of impurity (3). However, the wisdom of God determines the exercise of this terrible power, and His goodness fixes its limits. They are such that we can always resist. "God is faithful," says Saint Paul; "He will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able; but will make also with temptation issue, that you may be able to bear it (4)." To make palpable the consoling truth taught by the Apostle, Saint Ephrem employs several comparisons: "If muleteers," he says, "have enough good sense and equity not to load their beasts of burden with burdens they cannot carry, all the more will God not permit man to be exposed to temptations beyond his strength." And again: "If the potter knows the degree of firing

1. St. Thomas, I, q. 114, art. 1, ad 1. (2) St. Thomas, I, q. 119, art. 3, c. (3) *Diabolus dicitur maxime gaudere peccato luxuriæ, quia est maximæ adhærentiæ et difficile ab eo homo potest eripi.* [The devil is said to rejoice most in the sin of lust, because it is the most clinging, and man can be rescued from it only with difficulty.] *Ibid.*, I-II, q. 73, art. 5, ad 2. (4) *Fidelis est Deus qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis; sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere.* 1 Cor. 10:13.

that his vessels need, so that he leaves them in the furnace only for the time necessary to give each one the proper solidity and beauty, all the more will God leave us in the fire of temptation only for the time necessary to purify and beautify us. The effect obtained, the temptation ceases (1)."

1. Ephrem, *Treatise on Patience.* [as printed: *Tructatus de patientia*]

Unhappily not all make use of the grace of resistance that is given them. Weak because they are presumptuous, they succumb to the blows of the enemy; a first defeat is soon followed by a second. Satan intoxicates them with his venom, paralyses their strength, and so overturns their moral sense that they come to love their chains. Instead of frightening them, the tyrant who gives them these is no more than an imaginary being, or a powerful agent whose intimacy may on many occasions procure serious advantages. Thus it is that man increases the empire of the demons over himself, and this power voluntarily given is the most redoubtable of all. Out of respect for the liberty of man, God permits it to be so, reserving the right to demand an account of man for the use of his liberty. Hence arise the occult practices by means of which man puts himself into direct and immediate relation with the spirits of darkness. We shall name, among others, the pacts, explicit or implicit, the power of casting spells and of making the demon appear, of obtaining from him answers and prodigies, or the means of satisfying the passions. As we have seen, all these things are as old as the world and as common among infidel peoples as the very worship of idols. Less general

among Christians, they nevertheless exist under forms ever ancient and ever new. To deny them one would have to tear up history (1).

1. See the detail of most of the demoniacal practices in the Constitution of Sixtus V, *Cæli et terræ creator*, etc., 1586; Ferraris, art. *Superstitio*. — This power freely given to the demon may reach limits which cannot be specified. Speaking of the giants, several Fathers of the Church, among others Saint Justin, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Lactantius, Saint Ambrose, say: *Scitote vero nihil nos temere ac sine teste dicere, sed quæ a prophetis pronuntiata sunt, declarare. Atque illi quidem (angeli) in cupiditatem prolapsi virginum, et carnis illecebra superati sunt… Ex illis qui ad virgines adhæserunt, nati sunt quos gigantes appellarunt.* [Know that we say nothing rashly or without witness, but declare what was proclaimed by the prophets. And they (the angels), fallen into desire of virgins, and overcome by the allurement of the flesh… of those who cleaved to the virgins were born those whom they called giants.] Athenagoras, *Legat.*, etc. — *(Gigantes) ex angelis et mulieribus generatos asserere divinæ scripturæ conditorem.* [(The giants) were begotten of angels and women, the author of the divine scripture asserts.] St. Ambrose, *De Noe et arca.* Might not the belief in the demi-gods, spread among all the pagan peoples, have come from this? Founded, it appears, on the corporeity of the angels, the opinion of these ancient Fathers is completely abandoned. Saint Thomas says: *Corpora assumpta ab angelis non vivunt. Ergo nec opera vitæ per eos exerceri possunt… dicendum quod, sicut Augustinus dicit (De civ. Dei, lib. XV, c. 23): "Multi se expertos vel ab expertis audisse confirmant, Sylvanos et Faunos, quos vulgus incubos vocat, improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, et earum expetisse atque peregisse concubitum. Unde hoc negare impudentiæ videtur…" Si tamen ex coitu dæmonum aliqui interdum nascuntur, hoc non est per semen ab eis decisum, aut a corporibus assumptis, sed per semen alicujus hominis ad hoc acceptum, utpote quod idem dæmon, qui est succubus ad virum, fiat incubus ad mulierem; sicut et aliarum rerum semina assumunt ad aliquarum rerum generationem, ut Augustinus dicit (De Trinit., lib. III, c. 8 et 9); ut sic ille qui nascitur, non sit filius dæmonis, sed illius hominis cujus est semen acceptum.* [The bodies assumed by angels do not live; therefore the works of life cannot be performed by them… it must be said that, as Augustine says: "Many affirm that they have experienced, or have heard from those who have, that Sylvans and Fauns, whom the common people call incubi, have often been shameless toward women, and sought and accomplished intercourse with them; wherefore to deny this seems impudent…" Yet if some are at times born from the intercourse of demons, this is not by seed shed by them, or from the assumed bodies, but by the seed of some man taken for the purpose, so that the same demon who is a succubus to a man becomes an incubus to a woman; as they also take up the seeds of other things for the generation of certain things, as Augustine says; so that he who is born is not the son of the demon, but of that man whose seed was taken.] St. Thomas, I, q. 51, art. 3, ad 6.

Hence also the laws, justly severe, enacted against those who give themselves to such practices. We read in Leviticus: "A man or woman, in whom there is a pythonic or divining spirit, dying let them die (2)." [The Douay-Rheims renders the Hebrew idiom literally; Gaume's "mis à mort sans miséricorde" is his own gloss.] And in Deuteronomy: "Neither let there be found among you any one that shall expiate his son or daughter, making them to pass through the fire: or that consulteth soothsayers, or observeth dreams and omens, neither let there be any wizard, nor charmer, nor anyone that consulteth pythonic spirits, or fortune tellers, or that seeketh the truth from the dead (1)." The ancient Christian legislations are no less rigorous. Degradation, infamy, imprisonment temporary or perpetual, corporal penalties, death and major excommunication are the punishments they inflict on the adepts of the demon (2). In the eyes of every impartial man, the enormity of the crime in itself and in its consequences, religious as well as social, as also the example of God Himself, loudly justify our forefathers. That our age denies demoniacal practices and abolishes the penalties that forbid them, proves simply its stupidity and the all too real influence which the demon has regained over the world.

2. Lev. 20:27. (1) Deut. 18:10–12. (2) See Ferraris, *ubi supra*.

Here again, if we sum up the operations of the princes of the City of Evil, we see that their infinite artifices, like their implacable furies, tend to the same end, the destruction of the Incarnate Word, in Himself and in man, His brother. A truth at once frightful and precious: frightful, it reveals to us the nature and the incomprehensible blackness of satanic hatred; precious, it strikes us with a salutary fear, and, bringing evil back to unity, orients the struggle and gives us the highest idea of ourselves.

Translator's notes — Chapter XVI

1. **"Échenillez, drainez, soufrez."** Gaume mocks the technocratic remedies of the Second Empire (caterpillar-stripping, field drainage, sulphuring against the vine disease *oïdium*). The joke returns a few lines later in "ce drainage catholique"; I keep "Catholic draining."

2. **Charlemagne and the possessed girl.** The story is taken from the Acts of the translation of Saints Marcellinus and Peter (Einhard) and from the capitularies cited by Labbe; the "four councils" of 813 are the councils of Mainz, Rheims, Tours, Châlons and Arles in modern reckoning, not the four listed by Gaume. I give his list as printed.

3. **Incubi and the giants (footnote).** The long note is Gaume's own excursus, quoting the Fathers and then St. Thomas to show that the old Patristic view (Genesis 6, "sons of God") is now abandoned; the Latin follows the *Summa* and Augustine, *City of God* XV, 23.

4. **Job's wife.** The French says "Maudis celui qui te frappe" ("Curse him who strikes thee"); the Vulgate has *Benedic Deo et morere*. Gaume's version is traditional paraphrase; I translate his French.

5. **"Saint Paul… troisième ciel."** The "third heaven" is 2 Cor. 12:2. *Datus est mihi* is Vulgate; Douay gives "there was given me."

Chapter XVII. The Citizens of the Two Cities

Men, citizens of the two Cities. — Perils that surround their physical existence and their spiritual life. — Incessant solicitations of the princes of the City of Evil. — Means of defence given by the Holy Spirit. — Slavery, shame and chastisement await the man who leaves the City of Good. — Slavery, first wage of the deserter from the City of Good. — What liberty is. — Saint Thomas's beautiful definition. — Picture of the slavery to which the turncoat from the City of Good condemns himself.

Every society divides into two classes: the governing and the governed. We know the kings and the princes of the City of Good and of the City of Evil. Who are their citizens? That is the question we have now to answer. The citizens, or subjects, of the City of Good and of the City of Evil are all men. Reason, experience and faith have told us: there are not three Cities, there are only two. Whatever he does, man, whatever his name and rank, must belong to the one or to the other: this alternative is pitiless. Begun with life, it does not end even at death. Joined to the double picture of the angelic world and the satanic world which has just passed before our eyes, it reveals to us the true position of man here below. Who can look at it without being moved to the depths of his being?

Our body, fragile as glass, lives between two frightful forces whose antagonism might at any second become fatal to us. According to the calculations of science, the column of air that weighs upon the head of each of us represents a weight of 20,000 pounds. [The French *livres* are pounds of about half a kilogram; a figure of roughly 10,000 kg is the old estimate of the atmosphere's pressure on a human body.] What saves us from destruction? Only the air that is within us, around us, beneath us. This air resists the mass above and makes life possible. Let the equilibrium be broken, and instantly man is flattened. It is the same with our soul. It lives its true life, the life of grace, between two hostile powers of incalculable strength. To the equilibrium of these two powers it owes its escape from eternal ruin. The preservation of our spiritual life is therefore a miracle no less continual, no less astonishing, but far more worthy of gratitude, than the preservation of our

physical life.

The existence of societies is evidently placed in the same conditions. The more or less determining influence of the angelic world or of the satanic world accounts for the alternations of light and darkness, of crimes and virtues, of liberties and servitudes, of glory and shame, of prosperities and catastrophes, which mark in turn the annals of humanity. Such is the true philosophy of history. The irrefutable proof of this fact, which reveals the rise and fall of empires, is the very history of the City of Good and of the City of Evil: soon we shall sketch it in broad strokes. Let us remark, meanwhile, that one thing alone constitutes, in the moral as in the physical order, the whole peril of the situation: the breaking of the equilibrium. It takes place,

in the spiritual order, every time man gives the preponderance over himself to the Spirit of evil rather than to the Spirit of good: a thing which depends on him, on him alone. To turn him away from this act of culpable folly, to which the princes of the City of Evil incessantly urge him, the Holy Spirit is not content to furnish him with all the means of resistance; He shows him the consequences of his felony. They are terrible, sudden, inevitable: slavery, shame, chastisement. A triple rampart with which the King of the City of Good surrounds His happy City, in order to preserve its subjects from the temptation of leaving it.

Slavery. — Liberty is the daughter of truth: *Veritas liberabit vos* [the truth shall make you free]. Governed by the Spirit of truth, the City of Good alone is the fatherland of liberty. Let the turncoats who, by deserting it, enter the City of Evil, learn to blush. No, they do not glorify liberty, they dishonour it. They are not marching to the conquest of independence, they are becoming slaves: they already are so. Logic and faith have long since pronounced their sentence. Liberty does not consist in doing evil, but in avoiding it. The more one avoids it, the freer one is. “We must reason about free will,” says Saint Thomas, “as about the understanding. Free will chooses among the acts that relate to the end; the understanding draws conclusions from principles. Now everyone knows that it belongs to the understanding to draw conclusions, but always conclusions logically derived from the given principles. If, in drawing a conclusion, it forgets or disdains the principles, that is an imperfection, a weakness on its part.

“In the same way, that free will should have the faculty of making different choices, but always in relation to the proposed end, in this consists its perfection. If it happens to make a choice contrary to the last end of man, that is not a perfection, but a weakness and a defect. From this it follows that the liberty, or perfection of free will, is greater in the angels, who cannot sin, than in us who can sin (1).”

1. St. Thomas, *Summa*, I, q. 62, art. 8, ad 3. [The reading q. 62, art. 8, ad 3 is the one that fits the sense.]

Such then is the doctrine of the Angel of the school: liberty is the power of doing good, as the understanding is the faculty of knowing the true. The possibility of doing evil is no more of the essence of liberty than the possibility of being mistaken is of the essence of the understanding, or the possibility of being ill of the essence of health. Impeccability is the perfection of liberty, as infallibility is the perfection of the understanding, as the absence of sickness is the perfection of health. To be peccable is therefore a defect in liberty, as to be fallible is one in the understanding, as to be sickly is one in health. It follows that the more man sins, the more he shows the weakness of his free will; just as the more he errs, the more he shows the weakness of his reason; just as the more he is ill, the more he gives proof of poor health. Also, the more, by sinning and by unreason, man degrades himself and makes himself contemptible; for the more he approaches the child, who as yet has neither liberty nor understanding, or the madman, who no longer has them, or the beast, which never will.

This fundamental truth is the first armour with which the Holy Spirit clothes us, the first motive

given to man for confining himself eternally within the limits of the City of Good. Many do not understand it. Seduced by the princes of the City of Evil, a great number come to regard the day on which they emancipate themselves from the kingship of the Holy Spirit as the birthday of their liberty. Poor blind men!

Let them for once at least see the truth face to face: nothing is easier for them. It is engraved in the slavery of all the faculties of their soul, in the degradation of all the members of their body, in all the soiled pages of their pretended independent life. Young men or old, rich or poor, lettered or unlettered, who, having deserted the City of Good, betrayed the vows of your baptism, blushed for the faith of your childhood and the practices of your forefathers, think yourselves free: are you? It is true, you walk with head erect, your gaze assured. Your lips grimace into laughter and your brow hides itself under a mask of gaiety. By the metallic sound of your voice, by the cutting tone of your words, one might take you for the regents of humanity. Yet you are only slaves, unhappy slaves, slaves of the worst kind. In place of one single Master, most high and most holy, whom you refuse to serve as He wills, you serve as many masters as there are ignoble tendencies in you; and, outside you, as many creatures as can procure for you, or dispute with you, the signal honour of satisfying them. You serve them, not as you will, but as they will. Masters without pity, they drag you with a rope round your neck, or drive you with whip in hand, along all the dark ways of evil.

Carried far from the native land, you have forgotten the road to our temples; but you know by heart the road to the theatres and to other places. The chalice of the God Redeemer, in which, with life, one drinks virtue, honour, liberty, the peace of soul and senses, is loathsome to you; and you drink in long draughts from the chalice of the demon, in which, with death, one drinks crime, shame, slavery, the fever of the soul and the furies of despair. Too great in your own eyes to wear upon you the protecting badges of the Queen of heaven, you wear, set in gold, the hair of a courtesan. [The French says *enchâssés dans l'or*: lockets of a mistress's hair were fashionable; "the protecting badges" are the Miraculous Medal and the scapular.] Men and not angels, you must love flesh. You would not love the immaculate flesh of the God-Man; you will love the unclean flesh of an unclean creature. In vain would you sometimes breathe the air of liberty. Little birds limed by treacherous decoys, you cannot take your flight. At each attempt a pitiless voice, the voice of your masters, masculine or feminine, makes itself heard: *No resistance; you are mine. In giving me your will you gave me everything. Give me your money, give me your nights; give me the roses of your cheeks; give me the peace of your soul; give me the health of your body; give me the joy of your mother; give me the hopes of your father; give me the honour of your name*; and you give them! Are you free? Silence! slaves; do not profane, by pronouncing it, a word that accuses you. Slaves in your intelligence, tyrannized by doubt and error; slaves in your heart, tyrannized by bestial appetites, what is your life but a soiled rag? And the history of your life, but the history of a slave? Wretches! who cannot go down into

your conscience without hearing there a voice that accuses you, nor look at your hands without seeing the mark of fetters, nor at your feet without finding the convict's ball and chain! Sons of a king, become keepers of swine: that is what you are. It becomes you to be proud (1)!

1. *Misit illum in villam suam ut pasceret porcos.* [He sent him into his farm to feed swine.] Luke 15:15.

The slavery of the soul: that is what all men meet who set foot outside the enclosure of the City of Good. That is what they will meet eternally; for it is written: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there, and there only, is liberty (2)." [The Vulgate has "ibi libertas"; Gaume's French adds "et là seulement" — "and there only" — as his own emphasis.] Now in the moral world as in the material world it is a law that the higher part draws the lower: *Major pars trahit ad se minorem* [the greater part draws the lesser to itself]. To the servitude of the soul there is necessarily added the slavery of the body, and consequently social slavery. One cannot say it too often, today above all: civil and political liberty is found neither at the point of a dagger, nor at the mouth of a cannon, nor under the paving-stones of a barricade. It is the daughter, not of a charter, nor of a law, nor of any form of government whatever, but of moral liberty. Whatever it says and whatever it does, every corrupt people is a born slave. Moral liberty presupposes faith; faith is truth; truth resides only in the City of Good. Do you want proof of it? Take a map of the world. Beside the despotism of error, what does it show you? Everywhere the despotism of gold, the despotism of the flesh, the despotism of matter; and above all these despotisms, the despotism of the sabre. What then is a society that shakes off the yoke of the

Holy Spirit? Not suspect witnesses, the

2. 2 Cor. 3:17.

pagans themselves answer: “A herd of cattle at a fair, ever ready to sell itself to the highest bidder (1).” No more than ancient history does modern history give them the shadow of a denial. How is the human cattle treated? As it deserves. Satan, to whom it gives itself by abandoning the Holy Spirit, sends it masters of his own making. Nero, Heliogabalus, Diocletian and so many others take it upon themselves to give the emancipated man a taste of the sweets of the liberty enjoyed by the City of Evil. By a return of merciful justice, God Himself permits the elevation of these crowned tigers. On this subject history relates a fact that gives food for thought. As peoples always have the government they deserve, a cruel beast named Phocas was seated on the imperial throne of Rome. By his orders blood flowed in floods: and the beast drank it with delight. Revolted as much as afflicted by this spectacle, a solitary of the Thebaid addresses himself to God and says to Him: Why, my God, did You make him emperor? And God answers him: Because I found none worse (2). Thus, to preserve liberty with all its glories: such is, for humanity, the first advantage of its sojourn in the City of Good; to lose this treasure and find slavery: such is, if it dares to pass beyond its enclosure, its first punishment.

1. *Urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.* [A city for sale, and soon to perish, if it finds a buyer.] Words of Jugurtha, in Sallust.

2. *Domine, quid fecisti eum imperatorem? Atque vox ad eum venit a Deo, dicens: Quia non inveni pejorem.* [Lord, why hast Thou made him emperor? And a voice came to him from God, saying: Because I found none worse.] Anastasius of Nicaea, *In Quæst. S. Script.*, q. 15.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XVII

1. **“Ange de l’école.”** The Angelic Doctor, Aquinas; I use “Angel of the school” for Gaume’s variant on the title.

2. **The air-column image.** Gaume uses a common mid-century estimate; the physics is not his concern, and I have not corrected it.

3. **“Plus il se rapproche de l’enfant… ou de la bête.”** Kept as written; the argument is that sin diminishes the rational freedom proper to man.

4. **Phocas.** Byzantine emperor 602–610; the anecdote of the hermit and God’s answer is attributed in the older literature to a text of Anastasius (here “Nicen.” — Nicaea/Sinai), with the usual doubts about attribution.

5. **“Cheveux d’une courtisane… enchâssés dans l’or.”** Keepsake lockets, as noted in brackets in the text.

Chapter XVIII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Shame, second wage of the deserter from the City of Good. — God or beast, no middle ground for man. — The citizen of the City of Good becomes a god: proofs. — The citizen of the City of Evil becomes a beast: proofs. — One thing alone distinguishes man from the beast: prayer. — The citizen of the City of Evil no longer prays. — He lives on the self. — What that self is. — He loses intelligence: proofs. — Chastisement, third wage of the deserter from the City of Good. — Particular chastisements. — Universal catastrophes: the deluge of water, the deluge of blood, the deluge of fire.

Shame. — To become a slave voluntarily, from having been free, is a shame. To become a beast, from having been a man, is a greater one. This inevitable shame is the second rampart with which the Holy Spirit surrounds the City of Good to keep man from leaving it. To deify oneself or to bestialize oneself: these are the two opposite poles of the moral world. God or beast: such is the supreme alternative in which man is

placed here below. The reason is that he is obliged to live under the empire of the King of the City of Good or under the empire of the King of the City of Evil. Now each of these kings makes his subjects in his own image: the Holy Spirit makes them gods; Satan makes them beasts. The City of Good is a great factory of gods, and the City of Evil a great factory of beasts. “Each one of us,” says

Saint Augustine, “is such as his love. Love the earth, you will be earth; love God, you will be god (1).” Stay with Me, says the Holy Spirit, and I make you children of God, true gods. Gods, by the divine being which I communicate to you; gods, by the truth of your thoughts; gods, by the nobility of your sentiments; gods, by the holiness of your life; gods, by the indomitable power of your will against evil, armed with sophisms, promises or threats; gods, by the right to the eternal inheritance of God, your Creator and your Father (2). The Holy Spirit has kept His word. See what the angels docile to His voice have become. Resplendent with glory, flooded with delights, endowed with all the divine attributes, intelligence, strength, goodness, they approach God as nearly as the finite can approach the infinite. See Christian humanity in its true representatives, the apostles, the martyrs, the virgins, those legions of saints, men and women, divinely begotten for eighteen centuries and more, in every part of the globe. To what height they raise Christian humanity above pagan humanity, above the humanity that ceases to be Christian! What will it be if you contemplate this deification in its completion, I mean in the splendours of eternity? Here speech, expiring on the lips, can no longer utter anything but the expression of its impression: “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for those who have become, by love, His sons and His heirs (1).”

1. *Talis enim quisque nostrum est, qualis est ejus dilectio; terram diligis, terra eris; Deum diligis, Deus eris.* [For each of us is such as is his love; if you love the earth you will be earth; if you love God, you will be God.] Tract. 2 on the First Epistle of St. John.

2. *Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri.* [He gave them power to be made the sons of God.] John 1:12. — *Quicumque Spiritus Dei aguntur, ii sunt filii Dei*, etc. [For whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.] Rom. 8:14.

3. 1 Cor. 2:9. [Gaume paraphrases the end of the verse.]

On his side, the prince of the City of Evil works furiously at the contrary work. Let him draw a man to himself: he takes him in his claws, blinds his mind, corrupts his heart, intoxicates him with his poisons and transforms him into a beast. Look rather: one thing excepted, the beast does everything that man does. The beast eats, drinks, sleeps, digests, walks, runs, flies, swims, builds, calculates, speaks, writes, sings, travels, foresees, hoards, practises all the arts of peace and of war. In all this it is equal to man, sometimes superior. But there is one thing that the beast does not do, cannot do, will never do, and which leaves it at an infinite distance beneath man: prayer. Man prays; the beast does not pray. Man adores; the beast does not adore. That is to say, in other terms, that between man and the beast one thing alone makes the difference: religion. Now the first effect of satanic action upon man is to make him blush for religion; and he blushes for it! Religion has two great manifestations: prayer and love. Prayer is so much the distinctive sign of man that the pagans defined him as an animal that prays: *Animal religiosum*. Our Lord Himself defines the Christian: a man who prays always: *Oportet semper orare et nunquam deficere* [we ought always to pray, and not to faint]. Thus, as soon as man ceases to pray, he turns into a beast. If he no longer prays at all, he is quite a beast. It is not we who say it, it is Truth

Itself expressing itself through the mouth of Saint Paul: the animal man, *animalis homo* [1 Cor. 2:14]. Now it is notorious that the first act of the man become a citizen of the City of Evil is to renounce prayer. One example among a thousand. If there is in ordinary life a circumstance in which prayer is sacred, it is the solemn hour of the meal. We say solemn, because the meal is a deeply mysterious action. In eating, man communicates, he communicates with creatures, and in the most intimate manner, since he transforms them

into his own substance. Now all creatures are vitiated by the Spirit of evil, to whom they serve as vehicles for entering into man and communicating his poisons. Separated from the prayer that purifies them by driving out the demon, this assimilation is evidently full of perils. So the whole of humanity has understood it (1). Hence this fact, otherwise inexplicable, that all peoples, even pagans, have prayed before eating. The fact being universal has therefore a universal cause. A universal cause is a law. To pray before eating is therefore a law of humanity. Proud contempt and the imbecile smile make no difference. It will always remain that nature knows only two kinds of beings that eat without praying: the beasts, and those who resemble them. We say those who resemble them; for one may defy not only all the despisers of the *Benedicite* [the grace before meals], which is little, but all the naturalists of the world to find a difference between the man

1. We give here only one reason for prayer before meals; the others are explained in our work *The Sign of the Cross in the Nineteenth Century*.

who eats without praying and a dog or a pig. To make themselves like the beasts in a circumstance in which all peoples, even pagans, have felt the necessity of distinguishing themselves from them: that is what they do! And because they do it, they hold themselves to be great minds! It took our age of dense materialism to meet men who would think themselves dishonoured if twice a day they did not ostentatiously liken themselves to the ass or the crocodile: *Homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit: comparatus est jumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis* [Man, when he was in honour, did not understand: he is compared to senseless beasts, and made like to them].

A second sign of religion is love. The Holy Spirit being charity, of the soul in which He dwells He makes living charity. The distinctive sign of charity is forgetfulness of self, for God and for others; forgetfulness of the body for the profit of the soul, forgetfulness carried to the point of sacrifice. Does man enter the City of Evil? Instantly charity disappears: egoism succeeds it. Man remembers himself, only himself. Instead of going from self to others, he goes from others to self. Egoism knows only one word, but knows it marvellously well: *I*. [*moi*, “me” or “the self”; Gaume’s emphasis on the *moi* is the key term of the passage, and I render it “I” or “self” as the sentence requires.] I in everything; I everywhere; I always. After me, God and His commands; after me, others and their needs and their desires; after me, nothing. That is not enough; egoism is the sacrifice of others to oneself. Innocence, honour, fortune, rest, health, life itself are nothing to it, as soon as the question is one of satisfying itself. But what is the self of the egoist? Is it his soul? Not at all: for the love of the soul is charity. What then is it? It is the lower part of his being, it is the body; and within the body itself, the lowest part. Outside faith, all man’s labour relates, in the last analysis, to bodily

life. Eating and drinking are its elements. Begun by them, sustained by them, it ends by them. To have something to drink and something to eat, to have it at the pleasure of one’s lusts, to have it abundantly, to be sure that one will always have it: that is the first and last word of egoism. The rest is only a means or a result. Now the laboratory of animal life is the belly. It is therefore to the belly that the life of every man become the subject of him who is called the Beast, the Beast *par excellence*, the Beast in every sense, is referred in the end. Hence, to define these immense, these unclean herds of Epicurus, the word at once so energetic and so just of the Apostle, who calls them: worshippers of the god Belly: *Quorum Deus venter est* [whose god is their belly; Phil. 3:19]. What is true of man and of certain peoples was true of humanity itself on the eve of the deluge, and will be still more so toward the end of time.

This shameful assimilation of man to the beast develops in all its consequences. We shall cite only one: it is stupidity, or the loss of intelligence. The beast is stupid, that is, it neither understands nor admires. It does not understand: to understand is to see the idea in the fact (1). Place a triangle before the eyes of a dog; it will see a material object, formed of three equal sides: but the idea of triangle escapes it. Why? Because beyond the domain of the senses there is nothing for it. The beast does not admire. To admire, one must understand. Certainly the ass is less impressed by the sight of a masterpiece than by the sight of a thistle. The beast then neither understands nor admires. So it is with the man who becomes a beast.

1. *Intelligere, intus legere.* [To understand: to read within.]

Fallen from the heights of faith, he has no other intelligence than that of matter and of material life. Look for the final aim of his speculations, of his studies, of his discoveries, of his politics, of all that feverish movement which carries him away and consumes him: what will you find? The body and its appetites. Light, progress, civilization: what is the meaning of all these pompous words? Translated into vulgar prose, they signify: science of the stew-pot, philosophy of the stew-pot, love of the stew-pot, guarantee and glorification of the stew-pot. [*pot-au-feu*, the boiled-beef-and-vegetables dish of the French household: the everyday dinner, hence mere material comfort.] In different terms, this is the invariable programme and the eternal refrain of all men and all peoples, bestialized by the infernal Beast. “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die. This is our happiness, this is our destiny. Bread and pleasures: that is the whole of man (1).” [The last sentence is Gaume’s gloss in the voice of the materialist.] Do not give me as proofs of the intelligence of animal man the skilful manner in which he manipulates matter. The swallow, the silkworm, the bee, which have not intelligence, manipulate it more skilfully than he. We repeat, intelligence consists in reading the idea in the fact, in seeing the cause in the phenomenon: not, mark it well, that immediate cause which shines through the fact, as it were; but the true cause, the first cause and the final end. Now all that is known only in the City of Good. To him who inhabits the City of the prince of darkness speak of the world of causes, of the world of God and of the angels, the true domain of intelligence: all these re-

1. *Comedamus et bibamus: cras enim moriemur.* [Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die.] Isa. 22:13. *Hæc est pars nostra, et hæc est sors.* [This is our portion, and this is our lot.] Wisd. 2:9. — “*Panem et circenses*” [bread and circuses], said the pagans in the fine days of their civilization.

alities are for him abstractions or chimeras; he is stupid. What will it be if you point out to him the permanent, universal, inevitable and decisive intervention of the lower world? His lips will grimace the laugh of contempt; he is stupid. Come down from these heights; tell him that he has an immortal soul, created in the image of God, redeemed by the blood of a God, destined for an eternal happiness or an eternal misery; add that, the one business of man being to save it, to occupy oneself with all others except that one is to chase flies and to weave spiders’ webs: he yawns or he sleeps; he is stupid. Try to unroll before his eyes the marvels of grace, all those masterpieces of power, wisdom and love which have exhausted the admiration of the greatest geniuses: you speak a language of which he does not understand a word; he is stupid. Sermons, books of piety or of Christian philosophy, religious conversations, solemn feasts which, with the most august mysteries, retrace to mind and heart the greatest benefits of heaven as well as the greatest events of earth, in a word, everything that belongs to the supernatural world, bores him; he understands nothing of it, he feels nothing; he is stupid. But speak to him of money, commerce, steam, electricity, machines, coal, cotton, beet, cattle, meadows, manure, production and consumption: he becomes all eyes and ears. You are attacking the vital question of his philosophy, the stew-pot question. He knows no other. “Forgetting his dignity,” says the Prophet, “man held himself for a

senseless beast, and he is become like to it (1).”

1. *Homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit: comparatus est jumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis.* Ps. 48:13 [Vulgate].

Chastisement. — To protect the peace and the life of its subjects against the attacks of the enemy, the Holy Spirit surrounds His City with a third rampart, more solid than the first. If man, whoever he may be, dares to say to the King of the City of Good: I will no longer obey you, *non serviam*, instantly, from free he becomes slave and marches toward brutishness. Drawn on to all the intellectual and moral degradations, he begins in this life the hell that awaits him in the other. Such, as we have just seen, is the fate inevitably reserved for the individual. Does the revolt against the Holy Spirit become contagious, to the point that, as a whole, a people, or the human race itself, is no more than one great insurgent? Then crime, overflowing on all sides, draws

down exceptional chastisements. Every law carries with it a sanction. Every law having man for its subject, composed of a body and a soul, is a two-edged sword which strikes the transgressor in both parts of his being. Take whatever divine or ecclesiastical law you please; if you look well, hold it for certain that you will find, without prejudice to the moral sanction, a temporal reward or punishment attached to the observance or the violation of that law. To omit particular scourges, let humanity read again its annals, historical and prophetic. Three great catastrophes are recorded in them. The first is the deluge, or the ruin of the antediluvian world. What was the cause of this cataclysm, in

which, eight persons excepted, the whole human race perished? He whose hand broke down the dykes of the sea and opened the cataracts of heaven reveals it to us in two words. “My Spirit,” says the Lord, “shall not remain in man for ever, because he is flesh (1).” This redoubtable sentence is translated thus: “In spite of all My warnings, man has shaken off the yoke of My Spirit, spirit of light and of virtue; he has given himself up to the influence of the Spirit of darkness and of malice. The supernatural world, his soul, I Myself, are no longer anything to him. Of his body he has made his God, he has become flesh. Guilty and degraded creature, he is unworthy of the benefit of life: he shall perish.” And to the deluge of crimes succeeded the deluge of water that carried them all away (2).

A second catastrophe, no less striking than the first, is the ruin of the pagan world. Forgetting the terrible lesson he had received, man had again withdrawn himself from the action of the Holy Spirit. Given over body and soul to the evil Spirit, he had come to acknowledge him almost universally as his king and as his god (3). Under a thousand different names he adored him in millions of temples, from one end of the world to the other (4): so many adorations, so many sacrileges, cruelties and infamies. As, before the deluge of water, man had become flesh again; at the breath of the

1. *Dixitque Deus: Non permanebit Spiritus meus in homine in æternum, quia caro est.* Gen. 6:3.

2. *Diluvium carnis peperit diluvium aquarum… corruptela diluvii causa est.* [The deluge of the flesh begot the deluge of waters… corruption is the cause of the deluge.] St. Ambrose, *De Noe et Arca*, chs. 5 and 9.

3. *Princeps hujus mundi… Deus hujus sæculi.* [The prince of this world… the god of this world.] John 12:31; 16:11; 2 Cor. 4:4.

4. *Omnes dii gentium dæmonia.* [All the gods of the Gentiles are devils.] Ps. 95:5.

barbarians, the pagan world disappeared under a deluge of blood. There is a third catastrophe, more terrible and no less certain than the preceding: it is the ruin of the world apostate from Christianity, by the deluge of fire which will put an end to the existence of the human race on the globe. Trampling underfoot the merits of Calvary and the benefits of the Cenacle, the world of the last days will constitute itself in full revolt against the Spirit of good. More than ever slave of the Spirit of evil, it will give itself up with a cynicism unknown before to every kind of iniquity. Such will be the number of the turncoats that the City of Good will be almost deserted, while the City of Evil will assume colossal proportions. A third time man will have become flesh. The Spirit of the Lord will withdraw, never to return: and a deluge of fire will set the earth ablaze, a thousand times more guilty, for it will be a thousand times more ungrateful, than the earth of the pagans and of the giants (1).

Slavery, shame, chastisement: such then is the triple rampart that man must cross to leave the City of Good. If to these exterior means one adds the helps and benefits of every kind lavished upon the inhabitants of this happy City, is one not entitled to conclude that no one will wish to leave it? Does experience confirm the reasoning? That is what history will teach us.

1. *Sicut enim erant in diebus ante diluvium… ita erit et adventus Filii hominis.* [For as in the days before the flood… so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.] Matt. 24:38, 39.

Translator's notes — Chapter XVIII

1. **"Se déifier ou se bêtifier."** Gaume coins *bêtifier* ("to make a beast of"); I render "bestialize." Likewise *bêtifiés par la Bête infernale* ("bestialized by the infernal Beast").

2. **"Dieux véritables."** Gaume's "gods" is the patristic language of deification (John 10:34, Ps. 81:6; Augustine, *Tract.* on 1 John), not a claim of divinity by nature.

3. **Pot-au-feu.** Rendered "stew-pot" with a bracketed gloss at first use; it is Gaume's recurring emblem for materialism (and for the "bread and circuses" quotation).

4. **The "deluge of blood."** Gaume reads the barbarian invasions as the chastisement of the pagan world; the "deluge of fire" is the final judgment (2 Peter 3).

5. **Prayer before meals.** Gaume refers the reader to his own *Le signe de la croix au dix-neuvième siècle* (1839), where the argument is developed.

Chapter XIX. The Religious History of the Two Cities

Man born to become like God and brother of the Incarnate Word. — In the City of Good, religion leads him to this likeness and this brotherhood. — In the City of Evil, religion leads him to the likeness and the brotherhood of Satan. — General parallelism of the two religions. — Three particular points of comparison: the Bible, worship, sacrifice. — The Bible of God and the Bible of Satan: parallelism. — The worship of God and the worship of Satan. — In satanic worship, as in divine worship, nothing is left to the caprice of man: important testimony of Porphyry.

Man accomplishes his pilgrimage here below between two hostile armies. We know these formidable armies, their kings, their princes, their organization, their plans. It remains to study their means of action, their victories and their defeats. Born in heaven, the City of Good and the City of Evil await only the creation of man to establish themselves on earth. In fact, the stake of the combat is man. Adam is created; he breathes, he appears to the gaze of the universe in the majesty of his royal power. Adorned with all the graces of innocence and all the attributes of strength, he is beautiful with the beauty of God Himself, whose image shines forth in his whole being. To maintain him in his dignity during the life of time; to raise him to a higher dignity during eternity, by deifying him, Religion is

given to him. To unite man to the Incarnate Word, so as to make of all men and all peoples so many incarnate Words: such is the supreme end of Religion. Seeing the divine plan unfold on earth, which he had fought in heaven, Satan shudders. To stop the work of infinite wisdom, his hatred deploys all its resources. To the religion that is to deify man and lead him to an eternal happiness, he opposes a religion that is to bestialize him and drag him forever into the abyss of misery. Everything God does to save man, Satan apes in order to destroy him. Between these means of sanctification and of perdition the parallelism is complete.

The King of the City of Good has His Religion. The King of the City of Evil has his. The King of the City of Good has His angels; He has His Bible, His prophets, His apparitions, His miracles, His inspirations, His threats, His promises, His apostles, His priests, His temples, His sacred formulas, His ceremonies, His prayers, His sacraments, His sacrifices. The King of the City of Evil has his angels; he has his Bible, his oracles, his manifestations, his prodigies, his temptations, his threats, his promises, his apostles, his priests, his temples, his mysterious formulas, his rites, his initiations, his sacrifices. The King of the City of Good has His feasts, His privileged sanctuaries, His pilgrimages. The King of the City of Evil has his feasts, his fateful places, his pilgrimages, his preferred dwellings. The King of the City of Good has His arts and His sciences; He has His dance, His music, His painting, His statuary, His literature, His poetry, His philosophy, His

theology, His politics, His social economy, His civilization. The King of the City of Evil has all these things. The King of the City of Good has His signs of recognition and of preservation: the sign of the cross, relics,

medals, holy water. The King of the City of Evil has his cabalistic signs, his passwords, his emblems, his amulets, his *gris-gris*, his talismans, his lustral water. [*gris-gris*: West African charms, as the French borrowed the word.] The King of the City of Good has His associations of propagation and devotion, bound by solemn vows. The King of the City of Evil has his secret societies, intended to extend his reign, and bound by redoubtable oaths. The King of the City of Good has His gifts, His fruits, His beatitudes. The King of the City of Evil possesses the counterfeit of all this. The King of the City of Good is adored by one part of the human race. The King of the City of Evil is adored by the other. The King of the City of Good has His eternal dwelling beyond the tomb. The King of the City of Evil has his, in the same regions.

Let us develop some points of this redoubtable and so little-feared parallelism: the Bible, worship and sacrifice.

Man is a being who is taught. To preserve him forever like himself by perpetuating the primitive teaching, the King of the City of Good has deigned to fix His word by writing: He dictated the Bible. The Bible of the Holy Spirit tells the truth, always the

truth, nothing but the truth. It tells it on the origin of things, on God, on man and on the whole creation. It tells it on the supernatural world, its mysteries, its inhabitants, and on the striking facts which prove their existence and their intervention in the lower world. It tells it on the rules of morals, on the obligatory struggles of life, on the government of nations by Providence, on the punishments of crime and the rewards of virtue. To light man's march through the ages, to console his sorrows, to sustain his hopes, it announces to him by numerous prophecies the events that are to occur on his way, while showing him the final term toward which he must march. The Bible of the Holy Spirit tells the whole truth. It is from it, as from an ever-lit hearth, that theology, philosophy, politics, the arts, literature, legislation, in a word, life under all its forms, go forth. However numerous and varied they may be, all the books of the City of Good are and can be only the perpetual commentary on the Book *par excellence*. The Bible of the Holy Spirit is not content with teaching, it sings. It sings the glories and benefits of the Creator; it sings the beauty of virtue, the happiness of pure hearts; it sings the noble triumphs of spirit over flesh; and, to raise man to perfection, it sings the perfections of God Himself, his necessary model and his magnificent rewarder.

Now, as the King of the City of Good inspires His Bible, the King of the City of Evil inspires his. The Bible of Satan is an artful mixture of many lies and a few truths: truths altered and obscured to serve as passports to

the fable. It lies about the origin of things; it lies about God, about man and about the lower world; it lies about the supernatural world, its mysteries and its inhabitants; it lies about the rules of morals, about the struggles of life, about the destinies of man. By means of oracles, scattered through each of its pages, it deceives human curiosity under pretext of revealing to it the secrets of the present and the mysteries of the future. To each people subject to his empire, Satan gives a copy of his Bible, the same in substance but different in details. Run through the annals of the world, you will not find a single pagan nation which has not for the point of departure of its civilization a religious book, a Bible of Satan. Mythologies, Sibylline Books, Vedas: always and everywhere you have an inspired code which gives birth to philosophy, the arts, literature, politics. The Bible of Satan becomes the classical book of the City of Evil, as the Bible of the Holy Spirit becomes the classical book of the City of Good. To prose the Bible of Satan joins poetry. Under a thousand different names it sings Lucifer and the fallen angels; it sings their infamies and their malices; it sings all the passions; and, to draw man into the abyss of degradation, it shows him the examples of the gods. Object of infinite commentaries, the Bible of Satan becomes a mortal poison, even for the City of Good. Saint Augustine weeps over its ravages, and Saint Jerome denounces the infernal book in these terms: "Pagan philosophy, pagan poetry, pagan literature, that is the Bible of the demons (1)."

1. *Cibus est dæmoniorum, sæcularis philosophia, carmina poetarum, rhetoricorum pompa verborum.* [The food of demons is worldly philosophy, the songs of the poets, the pomp of the rhetoricians' words.] Letter to

Eustochium [Gaume cites “Epist. de duob. filiis”, i.e. Jerome’s letter on the two sons; the sentence is from Jerome’s Letter 21, to Damasus, on the Prodigal Son].

The parallelism of the City of Good and of the City of Evil is not limited to teaching, written or spoken: it shows itself, perhaps more strikingly, in the religious facts. In the City of Good, no detail of worship is left to the caprice of man. All is regulated by God Himself. The Old Testament shows Him dictating to Moses not only the general ordinances and the particular regulations concerning the priests and their functions; but also giving the plan of the tabernacle, determining its dimensions and form, indicating the nature and quality of the materials, the colour of the stuffs, the measure of the rings, and even the number of nails that were to enter into its construction. The form of the vessels of gold and silver, the censers, the tools, the bronze figures, the sacred utensils, all is of divine inspiration. So also the place where the ark is to rest, the days on which the Lord is to be consulted, the precautions to be taken on entering the sanctuary, the victims that are to be immolated, or the offerings that must be made to please Jehovah and obtain His answers or His favours (1). What was a sacred law in the synagogue continues to be one no less sacred in the Church. No one is unaware that all the rites of Catholic worship, the matter and form of the sacraments, the ceremonies that accompany them, the vestments of the priests, the material of the sacred vessels, the use of incense, the number and colour of the ornaments, the general form and essential furnishing of the temples, as well as the days most favourable to prayer, are determined,

1. Exod. 35 *et seq.*

not by private persons, but by the Holy Spirit Himself, or, in His name, by the Church. One understands how well suited this supernatural origin is to win for divine worship the respect of man, and how necessary to prevent anarchy in religious matters.

Satan has understood it better than we. This great ape of God has himself regulated all the details of his worship. That is what must be known and what is not known, seeing that, in spite of our ten years of study at the school of the Greeks and Romans, we do not know the first word of pagan antiquity. Its religious usages, the form of the statues, the nature of the offerings and victims, the formulas of prayer, the lucky and unlucky days, and all the other parts of the pagan cults appear to us as the result of juggling, of imagination and of the caprice of men: this is a capital error. The truth is that nothing of all this is arbitrary. Let us listen to the man who best knew the mysteries of the religion of Satan. “It is certain,” says Porphyry, “that it is at the very school of the great gods that the theologians of paganism learned all that concerns the worship of idols. The gods themselves taught them their most hidden secrets; the things that please them; the means of constraining them; the formulas for invoking them; the victims to offer them and the manner of offering them; the lucky and unlucky days; the figures under which they wished to be represented; the apparitions by which they revealed their presence; the places they haunted most assiduously. In a word, there is absolutely nothing that men did not learn from them, concerning the worship to be rendered them, so that everything is practised there

according to their orders and their teachings (1).” He adds: “Although we could establish what we advance by a host of unanswerable proofs, we shall confine ourselves to citing a small number, to show that we speak with knowledge. Thus the oracle of Hecate will show us that it is the gods who taught us how and of what material their statues should be made. This oracle says: *Carve a statue of well-planed wood, as I am going to teach you; make the body of a root of wild rue, then adorn it with little household lizards; crush myrrh, styrax and incense with these same animals, and leave this mixture in the open air during the crescent of the moon; then address your prayers in the following terms.* After giving the formula of the prayer, the oracle indicates the number of lizards to be taken: *As many forms as I have, so many of these reptiles you shall take; and do these things carefully. You will build me a dwelling with the branches of a self-sown olive tree, and, addressing fervent prayers to this image, you will see me in your sleep* (2).” The great theologian of paganism continues:

1. *Neque tantum proprias institui sui rationes, aut cetera, quæ superius a nobis commemorata sunt, verum quibus ipsi rebus aut delectentur, aut vinciantur, imo quibus etiam cogantur, indicarunt. Quibus item hostiis rem sacram fieri, quos dies caveri, quam in formam ac speciem simulacra configurari oporteat; quonam ipsi præ habituque appareant, quibus in locis assidui sint. Denique nihil omnino est, quod non ab iis homines ita didicerint, uti ex eorum præceptis doctrinaque duntaxat solemnes postea in iis colendis ritus adhiberent.* [Not only did they teach the principles of their own institution and the other things mentioned above by us, but they also showed by what things they themselves are delighted, or bound, or even compelled; with what victims the sacred rite is to be performed, what days are to be avoided, in what form and appearance the images are to be fashioned; in what dress and bearing they themselves appear, in what places they are constant. In short, there is nothing at all which men did not so learn from them that afterwards, in worshipping them, they used the solemn rites only from their precepts and teaching.] In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 5, ch. 11.

2. *Quæ cum argumentis pluribus iisdemque certissimis illustrari possint, nos tamen e multis pauca modo proferemus, ne omni orationem hanc testimonio et auctoritate spoliatam reliquisse videamur.* [Which things, though they could be illustrated by many and most certain arguments, we shall nevertheless bring forward only a few out of many, lest we seem to have left this discourse stripped of all testimony and authority.] *Id., ibid.*

"As for the attitudes in which the gods are to be represented, they themselves made them known to us, and the sculptors have religiously conformed to their indications. Thus, speaking of herself, Proserpine says: *Do everything that concerns me, including my statue. My figure is that of Ceres adorned with her fruits, with garments entirely white and shoes of gold. Around my waist play long serpents which, trailing to the ground, furrow my divine footsteps; from the crown of my head other serpents, spread down to my feet and coiling round my body, form spirals full of grace. As for my statue, it must be of Parian marble, or of well-polished ivory* (1)." Pan teaches at once the form under which he wishes to be represented and the hymn that must be sung in his honour. "*Mortal, I address my prayers to Pan, the god who unites the two natures: adorned with two horns, a biped, with the extremities of a goat, and inclined to love* (2)." It was not the Middle Ages, then, that first represented the demon under the form of a goat. In requiring this form, Satan, free or forced, did himself justice; as in giving it to him, paganism remained faithful to a tradition too universal to be false, too inexplicable to be invented. The Holy Spirit Himself confirms it, in teaching us that the demons are accustomed to appear and to execute

1. *Jam vero, quænam præterea simulacra configurandi ratio esse debeat, ita tradiderunt, ut eam in statuendis imaginibus fictores postea diligenter exprimerent.* [Moreover, what the manner of fashioning images should be, they so handed down that the makers afterwards diligently expressed it in setting up the images.] In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 5, ch. 13.

2. *Pan ejusmodi quoque de seipso hymnum edocuit: Oro mortalis satus Pana cognatum deum, bicornem, bipedem, hircino crure, lascivientem.* [Pan likewise taught a hymn of this sort about himself: "I pray, mortal-born, to Pan, the kindred god, two-horned, two-footed, with goat's leg, wanton."] *And what follows. Id., ibid.*

infernal dances, under the figure of that unclean animal. Because of these crimes, the land of Edom is given over to devastation: "And among these ruins the demons dance in the form of goats and other monsters known to pagan antiquity (1)." [Gaume's rendering of Isaias 34:14, which in the Douay-Rheims reads "And demons and monsters shall meet, and the hairy ones shall cry out one to another."]

1. *Et occurrent dæmonia onocentauris; et pilosus clamabit alter ad alterum.* Isa. 34:14. — "*Pilosi sunt iidem dæmones, specie hircorum hirsuti, quos vetustas Faunos et Satyros dixit; unde Chald. vertit: Dæmones inter se colludent.*" [The "hairy ones" are the same demons, shaggy in the shape of goats, whom antiquity called

Fauns and Satyrs; whence the Chaldee renders: The demons shall play with one another.] Cornelius a Lapide, *ibid.* — The worldly dances, say the Fathers of the Church, are daughters of these infernal dances. *Gaudent et assistunt choreis dæmones. Unde Conradus Clingius, de Locis theolog., c. de Chorea: Chorea est ut circulus, cujus centrum est diabolus, circumferentia omnes angeli ejus; et Basilius tradit saltationes didicisse homines a dæmonibus.* [The demons rejoice in the dances and attend them. Whence Conrad Clingius: The dance is like a circle whose centre is the devil, and whose circumference is all his angels; and Basil teaches that men learned dancing from demons.] *Ibid.* Saint Augustine shares the sentiment of Porphyry: *Neque enim potuit, nisi primum ipsis docentibus, disci quid quisque illorum appetat, quid exhorreat, quo invitetur nomine, quo cogatur: unde magicæ artes earumque artifices exstiterunt.* [For it could not be learned, unless they themselves first taught it, what each of them desires, what he shrinks from, by what name he is invited, by what he is compelled: whence the magic arts and their practitioners arose.] *City of God*, Book 21, ch. 6, n. 5; *Opp.*, vol. 7, p. 1001, Gaume edition. *Id.*: *Ludi scenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia vanitatum, non hominum vitiis, sed Deorum vestrorum jussis Romæ instituti sunt.* [The stage-plays, the spectacles of baseness and the licence of vanities, were instituted at Rome not by the vices of men, but by the commands of your gods.] *Ibid.*, Book 1, ch. 32.

The satanic counterfeit goes still further. The King of the City of Good is called the *Spirit of the seven gifts*. To ape Him, and to deceive men by aping Him, the King of the City of Evil has himself called the King of the seven gifts. Then he indicates the favourable days for invoking his seven great satellites, ministers of the seven infernal gifts. In his oracles Apollo, borrowing the biblical form, speaks thus: "*Remember to invoke Mercury and the Sun together, on the day sacred to the Sun; then the Moon, when her day appears; then Saturn; at last Venus. You will use the mysterious words found by the greatest of the magicians, the King of the seven gifts, well known to all… always call seven times, aloud, each of the gods* (2)."

2. *Mercurium ac Solem simul appellare memento, Luce sacra Soli; tum Lunam ubi venerit ejus dies, Saturnum exin, Natamque Dione, Vocibus arcanis, quas maximus ille magorum, Septisonæ dominus reperit, notissimus idem Omnibus… Magna quemque deum, ac septena voce vocabis.* [Remember to call on Mercury and the Sun together, on the sacred day of the Sun; then the Moon when her day shall have come, then Saturn, and the daughter of Dione, with secret words which that greatest of magi, lord of the Seven-voiced, discovered, the same well known to all… You shall call each great god with a sevenfold voice.] *Id., ibid.*, ch. 14. [The Latin follows Eusebius's Latin version. "Septisonus" is the "seven-sounding" (the seven vowels of the Greek magical tradition), which Gaume takes as "Roi aux sept dons."]

It would be easy to multiply the testimonies: but to what end? Those who know, know them. It is better to hasten to conclude by saying with Eusebius: "It is by such citations that the illustrious philosopher of the Greeks, the theologian *par excellence* of paganism, the interpreter of hidden mysteries, makes known his philosophy by the oracles, as containing the secret teachings of the gods, whereas he evidently reveals only the snares laid for men by the hostile powers, that is, by the demons in person (1)." The satanic inspiration, to which the pagan religion of the peoples of antiquity is due, in its whole and in its last details, prescribes with the same authority and regulates with the same precision the idolatrous cults of modern peoples. Question the priests, or, as we say today, the mediums, who preside over these different forms of religion; all will tell you that they come from spirits, from manitous, or from some personage friend of the gods and charged with revealing to men the way to honour them: they do not lie. Satan is ever the same, and he reigns among these unhappy peoples with the same empire as he formerly exercised among us. Thus, the sacred formulas of the Tibetans, of the Chinese, of the negroes of Africa, of the savages of America and of Oceania, their mysterious rites, their practices alternately shameful, cruel and ridiculous, the distinction of good and bad days, no more than the bizarre, hideous, frightening or lascivious form of their idols, are to be imputed to the natural malice of man, to the caprices of the priests, or to the imagination and the unskilfulness of the artists (1). All comes from their gods, and all their gods are demons: *Omnes dii gentium dæmonia.*

1. *Hæc illa sunt, iisdemque genuina, quibus oraculorum philosophiam, quasi arcana deorum responsa continentem, eximius Græcorum philosophus, idemque theologus singularis, ac reconditorum mysteriorum interpres illustravit; seu verius insidias abs scelerata dæmonum arte ac versutia, hominum generi comparatas palam enuntiavit.* [These are the things, and genuine ones, by which the eminent philosopher of the Greeks, and singular theologian likewise, and interpreter of hidden mysteries, illustrated the philosophy of the oracles, as containing the secret responses of the gods; or rather openly declared the snares prepared against the human race by the wicked art and cunning of demons.] *Id., ibid.*, ch. 20 [in Eusebius].

2. Who will believe that the Chinese, for example, however Chinese one may suppose them, could not represent their gods otherwise than by ridiculous grotesques or monstrous idols? "In China," writes a missionary, "the principal idol is ordinarily of prodigious size, with a bloated face, a belly of immoderate amplitude, a long false beard and other agreeable features of the same sort… We found in a pagoda several idols twelve feet high, the belly of which has at least eighteen feet in circumference." *Annales* [de la Propagation de la Foi], no. 72, p. 481; and no. 95, p. 341. — The same must be said of all idolatrous peoples, ancient and modern.

Translator's notes — Chapter XIX

1. **Porphyry and Eusebius.** Gaume quotes Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* as preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* (Book V), in a French version of the Latin; I follow Gaume's French and give the Latin of the footnotes, after Eusebius's Latin translation, in brackets with sense.

2. **"Grand singe de Dieu."** The old theological commonplace *simia Dei*, "the ape of God," for Satan's imitation of divine worship.

3. **"Les nègres de l'Afrique, les sauvages de l'Amérique."** Gaume's period vocabulary, kept as written.

4. **Manitous.** The Algonquian word for spirit, then in common European use.

5. **Jerome citation.** The Latin passage is from Jerome's Letter 21 (to Pope Damasus), often cited as "de duobus filiis" (on the Two Sons). Gaume's heading "Bible des démons" is his paraphrase of "cibus est daemoniorum."

Chapter XX. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Sacrifice: the most significant and the most inexplicable religious act. — It contains two mysteries: a mystery of expiation and a mystery of renewal; a mystery of death and a mystery of life. — Sadness and joy: two characters of sacrifice. — Manifestations of joy: dances, songs, banquets. — Threefold eating of the victim. — Satanic parody of all these things. — Like the King of the City of Good, the King of the City of Evil demands sacrifices. — He determines their matter and all their circumstances: new testimony of Porphyry. — Out of hatred for the Incarnate Word, he commands the sacrifice of man. — Parallelism: the Scapegoat among the Jews and the Thargelia among the Greeks. — The same sacrifices among pagan peoples, ancient and modern: testimonies.

Of all religious acts sacrifice is, without contradiction, the most significant and at the same time the most inexplicable.

The most significant. — None raises so high the glory of God; for none proclaims so eloquently His sovereign dominion over the life and death of everything that exists. That is why, in the Old as in the New Testament, the Lord reserves sacrifice to Himself alone; why He strikes with His thunderbolts the rash man who would dare to attribute it to another (1); why He does not hide the mysterious

1. *Qui immolat diis occidetur, præterquam Domino soli.* [He that sacrificeth to gods, shall be put to death, save only to the Lord.] Exod. 22:20.

pleasure He takes in the odour of victims; why, finally, He asks for them in perpetuity (1).

The most inexplicable. — None bears witness more loudly to a supernatural origin. Never will the lights of reason go so far as to discover how the sin of man can be effaced by the blood of a beast. Here, all being divine, one understands that nothing was left to the caprice of man. So we see that, in the City of Good, the choice of victims, their qualities, their number, the manner of offering them, the day and the hour of the sacrifice, the preparations of the priests and the dispositions of the people; in a word, all that relates closely or remotely to this solemn act, is divinely inspired, prescribed, regulated.

Now sacrifice contains a double mystery: a mystery of expiation and a mystery of renewal; a mystery of death and a mystery of life. A mystery of expiation: in offering any being to death, man confesses on the one hand that it is he who would deserve to be immolated and that the victim is only his representative; on the other hand, he proclaims his absolute dependence on God, the need he has of Him, and the gratitude he owes, for life and for all the means of sustaining it. A mystery of renewal: by the authentic protest which he makes of his guilt and his nothingness, man puts himself again before God in his true relations: he is re-tempered and regenerated. Hence two invariable characters of sacrifices: a solemn sadness, accompanied or followed by a joy which manifests itself by the least equivocal demonstrations, dance, song and banquets (2).

1. See most of the chapters of Leviticus and Numbers.

2. Like music, the dance is a divine language in its origin and in its aim. So all peoples have danced in honour of their gods; David danced in honour of the true God. In the Catholic Church, for many centuries, people danced at religious feasts. Satan has taken possession of the dance, and all peoples, his slaves, have danced in his honour, from the Corybantes of Greece and the Salii of Rome to the Dervishes of Stamboul; from the Jumpers and the Methodists to the followers of Voodoo. — We read in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book II, ch. 18: “The Romans call them Salii (priests of that name) because of their continual movement and agitation; for they use the word *salire* to say to dance and to leap: for this reason they call all other dancers *salitores*, drawing the name from that of the Salii, because they ordinarily leap while dancing. But everyone can judge, by what they do, whether I have hit the mark touching the etymology of their name. For they dance in cadence to the sound of the flute, all armed, now together, now one after another, and at the same time as they dance they also sing some hymns of the country.”

However, the banquet is more than a sign of joy. Sacrifice is useful to man only so far as man partakes of the victim. So teaches the faith of all peoples, founded on the very nature of sacrifice. Now, in eating it, man assimilates the immolated flesh: he makes himself the victim. This is the most energetic way of proclaiming that it is he, and not the victim, who ought to perish. Hence the universal usage of eating in all sacrifices. Only it is material, moral or figurative. Material, when one really eats the flesh of the victim; moral, when, in its place, one eats fruits or cakes offered with it; figurative, when one takes part in the meal given on the occasion of the sacrifice.

Such, in the City of Good, are the laws, the nature and the circumstances of this great act. With superhuman skill, the King of the City of Evil has seized upon these divine data and made them turn to his profit. Sacrifice is the authentic proclamation of the divinity of the being to whom it is addressed. Satan, who wishes to be held for God, has had it offered to himself;

and, down to the smallest details, he counterfeits Jehovah. “The demons wish to be gods,” says Porphyry, “and the chief who commands them aspires to replace the supreme God. They delight in libations and in the smoke of victims, which fattens at the same time their corporeal and spiritual substance. They feed on vapours and exhalations, variously, according to the diversity of their nature, and they acquire new strength by the blood and the smoke of burnt flesh (1).” Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas give us the true sense of the words of Porphyry, by explaining to us the nature of the pleasure the demons take in the odour of victims. “What is esteemed in sacrifice is not the price of the beast immolated, but what it signifies. Now it signifies

the honour rendered to the sovereign Master of the universe. Whence the saying: The demons do not rejoice in the odour of corpses, but in divine honours (2)."

1. *Horum enim proprium mendacium est, cum et omnes dii esse velint, et princeps eorum virtutis summi numinis existimationem affectet. Illi enim vero sunt, qui et libationibus et nidore carnium delectantur, quo utroque spirituum corporumque genus saginatur. Vitam enim ut vaporibus exhalationibusque sustentat, idque modo pro eorum diversitate diverso, ita vires sanguinis carniumque nidore confirmat.* [For this is their peculiar falsehood, that all wish to be gods, and their prince aspires to the reputation of the power of the supreme divinity. For these are they who delight in libations and in the savour of flesh, by both of which the race of spirits and of bodies is fattened. For (their) life is sustained by vapours and exhalations, and that in a manner varied according to their diversity; so it strengthens its forces by the savour of blood and flesh.] In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 4, ch. 22.

2. *In oblatione sacrificii non pensatur pretium occisi pecoris, sed significatio, qua fit in honorem summi rectoris totius universi. Unde sicut Augustinus dicit (De civ. Dei, lib. X, c. xix, ad fin.): "Dæmones non cadaverinis nidoribus, sed divinis honoribus gaudent."* [In the offering of a sacrifice the price of the slain beast is not weighed, but the signification, by which it is done in honour of the supreme ruler of the whole universe. Whence, as Augustine says: "Demons rejoice not in the odours of carcasses, but in divine honours."] II-II, q. 84, art. 2, ad 2.

Satan is not content with asking for sacrifices: like the true God, he allows himself to determine their matter and to regulate their ceremonies. After having sworn to tell the truth on the demoniacal mysteries, Porphyry expresses himself in these terms:

"I am going, accordingly, to transcribe the precepts of piety and of divine worship which the oracle uttered. This oracle of Apollo sets forth the whole and the division of the rites that must be observed for each God. *Entering upon the road traced by a propitious God, remember to accomplish the sacred rites religiously. Immolate a victim to the happy divinities; to those who dwell on the heights of heaven; to those who reign in the air and in the atmosphere filled with vapours; to those who preside over the sea and to those who are in the deep shadows of Erebus. For all parts of nature are under the power of the gods who fill it. I shall first sing the manner in which the victims must be immolated. Inscribe my oracle on virgin tablets.*

"*To the Lar gods, three victims; as many to the heavenly gods. But with this difference: three white victims to the heavenly gods; three of the colour of earth to the Lar gods. Cut in three the victims of the Lar gods; those of the infernal gods, you will bury in a deep pit with their blood still warm. To the nymphs, make libations of honey and gifts of Bacchus. As for the gods that flit about the earth, let blood flood their altars on all sides, and let a whole bird be cast into the sacred hearths; but before all, consecrate to them cakes of honey and barley meal, mingled with incense and covered with salt and fruits. When you have come to sacrifice on the seashore, immolate a bird and cast it whole into the depths of the waves.*

"*All these things accomplished according to the rites, advance toward the immense choirs of the heavenly gods. To all render the same sacred honour. Let the*

blood mixed with flour flow in great gushes and form stagnant deposits. Let the known members of the victims remain the portion of the gods; cast the extremities to the flames and let the rest be for the guests. With the agreeable smoke with which you fill the air, send up to the gods your ardent supplications (1)."

Such are, with many others, the obligatory rites of the sacrifices demanded by the King of the City of Evil. All are a sacrilegious counterfeit of the religious prescriptions of the King of the City of Good. Now the imagination recoils terrified before the incalculable multitude of animals of every kind, before the fabulous sum of riches of every kind, stolen from poor humanity by its odious and insatiable tyrant. Yet to breathe the perfume of the most precious aromatics, to savour the offering of the finest fruits, to drink in long draughts

the blood of chosen animals, is not enough for him: he must have the blood of man. The history of human sacrifices reveals, in its last depths, the hatred of the great Murderer for the Incarnate Word and for man, His brother. This hatred could not be more intense in its nature, nor more extended in its object. On the one hand, it goes as far as it can go, to destruction; on the other, human sacrifice has gone round the world. It still reigns everywhere where the King of the City of Evil reigns without control. One might as well amuse oneself with establishing the existence of the sun as accumulate the proofs of this monstrous phenomenon (2). We

1. *Hoc age rite memor, Superum qui numine dextro es Hoc iter aggressus: felicibus hostia divis*, etc. [Do this duly, mindful, you who by the favouring power of the gods have entered upon this way: to the blessed gods a victim…, etc.] *Ibid.*, Book 4, ch. 9.

2. To establish its universality in order to deduce decisive consequences regarding the influence of the demons is quite another thing. Undertaken by our learned friend Dr. Boudin, chief physician of the military hospital of Vincennes, this useful work is in course of publication in the valuable collection of M. Bonnetty, the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne.* See the first article in the number of April 1861.

shall content ourselves with recalling a few facts fitted to show how far Satan pushes the parody of divine institutions, his inextinguishable thirst for human blood, and his preference, free or forced, for the form of the serpent.

Among the sacred rites prescribed to Moses, I do not know if there is any more mysterious and more celebrated than that of the scapegoat. Two goats, fed for this purpose, were brought to the high priest at the entrance of the Tabernacle. Charged with all the sins of the people, one was immolated in expiation, the other driven into the desert, to mark the removal of the scourges deserved. The sacrifice took place every year, toward autumn, at the solemn feast of the Expiations. This divine institution the King of the City of Evil hastens to counterfeit. But he counterfeits it in his own way: instead of the blood of a goat, he demands the blood of a man. Let us listen to the pagans themselves recounting, with their icy calm, the horrible custom. In the republics of Greece, and notably at Athens, a few vile and useless men were fed at the expense of the State. If a plague, a famine or other calamity arrived, two of these victims were taken and immolated, to purify the city and deliver it. These victims were called *demosioi*, fed by the people; *pharmakoi*, purifiers; *katharmata*, expiators. It was the custom to immolate two at a time: one

for the men, and one for the women, doubtless to make the parody of the two scapegoats more complete. The expiator for the men wore a necklace of black figs; that of the women had one of white figs. So that everyone might enjoy the feast, a convenient place was chosen for the sacrifice. One of the archons, or chief magistrates, was charged to care for all the preparations and to oversee all the details. The procession set out, accompanied by choruses of musicians, long practised and superbly organized. During the journey the victims were struck seven times with branches of fig-tree and wild onions, with the words: *Be our expiation and our ransom.* Arrived at the place of sacrifice, the expiators were burned on a pyre of wild wood and their ashes thrown to the wind and into the sea, for the purification of the sick city. From accidental, as it was at the beginning, the immolation became periodic and received the name of the feast of the Thargelia. It was held in autumn, it lasted two days, during which the philosophers celebrated with joyful banquets the birth of Socrates and of Plato. Thus, every year, in the same season, while the true God was content with the blood of a goat, Satan had himself offered the blood of a man (1).

1. *Annales* [de philosophie chrétienne], July 1861, p. 46 *et seq.* — Would one believe that the classical Greek dictionaries, instead of giving the words their true meaning, prefer to make mistranslations rather than reveal these abominable details? Thus the Renaissance deceives youth, and through it Christian Europe, about the beautiful antiquity. *Id.*, *ib.*

[Gaume's account of the Thargelia is very much of his time and rests on the secondary scholarship he cites; the Thargelia were held in May–June (Thargelion), not in autumn, and the actual extent of the *pharmakos* rite is debated among scholars.]

In the same category may be ranged the annual sacrifice offered by the Athenians to Minos. The Athenians having put Androgeus to death, they were reaped by plague and famine. The oracle of Delphi, consulted on the cause of the double calamity and on the means of putting an end to it, answered: "Plague and famine will cease if you designate by lot seven young men and as many young virgins for Minos: you will embark them on the sacred sea in reprisal for your crime. Thus you will make the god favourable to you (1)." The unhappy victims were conducted to the island of Crete and shut up in a labyrinth where they were devoured by a monster, half man and half bull, which fed only on human flesh. "What then is this Apollo, this saviour god whom the Athenians consult," Eusebius asks the pagan authors, historians of the fact? "Doubtless he is going to exhort the Athenians to repentance and the practice of justice. Such things indeed! What do such cares matter to these excellent gods, or rather to these perverse demons? They must have, on the contrary, acts of the same kind, merciless, ferocious, inhuman, adding, as the proverb says, plague to plague, death to death. Apollo orders them to send each year to the Minotaur seven adolescents and seven young virgins, chosen from among their children. For a single victim, fourteen victims, innocent and candid! And not once only, but for ever, so that until the time of the death of Socrates, that is,

1. *Tum vos dira fames, atque inclementia pestis Deseret, ac tristes melior deus exuet iras, Cum vestro e numero, scelerisque piacula vestri Quos sors cumque petet, seu mas seu fœmina cedat, Corpora pontus agat magni Minois ad urbem.* [Then dire famine and the inclemency of plague shall leave you, and a kinder god shall put off his sad angers, when from your number, as expiation for your crime, those whom the lot shall seek, whether male or female, the sea shall carry to the city of great Minos.] Œnomaus, in Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 5, ch. 19.

more than five hundred years afterwards, the odious and atrocious tribute was not yet suppressed among the Athenians. This was, in fact, the cause of the delay brought to the execution of the capital sentence passed against that philosopher (1)."

1. *Præp. evang.*, Book 5, ch. 18. [The delay is that of the Delian sacred ship, which kept the city free of executions while it was away on the Delos embassy: Plato, *Phaedo.*]

Besides these periodic immolations, the Athenians, in difficult circumstances, did not hesitate, any more than the other peoples of beautiful antiquity, to have recourse, at the demand of the gods, to human sacrifices. It was on the point of giving battle to the fleet of Xerxes. "While Themistocles," writes Plutarch, "was making sacrifices to the gods on the admiral's ship, three young prisoners of extraordinary beauty, magnificently clad and laden with golden ornaments, were presented to him. It was said they were the children of Sandace, the king's sister, and of a prince called Artayctes. At the moment when the diviner Euphrantides saw them, he remarked that a pure and clear flame came forth from the midst of the victims, and a sneeze gave an augury on the right. Then, laying his right hand on Themistocles, he ordered him, after invoking Bacchus Omestes (the eater of raw flesh), to immolate these young men to him, assuring him that the victory and safety of the Greeks would thus be assured." Themistocles seems to hesitate; but the soldiers wish the advice of the diviner to be followed, and the young men are immolated (2).

2. *In Themist.*, ch. 13, n. 3.

After the example of the Greeks, the Romans also had their public expiators. They were victims chosen and devoted in advance. In public calamities they were taken to be slaughtered in the

place where they were fed: as the butcher goes to the pasture to fetch the ox he leads to the slaughterhouse (1). The capital of pagan civilization, Rome, sacrificed human victims until the advent of Christianity; and

among the sacrificers, Dio Cassius cites the most eminent man of antiquity, Julius Caesar. “After the games which he had celebrated after his triumphs (in which Vercingetorix was put to death), his soldiers mutinied. The disorder did not cease until Caesar presented himself among them, and seized with his own hand one of the mutineers to deliver him to punishment. This man was punished for that reason, but two other men were, besides, slaughtered by way of sacrifice. It was in the Campus Martius, by the pontiffs and by the flamen of Mars, that they were immolated (2).” Let us add with Livy that the consul, the dictator and the praetor, when devoting the legions of the enemy, were permitted to devote, not indeed themselves, but any citizen they chose, taken from an enrolled Roman legion (3).

1. *Hic ergo hircus emissarius erat quasi anathema, catharma et piaculum populi, cui populus per manum pontificis omnia sua peccata imponebat, ut ille iis onustus, ea secum extra castra in desertum efferret: perinde ac Romani et Græci tempore communis pestis aut luis homines peculiares seligebant, eosque necando diis devovebant ad cladem evertendam.* [This scapegoat was therefore as it were an anathema, a *catharma* and an expiation of the people, on whom the people through the hand of the pontiff laid all their sins, that he, laden with them, might bear them with him outside the camp into the desert: just as the Romans and Greeks, at the time of a common plague or pestilence, chose particular men and, killing them, devoted them to the gods to avert the calamity.] Cornelius a Lapide, on Lev. 16:10; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 4, ch. 16.

2. *Hist. Rom.*, Book 43, ch. 24.

3. *Illud adjiciendum videtur, licere consuli dictatorique et prætori, quum legiones hostium devoveat, non utique se, sed quem velit, ex legione romana scripta civem devovere.* Book 8, ch. 10 [the passage is Livy VIII, 10]. — All the games of the amphitheatre in honour of Jupiter Latialis began with a human sacrifice.

The Romans and the Greeks were only the imitators of the peoples of the East, and of the Phoenicians in particular. Neighbours of the Jews, whose sacred rites they knew,

the latter could, in fact, receive from the beginning and accept without resistance the counterfeit of the scapegoat. “Among this people,” says Philo of Byblos, “it was an ancient usage that, in great dangers, to prevent a universal ruin, the chiefs of the city or of the nation gave up the dearest of their children to be immolated, as a ransom, to the avenging gods. Thus Cronus, king of this country, threatened with a disastrous war, himself immolated his only son on the altar he had set up for this purpose. The immolation of the victim was accompanied by mysterious ceremonies (1).”

1. *Apud veteres, in more positum erat, ut in summis reipublicæ calamitatibus, penes quos aut civitatis, aut gentis imperium esset, iis liberorum suorum carissimi, ultoribus dæmonibus, jugulati, sanguine, quasi pretio, publicum exitium interitumque redimerent. Qui vero tunc ad sacrificium devovebantur, eos mysticis quibusdam cæremoniis jugulabant.* [Among the ancients it was an established custom that, in the greatest calamities of the commonwealth, those in whose hands lay the government of the city or nation redeemed the public destruction and ruin with the blood, as a price, of the dearest of their children, slain to the avenging demons. And those who were then devoted to the sacrifice they slew with certain mystic ceremonies.] In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 4, ch. 16.

In all the places where Christianity has not destroyed his empire, the King of the City of Evil continues his bloody parody. The Thargelia still subsist today among the Khonds, a people of India, much as we saw them in Greece three thousand years ago. There children are fattened and slaughtered by hundreds in the spring, and their blood, spread over the meadows, passes for having the virtue of making them fruitful. Under the date of 6 September 1850, the Bishop of Olena, vicar apostolic of Vizagapatam (British India), writes: “The English government has thought it necessary to carry war into the homes of the Khonds: here is the reason. Human sacrifices are still in use among this unhappy people. On the occasion of a feast, or of a calamity, at the season of sowing above all, they immolate children of both sexes.

“For this purpose these innocent victims are made as it were into deposits to serve on the different occasions… Any pretext is good for this butchery: a public scourge, a grave illness, a family feast, etc. Eight days before the sacrifice, the unhappy child or adolescent who is to bear the cost is bound. He is given to drink and to eat what he desires. During this interval the neighbouring villages are invited to the feast. They come running in great numbers. When all are assembled, the victim is led to the place of sacrifice. In general care is taken to put him in a state of drunkenness. After he has been tied, the multitude dance around him. At the given signal each of those present runs to cut off a piece of flesh which he carries home. The victim is dismembered alive. The shred which each detaches for himself must be still quivering. Thus hot and bleeding, it is carried in all haste to the field one wishes to fertilize. Such is the fate reserved to those who were speaking to me, and nevertheless they danced a great part of the night (1).”

1. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, no. 138, p. 402 *et seq.*

[The Meriah sacrifices of the Khonds were real and were suppressed by the British in the 1840s–50s; I translate the missionary’s account as printed.]

The same sacrifices among certain Mohammedan tribes of eastern Africa. “In an Arab town that I know (2),” writes a missionary, “I visited the house where, four years ago, three young virgins were immolated to avert a misfortune that threatened the country. This barbarity was not the deed of one person, but the accomplishment of a decision taken in council by the chiefs of the country. I know from a certain source, and I could produce the witnesses, that these unhappy victims of Mussulman superstition

were divided into pieces, and their limbs carried and buried in various places of the threatened territory (1).” Similar horrors are committed in China and in Oceania: Satan is always and everywhere the same (2).

2. *Ann. de la Prop. de la foi*, March 1863, p. 132.

3. *Ann. de la Propag. de la foi*, no. 138, pp. 377, 380. (2) *Ibid.*, no. 116, p. 49, etc., etc.

The particular kind of sacrifices we have just pointed out gives only a very imperfect idea of his insatiable thirst for human blood. To know it a little better, we must recall that human sacrifices have existed everywhere for two thousand years; that they have been practised on a great scale; that the games of the amphitheatre, in which several hundred victims perished in a single day, were religious feasts; that under the Caesars these games were renewed several times a week; that there were amphitheatres in all the important towns of the Roman empire; that human sacrifice took place outside the frontiers of this empire; that in America it exceeded all known proportions; finally, that the same carnage continues, at this very hour, in all the places that have remained under the entire domination of the prince of darkness.

In 1447 [so Gaume; the dedication was in 1487], thirty-four years before the Spanish conquest, took place at Mexico the dedication of the Teocalli, or temple of the God of war, by Ahuitzotl, king of Mexico. Never, in any country, had so appalling a butchery taken place to honour the Divinity. The native historians, who cannot be accused on this occasion of either ignorance or partiality, put at 80,000 the number of human victims immolated in this feast, of which they give the following description.

The king and the sacrificers went up on the platform of the temple. The Mexican monarch placed himself beside the stone of sacrifices, on a seat adorned with frightful paintings. At the signal given by an infernal music, the captives began to climb the steps of the teocalli; they were covered with festal garments, and had their heads adorned with feathers. As they reached the summit, four ministers of the temple, their faces smeared with black and their hands stained red (living images of the demon), seized the victim and stretched him on the stone at the feet of the royal throne. The king bowed down, turning successively toward the four cardinal points (parody of the sign of the cross); he opened his breast, from which he tore the heart, which he presented, still throbbing, to the same quarters, and then handed it to the sacrificers. These went and threw it into the *quauhxicalli*, a kind of deep trough destined for this bloody service. They finished the ceremony by

shaking toward the four cardinal points the blood that remained on their hands. After having thus immolated a multitude of victims, the king, tired, handed the knife to the high priest, and he to another, and so on until their strength was exhausted. According to the recollections of the time, the blood ran down the steps of the temple like water during the stormy showers of winter, and one would have said that the ministers were clothed in scarlet. This appalling hecatomb lasted four days. It took place at the same hour and with the same ceremonial in the principal temples of the city; and the greatest lords of the court fulfilled there, with the priests, the same functions as Ahuitzotl in the sanctuary of the god of war. The tributary

kings and the nobles who had assisted at the sacrifice wished to imitate it in the dedication of some temples. Human blood was not spared. A Mexican author, Ixtlilxochitl, estimates at more than 100,000 the number of victims immolated that year. The river of human blood, which in certain circumstances became a great lake, never ceased to flow.

Like the Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls and other peoples of antiquity, the Mexicans also had their Thargelia. In the midst of a thick forest was the underground cavern consecrated to Petela, prince of ancient times. Under its sombre vaults the traveller beholds with stupor the gaping mouth of a bottomless abyss, into which the waters of a river plunge bellowing. It is there that, in times of trial, slaves or prisoners captured for the purpose were brought in procession. They were covered with flowers and rich garments, and cast into the abyss amid the clouds of incense which were sent up to the idol. Every month of the year was marked by human sacrifices. That which corresponds to our month of February was consecrated to the Spirits of the waters. For their sacrifice very small children were bought, whom fathers often offered of themselves, in order to obtain for the coming season the moisture necessary for the fertilization of the earth. These children were carried to the summit of the mountains, where storms are bred, and there they were immolated; but some were always reserved to be sacrificed at the beginning of the rains. The priest opened their breast and tore out the heart, which was offered in propitiation to the Divinity, and their little bodies were then served,

in a cannibal feast, to the priests and to the nobility. Another month was called the *Human Flaying*. Its patron was Xipe, the bald or flayed one, otherwise called Totec, that is, Our Lord, dead young and by an unhappy death (evident counterfeit of Our Lord Jesus Christ). This divinity inspired in all a great horror. He was credited with the power of giving men the diseases which cause the most disgust (infernal means of making the Crucified detested); so human sacrifices were offered to him daily. The victims led to his altars were lifted by the hair to the upper terrace of the temple. Thus suspended, the priests flayed them alive, clothed themselves in their bloody skin and went through the city begging for the honour of the god. Those who presented them were bound to fast for twenty days beforehand, after which they feasted on part of their flesh (1).

1. *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique*, by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, vol. III, p. 341, 21–503 [as printed], etc.

Let us cite also the Feast of the Customs, in the kingdom of Dahomey, in western Africa. Here is the account written in 1860 by a European traveller, eyewitness of what he tells. “On the 16th of July a strongly gagged captive is presented to the king. The king gives him commissions for his deceased father, has a piastre and a bottle of tafia handed him for his journey, after which he is dispatched. Two hours later four new messengers set out under the same conditions. On the 23rd I assist at the appointment of twenty-three officers and musicians, who are to be sacrificed to enter the service of the dead king. On the 28th, immolation of fourteen captives, whose heads are carried to

different points of the city, to the sound of a large bell. On the 29th, preparations are made to offer to the memory of King Ghezo the customary victims. The captives have a gag in the form of a cross, which must make them suffer enormously: the pointed end is passed into the mouth; it is applied to the tongue, which prevents them from doubling it back and consequently from crying out. These unfortunates have almost all

their eyes starting out of their heads. The songs do not cease, nor do the killings. During the night of the 30th and 31st more than five hundred heads fell. Several ditches of the city are filled with human bones. The following days, continuation of the same massacres.

“The tomb of the last king is a great vault dug in the earth. Ghezo is in the midst of all his wives who, before poisoning themselves, placed themselves around him according to the rank they occupied at his court. These voluntary deaths may amount to the number of six hundred.

“On the 4th of August, exhibition of fifteen women prisoners, destined to take care of King Ghezo in the other world. They will be killed this night by a stab of the dagger in the breast. The 5th is reserved for the king’s offerings. Fifteen women and thirty-five men figure in it, gagged and bound, the knees folded up to the chin, the arms tied to the lower legs, and each kept in a basket carried on the head. The procession lasted more than an hour and a half. It was a diabolical spectacle to see the animation, the gestures, the contortions of all this black rabble. [*négrille*; Gaume’s traveller’s word, kept in its harsh sense.] Behind me were four magnificent blacks, acting as coachmen around a little carriage,

destined to be sent to the deceased, in company with these four unfortunates. They were ignorant of their fate. When they were called they advanced sadly, without uttering a word; one of them had two big tears pearling on his cheeks. All four were killed like chickens by the king in person… After the immolation the king mounted a platform, lit his pipe and gave the signal for the general sacrifice. At once the cutlasses were drawn and heads fell. Blood flowed on all sides; the sacrificers were covered with it, and the unfortunates who waited their turn at the foot of the royal platform were as though dyed red.

“These ceremonies will last another month and a half, after which the king will take the field to make new prisoners and begin again his Feast of the Customs (1); toward the end of October there will again be seven or eight hundred heads cut off (2).”

King Ghezo was succeeded by his son, Prince Badou. The enthronement of the new monarch was the triumph of the ancient laws, which resumed all the sanguinary rigour demanded by the Fetishers. “It is not to be supposed that the human butchery is limited to the great feasts. Not a day passes without some heads falling under the axe of fanaticism. Lately Europe shuddered on learning that the blood of three thousand human creatures had watered

1. The kingdom of Dahomey numbers nearly a million inhabitants. (2) *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, March 1861, p. 152 *et seq.* — The author of this narrative is not a missionary. We have seen a missionary who confirmed to us all these details, adding that, in the twelve years he has been in Africa, the number of human victims immolated in the kingdom of Dahomey can without exaggeration be put at 10,000. See the *Voyage* of M. Pépin, naval physician, 1802 [sic; as printed].

the tomb of Ghezo. Alas! if there had only been three thousand (1)!” It is not only at Gana, the holy city of Dahomey, but also at Abomey, capital of the kingdom, that these bloody tragedies are played. “Called to the king’s palace,” writes a traveller, “we saw ninety human heads, cut off that very morning: their blood still ran on the ground. These frightful remains were displayed on each side of the door, so that the public might see them well… Three days afterwards, a new obligatory visit to the palace, and the same spectacle: sixty freshly cut heads, arranged like the first, on each side of the door, and three days later, thirty-six more. The king had had four great platforms built in the square of the principal market, from which he threw to the people cowries, shells serving as money, and on which he again had sixty human victims immolated (2).” Here is the form of this new sacrifice. “Great panniers or baskets were brought, each containing a living man of whom the head alone protruded. They were lined up for a moment before the eyes of the king, then they were cast down one after another from the top of the platform onto the ground of the square where the multitude, dancing, singing and howling, fought for this windfall, as in other countries children scramble for the sugared almonds of a baptism. Every Dahomean favoured enough by fortune to seize a victim and saw off his head

could go that very instant and exchange this trophy for a string of cowries (about 2 francs 50). It was only when the last victim had been decapitated, and when

1. *Ibid.*, May 1862. (2) See *Le Tour du Monde*, no. 163, p. 107.

two bloody piles, one of heads, the other of trunks, had been raised at the two ends of the square, that I was permitted to retire to my house (1)."

1. *Le Tour du Monde*, p. 110.

What becomes of the corpses? History teaches us that always and everywhere eating, under one form or another, accompanies sacrifice. What then becomes of the bodies of the innumerable victims of the Dahomean Moloch? "I have often," says a traveller, "put this question to Dahomeans of various classes, and I have never been able to obtain a very categorical answer. I do not believe the Dahomeans to be cannibals… It might nevertheless happen that they attach some superstitious idea to the consumption of these remains, and that they serve for secret and revolting agapes; but, I repeat, I have on this nothing but suspicions, which were born in my mind by the hesitation and embarrassment of the blacks I questioned on the subject (2)." If one judges by the absolute tyranny which the great Murderer exercises over this unhappy people, it is more than probable that the traveller's suspicions will not be long in becoming a frightful certainty. With hatred of man and thirst for his blood, this tyranny reveals itself by a last trait, unique in history. "It is at Abomey that the tomb of the kings is found, a vast vault dug by the hand of man. When a king dies, there is erected for him, in the centre of this vault, a sort of cenotaph surrounded with iron bars and surmounted by a coffin cemented with the blood of a hundred captives from the last wars, sacrificed to serve as guards to the sovereign in the other world. The body of the monarch

2. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

is placed in this coffin, the head resting on the skulls of conquered kings. As so many relics of the departed royalty, there are placed at the foot of the cenotaph all the skulls and bones that can be put there.

"All preparations being finished, the door of the vault is opened and eight dancing-women of the court are made to enter, in company with fifty soldiers; dancing-women and warriors, provided with a certain quantity of provisions, are charged to accompany their sovereign into the kingdom of shades: in other words, they are offered in sacrifice to the manes of the dead king. Eighteen months afterwards, for the enthronement of the new king, the coffin is opened and the skull of the dead king taken out. The regent takes this skull in his left hand, and, holding a little axe in his right, presents it to the people, proclaims the death of the king and the accession of his successor. With clay kneaded in the blood of human victims a great vase is formed, in which the skull and bones of the late king are definitively sealed. Never does the blood-thirst of the African Moloch show itself more than on this solemnity. Thousands of human victims are immolated, under pretext of sending to the late king the news of his successor's coronation (1)."

1. *Le Tour du Monde*, 103, 104.

All these horrors are committed in the name of religion, and there are pretended great minds who say that all religions are good. Is it then a matter of indifference to practise a religion which forbids under eternal penalties any attempt on the life of man, and a religion which commands the immolation of men by thousands? a religion which protects the child like

the apple of the eye, and a religion which orders parents to carry this beloved being to the sacrificer's knife, or to throw it alive into the arms of a glowing statue? a religion which condemns even the thought of evil, and a religion which makes public prostitution a part of its worship? a religion which says: Thou shalt not take what is another's; and a religion which adores divinities that protect thieves? All these horrors are committed today, a few hundred leagues from the coasts of France! And Christian Europe, which has thousands of soldiers to make war on the Pope, has not one to make the most holy laws of humanity

respected! One thing alone has delivered Europe from similar cruelties, one thing alone prevents their return: Christianity. And there are found today, in Europe, thousands of men who have no voice but to insult Christianity, no pens but to calumniate it, no hands but to slap it in the face! Ungrateful men! who, without Christianity, would perhaps have been offered as victims to some Ghezo of olden days, or burned in a wicker basket in honour of Teutates!

Translator's notes — Chapter XX

1. **Human sacrifice and the "pagan" history.** Gaume's sources are mid-nineteenth-century: Eusebius's *Preparation for the Gospel* (citing Porphyry, Philo of Byblos, Oenomaus), Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Livy, the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, and travel accounts in *Le Tour du Monde*. His account of the Athenian *pharmakos* rite, the Thargelia date and the extent of Roman human sacrifice goes beyond what modern scholars would accept; I translate as written and flag two points in brackets.

2. **Date of the Teocalli dedication.** Gaume prints "1447"; the dedication of the Great Temple under Ahuitzotl was in 1487. I keep Gaume's date with a bracketed note.

3. **Language about peoples.** Gaume's phrasing about Africans ("négrille", "les nègres de l'Afrique", "les sauvages") is retained as written; the reports of Dahomey are from French travellers of 1860 and are given in their own words.

4. **"Mêmes sacrifices chez certaines peuplades mahométanes."** Gaume's polemical aside against Islam is left as printed.

5. **Dr. Boudin.** Jean-Christian Boudin (1803–1867), army physician and anthropologist; the articles on human sacrifice appeared in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* (Bonnetty), 1861.

6. **The *Voyage* of M. Pépin "1802".** The date probably should be 1862 (Pépin, naval physician, *Voyage*…), as the article is of 1861–62.

Chapter XXI. (Another Continuation of the Preceding)

A new trait of parallelism between the religion of the City of Good and the religion of the City of Evil: the eating of the victim. — Anthropophagy: its cause. — Letter of a missionary of Africa: the story of a human sacrifice with the eating of the victim. — Other testimonies. — Anthropophagy among the ancients: proofs. — Another trait of parallelism: sacrifice commanded by God and by Satan. — Proofs from reason. — Testimony of Eusebius. — Satan's tyranny in obtaining human victims: passages of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and of Diodorus Siculus.

It is not only in the institution of sacrifice that the king of the City of Evil counterfeits the king of the City of Good: he apes him again in the circumstances that accompany it and in the mysterious inspiration that commands it. We know the purifications, the abstinences, the preparations which, in the City of God, have always preceded the offering of sacrifice. We know likewise the transports of joy, the songs, the dances, the sacred music which accompanied it among the ancient people of God, as well as the gladness and pomp with which the new people accompany it on the great solemnities. It is needless to prove that all this is found again intact, though disfigured, in the City of Evil. The fact is

known to anyone who has the slightest notion of pagan antiquity (1). There is another that seems to us to demand a particular explanation. Of all the conditions of sacrifice, the most universal, because it is the most important, is participation in the victim by eating. We have seen that this eating is material, moral or figurative. In imitation of the true God, Satan wants it for himself. As he demands human victims, he often demands of his worshippers participation in the abominable sacrifice by a real eating. Hence anthropophagy.

1. See, among others, *Theatrum magnum vitæ humanæ*, art. *Sacerdotes.*

That anthropophagy in general is due to a satanic inspiration, it is, as it seems to us, easy to prove by a peremptory argument. Anthropophagy is a fact. Every fact has a cause. The cause of anthropophagy is natural or supernatural. Natural, if it is found in the instincts of nature or in the lights of reason. Now the instincts of nature so little carry man to eat man that, in a besieged city, for example, or on a ship deprived of every means of subsistence, it is only in the last extremity, and with extreme repugnance, that man decides, to save his life, to feed on the flesh of his fellow. In its lights, reason finds nothing that commands, that approves, much less that glorifies such an action. What do I say? It barely succeeds in excusing it. Thus there is no one who does not feel a sentiment of horror in reading in history the happily rather rare facts of anthropophagy, even when they seem commanded by circumstances. One pities, one deplores; but applaud, never. If the cause of anthropophagy is not natural, it is therefore supernatural. There are two supernaturals, the divine supernatural and the satanic supernatural. Is it in the first that we find the cause of anthropophagy? Evidently not: God condemns it. Unless we admit an effect without a cause, it remains to attribute it to the second, that is, to the eternal enemy of man. It is he, in fact, who is its inspirer, he whose infernal malice perverts all the instincts of nature, extinguishes all the lights of reason, to the point of making man find his pleasure in an act which is the complete overthrow of all divine and human laws. We shall return to this fact. For the moment we must occupy ourselves with anthropophagy considered as the obligatory appendix of sacrifice.

Antiquity shows it practised among the Bassareans, a people of Libya. “They had,” says Porphyry, “imitated the sacrifices of the Taurians, and ate the flesh of the men sacrificed. Who does not know that after these odious meals they fell into fury against themselves, biting one another, and that they did not cease to feed on blood until those who had first (the demons) introduced these sorts of sacrifices had destroyed their race (1)?” Under the same form it has been found among most of the savages of the New World; it is still practised in Oceania and in central Africa. Forced

1. *De abstin.*, Book II, 1, 56, and Didot edition, p. 45. [The reference is to Porphyry, *De abstinentia*; the passage is 2.55–56.]

to restrict ourselves, we shall relate only one example. On 18 October 1861 one of our missionaries, come to Paris after twelve years’ residence on the western coast of Africa, told us, and later was kind enough to write us, what follows: “It was in the month of September 1850. I was myself on the spot where the sacrifice took place of which I am about to speak to you. It is to be remarked that this is not an isolated fact, but such sacrifices are of very frequent usage.

“The victim was a fine young man, taken from a neighbouring tribe. For fifteen days he was tied by the feet and hands to a tree trunk in the midst of the huts of the village. Knowing the fate that awaited him, this unfortunate made, during the night of the fourteenth to the fifteenth day, a supreme effort to free himself from his bonds: he succeeded. Distracted, he arrived before daybreak at a French post. No one understanding his language, he was taken for a fugitive slave, and he was handed over without difficulty to the negroes who, having set out in pursuit of him, were not long in claiming him. Led back to the village, the sacrifice was decided for that very day, which was a Friday: it took place in the accustomed manner.

“The victim is bound and seated on a stone, by way of altar, in the centre of a great square. Around the square, pots full of water are set on hearths. A noisy band, accompanied by numerous tom-toms, occupies one end of the square, and awaits the signal. The population of the village and of the neighbouring villages, often to the number of three or four thousand persons, dressed in their festal clothes, ranges itself in a circle around the victim. It is the amphitheatres of the Romans in miniature.

“At the signal given, the music, the tom-toms, the vociferations of the crowd fill the air with an infernal noise: it is the announcement of the sacrifice. The sacrificers approach the victim, armed with bad knives, and begin their atrocious ministry. According to the rites, the victim must be dismembered alive, and by the

joints. They begin with the right hand, which is detached from the arm by cutting the joint of the wrist. From there they pass to the left foot, which is cut off below the ankle; then they come to the left hand and the right foot. From the wrists they pass to the elbows, from the elbows to the knees, from the knees to the shoulders, from the shoulders to the thighs, always alternating, until there remains only the trunk, surmounted by the head. Thus was my unfortunate young man immolated.

"As they fall, the members of the victim are carried to the cauldrons full of boiling water. The operation is ended by cutting, or rather sawing off the head, which is thrown into the middle of the square. Then begins a spectacle of which nothing could give even a feeble idea. The spectators seem seized with a diabolical fury. To the sound of a frightfully discordant music, to the noise of inhuman vociferations, the women dishevelled, the men disfigured by I know not what magical intoxication, give themselves up to dances, or rather to frightful contortions. The infernal round has no other rule than the obligation for each dancer to give, while dancing and without stopping, a kick to the head of the victim, which is thus made to roll over every part of the square, and to seize with a knife, in passing the cauldrons, a piece of flesh, eaten with the voracity of the tiger.

They believe thereby to appease the angry fetish."

In a palliated form, religious anthropophagy shows itself in the banquets that follow victory. Man so well understands that he is directed by beings superior to himself, that, without distinction of races, climates or civilization, all peoples celebrate happy events, such as successes won in war, by religious feasts. Christian nations offer their God in sacrifice and sing the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving. The sacrifice of man is the Eucharist of those who are not Christian, and the eating of human flesh the *Te Deum* of the anthropophage: here the facts abound. "Before their conversion the inhabitants of the Gambier Islands were in continual war. They were anthropophagi to such a degree that once, after a bloody struggle between two parties, an enormous heap of corpses having been raised, the conquerors devoured them in a great feast which lasted eight days (1)." Those of the Fiji archipelago never lay down their arms. "Everything that falls into the hands of the conqueror," write the missionaries, "is on the spot massacred, roasted and devoured. There is now a struggle, or rather a butchery of this kind, between Pau and Reva, where every day scenes of cannibalism worthy of ferocious beasts are renewed. Immense canoes go from one shore to the other, laden with dead bodies, of which each party makes homage to its bloodthirsty divinities before carrying them to the oven… In certain islands insult is added to cruelty. The head of the victim is cut off; it is perfumed with oil; its hair is combed

1. *Annales*, etc., no. 143, p. 299.

with symmetry, and, when the body is roasted, it comes to take its place again on the table of the feast (1)." "At Viti-Levu, when the season of public feasts arrives, some dish or other is always awarded as a prize of skill to the victor. When we landed it was the roasted body of an unfortunate Vitian. I had been invited to take part in the feast. You guess the reason of my refusal. Moreover, in this island and in those nearest to it, meals of human flesh are very frequent. To celebrate any event at all remarkable, the king is accustomed to serve to his friends the members of one of his unfortunate subjects (2)."

1. *Id.*, no. 115, p. 509. (2) *Annales*, etc., no. 82, p. 198.

From this point of view religious anthropophagy is much older than one thinks. No people practised it with more effrontery and on a greater scale than the Romans. What were, in the last analysis, the gladiatorial combats, the bloody games of the amphitheatre, but vast banquets of human flesh? As among savages, they were given to thank the gods for some victory. Thus the same spirit that ordained them formerly commands them today: there, under the name of Mars or Jupiter; here, under the name of Fetish or Manitou. The Oceanian eats his victims with his teeth, whereas the Roman devoured them with his eyes and savoured them with delight. The Oceanian is an uncultivated savage, the Roman was a polished savage. But in the one as in

the other we find the naturally inexplicable thirst for human blood (3).

3. To believe that anthropophagy was unknown to the peoples of the ancient world would be an error. Until the ninth century it reigned in China, in Pegu, in Java and among the peoples of Indo-China. Those condemned to death and prisoners of war were killed and devoured: pasties of human flesh were served. Letter of M. de Paravey, *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, vol. VI, 4th series, p. 162.

"Seen through Christian Rome," says M. L. Veuillot on this subject, "ancient Rome at once inspires disgust. These great Romans, these masters of the world appear no more than lettered savages. Is there among the cannibals anything more atrocious, more abominable or more abject than most of the religious, political or civil customs of the Romans? Does one see there a more unbridled luxury, a more infamous cruelty, a more stupid worship? What difference even of form can be pointed out between the Fetish and the god Lar? What difference between the chief of an anthropophagous horde who eats his conquered enemy, and the patrician who buys conquered men that they may fight and kill one another at banquets (1)?"

1. *Parfum de Rome. — Le sot païen*, vol. I, p. 22 [Louis Veuillot, *Le Parfum de Rome*, 1862, which includes the chapter "Le sot païen"; the page is as printed].

One sees that between the circumstances which accompany sacrifice in the City of Good and in the City of Evil the parallelism is complete. It is not less so in the mysterious inspiration that commands it. We have shown that, from no point of view, does the idea of sacrifice logically find itself in human nature. Yet it is there; it is there everywhere; it is there from the origin of the world. It comes therefore from outside. The facts confirm the reasoning. What do the Annals of the City of Good say, the Old and the New Testament? In the immense variety of sacrifices offered under the Mosaic law, they tell you that there is not one whose order did not come from a divine oracle. They tell you that, in the evangelical law, the august sacrifice, substituted for all the ancient

sacrifices, is a divine revelation. God has spoken, and man sacrifices. That is what happens in the City of Good. For an analogous reason the same thing takes place in the City of Evil. Satan has spoken, and man sacrifices. His word is all the more certain in that man sacrifices his fellow. He sacrifices him in every part of the globe: the word of Satan is therefore universal. He sacrifices him in spite of the liveliest repugnances of nature: the word of Satan is therefore absolute, threatening. He sacrifices him wherever the true God is not adored: the Jew himself, as soon as he abandons Jehovah, falls into Moloch and sacrifices to him his sons and daughters. Human sacrifice is therefore neither the effect of imagination, nor the result of a logical deduction, nor a matter of race, climate, epoch, civilization or local circumstances: it is a matter of worship. Thus, in the City of Evil as in the City of Good, every sacrifice rests on an oracle: here again history consecrates logic (1).

1. It has been sought to explain human sacrifice by saying: "Man imagined that the nobler the victim, the more agreeable it was to the Divinity. This reasoning gave rise to human sacrifice." *Man imagined*! That is soon said. This reasoning, or rather this imagination, supposes that the idea of sacrifice is natural to man. Now that is false, as we have proved. Man could not have imagined the sacrifice of a chicken: how did he imagine the sacrifice of his fellow? *Man imagined*! but when did this imagination come to him? how is it found among all peoples who do not adore the true God? how is it found only there? how does it disappear with the worship of the great Murderer? *Man imagined*! the only imaginary thing in all this is the reasoning of those who, through ignorance or through fear of the supernatural, have imagined such an explanation.

"Human sacrifices," says Eusebius, "must be attributed to the impure spirits who conspired our

ruin. It is not our voice, it is that of those who do not share our beliefs that will render homage to the truth. It is that which loudly accuses the perversity of the times that preceded us, when the superstition of unhappy mortals, evidently goaded and inspired by the demons, had come to the point of abjuring all natural

sentiments, believing to appease the impure powers by the shedding of the blood of the dearest beings and by innumerable human victims. The father immolated to the demon his only son; the mother her beloved daughter; kinsmen slaughtered their kinsmen; citizens, their fellow-citizens and table-companions, in cities and in the country. Transforming the sentiments of nature into an unheard-of ferocity, they showed evidently that a demoniacal frenzy had seized upon them. Greek and barbarian history offers innumerable examples of it (1)."

1. *Præp. evang.*, Book 4, ch. 15.

The voice of which Eusebius speaks is that of the pagan authors. After having named a great number, he adds: "I shall still cite another witness of the bloodthirsty ferocity of these demons, enemies of God and of men: it is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a writer thoroughly versed in Roman history, which he has embraced entire in a work made with the greatest care. The Pelasgians, he says, remained but a short time in Italy, thanks to the gods who watched over the Aborigines. Before the destruction of the cities, the earth was ruined by drought, no fruit came to maturity on the trees. The wheat that managed to germinate and flower could not reach the season when the ear forms. Fodder no longer sufficed for the nourishment

of the cattle. The waters lost their salubrity; and, among the springs, some dried up during the summer, others for ever.

"A like fate struck domestic animals and men. They perished before being born, or soon after their birth. If some escaped death, they were afflicted with infirmities or deformities of every kind. To crown their woes, the generations which had reached full development were a prey to diseases and mortalities that exceeded all calculations of probability.

"In this extremity the Pelasgians consulted the oracles to know what gods were sending these calamities, for what transgressions, and finally by what religious acts they might hope for their cessation. The god gave this oracle: *In receiving the goods you had asked for, you have not rendered what you had vowed to offer; but you retain the most precious.* In fact, the Pelasgians had vowed to offer in sacrifice to Jupiter, to Apollo and to the Cabiri the tithe of all their produce.

"When this oracle was reported to them, they could not understand its sense. In this perplexity one of their old men said: *You are completely mistaken if you think the gods make you unjust demands. It is true, you have faithfully given the first-fruits of your riches (1); but the share of the human generation, the most precious of all to the gods, is still owing. If you pay this debt, the gods will be appeased and will restore their favour to you.* Some considered this solution perfectly

1. Offering of first-fruits and tithes: another trait of parallelism.

reasonable; others, as a trap. Accordingly it was proposed to consult the god to know if, in fact, it suited him to receive the tithe of men. They therefore deputed a second time sacred ministers, and the god answered in the affirmative. Soon difficulties arose among them about the manner of paying this tribute. The dissension took place first among the chiefs of the cities; then it broke out among all the citizens, who suspected their magistrates. Whole cities were destroyed; a part of the inhabitants deserted the country, not being able to bear the loss of the beings dearest to them and the presence of those who had immolated them. Nevertheless the magistrates continued to exact the tribute rigorously, partly to please the gods, partly for fear of being accused of having concealed victims, until at last the race of the Pelasgians, finding their existence intolerable, dispersed into distant regions (1)."

1. *Multæ propterea migrationes, quæ Pelasgum gentem varias in terras, longe lateque deportarunt.* [Many migrations in consequence, which carried the Pelasgian nation into various lands, far and wide.] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book I.

To this testimony let us be content to add that of another historian no less grave. “After the death of Alexander of Macedon and in the lifetime of the first Ptolemy,” writes Diodorus of Sicily, “the Carthaginians were besieged by Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily. Seeing themselves reduced to the extremity, they suspected Saturn of being against them. Their suspicion was based on this, that in former times, being accustomed to immolate to this god the children of the best families, they had later had children bought clandestinely, whom they raised to be sacrificed. An inquiry took place, and it was discovered that several of the children immolated had been substituted.

“Taking this fact into consideration, and seeing the enemies encamped under their walls, they were seized with a religious terror for having neglected to render the traditional honours to their gods. To repair this omission as soon as possible, they chose, by vote of the suffrages, two hundred children of the best families, whom they immolated in a solemn sacrifice. Then those whom the people accused of having defrauded the gods gave themselves up, offering their children spontaneously. There were about three hundred (1).”

1. *Primum quidem eximios communibusque lectos suffragiis adolescentes, omnino ducentos, publice immolarunt. Deinde vero alii præterea, qui violatæ religionis suspecti vulgo essent, ultro sese ac sponte obtulerunt, trecentis haud pauciores.* [First, indeed, they publicly immolated chosen youths selected by common vote, two hundred in all. Then others besides, who were commonly suspected of violated religion, offered themselves of their own accord, not fewer than three hundred.] Book 20.

The terrible power that demanded the sacrifice of children commanded all the other bloody or obscene practices of the pagan cults. Let us listen to another unsuspected revealer of the abominable mystery. “The feasts,” says Porphyry, “the immolations, the unlucky days and those consecrated to mourning, which are celebrated by devouring raw meats, tearing one’s limbs, imposing mortifications on oneself, singing and doing obscene things, with clamours, violent tossings of the head and impetuous movements, are addressed to no god, but to demons, to turn aside their wrath, and as an alleviation of the very ancient custom of immolating human victims to them.

“With regard to these sacrifices, one cannot admit that the gods demanded them, nor suppose that kings or generals offered them spontaneously, either by giving their own children to others to be sacrificed, or by devoting and immo-

lating them themselves. They wished to shelter themselves from the wrath and the transports of terrible and malevolent beings, or to satisfy the frenzied loves of these vicious powers, who, desiring it, could not unite bodily with their victims. As Hercules besieged Oechalia for the love of a young virgin, so the strong and violent demons, wishing to enjoy a soul still encumbered in the bonds of the body, send to cities plagues and barrenness, cause wars and intestine divisions to arise, until they have obtained the object of their passion (1).”

1. *Et quemadmodum Œchaliam Hercules virginis amore commotus obsedit, ita sævi plerumque ac truculenti dæmones, humanæ animas corporis adhuc vinculis impeditæ consortium expetentes, pestilentiam, annonæque penuriam civitatibus immittunt, easque bellis ac seditionibus infestas habent, donec optatis amoribus potiantur.* [And as Hercules, moved by love of a virgin, besieged Oechalia, so cruel and truculent demons, desiring the fellowship of human souls still hindered by the bonds of the body, send pestilence and scarcity of corn on cities, and keep them harassed with wars and seditions, until they obtain their desired loves.] In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 4, ch. 4.

Like the sacrifice itself, the mode of the sacrifice was prescribed by the oracles. Nothing proves better the presence of the infernal Spirit than the manner in which the abominable murder of all that man holds dearest was accomplished. There existed at Carthage a colossal statue of Saturn in bronze. It had its hands extended and inclined toward the earth. At its feet was a gulf full of fire. The child placed on the arms of the idol, held by nothing, slid into the gulf, where it was consumed to the sound of songs and of musical instruments (2).

Under different names this homicidal statue existed in the East and in the West, among the Jews and among the Gauls.

2. Diodorus Siculus, *ibid.*, etc., etc.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXI

1. **Missionary letter.** The 1861 account of the Friday sacrifice on the West African coast is Gaume's own interview with the missionary in Paris (18 October 1861); I keep its racial vocabulary ("les nègres", "fétiche") as written.

2. **Gambier, Fiji, Viti-Levou.** Reports in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (nos. 82, 115, 143); "Pau and Reva" are Fijian polities (Bau and Rewa), and "Viti-Levou" is Viti Levu.

3. **Louis Veuillot, *Le Parfum de Rome* (1862).** The quoted passage is from his chapter "Le sot païen"; Gaume's footnote has a mangled page number.

4. **Eusebius, Porphyry, Dionysius, Diodorus.** Quoted through Eusebius's *Præparatio evangelica*; the Latin footnotes follow Eusebius's Latin version, and the French renderings are Gaume's.

5. **"Mal à l'aise"?** No: the line "L'homme s'est imaginé!" is Gaume's refutation of the *euhemerist* explanation of human sacrifice; I preserve the italics.

Chapter XXI bis. (End of the Preceding)

Existence of divine oracles and of satanic oracles, proved by the fact of sacrifices. — Words of Eusebius. — A new trait of parallelism. — The Holy Spirit, permanent oracle of the City of Good; Satan, permanent oracle of the City of Evil. — Satan makes use of everything in order to speak. — He is not content with the sacrifice of the body; out of hatred for the Incarnate Word, he wants the sacrifice of the soul. — He demands infamies and ignominies: general proofs. — When he cannot kill man, he disfigures him. — General tendency of man to deform himself physically. — Explanation of this phenomenon. — One people alone is an exception, and why. — Another trait of parallelism: to make man like Himself, God shows Himself to him in pictures and statues. — To make man like himself, Satan employs the same means: what his representations preach.

[The edition repeats the number XXI in this chapter's heading; the table of contents numbers it "XXI *bis*". The chapters that follow are therefore numbered XXII–XXXIII.]

Unless one denies all historical certainty, the two facts just read are crushing for the deniers of the oracles. They are so, not only because of the gravity of the authors who report them, but also by their connection with a multitude of other facts equally certain. To retain the slightest doubt on the universal existence of demoniacal oracles, and on the frightful authority of their orders, one must have reached a set determination to deny that borders on stupidity. Does not the whole history of the civilized world rest on the certainty of a satanic oracle? A hundred

times in Scripture do we not see the consulting of oracles? A hundred times do these oracles not ask of the Jews, as of the Canaanites, the immolation of their sons and daughters? Let a single page of profane history be cited that does not affirm the existence of oracles among all the pagan peoples of former times, that does not affirm it still among all the pagan peoples of today. Among the innumerable practices, ridiculous, infamous or cruel, which defile their existence, is there a single one which they do not refer to the prescription of their divinities? On this point, if history confirms reason, faith in turn explains history. Implacable rival of the Incarnate Word, Satan wishes to be held for God. The sign of divinity is the worship of *latria*. [*latrie*: the supreme worship due to God alone, as distinct from *dulia*.] The supreme act of the worship of latria is sacrifice. The means of obtaining sacrifice is to command it. The means of commanding

it is the oracle. Immutable in evil, Satan has always wished to pass for God, he will always wish it. Therefore he has always wished, and always will wish, for sacrifice. Therefore, under one name or another, there have always been and there will always be oracles, wherever the ape of God can exercise his empire.

"Nothing proves better," says Eusebius, "the hatred of the demons against God than their rage to pass themselves off as Gods, in order to take away from Him the homage that is due to Him. That is why they employ divinations and oracles, to draw men to themselves, to tear them from the supreme God and to plunge them into the bottomless abyss of impiety and atheism (1)."

1. *Præp. evang.*, Book 7, ch. 16; see also St. Thomas, I, q. 115, art. 5, ad 3. [The *Summa* question on the power of heavenly bodies and demons over human actions is I, q. 115; I leave the reference as printed.]

It is not only in the things of religion and when it is a matter of sacrifice that the King of the City of Evil wishes to be consulted. He wishes it and he is so in things of the purely social and human order. It is a new trait of the parallelism already remarked. We know that before undertaking anything important the ancient people of God had orders to consult the oracle of the Lord: *os Domini* [the mouth of the Lord]. The Gospel has changed nothing in this prescription. Do we not see the new people of God, the Catholic Church, faithful in imploring the lights of the Holy Spirit, in order to know, in important circumstances, what it is fitting to do and the manner of doing it? As long as they were Christian, did the nations of the East and of the West not turn to the sovereign Pontiff, living oracle of the Holy Spirit, to ask him for rules of conduct, begging him to decide between the true and the false, between the just and the unjust? What is that but to consult the oracle of the Lord: *os Domini*. In their private life, Catholics themselves who have preserved faith in the necessary relations of the higher world with the lower show themselves religious observers of this practice. What is that, finally, but to consult the oracle of the Lord: *os Domini*.

It is quite evident that a usage so well fitted to obtain the confidence and homage of men Satan must have counterfeited to his profit: before having the proofs, one has the certainty. What do we see, in fact, among all the pagan peoples? Oracles that are consulted on matters of war and peace, on public calamities and domestic sorrows, on marriages, on commercial undertakings

and on illnesses. These oracles are so respected that the proudest generals dare not take the field without having questioned them. They are so numerous that Plutarch did not fear to write this celebrated saying: "It would be easier to find a city built in the air than a city without oracles (1)." For all the peoples of antiquity the existence of satanic oracles was therefore an article of faith and the basis of religion. As to the manner in which they were given, however strange it may appear, it has nothing that should astonish, nothing that touches the certainty of the phenomenon. As the body is under the power of the soul, which makes it move and speak; so the material world in all its parts is subject to the world of spirits, and particularly of the evil spirits who are called its moderators and governors: *rectores mundi tenebrarum harum* [the rulers of the world of this darkness; Eph. 6:12]. Hence, to give their oracles, everything serves them: a serpent or a piece of wood, as in Scripture; a table, as is seen in Tertullian; a man or a woman, as is seen in Sacred History and in profane history; an oak, as is seen in Plutarch; a bronze statue, like the statue of Memnon; a fountain, like that of Colophon or of Castalia; a bean, a grain of wheat, the entrails of an animal, a goat, a raven, as is seen in Clement of Alexandria and in twenty pagan authors (2). "Nothing," adds Porphyry, "is more evident, nor more

1. See also *Theatrum magnum vitæ humanæ,* art. *Oracula.*

2. *Fascinationis veluti negotiationis sociæ habeantur capræ ad divinandum informatæ, nec non corvi illi, quos ad responsa reddenda homines (les médiums) erudiere.* [Let goats trained for divining be reckoned as it were the partners in a business of enchantment, and those ravens too, which men (the mediums) have taught to give responses.] *Exhort. ad Græc.*, etc., etc. [The words in parentheses are Gaume's.]

divine, nor more in nature than these oracles (1).”

1. *His, nihil evidentius, nihil aut cum divinitate, aut cum ipsamet natura conjunctius dici queat.* [Than these, nothing can be said more evident, nothing more closely joined either to divinity or to nature itself.] In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 5, ch. 8.

However, abominable as it is, the sacrifice of the body, so many times commanded by the oracles, is not enough for the demon. His hatred demands another still more abominable: it is the sacrifice of the soul. As he inspires the first, he inspires the second. In the City of Good the final aim of sacrifice, as of all religious practices, is to repair or perfect in the soul the image of God, so that, rendered like to its creator, it may enter at the moment of death into possession of the eternal felicities. To strip the soul of its native beauty by stripping it of its holiness, that is, to efface in it the last traces of likeness to God, so that on leaving life it may become the eternal victim of its corrupter: such is the diametrically contrary aim of the King of the City of Evil. With the same tyranny with which he demands the shedding of blood, he demands the profanation of souls. Our pen refuses to describe the moral hecatombs accomplished by his orders in every part of the globe, as well as the revolting circumstances with which the prince of darkness surrounds them. Ignominies and infamies: these two words sum up his public or secret worship.

Ignominies. Do you see Satan, master of these immortal souls, living images of the Incarnate Word, forcing them to prostrate before him, not under the figure of a Seraph, resplendent with light and beauty; but under the figure of all that is ugliest and most repulsive in nature? Crocodile, bull, dog, wolf, goat, serpent, amphibious

animals, animals of land and sea, under all these forms he demands homage, and he obtains it. This long gallery of monstrosities does not suffice him. To drag man into deeper ignominies he invents a new one. Under his inspiration the East and the West, Egypt, Greece, Rome, all the places where the human race breathes, have seen the towns and the countryside, the temples and the private dwellings, peopled with monstrous figures unknown in nature. Hideous beings, half women and half fish, half men and half dogs, women with hair of serpents, men with goats’ feet, women with the head of a bull, men with the head of a wolf, serpents with the head of a man or of a hawk, grotesques and Buddhas, having for head a sugar-loaf, for mouth a frightful rictus running from one ear to the other, for belly a barrel, all in attitudes ridiculous, menacing or cynical: it is to these gods, multiform incarnation and long sneer of the malign Spirit, that trembling man must offer his incense and ask favours.

Infamies. At what price will the incense be received? On what conditions will favours be granted? Let it be asked of the mysteries of Ceres at Eleusis; of the good goddess at Rome; of Bacchus in Etruria; of Venus at Corinth; of Astarte in Phoenicia; of Mendes in Egypt; of the temple of Cnidus, of Delphi, of Claros, of Dodona, and of certain others that we abstain from naming: in a word, let it be asked of all the dark sanctuaries where, like the tiger awaiting its prey, Satan night and day awaits innocence, modesty, virtue, and immolates it without pity, with refinements of infamy which the Christian no longer suspects

and which the pagan himself would never have invented (1). What Satan did among all the pagan peoples, he did among the Gnostics, their heirs: he still does it, as to the substance, among the modern sectarians, subject more directly to his empire. Let us listen to the account of what has been going on, for a long time, in America, the classic land of rapping spirits and great mediums. In the month of September, when the crops have been gathered, the Methodists have the habit of holding night meetings which last a whole week. An announcement is made in the newspapers, so that each faithful may be duly warned and be able to profit by the graces which the *Holy Spirit* lavishes on these occasions. A vast site is chosen in the midst of the forests; the meeting takes place in the open air and in the silence of the night. The sectaries are seen arriving by all ways and in every conceivable vehicle; men, women, children, all hasten to the rendezvous. The place of the meeting is ordinarily oval in shape. At one end a platform is built for the preachers; they are always

numerous. This species is unfortunately not lacking in America. On each side, in a horseshoe, tents are pitched, and behind them are placed the carriages and horses. All around, on posts, are lamps or torches that cast a livid glow. The centre is empty. It is there that the people stand during the meeting. Toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening, at the given signal, the ministers mount the platform; the people run up, stand or sit on the grass.

1. Clement of Alexandria, *Exhort. ad Græc.*; and Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 4, ch. 16. — M. de Mirville, *Pneumatologie*, etc., vol. III; second Memoir, p. 346 *et seq.*

A minister begins a few prayers, then declaims a short speech: it is the preamble. Several others follow in succession and seek to heat up enthusiasm. Soon the scene grows animated and takes a strange aspect. One of the ministers strikes up in a slow and grave voice a popular song (1); the crowd accompanies in all keys: then the minister swells his voice and goes ever *crescendo*, accompanying his song with the most eccentric gestures. The Sibyl was not more tormented on her tripod. They sing, they declaim in turn, and the enthusiasm increases. This lasts for whole hours; the excitement ends by reaching a point of which it is impossible to give an idea. Among other exclamations that are heard to ring out, let us cite this one: *In the New Jerusalem we shall have coffee without money and old wine. Hallelujah!* Soon all this crowd that fills the enclosure mingles, jostles, the whole amid cries, dances, groans and bursts of laughter. *The spirit comes! the spirit comes!* Yes, it does come indeed; but it must be an infernal spirit, to judge by these contortions, by these howlings. It is then a pell-mell, a hubbub worthy of a madhouse. [*petites-maisons*, the old Paris asylum, hence any madhouse.] The men beat their breasts, sway like Chinese grotesques, or execute evolutions like dervishes. The women roll on the ground, hair dishevelled. The young girls feel themselves lifted into the air and are in fact carried away by a supernatural force. Meanwhile the ministers, who seem given over to the same folly, continue to sing and to thrash about like possessed persons: it is complete confusion,

1. It is the *carmen*, in use in all evocations. [Latin *carmen*, a chant or incantation.]

a chaos… away with modesty, morality: everything is pure for these energumens. God forgives all. Shame and infamy upon the blind leaders of a blind people!… The stars of the firmament shed a soft light on this frightful picture; at times the wind roars in the forest, and the torches make men appear like shadows. The night passes in this way. In the morning all this crowd lies inert, exhausted, worn out. The day is given to rest, and the following night they begin again (1).

1. History of a meeting of 1863, extracts from the American newspapers.

That is what is done in the Puritan sect of the Methodists. Who would dare to relate what takes place among the Mormons? We are therefore entitled to repeat it: to pursue the Incarnate Word in man, His brother and His image; to pursue Him by aping, in order to ruin him, all the means divinely established to save him; to pursue Him without respite and in every part of the globe; to pursue Him with a hatred that goes as far as the murder of the body and of the soul: such is the sole occupation of the King of the City of Evil. If he does not always attain this last result, he always tends to it: when it is not given him to destroy the image of the Word, he disfigures it. In default of a complete victory, he aims at a partial success.

This luminous principle of Christian philosophy brings us face to face with a very remarkable fact, hitherto little remarked in itself, and not at all studied in its cause. We mean the general tendency of man to disfigure himself. We should say universal, if one people alone, which we shall name presently, were not an exception. Before occupying ourselves with the cause, let us ascertain the phenomenon.

The mania of disfiguring or deforming oneself physically is met with everywhere. It is needless to add that it is peculiar to man; whatever it be, the animal is exempt from it. If we run through the different parts of the globe,

we find at all epochs and on a vast scale the following deformations: deformation of the feet, by compression; deformation of the legs and thighs, by ligatures; deformation of the waist, by the corset; deformation of the chest and arms, by tattooing; another deformation of the chest, arms, legs and back, by hideous excrescences of flesh, resulting from incisions made by means of shells; deformation of the nails, by colouring; deformation of the fingers, by the amputation of the first phalanx. Deformation of the chin, by depilation; deformation of the mouth, by the piercing of the lower lip; deformation of the cheeks, by piercing and by colouring; deformation of the nose, by flattening of one or the other extremity, by piercing the septum, with suspension of a large metal plate, or the exaggerated lengthening resulting from a vertical compression of the walls; deformation of the ears, by means of pendants which lengthen them to the shoulder (1); deformation of the eyes, by colouring or by the pressure of the frontal bone, which makes them

1. “On feast days the women of Easter Island put in their earrings. They begin early to pierce the lobe of the ear with a pointed piece of wood; little by little they push the wood in further, and the hole enlarges. Then they introduce a little roll of bark, which, acting as a spring, uncoils and dilates the opening more and more. After some time the lobe of the ear has become a thin strap which falls on the shoulder like a ribbon. On feast days an enormous roll of bark is introduced: it is of perfect grace!” — As perfect as the modern chignon. *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, [vol. I, p. 23].

start out of their sockets; deformation of the forehead by obscene characters, engraved in red with sandalwood; deformation of the skull, under the action of various compressions which make it take in turn the conical, pointed, domed, round, trilobed, flattened, square form; general deformation by paint, by cosmetics and by ridiculous fashions: that is the phenomenon (1). What spirit suggests to man that he is not well as God made him? Whence comes to him this imperious mania of deforming, in his own person, the work of the Creator? To give as cause the jealousy of some, the coquetry of others, is not to resolve the difficulty: it is to push it back. The question is to know what principle inspires this brutal jealousy, this repulsive coquetry; why both proceed by deformation, that is, in the sense opposed to beauty, and how they are found in every part of the globe. If we do not wish to pay ourselves with words and to have the secret of the enigma, we must recall two things equally certain: the first, that man was made, in his body and in his soul, in the image of the Incarnate Word; the second, that the aim of all the efforts of Satan is to make the image of the Incarnate Word disappear from man, in order to form him to his own. These two incontestable truths lead logically to the following conclusion: *The general tendency of man to disfigure himself is the effect of a satanic manoeuvre.*

1. For the authorities and the names of the peoples, see the work of Dr. L. A. Gosse of Geneva entitled *Essai sur les déformations artificielles du crâne*, Paris, 1855; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, no. 98, p. 75.

Several facts, the meaning of which is

not equivocal, come to confirm this conclusion. 1° Certain peoples positively recognize in these deformations the influence of their gods. “As for the Australian women,” writes a missionary, “it is less the taste for adornment than the idea of a religious sacrifice that leads them to mutilate themselves. When they are still of tender age, the tip of the little finger of the left hand is bound with threads of spider’s web; the circulation of the blood being thus interrupted, at the end of a few days the first phalanx is torn off, which is dedicated to the boa serpent, to the fishes or to the kangaroos (1).” It is the same with frontal deformation by colouring. Its character of revolting obscenity accuses another cause than man’s jealousy or woman’s coquetry. 2° The part of the body most universally and most deeply deformed is the brain. Whence comes this preference? From the point of view of demoniacal action it is easy to understand the motive. The brain is the principal instrument of the soul. To alter it is to alter the whole man. Now this deformation has for its result to hinder the development of the intellectual faculties, to favour the brutal passions and to degrade man to the level of the beast (2). 3° Among all peoples, one people alone, mingled with all peoples, escapes this tendency: it is the Jewish people. Invested with a providential mission, of which its identity is the letter of

credit, it must be eternally recognized as Jewish, and Satan has not permission to disfigure it. “As exempt from

1. *Annales*, etc., no. 98, p. 96. (2) Gosse, pp. 149, 150. — In several parts of France and of Europe, frontal deformation still takes place today. *Ibid.*

deformation I shall cite this little Jewish nation, which has played so remarkable a part in humanity, and whose type has been preserved pure from the most remote times (1).” 4° The more nations are strangers to the influence of Christianity or of the Holy Spirit, the more general is the tendency to deformation; on the contrary, the more Christian they are, the more it diminishes. “In speaking of the inhabitants of Colombia, M. Duflot de Mofras remarks that where Catholicism has been introduced the deformation has ceased (2).” It disappears completely among true Catholics, the saints, priests, religious men and women.

1. Gosse, p. 16. (2) Gosse, p. 9.

To deform man, in order to efface in him the image of God, is not enough: we have added that at any price Satan wishes to make him in his own. Here again a new trait comes to be added to the constant parallelism we have observed. In the City of Good the most eloquent and the most popular image of God is the crucifix. Therefore the crucifix is the obligatory image of man here below. Universal mortification of the flesh and of the senses, absolute empire of the soul over the body, boundless devotion, detachment from temporal things, resignation, gentleness, humility, constant aspiration toward the realities of the future life: is not this the whole of man the traveller? And that is the crucifix. Hence this definition of life given by the Council of Trent: Christian life is a continual penance, *vita christiana, perpetua pœnitentia.* [The phrase is quoted from the Fathers and the Council’s teaching on penance rather than as a canon of Trent; I give it as printed.] By his images the King of the City of Evil also defines life; but he defines it in his own way. Not one

of the innumerable statues under which he presents himself to the homage of men but is an appeal to some passion. Several times we have visited the galleries of Florence, the museums of Rome and of Naples, the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. We have seen the gods of Oceania; others have seen for us the temples of Tibet, the pagodas of India and China. Now the thousands of images, emblems, statues, ancient and modern, which encumber those places, so different in age and in destination, repeat, each in its own way, the seductive word which ruined man in the earthly paradise: *Enjoy*; that is: forget your destinies, forget the end of life, adore your body, despise your soul, degrade yourself, deform yourself; let the image of the crucifix be effaced from your brow, from your thoughts and from your acts, so that you may be the image of him whom you adore, the Beast.

One might easily continue, under the religious aspect, the parallel history of the two Cities; but it is time to sketch their history under the aspect, no less instructive, of the social order.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXI *bis*

1. **Numbering.** The chapter is printed “XXI” in its heading and carries the *bis* in the table of contents; see the note to Ch. XXI. The following chapter in the file series is Ch. XXII.

2. **“Le singe de Dieu.”** *Simia Dei*.

3. **Latria.** The worship due to God alone; Gaume’s argument runs: sacrifice is the supreme act of latria; Satan wants latria; hence he commands sacrifice, and he does so through oracles.

4. **Methodists and Mormons.** The American camp-meeting description is taken from French press extracts “of 1863.” The hostile characterization is Gaume’s (and the newspapers’); it should be read as polemic of a Catholic writer of 1864, not as a description of Methodist practice.

5. **Physical deformations (Gosse, 1855).** Gaume’s argument is drawn from Dr. L. A. Gosse’s *Essai sur les déformations artificielles du crâne* (Geneva, 1855); the claim that “the Jewish type is preserved pure,” and

that Christianity ends deformation, is Gosse's/Gaume's. The remarks about peoples and about the Jews are period views, translated as written.

6. **The "chignon" aside** (note to Easter Island): "Aussi parfaite que le chignon moderne" is Gaume's own joke at the fashion for chignons in the 1860s.

Chapter XXII. The Social History of the Two Cities

Parallelism of the two Cities in the social order. — To constitute the City of Good in the social state, the Holy Spirit Himself gives it its laws through the ministry of Moses. — The founders of pagan peoples receive their laws from the King of the City of Evil. — Testimony of Porphyry. — The peoples of the high East receive their laws from the serpent-god with the hawk's head. — Lycurgus receives those of Sparta from the serpent Python. — Numa those of Rome from the ancient serpent, under the figure of the nymph Egeria. — Rome founded by the direct inspiration of the demon: passage of Plutarch. — The laws of Rome, worthy of Satan by their immorality: passage of Varro and of Saint Augustine.

The parallelism of the two Cities, of which we have just presented a slight sketch in the religious order, is found again in the social order: it cannot be otherwise. By the very nature of things, religion has been, among all peoples, and always will be, the soul of society: it inspires its laws, gives form to its institutions and regulates its morals. It dominates it and gives it the impulse, as the soul itself dominates the body, all of whose organs it sets in motion. Now in the City of Good the Holy Spirit is, beyond dispute, the master of religion. This religious kingship therefore assures to Him, at least indirectly, the social kingship. There is more: it is acquired for Him by direct means.

Let us open history. Leaving aside primitive times, we come to the epoch when, the faithful race being numerous enough to leave the domestic state, God makes it pass to the state of nation. Nothing is more solemn than the manner in which He consecrates this new existence of humanity. The sovereign Legislator wishes the City of Good to know that its constitution and its laws came down from heaven, and that it should never forget it. On the summit of Sinai, where He Himself is present, enveloped in redoubtable darkness, He calls Moses. In a long tête-à-tête He communicates to him His thoughts. Stooping down to the last details of the regulations and ordinances which are to give the nation its political, civil and domestic form, He leaves nothing to the caprice of man. So that in the course of time no one may be tempted to substitute, at any point whatever, his will for the divine will, the charter is engraved by the Holy Spirit Himself on tables of stone. Carefully preserved, respectfully consulted, these tables will be the oracle of the nation and the source of its life. Thus, in the social order as in the religious order, the City of Good will be, in the full extent of the word, the City of the Holy Spirit. To the exclusion of every other, He will be its God and king, the king reigning and governing.

In opposition to the City of Good, Satan builds the City of Evil. Let us see with what fidelity this eternal ape employs, to raise his edifice, the means that God employed to construct His. It is on the summit of Sinai that Moses receives from God Himself the constitution of the Hebrews. As a counterfeit of this great event, Satan wishes the first founders of the empires of which the City of Evil is composed

to be in intimate commerce with him. He reserves to himself the dictation of their constitutions and laws. He wishes it to be known, in order that they may be respected, not as a human lucubration, but as a divine inspiration. We see, in fact, the first legislators of the pagan peoples affirm with a unanimous voice that their laws came down from heaven and that it is from the very mouth of the gods that they received them. Who has the right to give them the lie? After what we know of the religious inspirations of Satan, how deny the possibility of these social inspirations? Who can do more can do less. Besides, the facts betray the cause. Whence come the legal crimes that defile all the pagan codes, without exception? What spirit authorized, even commanded, divorce, polygamy, the murder of the child and of the slave, cruelties toward the debtor

and the prisoner of war? Who erected the reason of the strongest into the law of nations? Who inscribed on the bronze tables of the Capitol the long nomenclature of civil and political iniquities, the very name of which still makes one blush? If it is not the Holy Spirit, it is the evil Spirit. In politics as in religion there are for man only these two sources of inspiration.

But let us hear history. The most ancient traditions teach us that in the East, in Persia, in Phoenicia, in Egypt, in all the places neighbouring the earthly paradise, the demon in the form of the serpent had himself adored not only as the supreme God, but as the Prince of legislators, the source of right and of justice. "The Phoenicians and the Egyptians," says Porphyry, "have deified the dragon and the serpent… The first call it

Agathodaemon, the good genius, and the second name it Kneph. They add to it a hawk's head, on account of the energy of that bird. Epeis, the most learned of their hierophants, says word for word what follows: *The first and most eminent divinity is the serpent with the hawk's head. Full of grace, when he opens his eyes he fills with light the whole extent of the earth; if he happens to close them, darkness falls* (1)." Thus, in the social order as in the religious order, all light comes from the serpent-god, the greatest of the gods. The ancient legislator of the Persians, Zoroaster, is still more explicit. "Zoroaster the magus," continues Sanchoniathon, "in the sacred ritual of the Persians, expresses himself in these terms: *The god with the hawk's head is the prince of all things, immortal, eternal, without beginning, indivisible, without peer, rule of all good, incorruptible, the excellent of the excellent, the most sublime thinker of thinkers, the father of laws, of equity and of justice, owing his science to himself alone, universal, perfect, wise, sole inventor of the mysterious forces of nature* (2)."

1. *Taautus quidem draconis serpentiumque naturæ divinitatem aliquam tribuebat; quam ejus opinionem Phœnices et Ægyptii postea comprobarunt… atque illud animal Phœnices Bonum Dæmonem, Ægyptii vero Gnephum similiter nuncuparunt, eidem caput accipitris, ob præcipuam quamdam hujus volucris agendi vim, addiderunt. Quin etiam Epeis ille, qui summus ab iis sacrorum interpres et scriba nominatur… sic ad verbum allegorice rem istam exposuit: Unus omnium maxime divinus erat serpens ille, qui accipitris formam præ se ferebat, idemque aspectu jucundissimus: quippe enim, ubi oculos aperuisset, continuo primigeniæ suæ regionis loca omnia luce complebat: sin autem conniveret, illico tenebræ succedebant.* [Taautus attributed a certain divinity to the nature of the dragon and of serpents; which opinion the Phoenicians and Egyptians afterwards confirmed… and that animal the Phoenicians called the Good Daemon, the Egyptians likewise Kneph, adding to it the head of a hawk, on account of a certain special vigour of action in that bird. Indeed that Epeis, who is called by them the chief interpreter and scribe of sacred things… expounded the matter word for word allegorically: One of all most divine was that serpent which bore the form of a hawk, and was also most pleasant to look upon: for when he had opened his eyes he at once filled with light all the places of his primeval region; but if he closed them, darkness at once ensued.] Porphyry from Sanchoniathon, in Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 1, ch. 10.

2. *At vero Zoroastres magus in sacro Persicorum rituum commentario, hæc totidem verbis habet: Deus autem est accipitris capite, Princeps omnium, expers interitus, sempiternus, sine ortu, sine partibus, maxime dissimilis, omnis boni moderator, integerrimus, bonorum optimus, prudentium prudentissimus. Legum, æquitatis ac justitiæ parens, se tantum præceptore doctus, naturalis, perfectus, sapiens, et sacræ vis physicæ unus inventor.* [But the magus Zoroaster, in the sacred commentary of the Persian rites, has these words: God has the head of a hawk, Prince of all, without destruction, eternal, without origin, without parts, most unlike (all else), governor of every good, most upright, best of the good, wisest of the wise. Parent of laws, equity and justice, taught by himself alone as teacher, natural, perfect, wise, and sole discoverer of the force of sacred nature.] *Ibid.*

Let us leave the high East, cradle of all the great traditions, and descend into Greece. When Lycurgus wishes to become a legislator, it is of the same god, that is, of the serpent, that he goes to ask the famous laws of Lacedaemon. He betakes himself to Delphi, a place celebrated throughout the world for its oracle. Scarcely

has Lycurgus touched the threshold of the temple when the serpent Python (1) says to him through the organ of his priestess: “Thou comest, O Lycurgus, into my temple fattened with victims, thou, the friend of Jupiter and of all the inhabitants of Olympus. Shall I call thee a god or a man? I hesitate; but I rather hope thou art a god. Thou comest to ask me for wise laws for thy fellow-citizens: I shall give them to thee willingly (2).” May we be forgiven for profaning the names: Delphi is the Sinai of the ancient serpent, seducer of the human race (3); Lycurgus is his Moses. Sparta and the other republics of Greece, Rome herself, which borrowed from Lacedaemon a part of their

1. Like the oriental serpent, the serpent Python is a being without analogue in nature; he is represented as an enormous monster, a frightful prodigy. Ovid calls him the great Python, unknown serpent, the terror of the peoples. Though apparently killed by Apollo, it was always he who, under the name of Apollo, gave the oracles. Ovid, *Metam.*, Book I, v. 438.

2. *Quoniam ex iis Pythii oraculis, quæ Græcorum omnium vocibus maxime celebrantur, unum etiam illud est, quod Lycurgo sese consulenti Pythiam edidisse ferunt, his verbis comprehensum: Tu modo nostra subis in pinguia templa, Lycurge, Omnibus o Superis, Superum o carissime Patri, Te divumne, hominemve vocent oracula nostra; Ambigimus: Divum, ut spes est, dixisse licebit, Æqua tuis nos jura rogas; damus illa libenter.* [Since among those Pythian oracles which are most celebrated by the voices of all the Greeks, there is also this one, which they say the Pythia delivered to Lycurgus consulting her, comprised in these words: “Thou enterest now our rich temple, Lycurgus, dear to all the Gods, dearest to the Father of the Gods; whether our oracles should call thee god or man we doubt: a god, as is my hope, I shall be able to call thee; thou askest of us just laws for thine own; we give them willingly.”] Porphyry in Eusebius, Book 5, ch. 27.

3. It was the religious hearth of the pagan world; hence Ovid calls it *umbilicum orbis* [the navel of the world].

laws, form his people. On his return to Sparta, Lycurgus has the oracle of Delphi precious preserved in the sacred archives of the city, as Moses himself the tables of the law in the ark of the covenant (1). The parody is complete. Such is, by the report of the pagans themselves, the origin of a legislation which, since the Renaissance, Christians make their children admire! In the *Life of Theseus*, founder of Athens, Plutarch takes care to remark that this legislator too did not fail to take counsel of the serpent Python. But let us leave Greece and come to Rome. Here is the mysterious city which, by the irresistible growth of its power, will absorb the greater part of the world, and of all the empires founded by Satan will form only one empire, of which it will be the capital.

1. See Plutarch, *Discourse against Colotes*, ch. 17. [The reference to Plutarch’s *Against Colotes* is as printed.]

What was, on the foundation of Rome, the influence of the legislator-serpent? It is easy to foresee that it must be here more marked than anywhere else: the foresight is not chimerical. Even before it exists, Satan begins by declaring that this city will be his, and he takes possession of it in the most solemn manner. By his orders, priests initiated into his most secret mysteries are summoned from Tuscany to accomplish the ceremonies with which the future capital of his empire is to be founded. “Romulus,” says Plutarch, in the old French of Amyot, [Gaume quotes the sixteenth-century translation by Jacques Amyot; I render the sense in plain English] “having buried his brother, set himself to build and found his city, sending for men from Tuscany, who named and taught him point by point all the ceremonies he had to observe, according to the formulas they have for them, neither more nor less than if it were some mystery or some sacrifice.

“So they first made a round pit, in the place now called the Comitium, into which they put the first-fruits of all things; then they also threw in a little earth from the land whence each of them had come, and mixed all together: this pit in their ceremonies is called the World. Around this pit they traced the enclosure of the city they wished to build, neither more nor less than one would describe a circle about a centre.

"This done, the founder of the city takes a plough, to which he fixes an iron share, and yokes to it a bull and a cow, and himself driving the plough round the whole enclosure, makes a deep furrow, and those who follow him have the charge of turning inward, into the city, the clods of earth the share of the plough turns up, and not leaving one turned outward. At the place where they intended to make a gate, they lift the share and carry the plough, leaving a space of land unploughed. Whence it comes that the Romans reckon the whole circuit of the walls holy and sacred, except the gates. For if they had been sacred and sanctified, it would have been matter of conscience to bring in and carry out of the city through them any things necessary to the life of man, which are nevertheless not pure (1)."

1. *Life of Romulus,* ch. 11.

Such was the foundation, full of satanic superstitions, of the city of Rome. And the Romans of the Renaissance did not blush to celebrate its anniversary with religious feasts!

If Romulus is the founder of the material city,

Numa, his successor, is regarded, with reason, as the founder of the moral City. Satan could not have chosen better. We say chosen, for it was by the grace of Satan himself that Numa was king of Rome. Before relating to those who do not know it this very significant fact, it is well to make known the antecedents of Numa. "After the death of his wife," writes Plutarch, "Numa, leaving the dwelling of the town, loved to keep to the fields, and to go walking all alone through the woods and the meadows sacred to the gods, and to lead a solitary life in places remote from the company of men. Whence proceeded, in my opinion, what is said of him and of the goddess: that it was not for any weariness nor for any melancholy that Numa withdrew from the conversation of men, but because he had tried another, holier and more venerable company, the nymph and goddess Egeria having done him the honour of receiving him as husband (1)." Whatever may be of this marriage and of other similar ones whose reality, by the report of the same Plutarch, high antiquity admitted (2), it remains that the first legislator of Rome had, like the two oracles of pagan philosophy, Socrates and Pythagoras, his familiar demon. We shall see that to this dark commerce Numa owed his kingship and Rome her laws. Let us listen again to Plutarch. "Numa having accepted the kingdom, after having sacrificed to the gods, set out

1. *Life of Numa,* ch. 4. — *Sed ut adanguem redeamus, ne adeo mirum sit eum voluptatis et libidinis habere significatum: legimus apud Plutarchum, serpentem Ætoliæ amasium puellæ.* [But to return at last, let it not be so surprising that it has a meaning of pleasure and lust: we read in Plutarch of a serpent of Aetolia, the lover of a girl.] Pierius, *Hieroglyph.*, Book 13, p. 148, folio ed., Lyons, 1610. (2) See in Saint Augustine and in all the great theologians the question *de incubis.*

for Rome. Then were brought to him the marks and insignia of royal dignity, but he himself commanded that they should wait yet, saying that he must first be confirmed king by the gods. He took the diviners and priests, with whom he went up to the Capitol, and there the chief of the diviners turned him toward the south, with his face veiled, and stood behind him, holding his right hand on his head, and praying the gods that it might please them, by the flight of birds and other signs, to declare their will concerning this election, casting his eyes on all sides as far as they could extend.

"There was meanwhile a marvellous silence in the square, though all the people in infinite number were assembled there, awaiting with great devotion what would be the issue of this divination, until there appeared to them on the right hand birds of good omen, which confirmed the election. And then Numa putting on the royal robe, descended from the Capitol into the square, where all the people received him with great shouts of joy, as the holiest and best-beloved of the gods that they could have chosen (1)." King by the grace of the demon, Numa became, like Lycurgus, like Theseus, like the other founders of pagan empires, a legislator under the inspiration of the same Spirit. Already the rudiments of legislation which Romulus had given the Romans came from the same source. Very skilful in commerce with the demons, *optimus augur,* as Cicero

calls him, he had composed a part of them; the rest he had borrowed from the Greeks, who, as we have seen, were indebted for them to the legislator-serpent (2).

1. *Life of Numa*, ch. 7. (2) *Ferias solemnesque conventus et statas a laboribus vacationes, ac cetera id genus ex optimis quibusque Græcorum hominum ritibus instruit.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. Antiq.*, Book 11 [sic], on Romulus.

But for Rome, his city of predilection and the future capital of his empire, an indirect inspiration was not enough for Satan. He himself in person wished to dictate her laws: Numa was his Moses. This personage, whom we should call today a medium, openly practised hydromancy. Known from all antiquity and so many times condemned by the Church, this kind of magic consists in making on still or running water invocations and concentric circles, in the midst of which the demon appears in visible form and gives oracles (1). Apuleius relates this celebrated fact of hydromancy. “I remember,” he says, “having read in Varro, a philosopher of great erudition and a historian of great exactitude, that the inhabitants of Tralles, anxious about the success of the war against Mithridates, had recourse to magic. A child appeared in the water, who, with face turned toward an image of Mercury, announced to them in a hundred and sixty verses what was to happen (2).” Such was the means employed by the legislator of Rome. “Numa,” writes Saint Augustine, “who had for inspirer neither a prophet of God nor a good angel, had recourse to hydromancy (3).” He went to the edge

1. Delrio, *Disquisit. magic.*, Book 4, ch. 11, sect. 3. (2) *Apolog.*, p. 801 [as printed].

2. *Nam et ipse Numa, ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus sanctus angelus mittebatur, hydromantiam facere compulsus est, ut in aqua videret imagines deorum, vel potius ludificationes dæmonum, a quibus audiret quid in sacris constituere atque observare deberet. Quod genus divinationis idem Varro a Persis dicit allatum, quo et ipsum Numam, et postea Pythagoram philosophum usum fuisse commemorat: ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos sciscitari… his tamen artibus didicit sacra illa Pompilius, quorum sacrorum facta prodidit: quarum causarum proditos libros senatus incendit. Quid mihi dicit Varro, illorum sacrorum alias nescio quas causas velut physicas interpretatur; quales si libri illi habuissent, non utique arsissent.* [For Numa himself, to whom no prophet of God, no holy angel was sent, was compelled to practise hydromancy, that he might see in the water the images of the gods, or rather the mockeries of demons, from whom he might hear what he ought to establish and observe in the sacred rites. Which kind of divination the same Varro says was brought from the Persians, and which he records that Numa himself and later the philosopher Pythagoras used: where, with blood applied, they also inquire of the dead… By these arts, nevertheless, Pompilius learned those rites, the reasons of which he put in writing: books which the senate burned when they were made public. What Varro tells me, he interprets the reasons of those rites as certain physical ones; and if those books had contained such, they would certainly not have been burned.] *City of God*, Book 7, ch. 35.

of a solitary fountain that is still shown and performed the customary practices. Then, under the figure of a young girl who took the name Egeria, the demon dictated to him the different articles of the religious and civil constitution of Rome, and explained to him their motives. Now the motives of this code, become, by the conquests of the Romans, as it were the gospel of antiquity, were of such a nature that Numa, king as he was, never dared to make them known. To this human fear was joined a divine fear, which threw the royal medium into the greatest perplexity. On the one hand, in publishing the infamies which the Serpent had dictated to him, he feared to make execrable, even to the pagans themselves, the civil theology of the Romans; on the other, he did not dare to destroy them, dreading the vengeance of him to whom he had given himself. He therefore took the course of having this monument of obscenity buried near his tomb. But a ploughman, passing with his plough, brought it out of the earth. He carried it to the praetor, who submitted it to the senate, and the senate ordered it burned. Such was the respectable origin of the religious and civil legislation of Rome. The useful and sensible things it contains are a ruse of him who sometimes tells the truth only the better to deceive (1).

1. *City of God*, Book 7, chs. 34 and 35.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXII

1. **Numbering.** Chapter XXII, file v1_ch23 (the offset is due to the *bis* chapter).

2. **Plutarch in Amyot's French.** Gaume quotes the sixteenth-century translation (Jacques Amyot, 1559) for the *Life of Romulus* and the *Life of Numa*; its archaic French ("ès", "icelles", "pourpris") is rendered in plain modern English with the same sense. The enclosure of the founding pit (*mundus*) and the ploughed furrow (*sulcus primigenius*) are standard Roman foundation ritual.

3. **Porphyry/Sanchoniathon/Eusebius.** The passages on the serpent-god with a hawk's head are quoted by Eusebius from Porphyry's account of Sanchoniathon (Philo of Byblos); the Latin follows Eusebius's Latin text and is given in sense.

4. **"Les Romains de la Renaissance."** Gaume's polemic against the classical (humanist) education, which he attacked in *Le ver rongeur des sociétés modernes* (1851); the same theme runs through several chapters.

5. **Augustine, *De civitate Dei* VII, 34–35.** Numa's buried books, found in 181 BC and burned by order of the Senate, are in Livy XL, 29; Augustine's text is given in the Latin and sense.

Chapter XXIII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Numa, ape of Moses. — A new trait of parallelism: the Holy Spirit, permanent guardian of the social laws of the City of Good. — Satan, in the form of the serpent, permanent guardian of the social laws of the City of Evil. — Serpent-god, adored everywhere: in the East, at Babylon, in Persia, in Egypt, in Greece; the Bacchantes; at Athens, in Epirus, at Delos, at Delphi: description of the oracle of Delphi. — At Rome, the serpents of Lavinium. — The serpent of Epidaurus, in the island of the Tiber. — Worship of the serpent in the Gauls and among the peoples of the North. — Universality of this worship in pagan antiquity. — Its cause. — The serpents of the time of Augustus. — The Vestals. — Serpents of Tiberius, of Nero, of Heliogabalus. — Of the Roman ladies.

As regards the inspiration of laws, nothing is lacking, in the future capital of the City of Evil, to the parody of Sinai. It will continue in their promulgation, as well as in the sensible and permanent presence of the primitive legislator in the midst of his people, whether to secure their observance or to give their authentic interpretation. Everyone knows with what apparatus of religious ceremonies, sacrifices and solemn purifications Moses proclaims the law received from heaven in the mysterious conversation on the mountain. He acts in this way only by divine inspiration. His evident aim was to render the law respect-

able, to have it received with religious submission and practised with constant fidelity. Inspired by Satan, Numa resorts to the same means. To get himself and his laws accepted by the Romans, we see him, according to Plutarch, make use of the help of the gods, of solemn sacrifices, feasts, dances and frequent processions, "which he himself celebrated, in which, with the devotion, there was pastime and delight mingled. Sometimes he put before their eyes the terrors of the gods, making them believe that he had seen some strange visions, or heard voices by which the gods threatened them with some great calamities, in order always to bring down their hearts under the fear of the gods. Thus the pretence in which Numa clothed himself was the love of a goddess, or of a mountain nymph, and the secret interviews and parleys which he feigned to have with her, and also the frequenting of the Muses; for he said he held from the Muses the greater part of his revelations (1)."

1. *Life of Numa*, ch. 8 [the Amyot translation of ch. 4 and 8].

That Numa did all these things, no one doubts. But that all these things were only juggling, as Plutarch seems to insinuate, that is another question. First, Varro, the most learned of the Romans, and Saint Augustine, the

most learned of the Fathers of the Church, affirm positively the contrary. Next, Plutarch gives no proof of his assertion. Finally, Plutarch contradicts himself. Did he not, in a known work, proclaim the truth of the oracles? What, besides, is a juggling that no one has perceived? How is the same juggling found again among all peoples? And how did all peoples take a juggling for a reality? To resolve these questions in a non-Catholic sense is to deny history and revelation. But to deny history and revelation is to deny light and to condemn oneself to brutishness.

Let us pass to another trait of parallelism. The Lord is not content with giving His law. He Himself makes Himself its guardian and interpreter. With this view He remains in the midst of His people in a sensible and permanent manner. Israel knows that He is there, invisible but vigilant guardian, oracle ever ready to answer. If a serious difficulty arises, in any matter whatever, it is of the Lord that the solution is asked. Must a city be attacked, a war undertaken, a treaty signed? It is again to Him that they address themselves. He Himself indicates the means of obtaining success, the thanksgivings to be rendered to Him and the punishments to be inflicted on the violators of His law.

The legislator-Serpent imitates all this in the City of Evil. He is the guardian and interpreter of his law, as Jehovah of His. As the God of the Tabernacle and of the Temple always recalls, by His redoubtable majesty, the God of Sinai, Satan, by the sensible form under which he shows himself, is careful to recall the conqueror of the earthly Paradise. Always ready to give oracles, he inspires by turns fear and confidence, decides peace and war, indicates the means of success and marks the sacrifices of thanksgiving or of expiation that he demands. His people know it; and, in important circumstances, they do not fail to have recourse to him to obtain light and protection. The philosophy of the history of the pagan peoples is written in these lines. To the warp

let us join the woof, and we shall have the complete fabric.

Among all the strange facts recorded in the annals of the human race, we do not know if there is one stranger than that of which we are about to recall the memory. Besides the thousand different forms under which the pagan peoples of former times and of today have honoured the demon, all have adored him under the privileged form of the serpent, living serpent, serpent in flesh and bone, serpent giving oracles; and that, not once, but always. Already, as we have seen: for the peoples of the high East, neighbours of the earthly Paradise, the Persians, the Medes, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians, the great God, the supreme God, the father of laws, the oracle of wisdom, was the serpent with the hawk's head. To him the finest temples, the choice priests, the chosen victims, the solution of difficult questions. The centuries had made him lose nothing of his glory and authority. In the time of Daniel his worship had been preserved in all its splendour. The celebrated temple of Bel, built in the midst of Babylon, served as sanctuary to an enormous serpent, which the Babylonians surrounded with their adorations (1). At the summit of this temple of colossal proportions appeared the statue of Rhea. This statue of gold, made with the hammer, weighed 100 talents, about 31,000 kilograms. Seated on a golden chariot, the goddess had at her knees two lions, and beside her two enormous silver serpents, each of the weight of 30 talents, about 330 kilo-

1. *Et erat draco magnus in loco illo, et colebant eum Babylonii… Tulitque Daniel picem, et adipem, et pilos, et coxit pariter: fecitque massas, et dedit in os draconis, et diruptus est draco.* [And there was a great dragon in that place, and the Babylonians worshipped him… And Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and boiled them together: and he made lumps, and put them into the dragon's mouth, and the dragon burst asunder.] Dan. 14:22 *et seq.*

grams (1). These monstrous figures announced from afar the presence of the living serpent and the gigantic idolatry of which he was the object.

[Gaume's weights are inconsistent: if 100 talents are about 3,100 kg, 30 talents are about 930 kg; his "31,000 kg" and "330 kg" are evidently slips for "3,100" and "930". I translate as printed and flag this.]

For the ancient Persians, the great God was the serpent with the hawk's head. Adored in turn as genius of good and as genius of evil, in this latter respect he was the cause of all the evils of humanity. Tradition gave him the name of Ahriman. This monster, after having fought heaven at the head of a mob of evil genii, leaps upon the earth in the form of the serpent, covers the face of the world with venomous animals, and insinuates himself into all nature. The Chinese traditions trace the origin of evil back to the instigation of a superior intelligence, revolted against God and clothed in the form of the serpent. Tchi-seou is the name of this dragon. Finally, when Japan paints for us the scene of creation, it borrows the image of a vigorous tree around which a serpent coils (2)."

1. Diodorus of Sicily, *Hist.*, Book 2, ch. 9. (2) G. des Mousseaux, *Les hauts phénomènes de la magie*, Paris, 1864, 8vo, p. 45.

Egypt offers us, trait for trait, the same God and the same worship. "The symbol of Cnouphis, or *the soul of the world*," says M. Champollion, "is given in the form of an enormous serpent, mounted on human legs, and this reptile, emblem of the good Genius, the true Agathodaemon, is often bearded. Beside this serpent the Egyptian monuments bear the inscription: *Great God, supreme God, lord of the upper region* (3)." Long before Champollion, Aelian, speaking of the religion of the Egyptians, had said: "The venerable and sacred serpent has in it something divine, and it is not good to find oneself in its presence. Thus at Metelis, in Egypt, a serpent dwells in a tower where it receives divine honours. It has its priests and its ministers, its table and its cup. Every day they pour into its cup honey-water mixed with flour, and withdraw. Coming back the next day, they find the cup empty.

3. *Panthéon égyptien*, text 3 and Book 2, p. 4.

"One day the oldest of these priests, impelled by the desire to see the Dragon, enters alone, sets the table of the god and goes out of the sanctuary. At once the Dragon arrives, mounts on the table and makes his meal. Suddenly the priest opens with a crash the doors which, according to custom, he had taken care to close. The enraged serpent retires; but the priest, having seen, to his misfortune, him whom he desired to see, goes mad. After having confessed his crime, he loses the use of speech and falls dead (1)." The celebrated Anastasi papyrus, recently discovered in Egypt, confirms the assertions of Aelian, of Clement of Alexandria and of Champollion. It says: "The great name of the serpent is to be invoked only in absolute necessity and when one has nothing to reproach oneself with. After some magical formulas, *THERE WILL ENTER A GOD WITH A SERPENT'S HEAD WHO WILL GIVE THE ANSWERS.*" That the demon can give death, it is enough to prove it to recall, in sacred antiquity, the example of the children of Job; in profane antiquity, the passage where Porphyry avows that the god Pan, however good he was, often appeared to the cultivators in the middle of the fields, and that one day he had caused nine of them to perish, so struck with terror were they by

1. Aelian, *De natur. animal.*, Book 11, ch. 17, Didot ed. 1858.

the resounding sound of his voice and by the sight of this formidable body that dashed forward with violence (1). The testimony we have cited, of the Bishop of Manchuria, establishes that among modern pagans Satan has lost nothing of his homicidal power. As to that mad priest dismissed for having seen his God, he recalls in so striking a manner the prohibition of Jehovah and the death of the Bethshemites, that there is scarcely need to point out the parody. The usurper of the Divinity has his ark of the covenant; he wishes to be respected in it, like Jehovah in His: and, like Jehovah, he strikes with death the rash man who dares to lift his eyes to him.

1. In Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, Book 5, ch. 6. [The reference to "the Bishop of Manchuria" is to an account cited earlier in the work (not in the pages I have translated), of homicidal manifestations among the pagans of Manchuria.]

This redoubtable sanctuary was not, in Egypt, the only dwelling of the Serpent. In this country of primitive idolatry one saw only serpents adored or familiar. Their temples rose on every point of the territory. There, as at Babylon, they were fed with care, adored, consulted. The Egyptians kept them in their houses, looked on them with pleasure, treated them with deference and called them to share their meals. “Nowhere,” says Phylarchus, “was the serpent adored with such fervour. Never did a people equal the Egyptian in the hospitality given to serpents (2).” Consequently the serpent entered into the idea or representation of all divine and human authority. “As a sign of divinity,” says Diodorus of Sicily, “the statues of the gods were surrounded by a serpent; the sceptre of kings, as a sign of royal power; the caps

2. *Phylarchus libro duodecimo in vulgus edidit, aspides ab Ægyptiis vehementer coli, easdem ex eo cultu prorsus mansuescere. Ægyptii in aspidum nationem hospitalissimi*, etc. [Phylarchus, in his twelfth book, published to the world that asps are vehemently worshipped by the Egyptians, and become entirely tame from that worship. The Egyptians are most hospitable to the race of asps.] In Aelian, Book 17, ch. 5.

of the priests, as a sign of divine power (1).” The statues of Isis, in particular, were crowned with a kind of serpents called *thermuthis*, which were regarded as sacred there and to which great honours were paid (2). According to the Egyptians, these serpents were immortal, served to discern good from evil, showed themselves friends of good people and gave death only to the wicked. There was not a corner of the temples without a little subterranean sanctuary destined for these reptiles, which were fed with beef fat (3). Hence the so well-known words of Clement of Alexandria: “The Egyptian temples, their porticoes and their vestibules are magnificently built; the courts are surrounded by columns; precious marbles brilliant with varied colours decorate the walls, so that all is matched. The little sanctuaries glitter with the lustre of gold, of silver, of electrum, of precious stones of India and Ethiopia: all are shaded by veils woven with gold. But if you penetrate to the bottom of the temple, and look for the statue of the god to whom it is consecrated, a pastophor or some other temple employee advances with a grave air, singing a paean

1. Book 5. (2) *Ægyptii basiliscum ex auro conflatum diis circumponunt.* [The Egyptians set a basilisk cast of gold round the gods.] Horus Apollo, *Hierogl.* I, in Pierius. “The serpent was the emblem and the sign of royal power. So the Greeks translated its name by *basiliskos*, a word derived from *basileus*, which means king.” *Panthéon égyptien*, by M. Champollion, Book 2, p. 4. — See, in that work, the representation of the Egyptian gods.

2. *Aspidis genus Thermutin Ægyptii nominant, quam sacram esse aiunt, et summa religione colunt.… In sacris igitur sedibus ad unumque angulum subterranea sacella exædificant, ubi Thermuthes collocant, et bubulum adipem edendum intervallis quibusdam eis objiciunt.* [The Egyptians call a kind of asp *Thermutis*, which they say is sacred, and worship with the highest religion… In the sacred seats, then, at each corner, they build subterranean shrines where they place the Thermuthes, and at certain intervals throw them ox-fat to eat.] Aelian, *De natur. animal.*, Book 10, ch. 31; and Diodorus Siculus, *ubi supra.*

in the Egyptian language, and raises the veil a little, as if to show you the god. What do you see then? A cat, a crocodile, a serpent! The god of the Egyptians appears… it is a frightful beast wallowing on a purple carpet (1).” The learned philosopher might have added: a goat. In fact it is as far as the adoration of

this unclean animal, under the various names of faun, satyr, goat, hairy one, *pilosi*, as Scripture calls him, that Satan had led humanity. “The worship of the goat,” says the learned Jablonski, “was not peculiar to the Egyptian city of Mendes; all Egypt practised it, and all the worshippers had at home the more or less faithful portrait of their god. His principal domicile was none the less at Mendes, a prefecture of which he was the tutelary god. His temple there was as great as it was splendid, and there only was a living and sacred goat. He was placed in the rank of the eight great gods anterior to the twelve others (2),” and honoured by practices that we shall abstain from describing. As Aelian teaches us, cat, goat or crocodile, the principal god was always accompanied by a train of serpents. Egypt was therefore truly the land of the Serpent. He reigned

there, over public life and private life, with a power the extent of which Christianity has put us in the happy impossibility of measuring. Would it be without foundation to attribute the exceptional prodigies reported in Scripture to these relations, more habitual and more intimate than in any country, of the Egyptian mediums with the terrible father of lies?

1. Champollion, *ibid.* [Champollion's text translates Clement's *Protrepticus* IV.] (2) Jablonski, *Panthéon égyptien*, Book 2, ch. 7.

As it is constant that western paganism came from oriental paganism, we should not be surprised to find the solemn worship of the serpent in Greece, in Italy, and even among the peoples of the North. And what a worship, great God! In the bacchanalia its object was to celebrate the primitive alliance of the serpent with the woman. Let us listen to Clement of Alexandria: "In the solemn orgies in honour of Bacchus the priests, who might be said to be stung by a furious gadfly, tear palpitating flesh, and crowned with serpents, call upon *Eva* with vast howlings, Eve, who first opened the door to error. Now the particular object of the Bacchic cults is a serpent consecrated by secret rites. Now if you wish to know exactly the signification of the word *Eva*, you will find that, pronounced with a strong aspiration, *HEVA* means *female serpent* (1)." Ceaselessly recalled, celebrated, figured, accomplished in the initiation into the mysteries of certain cults, this alliance was sung by poetry and recounted by history, which dared not call it in doubt either in itself or in its consequences. As there is nothing new under the sun, and as the religion of Satan always has the same aim, one may affirm that it was in contracting it that young girls became, in pagan antiquity, as today in Africa, priestesses of the serpent (2).

1. …*Et tunc cum orgiorum bacchicorum sit quasi quoddam insigne serpens arcano ritu consecratus; tum vero si accurate vocem hebraicam interpretari velis, Heva, cum aspiratione graviori serpentem femininam significat.* [And since a serpent consecrated with a secret rite is as it were a kind of badge of the Bacchic orgies; then, if you wish to interpret the Hebrew word accurately, Heva, with a stronger aspiration, signifies a female serpent.] *Cohortat. ad Gentes*, ch. 2.

2. *Ipsa novissima sacra et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebadiis nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus coluber in sinum dimittitur consecratis, et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus.* [The very latest rites and the rite of initiation itself, which are called Sebadia, can bear witness to the truth, in which a golden snake is let down into the bosom of the consecrated and drawn out again from the lower parts.] Arnobius, Book 5. — *Jovis facta persequuntur (gentiles) ut matrem Rheam ab ejus nuptiis abhorrentem persecutus sit, eaque in draconam conversa, ipse in draconem transformatus, nodo eam, ut vocant, herculeo constringens, cum ea coierit, cujus concubitus imaginem virga Mercurii significat; deinde vero ut cum filia Proserpina coierit, ex qua filium Dionysium suscepit, cum ei quoque in hac draconis forma vim intulisset.* [The Gentiles recount the deeds of Jupiter: how he pursued his mother Rhea, who shrank from his marriage; and she being turned into a she-dragon, he himself transformed into a dragon, binding her with the so-called Herculean knot, had intercourse with her, the image of which union the rod of Mercury signifies; and then how he had intercourse with his daughter Proserpine, of whom he begot a son, Dionysus, having also done violence to her in this dragon form.] Athenagoras, *Legat.*, n. 20. — See Böttiger, *Sabazius*, vol. I, p. 454; Num. 25:2; and Lampridius in *Hadrian.*

Whatever may be said of these infamies, indicated here to recall to the world the unspeakable degradation to which Satan had led pagan humanity, the infinite gratitude we owe to the redeeming Word, and the profound wisdom of the Church in her anti-demoniacal prescriptions, such was the veneration the odious reptile enjoyed among the Greeks that Alexander made it his glory to have had him for father. Hence it is that his medals represent him in the form of a child coming out of the mouth of a serpent (1). We shall see presently that Augustus boasted of the same origin. No animal has obtained divine honours in Greece, with the sole exception of the serpent. In this land, pretended cradle of civilization, he had a great number of temples. The Athenians always kept a living serpent and regarded it as the protector of their city: parody of Jehovah,

guardian of His people in the ark of the covenant. They attributed to it the virtue of reading the future. That is why they fed familiar ones, in order to have always within reach the prophets and the prophecies (2).

1. *Igitur Alexander magnus gloriari non erubuit Olympiadem matrem a dracone sub specie Jovis Ammonis compressam ex illo se genitum esse. Unde ejus insignia fuere anguis, infantem vix natum et adhuc madentem sanguine ex ore evomens, sicut in veteribus numismatis ejus sigillum reperitur.* [Therefore Alexander the Great did not blush to boast that his mother Olympias, having been embraced by a serpent in the guise of Jupiter Ammon, he was begotten of it. Whence his emblem was a serpent vomiting from its mouth an infant scarcely born and still dripping with blood, as his seal is found on ancient coins.] Camerarius, *Medit. hist.*, part 2, ch. 9, p. 31. — See on this fact curious details in Plutarch, *Life of Alexander.*

2. Pausanias, Book 2, p. 175; and *Dictionnaire de la Fable*, art. *Serpents.*

To continue magnificently this worship, so glorious for wise Athens, Hadrian had built in that city a temple resplendent with gold and marble, whose divinity was a great serpent brought from India (1). We were right then to say it and we shall not cease to repeat it: in the fine days of Greece and even in the time of Hadrian, the civilization of Athens, the metropolis of enlightenment, as they say in the colleges, was below the civilization of Haiti, where, as we shall see presently, the worshippers of the serpent are condemned to death. According to Plutarch the worship of the serpent was practised in Thrace to the point of delirium by the Edonian women. “The mother of Alexander,” he says, “Olympias, loving such divine furies, drew after her in their dances great tame serpents, which often slipped in among the ivy with which the women are covered in such ceremonies, and twisted around the javelins they hold in their hands and the hats they have on their heads: this spectacle frightened men (2).” Their cries were the continual repetition of these words: *Evoe, saboe, hues, attes.* [The Bacchic cry; “saboe” is the cry of Sabazius.] Among the Epirotes the frightful reptile enjoyed the same honours and the same confidence. His sanctuary was a sacred wood, surrounded by walls. A virgin was his priestess. She alone had access to the redoubtable enclosure. She alone could carry food to the gods and question them about the future. According to the tradition of the country, these serpents were born of the serpent Python, Lord of Delphi (3).

1. Dio, in *Hadrian.* (2) *Life of Alexander,* Amyot’s translation. (3) See the *Dictionnaire de la Fable*, and the learned work *Dieu et les dieux*, ch. 1, by M. the Chevalier Des Mousseaux. [Gaume’s printed spelling is “Desmousseaux.”]

At Delos, Apollo was adored in the form of a dragon who gave, in the summer, unambiguous oracles. At Epidaurus the god Aesculapius was a serpent. He was believed to be the father of a race of sacred serpents, of which the Epidaurian colonies took care to carry one individual with them, installing it in their new temple (1). That from the remotest antiquity there was at Delphi a monstrous serpent held for a god, this the first inhabitants of the country affirm. That, according to the fable, this serpent was killed by Apollo, none the less Delphi had become the most celebrated oracular place of the ancient world. In one form or another the ancient Serpent reigned there as master, and from there over all Greece and over a great part of the West. Such was the confidence he inspired that the Greek cities and even foreign princes sent to Delphi their most precious treasures and placed them on deposit under the protection of the Reptile-god. By a new insult to Her who was one day to crush his head, at Delphi as in Epirus, at Lavinium and everywhere, Satan wanted a virgin for priestess: and how he treated her! Young at the beginning, she had later to be, because of the lubricity of the worshippers, of mature age. When the God wished to speak, the leaves of a laurel planted before the

1. *Lucus apud eos Deo sacer est et muro septus, intra quem dracones sunt Deo grati. Huc virgo sacerdos accedit sola, et victum draconibus porrigit. Eos Epirotæ a Pythone delphico prognatos aiunt. Quod si virginem accedentem illi placide adspexerint atque alimenta prompte susceperint, annum fertilem et salubrem significare creduntur; sin et terribiles circa illam fuerint et porrecta a sacerdote cibaria non*

acceperint, contrarium anni futurum statum alii divinant, alii timent. [Among them there is a grove sacred to the God, enclosed with a wall, within which are dragons dear to the God. Hither the virgin priestess comes alone, and offers food to the dragons. The Epirotes say they are descended from the Delphic Python. If they look placidly on the approaching virgin and take the food promptly, they are believed to signify a fertile and healthy year; but if they are terrible about her and do not accept the food offered by the priestess, some divine, others fear, the contrary state of the coming year.] Aelian, Book 11, ch. 2.

temple were shaken; the temple itself trembled to its foundations. After having drunk at the fountain of Castalia, the Pythia, led by the priests, entered the temple, and advanced toward the cavern which was enclosed in the redoubtable sanctuary. Several authors have written that this cavern was always inhabited by a serpent and that at the beginning it was the serpent himself who spoke (1). The orifice supported the famous tripod. It was a machine of bronze composed of three bars, on which the Pythia placed herself in the most indecent manner, in order to receive the prophetic breath (2). Soon something mysterious spread through her entrails, and the fatidic fit began. The unhappy daughter of Eve was no longer mistress of herself and gave all the signs of possession. Her hair bristled; her mouth foamed, her looks became wild; a violent trembling seized her whole body, and it was necessary to hold her by force on the tripod. She made the temple resound with her cries and howlings. In the midst of this extraordinary agitation she uttered the oracles, which copyists wrote on tablets. From these diabolical furies there often resulted the death

1. *Grand dictionnaire de la Fable*, art. *Serpents.*

2. *Pythia vero (cogor enim aliam quoque eorum turpitudinem traducere, quam bonum quidem esset prætermittere, quod indecorum nobis sit talia proferre; ut autem illorum dedecus clarius evadat, necessarium est dicere; ut hinc discatis amentiam, et ridicula gesta eorum qui vatibus illis utuntur): dicitur ergo pythia mulier insidere tripodi Apollinis, divaricatis cruribus. Deinde malum inferne emitti spiritum, et per genitales ejus partes subeuntem, furore mulierem replere, et hanc deinceps passis capillis debacchari et spumam ex ore emittere; et sic temulentam illam furoris verba proferre. Scio vos pudore affectos erubescere hæc audientes: verum illi alta sapiunt ob turpitudinem et insaniam tantam.* [As for the Pythia (for I am compelled to expose another of their shames too, which it would indeed be good to pass over, since it is unseemly for us to speak of such things; but that their disgrace may appear the more clearly, it is necessary to tell, that from this you may learn the madness and ridiculous deeds of those who make use of those seers): the Pythian woman is said to sit on the tripod of Apollo with her legs apart. Then an evil spirit is sent up from below, and entering through her genital parts fills the woman with frenzy, and she thereafter raves with loosened hair and sends foam from her mouth; and so, drunken, utters the words of frenzy. I know that you blush with shame on hearing this: yet they think highly of themselves despite such baseness and madness.] St. John Chrysostom, *In Ep. I ad Cor.*, Homily 29, n. 1.

of the Pythia who, for that reason, had two companions. The infernal scene we have just described took place every month. It lasted for centuries. It was seen by millions of men, among whom figures all that antiquity knows of the gravest and most illustrious (1). From this fact and a thousand others of the same kind, accomplished in all parts of the world, on what ground call in doubt the fabulous success obtained, under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, by the magician Alexander of Paphlagonia? Disciple of Apollonius of Tyana, this medium traversed, like his master, different provinces of the empire, showing a tame serpent which performed a thousand amusing tricks. He gave it out as a god, and a god giving oracles. At this news the inhabitants of Ionia, of Galatia, of Cilicia, the Romans themselves, and even Rutilianus who commanded the army, were seen to run in crowds to the living oracle, to the travelling Python. His answers won him confidence. In these provinces, as in the rest of the earth, people prostrated before the serpent-god; they offered him sacrifices and precious gifts; they raised silver statues to him. The emperor himself wished to see the god. Alexander

1. *Tandem conterrita virgo Confugit ad tripodas, vatisque adducta cavernis Hæsit et insueto concepit pectore numen. Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum Colla ferens, vittasque Dei, phœbeaque serta Erectis discussa comis, per inania templi Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti Obstantes tripodas magnoque exæstuat igne… Spumea tum primum rabies vesana per ora Effluit et gemitus et anhelo clara meatu Murmura: tunc mœstus vastis ululatus in antris Extremæque sonant domita jam virgine voces.* [At last the terrified maiden flees to the tripods, and, drawn to the seer's caverns, she stood fast and received the god in her unaccustomed breast. She raves, frantic, carrying her neck as another's through the cave, and the fillets of the God and Phoebean garlands, shaken from her bristling hair, she whirls through the void of the temple with doubtful neck, and scatters the obstructing tripods as she wanders, and boils with a great fire… Then first the foaming, maddened frenzy flows through her mouth, and groans and murmurs loud with panting breath; then a mournful howling in the vast caves and last words sound when the maiden is now subdued.] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, Book 5; Virgil, Book 6; *Grand dict. de la Fable*, etc., etc.; Strabo, Book 8.

was summoned to court, where he was received with great honours (1). No more than the Greeks, so vaunted for their philosophy, did the Romans, masters of the world, escape the domination of the odious reptile. From the origin they adored the serpent-god, and their homage never belied itself (2). Aeneas, their father, founded near Rome a city called Lavinium, which may be called the grandmother of Rome. Not far from Lavinium was a sacred wood, broad and dark, where, in a deep cavern, dwelt a great serpent (3). Here again it was young girls who were the priestesses of this god. When they entered to give him food they were blindfolded, but a divine spirit led them straight to the cavern. If the serpent did not eat the cakes, it was a proof that the girl who had presented them had ceased to be a virgin, and she was pitilessly put to death (4). As if the perpetual worship of the native serpent had not sufficed, the Romans in difficult circumstances had recourse to a foreign serpent, regarded as more powerful. Thus, in the year 401 [of Rome], their city having been for three years desolated by a plague which nothing could

1. Lucian, *Pseudomantis* [*Alexander the False Prophet*]. (2) *Lanuvium annosi vetus est tutela draconis, Hic ubi Tartareæ non perit hora morae.* [Lanuvium is the old guardianship of an aged dragon, where not an hour of Tartarean delay is lost.] Propertius, *Elegy* to Cynthia. (3) *In Lavinia, oppido Latinorum, quæ quidem Romæ veluti avia nominari posset… Prope Lavinium igitur est lucus magnus et opacus. In luco autem latibulum est, ubi draco*, etc. Aelian, Book 11, ch. 16. (4) *Ibid.*

stop, they consulted the old Sibylline books, *inspectis sibyllinis libris.* They found there that the only means of making the scourge cease was to go and fetch Aesculapius, at Epidaurus, and to bring him to the city. Accordingly a galley is equipped and a deputation, led by Quintus Ogulnius, goes to Epidaurus. When the deputies had presented their request, a great serpent came out of the temple, walked about in the most frequented places of the town, with gentle eyes and a calm gait, amid the religious admiration of all the people. "Soon," continues the Roman historian, "impelled by the desire to occupy the illustrious sanctuary reserved for him, the god hastened his steps and came up on the Roman galley. He chose for his dwelling the very cabin of Ogulnius, coiled himself in manifold circles and gave himself up to the sweetness of a deep repose. The Romans, who had received him with respect mingled with fear, conducted him to Rome. The galley having landed below the Palatine hill, the serpent leapt into the river which he crossed swimming and came to rest in the temple prepared for him, on the island of the Tiber. Scarcely was the god in his sanctuary when the plague disappeared (1)." Lactantius confirms the account of Valerius Maximus and admits the sudden disappearance of the plague, which he attributes without hesitation to the influence of a powerful demon in the form of the serpent of Epidaurus (2).

1. …*Tunc legati perinde atque exoptatæ rei compotes, expleta gratiarum actione, cultuque anguis a peritis accepto, læti inde solverunt… Atque in ripam Tiberis egressis legatis, in insulam, ubi templum dedicatum est, transnatavit, adventuque suo tempestatem, cui remedio quæsitus erat, dispulit.* [Then the envoys, as if masters of the thing desired, having completed their thanksgiving and received from the experts the manner

of worship of the serpent, joyfully set sail thence… And when the envoys had landed on the bank of the Tiber, it swam across to the island where the temple was dedicated, and by its coming dispelled the pestilence for which it had been sought as remedy.] Valerius Maximus, *De Miracul.*, Book 1, ch. 8, n. 2, Lemaire ed., Paris, 1832. — The words of Aurelius Victor are no less explicit: *et pestilentia mira celeritate sedata est* [and the pestilence was allayed with marvellous speed]. [Gaume's "in the year 401" is the Roman year of the city, i.e., 293 BC; the Valerius Maximus passage is as cited.]

2. *Eduntque sæpe Dæmones prodigia quibus obstupefacti homines iidem commodent simulacris divinitatis ac numinis. Inde est quod serpens urbem Romam pestilentia liberavit Epidauro quæsitus. Nam illuc Æsculapius hac ipse in figura sua sine dissimulatione perductus est. Siquidem legati ad eam rem missi draconem secum mirae magnitudinis attulerunt.* [And the Demons often produce prodigies by which men, astounded, lend the same to the images of divinity and godhead. Hence it is that the serpent freed the city of Rome from pestilence, sought from Epidaurus. For there Aesculapius was brought in this very figure without disguise. Since the envoys sent for the purpose brought back with them a dragon of wonderful size.] *De Divin. Instit.*, Book 2, ch. 17.

The first people of the world, the great Roman republic sending a solemn embassy to the Serpent: what eloquence in that single fact, and what a sinister light it casts on pagan antiquity! Even in the epoch of Roman history decorated in the colleges with the name of Golden Age, the worship of the odious reptile had lost nothing of its splendour or its popularity: on the contrary. The Serpent was honoured everywhere, in the temples of the god, in the palace of the emperors, in the boudoir of the ladies, in the houses of simple private persons. Atia, mother of Augustus, having come in the middle of the night, according to the usage practised in the temples of oracles by dreams, to sleep in the temple of Apollo, was touched by the God in the form of a serpent. Her body was marked with the indelible figure of this animal, to such a degree that she dared no longer show herself in the public baths. On account of this fact Augustus pretended to be son of Apollo, and wished his medals to perpetuate the memory of this glorious descent (1). The Vestals had not only the guard of the sacred fire; they were specially charged to

1. *Attiam, cum ad solemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum cæteræ matronæ dormirent, obdormisse, draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam, pauloque post egressum: illamque expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se: et statim in corpore ejus extitisse maculam velut depicti draconis; nec potuisse unquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abstinuerit: Augustum natum mense decimo, et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum.* [Atia, having come at midnight to the solemn rite of Apollo, her litter set down in the temple, while the other matrons slept, fell asleep; a serpent suddenly crept to her, and a little after departed: and she, awaking, purified herself as if from her husband's embrace: and at once there appeared on her body a mark like a painted serpent, which could never be removed, so that she soon abstained for ever from public baths: Augustus was born in the tenth month, and on this account was held to be the son of Apollo.] Suetonius, *Aug.*, ch. 94. — On the reverse of his silver medals Augustus had Apollo engraved, with this inscription: *Cæsar divi filius.* — We have seen it with our own eyes.

guard a sacred serpent, venerated as the tutelary genius of the city of Rome. They brought him his food every day, and prepared for him a great feast every five years. These pagan virgins had also under their guard another idol which modesty does not permit to name: an infamous idol which was taken out of the temple of Vesta, on days of triumph, to be suspended from the chariot of the triumphers. So that the aim of Satan was to lead poor humanity to the last degree of cruelty and shamelessness. He had attained it: and we are told of the beautiful antiquity (1)! Heliogabalus therefore did nothing new, nothing that was of a nature to surprise the Romans, still less to shock them, when he had Egyptian serpents brought to Rome in order to adore them as good genii (2). Tiberius had his familiar serpent which followed him everywhere and which he fed himself with his own hand, *manu sua.* During his retirement at Capri it took him one day into his head to see Rome again. He was no more than seven miles from that capital when he asked for his serpent to give it food, *quum*

ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus. Now the serpent had been devoured by ants; and the oracle consulted, having declared this accident an ill omen, the emperor took the course of returning at once to Capri (1).

1. Paulinus, *adv. Pagan.*, v. 143; Döllinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, French translation 8vo, vol. 1, p. 105; — *Romæ quidem quæ ignis filius inextinguibilis imaginem tractant, auspicia pœnæ suæ cum ipso Dracone curantes, de virginitate censentur.* [At Rome indeed those (women) who handle the image of the inextinguishable fire's son, attending to the auspices of their punishment with the Dragon himself, are judged concerning their virginity.] Tertullian, *ad Uxor.*, Book 1, ch. 6, p. 325, Pamelius folio ed.; *id., de Monogam.* — [Tertullian is obscure; Gaume cites it for the Vestal serpent.] *Quoquam illos religione tutatur et Fascinus, imperatorumque, non solum infantium custos, qui Deus inter sacra Romana a vestalibus colitur, et currus triumphantium sub his pendens, defendit medicus invidiæ.* [Everywhere religion also protects them with the Fascinus, guardian not only of infants but of generals, which god among the Roman rites is worshipped by the Vestals, and, hanging beneath the chariots of triumphers, defends them as a physician against envy.] Pliny, *Hist.*, 28, ch. 7, n. 4. See also *Culte du phallus et du serpent*, by Dr. Boudin, 8vo, Paris, 1864. (2) *Ægyptios dracunculos Romæ habuit quos illi agathodæmones appellant.* [He kept at Rome Egyptian little serpents, which they call *agathodaemones*.] Lampridius in *Heliogabal.*, p. 111, folio ed. See also *Annales de philos. chrét.*, vol. 4, p. 59 *et seq.*, ann. 1832.

2. Suetonius, in *Tiber.*, ch. 72.

Nero wore as a talisman a snake-skin bound round his arm (2). Better than that: "Several medals of Nero," says Montfaucon, "attest that this prince had taken the Serpent for his patron (3)." It must be added: and for his protector. Thus, at Rome, on the walls of Nero's Golden House, the traveller still reads the inscription that threatens with the wrath of the Serpent whoever should permit himself to deposit filth near the imperial dwelling (4). After the example of the emperors, the Roman ladies also had familiar serpents. Sometimes they passed them round their necks by way of necklaces; sometimes they played with these reptiles, which during meals climbed on them and slipped into their bosom. In this familiarity with the Serpent the men of quality imitated the women (5). The provinces imitated the capital. At Pompeii one still sees the sanctuaries of the gods tutelary of the streets, called *Lares compitales.* The frescoes represent the sacrifices offered to these divinities. Now almost everywhere these divinities are two serpents which swallow the consecrated viands.

2. Camerarius, *ubi supra.* (3) *L'antiquité expliquée*, Book 1. (4) *Duodecim deos et Dianam Et Jovem optimum maximum Habeat iratos Quisquis hic minxerit aut cacarit.* [May he have the twelve gods and Diana and Jupiter Best and Greatest angry with him whoever has urinated or defecated here.] Above the inscription extend two great serpents, turned one against the other and separated by a bundle of rods. For one who knows how to read, this inscription and this painting amount to saying that these twelve great gods and Diana and Jupiter were in the end only the ancient Serpent under different names, and whose figure was there to inspire fear of the chastisement, symbolized by the bundle of rods. (5) *Si gelidum collo nectit Flaccilla draconem.* [If Flaccilla twines a cold serpent round her neck.] Martial, 7, 87 [as printed "vii, 71"]. *Aspice repentes inter pocula sinusque innoxio lapsu dracones.* [Behold the serpents creeping, in harmless glide, among the cups and bosoms.] Seneca, *De ira*, 2, ch. 31. *Istius generis dracones Romanis proceribus et nobilibus feminis fuisse in deliciis, præter hunc Tranquilli (Suetonis), testantur alii aliorum auctorum loci.* [That serpents of this kind were the delight of Roman nobles and noble women, besides this (passage) of Tranquillus (Suetonius), other passages of other authors attest.] Burmann in Suetonius, ch. 72; *id.* in Nero, ch. 5, n. 6.

Babylon and Pompeii resemble each other: East and West practise the same worship. In the same city, on the walls of the *Pistrinæ*, the places where dough was handled, is painted the sacrifice to the goddess Fornax. The scene is crowned by the two serpents which play so great a part among the divinities of Pompeii. The image of the favourite divinity is found even in the ornaments of the toilet. By the number we counted the golden bracelets in the form of serpents with which the ladies of Pompeii adorned the upper arm and the

wrist. In the Gauls the Druids wore amulets of stone representing a serpent. The worship of the odious reptile was so widespread there that the first missionaries of Christianity had to fight, as we have seen, monstrous Dragons, redoubtable divinities of the country. To the facts already cited let us add the following: Saint Armentarius, arriving in the Var, was obliged to fight a Dragon. The place of the combat is still called the Dragon; and the combat itself gave its name to the town of Draguignan. According to circumstances and the genius of peoples, the Father of lies, under the preferred form of the serpent, has manifested himself as a beneficent divinity or as a malevolent god. Love or fear has chained man to his altars. Hence this judicious remark of the learned M. de Mirville: “The Serpent! The whole earth either incenses him or stones him (1).”

1. *Pneumatologie,* 2nd Memoir, vol. 2, p. 431.

The Lithuanians, the Samogitians and other peoples of the North were no less faithful adorers of the Serpent. They called on him above all to sanctify their table. In a corner of their huts, as in the temples of Egypt, sacred serpents were kept. On certain days they were made to climb onto the table by means of a white cloth that descended to their lair. They tasted all the dishes, then returned into their hole. The meats were sanctified and the Barbarians ate without fear (1). Among the Lithuanians in particular the worship of the Serpent still existed in the fourteenth century. In 1387 the king of Poland, having come to Vilna, convoked an assembly for Ash Wednesday. In concert with the bishops who accompanied him he strove to persuade the Lithuanians to acknowledge the true God. To show them that it was not truth that they were abandoning, he had extinguished the perpetual fire that was kept up at Vilna and the serpents killed which were kept in houses and adored as gods. The Barbarians, seeing that no harm befell those who carried out the prince’s orders, opened their eyes to the light and asked for baptism (2). We shall push our journey of investigation among the ancient peoples no further. Let us remark only that the worship of the Serpent was so universal and so brilliant in beautiful antiquity that temples had taken the name of *Draconia*: which means that to designate a temple they said a *Dwelling of serpents* (3). Thus the worship of the

1. Stuckius, *Antiquit. convivial.*, Book 2, ch. 36, p. 432, folio. (2) See also *Annal. de phil. chr.*, December 1857, p. 242 *et seq.* (3) *Quin et serpentibus tantum cultum tribuit gentilitas, ut Draconia templa nominaret, teste Strab., Lib. XIV, quod prima circa serpentes extiterint idololatriæ semina, et quod Diabolus hanc speciem in deliciis haberet.* [Indeed the Gentile world paid such worship to serpents that it called temples *Draconia*, as Strabo, Book 14, testifies, because the first seeds of idolatry arose around serpents, and because the Devil held this species in delight.] Cornelius a Lapide on Dan. 14:22.

living serpent, of the serpent in flesh and bone, was one of the most difficult to root out: we shall soon give the proof of it. In fact, according to the thought of Saint Augustine, the demon prefers the form of the serpent because it recalls to him his first victory (1). That all the nations of antiquity, without any exception, paid the Serpent the tribute of their adorations, is a fact won to history. However strange it may be, it is none the less incontestable. Now when a worship of so evident an identity is observed across so great a number of centuries, in all parts of the known world, under all climates, among nations most different in morals and civilization, how not recognize that conditions of race are without influence on the religion of peoples? How not recognize that it is the religion of peoples that engenders their civilization and their morals, far from being produced by these latter, as we are not afraid to be told every day? In a word, how not recognize the truth of this axiom: *Tell me what you believe, I shall tell you what you do.*

1. *Gaudent enim dæmones hanc sibi potestatem dari, ut ad incantationem hominum serpentes moveant, ut quolibet modo fallant quos possunt. Hoc autem permittuntur ad primi facti memoriam commendandam, quod sit eis quædam cum hoc genere familiaritas.* [For the demons rejoice that this power is given to them, to move serpents at the incantation of men, that in any way they may deceive those whom they can. This, however, they are permitted for the commending of the memory of the first deed, in that they have a certain familiarity with this kind.] *De Gen. ad Litter.*, Book 11, n. 35, Gaume ed.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXIII

1. **Plutarch and Amyot.** Quotations from Plutarch are from Jacques Amyot's sixteenth-century French; I render the sense in modern English. The Olympias passage is from the *Life of Alexander*.

2. **Weights in the Babylonian temple.** Gaume's figures (31,000 and 330 kg) are not consistent with a talent of about 31 kg; they are evidently slips for 3,100 and 930. I translate as printed and flag it in brackets.

3. **Champollion, Aelian, Clement.** Gaume uses Champollion's *Panthéon égyptien* and Aelian's *De natura animalium* for the cult of the serpent; the Latin is translated in brackets. Chrysostom's description of the Pythia (Homily 29 on 1 Corinthians) is given in sense, as the Latin is graphic and Gaume prints it without comment.

4. **"Draguignan".** Gaume derives the name from a legendary combat of Saint Armentarius with a dragon; the etymology is traditional, not scholarly.

5. **"Haïti, où l'on condamne à mort… les adorateurs du serpent."** Gaume is referring to the Vodou (the "Vaudoux") cult; the passage is polemical and, as elsewhere, I give it as written.

6. **"Dis-moi ce que tu crois, je te dirai ce que tu fais."** Gaume's axiom: religion generates civilization and morals, not the reverse.

7. **"Bishop of Manchuria"** is an earlier citation in the book (a missionary bishop's report of mortal manifestations in Manchuria).

Chapter XXIV. (Another Continuation of the Preceding)

Worship of the serpent among modern nations still idolatrous. — The sect of the Ophites. — China adores the Great Dragon. — He is the seal of the empire. — Solemn procession in honour of the Dragon. — The present empress. — Cochin-China. — India: public adoration of the serpent. — Temple of Soubra-Manniah. — Feast of Penance. — Private worship of the serpent. — Africa. — Worship of the serpent in Ethiopia, in the time of Saint Frumentius. — The most celebrated present worship of all. — Passage of De Brosses and of Bosman. — Worship of the serpent in the kingdom of Juidah (Whydah) a century ago. — Present worship, the same as in pagan antiquity. — Curious and sad details. — Account of missionaries and of a naval surgeon. — America. — Worship of the serpent at the time of the discovery. — Present worship. — Report of Father Bonduel. — Worship of the serpent in Polynesia, Australia, Oceania. — Voodoo. — Worship in the United States. — Words of a missionary. — Other testimonies. — In Haiti. — Human sacrifice. — Execution of the guilty in 1864.

If the axiom just recalled needed a new confirmation, it would be found in the history of the pagan nations still existing in the different parts of the globe. Long after the publication of the Gospel the worship of the living Serpent is seen perpetuating itself among the Ophites, obstinate heretics of whom Origen and Saint Epiphanius speak (1). Among the Gnostics appeared a numerous sect which, by reason of its particular worship of the Serpent, received the name of Ophites. The adepts taught that

1. Against Celsus, and *Heresies*, 37.

Wisdom had manifested herself to men under the figure of a serpent. So they adored with devotion a serpent shut up in a long cage. When the day had come to celebrate the memory of the service rendered to the human race by the tree of knowledge, they opened the cage and called the serpent, which mounted on the table and coiled around the loaves: this was in their eyes a perfect sacrifice. After having adored the serpent, they offered through him a hymn of praise to the heavenly Father.

No one is unaware that the Great Dragon is the supreme divinity of China and of Cochin-China. "The motif of ornamentation which recurs most often in the emperor's palace at Peking is the Dragon with vulture's

talons, gaping jaws, ferocious eyes starting out of their sockets. It is the inseparable emblem of the Son of Heaven, it is on his seal, on his cups, his crockery, his furniture, on the gables, on the doors, everywhere (1)." The Dragon engraved on the imperial seal! Would one not say the infernal parody of the Cross surmounting the crown of Christian princes; or of the ancient inscription on the gold coins of the kingdom of France: *Christus vincit, regnat, imperat* [Christ conquers, reigns, commands]? It is no vain sign. The God it represents is the object of a real worship. Thus, the young emperor of China having been attacked by a grave illness in 1865, the empress mother went, for nine days, on foot, at sunrise and sunset, to the great temple of the Dragon, to pray for her son. Lately the inhabitants of the Chinese city of Ting-hai complained of drought. It was decided that the Dragon should appear in the streets and that he should be

1. *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, no. 223, p. 298, 1867.

solemnly begged to send rain to the fields. On the appointed day we saw unrolled in the main street of Ting-hai the coils of the monster, carried by fifty or sixty persons, around whom the whole population of the town pressed (1). Even today the Chinese congregations of Saigon celebrate every year with unusual luxury and pomp the feast of the Dragon. The interminable procession passes through the principal streets of the town and sometimes even defiles through the garden of the governor's residence (2). The hideous figure of the Dragon is met with everywhere. It is invoked at every moment, in all the important circumstances of life and even after death. The Annamite who has lost a member of his family would not permit himself to bury him before having asked the sorcerer or priest of the Dragon to make known to him the place of burial. It is supposed that there are underground dragons which pass and repass in certain privileged places. The dead are placed on their way in the belief that the dragons load them and their relatives with riches and happiness. If a misfortune comes to strike the family, the dead man is dug up, and, on the indication of a new oracle, buried in a place nearer to the passage of the Dragon.

1. *Annal. de phil. chrét.*, vol. 16, p. 355. (2) *Courrier de Saïgon*, 1865.

The Serpent has played a considerable part among the ancient peoples of India (3), and his worship has been maintained to this day in that vast part of Asia. Their sacred books are full of narratives in which the Serpent is mentioned. There, as in Egypt, all the symbols of worship bear his image. A great serpent figures at the beginning of the world and is the object of a profound veneration. "One sees a very renowned temple, consecrated to the Serpent, to the east of Mysore, in a place called Soubra Manniah. This is the name of the great serpent so famous in Indian fables.

"Every year, in the month of December, a solemn feast takes place in the temple. Innumerable devotees come running from very far to offer to the serpents adorations and sacrifices in this privileged place. A multitude of these serpents have established their dwelling in the interior of the temple, where they are maintained and well fed by the Brahmins who serve them. The special protection they enjoy has permitted them to multiply to such a point that they are seen coming out on every side in the neighbourhood. Many devotees bring them food. Woe to him who should have the misfortune to kill one of these crawling divinities! He would make himself a very bad business (1)."

3. Maximus of Tyre, Dissert. 7, p. 139, Reiske ed. (1) *Mœurs et institutions des peuples de l'Inde*, by M. Dubois, superior of the Foreign Missions, who lived twenty-eight years in India, vol. 2, ch. 12, p. 435.

On another point of the immense peninsula the Serpent also receives divine honours. "Recently," writes one of our missionaries, "I was at Calcutta an eyewitness of a religious feast celebrated in honour of the goddess Kali. It is one of the most solemn of the year: it is called the feast of Penance. On the first day of the feast the multitude of curious was immense, it covered as it were the number of the penitents.

"But on the second and third day I saw in many places, chiefly at street corners and crossroads, men who had the middle of the tongue pierced vertically by a long iron bar. They shook it in cadence to the sound of

instruments, and danced themselves in this state. Others had made a large opening in the loins and shoulders, and through each of the holes there passed an enormous serpent, whose coils enveloped their body (1)."

1. *Annal. de la Prop. de la Foi*, no. 9, p. 535, April 1836.

Besides the national adoration of the Serpent, the Indians, like the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, still today render a domestic worship to a very common serpent whose bite gives almost instant death: it is called the *capel* serpent [the cobra de capello]. Their conduct, which everyone can verify with his own eyes, makes credible all we have read of pagan antiquity. The devotees go in search of the holes where these kinds of serpents dwell. When they have had the good fortune to discover some, they go religiously to deposit at the entrance milk, bananas and other foods which they know to be to the taste of these reptile-gods. Does one of them happen to enter a house? The inhabitants take good care not to drive it out; it is, on the contrary, carefully fed and honoured by sacrifices. One sees Indians keeping thus in their homes, for a number of years, big capel serpents; and, even should it cost the life of the whole family, no one would dare lay a hand on them (2).

2. *Mœurs et institutions des peuples de l'Inde*, by M. Dubois. — For other modern peoples see the *Annales de phil. chrét.*, cited above.

Let us pass now into Africa. From all antiquity the Serpent has been the great god of the land of Ham. In the fourth century, when Saint Frumentius went to carry the faith to the Ethiopians, he found the worship of the serpent in all its splendour. To succeed in his mission he had to begin, like Daniel, by destroying the serpent which had until then been the divinity of the Axumites (1). He is still that of all non-Christian Africa. "Among all the black nations he has known," says a German traveller, "there is not one that does not adore the serpent…

"The Fidas, besides the great serpent which is the divinity of the whole nation, have each their little serpents, adored as household gods, but which are not esteemed, by far, as powerful as the other, of which they are only the subordinates. When a man has recognized that his *lar* god, his domestic serpent, is without strength to obtain for him what he asks, he has recourse to the great serpent.

"The sacrifices which, among these peoples, form the most important part of the cults, consist of oxen, cows, sheep, etc. Some nations also offer human sacrifices. Among the annual feasts must be counted the pilgrimage of the nation of the Fidas to the temple of the great serpent. The people assembled before the dwelling of the serpent, prostrate with face to the ground, adores this divinity without daring to lift their eyes to him. With the exception of the priests, only the king has a right to this favour, and for once only (2)."

Another traveller expresses himself in these terms: "The most celebrated worship of Africa," says Bosman, "is that of the serpent. Among the great number of serpents that are honoured there by ceremonies more or less

1. Gonzalez, in Ludolf, *Ethiopic.*, p. 479. (2) Oldendorp, cited by Dr. Boudin in *Le Culte du Serpent*, p. 57 *et seq.*, 8vo, 1864.

bizarre, there is one that is regarded as the Father, and to whom particular homage is rendered. A temple has been built to him, where priests are charged to serve him. Kings send him magnificent presents, and undertake long pilgrimages to come and present him their offerings and adorations (1)."

1. Voyage of Bosman, in the *Grand dictionnaire de la Fable*, arts. *Serpents* and *Afrique.*

Treating the same subject in his history of the *Fetish Gods* (2), President de Brosses speaks golden words when he says: "The best means of clearing up certain obscure points of antiquity and of knowing what went on among the pagan nations of former times is to examine what goes on among the pagan nations of today, and to see whether something of the same kind does not still happen somewhere under our eyes. The reason

of this is, as a Greek philosopher says, that things are done and will be done as they have been done. Ecclesiastes says the same: *Quid est quod fuit? ipsum quod futurum est* [What is it that hath been? the same that shall be]. Now nothing resembles more the worship of the serpent and of the sacred animals of Egypt than that of the fetish or striped serpent of Juidah (3), a little kingdom on the coast of Guinea, which may serve as example for all that goes on of the like kind in the interior of Africa. One already sees that nothing, either, ought to resemble more the serpent of Babylon, which the prophet Daniel refused to adore (4)." History has told us that the Epirotes believed that all their sacred serpents descended from the great serpent Python: same belief in Africa. "The serpent," the author continues, "is an animal as thick as

2. *Fetiches* comes from the Portuguese *fetisso*, which means enchanted. (3) Now called Whydah. (4) *Du culte des dieux-fétiches*, pp. 16 and 25, etc., 12mo ed., 1760.

a man's thigh and about seven feet long, striped with white, blue, yellow and brown, round-headed, with open eyes, without venom, of a surprising gentleness and familiarity with men. These reptiles willingly enter houses and let themselves be taken and handled (1)."

1. *Du culte des dieux-fétiches*, pp. 29 *et seq.*

"The whole species of their sacred serpents, if one believes the blacks of Juidah, descends from a single one, who dwells in the great temple near the town of Shabi, and who, having lived several centuries, has become of immoderate size and thickness. He had formerly been the divinity of the peoples of Ardra; but these having made themselves unworthy of his protection, the serpent came of his own motion to give the preference to the peoples of Juidah. At the very moment of a battle which the two nations were to fight, he was seen publicly to pass from one of the two camps into the other. Here is the ancient evocation. The high priest then took him in his arms and showed him to the whole army. At this sight all the negroes fell on their knees and easily won a complete victory over the enemy (2)."

2. *Ibid.*

At Babylon, in Egypt, in Greece and among the other pagan peoples of antiquity, the serpent had temples where he was served by priests and priestesses, honoured, consulted and fed at the public expense. His ministers alone had the right to enter his sanctuary; outside it, he made himself familiar and deigned to let himself be taken and handled. That is word for word what happens in Africa. Let us listen: "A temple is built to the new fetish. He was carried there on a silk carpet, in ceremony, with all possible testimonies of joy and respect. A fund was assigned him for his subsistence. Priests were chosen to serve him and young girls to be consecrated to him. Soon this new divinity took the ascendancy over the older ones. It presides over commerce, agriculture, flocks, war, the public affairs of government, etc. Considerable offerings are made to it: whole pieces of cotton stuff or of European merchandise, casks of liquor, whole herds; priests undertake to carry to the serpent the adorations of the people and to bring back the answers of the divinity, no one else than the priests, not even the king, being permitted to enter the temple and see the serpent. The posterity of this divine rep-

tile has become very numerous. Although it is less honoured than the chief, there is no negro who does not think himself very happy to meet serpents of this species, and who does not lodge and feed them with joy."

Loaded with honours and served by priests, the great Serpent wished, as of old, to have priestesses. "Here is the way they go about procuring them for him. During a certain time of the year the old priestesses, or *bétas*, armed with clubs, run through the country from sunset till midnight, furious as bacchantes. All the young girls of about twelve years whom they can surprise belong to them by right; it is not permitted to resist them (1). They shut these young persons up in huts, treat them rather gently and instruct them in singing, dancing and the sacred rites. After having trained them,

1. In ancient Mexico the same traffic in young girls for the benefit of the Serpent is found.

they imprint on them the mark of their consecration, by tracing on the skin, by pricks of needles, figures of serpents…

“They are told that the serpent has marked them; and, in general, the secret about all that happens to the women in the interior of the cloisters is so strongly enjoined, under pain of being carried off and burned alive by the serpent, that none of them is tempted to violate it. Then the old women bring them back during a dark night, each to the door of her parents, who receive them with joy and pay the priestesses very dear for the board of the sojourn, holding as an honour the grace that the serpent has done to their family. The young girls then begin to be respected and to enjoy a quantity of privileges.

“Finally, when they are marriageable, they return to the temple in ceremony and richly adorned to marry the serpent… The next day the bride is led back to her family, and from then on she has a share in the emoluments of the priesthood. A part of these girls afterwards marry some negroes; but the husband must respect them as much as he respects the serpent whose mark they bear, speak to them only on his knees and remain submissive in all things to their authority (1).”

1. *Du culte des dieux-fétiches,* p. 49 *et seq.*

Here then, today as of old, in Africa as everywhere, innocence profaned by the serpent and consecrated to his service. “Independently of this kind of affiliated nuns, there is a passing consecration for young girls… One imagines that the girls have been touched by the serpent, who, having conceived an inclination for them, inspires them with a sort of fury. Some suddenly begin to utter frightful cries, and assure that the fetish has touched them. They become furious as pythonesses; they break everything that falls into their hands, and do a thousand harmful things (1).” According to Bosman, in other regions of this sad part of the world one sees, as in antiquity, the most beautiful girls of the country consecrated to the service of the serpents. There is this peculiarity, that the negroes believe that the great serpent and his confreres are accustomed to lie in wait, in spring, for the young girls toward evening, and that the approach or the touch of these reptiles makes them lose reason (2).

1. *Ibid.*, 42. (2) Bosman, *ubi supra.*

More recent voyages confirm these details and add new ones. “In all the villages,” one of our missionaries who has penetrated farthest into the interior of Africa told us a short time ago, “you find the fetish of the locality, not counting the fetishes of each hut. The fetish of the village is ordinarily a big serpent which walks at liberty in all the streets. The first I saw inspired me with a real fright. I seized my stick to strike it. My guide held my arm back, and he did well. If I had had the misfortune to touch the god, I should have been at once torn to pieces.

“Under date of 28 April 1861, another missionary writes from Dahomey: The people of this country seem devoted to the most abominable fetishism. The worship of living serpents is in vogue on many points of the coast; but nowhere have they temples and regular sacrifices as at Whydah (3). In a

3. A town of about 20,000 souls on the seashore.

well-arranged enclosure about a hundred big serpents are fed, who go, when it pleases them, to walk about in the town. Then all who meet them prostrate with their foreheads in the dust, while the abominable animal advances heavily on the road, until some fervent worshipper takes it with respect and carries it back to its sanctuary (1).”

1. *Annales*, etc., March 1861, p. 390. — The Gallas who inhabit the opposite coast of Africa also adore the serpent. To this reptile-god they attribute a redoubtable power over nature. If an earthquake shock is felt, the inhabitants are seen running, hands full of offerings, to the cavern regarded as the dwelling of the God who shakes the earth.

This temple, or rather this frightful lair, was visited in 1860 by a surgeon of the imperial navy, who gives the following description: “My first visit was for the temple of the fetish serpents, situated not far from the fort, in a somewhat isolated place, under a group of magnificent trees. This curious edifice consists simply of a sort of rotunda, ten to twelve metres in diameter and seven to eight in height. Its walls of dried earth are pierced with two opposite doors by which the divinities of the place enter and go out freely. The vault of the edifice, formed of interlaced branches of trees which support a roof of dry grass, is constantly carpeted with a myriad of serpents, which I was able to examine at my ease.

“Their size varies from one to three metres. The head is wide, flattened and triangular with rounded angles, supported by a neck a little less thick than the body. Their colour varies from light yellow to greenish yellow. The greater number bear on the back two brown lines. The others are irregularly spotted.

At the time of my visit these animals might number more than a hundred. Some were descending or climbing, coiled on tree trunks arranged for this purpose along the walls; others, hanging by the tail, swung nonchalantly above my head, darting their triple tongue and looking at me with their blinking eyes; others, finally, coiled or asleep in the grass of the roof, were doubtless digesting the last offerings of the faithful. In spite of the fascinating strangeness of this spectacle, I felt ill at ease in the midst of these slimy divinities…

“The priests who take care of them live near the temple… These frightful divinities have also their priestesses; they are the *fetisheuses*, or wives of the fetish serpent. At certain times of the year the old priestesses run through the streets of the village, carry off the girls of eight to ten years whom they meet, and lead them to their dwelling. These children undergo there a noviciate more or less long, and, as soon as they are marriageable, are betrothed to the fetish serpent. Later some end by marrying simple mortals, but with some difficulty, because, still preserving something of their sacred character, they demand of their husband a complete submission (1).”

1. Account of M. Répin in *Le Tour du monde*, no. 161, pp. 71–74, 1863.

All these reptile gods are not inoffensive, like those of Whydah. “Another point of our mission,” writes Father Borghero, “offers a spectacle far more revolting. At Great Popo, not far from Whydah, the serpents have no temple, it is true: but they receive a worship that makes one shudder. There

is there a species of very ferocious reptiles, of the race of the asp, boas, it is said. When one of these serpents meets on its way little animals, it devours them pitilessly. The more voracious it is, the more it excites the devotion of its worshippers. But the greatest honours, the greatest blessings are lavished on it when, finding some young child, it makes it its prey. Then the parents of this poor victim prostrate in the dust, and give thanks to such a divinity for having chosen the fruit of their womb to make its meal.

“And we, ministers of him who has vanquished the ancient Serpent and who cursed him, we are obliged to have this spectacle every day before our eyes, without its being given us to avenge the honour of our master, so unworthily outraged (1).”

1. *Annales*, etc., March 1861, p. 390 *et seq.* — As under the burning sun of Africa, the worship of the serpent still exists today in the snows of Manchuria. *Id.*, 1857, no. 175, p. 428.

The worship of the serpent has been found again in the vast regions of the New World, and it is not the least proof of the unity of the human race. At the discovery of America the Spaniards ascertained at various points incontestable traces of the worship of the serpent. We remember that at Mexico, HUITZILOPOCHTLI, principal divinity of the empire, was seated on a great cubic stone, from each corner of which came forth a monstrous serpent. The face of the god was covered with a mask, to which another serpent was suspended. The temple dedicated to QUETZALCOHUATL, another Mexican divinity, was of round form, and the entrance represented a serpent’s mouth, gaping in a horrible manner, which filled with terror

those who approached it for the first time. In the most ancient annals of the Mexicans the first woman, called by them *the mother of our flesh*, is always represented as living in relation with a great serpent. This woman, figured on their monuments by a sort of hieroglyphs, bears the name CIHUACOHUATL, which means word for word: *woman of the serpent*. Among other presents, thorns stained with the blood of priests and nobles were offered to her, then human victims (1).

1. *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique*, by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, vol. 3, p. 504.

This is the place to record an observation which recurs several times in our study. Every religious belief translates itself into special acts which characterize it. And nothing is truer than the saying cited above: *Tell me what you believe, I shall tell you what you do.* In what concerns the worship of the serpent, experience shows that among almost all peoples its infallible corollary has been human sacrifice. Is it not the evident proof that the worship of the serpent is nothing else than the worship of the great Murderer? Let us continue our march. During the first years of the conquest a certain number of natives embraced Christianity rather from fear than from conviction. The worshippers of the serpent neglected nothing to make them abjure the faith and bring them back to the practices of the ancient cult. Under the specious title of physicians they got into the villages, and succeeded only too often in their guilty enterprise. Before admitting the renegade to the initiation they required renunciation of Christianity. They washed those parts of his body on which he had received the unctions

of baptism, to efface every trace of it. They then led their disciple into a dark forest, or to the bottom of a precipice, and there they called to them the great variegated snake, which presented itself accompanied by several little snakes. The great snake darted at one leap into the mouth, and came out by the posterior part of the body. The others in turn did the same, then all went back into the ant-hill; these rites were repeated thirteen days in succession. It was then that the initiators communicated to their adepts, in conferring the mastership, the mysterious power which they themselves exercised over persons directly or indirectly given to idolatry. By a word, by a look, they could, on entering a house, subjugate the will of the inhabitants, and especially of the women. The people thus fascinated felt themselves seized with a convulsive trembling in the whole body, to the point that they seemed as though possessed. They threw themselves on the ground, often with foaming mouth, and remained so as long as it pleased the master to hold them in that state. The Bishop of Chiapa declares that he holds all these details and others besides from several initiates, returned from their errors (1).

1. See Burgoa, *Descripción geográfica de la provincia de Santo Domingo de Oaxaca*, chap. 71, Mexico 1674; Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 2, book 6.

Diminished, but not abolished, the worship of the serpent is still practised in our days among the savage tribes of North America. One of our missionaries, Father Bonduel, who sojourned nearly twenty years in Wisconsin, told us in 1858 that the sorcerers never give themselves to their magical practices except in arid places, on the edges of muddy marshes, and with

the head surrounded with the skin of the great serpent KETCH-KÉFÉBECK. The formula of their evocation begins with these redoubtable words: “O thou who art armed with ten claws, descend into my cabin.” The prayer continues, the father added, until the cabin begins to sway to the point that the top touches the ground. Let us leave America for a moment to make an excursion into the newly discovered archipelagos. In the Viti Islands, in the Polynesian Ocean, the inhabitants adore in an enormous serpent their principal divinity, which bears the name of Ndengei (1). “In the Australian woman,” writes a missionary, “it is less the taste for adornment than the idea of a religious sacrifice that leads her to mutilate herself. While still of tender age, the tip of her left little finger is bound with threads of spider’s web. At the end of a few days the first phalanx, struck with gangrene, is torn off, and dedicated to the serpent-god (2).” In Oceania the eating of the serpent seems to go hand in hand with the worship of the reptile. Would this not be, for these unhappy victims of the

demon, the sacrilegious parody of Eucharistic communion? Here is what a modern traveller reports: “The Australians eat every species of serpent, even the most venomous. They take care, however, to empty them and cut off their heads. Although serpents are very numerous in New Holland, I never met but one during my sojourn at Sydney, and yet I made

1. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, London 1846, 8vo, vol. 5, p. 247. (2) *Annal. de la prop. de la foi*, no. 98, p. 275.

long and frequent excursions in the woods. When this serpent appeared to me, I killed it with a gunshot and was getting ready to mutilate it further; but the native who accompanied me took it, and, after having cut off its head for greater safety, used it as a cravat, until he should eat it at his supper (1).”

1. E. Delessert, *Voyages dans les deux Océans*, pp. 135 and 136.

Let us return to America and end our journey with the Southern States and Haiti. In carrying millions of negroes from the coast of Africa to America, the slave trade imported there also the worship of the serpent. The sect of which the odious reptile is the principal, perhaps the only divinity, is called the sect of the Voodoos. Very widespread among the negroes of the United States, the Antilles and Santo Domingo, it counts among its adepts many creoles, coloured people and even whites of both sexes. Some even occupy very high positions in society (2). The Voodoos, whose immorality equals, if it does not surpass, that of the Mormons, inspire great fright. They are believed to be possessors of important secrets for making terrible poisons, whose effects are very diverse. Some kill like lightning, others alter reason or destroy it completely. Although it is as difficult as it is dangerous to meddle with their affairs, recent facts have brought to light the shameful and cruel mysteries of this abominable sect. The Voodoos assemble, always at night, in isolated dwellings or in the mountains, in the midst of thick forests. The serpent that receives their adorations com-

2. The Emperor Soulouque, in particular, was a fervent adorer of the snake.

municates his wishes through a high priest chosen from among the sectaries, and still more particularly through the companion whom the high priest adds to himself, raising her to the dignity of high priestess. These two ministers, who say they are inspired by the serpent, an inspiration in which the adepts have the most robust faith, bear the pompous names of king and queen. To resist them is to resist the god himself, and therefore to expose oneself to the most terrible chastisements: once assembled the initiates undress completely. The king and the queen place themselves at one end of the enclosure, near the altar, on which is a cage that contains the serpent. When it has been ascertained that no profane person has slipped into the assembly, the ceremony begins with the adoration of the serpent. It consists of protestations of fidelity to his worship and of submission to his wills. The oath of secrecy is renewed into the hands of the king and queen, accompanied by all that delirium could imagine of the most horrible to make it more imposing. Then the king and queen, in the affectionate tone of a father and mother, address to their well-beloved children some touching observations. Then the queen mounts upon the cage that contains the serpent and soon feels herself penetrated by the spirit of the god she has under her feet (1): she is agitated, feels in her whole body a convulsive trembling, and the oracle speaks by her mouth. When the oracle has answered all the questions the serpent is adored anew; and each offers him his tribute. The adoration finished, the king puts his foot on the cage of the serpent, and soon receives an impression which he

1. It is exactly what the Pythoness of Delphi did.

communicates to the queen and which she communicates to all the members placed in a circle. These are not long in becoming prey to the most violent agitation; they turn rapidly upon themselves, moving the upper part of the body so briskly that the head and shoulders seem to be dislocated (1). They end, some by falling from weariness, others in a swoon; others experience a furious delirium. In almost all there are nervous tremblings which they seem unable to master. One cannot describe what then takes place. It is easy to

understand that, after the excessive overexcitement of the senses which these dishevelled bacchanals must have produced, the satiation of gross pleasures and brutal passions, in this hideous promiscuity of the two sexes, cannot fail to present the most disgusting spectacle.

1. This recalls the *Djedab* of the Aissaoua of Africa which we saw at Paris in 1867, and the Corybantes of antiquity, whose Greek name signifies to shake the head violently. Satan does not grow old.

Implacable enemy of the soul of man, whom he pushes to every kind of degradation, Satan is no less so of his body. Among the different peoples ancient and modern, human sacrifice is the infallible corollary of the worship of the serpent. The Voodoos faithfully continue the cruel tradition. The number of victims whom they have slaughtered will never be known (2).

2. Among many facts we shall cite one of very recent date and which obtained judicial publicity. In the month of December 1863, at Bizoton, at the very gates of the capital of Haiti, one Congo Pelle received from the Voodoo God the order to make him a human sacrifice. At this price fortune was to visit his poor dwelling. In concert with his sister, Jeanne Pelle, he resolved to immolate to the serpent his own niece, little Claircine, aged eight years. The young girl was taken on the 27th of December to the house of one Julien Nicolas, who, seconded by other adepts, Floréal, Guerrier and the woman Beyard, bound her arms and legs. Claircine was then carried to the house of Floréal and deposited in a mysterious place called *humfort* in the language of the initiated. She remained there four days, and on Wednesday, 30 December, at ten o'clock at night, the victim was carried again to Congo Pelle's. The hour of sacrifice had struck. Jeanne Pelle seized her niece by the neck and strangled her, while Floréal pressed her ribs and Guerrier held her feet. The corpse is stretched on the ground, and Floréal skins it with a knife after having cut off the head. This operation scarcely finished, Jeanne Pelle, Floréal, Guerrier, Congo, Néréine, wife of Floréal, Julien Nicolas and the women Roséide and Beyard throw themselves upon the victim, devour her palpitating flesh and drink her blood still warm. After this horrible feast the cannibals betake themselves to Floréal's with the head of poor Claircine, boil it with yams and eat the fleshy parts. The skull thus stripped is placed on an altar; Jeanne shakes a little bell, and the adepts, performing a religious dance, turn round the altar singing a sacred song, which probably was none other than the famous Voodoo hymn: *Eh! eh! bomba! hen! hen! Canga bafio té! Canga mouné de lé, Canga do ki la! Canga li!* The ceremony ended, the skin and entrails of Claircine were buried near Floréal's house. The remainder of the victim's blood had already been collected in vessels which were to be preciously preserved. As to the bones, they were pulverized, for the ashes were also to be preserved. The holy work was accomplished, and the adorers of the snake separated, making an appointment for 6 January, Epiphany, when they were to make a new sacrifice. The victim, hidden at Floréal's, awaited only the sacred knife. It was a young girl named Losama, whom Néréine had stolen on the road from Léogâne. Justice was happily warned; and the anthropophagi, condemned to death by the jury, were executed on 6 February 1864. *Moniteur haïtien*, 12 March 1864; see also *Culte du Serpent*, by Dr. Boudin; *Journal d'un miss. au Texas*, 8vo, p. 356; *La Tribune de Mobile*, 2 October 1865; *L'Orléanais*, journal of New Orleans, 6 July 1859, etc.

All these facts and a thousand others of the same kind prove once more to incredulous Europe, to the Europe that turns its back on the Redeemer, that the king of the City of Evil is always the same; always ready to seize his empire again, always jealous to have himself adored under the victorious form of the serpent, always greedy for the blood of man become his slave. They establish also that the worship of the serpent, like human sacrifice, has gone round the world. Both exist still today, the first above all on a large scale, among a great number of peoples of Africa, Asia and America. Thus, in the City of Evil, two perpetuities: perpetuity of human sacrifice; perpetuity of the adoration of the serpent in his natural form. These two perpetuities imply a third: the perpetuity of oracles in the pagan world. Without that, how explain that, under all climates, in all epochs, at all degrees of civilization, non-Christian man has taken for his God, for his great God, the most abhorred of all beings, and has sacrificed to him what he holds dearest (1)? Yet so it is. The fact is universal

and permanent; it has therefore a universal and permanent cause. This cause exists neither in the lights of reason, nor in the inclinations of nature, nor in the will of God. Unless one remains before this pitiless fact with eyes wide open and mouth agape, it remains to explain it by the sovereign role of the serpent in the fall of humanity. With reason enlightened by faith we must recognize that such a worship, coming neither from God nor from man, is necessarily revealed by an intermediate power. Let us not forget that here the word revelation does not imply the divinity of the revealer; but the universality and identity of the revelation imply the universality and identity of the revealer. We shall speak of it elsewhere.

To treat all this as superstition, as figurism

1. See on the serpent a fine passage of Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*, vol. 1, book 3, ch. 2.

and allegory is to lie to one's own conscience and to mock common sense. To speak of superstition, ignorance, insanity in a fundamental belief is to say nothing or to put the human race on trial. But if for six thousand years the human race, strange to Christianity, has been, if it still is, a fanatic, a lunatic, an ignoramus, that is to confess that Christianity is truth, light, reason. Let us leave the unbeliever, to try to get out of that, to stammer sophisms, and let us continue.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXIV

1. **Dates.** The chapter carries later references (the Chinese empress mother in 1865; the Aïssaoua seen at Paris in 1867; an *Annales* number of 1867): the text was revised after the 1864–65 second edition. I translate as printed.

2. **Sources.** Dubois (*Moeurs et institutions des peuples de l'Inde*), the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, President de Brosses (*Du culte des dieux fétiches*, 1760), Bosman, Oldendorp, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Dr. Boudin's *Culte du Serpent* (1864), *Le Tour du Monde* (1863).

3. **Vodou and the Bizoton affair.** The Bizoton case (Haiti, Dec. 1863 – Feb. 1864) was widely reported in the French press; Gaume's presentation is polemical. I give the passage as written. The *humfort* (*hounfort*), where the victim was kept, is the Vodou temple.

4. **Words about peoples.** "Les nègres", "sauvages", "l'Empereur Soulouque… fervent adorateur de la couleuvre" etc., are Gaume's and his sources' period language, kept as written.

5. **De Brosses.** Charles de Brosses (1709–1777), *Du culte des dieux fétiches* (1760).

6. **Gaume's "unity of the human race" argument.** The universal diffusion of serpent worship is used as proof of a single human origin and of a single "revealer."

Chapter XXV. (A New Continuation of the Preceding)

The Holy Spirit, oracle and director of the social order in the City of Good. — Satan, oracle and director of the social order in the City of Evil. — Universal existence of satanic oracles; testimonies of Plutarch and Tertullian. — Universal belief in oracles: passages of Cicero and of Baltus. — It was the demons themselves who delivered the oracles: words of Tertullian, of Saint Cyprian, of Minucius Felix. — The oracles were not a piece of jugglery: proofs.

We added that Jehovah, present in the tabernacle and in the temple, was not merely the God of His people and the guardian of religion, but also the oracle and director of civil and political society: that is to say, that from the depths of His sanctuary He directed all the undertakings of His City, whose members took care to do nothing without consulting Him (1). His wishes were made known in turn by dreams, by voices, and by oracles. All the features of this parallel are found again in the City of Evil. To believe that the presence of the Serpent-God in the midst of the world had only a purely religious motive and purpose would be a mistake. It had a motive and a purpose that were social in the first degree. That is to say, in other words, that from the

depths of his sanctuaries Satan directed not only religion but pagan society, by his oracles and his prodigies.

1. See the *Concordance* under the word *consider* [*considère*; i.e. consult the Concordance of Scripture for the verbs "to consult the Lord"].

Of this new phenomenon the proofs are almost as numerous as the pages of history. The pagan world was covered with oracles; and the pagan world was the whole earth, with the exception of Judea. On this point Christian history and profane history are unanimous. In the name of both, let us listen to Plutarch and Tertullian: the first a priest of the idols, the second a priest of the true God. Plutarch expresses himself thus: "The first article in the establishment of laws and civil order is the belief in the gods and the persuasion of them, by means of which Lycurgus of old sanctified the Lacedemonians, Numa the Romans, Ion the Athenians, and Deucalion all the Greeks universally, rendering them devout and affectionately disposed towards the gods, in prayers, oaths, oracles and prophecies; so that, going through the world, you will find cities without walls, without academies, without kings, without wealth, without coinage, without theatres, without gymnasia; but you will never find one that is without God, without prayer, without sacrifices to obtain blessings and avert evils. No man ever saw such a city, nor ever will: it would be easier to build a city in the air than to build or to preserve one without religion (1)." Formulating Plutarch's thought in a single phrase, Tertullian says: "The world is crowded with oracles, *oraculis stipatus est orbis* [the world is thronged with oracles] (2)." To cite only some of the best known: you have Beelzebub among the Philistines; Moloch among the Moabites; Belus at Babylon; Jupiter Ammon in Egypt. In Greece, Delos, Claros, Paphos, Delphi, Dodona. In Italy you find the celebrated oracles of Geryon at Padua; of Diana at Praeneste; of Hercules at Tivoli; of Apollo at Aquileia and at Baiae; of the Sibyl at Cumae; at Rome and in its neighbourhood, those of Mars, of Aesculapius, of the Vatican, of Clitumnus, of Janus, of Jupiter Pistor; those of Antium, that of Podalirius in Calabria, and more than a hundred others (3). Judea itself was surrounded by them. To consult them was one of the strongest temptations of the people of God, so much so that the penalty of death decreed in the Law did not always restrain them. After the schism of the ten tribes the oracles were permanently established in the midst of Israel (4). Saul himself consults the Pythoness of Endor, that is, a woman possessed by a spirit called Python, of which Scripture so often speaks (5).

1. *Against Colotes*, ch. 18, Amyot's translation.

2. *On the Soul*, ch. 46.

3. See Baltus, *Histoire des oracles*, etc.

4. See, among others, 4 Kings [2 Kings] 1–2, and the places where the priests of Baal are spoken of.

5. *And Saul said to his servants: Seek me a woman that hath a divining spirit, and I will go to her, and ask by her.* 1 Kings [1 Samuel] 28:7. Let us remark with Baltus that *Python* seems to derive from a Hebrew word meaning *serpent*, "a name fitting for him who inspired all these false prophets." Ibid., *Continuation of the Reply*, part 1, p. 142.

And then, what were the replies of the augurs and the haruspices, if not oracles, or the interpretation of oracles? Now the augurs and haruspices were found in every part of the globe, in towns and in the countryside, and their science was the object of universal study. "It is an established fact," says Cicero, "that among the ancients the heads of peoples were kings and augurs at one and the same time. To govern and to know the divine secrets were in their eyes two equally royal functions. Rome, whose kings were also augurs, *in qua et reges, augures* [in which both kings were augurs], furnishes us with great examples of it. After them, private persons who were clothed with the same priesthood governed the republic by the authority of religion. This sort of divination has not been neglected even among the barbarians. There are Druids in the Gauls, among whom I knew Divitiacus of Autun, who profess to know the future, partly by augural science, partly by conjecture. Among the Persians the Magi are augurs and diviners… and none can be king of Persia

unless he has first been instructed in the science of the Magi. There are even families and entire nations that are particularly addicted to divination. The whole city of Telmessus, in Caria, excels in the science of the haruspices. In Elis, a city of the Peloponnese, there are two families, one of the Iamidae, the other of the Clytidae, which are famous in the same science.

"Etruria above all has the reputation of possessing a great knowledge of lightnings and of knowing how to explain what each prodigy may portend (1). That is why our ancestors, when the empire was flourishing, ordained, most wisely, that six sons of the leading senators should be sent to each people of Etruria, to be instructed in the science of the Etruscans; lest, through the corruption of men, it should happen in the sequel that so great an authority in religion should come to be exercised for gain by mercenary souls. As to the Phrygians, the Pisidians, the Cilicians and the Arabs, they are ordinarily guided by the signs they draw from birds: which is done likewise in Umbria (2)."

1. They knew that by means of certain magical formulae lightning could be summoned or turned aside. *Extat annalium memoria, sacris quibusdam ac precationibus vel cogi fulmina vel impetrari* [It stands recorded in the annals that by certain rites and prayers lightning-bolts can either be compelled or obtained]. Ausaldi, *Hist.*, bk. 2, ch. 54.

2. *On Divination,* bk. 1, ch. 41, 8vo ed., Paris, 1818.

The true God, we have said, made His wishes known by oracles properly so called: and one sees the leaders of Israel constantly consulting the Lord in the tabernacle or in the temple; by mysterious voices heard without seeing, or while seeing the being from whom they came — witness Hagar, Gideon, Samuel at Shiloh, Saul on the road to Damascus [*sic*: this is Saul of Tarsus, i.e. Paul]; by dreams — witness Jacob, Judas Maccabeus and twenty others. Satan has counterfeited all these kinds of revelation. As for oracles properly so called, we have just seen that they were innumerable in the City of Evil. As for mysterious voices? We shall cite further on one of the most remarkable examples. In the meantime, here is what Cicero says: "Often the voices of the fauns have been heard; often the gods have appeared under forms so sensible that they have forced everyone who is neither dull nor impious to acknowledge their presence (1)." And elsewhere: "Often too, according to tradition, fauns have been heard in the midst of battles; often true voices have made themselves heard in times of trouble, without anyone being able to tell whence they came. Among many examples of this kind, two especially deserve attention. A little before the capture of Rome, a voice was heard coming from the grove consecrated to Vesta… and this voice warned them to rebuild the walls, because otherwise the city would be taken before long… The oracle was found only too true (2)." Everyone knows the oaks of Dodona, whose species has not died out. "At Joal," writes one of our missionaries in Africa, "there are prophetic trees, and mysterious rites for the evocation of the genii (3)." As for dreams, Cicero devotes nine chapters of the first book *On Divination* to recounting some of the most celebrated among the Greeks and Romans (4). The temples in which people went to seek them were found everywhere. "The world," says Tertullian, "was covered with them. To name only a few: who does not know those of Amphiaraus at Oropus; of Amphilochus at Mallus; of Sarpedon in the Troad; of Trophonius in Boeotia; of Mopsus in Cilicia; of Hermione in Macedonia; of Pasiphae in Laconia? It is a certain thing that very often the demons send dreams, sometimes true, agreeable and seductive — and we know why — but most ordinarily troubled, deceptive, shameful, foul (5)." Like Cicero, the great apologist gives a long list of them.

1. *Saepe faunorum voces exauditae; saepe visae formae deorum, saepe quemvis non hebetem aut impium, Deos praesentes esse confiteri coegerunt* [Often the voices of fauns have been heard; often forms of the gods have been seen, which have forced anyone not dull or impious to confess that the gods are present]. *On the Nature of the Gods*, bk. 2, ch. 2.

2. *Saepe etiam et in proeliis fauni auditi; et in rebus turbidis veridicae voces ex occulto missae esse dicuntur; cujus generis duo sunt ex multis exempla, sed maxima*, etc. [Often too fauns have been heard in battles; and

in troubled times truthful voices are said to have been sent from concealment; of this kind there are two examples out of many, but the greatest…]. *On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 45.

3. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, no. 209, p. 270, year 1863. — One still finds the ancient practices, transformed to be sure but recognizable, in the habits of modern Greece. "Divination by the examination of bones," says Madame Dora d'Istria, "and particularly of the roasted shoulder-blade, is an evident transformation of the inspection of the entrails of victims so often spoken of in Homer." At Dodona and at Delphi the venerated laurel revealed the future by the rustling of its sacred leaves. In our day young Greek girls interrogate the sound of rose leaves. The prophetic oaks of Dodona in Epirus, where the Pelasgians had an oracle as celebrated as the *manteion* [oracle-seat] of Delphi, still receive under their shade sleepers who ask the future of their dreams. See *Excursion en Roumélie et en Morée*, by Mme Dora d'Istria, Paris, 1863.

4. From ch. 20 to ch. 29.

5. *Nam et oraculis hoc genus stipatus est orbis: ut Amphiarai, apud Oropum; Amphilochi, apud Mallum; Sarpedonis, in Troade; Trophonii, in Boeotia; Mopsi, in Cilicia; Hermionis, in Macedonia; Pasiphaes, in Laconia. Definimus enim a daemoniis plurimum incuti somnia*, etc. [For the world is thronged with oracles of this kind: as of Amphiaraus at Oropus… We define that dreams are for the most part inspired by the demons]. *On the Soul*, ch. 46–47.

The belief in oracles, that is, in speaking gods, was no less universal than the very existence of the oracles. Let us listen again to the twofold voice of antiquity. "East and West," continues Tertullian, "Romans and Greeks, the whole literature of the world believes in the oracles, comments on them, and affirms them (1)." "Our republic," says Cicero, "like all kingdoms, all peoples, all nations, is full of examples of the incredible truthfulness of oracles. Never would those of Polyidus, of Melampus, of Mopsus, of Amphiaraus, of Calchas, of Helenus have been so famous; never would so many nations, such as Arabia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, and above all Pisidia, have preserved theirs down to our own day, if all antiquity had not attested their truthfulness. Never would our Romulus have consulted the auspices to found Rome; and the memory of Attius Navius would not have flourished so long, if all those men had not said things admirable for their truth (2).

1. *Quanti autem commentatores et adfirmatores in hanc rem… tota saeculi litteratura* [How many commentators and affirmers there are on this matter… the whole literature of the age]. *On the Soul*, ibid.

2. *Jam vero permultorum exemplorum et nostra plena est respublica, et omnia regna, omnesque populi, cunctaeque gentes, augurum praedictis multa incredibiliter vera cecidisse. Neque enim Polyidi, neque Melampodis, neque Mopsi, neque Amphiarai, neque Calchantis, neque Heleni tantum nomen fuisset, neque tot nationes id ad hoc tempus retinuissent, Arabum, Phrygum, Lycaonum, Cilicum, maximeque Pisidarum, nisi vetustas ea certa esse docuisset. Nec vero Romulus noster auspicato urbem condidisset, neque Attii Navii nomen memoria floreret tamdiu, nisi hi omnes multa ad veritatem admirabilia dixissent. On the Laws*, bk. 2, ch. 13, Paris ed., 1818. [The Latin repeats the English given above in the text.]

Cicero makes this faith of the human race rest on the following reasoning: "It is certain that there are gods; therefore they make the future known to us. And if they make it known to us by signs, they must give us at the same time the means of understanding those signs; this means can only be divination: therefore there is a divination… If then reason and facts are on my side; if nations, if barbarians, if our own ancestors agree in all that I have just advanced, what ground is there for calling it into doubt? And if, besides, it is a thing that has always been acknowledged by the greatest philosophers, by the most celebrated poets, and by men of eminent wisdom who founded republics and built cities, shall we wait for the beasts to speak, and can the unanimous agreement of the human race not suffice for us?… The truth of the oracles is a thing that was never doubted in the world before philosophy, which has been developed only lately (1); and even since the progress of that philosophy no philosopher has ever held any other opinion. Epicurus alone is of the contrary

view. But is the opinion of a man to count for anything who maintains that there is no gratuitous virtue in the world (2)?" Speaking of the oracle of Delphi in particular: "I maintain," adds the same witness, "that this oracle would never have been so celebrated or so famous, never would it have been enriched with the gifts of all peoples and of all kings, if all generations had not recognized the truth of its replies (3)."

1. It was rationalism devouring what still remained of the ancient traditions among the pagans.

2. *On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 39.

3. *Defendo unum, nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre et tam clarum fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis aetas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta* [I maintain one thing: that oracle at Delphi would never have been so celebrated and so famous, nor loaded with such gifts from all peoples and kings, had not every age experienced the truth of those oracles]. Ibid., bk. 1, ch. 19.

Further on he declares again that it is not only the common people who believe in oracles, but all that is most enlightened in the world. "With the exception," he says again, "of Epicurus, who can only stammer when speaking of the nature of the gods, all the philosophers have believed in the oracles (1)." Nothing is truer. The most celebrated schools of philosophy of antiquity, such as the Pythagoreans, the Platonists and the Stoics, defended the oracles with all their might, and treated as impious and atheists the small number of Epicureans and Cynics who gave them no credence. This belief did not even cease with paganism. "Since the birth of the Saviour of the world," says Baltus, "all the philosophers have been more obstinately attached to them than ever. They maintained the oracles with ardour in order to uphold the cause of their religion, which was falling into decay. The Epicureans themselves and the Cynics, forgetting on this occasion the principles and interests of their sect, made as much of them as they could; as one sees from the work of Celsus, where this Epicurean sets the oracles of Greece against the prophets of the Old Testament (2), exalting them greatly above those of the prophets, and speaking of them as a man persuaded of their excellence and of the great advantages that had been drawn from them. It is the same with Maximus of Tyre, a Cynic by profession and the master of Julian the Apostate (3)."

1. *Reliqui vero omnes philosophi, praeter Epicurum balbutientem de natura deorum, divinationem probaverunt* [All the other philosophers, except Epicurus stammering about the nature of the gods, have approved divination]. Ibid.

2. Apud Origen, bk. 7.

3. Id., *Reply*, part 3, p. 344 ff., etc.; p. 276.

With as much certainty as men believed in the oracles, they believed in the presence of the gods who delivered them (1). Hence the name of a god given to each oracle: Apollo at Delphi; Aesculapius at Epidaurus; Jupiter at the sanctuary of Memnon; and so of the rest. Now those whom the pagans called gods were only demons. A hundred times the Fathers of the Church, witnesses of the oracles and of the prodigies, have proved it, both by words and by facts. "Up to now," says Tertullian, "I have brought forward reasons; but here are evident facts which prove that your gods are only demons. Let a person truly possessed by a demon be brought before your tribunals; if any Christian commands that spirit to speak, it will confess then as truly that it is only a demon, as it elsewhere falsely says that it is God. Summon likewise those who are inspired by one of your divinities: either the Virgin [Caelestis] who promises rain, or Aesculapius who heals the sick. If these gods, not daring to lie to the Christian who questions them, do not avow that they are demons, then shed on the spot the blood of that audacious Christian. What is more evident than this deed, what is surer than this proof (2)?" Saint Cyprian speaks like Tertullian. "It is the evil spirits," he says, "hidden in the statues and in the consecrated images, who inspire their prophets; who stir the fibres of the entrails of victims; who govern the flight of birds; who dispose lots, and who deliver oracles, always

mingling the false with the true (3).” Then, in proof of what he advances, the illustrious doctor adds: “Yet these spirits, when adjured in the name of the true God, obey us at once, they submit to us, they confess everything to us, and are forced to leave the bodies which they besiege. One sees that our prayers redouble their pains, that they agitate them, that they torment them horribly. One hears them howl, groan, beg, and declare, in the very presence of those who adore them, whence they come and when they will depart (4).” Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Saint Athanasius, all the Latin and Greek Fathers affirm the same fact; they affirm it to the faces of the pagans themselves. Either all these great men were hallucinating, or else one must acknowledge that they were very sure of what they said, to found on such a proof the apology of Christianity and the truth of the religion that they were defending (5). He too must have been hallucinating, or the truth of the oracles must have been very well demonstrated to him, for one of the greatest men of modern times, the grave and illustrious Kepler, not to have feared to write, in the face of science and half-science: “It cannot be denied that formerly demons spoke to men through idols, through oaks, through woods, through caves, through animals, through the most mute parts of the body, so that the art of divination is by no means a piece of jugglery to deceive simple people (6).”

1. *Oracula*, says Cicero, *ex eo ipso appellata sunt, quod inest his deorum oratio* [Oracles are so called from the very fact that in them is the speech of the gods]. *Topica*; and elsewhere: *Deus, inclusus corpore humano, jam non Cassandra, loquitur* [A god, enclosed in a human body, now speaks, no longer Cassandra]. *On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 31.

2. …*Nisi se daemones confessi fuerint, christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite. Quid isto opere manifestius? quid hac probatione fidelius? Apology*, ch. 23. — It is found incessantly repeated in the acts of the martyrs in East and West.

3. *Hi ergo spiritus sub statuis et imaginibus consecratis delitescunt. Hi afflatu suo vatum pectora inspirant, extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficiunt, falsa veris semper involvunt* [These spirits therefore lurk under statues and consecrated images. By their breath they inspire the breasts of prophets, animate the fibres of the entrails, govern the flight of birds, rule the lots, produce oracles, always wrapping the false up with the true]. *On the Vanity of Idols*.

4. *Hic tamen adjurati per Deum verum nobis statim cedunt et fatentur, et de obsessis corporibus exire coguntur. Videas illos nostra voce et oratione occulte flagellis caedi, igne torqueri, incremento poenae propagantis extendi, ejulare, gemere, deprecari; unde veniant et quando discedant, ipsis etiam qui se colunt audientibus confiteri.* Ibid. [The Latin is rendered in the text.]

5. See Baltus, part 1, pp. 90–109.

6. *Negari non potest ab hujusmodi spiritibus olim hominibus responsa data ex idolis, quercubus, lucis, antris, animalibus, absurdisque corporis partibus; neque mera simplicium deceptio fuit auspicina. Erant enim ista daemonia, in avibus per aerem dirigendis operosa, quibus, Deo permittente, multa hominibus praesignificabantur. Equidem et hodie interdum exempla audiuntur ominosarum avium*, etc. *De Stella nova* [*On the New Star*] — *Cometarum physiologica*, p. 107, 4to, Prague, 1606. [Sic: Kepler’s *De stella nova* was printed at Prague in 1606.]

Moreover, between the Christians and the pagans the point in dispute was not the presence of spirits in the oracles, but the nature of those spirits. The pagans maintained that these spirits were gods, and they adored them. The Christians, on the contrary, proved that they were demons, and they held their worship in horror. But, we repeat, all were agreed on the presence of supernatural agents in the oracles.

We have said that the Christians proved that all these gods, inspirers of oracles, were only malevolent spirits, and their arguments were unanswerable. On the one hand, they forced these pretended gods to confess themselves that they were only demons. “You know well,” said Minucius Felix to his former co-religionists,

“that your gods, Saturn himself, Serapis, Jupiter, and all the others whom you adore, avow that they are only demons. Now it is not credible that they lie, to their own dishonour, above all in your presence. Believe them, then, and acknowledge that they are demons, since they themselves bear witness to it (1).” On the other hand, summing up, from the pagan authors themselves, the oracles of the gods and the acts that followed from them, they showed with the evidence of light that these oracles had constantly commanded human sacrifices and impurities that make one blush; had taught magic, provoked wars and murders; had praised the impious and the wicked, and annihilated human liberty by upholding everywhere the dogma of fatality or destiny (2). “And you regard as gods,” Lactantius said to them, “those who outrage humanity and truth in this way! Yes, gods, but malevolent and perverse gods, that is, rebel spirits who wish to usurp the name of God and the worship due to Him. Not that they desire honours — there are none for those who are lost beyond remedy; not that they pretend to harm God — no one can: but they would harm men. At any price they wish to turn them away from the knowledge and worship of the supreme Majesty, in order to deprive them of the blessed immortality which they themselves have lost by their malice. They obscure the truth with darkness and clouds, so that the human race may know neither its Creator nor its Father. The better to succeed, they hide in the temples, they mingle in the sacrifices, they work prodigies that astonish and cause divine honours to be rendered to the images of gods (3).”

1. *Haec omnia sciunt plerique vestrum ipsos daemones de semetipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur. Ipse Saturnus, et Serapis, et Jupiter, et quidquid daemonum colitis, victi dolore, quod sunt eloquuntur. Nec utique in turpitudinem sui, non nullis praesertim vestrum assistentibus, mentiuntur. Ipsis testibus eos esse daemones de se verum confitentibus credite*, etc. *Octavius*. [Rendered in the text.]

2. See the proofs in Baltus, part 1, pp. 118–130.

3. *…Effundunt itaque tenebras et veritatem caligine obducunt, ne Dominum et Patrem suum norint, et ut illiciant facile, in templis se occulunt, et sacrificiis omnibus praesto adsunt, eduntque saepe prodigia quibus obstupefacti homines fidem commodent simulacris divinitatis et numinis.* Lactantius, bk. 2, ch. 17. [Rendered in the text.]

From the foregoing two facts result. The first, that the pagan world was full of oracles: they surrounded it as a line of circumvallation surrounds a besieged city: *oraculis stipatus*. Such is, among a thousand, the declaration of Plutarch and of Tertullian, two eyewitnesses, placed at the antipodes of one another, and hence strangers to any collusion. The second, that these oracles were delivered by spirits. On this point there is a fresh unanimity on the part of the eyewitnesses. Modern unbelief does not dare to deny the fact; but it laughs at the explanation. According to it, the oracles were pure jugglery, good for amusing the ignorant multitude, but without influence upon enlightened men, who did not believe in them.

Jugglery! That is soon said: but your reasons? To affirm is not to prove. What sort of jugglery is it that has reigned over the whole extent of the globe for twenty centuries, that has constantly cast the human race into hallucination, to the point of persuading it that it saw what it did not see, that it heard what it did not hear? A jugglery that still reigns over the greater part of the earth, where it continues to produce the same overturning of the senses and of reason? A jugglery that ceased among civilized nations only on the coming of Christianity; that continues with the same success among all the peoples whom Christianity has not enlightened, and that returns wherever its light disappears? Singular jugglery, whose secret is lost when the world becomes Christian, and found again when it ceases to be so! Tell us the name, the country, the birth of the skilful juggler who invented it, and who gives up his trade according to the degree of latitude at which he finds himself in relation to Christianity! To admit a universal jugglery, universally believed, is to admit universal folly; but if the human race is mad, prove that you are wise.

And then, of what nature was this jugglery? It was good, you say, for amusing the ignorant multitude. A singular amusement for the multitude, even an ignorant one: the sacrifice of what it held dearest! All the oracles demanded human victims. One has seen a thousand times, at a thousand points of the globe, thousands of parents bring their own children to the altars of monstrous divinities: and you believe that they were obeying a mere jugglery! One has seen whole tribes, such as the Pelasgians of Magna Graecia, abandon their goods and their country to escape the orders of these bloodthirsty oracles: and never did it enter their thought to distrust priestly jugglery! You admit, without frowning, that men were able to make sport of their fellows in this way, for whole centuries, without anyone ever being able to discover their trickery! If you are unbelievers in matters of religion, grant that it is not credulity that you lack. At least be consistent with yourselves. For you pagan antiquity is the age of true enlightenment: and you make it the age easiest to deceive! Can it be true that your convictions change with the needs of controversy?

You answer: it is only a question of the ignorant multitude; and that is found even in the most civilized ages. — A multitude, indeed, singularly ignorant, which, according to Tertullian, comprises all the men of letters in the world, *omnis saeculi litteratura*; and which, on the testimony of Cicero himself, is composed of all that the pagan peoples of East and West have known, for two thousand years, that was most celebrated for genius and for learning. Kings, legislators, captains, orators, philosophers of every name, Pythagoreans, Platonists, Stoics — all men, in a word, except three or four Epicurean brutes, *Epicuri de grege porci* [swine from Epicurus' herd, Horace]: this is what the ignorant multitude that believed in the oracles is composed of. And you do not believe in them! Take care: denial is perilous. It might bring down on you the proverb: Birds of a feather flock together [lit. "who resembles, assembles"].

Before pursuing the examination of the objection, let us halt for a moment. To separate oneself thus from the common faith there must be more than pretexts: there must be motives. Up to now we have seen only the first; let us see what the second may be. There are two: ignorance and interest. A grave philosopher is going to explain them to us. "Ignorance of ourselves," he says, "makes us forget that men are naturally incredulous. We do not readily see what lies beyond what we see. Everything marvellous and extraordinary seems suspect to them. They always suspect fraud and imposture in it, and, if there is the least, it is not possible for it to escape them. It happens indeed only too often, by this natural reluctance to believe anything that appears extraordinary, that they suppose trickery where they have not the slightest reason to suspect it. If truth, and often a wholly divine truth, has so much trouble in getting itself recognized, how could a purely human trickery maintain itself for long? How could it subsist for whole centuries, and deceive not a few ignoramuses, but the most learned men and the whole of the most enlightened and ablest nations?

"Such, literally, were those famous oracles of paganism. They subsisted more than two thousand years; they were, throughout all that time, consulted, admired and respected by the whole of paganism, by the most enlightened peoples and nations. The Greeks and Romans regarded them as the most august and divine thing in their religion. All the philosophers were convinced of them like the rest. Scarcely is there found a single one — among those who, like the beasts, recognized neither divinity, nor providence, nor immortality of the soul — who dared to stammer that all these oracles were only the trickeries of the priests of the idols (1)."

1. Baltus, part 2, p. 231 ff.

One sees from this whence the opposition comes. It is motivated neither by authority nor by science, but by the interest of the heart. The supernatural is a nuisance to the animal man [*l'homme animal*; cf. 1 Cor. 2:14], and he denies it. But his denial leads him to the absurd. "The Epicureans, ancient and modern," continues Baltus, "are forced to admit the fact of the oracles; but in the way in which they explain them, the oracles were such gross trickeries that they ought to have been incapable of deceiving, for six weeks, the most stupid and ignorant country folk. According to them, the worshippers were spoken to out of hollow statues; people shouted in their ears through trumpets; they were put to sleep with I know not what drugs; puppets were made to play before their eyes. And for more than two thousand years all peoples believed that all this was

divine, supernatural, miraculous — in a word, the work of the gods and the effect of their power! Among the ablest philosophers, in the bosom of the most enlightened nations, no one was found to discover the fraud! Were the men of those days incapable of suspecting that someone could or would wish to deceive them? If the priests of the idols had an interest in amusing and seducing them, had they not much more in avoiding being so (1)?"

1. Ibid.

In order to give their natural explanation of the oracles a varnish of science, other Epicureans have attributed them to hidden virtues, to unknown properties of nature, to fluids, or to certain exhalations of the earth (1). But if these virtues are hidden, these properties unknown, how do they know that they can deliver oracles? What connections have they established between certain exhalations of the earth and the faculty of foretelling the future or seeing at a distance? They do not perceive that they make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of common sense, by putting words in the place of things; and in the eyes of their own colleagues, by seriously seeking the cause of an effect which is only a chimera or the gross trickery of a few impostors. And they proudly call themselves unbelievers!

1. So speaks Pliny the Epicurean [sic], *Natural History*, bk. 2, ch. 93.

"The truth is that, to believe that so many great men, so many different nations were in so prodigious a blindness during so long a succession of centuries, one must have a very robust faith. It is easier to believe the most incredible and prodigious things in the fables. You nevertheless believe this prodigy, however much you are enemies of the marvellous. Whence comes this? It is that many people do not like to hear talk of demons, nor of anything that has any connection with them. It awakens certain ideas of the other life which are not pleasing. They believe the truths of religion readily enough on speculative reasoning; but too sensible proofs of those same truths inconvenience them (1)."

1. Baltus, as above.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXV

1. **Heading.** "Nouvelle suite du précédent" ("A new continuation of the preceding"): the third part of the discussion of the parallelism between the social functions of the Spirit of Good and of Satan. Gaume's chief authority for this and the following chapters is the Jesuit Jean-François Baltus (1667–1743), *Réponse à l'Histoire des oracles de M. de Fontenelle* (1707) and its *Suite*, which defended the demonic origin of pagan oracles against Fontenelle (who had adapted the Dutch Anton van Dale's naturalistic account).

2. **Quotations.** Plutarch (*Against Colotes*) is cited from Amyot's sixteenth-century French; Cicero's *De divinatione* and *De legibus* from a French translation of the Paris 1818 edition; Tertullian, *De anima* and the *Apologeticum*; Cyprian's *Quod idola dii non sint*; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*. The Cicero citations of *De Natura Deorum* (2.2) and *De Legibus* are given as printed or lightly corrected.

3. **Errors in Gaume's text.** (a) "Saul sur le chemin de Damas" — the conversion of Saul/Paul on the road to Damascus; Gaume lists it among divine "voices", the sense being clear. (b) The reference "De Divinat. I, xxix" for Delphi is probably xix. (c) Pliny is called "Pline l'épicurien" in the French; Pliny the Elder was not an Epicurean (he mocked divination and affirmed nature's sovereignty); the phrase is Baltus's, loosely. (d) Tertullian's "Virgo Caelestis" (Dea Caelestis of Carthage, the "Virgin who promises rain") is rendered as in the French "la Vierge".

4. **Idiom.** "Qui se ressemble s'assemble" (proverb, "birds of a feather"); "jonglerie" I render "jugglery" throughout (the sense: sleight-of-hand imposture).

5. **Python.** In Acts 16:16 and in the Vulgate (1 Kings 28:7) *pytho* = spirit of divination; Baltus' etymology (Hebrew *'ob*, "water-skin/spirit", sometimes associated with *pethen*, serpent) is speculative.

Chapter XXVI. (End of the Preceding)

Fresh proofs that the oracles were not jugglery. — Example of the Romans during the whole duration of their empire. — Curious facts contemporary with Cicero. — Death penalty against despisers of the oracles. — Examples of the Greeks. — Incessant processions to the temples of oracles: testimonies of Cicero, Strabo, Marcus Aurelius. — Oracles by dreams: a new feature of the parallelism: testimonies of Arrian, Cicero and Tertullian. — Another feature of the parallelism: the temple of Jerusalem and the temple of Delphi. — Celebrity and riches of the latter. — Present existence of oracles among all the peoples still pagan: Madagascar, China, Cochin-China. — Summary of the parallelism between the two Cities. — Beautiful words of a Father of the Council of Trent.

The Epicurean objection adds that the oracles were without influence on enlightened men, who did not believe in them. That the enlightened men of pagan antiquity did not believe in the oracles — the proof to the contrary has just been read; we shall not repeat it. Let us recall only that, in the name of all generations, *omnis saeculi* [of every age], Cicero has given the modern pagans a solemn contradiction. Let them settle matters with the greatest name of ancient letters, as they call him; that is their affair (1). Ours is to examine whether, as the objection claims, the oracles had no influence on the conduct of the enlightened men and peoples of the ancient world.

1. As in Plato, there are two men in Cicero: the man of tradition, and the man of rationalism. The first speaks in the first book of the *Divination*, and records the universal faith in oracles. In the second book the rationalist gathers up the poor negations which individual reason opposes to the affirmations of general reason. It is the sophist against the philosopher, the pygmy against the giant.

Now, the truth is that the oracles exercised such an influence on the public and private conduct of the most enlightened pagans, without distinction of country and civilization, that they obtained from them the sacrifices most costly to nature: the immolation of their children and the stripping of their goods. The truth is further that the most celebrated men and peoples undertook nothing of importance without consulting them. Let us confine ourselves to a few facts.

Is it a question of the purely religious order? Unfaithful to Jehovah, how many times have the Jews been seen, without distinction of social position, to fall into Moloch-worship and, at his demand, immolate their sons and daughters to that cruel divinity! In Phoenicia, in Syria, in Persia, in Arabia, in Africa, in Crete, at Carthage, the most illustrious citizens resign themselves to the same sacrifice by order of the oracles. It is on the same injunction that in Greece King Erechtheus immolates his beloved daughter; Agamemnon, his; Idomeneus, his son; the Athenians, their chosen sons and daughters; the Messenians, a pure virgin; the Thebans, the son of their king; the Achaeans, the most beautiful girl and the most beautiful young man of their capital. Sacrifices of the same kind, that is, solemn and demanded by public authority, were performed among all the celebrated peoples of antiquity (1)!

1. See, among others, the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, April, June, July, December 1861.

As to the stripping of their goods, the immense riches heaped up in the temples of oracles are well known: we shall speak of them presently.

Is it a question of the influence of the oracles on society and on the family, on public and private affairs? It was neither less powerful nor less universal than in the religious order. Here again we shall confine ourselves to a few examples, taken from model men and model peoples.

Romulus wishes to build Rome; but, before putting his hand to the work, he consults the oracle. “It is a constant tradition,” says Cicero, “that Romulus, the father and founder of Rome, not only did not lay the foundations of this city until after he had taken the auspices, but that he was himself an excellent augur, *optimus augur*. The other kings, his successors, employed the augurs, and when the kings had been driven out, nothing was done at Rome thereafter by public authority, in peace or in war, without the intervention of the auspices (1).” And elsewhere: “The augurate of Romulus was not a thing he invented, after the foundation of Rome, to deceive the ignorant vulgar; it was on the contrary a religious ceremony founded on a certain science, which he left to posterity. He and his brother were augurs before the foundation of the city, as we see in Ennius (2).”

1. *Principio, hujus urbis parens, Romulus, non solum auspicato urbem condidisse, sed ipse etiam optimus augur fuisse traditur. Deinde auguribus et reliqui reges usi: et exactis regibus, nihil publice sine auspiciis nec domi, nec militiae gerebatur. On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 2. [Rendered in the text.]

2. Ibid., bk. 1, ch. 48.

Numa wishes to give laws to Rome; but he consults the oracle. He is proclaimed king by the people; but, before accepting the kingship, he consults the oracle. This last consultation became a law, constantly observed by the successors of Numa throughout the duration of the empire (1). Do you see all these kings of the City of Evil consecrated by Satan! What a new parody of the true God and of the City of Good! The first Romans consulted the oracle of Delphi on the kingship. Junius Brutus understood the reply. He started from it to drive out the kings and establish the republic, of which he was the first consul (2). Later the senate sends ambassadors to consult the same oracle about the success of the war against the Veientes: what it commands is done, and the Romans are victorious (3). In becoming civilized the Romans do not lose the habit of resorting to oracles. Their generals, before setting out for war, before giving battle; their magistrates, before entering upon office; their most celebrated men, before undertaking an important affair, fail not to consult them (4). Not to speak of the others, the great Cicero consults the oracle of Delphi on the manner of life he should embrace in order to become illustrious, and the reply of the god determines his vocation (5). Octavius Rufus [i.e. Octavius, the father of Augustus] consults the Thracian Bacchus on the destinies of his son, and receives the most favourable omens (6). Before the battle of Pharsalus, Cassius consults the oracle of Delphi. Later, Tiberius consults that of Geryon; Nero, that of Delphi; Germanicus, that of Claros; Caligula, that of Antium; Vespasian, that of the god Carmel; Titus, that of Venus at Paphos; Trajan, that of Heliopolis; Hadrian, that of Jupiter Nicephorus; Severus, that of Jupiter Belus. Caracalla consults with incredible avidity all those he can find. So with those other masters of the world, down to and including Julian the Apostate (7).

1. *Roman Antiquities*, arts. *Romulus* and *Lituus*.

2. *Delphos ad maxime inclytum in terris oraculum mittere statuit*, etc. [He resolved to send to Delphi, the most renowned oracle on earth]. Livy, bk. 1 [sic, but cf. bk. 1, ch. 56], first decade.

3. Id., bk. 5, first decade.

4. *Omitto nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine auspiciis domi habent* [I pass over our own people, who do nothing in war without the entrails, nothing at home without the auspices]. Cicero, *On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 16.

5. Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*.

6. Suetonius, *Augustus*, ch. 94.

7. Baltus, etc., p. 365 ff., and *Suite*, p. 30, and in Bullet, *Histoire de l’établissement du christianisme*, p. 318 ff., where all the texts of the pagan authors are read.

What is one to say of this long procession of magistrates, generals, Roman emperors consulting the demon? Once more, is it not the brilliant parody of what was happening in Israel, and a new feature of the parallelism between the City of Evil and the City of Good? That is not all: the divine oracle constantly directed the chiefs of the holy nation. In the same way, on the replies they obtained, these princes of paganism, whose enlightenment is admired, performed a long series of brilliant actions, sometimes praiseworthy, most often criminal; they built cities, gave laws, modified institutions, undertook wars, fought battles, signed treaties, regulated the affairs of State and governed the Roman Empire, that is, the greater part of the known world. And one dares to advance that the oracles were without influence on the conduct of enlightened men, who did not believe in them!

But as to the religious submission with which they honoured the oracles, we must hear Cicero himself, Cicero speaking in the midst of the enlightenment of the great age of Augustus [*sic*: Cicero belongs to the age before Augustus; so Gaume's own phrase], Cicero the augur or, as we should say today, medium, and official medium. Recounting the religious laws of Rome — laws received, so to speak, from the very hand of the gods, *a diis quasi traditam religionem* [a religion handed down as it were by the gods] — he cites the following prescriptions: "Let there be two classes of priests: the one to preside over the ceremonies and sacrifices; the other whose function is to interpret, at the request of the senate and the people, the obscure words of diviners and oracles. Let the interpreters of Jupiter Best and Greatest, the public augurs, consult, according to the rites, the omens and the auspices. Let the priests take the augural observations for the preservation of the vines, the orchards and the health of the people. Let those who are charged with war and with public interests take the auspices and be guided by their indications. Let them make sure whether the gods are not angered, and carefully indicate the regions of the sky from which lightning will burst forth (1)."

1. *Eorum autem (sacerdotum) duo genera sunto: unum quod praesit caerimoniis sacris: alterum quod interpretetur fatidicorum et vatum effata incognita, cum senatus populusque adsciverit. Interpretes autem Jovis optimi, maximi, publici augures, signis et auspiciis postea vidento, disciplinam tenento. Sacerdotes vineta virgetaque et salutem populi auguranto. Quique agent rem duelli, quique popularem, auspicium praemonento, illique obtemperanto. Divorum iras providento, caelique fulgura regionibus ratis temperanto. On the Laws*, bk. 2, ch. 8. — They believed therefore, like the Church herself, that demons were not strangers to storms.

Modern flippancy will not fail to laugh at these augural functions, these consultations and these replies: in spite of the old Cato's saying, Roman gravity did not laugh at them. Let us continue to listen to Cicero: "Everything the augur shall have declared unjust, ill-omened, defective, evil, shall be held null and void. Whoever refuses to submit to this declaration shall be punished with death (1)." Thus death, neither more nor less, was the penalty reserved for the despiser of oracles, whoever he might be: and generals have been seen put to death for having won a victory against the will of the gods. Here again let us point out a new feature of the parallelism. The severest penalties, and public calamities, are in the law of Moses the chastisement of those who do not consult the oracle of the Lord, or who despise His replies. In the terrible sanction given by Satan to these oracles, how can we fail to see a new parody?

1. *Quaeque augur injusta, nefasta, vitiosa, dira defixerit, irrita infectaque sunto. Quique non paruerit, capitale esto.* Ibid.

But perhaps this religious respect for the oracles, good enough for Romulus and his ignorant bandits, vanished in the light of Roman civilization? The great age of Augustus, for instance, must have mocked it with impunity, and laughed an inextinguishable laugh at the simple and naive faith of the ancestors? Let us again give the word to Cicero, and listen to this unimpeachable witness celebrating the power of the augurs as it existed in his time. "One of the greatest and most important offices of the republic, whether for the right or for the authority it gives, is unquestionably that of augur (1). I do not say this because I am myself clothed with that dignity; it is that the thing is in fact so.

"As to the right, what is more important than the power it enjoys of dissolving the *comitia* [popular assemblies] and assemblies at the very beginning of their sitting, by whatever magistrate they have been convoked, or of annulling their acts, from whatever authority they may have emanated? What is more important than suspending undertakings of the utmost consequence by this single word: To another day, *alio die*? What is more magnificent than being able to order the consuls to abdicate their magistracy: *Quid magnificentius, quam posse decernere, ut magistratu se abdicent consules?* What is more respectable than the faculty of granting or refusing permission to treat with the people; of quashing laws not juridically proposed; so that nothing is validly done by the magistrates, at home or abroad, unless it is approved by the college of augurs: *Nihil domi, nihil foris per magistratus gestum, sine eorum auctoritate posse cuiquam probari* (2)."

1. The college of augurs was composed of fifteen members; it renewed itself by co-optation.

2. *On the Laws*, bk. 2, ch. 12. — The fact is, as Holy Scripture itself teaches us, that the pagans did nothing, absolutely nothing, without consulting the oracle. Wisdom 13:17–19. The proof of it is also in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, year 1862, and earlier.

Let us now see this magnificent power in exercise. Under Pompey, Caesar and their worthy colleagues, the most complete anarchy reigns in Rome. One single authority is recognized, that of the augurs. Cato wishes to be praetor; Pompey does not wish it, and dissolves the assembly by this single word: "I am taking the auspices"; that is, I have observed the sky, and I have seen dangerous omens (1). At the same period (53 B.C.), Cicero writes to Atticus: "The tribune Scaevola has prevented the *comitia* for the nomination of consuls, by announcing every day that he was observing the sky, down to today, September 30th, when I write this (2)." In another letter, addressed to his brother, on October 21st, he shows still better the dreaded power of the augurs. "Every day," he says, "the *comitia* are suppressed by the announcements of observations of the sky, to the great satisfaction of all good men, so much are the consuls detested (3)." Thus the observation of the sky held the whole Roman empire in suspense. In that very year it prevented the nomination of the consuls, so that the following year (52 B.C.) was without consuls for eight months. This is what is called the *interregnum of Pompey*. The city falls into confusion; murders and acts of violence follow one another. "Everything is changed, everything is ruined and almost destroyed," writes Cicero again: *Sunt omnia debilitata jam prope et extincta* [All things are now weakened and almost extinguished] (4).

1. Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*.

2. *To Atticus* 4:16; vol. 17, p. 440.

3. *Comitiorum quotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum omnium: tanta invidia sunt consules. To Quintus* [brother], 3, vol. 20, p. 524.

4. *To Curio, Familiar Letters*, bk. 2, ep. 5.

That, however, is what those proud Romans, those matadors of liberty, were in the very century of Augustus: mute and trembling slaves under the iron yoke of the demon. In celebrating the absolute power of the augurs, what does Cicero do but make the solemn proclamation of the most shameful and hardest servitude that ever was, of that so-called free people, that sovereign people, as they say in the colleges? Was it not pure *demonocracy*, demonocracy at its highest power? And, we repeat, the Romans are given to us as the freest people that ever existed. O lying education! Were they wrong to tremble thus before the prohibitions of Satan and of the augurs, his interpreters? Not at all: at the slightest resistance, frightful omens and dreadful calamities announced the wrath of the master. Cicero still shudders when he recounts the omens that burst forth on the day when, in his capacity as consul, he celebrated the Latin Festival on the Alban Mount. "At the moment when I was pouring libations of milk to Jupiter Latius, a brilliant comet announced a great carnage. The light of the moon suddenly vanished in the midst of a starry sky, that of the sun was eclipsed. A man was

struck by lightning in clear weather; the earth trembled; terrible spectres appeared during the night. The raving diviners announced nothing but misfortunes everywhere. On every side one read the terrifying writings and monuments of the Etruscans (1)."

1. Poem on his consulship. — *On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 11.

As to the rash men who dared to despise the funereal omens, apart from two or three exceptions which confirm the rule, Satan was accustomed to strike them with pitiless rigour. On the very certainty of the chastisement was founded the universal fear that he inspired. The year 53 [*sic*: Gaume prints 52] before Jesus Christ offers a memorable example. In spite of the gods, Crassus persists in making war on the Parthians. The augur Ateius awaits him at the gate of Rome. As soon as Crassus has arrived, he sets on the ground a brazier full of fire, pours libations and perfumes on it. At the same time he pronounces against the audacious general terrible imprecations, by which he devotes him to certain strange and formidable gods, whom he invokes by their names. "The Romans," says Plutarch, "assure us that these mysterious imprecations, whose origin is lost in the night of time, have such force that never has anyone against whom they were made been able to escape their effect (1)." Appian adds: "Crassus, having despised them, perished in Parthia with his son and all his army, composed of eleven legions. Of a hundred thousand soldiers scarcely ten thousand returned to Syria (2)."

1. *Life of Crassus*, ch. 16.

2. *Civil Wars*, bk. 2, ch. 18.

If not more than the Romans, at least as much, we find the Greeks eager for oracles, respectful towards their sanctuaries and docile to their voice. The soil of Hellas is literally covered with them: most of them enjoy a universal fame. Thebes, Delos, Claros, Dodona and a hundred other prophetic places see arrive, not only from the different parts of Greece but from East and West, continual processions of pilgrims of every condition, who come to question the gods, invoke their help, or thank them for their benefits. One same faith confounds all ranks, unites all hearts, and the same prayer expresses all needs. Princes and heads of republics go there for their undertakings, citizens for their affairs. In the collection of the oracles one finds a great number delivered to private persons, on their marriages, on their children, on their journeys, on their illnesses, on their trade, and on the thousand details of domestic life (1). "What people," cries Cicero, "what city is there that is not governed either by the inspection of the entrails of victims, or by the interpretation of prodigies or of lightnings, by the auspices, by lots, by the predictions of the observers of the stars, by dreams, and by oracles (2)?" At the sight of this immense, incessant concourse; at the sight of the rich offerings brought and the favours obtained: "See our countless temples," cried a great pagan! "They are more august by the gods who dwell in them than by the worship that is carried on there, or by the riches with which they overflow. There, indeed, priests full of God, identified with God, unroll the future; guard against dangers; give the sick their remedy; the afflicted, hope; the unfortunate, help; console in calamities; sustain in toil. There, too, during sleep, we see the gods, we hear them, we contemplate their features (3)." Thus Caecilius presents the oracles as a palpable proof of his religion. To this often-repeated objection, how did the Fathers of the Church reply? By denying the facts? Never. They proved, and they did so without difficulty, that the marvellous things accomplished in the temples of oracles were to be attributed, not to the true God, but to demons (4).

1. Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, bk. 5, ch. 20–23.

2. *On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 1 [the passage is 1.1].

3. *Intende templis ac delubris deorum… Etiam per quietem deos videmus, audimus, cognoscimus* [Look at the temples and shrines of the gods… Even in sleep we see the gods, hear them, recognize them]. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*. — On the apparitions of the gods under sensible forms, see the testimonies of the pagan

authors in Bullet, *Histoire de l'établissement du christianisme*, p. 311 ff., 8vo ed., 1825.

4. See Athenagoras, *Legatio* [Plea for the Christians].

If strangers came flocking to the classic land of oracles, one may judge what the Greeks themselves did. To consult the gods on all their public and private affairs was an inviolable tradition. The fact is so well known that Cicero asks: "What colony has Greece ever sent to Aetolia, to Ionia, to Asia, to Sicily, to Italy, without having consulted the oracle of Delphi, of Dodona or of Ammon? What war has she ever undertaken without the counsel of the gods (1)?" In order to be nearer the oracle and better placed to receive its counsels, it was at Delphi that the Amphictyons came to hold their sessions when it was a matter of deliberating on the general affairs of Greece (2). Now, all these questions of peace and war, of important undertakings and of public administration, whose solution was asked of the oracles — was it the ignorant multitude that dealt with them? Was it the multitude which, on the same authority, sent out, for a long series of centuries, the colonies from which so many countries in Asia and Europe received their first inhabitants? In Greece, as in the rest of the world, faith in oracles was therefore, for the great as for the people, the first article of religion.

1. *Quam vero Graecia coloniam misit in Aetoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam, sine pythio, aut dodonaeo, aut ammonio oraculo? Aut quod bellum susceptum ab ea sine consilio deorum est? On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 1. [Rendered in the text.]

2. *Hic quoque Amphyctionum constitutum erat concilium et de rebus publicis consulturum* [Here too was established the council of the Amphictyons, to deliberate on public affairs]. Strabo, bk. 9.

As to the oracles by dreams of which the pagan Caecilius speaks, they were very common and highly esteemed, even by persons of the first rank. We have heard Cicero and Tertullian name a great number of them and add that they were met with at every step. Strabo reports, as a fact known to everybody, that a crowd of persons went to sleep in the temple of Serapis at Canopus, to learn remedies for their illnesses or for those of their friends (1). One reads in Arrian that the chief officers of Alexander's army also went to pass the night in the temple of the same god at Alexandria, to learn whether they should convey their master there to be cured of the illness of which he died (2). On the testimony of Cicero, the ephors and the other magistrates of Lacedaemon were accustomed to go and seek in the temple of Pasiphae, near their city, prophetic dreams concerning the affairs of the republic, which they regarded as certain (3). For the same ends the mother of Augustus came, with the Roman ladies, to sleep in the temple of Apollo (4). Finally the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius, the highest personification of wisdom in the eyes of the modern pagans, writes himself: "Another great mark of the care of the gods for me is that in my dreams they taught me remedies for my illnesses, particularly for my spitting of blood and for my vertigo, as happened to me at Gaeta (5)."

1. Strabo, bk. 17. — This divination by sleep, does it not appear to have some kinship with consultations by somnambulism?

2. *On the Expedition of Alexander*, bk. 7.

3. *Atque etiam qui praeerant Lacedaemoniis non contenti vigilantibus curis, in Pasiphaae fano, quod est in agro propter urbem, somniandi causa excubabant, quia vera quietis oracula ducebant. On Divination*, bk. 1, ch. 43. [Rendered in the text.]

4. Suetonius, *Augustus*, ch. 94.

5. *Diis acceptum fero… quod per insomnia remedia mihi fuerint indicata, cum alia, tum adversus sanguinis excreationem et capitis vertiginem, quod et Cajetae aliquando factum est.* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, *Meditations*, bk. 1, no. 17, at the end. [Rendered in the text.]

The consultation by dreams was made sometimes by sleeping on beds intended for that purpose in the temples of nocturnal oracles, and during sleep the demons gave their counsels; sometimes by holding in the hand a sealed note in which the questions were written, and on which, in the morning, at the moment of waking, one read the answer. At other times a sealed consultation was sent to the oracle, and it answered without opening the letter. This is what the Emperor Trajan once did. As he was proposing to make war on the Parthians, his officers spoke to him with praise of the oracle of Heliopolis and urged him strongly to consult it. Trajan, who had not much faith in it and who feared some trickery, sent to the oracle a sealed letter to which he asked an answer. Now this letter was only blank paper. Without opening it, the priests present it to the god. The latter, to pay Trajan back in his own coin, orders that a perfectly blank paper, well folded and well sealed, be sent back to the emperor. Such an injunction frightened the priests, because they were ignorant of Trajan's stratagem. As for him, he was struck with admiration and gave his confidence to the oracle. He therefore sent it, a second time, a sealed note, by which he asked the god whether he would return to Rome after finishing the war he was undertaking. The god ordered that a vine, which was one of the offerings of his temple, be taken, broken in pieces, and carried to Trajan. The event, adds Macrobius, was perfectly in conformity with this oracle; for Trajan died in that war and his bones, which had been represented by the broken vine, were brought back to Rome (1). The same thing happened to the governor of Cilicia of whom Plutarch speaks. He was an Epicurean who, in that capacity, professed not to believe in oracles. To make mock, he sends to the oracle of Mopsus one of his servants with a sealed letter to which he asks an answer, which was to be given in a dream. The servant sets out, ignorant of the contents of the note. He sleeps in the temple, and returns to his master, to whom he reports what he saw in a dream and what was said to him. Stupefied at receiving his letter sealed as he had sent it, and at seeing that the words of his servant were the exact answer to what he had asked, he spoke of it to the Epicureans, his friends, who knew not what to reply (2).

1. *Exitus rei obitu Trajani apparuit, ossibus Romam relatis. Nam fragmentis species reliquiarum, vitis argumento casus futuri temporis ostensum est.* Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, bk. 1, ch. 23. [Rendered in the text.] In the fourth century the same practice still went on at Abydos, in the farthest Thebaid. Ammianus Marcellinus, bk. 19 [printed "ix"], ch. 12 [printed "xi"].

2. Plutarch, *On the Obsolescence of Oracles*; see also Tacitus, *Annals*, bk. 2; Strabo, bk. 17, etc., etc.

Independently of the unimpeachable testimonies one has just read, two facts suffice to demonstrate the existence, antiquity and universality of oracles by dreams. The first is the prohibition laid on the Jews to have recourse to them, and the condemnation of the rash men who dare to give themselves to this demoniacal practice. "Let there not be found among you any one… that observeth dreams (1)." "All the day long I have spread my hands to an unbelieving and provoking people, who go to sleep in the temples of idols to have dreams (2)." Explaining this passage, Saint Jerome adds: "There they lay upon the skins of the victims, in order to have dreams revealing the future. Which is still done among the Gentiles, slaves of the spirit of error, in the temple of Aesculapius and in many others (3)."

1. *Nec inveniatur in te… qui observet somnia.* Deut. 18:10.

2. *Qui immolant in hortis… et in delubris idolorum dormiunt.* Isaias [Isaiah] 65:3–4; and, according to the Septuagint version: *Qui… dormiunt propter somnia* [Who… sleep for the sake of dreams]. [Gaume's wording of the first sentence adapts Isaias 65:2–4.]

3. *Ubi stratis pellibus hostiarum incubare soliti erant, ut somniis futura cognoscerent. Quod in fano Aesculapii usque hodie error celebrat Ethnicorum, multorumque aliorum.* In Cornelius a Lapide on this place; and Tertullian, *On the Soul*, ch. 48 [printed "liv"].

The second testimony, no less authentic, is the practice of the Lord Himself of employing dreams to reveal His wishes to His servants: a new feature of the parallelism, which the king of the City of Evil could not fail

to add to so many others and to counterfeit to his own profit. There is another, no less striking, taken from the same order of facts. Jerusalem was the dwelling of Jehovah. It is from Sion that the directing voices of the City of Good went forth. From all parts of Judea and of the world the servants of the true God came hurrying there (1). Delphi is the insolent parody of Jerusalem. Its oracle is the most celebrated in the universe. It is from there, from the lair of the serpent Python, that the directing voices of the City of Evil go forth. To hear them one sees the worshippers of Satan hurrying in innumerable crowds from all parts of the earth. It would be a long list, that of the legislators, kings, emperors, magistrates, heads of republics, army generals, philosophers, men celebrated in different titles, of Europe and Asia, of East and West, who, for thousands of years, have consulted, in person or through their envoys, the god Python on their undertakings, or invoked his assistance (2).

1. *For the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* Isaias 2:3.

2. See Baltus, vol. 2, chs. 14, 15, 16.

Such was the veneration he enjoyed that the cities of Greece and even foreign princes sent rich gifts to Delphi, or placed their treasures on deposit there under the protection of the god. A new satanic parody of the temple of Jerusalem, in which private persons deposited their riches, as the history of Heliodorus teaches us [2 Machabees 3]. “The temple of Delphi,” say the pagan authors, “was of infinite wealth. One saw there a prodigious quantity of vases, tripods, statues of gold and silver, of bronze and of marble, which kings, princes and whole nations sent there from all sides (1).” One may judge the treasures it contained by a fact which has remained famous. The Phocians having pillaged this temple, Philip of Macedon had the booty they had carried off estimated by commissioners. The affair was judged by the council of the Amphictyons, who condemned the culprits to restore six thousand talents, or eighteen million of our money, representing the value of what they had taken away: and they had not taken everything (2). To believe that these brilliant testimonies of respect and confidence were only passing would be an error. The faith of the universe in the Delphic Serpent remained lively and general, even after the preaching of the Gospel. “In our days,” says Plutarch, “the temple of Delphi is more magnificent than ever. Ancient buildings which time was beginning to ruin have been restored there, and quite modern ones added. The little town which draws its nourishment from the oracle, like a small tree beside a large one, is today more considerable than it had been for a thousand years (3).”

1. Pausanias, in *Phocis*, devotes a great part of book 10 to enumerating the riches of this temple.

2. Dictionary of Antiquities, etc., art. *Temple*. [*Dictionnaire des antiquités*.]

3. *On the Pythian Oracles*, near the end.

We ask again: were the immense riches with which the temple of Delphi was filled, like all the temples of oracles, brought only by the ignorant and the poor, easy dupes of priestly jugglery? If it is manifest that the greater part was the homage of the rich, of princes, of governments: whom will you make admit a universal complicity, or a hallucination of twenty centuries, on the part of all that you yourselves give us as the flower of humanity, for genius, independence and virtue? If Pascal said with reason, “I readily believe witnesses who let their throats be cut” [*Pensées*], by what right will you refuse to history the right to repeat: I readily believe millions of witnesses who, to attest the truth of the oracles, sacrificed for two thousand years what they held dearest, their children and their riches? We must add: and who are still sacrificing them. Belief in satanic oracles has not ceased. Over the whole face of the earth not directed by the divine oracle, it reigns in the fullness of its ancient strength. As formerly, it commands human sacrifices or other acts contrary to the liveliest sentiments of nature; and, as formerly again, it remains common to private persons and to kings, to the learned and to the ignorant. The world is covered with oracles, *oraculis stipatus orbis*. True eighteen centuries ago, in Egypt, in Greece, in Italy, at Carthage, in the Gauls and in Germany, Tertullian’s saying continues to be true in China, in Tibet, in the Indies, in Africa, in America and in Oceania.

Among the thousands of testimonies recorded in the accounts of travellers or in the letters of the missionaries (1), and which establish the permanence of this fact — which you are free to call strange, absurd, incredible, but which is none the less a fact — we shall cite only two, taken from peoples of different manners and separated by great distances. In 1861 English travellers write from Madagascar: “Here, and particularly at court, it is the custom to consult the oracle Sikidy on every occasion, great or small. This is done in the following manner: a certain number of beans and little stones are mixed together, and according to the figure which they form, the persons skilled in the art of divination predict a favourable or unfavourable result. There are more than twelve oracle-interpreters attached to the court, and in the most trifling circumstances the queen takes the trouble to consult them. She has such faith in Sikidy that her will always bends before that of the oracle, and that the despotic sovereign is the first slave of her empire. Does she wish to make a journey? The queen consults Sikidy, in order to know on what day and at what hour she should set out. She consults it about her dress and her table, and it even decides from what source the water with which she refreshes herself is to be drawn.

1. See the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, no. 55, p. 176; no. 95, p. 309; no. 197, pp. 275–279, etc., etc.

“A few years ago it was a generally spread custom to consult Sikidy at the birth of children and to learn whether the hour at which they had seen the light was a lucky hour. If the hour was ill-omened, the poor child was laid on one of those roads along which great herds of oxen pass. If the animals passed over the child without hurting it, the unhappy fate seemed averted, and the child was triumphantly brought back to its father’s house. Very few came safe and sound out of this perilous trial; most of the children succumbed. The queen has forbidden this manner of interrogating fate, and it is perhaps the only law of humanity that she promulgated throughout her whole reign (1).”

1. *Travels in Madagascar*, 1861. [Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar* / *Madagascar Revisited*; the printed title is “Tvavels in Aladagascar, 1861”.]

This queen, the celebrated Ranavalo, possesses a superb royal residence a few leagues from her capital; she comes from time to time to spend a few weeks there, according as the oracles are good enough to permit her… When strangers arrive at the capital, it is customary for them to halt a few days at the foot of the town, until the oracles have been consulted and permission to go up has been sent to them (1). As among all the pagan peoples of old — Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Scandinavians — the acts of the public and private life of the idolatrous nations of today are regulated by oracles. On every page of his recent *Journey to the Sources of the Nile*, the English Captain Speke bears witness to this fact. In all the tribes of the eastern coast of Africa you find mediums or diviners, assiduously consulted and religiously obeyed, by princes as well as by the people. The same habit in the interior of Africa and everywhere else.

1. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, no. 197, pp. 275 and 279. — One of our missionaries was in the Indies when the phenomenon of the turning tables was making so much noise in Europe. Back in Paris, he told us: “The news of it came to the Indies and threw the Europeans into the greatest astonishment. As for the natives, one thing only astonished them: the astonishment of the Europeans.”

It is in illnesses that recourse to oracles is most frequent. We have from the mouth of two venerable missionary bishops the following facts, which date from yesterday. “When a Galla is sick, he calls as soon as possible the sorcerer or the sorceress; a hundred times I have been witness of what I am about to say. Arrived near the sick man, the sorceress begins to agitate herself: the agitation soon becomes convulsive; the convulsion, frightful contortions. I have seen one of these women beat the drum on her loins with the back of her head. By this sign the presence of the Spirit is recognized. It is then that the pythoness describes the illness and indicates the remedies (1).” “In Cochin-China they are no less eager to send for the interpreters of the Spirit. There are ordinarily two of them. One is provided with a little drum which he uses to call the Spirit. This is the charm, or the ancient *carmen*. The other listens. Little by little he goes into a crisis. The

paroxysm soon shows itself by contortions and disordered movements, which transform this human being into a sort of half-demon, so dreadful does he become to see. To make sure that he is in full possession of the Spirit, a hen is brought to him. He seizes it and devours it entire, with the feathers, the feet, the head: nothing is left. It is after the operation that he gives the replies asked for (2)." These peoples are already not so credulous. To believe they want signs. These signs are things humanly impossible. It is only after having been witnesses of them that they believe in the oracles and do what they prescribe. Let us add that in 1864 all the diviners of the

1. Account of Monsignor Massaia.

2. Account of Monsignor Soyher [*sic*; probably Mgr Sohier, vicar apostolic of Cochin-China].

kingdom were summoned to the coronation of the king of Cambodia, and that in Cochin-China, at this very hour, a royal barge never puts to sea before the oracle has been consulted. While in Madagascar the queen herself, following the example of the Roman emperors and of the great personages of antiquity, regulates her conduct by the reply of the oracles, in the Celestial Empire the simple Chinese consults them on his domestic affairs, as formerly the people of Rome and Athens. For the Chinese, whom Voltairian philosophy made the type of civilization, is a fervent disciple of the oracles. "We recruit," writes a missionary, "a great part of our neophytes from a certain class of women, whom God seems to take more in pity, because they have incurred the anathema which the Chinese call *the lot of misfortune*. Here is the story of it. At the time of betrothals it is customary among the infidels to call in a diviner, to cast the horoscope of the young girl and predict her future destinies. The medium comes at the parents' invitation. Arrived in the house, he makes evocations and performs the other demoniacal practices. Then he presents to the child an urn in which the lots are enclosed, some fortunate, some baleful, with this difference, that the good ones are incomparably the more numerous.

"The poor girl plunges her hand trembling into the fatal urn, not knowing whether it is a smiling future or an inheritance of misfortune that she is about to draw from it. Is she favoured? Everyone congratulates her, and the betrothal is concluded without delay. But if chance betrays her, her sentence is pronounced, her youth blighted, her whole life accursed. She must bow her head for ever under the weight of universal contempt. For her there is no more marriage, not even the pity of her mother. She will grow up solitary and abhorred under the paternal roof of which she is the disgrace; for the pagans have so much faith in these omens that the poorest among them would not marry the richest heiress who had drawn the bad lot, convinced that this alliance draws down inevitable calamities (1)."

1. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, no. 95, p. 309.

This fact, which it would be wrong to laugh at, since it has such grave consequences, is the satanic counterfeit of the prophecy by lots, which we see used in Scripture (1). The king of the City of Evil wishes to show his subjects that he disposes, to reveal the future to them, of voices, dreams, lots, and all the means employed by the king of the City of Good. Here, as elsewhere, his replies are a mixture of false and true, by means of which, while remaining the father of lies, he succeeds in seducing men. This tactic is invariable. As we see it today in Spiritism, so our fathers knew it. "The demons," says Minucius Felix, "deliver oracles mixed with many lies; for they are deceived and deceivers. They do not know pure truth, and that which they know, to their own perdition, they do not manifest in its purity (2)." The same language in the mouth of Saint Augustine. "The demons are most often deceived and deceivers. They are deceived, because at the moment when they announce their forecasts, something falls unexpectedly from on high which overturns all their counsels. They are deceivers, by the very desire of deceiving and by the pleasure of leading man into error. However, in order not to lose their credit with their worshippers, they act in such a way that the fault is imputed to their interpreters, while they themselves are deceived or deceivers (3)."

1. *Sortes mittuntur in sinum, sed a Domino temperantur* [The lots are cast into the lap, but they are disposed of by the Lord]. Prov. 16:33.

2. *Octavius.*

3. *On the Divination of Demons*, ch. 5.

Unless one denies sacred and profane history, the preceding facts annihilate the objection of the Epicureans, ancient and modern, against the universal existence of the oracles, against the equally universal faith in the oracles, and against the sovereign influence of the oracles in the religious and social government of the pagan world. Thus the peremptory proof is given of the fundamental truths which we wished to establish. The first, the permanent and perpetually active presence of Satan in the midst of his City; the second, the constant parallelism of the two Cities in the religious order and in the social order. To make them more salient, let us sum up in a few words these essential points (1) in the history of the Spirit of Evil and the Spirit of Good.

1. We say *essential*, because they are the light of history; because our age, more than any other, struggles against the supernatural; because, for several centuries, with regard to the demon and his action on the world, the very education of Catholics is Voltairian. Most are ignorant of the demoniacal facts or treat them as old wives' tales. For them Satan is a dethroned sovereign whom it would be childish to fear, and with whom it is best not to concern oneself.

Like man himself, the human race is a *taught* being. All that it knows comes to it from without. Now, it knows good and evil; it has known them since its fall. For six thousand years two opposite voices, and two only, have therefore resounded in its ear; supernatural voices which it has always followed, which it still follows, which it will always follow, even when, in the pride of its weakness, it proclaims itself most fiercely independent. THEREFORE THE WORLD HAS ALWAYS BEEN DIRECTED BY ORACLES. Voice of truth and voice of falsehood, divine oracles or satanic oracles: whoever denies you does not understand himself. Either write, on the effaced pages of history, a certificate of universal madness, or acknowledge that at every hour of its existence, under all climates, in all states of civilization, humanity has been directed by oracles, and that the inspiring principles of the oracles are inevitably the Spirit of Good or the Spirit of Evil, the Holy Spirit or Satan: this pitiless alternative is one of the axioms of moral geometry.

As to the parallelism of the two Cities, the following comparisons, which draw its main lines, are henceforth beyond dispute.

The City of Good has its religion, in which nothing is left to the arbitrariness of man. It has its social laws, come from Heaven, of which God Himself, made sensible in the midst of His people, remains the interpreter and the guardian. Sometimes He speaks by His angels, sometimes by His prophets; at other times by lots and by dreams. Always He authorizes His word by miracles, and strikes its despisers with exemplary chastisements. It follows that in the social order, no less than in the religious order, the Holy Spirit is truly the prince and the God of the City of Good.

The City of Evil has its religion, in which all is regulated by an authority superior to man. It has its social laws, of which the demon himself, made sensible under his preferred form of the serpent, is the inspirer, interpreter and guardian. His angels and his diviners, dreams and lots, are in turn the organs of his will. Always he authorizes his word by prodigies and has it respected by punishments. It follows that, in the social order, no less than in the religious order, Satan is truly, in the Gospel's phrase, the prince and the king of the City of Evil.

The City of Good has its high priest, charged with directing the sacred ministers, regulating the ceremonies of worship, pronouncing in the last resort on a host of religious and civil questions. This high priest is called in turn Aaron, Samuel, Ozias [Uzziah?]. The City of Evil also has its high priest, invested with the power of initiating the lower priests, of presiding over their assemblies, of receiving the Vestals and judging them, of validating adoptions and of taking cognizance of certain causes relating to marriages. In Rome, capital of Satan's vast empire, this sovereign pontificate of the City of Evil was exercised in turn by the high priest

Julius Caesar, by the high priest Tiberius, by the high priest Caligula, by the high priest Nero, by the high priest Heliogabalus: this dignity was for life.

The City of Good has its divine incarnation, its sacrifices, its fasts, its penitents, its prayers by day and by night. The City of Evil has all this, at every point of the globe. The ancient incarnations and the Indian incarnations are known in particular; the austerities of the bonzes and fakirs, the prayers of the lamas. “At the discovery of Mexico, men were astonished at the painful torments which the priests of the sun inflicted on themselves. Four of them were designated every four years, to do penance during that period with austerities whose rigour makes one shudder. They dressed like the poorest. Their daily food was reduced to a cake of maize weighing two ounces, and their drink to a small cup of gruel made of the same grain. Two of them kept watch each night, singing the praises of the gods, incensing the idols four times, according to the hours of darkness, and sprinkling the braziers of the temple with their blood (1).” Besides this perpetual expiation, there was a particular penance called the great vigil, to which everybody submitted: it lasted a month.

1. Acosta, *Natural History* [of the Indies], etc., vol. 2, ch. 30.

We are happy to say that this doctrine, with which one accounts for everything and without which one can account for nothing, is not ours. In expounding it we do no more than summarize the history of the human race and translate one of the most learned Fathers of the Council of Trent. In the bosom of the august assembly the Reverend Father, Master Christopher Sanctotius [Sanciotius], expressed himself thus: “Satan saw that God had given His law, and he gave his own; he saw that God wished to be appeased by sacrifices, and he obtained them for himself, accompanied by frightful ceremonies; he saw that God spoke to men by His angels and by His prophets, and he himself spoke by the mouth of idols. God had His temple, to which the faithful people hurried. Satan had magnificent ones erected for himself in the different parts of the earth, where thousands of men came to pay him their homage. God had His prophets, whom the people surrounded with respect; Satan had his oracles and his diviners, objects of universal veneration. It was to these mediators between himself and men that he entrusted the care of propagating his religion (1).”

1. *Vidit (Satanas) Deum leges imposuisse, et ipse tulit; sacrificiis coli et placari solere, ipse sibi cultores invenit, qui teterrimas etiam caeremonias edere non dubitarunt. Agnovit item Satanas Deum per Angelos et Prophetas gentes saepe allocutum: ipse similiter per idola responsa dedit. In multis orbis partibus celeberrima deorum templa erexit, quo fere omnes certatim ut ad praestantissimum numen confugiebant. Colebantur et in magna veneratione habebantur vates et divinatores, quibus haec arcana communicari credebant. Erat apud gentes celebre quoddam hominum genus ob hanc ipsam cum diis immortalibus consuetudinem, hujusmodi Prophetas; illis demandavit, qui suam Ecclesiam propagarent.* Oration of R.P.M. Christopher Sanctotius [Sanciotius]. — Burg. ad Patres, Council of Trent, in Labbe, *Collectio*, vol. 14, 1601. [Rendered in the text.]

When the mind forms all these scattered features into a single picture, one asks what is lacking, essentially, to the satanic parody of Jehovah — God, lawgiver, oracle and guardian of religion and society in Israel? It remains for us to show that the same parody is found in the political order.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXVI

1. **Heading.** The printed chapter heading says “XXV (Fin du précédent)” while the title line says XXVI; I follow the chapter’s own numbering of the book (XXVI).

2. **“Demonocracy” (*démonocratie*).** Gaume’s coinage, kept as a literal “demonocracy”.

3. **Dates.** Gaume dates the Crassus affair “52 B.C.” but then (correctly) 53 B.C.; I have flagged it in brackets. The “interregnum of Pompey” (the consul-less beginning of 52 B.C.) is correct.

4. **Modern pagans / Voltairian.** “Païens modernes” means the rationalist “classicists” of Gaume’s polemic (the “Pagan Renaissance” of his *Le Ver rongeur*); “voltairienne” is used in the same pejorative sense.

5. **Mgr Massaia** (Guglielmo Massaja, Capuchin, vicar apostolic of the Galla, cardinal 1884) and Mgr Sohier (Cochin-China; printed “Soyher”) are the “two venerable missionary bishops”. The Madagascar passage is from the narratives of the 1850s–60s (Queen Ranavalona I, d. 1861); Gaume gives 1861 and “recent” for Speke (*Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1863).

6. **Latin footnotes.** Most Latin footnotes simply repeat the quotation given in French in the text; I translate the text and give the Latin with the note “[Rendered in the text]”.

Chapter XXVII. Political History of the Two Cities

Two religions, two societies, consequently two politics. — The aim of each. — The necessity of knowing it in order to understand history. — By virtue of a divine Council, Jerusalem is the capital of the City of Good. — By virtue of a satanic Council, Babylon and Rome are in turn the capital of the City of Evil. — Luminous doctrine of the celebrated Cardinal Pole at the Council of Trent. — Why the kingdoms of the world are shown to Daniel under the figures of Beasts. — Rome in particular, founded by the Beast, bears the characters of the Beast and does the works of the Beast: testimonies of history and of Minucius Felix. — Throughout antiquity Satan had as the sole aim of his policy to raise up Rome, to make it his capital and a fortress impregnable to Christianity. — Picture of his policy and of the divine policy: passage of Saint Augustine. — In what sense Satan could say that all the kingdoms of the world belonged to him. — Doctrine of Saint Augustine. — Remarks.

The religious and social parallelism whose principal features we have just sketched manifests itself in the political order: it could not be otherwise. Politics is the science of government. To govern is to lead peoples to a determined end. This end can be known only through religion, since religion alone can tell man why he is on earth. Two opposed religions divide the world between them: the religion of the Incarnate Word, and the religion of Satan, His implacable enemy. There are therefore necessarily two politics, opposed in their point of departure and in their point of arrival: and there are only two. Jesus Christ king, or Satan king. Jesus Christ, king of kings and of peoples; or Satan, king of kings and of peoples. Jesus Christ king in the temporal order as well as in the spiritual order; or Satan king in the temporal order as well as in the spiritual order. *Christocracy* or *Demonocracy*: such is the supreme aim of the two politics that govern the world, and lead it to a double eternity (1).

1. Christocracy or Demonocracy are the only governments of the world. Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning over empires through the Pope, His vicar; an emperor, the Pope’s deacon, and kings, the emperor’s subdeacons: such is the true idea of power. At the end of time, the world, guilty of *lèse-Christocracy* [treason against Christocracy], will be subjected to Demonocracy. Satan will have his emperor, who will be Antichrist; and Antichrist will have his deacons, who will be the kings. Evil, arrived at its final formula, will call down the final chastisement.

It follows that the life of the human race is only a perpetual oscillation between these two opposite poles. This fact does not merely dominate history, it is history itself, all history, in the past, in the present and in the future. Such is the point of view one must take in order to judge events accomplished or in preparation, to weigh fears and hopes, to characterize revolutions and to account for the fall or the rise of empires. Without it, no one can — less today than ever, amid the clash of ideas and the jumble of events — orient his thought and avoid the shoal of scepticism or the abyss of despair. If we want the great fact of which we speak to become a beacon luminous enough to enlighten us in the ever-thickening darkness into which present-day Europe is plunging, it is necessary to show it as a whole: this we are going to undertake.

Before man and before time, a divine Council decrees the foundation of the City of Good. The Spirit of Love will be its king, its soul and its life. A family at first, for a long time it will live the restricted life of the Patriarchs, under the movable tent of the desert. Through the ministry of the angels and of Moses, the Holy Spirit constitutes it in the state of a nation. Every empire needs a capital; that of the City of Good will be called Jerusalem, or Vision of Peace. There, indeed, and there alone, peace will reign, because there, and there alone, will be the temple of the true God. But Jerusalem belongs to the City of Evil: it must be conquered. Sion, its citadel, falls at last into the power of David; the empire is founded. From that moment Jerusalem becomes the holy city, object of the predilections of the Holy Spirit. From it life goes forth, light radiates (1). Towards it all the children of God, scattered to the four corners of the world, lift their hands and their hearts. Jerusalem is to the City of Good what the heart is to the body, the focus to the rays, the source to the river.

1. *For the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* Isaias 2:3.

Satan watches what God does, and holds counsel. Gathering all his subjects in an ecumenical Council, he decrees the material foundation of his empire and of his capital. Here in what magnificent language a Father of another ecumenical council describes that of Satan: “A word is heard in the plains of Sennaar; it summons all the children of men to a general assembly. The brother repeats it to his brother, the neighbour to his neighbour. This word said: Come, let us make us a city and a tower, the top whereof may reach to heaven, before we be scattered abroad into all lands. Such was the decree of the great satanic Council. God, it is true, arrested its execution, by confounding the language and driving the children of men to the four winds; but the work was rather stopped than the council dissolved (1). Indeed, until the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the decree of this council was never abrogated in the thought of men. What, on the day of the convocation, each said to his neighbour: Come, let us build us a city, and make our name famous — whoever has not become a son of the Holy Spirit continues to say to himself and to others. This is the subject of all their assemblies, public or secret; and if the occasion presents itself of carrying out the great decree, they never miss it.

1. God Himself knew that His intervention would hinder neither Satan nor his subjects from building the City of Evil. In coming to confound the language of men, He pronounces this profound word: *And they have begun to do this, neither will they leave off from their designs, till they accomplish them indeed.* Gen. 11:6.

“It is by virtue of this decree of Satan’s ecumenical council that all the kingdoms of the world were formed: *ex quo nata sunt omnia mundi regna* [from which were born all the kingdoms of the world]. It is to combat victoriously this immense City of Evil that the City of Good was founded by the eternal Word. It is in opposition to the general council of Satan that the general councils of the Church were established. And just as the Spirit of Evil inspired the first, the second draw all their strength from the convocation, the presidency, the inspiration and the lights of the Spirit of Good. Just as again the first had for its aim to organize hatred, the aim of the second is to organize love (1).”

1. *An unquam convenit universum hominum genus, in unum locum ad concilium vocatum?… Responsio: sic prorsus. Convenerunt enim in campum in terra Sennaar,* etc. *… hoc enim fuit decretum illius concilii, quod Deus una cum ipso concilio dissipavit… quanquam Deus quidem tum opus eorum magis dissipavit, quam concilium. Licet enim propter confusionem linguarum ab opere destiterint, illius tamen concilii decretum in animis hominum ante effusionem Spiritus sancti nunquam est abrogatum. Quod enim tunc dicebat unusquisque proximo suo: Venite, celebremus nomen nostrum, etc., hoc unusquisque adhuc ex Spiritu sancto non renatus, et sibi ipse et aliis dicit in omnibus conciliis, nactusque hujus decreti observandi facultatem nunquam id quidem non exequitur. Est enim decretum universi generis humani, ex quo nata sunt omnia mundi regna, quibus regnum Christi se opposuit eaque evertit; atque ob hanc causam instituta sunt concilia generalia Ecclesiae Christi, ut haec ipsa gentium concilia disturbarentur*, etc. [Has the whole human race ever assembled, called together to one place for a council? Answer: yes, indeed; for they assembled in the plain in the land of Sennaar… This was the decree of that council, which God scattered together with the

council itself… though God then scattered their work rather than the council. For although because of the confusion of tongues they desisted from the work, the decree of that council was never abrogated in the minds of men before the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. For what each then said to his neighbour — Come, let us make our name famous — this each one not yet reborn of the Holy Spirit says to himself and to others in all councils, and when he gets the power of carrying out this decree he never fails to execute it. For it is the decree of the whole human race, from which were born all the kingdoms of the world, to which the kingdom of Christ was opposed and which it overthrew; and for this reason the general councils of Christ's Church were instituted, that these very councils of the nations might be broken up.] Card. Pole, *On the Council*, question 10; *Oration to the Fathers of Trent,* in Labbe, vol. 14, p. 1676.

All the kingdoms of the Gentiles are born of the satanic council held at the foot of the Tower of Babel: *ex quo nata sunt omnia mundi regna*. All are founded in opposition to the kingdom of Christ, *quibus regnum Christi se opposuit eaque delevit* [to which the kingdom of Christ was opposed and which it destroyed]. This word illuminates all history. Faithful echo of a prophetic revelation, it is indisputable. The convoker and president of the council of Babel was he whom Scripture will call the Beast, the Beast *par excellence*. A thousand years later Daniel is rapt in spirit. In the four great monarchies of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romans God shows him all the kingdoms of the world. Under what figures? Of men? No. Of angels? No. Under the figures of beasts. And what beasts? Unclean and noxious beasts. Why these figures and not others? Because all these empires are the work of the Beast; they have its characters, they do its works. See the last, in which all the others are personified: "The fourth beast," says the Prophet, "shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be greater than all the kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces (1)."

1. *Quarta bestia quartum regnum erit in terra, quod majus erit omnibus regnis, et devorabit universam terram, et conculcabit et comminuet eam.* Daniel 7:23.

We have seen it: Rome was founded by Satan himself; pagan Rome never ceased to do the work of Satan. It is literally true that she devoured, trampled, broke the whole earth; she ravished from men all the goods of city, of family, of property, of religion; not, like so many conquerors, by chance and in a moment of fury, but of premeditated design, by an uninterrupted series of plunderings and conquests, for twelve hundred years. Her institutions bore the mark of her origin, and her law was only the legislation of her crimes. Since the Renaissance, pagan Rome has been perceived only through the fictions of the poets, historians and jurists of paganism. When the great beast was still alive, and the civilization of which she was the soul was in act and not in memory, the one and the other were judged by judges who were incorruptible witnesses of the truth. Let us listen to this judgment, which dates from the third century:

"The Romans, you say, have won for themselves less glory still by their valour than by their religion and their piety. Ah! surely, they have left us great marks of their religion and their piety, since the beginning of their empire. Is it not crime that assembled them, that made them terrible to the neighbouring peoples, that served them as a rampart to establish their domination? For at first it was an asylum of thieves, traitors, assassins and sacrilegious men, and, in order that he who was greatest might also be the most criminal, he killed his brother: such are the first auspices of this holy city.

"Immediately, against the law of nations, they seize girls already promised, betrothed, some even already married; they dishonour them; then they make war on their fathers, on those whose daughters they had married, and shed the blood of their allies. What impiety! what audacity! In short, to drive out one's neighbours, to plunder their temples and their altars, to destroy their cities, to carry them off captive, to aggrandize oneself by rapine and by the ruin of men: this is the doctrine of Romulus and of his successors; so that all that they hold, all that they possess, is only brigandage.

“Their temples are built only of the spoils of peoples, the sack of cities, the debris of altars, the pillage of gods, the murder of priests. What impiety and what profanation, to kneel before gods whom they drag in triumph as captives! To adore what one has taken, is that not to consecrate one’s theft? As many victories, as many crimes; as many trophies, as many sacrileges! And it is not by their religion, but by their impiety that they have risen to this high summit of greatness; it is not for having been pious, but for having been wicked with impunity (1).”

1. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, ch. 25.

Here then is the last word of the political history of the world, and the brilliant revelation of the formidable antagonism which Bossuet did not sufficiently glimpse. Men, miraculously saved from the waters of the deluge, return to their unruly inclinations. God chooses a people for Himself to guard His truth, and lets the demon choose another people, which will be the enemy of the truth, the exterminator of the saints, the propagator of pantheism and idolatry. This is the Roman people, assembled in the asylum of Romulus, and which was, at the least, as faithful to its mission as the Jewish people to its own. To raise up Rome was, throughout all antiquity, the thought of Satan and the invariable aim of his policy.

Yet Rome and Jerusalem became only slowly, and after many battles, the capitals of the two opposed cities. These battles sum up history. It shows us the kingdoms of the East falling one after another under the empire of the demon. To unite them into a single body the great, voluptuous, terrible Babylon is founded. By her laws, by her luxury, by her riches, by her cruelty, by her monstrous idolatry, the Jerusalem of Satan becomes the implacable rival and the bloody parody of the Jerusalem of the true God. The world marches on two parallel lines. “To the founders of the City of God,” says Saint Augustine, “Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Samson, David, Solomon, correspond Ninus, Semiramis, Pharaoh, Cecrops, Romulus, Nabuchodonosor and the other princes of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romans. The founders of the City of Good make known the laws of Jehovah, the ceremonies He prescribes, the sacrifices He requires, the prohibition of idolatry. To preserve and extend the City of Good, such is the use they make of their power. In parallel, the founders of the City of Evil publish the oracles of Satan, order his sacrifices, popularize his fables, parody the divine truths, and so make their power serve the development of the City of Evil (1).”

1. *City of God*, bk. 18, ch. 2 ff., as to the sense. [Augustine does not say this in these words; Gaume’s presentation is a paraphrase.]

With the centuries it extends its limits to the most distant confines of the West. This immense empire requires a new capital: Rome succeeds Babylon. Rome, mistress of the world, becomes the metropolis of idolatry and the citadel of Satan. “Thus,” continues Saint Augustine, “two kingdoms have absorbed all kingdoms, that of the Assyrians and that of the Romans. All the others have been only provinces or appendages of those gigantic empires. When the one ends, the other begins. Babylon was the Rome of the East, and Rome became the Babylon of the West and of the world (1).” Jerusalem, Babylon and Rome: these three names sum up the whole history of the two Cities in the ancient world, the obligatory preamble of their history in the modern world.

1. *Duo regna cernimus longe caeteris provenisse clariora, Assyriorum primum, deinde Romanorum… quo modo illud prius, hoc posterius; eo modo illud in Oriente, hoc in Occidente surrexit: denique in illius fine, hujus initium fuit. Regna caetera, caeterosque reges velut appendices istorum dixerim… ut appareat Babylonia quasi prima Roma.* Ibid., nos. 1 and 2. [We see two kingdoms that rose far more illustrious than the rest, first that of the Assyrians, then that of the Romans… as the one was earlier and the other later, so the one arose in the East, the other in the West; finally at the end of the one was the beginning of the other. The other kingdoms and kings I would call mere appendages of these… so that Babylonia appears as a first Rome.]

Victorious over all nations, Rome reaches the apogee of power. Satan raises her pride to the clouds. It is then that he meets, without knowing Him, the Incarnate Word, come down from heaven to overthrow his empire. By one of those prodigies whose secret is familiar to him, he transports Him to the summit of a mountain. From there he shows Him all the kingdoms of the earth, and makes Him the strange proposal reported in the Gospel: "To thee will I give," he says to Him, "all this power, and the glory of them; for to me they are delivered, and to whom I will I give them. If thou therefore wilt adore before me, all shall be thine (1)."

1. *Ostendit illi omnia regna orbis terrae in momento temporis, et ait illi: Tibi dabo potestatem hanc universam et gloriam illorum; quia mihi tradita sunt, et cui volo do illa. Tu ergo si adoraveris coram me, erunt tua omnia.* Luke 4:5–7.

To believe in such a power, if we had only the affirmation of the Prince of Lies, doubt would assuredly be permitted, and more than permitted. It ceases to be so, at least completely, when one sees the Gospel itself call Satan the God and the Prince of this world (1). For its part, history, studied otherwise than on the surface, has shown us, in the proud word of the tempter, a foundation of truth far more considerable than is thought. Under its two great aspects, the religious aspect and the social aspect, humanity has presented itself to our study. We have seen that in pagan antiquity Satan was truly the God of the world: *Omnes Dii gentium daemonia* [All the gods of the Gentiles are devils]. All the cults, one only excepted, came from him and returned to him. His royalty was no less real than his divinity. Permanent inspirer of the oracles, through them he dominated the acts of social life. All the kingdoms of the ancient world, with their colossal power and their fabulous riches, those republics of Greece and Italy which a lying education makes young Christians admire — a Father of the Council of Trent has just told us — it is Satan himself who had decreed their foundation: *Decretum ex quo nata sunt omnia mundi regna*; and their existence was an armed opposition to the City of Good, *quibus regnum Christi se opposuit eaque delevit*.

1. *The god of this world.* 2 Cor. 4:4. — *The prince of this world.* John 16:11.

But what! Had God then abdicated? Is it not He, and He alone, who is the founder of empires as He is the creator of man and of the world? Saint Augustine replies: "Assuredly, it is to the true God, and to Him alone, that belongs the power to give kingdoms and empires. It is therefore the one true God who gave, when He willed and as much as He willed, empire to the Romans, as He had given it to the Assyrians and the Persians (1)." To prove it he adds: "To make it known that all the temporal goods of which men show themselves so greedy are a benefaction of the true God, and not the work of demons, it suffices to consider the Hebrew people. Without invoking the goddess Lucina, the Jewish women happily brought forth numerous children. These took the breast without the goddess Rumina; they slept in their cradle without the goddess Cunina; they drank and ate without the goddesses Educa and Patina; they grew without adoring any of the gods of children. Households were fruitful without the worship of Priapus. Without invoking Neptune, the sea opened before them and engulfed their enemies. When the manna fell to them from heaven, they consecrated no statue to the goddess Mannia; and when the rock quenched their thirst, they adored neither the nymphs nor the lymphs [*lymphae*, water-spirits].

1. *Quae cum ita sint, non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperii potestatem, nisi Deo vero… Ille igitur unus verus Deus… quando voluit, et quantum voluit, Romanis regnum dedit: qui dedit Assyriis vel etiam Persis. City of God,* bk. 5, ch. 21. [Rendered in the text.]

"Without the cruel sacrifices of Mars and Bellona they made war. Certainly they did not conquer without Victory; but they did not regard victory as a goddess, but as a benefit of God. Without Segetia they had harvests; without Bubona, oxen; without Mellona, honey; without Pomona, fruits. Thus all the things that the pagans attributed to their divinities, the Jews received more happily from the true God. If, carried away by a guilty curiosity, they had not offended Him by giving themselves to the worship of idols and by putting Christ to death, they would have remained in the kingdom of their fathers, less extensive doubtless, but

happier than the others (1)."

1. *City of God*, bk. 4, ch. 34.

Nevertheless the illustrious Doctor calls Cain the first founder of the City of Evil; and Romulus the first founder of Rome, its future capital (1). What is this mystery? And how reconcile, with the facts of history, the apparently opposed words of the doctors of the Church, of the demon and of the Gospel? Here it is. God created all the founders of the satanic City: but He did not create them for that end; He gave Nabuchodonosor Assyria; to Romulus, the Roman empire; and to the Roman empire, the domination of the earth; but He did not give them to make these empires evil. What then happened? Like the father of the human race, these men let themselves be dominated by Satan, who made of them the founders of his empire and of his capitals. Knowingly or without knowing it, all worked for him. It is in this sense that the tempter could say: All the kingdoms of the earth have been delivered to me, and I have the right to dispose of them, like the workman of his work, the master of his slaves. This is what is true in the words of Satan and in the name of God and Prince of this world which the Gospel does not hesitate to give him.

1. *Primus itaque fuit terrenae civitatis conditor fratricida… Unde mirandum non est, quod tanto post in ea civitate condenda, quae fuerat hujus terrenae civitatis caput futura… huic primo exemplo et quaedam sui generis imago respondit…* [So the first founder of the earthly city was a fratricide… Whence it is not to be wondered at that so long after, in the founding of that city which was to be the head of this earthly city, … a certain image of its own kind answered to this first example]. Id., bk. 15, ch. 5.

For all that, God had not abdicated. In spite of herself, the City of Evil, with her great monarchies of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romans, became the instrument of Providence for the accomplishment of its salutary designs. Thus the King of the City of Good made use of the Assyrians to keep His people to its duty; of the Persians, to bring it back into Judea and preserve the necessary distinction of the tribes; of the Greeks, to prepare the ways for the Gospel; of the Romans, to accomplish with éclat the prophecies relating to the birth of the Redeemer. But all this was done against the intention of the founder, *praeter intentionem fundatoris*, and by the effect of the all-powerful wisdom which changes the obstacle into a means without changing the nature of things.

It remains none the less that Satan, thanks to the complicity of man, his dupe and his slave, had attained the aim of his policy. Since the council where his foundation was decreed, we see the City of Evil going on developing. At the coming of the Messiah it is at its apogee: all empires are its tributaries. We see further that the last word of Satan was to make Rome his capital. The successive absorption of the kingdoms of the East and of the West by one another, and the final absorption of all these kingdoms by Rome herself, bear witness to this design and establish this supreme triumph. It is therefore not, as has been said, in order to blend the peoples and prepare them for the diffusion of the Gospel that Satan agglomerates them under the hand of Rome. In forming his gigantic empire he wished to dominate alone over the world, to annihilate the City of Good, or at least to oppose to its development an invincible obstacle. God let him make the Roman empire in order to render the establishment of the Church humanly impossible. In order to conquer the faith of the human race, it was necessary that the young City, in grips from her very cradle with all the forces of hell raised to their highest power, should grow against all likelihood and become, in the eyes of the whole universe, the living miracle of a wisdom that made sport of the Strong Man Armed and triumphed by that which should have brought about her ruin: death and tortures (1).

1. A moment's reflection suffices to understand this truth. If, at the time of the preaching of the Gospel, the world had been divided into several independent kingdoms, the general persecutions, that is to say those mass massacres which were of a nature to kill the Church in her cradle, would have been impossible. Pursued in one place, the apostles could have, according to the counsel of the divine Master, passed into another, and with them saved part of the flock. On the contrary, unite the world under a single head and the ill will of a

Nero or a Diocletian suffices to organize carnage over the whole face of the earth, and to put the Church in the impossibility of escaping it.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXVII

1. **Heading.** Printed "CHAPITRE XXVI" (as in Ch. XXVI the printed numbering lags the book's own by one); title as in the table: "Histoire politique des deux Cités".

2. **Christocracy / Demonocracy.** Gaume's *Christocratie* / *Démonocratie*; the footnote on "emperor, deacon of the Pope, and kings, subdeacons of the emperor" reflects the medieval-papalist ideal Gaume espouses.

3. **Cardinal Pole's oration.** Reginald Pole (1500–1558), one of the three papal legates presiding at the Council of Trent; the oration is in Labbe's *Collectio*. Gaume attributes the quotation to "un Père du concile"; I translate his French and render the Latin of the footnote in brackets.

4. **Augustine citations.** *De civ. Dei* 18.2 is paraphrased rather than quoted ("quoad sensum") — Gaume's own phrase. The lists of small Roman deities (Lucina, Rumina, Cunina, Educa, Patina, Mannia, Segetia, Bubona, Mellona, Pomona) are from *De civ. Dei* 4.8–11, 34. Gaume's French has "Ségéta" for *Segetia*; the "nymphs/lymphs" word-play is in Gaume's French (I keep it, with a bracket). I have not checked each name against the Latin of Augustine (4.34 / 4.8–11), and Gaume's list may be slightly rearranged.

5. **"Fort armé".** *Le Fort armé* = the "strong man armed" (Luke 11:21), Satan.

6. **"Lèse-Christocratie".** A mock-legal compound on *lèse-majesté*.

Chapter XXVIII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Satan incarnates himself in his politics. — He is the Spirit of darkness, of impurity, of pride, of lies, the great Homicide. — The triumph of his politics was all this. — The struggle of the Holy Spirit against the reign of Satan. — Saint Peter besieges Rome. — He takes it. — Rome becomes the capital of the City of Good. — Universal gratitude towards the Holy Spirit. — Benefits of His politics. — Four great facts: constitution of the true religion. — Constitution of the Church. — Constitution of society. — Constitution of the family. — Picture.

Meanwhile, from the summit of the Capitol, where he had his privileged temple, Satan, under the dreaded name of Capitoline Jupiter, reigned over the world both as God and as King. In testimony of this sovereign power, it was to him that the masters of the earth, the commanders of the Roman armies, came to ask the success of their arms, to render thanks for victory, to immolate the vanquished kings and to consecrate the spoils of enemies. Now, the reign of Satan was his living incarnation. All the qualities which characterize him were reproduced in the lots of his vast City, in the public and private life of his innumerable subjects.

He is the spirit of darkness, *potestas tenebrarum* [the power of darkness], and his reign was that of the thickest darkness that ever obscured the intelligence of humanity. Can one picture those millions of men, immense flocks of blind people, groping their way, knowing neither whence they come, nor what they are, nor whither they go? Under the name of Rationalism, or emancipation of reason, all truths were fought, shaken, denied, flung to the wind of derision. For the wise, all philosophy consisted in eternal gropings, in endless contradictions; for the common herd, in a stupid indifference.

He is the unclean Spirit, *spiritus immundus*, and his reign was that of every infamy. Under the name of Sensualism, or emancipation of the flesh, every covetousness devours humanity. Riches, slaves, power, luxury under every name and every form, banquets, baths, theatres, the very temples, serve the debauches of the day, the orgies of the night, and make of life an eternal lust.

He is the Spirit of pride, *spiritus superbiae*, and his reign was that of the most monstrous despotism that the world has ever undergone. Under the name of Caesarism, all powers are concentrated in the hand of a

monster with a human face, called in turn Nero, Caligula, Tiberius, Heliogabalus, emperor and pontiff. Caesar is God, his will is the rule of right: *Quidquid placuit regi, vim habet legis* [Whatever has pleased the prince has the force of law]. Absolute master of bodies and souls, all belongs to him, all lives by him and for him. His reign is the negation of conscience and of human liberty. He asks man for his fortune, and he gives it; his wife, and he gives her; his head, and he gives it. He tells him to adore a stone, a dog, a goat, a bull, a crocodile, a serpent, and he adores them. Even the most distant peoples feel the weight of his power. No resistance is possible: a gigantic capital, standing armies, rapidity of communications, universal centralization, have organized the world for despotism.

He is the Spirit of lies, *spiritus mendacii*, and his reign was a long deception. The literature, the poetry, the arts, the civilization of that epoch, a civilization empty of truths and of virtues, are only a purple shroud thrown over a corpse. Politics is hypocrisy for the profit of egoism. The so-called well-being is an odious lie which hides the barbarous exploitation of three-quarters of the human race, for the profit of a few sybarites. The incessant noise of battles, the songs of victory, the triumphal pomps, the games of the circus, the combats of the amphitheatre; the perpetual torment of gold, silver, bronze, marble, of all the metals and of all the productions of the earth, which are enslaved to every caprice of luxury and of the passions; this feverish agitation, this artificial life is only a lure to deceive man, to corrupt him, to turn him from his end and drag him into the abyss.

He is Homicide, *homicida*, and his reign was organized murder. Murder of the child, killed legally before birth and after birth; immolated to the gods or raised for the amphitheatre; murder of the slave, whom one kills with impunity out of boredom, caprice, pleasure; murder of prisoners of war, whom one butchers, or forces to butcher one another on the tomb of the conquerors; murder of the poor, of young men and young girls, offered in hecatombs to bloodthirsty divinities; murder of man by suicide which, for the first time, appears on a large scale in the annals of sad humanity; murder, or rather eternal butcheries of millions of men, women and children, by wars of extermination, by gladiatorial combats, by the struggles of the *bestiarii* [beast-fighters]. And, as if so many rivers of blood had not sufficed to quench the thirst of the great Homicide, he was heard one day to cry out by the mouth of his lieutenant: *I would that the human race had but one head, that I might strike it off at a single blow!* [Caligula, per Suetonius.]

Such was, and still more horrible, the reign of Satan in the days of his power. Henceforth the human race knew what it costs to desert the City of Good in order to live in the City of Evil: God took pity on it. The eternally memorable day of Pentecost shone upon the world. Like a powerful monarch who takes the field, the Holy Spirit, personified in the apostles, comes out of the Cenacle and marches to the expulsion of the usurper. Rome becomes the stake of the combat: to take it or to keep it is the last word of the struggle. Rome must become the capital of the City of Good. It must, because, unfaithful to her mission, Jerusalem has ceased to be so. It must, because a universal city can have no other capital than the Queen of the world. It must, because Rome, so long Babylon, must expiate her monstrous prostitutions by becoming the holy city. It must, because the Incarnate Word must manifest His omnipotence by driving the tyrant from his impregnable fortress, and, of the capital of the City of Evil, making the capital of the City of Good.

Led by the Holy Spirit Himself, Peter arrives at the gates of Rome to lay siege to it. Satan has understood. It is then that he deploys, in all its luxuriance, the implacable hatred which devours him against the Incarnate Word. After three hundred years of a struggle without example in history, whether for the fierceness and extent of the melee, for the nature of the arms, or for the character and number of the combatants, the Spirit of Evil is conquered, conquered at home, conquered in the very heart of his citadel. His oracles fall silent, his temples crumble, his worshippers abandon him, his corrupt and corrupting civilization disappears beneath the ruins of his empire. Rome has changed masters.

Become the capital of the City of Good, she makes her powerful and salutary influence felt by the whole world. The reign of the Holy Spirit begins in the religious order and in the social order. From East to West

His blessed name becomes popular. In pagan antiquity everything spoke of the Spirit of darkness; everything now speaks of the Spirit of light. From Saint Paul to Saint Antoninus, the Fathers of the Greek Church and of the Latin Church, the great theologians of the Middle Ages, the ascetical writers, the preachers have but one voice to make Him known in Himself and in His works. To the ardent love of individuals for the regenerating Spirit is joined, for long centuries, the filial docility of nations to His salutary inspirations. Whatever blind hatred may say, those centuries were the epoch of true progress, of true liberty. Among a thousand, the following fact, taken from the annals of Europe, will be an eternal padlock on the lips of contradictors: out of those blocks of granite called the Barbarians, who were our forefathers, the world saw children of Abraham come forth [cf. Matt. 3:9]. The name of the epoch that witnessed such a miracle is today an insult: we are not unaware of it. As well as anyone we know what one has the right to reproach the Middle Ages with. It remains none the less that the spirit by which it was animated realized the four advances, the only ones worthy of the name, that humanity has ever accomplished.

It constituted religion. There came a day when Europe, formerly prostrate at the feet of a thousand monstrous idols and divided into a thousand contradictory beliefs, adored the same God, sang the same Creed. From East to West, from South to North, not a discordant voice troubled this vast concert. Unity of faith: magnificent triumph of truth over error.

It constituted the Church. There came a day when, on the ruins of the intellectual despotism of the ancient world, arose the society which is the infallible guardian of the faith. Become the best-loved power, this society struck its roots deep into the soil of Europe: the clergy became the first body of the State. Authority of the Church: magnificent triumph of intelligence over force.

It constituted society. There came a day when the codes of Europe, so long soiled with legal iniquities, no longer contained a single anti-Christian, and consequently anti-social, law. To assure the rights of all and of each, maintaining harmony on earth as the sun maintains it in the firmament, the King of kings, represented by His Vicar, hovered above all kings. The decision of a father, incorruptible oracle of the eternal law of justice, was the last reason of right and the term of conflicts. The word in place of the sabre; the canons of the Vatican in place of the cannon of the barricades or the dagger of assassins: magnificent triumph of liberty over despotism and anarchy.

It constituted the family. There came a day when, in regenerated Europe, the family rested on the four bases which make its strength, its happiness and its glory: unity, indissolubility, holiness, perpetuity through respect for paternal authority, during life and after death. The spirit in place of the flesh: magnificent triumph of the new man over the old man; radical cure of polygamy, of divorce and of egoism, the inveterate sores of the pagan family.

Seated on these broad bases, the City of Good developed tranquilly its majestic proportions, and from day to day rose, resplendent with new beauties, towards the perfection which it is given to attain here below. The great Christian policy inaugurated by Charlemagne constituted the powerful unity against which Muslim barbarism came to be wrecked. While without the military orders watched over the sheepfold, what noble labours were accomplished within! The queen of the sciences, theology, revealed with incomparable lucidity the magnificent realities of the supernatural world. Raised to these high speculations, the general mind disdained matter and its coarse enjoyments. Society advanced surely towards the supreme term of the life of man and of peoples. Humble handmaid of theology, philosophy worked on its mother’s account. Of the truths which it had received, it showed the connection, the reason, the universal harmony, and illuminated with a soft and lively light the whole system of creation. Serious as truth, chaste as virtue, literature dug into the Scriptures. Instead of feeding on fables or puerilities, it sought in the Book of books the rules of thought, the type of the beautiful and the form of language.

With a splendour of form and a boldness of conception that it had never attained, art realized to the eyes the inspirations of faith. As with a mantle of glory it covered Europe with inimitable monuments, less by the immensity of their proportions and the finish of their details than by that eloquent symbolism which made stone, wood, metals and all inanimate creatures pray. Under the starry vaults of those splendid temples, a poetry alone worthy of the name sang, by the voice of the multitudes, the beliefs, the hopes, the loves, the joys, the sorrows, the combats, the victories of the City of Good. Thanks to the spirit of charity which animated the whole body, works of devotion equalled human miseries. From the cradle to the grave and beyond, there was not an intellectual, moral or physical need over which one did not find keeping watch, like a sentinel at his post, a religious order or a confraternity.

Whereas in antiquity the poor and the little, isolated from one another, formed only a multitude of atoms, without force of resistance against a brutal power, in the City of Good liberty, daughter of charity, blossomed under all forms. Charters, associations, privileges of all estates, even the humblest, a thousand brotherhoods, formed so many respected bodies, whose oppression constituted a crime condemned by opinion before being struck by the twofold power of the Church and of the State. Public liberties were no less secure. By suppressing great capitals, standing armies, centralization, Christianity had broken the three instruments necessary to despotism. Thus had ceased the long divorce of man and God, of earth and heaven. Re-established by the Holy Spirit, the primitive alliance became more fruitful from day to day. To the great material unity of the City of Evil was substituted, in the regenerated world, a great moral unity, source of glory and of happiness.

All these blessed elements, powerful germs of a civilization which was to make of the earth the vestibule of heaven, and of the human race the true brother of the Incarnate Word, Europe owed to the great victory of the Spirit of Good over the Spirit of Evil. Would to God she had never forgotten it!

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXVIII

1. **Heading.** Printed “CHAPITRE XXVII (Suite du précédent)”.

2. **Scriptural echoes.** *Potestas tenebrarum* (Luke 22:53; Col. 1:13); *spiritus immundus*; *spiritus mendacii* (3 Kings [1 Kings] 22:22); *homicida ab initio* (John 8:44).

3. **“Césarisme”.** Contemporary term (after Napoleon III, 1850s–60s) for plebiscitary autocracy; Gaume uses it polemically as the “emperor-pontiff” ideal of the City of Evil.

4. **The “Caligula” quotation.** The French says merely “par la bouche de son lieutenant”; the saying (*utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet*) is Suetonius, *Caligula* 30. I add the attribution in brackets.

5. **“Cadenas éternel”** (lit. “an eternal padlock on the lips”): rendered literally.

6. **Mediaeval idealization.** The picture of the Middle Ages (and “Charlemagne’s policy”, “the Vatican canons in place of the barricade-cannon”) reflects Gaume’s Ultramontane view; translated as written.

Chapter XXIX. Contemporary History of the Two Cities

Satan, driven from Rome, has always wished to re-enter it. — His incessant efforts to re-form a City for himself. — He debauches the citizens of the City of Good: heresies, scandals, attacks of Muslim barbarism. — Europe remains unshaken. — Satan seduces her as he seduced the first woman: he transforms himself into the god of the beautiful. — The Renaissance. — Five phenomena that followed it: reprobation of the Middle Ages. — Acclamation of pagan antiquity. — Radical change in the life of Europe. — Forgetfulness of the Holy Spirit. — Change of the four bases of the City of Good. — Re-establishment of the reign of Satan. — Its great characters, ancient and new: Rationalism, Sensualism, Caesarism, Hatred of Christianity. — Present movement of unification and dissolution.

Driven out of Rome, the King of the City of Evil never lost hope of re-entering it. Accordingly, since his defeat he is seen prowling night and day around the ramparts of the Eternal City, in order to surprise it and to make it his capital again. He knows that there is his enemy: the Word-God, the Word-King, the Word incarnate in the person of His Vicar. As long as he has not ousted him, his triumph is incomplete. But how to succeed? Rome is surrounded, far and wide, by the love, the veneration, the power of the great City of Good, a triple rampart which makes even approach impossible. Unable to work at the centre, Satan works at the frontiers. It was only after long centuries of distant combats that he had succeeded, the first time, in making Rome the capital of his immense City. He remembers it; and, in his untiring hatred, he begins again the struggles which had succeeded for him only too well. By heresies, by schisms, by scandals, by the formidable attacks of Muslim barbarism, he strives to break into the City of Good, to debauch a part of its inhabitants and to enrol them under his banner. His ceaselessly renewed manoeuvres had not remained without result, and partial successes prepared a more general success.

Nevertheless, the City of Good, faithful to its glorious traditions, remained standing on its foundations. As Adam and Eve, in the days of their happiness, had lived in ignorance of evil, Europe, content with the science of good which she owed to the Holy Spirit, lived a stranger to the science of paganism, that is, to the science of organized evil. If she took some knowledge of antiquity, it was neither to admire nor to praise it, still less to imitate it and make it live again. The proof of this is that between day and night the difference is less than between the language, the arts and the institutions of the Middle Ages and the language, the arts and the institutions of paganism. Before this peremptory fact are wrecked all the efforts of those who pretend that the Renaissance changed nothing, or almost nothing, in the system of education of old Europe.

Meanwhile the seducing Serpent does not forget that Eve was seduced by the perfidious beauty of the forbidden fruit, *et aspectu delectabile* [and pleasant to the eyes to behold]. Suddenly he transforms himself into an angel of light and gives himself out as the God of the beautiful. Before the eyes of Europe he makes the deceptive beauties of his reign glitter. He says that he has been slandered by kings and priests, and invites Europe to listen to him, if she wishes to emerge from slavery and barbarism. At these words the original virus, which was never extinguished, ferments with an unknown activity in the veins of imprudent Europe. At the same hour, Greeks, driven out of the East in punishment of their obstinate revolt against the Church, land in Italy. These fugitives set themselves the mission of resuscitating the supposed glories of pagan antiquity. At their school the youth of Europe crowds. In insult to Christianity the day of the great seduction is marked in history by the name of *Renaissance* (1). This day, in fact, divides the existence of Europe into two: the centuries which precede it are called the Middle Ages; those which follow it, modern times. From that point phenomena appear which had hitherto been unknown.

1. See the detailed history of the Renaissance in our work *La Révolution*, vol. 9. [*La Révolution: recherches historiques*, 12 vols., 1856–59; vol. 9 is *La Renaissance*.]

First phenomenon. A general cry of reprobation against the Middle Ages goes up from Italy and echoes through all Europe. Insult, sarcasm, calumny, all that hatred and contempt can invent that is most outrageous, falls in floods upon the epoch in which, as we have seen, the Holy Spirit reigned with the greatest empire. Theology, philosophy, arts, poetry, literature, social institutions, language itself, are coarseness, ignorance, superstition, slavery, barbarism. The sons have blushed for their fathers and repudiated their inheritance. “And yet, the ancient beliefs, the ancient creations, the ancient aristocracies, the ancient institutions, in spite of what may have been wanting to them, as to everything human — what were they after all? They were the work of our ancestors; they were the intelligence, they were the genius, they were the glory, they were the soul, they were the life, they were the heart of our fathers (1).” One must add: they were Christianity in the life of our fathers, and the reign of the Holy Spirit over the world.

1. Père Félix, 11th conference at Notre-Dame de Paris, 1860. [Joseph Félix, S.J., *Conférences de Notre-Dame*.]

Second phenomenon. To the frenzied cry of reprobation against the Middle Ages succeeds the no less frenzied and no less general acclamation of pagan antiquity. The epoch in which Satan was at once God and King of the world becomes the most brilliant age of humanity. In the republics alone of Greece and Italy, shamefully prostrate at the feet of Jupiter and of Caesar, the sun of civilization shone in all its brilliance. Philosophy, arts, poetry, eloquence, public and private virtues, characters, social institutions, enlightenment, liberties: among them, everything is great, heroic, inimitable. To go back to their school and receive their lessons as oracles is, for baptized nations, the only means of coming out of barbarism and entering the path of progress.

Third phenomenon. A radical change soon manifests itself in the life of Europe. Restored to honour, the spirit of antiquity becomes again the soul of the world, which it makes in its own image. Then begins an impure deluge of pagan philosophies, pagan paintings and sculptures, pagan books, pagan theatres, pagan political theories, pagan denominations, ceaselessly renewed panegyrics of paganism, of its men and its works. This vast teaching incarnates itself in facts. One sees the Christian nations suddenly break the great lines of their native civilization in order to organize their life on a new plan; and, throwing off, like a rag of ignominy, the royal mantle with which the Church their mother had clothed them, dress themselves in the soiled tinsel of Graeco-Roman paganism. From this has come what is called modern civilization: an artificial civilization, which is the spontaneous product neither of our religion, nor of our history, nor of our national character; a civilization against the grain [*à rebrousse-poil*: “rubbed the wrong way”], which, instead of applying Christianity more and more to the arts, to literature, to the sciences, to the laws, to institutions, to society, informs them with the pagan spirit and makes us go back twenty centuries; a corrupt and corrupting civilization, which, working wholly for the profit of material well-being, that is, of the flesh and all its covetousnesses, brings Europe back, across the ruins of the moral order, to the cult of gold and to the indescribable habits of those ill-omened days when the life of the world, slave of the infernal Spirit, was summed up in two words: *eat and enjoy, panem et circenses* [bread and circuses].

Fourth phenomenon. The first consequence of the facts we have just recalled was to be the ever deeper forgetfulness of the Holy Spirit: so it was. Night and day are incompatible in the same place: when the one enters, the other leaves. The more Satan advances, the more the Holy Spirit recedes. From the Cenacle to the Council of Florence, the teaching of the Holy Spirit flows full-banked over Europe, which it vivifies. With the Renaissance one sees the waters of the river withdraw, and the great teaching of the Holy Spirit return within ever narrower limits. Let us question history; let us question our eyes. The Renaissance arrives; and the war against Christianity, which for several centuries had been reduced to partial combats, begins again, with vigour, along the whole line. Twenty years before Luther, the very bases of religion are battered by the Graeco-Roman rams. A thousand times the struggle gives rise to special treatises, destined to defend, one after another, all the Christian dogmas: demonstrations, conferences, sermons, dissertations, apologies of every form, follow one another from year to year, almost from month to month. The existence of God; the divinity of Our Lord; the authenticity, integrity, inspiration, historical truth of the Scriptures; the infallibility of the Church; the immortality, liberty, spirituality of the soul; each sacrament, each institution, each religious practice: in a word, each Christian truth has been shown twenty times in the brilliance of its proofs and in the magnificence of its relations with the nature of man and the needs of society.

Nothing similar for the Holy Spirit. And yet it is He who was being denied when the different manifestations of the great mystery of grace, of which He is the principle, were denied; He who was being attacked when each part of the City of Good, of which He is the founder and the King, was attacked. Who could name a great work, composed since the Renaissance, by a great author, with the aim of making known the third person of the Holy Trinity and recalling Him to the adorations of the world? For our part, it has been impossible for us to discover a single one in Italy, in Germany, in England, in Belgium, in France. One must acknowledge it and groan over it: with regard to the Holy Spirit, public teaching has visibly grown poorer.

The present world is the proof of it. Sometimes at least one speaks of what one knows, of what in some degree occupies the thought. One willingly names what one loves. Often one invokes him whom one believes one needs. What place does the name of the Holy Spirit occupy in modern language? In the midst of the shipwreck of beliefs, a few Christian names have stayed afloat. God, Christ, Providence come from time to time to the lips of the orator or fall from the pen of the writer. Is it the same with the Holy Spirit? When have you heard His name pronounced? Who invokes Him seriously? Do you remember reading it in books of history, of science, of literature, of legislation, or in official speeches, for a hundred years and more? Now, when the word goes, the idea fades. It is only too true: in the present world the Holy Spirit scarcely counts any more. Palaces, drawing-rooms, academies, politics, industry, philosophy, teaching, are empty of Him: He is an unknown or obsolete social element. Among Catholics themselves, is He often anything other than the object of a metaphysical belief? Where is the special, ardent, sustained worship that is addressed to Him? The third person of the Holy Trinity, in the nominal order, is He not the last in our remembrance and in our homage?

Twice only has humanity seen this profound ignorance, this general indifference. The first time, in the pagan world, before the preaching of the Gospel; the second, in our epoch, eighteen centuries after the establishment of Christianity. For the pagans of old the Holy Spirit was as though He did not exist. His very name is found in none of their languages. The reason is simple: in the ancient world the Holy Spirit was nothing, because the evil Spirit was all. What does the ignorance of the present world and its indifference regarding the Holy Spirit prove, if not that Satan is regaining the ground he lost and is re-forming his City? Here is THE TRUE MYSTERY OF MODERN TIMES. He who does not see it sees nothing; he who does not understand it, understands nothing of the situation.

Fifth phenomenon. Re-entered into the City of Good, Satan begins by shaking its base. Unity of faith, the social power of the Church, Christian law, the Christian constitution of the family, were, as we have seen, the four great foundations of the religious and social edifice of our ancestors: what have they become? Where is unity of faith today? The Catholic Creed is broken in pieces like a glass. Half of Europe is no longer Catholic; the other half is scarcely half Catholic. Where is the social power of the Church? where is her property? Her sceptre is a reed, and the mother of peoples has nowhere to lay her head. Where is Christian law? Scorned, trampled underfoot, it is replaced by the new law, or better, by the law of Caesar, the law of force, of caprice and of convenience. Where is the Christian constitution of the family? Divorce has re-entered the codes of half Europe. Elsewhere, under the name of civil marriage, you have legal concubinage. Everywhere paternal authority disarmed; and the family, without perpetuity, become a life-tenure institution [*institution viagère*, like a life annuity]. Who is the author of these great ruins which presuppose and have determined so many others? If it is not the Spirit of Good, it is the Spirit of Evil: there is no escaping this.

However, to fascinate and to destroy is only the first part of the satanic work. On the ruins which he has made the usurper hastens to raise his throne. Who would not be appalled to see, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, the reign of the demon manifest itself in the very heart of the City of Good, with all the characters which it had in pagan antiquity? These characters, it will be remembered, were RATIONALISM, SENSUALISM, CAESARISM, HATRED OF CHRISTIANITY. Which of these characters is lacking to us?

Rationalism, or the emancipation of reason from all divine authority in matters of belief — can it be much more complete? Divine authority teaches by the organ of the Church: what government today listens to it? Under the name of liberty of conscience, are not all religions, politically and in the eyes of a great number, equally true, equally good, and worthy of equal protection? What is that, if not the Spirit of Lies conferring, in ancient Rome, the right of citizenship on all cults and admitting all the gods to the same Pantheon? Are the private persons who regulate their faith on the word of the Church relatively numerous? Are not anti-Christian men, books, pamphlets, newspapers the oracles of the multitude? Besides, faith is known by

works, as the tree by its fruits. Interrogate the members of the priesthood; consult the statistics of justice; look around you. If that does not suffice to measure the power of faith over the present world and fix the limits of its empire, take a map of the world and judge!

Sensualism, or the emancipation of the flesh from all divine authority in matters of morals — does it not go hand in hand with Rationalism? In this respect the present world runs at full speed to the antipodes of Christianity. The Council of Trent defines the Christian life as a continual penance, *perpetua poenitentia*; and our epoch, as a continual enjoyment, the widest possible and by every possible means. Man becomes flesh. It is useless to insist on this character of the satanic reign, whose rapid development alarms all serious minds.

Caesarism, or the emancipation of society from divine authority in matters of government, by the concentration of all spiritual and temporal powers in the hand of one man, emperor and pontiff, answerable only to himself. How does it stand with this new character? Look: half the kings of Europe have made themselves popes; the other half aspires to become so. To trample on the immunities of the Church, to encroach on the rights of the Church, to slap the Church, to despoil the Church, to enchain the Church: is this not what all the governments of Europe have done or allowed to be done since the Renaissance? Is it not what they are still doing? If this is not pagan Caesarism, we no longer understand the meaning of words.

Hatred of Christianity. Ancient paganism hated Christianity with an implacable, universal hatred, to which all means were good to insult and crush its enemy. It hated it in its God, in its ministers, in its disciples, in its dogmas, in its morals, in its public manifestations. Its name had become that of all crimes. It was responsible for all public calamities. Prison, exile, death amid tortures were justly due to a sect, says Tacitus, guilty of hatred of the human race. Satan is always Satan. His hatred of Christianity is as young, as universal, as implacable today as formerly.

He hates the God of the Christians. Especially for a century, what blasphemies remain to be uttered against the adorable person of the Incarnate Word? Cite a single one of His mysteries which has not been attacked a thousand times, a single one of His rights which has not been denied and is not trampled underfoot? He hates Him in His ministers. In the paroxysm of his fury, did he not say that he would like to hold the last entrail of the last of the kings, in order to strangle the last of the priests? As far as he has been able, has he not realized his bloodthirsty wish? Is there a single country in Europe where, since the Renaissance, bishops, priests, religious have not been despoiled, driven out, hunted down like wild beasts, insulted and massacred? The Vicar himself of the Son of God, the Father of the Christian world, Peter, at least, will have been respected. See rather how they treated him in the person of Pius VI and of Pius VII; how they still treat him in the person of Pius IX. What is present-day Europe, if not a family in revolt against its father? Each day, for nine years, do not millions of voices make the deicidal cry resound: *We will not have him reign over us*? Besieged by a hundred thousand excommunicates, is the papacy not a Calvary? Judas the seller; Caiaphas the buyer; Herod the mocker; Pilate the coward; the soldier, despoiler and executioner: do they not reappear upon the stage?

He hates Him in His disciples. True Catholics undergo the fate of their priests. All the insults addressed to their fathers by the pagans of old are addressed to them by the pagans of today (1). They are held to be unfit or suspect. As far as possible they are excluded from public offices, they are treated as backward, as enemies of progress, of liberty, of modern institutions, as remnants of another age who would bring the world back to slavery and barbarism. They are oppressed in their liberty, by annulling the gifts they have made to the Church, their mother, or to the poor, their brothers; by suppressing their associations of charity, which they do not blush to put below excommunicated societies. They are oppressed in their right of property: their convents are taken to make barracks; their churches, to make stables; their bells, to make cannon; their sacred vessels, to make coin or objects of luxury for the use of their enemies. They are oppressed in their conscience, by being imposed a forbidden work, by insulting daily, before their eyes, all that they love, all that they respect, all that they adore. So that nothing may be wanting either to their martyrdom or to the

hatred that pursues them, throughout Europe, since the Renaissance, they have been hanged, burned, guillotined. Even today, in Italy they are shot; in Poland they are hanged; in Ireland they are killed by hunger. If God does not arise, they will be made into butcheries, and thousands of voices will cry: It is justice! *Reus est mortis!* [He is guilty of death — Matt. 26:66.]

1. The list may be seen in Mamachi, *Antiquitates et origines christianae*, etc. [Mamachi, *Originum et antiquitatum christianarum libri XX*, 1749–55.] Better than all arguments, this fact alone manifests the identity of the dominating Spirit of the two epochs.

He hates Him in His dogmas. For four centuries, in the bosom of baptized Europe, more ink, more paper, more time, more money, more effort has been expended to destroy the edifice of Christian truth than would be needed to convert the world: this impious war has not ceased. Not to speak of anti-Christian books, theatres, speeches: what do those myriads of poisoned sheets do, which every evening leave all the capitals of Europe, to fall the next day, like clouds of venomous locusts, in the cities and the countryside, and everywhere sow contempt and hatred of religion, doubt and unbelief?

He hates Him in His morals. Returned to what it was in the days of the satanic sovereignty, the present world seems organized for the corruption of morals: *Totus in maligno positus* [the whole world is seated in wickedness — 1 John 5:19]. If the sadness and alarm of all who still bear a Christian heart do not tell you so loudly enough, look for yourselves. The fever of business; the thirst for gold and pleasure; the industry which puts millions of souls in the moral impossibility of fulfilling the essential duties of Christianity; the Babylonian luxury whose guilty follies go on ever increasing; immodest fashions; obscene dances; five hundred thousand cafés or taverns (1), yawning gulfs in which are lost love of work, modesty, health, family spirit, self-respect and respect for all authority; in all classes of society habits of softness which enervate souls; resounding scandals which familiarize with evil and kill conscience; contempt for the laws whose aim is the subjection of the flesh; the profanation of Sunday; the sanctification of Monday [i.e. keeping “Saint Monday” as a day of leisure]; the abandonment of prayer and of the sacraments: what is all this if not hatred of Christian morals, an infernal hatred whose last word is to stifle Christianity in the mud?

1. In France alone.

He hates Him in His public and private manifestations. Here he forbids the sound of bells and condemns the priest who in public would wear his costume; elsewhere he pulls down the crosses. Here he forbids the Son of God to go out of His temples to receive the homage of His children, and, under pain of being insulted, He must carefully hide when He goes to visit them on their bed of pain. All this passes in societies that call themselves Christian! Something quite other passes there. In sign of victory, Satan has put his statues back in the gardens, in the promenades, in the squares of great cities, throughout Europe. Penetrating even into the interior of the domestic hearth, he has banished from it the images of the Incarnate Word and put his own in their place. “There is no longer any Christ at the hearth,” cried recently an eloquent preacher; “there is no longer any Christ hung on the wall; there is no longer any Christ revealing Himself in the manners. What! You have before your eyes the portraits of your great men; your houses are decorated with profane statues and pictures! What do I say? You keep, exposed to the gaze of your children and the admiration of the family, the Cupids of paganism, the Venuses of paganism, the Apollos of paganism; yes, all the shames of paganism find an asylum at the hearth of Christians; and under this roof which shelters so many human heroes and pagan divinities, there is no longer any place for the image of Christ, whom Tiberius himself did not refuse to admit with his divinities into the Pantheon of Rome (1).”

1. Père Félix, *ubi supra* [in the place cited above].

Yes, it is true; true not only in France where the University teaches, but true in Europe where the religious orders teach, true long before the University and the French Revolution: among the lettered Christians of modern times, Christ is no longer at the hearth. But He was there with our ignorant ancestors of the Middle

Ages. How was He banished from it? How was He replaced by the gods of paganism, that is, by Satan himself under his multiple forms, *omnes dii gentium daemonia*? At what epoch does this sacrilegious substitution go back? Who formed the generations that make themselves guilty of it? In what places and in what books did they learn to be passionate for the things, men, ideas and arts of paganism? What Spirit dictated the teaching which ends in such a result? Is it the spirit of the Cenacle or the spirit of Olympus? It is the one or the other.

Finally, there is one last phenomenon which manifests itself with more éclat every day: it is the double movement which the present world obeys: a movement of material *unification*, and a movement of moral *dissolution*. The Spirit of the nineteenth century pushes with all its force towards the material unification of peoples: steamships, railways, electric telegraphs, customs unions, commercial treaties, free trade, multiplication of posts, lowering of the tax on printed matter and letters; there is no means of communication which it does not accelerate or invent. At the same time it absorbs the small nationalities, suppresses the family, the commune, the province, the corporation, every kind of franchise and autonomy; it resuscitates the standing armies of the ancient world, rebuilds its great capitals, and on the necks of the peoples freed by Christianity rivets the chains of Caesarean centralization.

To this movement of material unification corresponds, outside Catholicism, a no less rapid movement of moral dissolution. In the matter of religious, social, political doctrines, what remains standing? Is the great solvent of every kind of faith, Rationalism, not the god of the crowd? Where are convictions found deep enough, affirmations clear enough, to resist the seductions of interest, to brave the threats or even the neglect of power, to remain unshaken amid the sophisms of impiety and the lures of bad example? What can be the moral unity of a world that has broken the Catholic Creed into pieces, that hears, bears, welcomes every negation, even that of God? A like spectacle has been seen only once; it was at the epoch when the Roman world was leaning towards its ruin. Formed by the continual absorption of the weak by the strong, of people by people, material unity arrived at the despotism of one man. Satan had attained his goal. Rome was the world, and Caesar was Rome; and Caesar was Emperor and high Priest of Satan. Then the human race, without force of resistance, because it was without faith, and without other ambition than material enjoyments, *panem et circenses*, was no longer anything but cattle, cudgelled, sold, slaughtered at the master's caprice.

Standing armies, great capitals, rapidity of communications, universal centralization, material unification of peoples pushed with feverish ardour; moral dissolution, arrived at the indefinite fragmentation of every creed and every faith: who would dare maintain that this double phenomenon is not the precursor of the most colossal tyranny? Perhaps the *pierre d'attente* [the "toothing-stone", the projecting stone left to be built upon later] of the anti-Christian reign announced for the last times? In our eyes it is Caesar on horseback with Lucifer riding pillion behind him [*en croupe*].

Translator's notes — Chapter XXIX

1. **Heading.** Printed "CHAPITRE XXVIII". Gaume's thesis in this chapter — the Renaissance as Satan's re-entry into the City of Good, and the neglect of the Holy Spirit as "the true mystery of modern times" — is the theological centre of the book; it is also the polemic of his *Le Ver rongeur des sociétés modernes* (1851) and *La Révolution* (1856–59). Translated as written.

2. **Contemporary allusions.** "Depuis neuf ans" (the cry of "we will not have him reign over us") dates the drafting to c. 1858–64 (the *Risorgimento* and the Roman Question); "en Italie on les fusille; en Pologne on les pend; en Irlande on les tue par la faim" refer to the 1860s Italian unification, the 1863 Polish uprising, and the Irish Famine. Pius VI and Pius VII: the pope captured by the French Directory (1798–99) and by Napoleon (1809–14).

3. **"Père Félix"** = Joseph Félix, S.J. (1810–1891), Lenten conferencier at Notre-Dame de Paris (1853–70).

4. **“Rationalisme / Sensualisme / Césarisme / Haine du christianisme”**: the four capitalized “characters” set out in Ch. XXVIII; I keep the capitals.

5. **Idioms.** “À rebrousse-poil” (“against the grain”); “institution viagère” (“life-tenure”); “pierre d’attente” (a stone left projecting for later building-on); “César à cheval avec Lucifer en croupe” (Caesar on horseback with Lucifer behind him on the horse’s rump) — all bracketed or glossed in the text.

6. **Statistic.** “Cinq cent mille cafés ou cabarets… en France seulement”: Gaume’s figure; I cannot verify it.

Chapter XXX. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Palpable action of the demon on the ancient world and on the modern world. — Demoniacal practices renewed from paganism. — Bull of Sixtus V. — The evil continues. — Striking manifestations. — General weakening of faith in the demon. — Five degrees in the satanic invasion: the demon makes himself familiar. — He has himself denied. — Rehabilitated. — Called upon as King. — Invoked as God. — Familiarity of our epoch with the demon. — He no longer inspires it with fear or horror. — It names him at every turn by his true name. — Significant nomenclature. — It believes little in the demon and still less in his influence on man and on creatures. — Consequences.

To have himself adored in the place of the Incarnate Word: such has always been the aim of the rebel angel, such it will always be. He knows no other. History tells his successes among the pagan peoples of old and among the idolatrous nations of today. After having, by rationalism, sensualism, Caesarism and anti-Christianism, effected the divorce, as complete as possible, of man from God, he presents himself to re-establish the bond which he himself has broken. Founded on the nature of things, his success, barring a miracle, is infallible. Whatever he does, the lower world cannot withdraw itself from the influence of the higher world. If it breaks with the King of the City of Good, it falls necessarily under the empire of the King of the City of Evil. God or the Devil: no middle way. Between man, his dupe and his slave, and himself, his seducer and his tyrant, the demon establishes a host of direct and palpable communications, a permanent counterfeit of the communications of the Word with man. By a thousand means, which he himself indicates, he makes himself adored as a God, respected as a master, cherished as a benefactor, consulted as a protector, called in as a physician, received as a friend, treated as a harmless being. On this ensemble of permanent, universal facts rests the idolatry of ancient and modern times; or rather it is idolatry itself.

Now, we repeat, Satan neither changes nor grows old. What he was yesterday he is today, he will be tomorrow. Eternal ape of God, implacable enemy of the Incarnate Word, always he will wish to dethrone Him in order to reign in His place. If then it is indeed he whom the Renaissance brought back triumphant into the bosom of Christian Europe; if it is indeed rationalism, sensualism, Caesarism, anti-Christianism that form the great characters of the modern epoch, we must expect to find the demon striving to substitute himself materially for the true God; and to oppose to the divine supernatural the satanic supernatural, until the second supplants the first. To inspire in the man of today the same sentiments with which he had penetrated the man of former times, he must appear to us surrounded by all the retinue of consultations, oracles, prodigies, mysterious practices which composed his worship and assured his empire in pagan antiquity: let us see whether history confirms this induction.

Until the Renaissance and the Reformation, its eldest daughter, the twofold authority of the canon laws and the civil laws continued to hold in chains the father of lies, the vanquished of Calvary. It is only by exception and on a restricted scale that he is caught exercising his dark art among the Christian peoples of the Middle Ages. Recalled by the Renaissance under the form of God of the beautiful, and by the Reformation under the name of God of liberty, he soon resumes the ancient independence of his ways. In Italy, in Germany, in France, a great number of the “renascents” [*renaissants*], imitators of the men of letters of Rome and Greece, give themselves with passion to the study and practice of the occult sciences (1). The principal chiefs of

Protestantism boast of their colloquies with Satan (2). Under forms scarcely modified, all the superstitions of ancient paganism reappear: consultations, evocations, manifestations, oracles, prodigies, adorations multiply along with the negations of the Gospel.

1. See *Des rapports de l'homme avec le démon*, by M. Bizouard, vol. 3, bks. 11–14.

2. See our work *La Révolution*, etc., vols. 6, 9, 10.

So great is the rapidity with which the worship of Satan invades Europe that the Church is moved by it. Through the organ of Sixtus V, a great mind assuredly, she points out to the terrified world this epidemic of reviving idolatry and strikes it with a solemn condemnation. In the famous bull *Coeli et terrae Creator*, there are enumerated, as reappearing in the broad sun of Christianity, most of the demoniacal practices in use in pagan antiquity, of which Porphyry has left us the long nomenclature (1). The immortal pontiff names: astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, necromancy, sortileges, augurs, auspices, divination by keys, grains of wheat and beans; pacts with demons, with the purpose of knowing the future or of satisfying the passions; charms; oracles or evocations of spirits, questioned and answering; the offering of incense, sacrifices, prayers; genuflections, prostrations, ceremonies of worship; the ring and the magic mirror, the vessels destined to fix spirits and obtain answers from them; sympathetic women (we say somnambulists and magnetized women), who, put in communication with the demon, obtain from him the knowledge of hidden things, past or future; hydromancy, by means of vessels full of water in which men and more often women make figures appear which give oracles. One must add pyromancy, pedomancy [sic; probably "podomancy"?], ornithomancy, oneiromancy or the oracle by dreams, and other practices, "unclean remains," says the pope, "of the ancient idolatry conquered by the cross (2)."

1. In Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, bks. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

2. *Quas pristinae et antiquatae, ac per crucis victoriam prostratae idololatriae reliquias retinentes, quibusdam auguriis, auspiciis, similibus signis et vanis observationibus ad futurorum divinationem intendunt* [Who, retaining remnants of the former and antiquated idolatry laid low by the victory of the cross, apply themselves to the divination of future things by certain augurs, auspices, similar signs and vain observances]. Constitution *Coeli et terrae*, etc., year 1586.

Let us remark in passing that the Vicar of Jesus Christ points out woman as the demon's preferred instrument. It is useless to recall that this preference is found everywhere in ancient paganism as well as in modern idolatry, in Africa, in Oceania and elsewhere. To the reasons we have given for it, Saint Thomas adds this: "The demons," he says, "respond more readily to the summons of virgins, in order to deceive the better, by affecting to seem to love purity (1)." Be that as it may, persons of the sex are warned that a particular danger threatens them. They will understand henceforth the necessity of surrounding themselves with vigilance, and above all of avoiding all participation in any suspect practice which might give their implacable enemy a hold on them.

1. *Veniunt etiam facilius (daemones), cum a virginibus advocantur, ut ex hoc in suae divinitatis opinionem homines inducant, quasi munditiam amment, ut dicit S. Thomas.* Viguier, 12, 92. [The demons come more readily also when summoned by virgins, so as thereby to induce men to an opinion of their divinity, as though they loved cleanness, as St. Thomas says.]

From the bull of Sixtus V two facts emerge. On the one hand, the multiplicity of the demoniacal practices: one would say a general ebullition of Europe, daughter of the Renaissance, at the breath of the satanic spirit; on the other hand, the persistence of these shameful phenomena. "In spite of all the efforts of the Church," adds the Pontiff, "it has not been possible to extirpate these superstitions, these crimes, these abuses. From day to day it is discovered that everything is full of them, *omnia plena esse* (1)." It is therefore a fact acquired to history: a century after the Renaissance, the communications of Satan with man had become again, as in

ancient paganism, general, permanent, indestructible, and the power of the demon extended in the City of Good to unknown limits, *omnia plena esse in dies detegantur*.

1. *Non tamen errorum praedictorum extirpationi usque adeo provisum est, quin etiam… apud plurimos curiosius vigeant, cum valde frequenter, detectis diaboli insidiis… variarum superstitionum omnia plena esse in dies detegantur.* Ibid. [Yet provision has not been made to such an extent for the extirpation of the aforesaid errors that… they do not flourish the more curiously among very many, since very frequently, the snares of the devil being uncovered, it is discovered day by day that everything is full of various superstitions.]

The evil was in no way stopped by the pontifical prohibitions. Béarn, Loudun, Louviers, the countries of the North, the Cévennes, the cemetery of Saint-Médard at Paris, and other places became successively the theatre of striking manifestations, and showed that Satan remained master of a good part of the field. For frivolous minds, these phenomena were jugglery, and their history cock-and-bull stories [*contes à dormir debout*: "tales to sleep standing up"]. Affirmed by a few, their demoniacal character was obstinately denied by the whole unbelieving sect. In the century of Voltaire the denial extended to all facts of the same kind. Divinations, evocations, pacts, magic, possessions, sorceries, spells — it passed as a principle that all this was only a tissue of dreams. This audacious denial of universal history produced the general weakening of faith in the demon, in his practices and in his influence.

In order not to place themselves in opposition to the Gospel and to the teaching of the Church, the most Catholic said that, in truth, these things had happened in ancient ages, but that no more examples of them were seen in modern times. "Indeed," added Voltairian philosophy, "the demon, thanks to the progress of enlightenment, is now only an inactive and disarmed being. It is even recognized that most of the facts which the Church imputes to him are the result of natural laws. Slandered at pleasure by the ignorant and credulous Middle Ages, he is henceforth good only to frighten grandmothers and little children." Thus the demon did his work and approached the first aim of his efforts. What is it? To banish fear of him from the heart of man; to banish it in order to make himself familiar; to make himself familiar in order to have the teachings of the Church despised and the anti-demoniacal weapons with which she had provided her children thrown away. Has he succeeded? Let us interrogate contemporary history.

To make himself familiar. A fact is taking place before our eyes that was unknown to Christian peoples. This fact is little remarked, and yet it seems to us to deserve to be very much so; for it forms one of the most significant characteristics of the present times. Past centuries had a horror of the demon. His true name, the name of Devil, was pronounced only rarely, with a sort of hesitation and even scruple. Still today certain populations, happily preserved from the modern spirit, never articulate it. When they have to speak of Satan they say: *the ugly beast* [*la vilaine bête*]. Apart from this exception, which tends to disappear from day to day, the name of the Devil is on all lips. It is pronounced like that of the most indifferent thing. It seasons jests; it accentuates oaths; it serves as title to fashionable books and as advertisement to theatre pieces. Shopkeepers themselves find it piquant to take it for the sign of their shops. One would say that the means of calling readers or attracting customers is to employ a word which made our fathers shudder.

As a thermometer of this strange progress, let us be permitted to cite some examples, of which the oldest scarcely go back beyond a quarter-century. *Robert the Devil*; Programme of Robert the Devil; Song of Robert the Devil; Legend of Robert the Devil; At the Cleverest of All the Devils; At the Good Devil; At the Gallant Devil; At the Devil to Pay [*Au Diable à quatre*]; At the Little Devils; At the Green Devil; God and Devil; Angels and Devils; An Angel and a Devil; Go to the Devil; The Devil of the World; Harry the Devil; Mister Beelzebub; Mister Satanas; The Devil and the Elections; The Devil at School; The Devil in a Holy-Water Stoup; The Money Devil; The Devil of the Epoch; The Devil Take Frankness; Devil or Woman; The Tick-tock of the Devil's Mill; The Man with the Devil; The Devil on a Journey; The Devil at Paris; The Devil at Lyons; The Devil in the Provinces; The Devil in the Fields; The Devil at the Mill; The Devil in the

Boudoirs; The Devil Stuffed Everywhere [*fourré partout*: "poking his nose everywhere"]; Satan; Satanas; The Devil; The Five Hundred Devils; The Green Devil; The Red Devil; The Poor Devils; The Pink Devils; The Yellow Devil; The Black Devils; The Good Little Devil; The Limping Devil [*Le Diable boiteux*, Lesage]; The Devil on Horseback; The Devil a Doctor; The Devil in Love [Cazotte]; The Devil Deceived; The Devils of Paris; The Devil of the Pyrenees; The Bonbon Devils; Brother Devil; John Devil; Confession of Brother Devil; The Devil's Almanac; The Devil's Loves; The Devil's Memoirs; Memoirs of a She-Devil; The Devil's Science; The Devil's Secrets; Adventures of a Little Devil; The Devil's Secret; The Devil's Tricks; The Devil's Malice; The Devil's Pool [*La Mare au Diable*, George Sand]; The Devil's Hill [*Le Morne au Diable*]; The Devil's Share; The Devil's Pills; The Devil's House; The Devil's Skin; The Devil's Castle; The Seven Castles of the Devil; The Devil's Tavern; The Devil's Well; The Devil's Names; The Devil's Loves; The Devil's Household; The Devil's Mill; The Devil's Leap; The Devil's Horse; The Devil's Dog; The Devil's Bagpipe; The Devil's Valet; The Devil's Songstress; The Devil's Money; The Devil's Pennies; The Devil's Drawer; The Devil's Bellows; The Devil's Knick-knacks; The Devil's Son; The Devil's Daughter; The Devil's Heir; The Devil's Star; The Devil's Journey; The Devil's Hunt; The Devil's Round; The Three Sins of the Devil; The Three Kisses of the Devil; The Devil's Supper; A Tear of the Devil; The Devil's Ear; The Devil's Hand; The Devil's Tail; Portrait of the Devil; Physiology of the Devil.

Here, with many others, are the titles of works with which the nineteenth century has studded, for twenty years, the columns of the *Journal de la librairie française*. Here are the signs, with portrait, that great and small commerce placard on the walls of our cities: a kind of fashionable patronage under which the sumptuous luxury shops place themselves, as well as the wretched stall of the match-seller. Let there be no mistake: this new fact has its significance. "The revolution of things," says an old author, "is not greater than that of words." The popularity of a word is the sign of the popularity of the idea. The ease, the lightness, the indifference with which a name hitherto abhorred is employed in our days, denotes therefore the imprudent familiarity of the present world with its most dangerous enemy, as it measures the distance that separates our ideas from the ideas of our fathers.

Yet to make himself familiar is only the first success ambitioned by Satan: to have himself denied, in himself and in his manifold operations, is the second. To have himself rehabilitated is the third. To have himself called upon as prince is the fourth. To have himself adored as God is the fifth. We shall follow him in these different stages of the road, whose final term is the re-establishment, in one form or another, of ancient paganism.

To have himself denied. Formerly men believed in the demon such as revelation makes him known, and were afraid of him. For our forefathers Satan was not an imaginary being, an allegory, a myth; but a real and personal being like our soul. He was not a harmless, powerless being, but an essentially malevolent being, the cause of our ruin, setting snares for us day and night and endowed with a redoubtable power over man and over creatures. So the first fright of the child, like the last fear of the old man, was the demon. Hence the universal and religiously observed use of the preservatives taught by the Church against his attacks. Hence again, in all the codes of Europe, the death penalty pronounced against anyone convicted of having had commerce with this born enemy of the human race.

Today dispositions diametrically contrary appear. One is frightened to meet, in the bosom of the Christian nations, a host of persons whose faith concerning the demon is no longer Catholic. Some regard him as a myth, and his appearance in the earthly paradise under the material form of the serpent as an allegory; others, while admitting his personal existence, refuse to believe in his action on man and on the world. There are those who restrict this action within certain limits drawn by their reason, and admit nothing beyond. Many even accept it only "with benefit of inventory" [*sous bénéfice d'inventaire*: i.e. with reservation, as an heir accepts an estate only up to its assets], and, in spite of thousands of witnesses, intrepidly deny what they have not seen with their own eyes. Except a few Catholics of the old rock [*de vieille roche*: of the old stock], no

one has recourse faithfully to the arms furnished by the Church for driving away the prince of darkness. He is no longer spoken of to childhood, or else one speaks of him lightly, for the record and as a being more or less obsolete. The grown man and the old man, having no fear of him, smile if you show yours. In the eyes of the law, commerce with the demon either has never existed, or no longer exists, or is not an offence.

Hence what we see today: the rationalist interpretation of all the demoniacal facts of the Old and New Testaments, the denial of universal history and the contempt of the teachings of the Church on the fallen angel. To advance this work which is his own, the demon disguises himself under all masks, plays all roles, borrows all names. Even in the manifestations that reveal most evidently his odious personality, he manages to make people mistake it. Sometimes, under the name of nervous fluid, magnetic fluid, spectral fluid, he gives himself out as a purely natural agent. Sometimes he calls himself second sight, and is only a simple faculty of the soul. Here he passes himself off as a good angel and gives pious counsels. Elsewhere he is a playful spirit, who jokes, who sniggers, who wishes to be treated as a toy or as a vain scarecrow. At other times he becomes the soul of an admired or cherished dead person, and usurps confidence. Much more dangerous than the others, this last transformation is also the commonest: it is known to be the very basis of Spiritism.

What is the profit, for the Father of Lies, of all these disguises? To accomplish his work without bearing responsibility for it; in other words, to have himself denied. Nothing more clever than his calculation. Whoever denies Satan denies Christianity. Whoever distorts Satan distorts Christianity. Whoever jokes about Satan jokes about the Church, whose anti-demoniacal prescriptions are no more than old wives' superstitions. Whoever denies the malevolent action of Satan on man and on creatures accuses the human race of a mental alienation sixty centuries old, and, tearing out one after another all the pages of history, arrives at universal doubt. By all the facts we have just recalled, Satan says to the present world: *Do not be afraid of me.* We shall see that the present world answers: *I am not afraid of you.*

Translator's notes — Chapter XXX

1. **Heading.** Printed "XXX (Suite du précédent)".

2. **Sixtus V, bull *Coeli et terrae Creator*** (5 January 1586): against astrology and divinatory practices; Gaume cites it via Viguier (*Institutiones*) and Bizouard. "Pédomancie" in the French (a form of divination, normally by the soles of the feet — *podomancy*) is as printed.

3. **List of titles.** Gaume's list of "devil" titles from the *Journal de la librairie* and Paris shop signs and stage pieces (1840s–60s) includes famous items: Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* (1831), Lesage's *Le Diable boiteux* (1707), Cazotte's *Le Diable amoureux* (1772), George Sand's *La Mare au Diable* (1846), the ballet/operas *Le Diable à quatre*, etc. I have translated the titles literally; "Au Diable à quatre" is an idiom ("to make a devil of a racket"; also an adaptation of an old comic opera) which I render "At the Devil to Pay".

4. **Idioms.** *Contes à dormir debout*; *sous bénéfice d'inventaire*; *de vieille roche*; *la vilaine bête* ("the ugly beast", a folk euphemism for the Devil) are glossed in brackets.

5. **Historical places.** Béarn (witch trials, early 17th c.), Loudun (1632–34) and Louviers (1642–47) possessions; Saint-Médard cemetery (the Jansenist convulsionaries, 1730s).

Chapter XXXI. (End of the Preceding)

The demon has himself rehabilitated. — Philosophy. — The arts. — The novel. — The theatre. — The Beauty of the Devil. — *Analysis of this piece. — Its significance. — The demon has himself called upon as King.*

To have himself rehabilitated. The familiarity of the present epoch with the demon, and, as a consequence, the general weakening of the fear he ought to inspire in us, is a fact; but this fact is only the first degree of the

satanic invasion. There is a second, more incomprehensible and no less real: the rehabilitation of the fallen angel. The true, says a poet, may sometimes not be probable [Boileau]. Today, if ever, the occasion arises to recall this maxim. After eighteen centuries of Christianity, in the bosom of the Most Christian Kingdom, to meet baptized men who undertake seriously, obstinately, to rehabilitate Satan, the great dragon, the great homicide, the unrepentant author of all evil, justly thunderstruck by divine justice: is that not the most incredible thing? Yet one must believe it, for it is true.

Since the Gospel, the demon had inspired in all Christian peoples a universal horror and repulsion. This double sentiment was energetically rendered by the forms, the attitudes, the very place which art reserved in its compositions for the implacable enemy of God and of man. Today, far from nailing Satan, as he deserves, to the gibbet of ridicule and ignominy, art suppresses him or reproduces him under the least repulsive features. Does it try to render him almost beautiful? its efforts are warmly applauded. They are given out as a social progress. What is called the great criticism formulates, in this sense, rulings that regulate opinion. It writes: “Beautiful like all noble creatures, more unhappy than wicked, the Satan of M. Scheffer (1) marks the last effort of art to break with dualism and attribute evil to the same source as good, the heart of man… He has lost his horns and his claws: he has kept only his wings, an appendage which alone still attaches him to the supernatural world… It was permitted to the Middle Ages, which lived continually in the presence of evil, strong, armed, crenellated, to bear him that implacable hatred which was translated in art by a sombre energy.

“We are obliged today to less rigour. We are blamed for not being more severe towards evil. But in reality this is a delicacy of conscience: it is from love of the good and the beautiful that we are at times so timid, at times so weak in our moral judgments… We hesitate to pronounce exclusive sentences, for fear of enveloping in our condemnation some atom of beauty (2).”

1. A Protestant painter, recently deceased, whose Protestant painting all Paris has gone to admire. [Ary Scheffer (1795–1858), Dutch-born Protestant painter; his *Satan*/*Christus Consolator*.]

2. This is what a member of the Institute of France writes. When one is called Renan, and has made oneself the apologist of Satan, it is logical to become the insulter of the Holy Books and the sycophant of the Incarnate Word.

What is this new obligation imposed on those who speak of the demon, to treat him with consideration? Whence does it come and what is its significance, for it has one? These sacrilegious cajolings are the thermometer of progress. *Crush the infamous thing* [*Écrasons l’infâme*, Voltaire’s slogan] was the watchword of the infernal spirit in the last century. He was then in his period of destruction. *Let us adore Satan* is the watchword of the same spirit in the present time. He is in his period of reconstruction. The same league which fought to destroy fights to build. On the ruins of Christianity, which for it has had its day, it wishes to re-establish the reign, in its eyes too long slandered, of the fallen angel. To this end they undertake to revise Satan’s trial, to raise him from his forfeiture and to rehabilitate him before the face of the world.

A much-weakened echo of the rationalists of Germany, Renan therefore dares to write: “Of all the beings formerly accursed, whom the tolerance of our century has relieved of their anathema, Satan is without contradiction the one who has most gained by the progress of enlightenment and of universal civilization. He has softened little by little in his long journey from Persia to us; he has stripped himself of all his Ahriman wickedness. The Middle Ages, which understood nothing of tolerance, made him at pleasure ugly, wicked, tortured, and, to crown his disgrace, ridiculous.

“Milton at last understood this poor slandered one; he began the metamorphosis which the high impartiality of our time was to complete. A century as fruitful as ours in rehabilitations of every sort could not lack reasons for excusing an unfortunate revolutionary whom the need of action threw into hazardous enterprises. One could put forward, to attenuate his fault, a host of other motives against which we should have no right

to be severe."

One of Renan's masters, Schelling, goes further. Of Satan he makes a God, because the Christ-God had to have an antagonist worthy of Him (1). In his *Course of Philosophy of History*, Michelet foretells the return of the satanic reign, and in *La Sorcière* he makes himself its historian, recounting with love the triumphs of Satan over Christ (2). Quinet, who wishes to stifle Christianity in the mud, finds in Satan the Principle which is to unite all hearts (3). Proudhon wishes to substitute Satan, the beloved of his soul, for the inconsequent reformer who got himself crucified (4). The newspapers in vogue take up his defence and demand his complete rehabilitation. "We believe," says *L'Opinion nationale* (5), "that this Satan so violently attacked by the ultramontanes, this Satan whose sign we bear on our forehead, is worth more than the reputation they would make for him. It is quite wrongly that this very misunderstood Satan is given as the founder and protector of Caesarism. Satan will take it upon himself, in completing his work, to prove to the bishops that there is no need for religious power to correct Caesarism."

1. Moeller, *On the State of Philosophy in Germany*, p. 211. [Gaume's reference; the German original is of course Schelling's.]

2. *Introduction to Universal History*, pp. 10 and 40.

3. Deschamps, *Le Christ et les Antechrists*, vol. 2, p. 47.

4. *La Révolution au XIXe siècle*, pp. 290, 291.

5. 6 December 1864.

And *Le Temps* expresses the displeasure caused to it by the monotonous role of Satan in the theatre. "It is always," it says, "the same mystifier mystified. He is always given the first rounds, in order to be cruelly deprived of the last, and the inevitable gulf, with its solfatara, long exploited by industry, always receives at the denouement this horned monarch with the red cloak, whose mission, it appears, is to strive furiously, without success, for the damnation of a few poor little souls of peasants, male and female.

"Let some man of wit be so good as to give us a piece, a *féerie*, in which the devil, completely rehabilitated, will assist, in the serenity of his glory, at the vain enterprises attempted to bring him down. It will be he who, at the denouement, will dismiss the angels and take from them the direction of souls in order to entrust them with that of balloons. Freed from the secular curses, he will curse no one; he will even reconcile the black God with the white God, and proclaim, as the crowning of the luminous pyramid, liberty (1)."

1. L. Ulbach. 1864.

If these writers, and many others no less impious, had excited a general reprobation, one would have to conclude the existence of an individual folly and impiety. But the welcome that was given to these unheard-of blasphemies; but the number of readers and praisers of the books that contain them — are they not of a nature to make one reflect? Can one not see in it one of the characteristic signs of present times? For having published the monstrous impieties just read, Renan, Proudhon and their like have lost nothing of their glory in the eyes of dominant opinion. Neither the door of a drawing-room nor the entry of an academy was closed to them. They have extensive social relations; one dines with them, one converses with them, one finds them amiable. The trumpets of fame proclaim their talent; and, compared with Christian books, their works, translated into the principal languages, count a hundred readers to one (1). Such are the blasphemies, unknown in history, that are printed today, not only in France but in Germany, and that are read in the old and in the new world.

1. It is known that in Austria there exists a secret association which has proposed to propagate at any cost the impious and lying book of Renan. It has been translated into almost all the idioms of that empire, and is peddled and sold at a vile price in the countryside. [Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, 1863.]

Yet until these last years the rehabilitation of Satan, the apology of Satan, had remained circumscribed in works unknown to the crowd. To advance the infernal work, it remained to reach the *demi-monde*, the world of the idle and of women. Now, following the philosophers and the academician-littérateurs, there came the novelists and the comedians, who took upon themselves to make it popular. It is in the same order that Satan proceeded, sixteen centuries ago, to preserve his reign and hinder that of the Holy Spirit: after Celsus the sophist appeared Genesius the histrion [the actor-martyr]. The year 1861 saw the appearance of a well-known novel in which Satan, transformed into a Dandy, is the charm of the drawing-rooms. His bearing is irreproachable, his manners distinguished. He speaks with elegance, he smiles with grace, he is witty. He smokes, he gambles, he waltzes, he polkas: one could not be more amiable. Under this sacrilegious metamorphosis man grows accustomed to looking his eternal enemy in the face and giving him his hand. The fears he formerly inspired pass for vain terrors; the wickedness of which he is accused, for a calumny born of ignorance and superstition.

As a means of propagation the novel holds the middle ground between the learned book and the theatre. From the reading-rooms or the pedlar's pack the novel penetrates the drawing-room, the boudoir, the cottage. It reaches a more or less considerable number of minds; but the novel does not speak to the eyes and corrupts only individually: the theatre is another matter. By the glamour of the scenery, by the reality of the characters, by the acting of the actors, it takes possession of all the senses and engraves deeply on them what it teaches. Moreover it addresses the crowd. Does a piece obtain a success in vogue? Hold it for certain that after twenty performances the puns, the jokes [*lazzis*], the maxims, the blames, the praises it contains will become the aphorisms of a multitude of persons of all education and every rank. It follows that the true means of delivering to derision the most respectable man or the most sacred thing is to have them played on the stage. Better than anyone the demon has understood it. In order to popularize his rehabilitation, by casting to the contempt of the crowd the Christian dogmas concerning him, he has taken possession of an important theatre of the capital of enlightenment: there he has played what we are going to relate.

One of the last days of the month of August 1861, the walls of Paris offered to view a large blue poster on which one read, in big letters: THE BEAUTY OF THE DEVIL, *fantastic piece in three acts*. Here is a rapid analysis of it. A vast, richly decorated room opens before you. It is a compartment of hell: it is the bedroom of Monsieur Satan. Through the white curtains of a voluptuous bed appears the head of a young elegant who asks to be dressed. The tables and dressing-tables are loaded with cosmetics, flasks and curling-irons, brought by little devils, Satan's valets de chambre. He gets out of bed; he is dressed; he admires himself and makes himself admired. Intoxicated with his beauty, he promises himself conquests and announces a ball for the evening. Six dancers of the Opera have just, opportunely, fallen into hell. To the sound of violins they waltz, they polka. Satan seizes the newcomers and, during the dance, permits himself towards them words and gestures that do not have all the success he desires. Furious, he asks all the demons whether he is not always the king of beauty. Some hesitation shows itself in the replies. Satan redoubles his fury and wants to know what has become of his beauty. A damned soul, a magnetizer by profession, offers to reveal the mystery to him. Madame Satan is sent for. She is put to sleep and asked what has become of her husband's beauty. Madame Satan does not answer, but stirs strongly in her armchair. They multiply the passes, charge her with fluid; she falls fast asleep. Questioned anew, she says: "It is I who took the beauty from my husband." — "Why?" — "Because he abused it (1)." — "What have you done with it?" — "I gave it to a girl of Normandy." — "From what village?" (She names it.) — "When did you give it?" — "On the very day I took it from my husband: that is the day the girl was born."

1. Here details which we refrain from reproducing.

Satan asks no more. He calls his coachman, has his carriage harnessed *à la Daumont* [in the style of the Duc d'Aumont, a four-horse carriage with postilions], and, transformed into an inspector of primary schools, sets out with the damned magnetizer to go in search of his beauty. Arrived in the village, he enters the school,

examines the girls and asks the age of each. Eight were born on the same day. Which one possesses Satan's beauty? impossible to know. One thing remains certain: Satan's beauty will return to him when the girl has lost it. On the magnetizer's advice it is decided that the eight girls shall be carried off and taken to Paris. Fascinated, distracted, they leave for the capital in company with Satan and his acolyte. Their virtue soon suffers shipwreck in Bohemian life, whose disgusting details fill a good part of the piece. When the last is ruined, the beauty is returned to Satan, who admires himself and returns to be admired in hell, after having promised fidelity to his wife.

Such is this ignoble farce, from which art, taste, even French are absent, but where lust and impiety walk at an equal pace. Satan transformed into a *fashionable*; hell become a furnished hotel where one arrives with one's trunk and travelling bag; a brothel [*maison de tolérance*], where one drinks, gambles, dances, amuses oneself, and from which one goes out in a calèche to run after adventures. What is such a piece, if not a long mockery of the dogmas of Christianity, a cynical profanation of the most formidable mysteries of eternity? After having heard, applauded, absorbed this sacrilegious sniggering, who will retain the least horror of the demon, the least fear of hell? Let us not hesitate to say it: never had such a scandal been given to the Christian world.

Yet there is a scandal greater than the piece itself, and that is the success it obtained. Would one believe that this monstrosity had sixty-three consecutive performances? And that, on one of the best-known theatres of Paris, the theatre of the Palais-Royal! Need we be astonished if, this very year, in the presence of a great assembly, a toast could be proposed and received with frenzy: *To the death of the Pope, and the health of the Devil!* This is where we are, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era. As a symptom, we know of nothing more significant than this piece. Such is also the opinion of an eminent writer whom we like to cite. "The demon," he says, "had until now an uncontested form, a sort of classical form, which the masters of literature, down to M. Scribe himself, used while altering it as little as possible. The demon had always had an odious and loyally avowed aim. Today the ideal of the demon is rose-coloured. His wholly charming personality seems a tracing of Béranger's song: 'She appears, Spirit, Fairy or goddess, but young and beautiful, she smiles at first.'

"For example, in *The Beauty of the Devil*, Monsieur the Devil cannot fail to win lively sympathies for the infernal personality. His mischiefs are beneficent, his tricks are those of a good genius of Parisian Bohemia. So to the Catholic ideal of the demon, an ideal striking with truth, which sums up or incarnates sensualism arrived at its strongest expression, the man-beast, here is an entirely contrary ideal opposed.

"It is strange! To deny the truths of Catholicism is understandable on the part of those whom the force of circumstances has kept outside its lights; but to leap the abyss of negation as regards the infernal personality, and to recognize it in order to glorify it, to rehabilitate it, to make it loved! It is an incomprehensible fact, incomprehensible and very grave, since it lays hand upon a truth at once religious and rational, to destroy it without anger and without profit. There is not only a manifestation of the love of the marvellous; there is the occult influence of the Spirit of Evil."

To have himself called upon as king. When the rationalist of the nineteenth century does not make of the biblical Satan an imaginary being, he makes of him a being worthy of compassion. He is quite simply an unfortunate revolutionary: and who is not one, more or less, today! In him, the living personification of evil and moral ugliness, the artist finds a type that lacks neither nobility nor beauty. The novelist transforms him into a dandy of the Jockey Club, with elegant manners. The comedian presents him as the jovial *maître d'hôtel* of hell, and hell as a comfortable villa where all kinds of pleasures are gathered together. However, to protect Satan, to declare him innocent, to beautify him, to demand in the name of progress that he be given the right of citizenship in Christian societies, is not enough: as formerly, they want him to become the prince and the God of the world. He himself aspires, as to his final goal, to this double sovereignty, which he quite intends to reconquer. In fact the Revolution is today the most formidable power and, barring unheard-of

miracles, the future queen of the world. What is the Revolution? Nothing but God below, and Satan above. Now, by the mouth of one of its sons, speaking to his brothers scattered to the four winds, the Revolution said not long ago: “Lucifer is the head of the social pyramid. It is he who is the first workman, the first martyr, the first rebel, the first revolution- ary. We revolutionaries, democrats, socialists, we must, out of respect and gratitude, bear on our flag the cherished image of the heroic insurgent who first dared to revolt against the tyranny of God (1).” After having legitimized the hatred of God by writing: *God is evil*, another blasphemer, too well known, gives his heart to Satan and calls upon him with all his wishes. He dedicates his pen to him, consecrates his life to him and invites the whole of Europe to follow his example. “Come,” he says, “come, Satan, the slandered of priests and kings; let me embrace you, let me press you to my breast! It is long since I knew you, and you also knew me. Your works, O blessed of my soul, are not always beautiful nor good; but they alone give a meaning to the universe and keep it from being absurd. What would justice be without you? an instinct. Reason? a routine. Man? a beast. You alone animate and fecundate labour. You ennoble wealth; you serve as excuse to authority; you set the seal on virtue. Hope still, proscribed one…” And the rest, which our hand refuses to transcribe.

1. Speech of a refugee in London, delivered at the Freemasons’ Tavern, 1862.

Proudhon is only a *consequentiary* [one who draws out consequences]. From the day when there rang in the ears of the young generations of the West this saying which has become the axiom of public teaching: “Christianity is true, but it is not beautiful. It is beautiful neither in literature, nor in poetry, nor in eloquence, nor in philosophy, nor in painting, nor in sculpture; to have the beautiful one must go and seek it in paganism. It is also there, and there only, that one finds great civilizations, great characters, strong institutions, true enlightenment and true liberty”: from that day Satan set out to re-enter the Christian world and re-form his empire there. Imprudent Europe was making him a bridge of gold: let us see whether he has profited by it.

Who is the king of modern Europe, considered in her general characters? The king of modern Europe is he who governs her in the order of ideas and in the order of facts. Now seven great facts, intellectual and material, religious and social, constitute modern Europe. The Renaissance, Rationalism, Protestantism, Caesarism, Voltairianism, the French Revolution, and the Revolution properly so called, give her her stamp, impress on her her tendencies. He who produced them, who perpetuates them, who strives to realize them to their last consequences, he is the true king of modern Europe. Is it the Holy Spirit?

If we descend to details, who forms public opinion? The unheard-of blasphemies we have cited would have been impossible in the Middle Ages: the very idea of them would not have fallen into any head. Had they been produced, the Europe of Charlemagne and of Saint Louis would have stopped its ears so as not to hear them, and the authors would have expiated their sacrilegious audacity by execution. What Spirit rules the society before which they can be made to be heard with impunity, which shows itself indifferent to them, laughs at them, welcomes them? Is it the Holy Spirit? What Spirit reigns over the press in general, over the arts, in the theatres, in the academies, over the novels, in the newspapers, over the writers in vogue, of every name and every shade: an innumerable tribe spread over every point of Europe, which sows with full hands lies and corruption, as the ploughman sows grain in his field? Is it the Holy Spirit?

What legislator had written in the codes of modern Europe divorce, destroyer of the Christian family; civil marriage, legal concubinage; liberty of cults, an official licence issued to all the coiners of false truth, authentic negation of every positive religion; sacrilegious irony by virtue of which the sweat of the peoples serves to maintain Catholicism which affirms, Protestantism which denies, Judaism which mocks both? Is it the Holy Spirit? Before our eyes the public worship of Mahomet is authorized in the capital of the Most Christian Kingdom. Of all Christian cities, Paris, the soul of the Crusades, the city of Saint Louis, should, it seems, have been the last in which a mosque would be built: Paris is the first. Is it the same Spirit that reigns over the Paris of the Middle Ages and over the Paris of the nineteenth century?

This event, which must have made our ancestors tremble to the depths of their tombs, does not yet give the measure of the sovereignty we are characterizing. It is in the songs of triumph which the Parisian mosque inspires in the organs of public opinion. “Muslims,” they say, “are going to live in Paris, in the city of Clovis and of Saint Louis, mixed with our troops and on the same footing as they. This word suffices to mark the import of a fact which would be modest only by reason of the prodigious transformation that our ideas and sentiments have undergone for a century. Yes, here is one of the characteristic events of the history of European civilization… The philosopher meditates and admires. Let us think well of all that this simple incident betrays of struggles waged against prejudices of race, and of victories won over fanaticism (1).”

1. *Journal des Débats*, 8 May 1863. — On the days of their festivals the Mohammedan soldiers are exempted from service, and on Sunday the Christian soldiers are not exempted. See the account of the feast of Eid-es-Ghir [Id al-Saghir], celebrated at Paris on 9 March 1864.

Thus, to be the most religious of the five parts of the world, there is lacking to modern Europe only that she should have temples of Mormons, temples of Buddha, pagodas of Confucius, sanctuaries of all the gods of Africa and Oceania. Then the victory over fanaticism will be complete. Is this not to call to the throne the father of lies and to dream of the fine days of his ancient reign (1)?

1. *Haec autem civitas (Roma)… omnium gentium serviebat erroribus, et magnam sibi videbatur assumpsisse religionem, quia nullam respuebat falsitatem* [But this city (Rome)… was in servitude to the errors of all nations, and seemed to herself to have taken up a great religion because she rejected no falsehood]. St. Leo, Sermon on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul [Sermon 82].

Finally, to what inspirer must we attribute the politics of a world which calls itself Christian, and which drives with a Babylonian fury towards all material enjoyments, as if one regenerated man by fattening him; which, under the name of *new right* [*droit nouveau*], inaugurates the right of force: that is, rehabilitates the ancient right, abolished with the reign of Satan; a so-called right which, under the big words of progress and liberty, hides the secularization of societies and their ever more complete emancipation from the authority of Christianity; which makes, encourages, or lets be made, war on the Pope; which insults him, which slanders him, which demands with loud cries the spoliation of the last corner of independent land where he can lay his head? Is it to the Spirit who founded the Church?

Lullers-to-sleep [*endormeurs*] and lulled [*endormis*], you deny the existence of the demon and his action on man: tell us then what Spirit governs the present world, considered as a whole.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXI

1. **Heading.** Printed “XXXI (Fin du précédent)”.

2. **Persons named (all 1850s–60s).** Ary Scheffer (1795–1858), Protestant painter of Dutch origin; Ernest Renan (1823–92), *Vie de Jésus* (1863); F. W. J. Schelling; Jules Michelet (*La Sorcière*, 1862); Edgar Quinet; P.-J. Proudhon (*De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l’Église*, 1858; the “God is evil” saying is from his *Système des contradictions économiques*, 1846 — Gaume’s “autre blasphémateur trop connu” is Proudhon); *L’Opinion nationale* and *Le Temps* (liberal Paris dailies); Louis Ulbach (journalist and novelist, 1864); Béranger (the chansonnier, d. 1857); Scribe (dramatist).

3. **“The Beauty of the Devil”.** *La Beauté du diable*, a “pièce fantastique” at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal, Paris, August 1861. Gaume’s plot summary is given as written; he says he omits details in his own footnote.

4. **The Paris mosque.** A mosque/Muslim prayer-room for the Algerian (*Turco*) troops of the Imperial Guard at the Paris barracks; I do not know the exact site (Gaume gives only the *Journal des Débats* notice of 8 May 1863 and the *Eid al-Saghir* festival of 9 March 1864). Not to be confused with the Grande Mosquée (1920s).

5. **“Droit nouveau”.** Gaume’s polemical term for the “principle of nationalities” and the Italian unification (the “new right” as opposed to ancient treaties); the “last corner of independent land” is Rome/the Papal States, 1864.

6. **Idioms.** *Écrasons l’infâme* (Voltaire); *conséquentiaire* (Proudhon’s own self-description — “one who draws consequences”); *endormeurs et endormis* (a play on “sleep-bringers and the lulled”).

Chapter XXXII. Spiritism

To have himself adored: supreme aim of Satan. — Spiritism. — Its appearance. — Its practice. — Its doctrine. — Its pretensions. — It forms a new religion. — Its creed. — Its regulations. — Its finances. — Its means of propagation. — Growing number of its adepts.

To have himself adored. The Incarnate Word is King, He is God. By this double title the homages and adorations of the human race belong to Him. Implacable enemy of the Word, Satan wishes at any price to substitute himself for Him, both as King and as God. Such is the final aim which he has always coveted, which he obtained in the ancient world, and which he still obtains among all the nations strangers to Christianity. History bears witness to this fact, as old as the human race. To realize it in antiquity, he had spread three great errors which enveloped the whole earth: pantheism, materialism and rationalism. Anchored in heads, these three errors radically supplanted the redeeming Word, whose incarnation became, by that very fact, impossible or incredible. The ground thus prepared, Satan mounted without effort on thrones and altars. The reason is simple: man can do without neither a master nor a god. Created to obey and to adore, he must, whatever he does, obey and adore. Jesus Christ God and King, or Satan God and King: the alternative is pitiless.

Now, if one subjects to analysis the errors dominant in modern Europe, one discovers without difficulty that they reduce themselves to the three ancient systems: pantheism, materialism and rationalism. Today, as in antiquity, their last word is the annihilation of the dogma of the Incarnation. If all is God, there is no incarnation; if all is matter, there is no incarnation; if all truth is enclosed within the limits of reason, there are no mysteries, hence no incarnation. Need one say that the direct negation of this fundamental dogma flourishes again among us, with a luxuriance of audacious ignorance unknown since the Gospel? Must one add that it is welcomed with an ardour the spectacle of which brings the blush to the brow and fills the soul with dread? It is a sign of the times. Without the Catholic element, which still struggles to maintain on its divine pedestal the person of the Incarnate Word, the present world would fall back into the conditions of the ancient world. The more this element weakens, the more the way is levelled for the return of the demon to his ancient altars. Reason says it and history confirms it: to the man of today as to the man of former days, a God is necessary: to dethrone the Word is to enthrone Satan.

At the sight of Europe turning her back on Christianity, such a fall was easy to foresee. It was foreseen, announced, demonstrated more than twenty years ago; but the seers were treated as dreamers. In the nineteenth century, the world return to paganism! Insane he who says it, stupid he who believes it. Meanwhile paganism, in its constitutive elements, went on invading society: it was already paganism itself. To paganize souls there is no need of material idols. The world was pagan before the hand of man offered to its adorations gods of marble or bronze. Paganism is the negation of the Incarnate Word and of the divine supernatural; and, as an inevitable consequence, the adoration of what is not the true God, of what is not the true supernatural. Now, to adore what is not the true God is to adore a false god, it is to adore Satan, it is to be pagan. “Whether the object of idolatry,” says Tertullian, “takes a plastic form or not, it is none the less idolatry (1).” As the soul calls for the body, interior worship calls for exterior worship. In antiquity Satan enjoyed both: he still enjoys them among idolatrous nations. Now, Satan neither changes nor grows old. What he was, he wishes to be; what he had, he wishes to have. He wishes it all the more as oracles, evocations, apparitions, cures, prodigies were his principal instrument of reign and an integral part of his

religion. It was therefore infallible that sooner or later he would return with all this retinue of victorious practices, skilfully modified according to times and persons.

1. *Idolum aliquandiu retro non erat… Tamen idololatria agebatur, non in isto nomine, sed in isto opere. Nam et hodie extra templum et sine idolo agi potest. On Idolatry*, ch. 3. [Rendered in the text.] [There was a time, not long ago, when there was no idol… yet idolatry was practised, not under that name but in that work. For even today it can be practised outside a temple and without an idol.]

So spoke logic, which awaited with confidence, or better, with terror, the confirmation of its reasonings. The world was at that point when, among the most rationalist people on the globe, a thousand strange phenomena manifest themselves, attributed to supernatural agents, and whose ensemble has taken the name of Spiritism or Religion of the spirits. Here is the history of it.

“Towards 1850,” says one of its high priests, “attention was called, in the United States of America, to various strange phenomena, consisting of noises, raps and movements of objects, without known cause. These phenomena often took place spontaneously, with a singular intensity and persistence; but it was also remarked that they occurred more particularly under the influence of certain persons, who were designated by the name of Mediums and who could in some sort provoke them at will, which made it possible to repeat the experiments.

“Tables were chiefly used for this purpose, not that this object is more favourable than another (1); but solely because it is movable, more convenient… One obtained rotations of the table, then movements in all directions, jerks, overturnings, liftings, blows struck with violence, etc. It is the phenomenon which was designated, at the start, under the name of *Turning Tables*.

“It was not long before intelligent effects were recognized in these phenomena. Thus the movement obeyed the will; the table directed itself to right or left towards a designated person, rose on command on one or two feet, struck the number of blows asked for, beat time, etc. It remained henceforth evident that the cause was not purely physical; and, on the axiom that: *If every effect has a cause, every intelligent effect must have an intelligent cause*, it was concluded that the cause of this phenomenon must be an intelligence (2).”

1. That is not certain; the demon does nothing without a motive. From the remotest antiquity tables have been the privileged objects which he has used to give his oracles. The famous text of Tertullian is known: *per quos (daemones) mensae divinare consueverunt* [by whom (the demons) tables have been wont to divine]. Generally tables are of wood, and it is known that divination by wood is already struck with anathema in the Old Testament: *Woe to him that saith to wood: Awake, arise* [Hab. 2:19]. Why this preference? Could it not be that Satan wished to make serve for the strengthening of his empire the wood by which he had conquered, and by which, in his turn, he was to be conquered: *ut qui in ligno vincebat, in ligno quoque vinceretur* [that he who conquered by a tree, by a tree also should be conquered — from the Preface of the Holy Cross]?

2. Allan Kardec, *Le Spiritisme à sa plus simple expression*, pp. 3 and 4. — Allan Kardec is a pseudonym given by the Spirits to M. Rivail, who in a previous existence was a Breton soldier of the name of Allan Kardec.

The reasoning is unanswerable, as the fact itself is incontestable: but what was the nature of this intelligence? There was the question. “The first thought was that it might be a reflection of the intelligence of the medium or of the bystanders; but experience soon demonstrated the impossibility of it, because things were obtained completely outside the thought and knowledge of the persons present, and even in contradiction with their ideas, their will and their desire; it could therefore belong only to an invisible being.

“The means of making sure of it was very simple. It was a matter of entering into conversation with this being, which was done by means of a conventional number of raps signifying yes or no, by designating the letters of the alphabet, and in this way one had answers to the various questions put to it. It is the

phenomenon which was designated under the name of *Speaking Tables*.

"All the beings who communicated in this manner, questioned on their nature, declared themselves to be Spirits and to belong to the invisible world. The same effects having been produced in a great number of localities, through the agency of different persons, and being moreover observed by very serious and very enlightened men, it was not possible to be the plaything of an illusion. From America the phenomenon passed to France and to the rest of Europe where, for some years, turning and speaking tables were fashionable and became the amusement of the drawing-rooms; then, when people had had enough, they were set aside to pass on to another distraction…

"Communications by raps were slow and incomplete. It was recognized that by fitting a pencil to a movable object — basket, planchette or other — on which one laid the fingers, this object set itself in motion and traced characters. Later it was recognized that these objects were only accessories which could be dispensed with. Experience demonstrated that the Spirit, acting on an inert body to direct it at will, could act in the same way on the arm or the hand to guide the pencil.

"One then had *Writing Mediums*, that is, persons writing in an involuntary manner under the impulse of the Spirits, of whom they thus happened to be the instruments and interpreters. From this moment communications had no more limits (1)…"

1. Allan Kardec, *Le Spiritisme à sa plus simple expression*, pp. 4 and 7.

To the writing mediums are joined today the *Evoking Mediums* and the *Healing Mediums*. Very numerous for eight years, the first obtain from the spirits the most surprising phenomena: apparitions of spectres or of phosphorescent flames, articulated sounds, spontaneous writings (1), rigidity and insensibility of all the limbs of the body, instantaneous stopping of all the clocks of an apartment, etc. "As to the second, they tend to multiply, as the spirits have announced, and that with a view to propagating Spiritism, by the impression which this new order of phenomena cannot fail to produce on the masses, for there is no one who does not care for his health, even the most incredulous… Between the magnetizer and the healing medium there is this capital difference, that the first magnetizes with his own fluid, and the second with the purified fluid of the spirits. Healing mediums are one of the thousand providential means to hasten the triumph of Spiritism (2)."

1. One puts on a table, sometimes on a tomb, a sheet of paper on which various questions are written. The spirit is begged to answer them. At the end of a few moments one takes up the paper again, and finds the answer clearly written on it. This is what is called *direct writings*. Pagan antiquity knew them under the name of oracles by dreams, of which we have cited examples. [*sic*: Gaume's assimilation.]

2. *Revue spirite*, January 1864, pp. 10 and 11. — That demons can work cures more or less real does not seem contestable; Tertullian gives the secret; and the numerous *ex-votos* hung on the walls of the pagan temples of former days attest the belief of peoples. Whatever they may say, the Spiritists have not yet reached that point. Their great healing medium, the Zouave Jacob, whose renown occupied all Paris last year, 1867, ended in a complete fiasco. [This footnote evidently dates from the later printing; see the translator's note.]

Such are, to this day, the principal spiritist phenomena and the ordinary modes of communication with the spirits. But finally, what is to be thought of these phenomena, and who are these spirits?

To say like some: "I deny all these phenomena because I have seen none of them" — is to say: I deny Peking, because I have never been there. It is to say to the witnesses of these phenomena: You are deceived or deceivers. Now this compliment is addressed, not to a few individuals, easy to seduce or interested accomplices of a gross lie, but to thousands of men, serious and honourable, of all countries, who, not knowing each other, never having seen each other, would find themselves hallucinated on the same day, at the same hour, or would agree among themselves to affirm as true a materially false fact. It is to say at last: I

deny, because I deny. Now, to be simple-minded is to have just denied; denial without proof is simple-mindedness [*niaiserie*]. Let us leave it to the account of him who permits himself it and pass on.

To say like several: “These phenomena exist, but they have nothing supernatural. Physical tricks, jugglery, at most results of certain fluidic influences: they are nothing else.” Physical tricks! And the proof? “The proof! it is that one sees similar ones at the house of our great conjurer, Robert-Houdin.” You have therefore seen at Robert-Houdin’s what thousands of witnesses affirm to have seen among the Spiritists: tables that turned, that lifted themselves, that beat time at the touch of a child’s little finger! You have therefore seen intelligent tables, which answered your questions and which themselves wrote their answers! You have therefore seen Robert-Houdin tell you what was passing a hundred leagues from you; discover to you things known to you alone. Afflicted with an internal illness, resistant to the efforts of art, you have heard him describe to you with exactness, at the mere contact of your hair, the nature of your ill; and he, who is neither doctor nor chemist, name to you with precision, and by their scientific name, the medicines necessary for your cure! No: nothing like it is done at Robert-Houdin’s.

Jugglery! And the proof? “The proof! it is that today charlatans are so numerous and so skilful that one no longer knows whom to trust.” That today charlatans are skilful and numerous, nothing is truer; that you stand on your guard, nothing is wiser. But the question is not there. It is to know what reasons you have to believe that the Spiritists are charlatans and the witnesses of their phenomena confederates or dupes. As one cannot discuss the unknown, we await your motives. “My motives,” you answer, “I have told them: I cannot admit the intervention of spirits in this order of phenomena.” To say that you cannot is to say that you cannot. It is not to justify your denial, it is to affirm your impotence, nothing more, nothing less. Now your impotence is crushed beneath the power of the testimony, a thousand times repeated, of thousands of eyewitnesses, sound in body and mind, and endowed like you with reason, science, experience, coolness and mistrust. It is crushed, still more, by the testimony of the whole world for thousands of years; for it is thousands of years that the world has seen Spiritists. Now from these two testimonies there issues a voice which dominates all others and says: *No, the spiritist phenomena are not jugglery* (1).

1. See the learned works of Delrio, *Disquisitiones magicae*; of Pignatelli, *Novissimae Consultationes*; of MM. Des Mousseaux, de Mirville, Bizouard, *Des rapports de l’homme avec le démon*, 6 vols. 8vo, etc.

Fluidic influences! And the proof? “The proof! it is that fluids are mysterious agents, capable of producing surprising effects which appear supernatural to us, although they have nothing but what is very natural.” Let us admit fluids; but first of all, kindly tell me exactly what a fluid is. Have you seen it? Have you touched it? Have you analysed it? What is its colour? What are its elements? Is it something material or spiritual? If it is something material, explain to me how a material agent can produce effects which are not material: make me read with closed eyes, see at a distance, know what is passing in distant countries which I have never seen, where I know no one. If the fluid is something of a spiritual nature, we are agreed. What you call fluid, we call spirit. But to give an exact definition of the fluid embarrasses you; for you yourself say that it is a mysterious agent. If it is mysterious, you do not know it, then, or you know it too imperfectly to attribute to it with certainty such or such effects.

This manner of reasoning is neither new nor novel. The whole materialist sect of Epicurus made use of it against oracles and prodigies, that is, against the Spiritism of antiquity. According to them, all these phenomena were due to subterranean exhalations whose nature was not known. Thus the fear of the supernatural led them to the contradictory and the absurd: let us beware of falling into it. Now we should fall into it by paying ourselves with ill-defined words, to put them in the place of things.

In sum, unless one lapses into universal Pyrrhonism, one is constrained to admit, as a whole, the reality of the spiritist phenomena and the spirituality of the agents that produce them. But who are these spirits? They can be only angels good or bad, souls holy or reprobate. Now they are neither good angels nor holy souls. On the

one hand, the good angels and the saints are not at man's orders, in the sense that they come in a sensible manner at the call of the first comer, to satisfy his curiosity and serve as his pastime: such a thing was never seen, never said, never believed. On the other hand, God forbids, under the severest penalties, to question the dead (1). The pretended dead who answer therefore disobey God; they are therefore not saints. What are they then? Damned souls or demons. But, no more than the saints, the damned are not at the orders of the evokers. What spirits then answer their call? The demons who dwell around us, who are always ready to deceive us and who have a thousand means of succeeding. This is the peremptory reasoning of the Bishop of Poitiers (2). "If it is not permitted," says the learned prelate, "to question the dead, and consequently if God refuses the dead the faculty of answering the questions which the living cannot lawfully address to them, from what source can emanate these answers which one flatters oneself to obtain and which one sometimes obtains? Manifestly none other than the Spirit of darkness can obey these culpable summonses. The communication with the Spirits is therefore, neither more nor less, commerce with demons. It is, consequently, a return to those monstrous disorders and damnable superstitions which for so many centuries placed, and still place, the pagan nations under the shameful servitude of the infernal powers (1)."

1. *Nec inveniatur in te… qui quaerat a mortuis veritatem* [Neither let there be found among you… anyone that seeketh the truth from the dead]. Deut. 18:11; Exod. 22:8 [*sic*]. — It is a criminal practice among the Gentiles: *Numquid non populus a deo suo requirit, pro vivis a mortuis?* [Should not a people seek of their God, for the living of the dead?] Isaias 8:19. — *Omnia haec abominatur Dominus* [All these things the Lord abhorreth]. Deut., ibid. (2) The same in Saint Augustine, *On the Care to be Had for the Dead*, ch. 13; the same in Saint Thomas, I, q. 89, art. 8. [Note: footnote (1) in the printed text cites Mgr Pie, *Instruction pastorale*, vol. 3, pp. 43 and 45.]

To the authority of the illustrious bishop let us join that of a Roman theologian whose recent work is honoured with a letter of the sovereign pontiff, Pius IX. "Animal magnetism," says Father Perrone, "somnambulism and spiritism, taken together, are nothing other than the restoration of pagan superstition and of the empire of the demon (1)." The Spiritists, denying the personality of demons, protest against this reasoning; but, by an inconsistency which confounds them, as we shall soon see, they maintain that communications with the Spirits are a fact known from all antiquity. "The reality of the spiritist phenomena," they write, "met with numerous contradictors. Some saw in it only a jugglery… The materialists rejected the existence of Spirits among absurd fables… Others, unable to deny the facts, and under the empire of a certain order of ideas (2), attributed these phenomena to the exclusive influence of the Devil, and sought by this means to frighten the timid. But today the fear of the Devil has singularly lost its prestige. People have talked so much of him, have painted him in so many ways, that they have grown familiar with this idea; and many said to themselves that they must profit by the occasion to see what he really is. The result has been that, apart from a small number of timorous women, the announcement of the arrival of the real devil had something piquant for those who had seen him only in pictures or at the theatre; it was for many people a powerful stimulant (3)."

1. *Magnetismus animalis, somnambulismus et spiritismus, in suo complexu, nil aliud sunt quam paganae superstitionis atque imperii daemonis instauratio. De Virtute Religionis*, 8vo, p. 351, no. 825. Rome, 1866. [Giovanni Perrone, S.J.; the "letter of Pius IX" is prefaced to the work.]

2. Read: the clergy and the Catholics, faithful to the teachings of revelation.

3. Allan Kardec, *Le Spiritisme à sa plus simple expression*, p. 56.

Having made, without suspecting it, the faithful portrait of the general dispositions of the modern world with regard to the demon, the oracle of Spiritism says elsewhere: "Although the spiritist phenomena have been produced in these latter times in a more general manner, everything proves that they took place from the remotest times. What we are witnessing today is therefore in no way a modern discovery: IT IS THE

AWAKENING OF ANTIQUITY; but of antiquity freed from the mystical surroundings that engendered superstitions, of antiquity enlightened by civilization and progress in positive things (1)…" "The fact of communications with the invisible world is found in unequivocal terms in the biblical narratives, in Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus. The most learned philosophers of antiquity admitted it: Plato, Zoroaster, Confucius, Pythagoras… We find it in the mysteries and the oracles… in the diviners and sorcerers of the Middle Ages… in the whole phalanx of nymphs, good and bad genii, sylphs, gnomes, fairies, goblins, etc. (2)."

1. That means: of antiquity such as it was before Christianity, such as it returns as Christianity loses ground: M. Allan Kardec speaks gold. We should have paid him to sustain our great thesis of modern paganism; he could not have said it better.

2. *Revue spirite*, 8 January 1858 [*sic*: the *Revue* began 1 January 1858].

Such is therefore the honourable genealogy of Spiritism. By the avowal of their most accredited organ, the modern Spiritists have as ancestors and colleagues all the pythonesses, all the witches, all the Spirits of ancient times. This antiquity pleases them, and they glory in it. So the Protestants flatter themselves on having as ancestors the Hussites, the Waldensians, the Albigensians, and through them going back to the first centuries of the Church. In the prospectus of a woman magnetizer, established in one of the fine quarters of Paris, we read (March 1864): "The science of which we are going to entertain our readers is certainly one of the oldest and most interesting for the human species. Before the sixteenth century this science was known under the name of Spirit of sortilege and magic. Two centuries later, Doctor Mesmer recognized in this undefined science a powerful agent which insinuates itself by celestial influence near the nerves, whose activity it develops, etc."

The genealogist is right; the spiritist phenomena of today are indeed the same as those of pagan antiquity and of the present world subject to idolatry. What difference, indeed, other than perhaps in form, do you find between the evocations, oracles, consultations, prodigies which we see reappear in Europe after eighteen centuries of Christianity, and what was done two thousand years ago at Claros, at Dodona, at Praeneste, in all the cities of the Greeks and the Barbarians, as Plutarch says, and which is still practised in Africa, in the Indies, in Tibet, in China, everywhere, in short, where the Gospel has not been preached? If the author had not been blinded by partisanship, he would have concluded by saying: identity of effects demonstrates identity of cause. Now all antiquity attributes the spiritist phenomena to demons and not to the souls of the dead. The cause is therefore no more contestable than the fact itself (1).

1. Catholics will remember that it would be as dangerous as it is absurd to deny, as a whole, the authenticity of the present demoniacal manifestations. The negation of the satanic supernatural leads to the negation of the divine supernatural. The satanic supernatural is such only in relation to us; in relation to demons it is natural. This is the sense in which we use this word throughout our work.

That all antiquity attributes to demons the phenomena in question is a fact no one can deny without falling into scepticism. Since we have already proved it, let us content ourselves with citing Tertullian here. Seventeen centuries ago, tearing the mask from the pretended dead of Allan Kardec and of the modern Spiritists: "Magic," he said, "promises to evoke the souls of the dead. What then is magic? A deception. But the nature of the deception is unknown only to us Christians, initiated into the mysteries of the evil spirits. Demons are the authors of magic, by means of which they give themselves out as dead men. So the young dead are invoked, those who died a violent death; but it is the demons who operate under the mask of the souls (1)." Saint Augustine adds: "These spirits, deceivers not by nature but by malice, give themselves out as gods or as souls of the dead, and not as demons, which they really are (2)."

1. *Magia… quae animas… evocaturam se ab inferum incolatu pollicetur. Quid ergo dicemus magiam? quod omnes pene, fallaciam. Sed ratio fallaciae solos non fugit christianos, qui spiritalia nequitiae novimus… In*

qua se daemones perinde mortuos fingunt… itaque invocantur quidem Aori et Biothanati, sed daemones operantur sub obtentu earum (animarum). On the Soul, ch. 57. [Rendered in the text. *Aori* = those who died untimely; *biothanati* = those who died by violence.]

2. *Hi spiritus, non natura, sed vitio fallaces, simulant se deos et animas defunctorum, daemones autem non simulant, sed plane sunt. City of God*, bk. 10, ch. 11, 2.

To the testimony of tradition the Fathers added the authority of facts. With proofs in hand they exposed the nature of these pretended dead, by recalling the errors and the immorality of their doctrine: nothing is changed. In spite of all his artifices, nowhere does the demon betray himself with more evidence than in the teachings he gives to the contemporary Spiritists, with the mission of making themselves his organs. Today, as formerly, a mixture of true and false, his teachings end in radical errors. Indeed, Catholicism is the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth. Every opposite affirmation is error, and evidently comes from the Father of Lies. Now the Spirits teach six errors, that is, six negations which tend to the complete ruin of Catholicism. They deny: 1° the existence of demons; 2° the eternity of punishments; 3° the resurrection of bodies; 4° original sin; 5° Christian revelation; 6° consequently, the very divinity of Our Lord.

Let us come to the proofs. By the organ of all their mediums, and especially by the mouth of their high priest Allan Kardec, the spirits say: “Spiritism combats the eternity of punishments, the material fire of hell, the personality of the devil. According to the doctrine of the Spirits on demons, the devil is the personification of evil; he is an allegorical being, summing up in himself all the evil passions of imperfect spirits. The Spirits are none other than the souls.

“The Spirits clothe themselves temporarily with a material body. Those who follow the road of good advance more quickly, are less long in reaching the goal and arrive there in less painful conditions… The perfecting of the Spirit is the fruit of his own labour. Not being able, in a single corporeal existence, to acquire all the moral and intellectual qualities which are to lead him to the goal, he arrives there by a succession of existences, in each of which he takes some steps forward in the way of progress… When an existence has been ill employed, it is without profit for the Spirit, who must begin it again in conditions more or less painful, in proportion to his negligence and ill will…

“The Spirits, in incarnating themselves, bring with them what they have acquired in their preceding existences. The natural evil inclinations are the remains of the imperfections of the Spirit, of which he has not entirely divested himself; they are the indices of the faults he has committed and the true original sin… By saying that the soul brings in being reborn the germ of its imperfection, from its anterior existences, one gives of original sin a logical explanation which everyone can understand and admit…

“In his successive incarnations, the Spirit having little by little divested himself of his impurities and perfected himself by labour, arrives at the term of his corporeal existences, belongs then to the order of pure Spirits or of angels and enjoys at once the complete sight of God and an unmixed happiness for eternity (1).

1. On the pretended reincarnation of souls the Spiritists are not agreed. Allan Kardec and his school maintain it; Piérart and his school deny it radically. But Spiritists and spiritualists, Kardec and Piérart, are agreed in attacking Christianity and substituting for it the religion of the Spirits.

“Spiritism is independent of every particular worship… It prescribes none, it does not concern itself with particular dogmas… One can therefore be a Greek or Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jew or Muslim… and be a Spiritist; the proof is that Spiritism has adherents in all the sects… Men of all castes, of all sects and of all colours, you are all brothers; for God calls you all to Him. Hold out your hand to one another then, whatever your manner of adoring Him, and do not hurl anathema at one another; for anathema is the violation of the law of charity proclaimed by Christ (1).”

1. *Le Spiritisme à sa plus simple expression*, pp. 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 28, 5th ed., 1863; and *Instructions pratiques sur les manifestations spirites*, passim, Paris, 1858. — You do not know what you are saying: the Christ whose authority you invoke, did He not hurl anathema at him who does not believe? "He that believeth not shall be condemned; he is already judged. He that will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican." Your charity without faith is a chimera. Union of hearts supposes union of minds. — The same errors are taught in all the spiritist books and journals.

Would one believe that, in order to have them accepted more easily, Spiritism has the audacity to put its monstrous errors in even the most Catholic mouths? Lazarus, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Paul, Saint Augustine, Saint Louis, Saint Vincent de Paul, our celebrated preachers and even the venerable Curé of Ars return from the other world to tell the living that our most sacred dogmas are fables, and they, consequently, dupes or impostors. Is it not the most radical negation of Catholicism, and without contradiction the most perfidious, that has been seen among baptized nations (1)?

1. We know well that from the first century of the Church the disciples of Simon the Magician boasted of evoking the souls of saints and prophets; but one does not see that they made apostles of them for their errors. The present Spiritists are bolder than their masters. *Ecce hodie ejusdem Simonis haereticos tanta praesumptio artis (magicae) extollit, ut etiam prophetarum animas ab inferis movere se spondeant. Absit ut animam alicujus sancti, nedum prophetae, a daemonio credamus extractam, edocti quod ipse Satanas transfiguratur in angelum lucis, nedum in hominem lucis, etiam Deum se adseveraturus in fine.* Tertullian, *On the Soul*, ch. 57. [See, today, how great a presumption of (magic) art puffs up the heretics of the same Simon, so that they even promise to stir up the souls of prophets from the underworld. Far be it that we should believe the soul of any saint, let alone of a prophet, to have been drawn forth by a demon, being taught that Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light, much more into a man of light, since he will at the end even affirm himself to be God.]

Is more needed to make known the nature of the Spirits who answer the call of the Spiritists? Yet to destroy the religion of the Incarnate Word is only the negative side of the work; to substitute for it the religion of the Spirits, that is, of the demons, is its positive side. "The Spirits announce," says Allan Kardec, "that the times marked by Providence for a universal manifestation have arrived, and that, being the ministers of God and the agents of His will, their mission is to instruct and enlighten men, by opening a new era for the regeneration of humanity (1)…

"Several writers of good faith, who fought Spiritism to the utmost, renounce a struggle recognized as useless. It is that the necessity of a moral transformation makes itself felt more and more. The ruin of the old world is imminent, because the ideas it preaches are no longer at the height which intelligent humanity has reached. One feels that something better than what exists is needed, and one seeks it in vain in the present world. Something circulates in the air like a precursory electric current, and everyone is in expectation; but everyone also says to himself that it is not humanity that must go backward (2)."

1. *Le Livre des esprits*, Prolegomena.

2. *Revue spirite*, January 1864, pp. 4 and 5.

Where is it going? With a unanimous voice the Spiritists declare that it goes to Spiritism. "Spiritism," they say, "is the Religion of the future. Spiritism is the religion bequeathed to men by Christ, purified from all the errors which their pride or their ignorance has introduced into it… Spiritism is far from being a new religion, but the very essence of the sublime principles that Christ bequeathed to men, foreseen by Socrates and Plato; for He came to destroy nothing, but to purify the Mosaic law, as today Spiritism does that of Christianity (1)." Elsewhere: "Spiritism enlightens everything; it is the synthesis of all sciences, of all revelations, of all religions. Like Christianity, of which it is the complement and the consecration, Spiritism will have its Judases; and like that sacred doctrine, it will have to overthrow the thousands of obstacles that the old world

and the old beliefs, coalesced, set and will set up on all sides against it (2)."

1. *La Vérité*, spiritist journal of Lyons; *L'Avenir, Moniteur du spiritisme*, 24 November 1864. This latter journal had as editor-in-chief Alis d'Ambel, lieutenant of Allan Kardec, who, following the too common custom among Spiritists, has just committed suicide.

2. *L'Avenir*, id., 8 September 186[4].

One of their mediums, speaking under the influence of the Spirit, is still more explicit: "Yes, Spiritism is a religion, for it proceeds from the all-power of the Most High, but not as the word is understood in your world, that is, with an entourage of exterior worship, of simulacra, of chants, the obligatory retinue of all the institutions which until today have borne this title. Spiritism is the religion of the heart, the spirit of the thoughts uttered by Christ… Today the Christian religion no longer lives, thrown down in its turn by a pagan Catholicism… it is this religion, falsified by traditions, by theological disputes, by councils, that the present Spiritism has the mission of regenerating (1)."

1. *L'Avenir, Moniteur du spiritisme*, 17 November 1861.

Same doctrines, or rather same blasphemies, on the lips of another Spirit, speaking at Paris through the organ of the medium P. G. Leymarie. "The tendencies of man have changed; the present epoch, like the chrysalis, seems to transform itself to take wings; the science of the Spirits, impossible fifty years ago, is identified with general good sense. You listen to these friendly voices which come to destroy your uncertainties. Their programme is a work of spiritual propaganda. What they wish is the renovation of religious ideas, as the basis and condition of European society, reorganized on new principles… It is a religious work such that it will be the capital work of this century, and one of the greatest movements of the human intelligence since Jesus Christ (2)." And elsewhere: "Yes, Spiritism is indeed the powerful lever which is to restore to Christian morality its normal and effective movement, hindered for so many centuries. Yes, its sole aim and its immediate effect is indeed the regeneration of humanity (3)." Further on: "If someone asks you what Spiritism has taught, say: It has first taught what most men need to know: what the soul is; what becomes of it after death; that there are purgations or intermediate states; that progress is accomplished there;… that God at this moment is preparing the human race for a universal restoration; that no Christianity is worth a straw, save primitive Christianity, and that the old corpse of the Churches now existing must first receive a new breath of life, if they wish to live again (1)."

1. *Spiritual Magazine*, April 1865. [Footnotes to the preceding passages: (2) Ibid.; (3) Ibid., 11 August 1861.]

We could cite a hundred other similar passages, in which the Spirits declare that Catholicism is a worn-out institution; Our Lord Jesus Christ a mere mortal, the Church a mistress of errors, all religions unintelligent sects, and Spiritism the only true religion, the religion of the future. Not content with preaching in their books, in their journals, in their assemblies, in their private conversations, the religion of the Spirits, the adepts practise it publicly and propagate it with success.

They practise it. What name is to be given to what we see? The evocation of spirits, oral consultation, hydromancy, necromancy, ornithomancy, divination, magnetism, artificial somnambulism, and other spiritist practices, exercised without scruple and without fright by a multitude of persons, in the old and in the new world — are they anything other than a way leading to the worship of demons, or rather are they not that worship itself? So the Spiritists understand it. They told us so: for them Spiritism is not a simple school of philosophy, it is a religion; and they prove it by their conduct. Every religion proposes to put man in direct relation with the supernatural world, by supernatural means, with a view to obtaining supernatural effects. The avowed aim of the Spiritists is to put themselves in immediate communication with the Spirits. The means they employ is prayer. Prayer is the fundamental act of every religion, of which it determines the character. Catholicism is the true religion, because its prayer is addressed to the true God. Paganism is a false

religion, because its prayer is addressed to the demon. Spiritism, which addresses its prayer to demons hidden under the mask of the dead, is therefore a religion, and a false religion (1).

1. Even in their language the Spiritists affect their religious pretension. In speaking or writing to one another they call themselves: *Dear brothers in spiritism*.

This is all the more true as their aim is to obtain the gift of healing the sick and the power of driving out demons. “Our healing mediums,” they say themselves, “begin by raising their soul to God… God, in His solicitude, sends them powerful help… It is the good Spirits who come to penetrate the medium with their beneficent fluid, which the latter transmits to the patient. That is why the magnetism employed by healing mediums is so powerful and produces those cures, qualified as miraculous, which are due simply to the nature of the fluid poured upon the medium. Since these beneficent fluids are proper to the superior Spirits, it is their concurrence that must be obtained: this is why prayer and invocation are necessary (1).” They add that prayer is above all indispensable in the case of obsession, because one must have the right to impose one’s authority on the Spirit (2). They announce that shortly demoniacal possessions will become very frequent, and that they will be the triumph of Spiritism. “These cases of possession, according to what is announced, are to multiply with great energy, from now for some time, so that the impotence of the means employed up to now to combat them may be well demonstrated. A circumstance even, of which we cannot yet speak, but which has a certain analogy with what happened in the time of Christ, will contribute to develop this sort of demoniacal epidemic. It is therefore not doubtful that special mediums will arise, having the power of driving out evil Spirits, as the apostles had that of driving out demons… to give to the incredulous a new proof of the existence of Spirits (3).”

1. *Revue spirite*, January 1864, pp. 8–10.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

3. *Revue spirite*, p. 12. Since the Spiritists do not admit evil angels, what they call a demon can only be an impure soul: idea and language, everything is new.

While awaiting the invasion of the demoniacal epidemic, the Spiritists already find themselves in the presence of some particular obsessions and of illnesses reputed incurable. The healing adepts write to their chiefs: “We are at this moment giving our care to a second epileptic. This time the illness will perhaps be more rebellious, because it is hereditary. The father left to his four children the germ of this affection. Finally, with the help of God and the good Spirits, we hope to reduce it in all four. Dear master, we beg the help of your prayers and those of our brothers at Paris. This help will be for us an encouragement and a stimulus to our efforts. Then, your good Spirits can come to our aid.”M. G. de L… is to bring us his brother-in-law, whom an evil Spirit has held in subjection for two years. Our spiritual guide Lamennais charges us with the treatment of this rebellious obsession. Would God give us also the power of driving out demons? If it were so, we should have only to humble ourselves before so great a favour (1).”

1. Letter of an officer of *chasseurs* who says: “We profit by our long winter hours to give ourselves with ardour to the development of our mediumistic faculties. The triad of the 4th Chasseurs, always united, always alive, is inspired by its duties.” Ibid., pp. 6 and 7. [The “Lamennais” is the late priest-apostate Félicité de Lamennais, d. 1854, as the “spiritual guide”.]

To obtain it, the masters answer, in conformity with oracles from beyond the tomb: “To act on the obsessing Spirit there must be the no less energetic action of a good disincarnate Spirit… This shows you what you will have to do henceforth in the case of manifest possession. It is necessary to call to your aid the person of an elevated spirit, enjoying at the same time a moral and fluidic power, as for example the excellent Curé of Ars, and you know that you can count on the assistance of this worthy and holy Vianney… When one magnetizes Julie, one must first proceed by the fervent evocation of the Curé of Ars and of the other good

Spirits who habitually communicate among you, praying them to act against the evil Spirits who overexcite this young girl, and who will flee before their human phalanxes (1)."

1. *Revue spirite*, pp. 16–17.

Except for the unexampled and unnameable sneer by which Satan pretends to have as accomplices of his prodigies the apostles and saints of God, is this not literally what the pagans of old did and what the idolaters of today still do? Does one not see them at every moment evoke the good genii against the bad? Up to now the good Spirits of the Spiritists have contented themselves, publicly at least, with asking for prayers. But if, as price of their favours, they demanded something else: a genuflection, a grain of incense, a vow, an offering of any kind — is it quite sure that such a homage would be refused them? Is it quite sure that they will not demand it, that they will not even demand much more? In this kind of thing one must swear to nothing. When one knows what the demon demanded and obtained of the ancient pagans, what he demands and obtains still of the modern idolaters; when one thinks that under the influence of the *spirit of '93*, which was not the Holy Spirit, official France adored a courtesan and Paris built a temple to Cybele [the Goddess of Reason, 1793], nothing is impossible. For ourselves, there remains the sad conviction that if Spiritism came to dominate society and the Spirits took it into their heads to ask, as formerly, for gladiatorial combats, those combats would be granted them, and there would be a crowd at the spectacle.

They practise it publicly. Spiritism has taken a body. It has authentically constituted itself under the name of *Société parisienne des études spirites*, to which the spiritist groups of France and abroad come to attach themselves. On the advice of the Minister of the Interior and of General Security, the French government, which has declared Freemasonry a society of public utility, has recognized and authorized Spiritism by an order of the Prefect of Police dated 13 April 1858 (1). In perfect harmony with the modern spirit and the atheist principle of the equality of cults, this society forms, as it says itself, the nucleus of a new religion, which admits into its bosom men of every caste, every sect, every colour, on the sole condition of believing in the Spirits and accepting their doctrines.

1. *Règlement de la Société parisienne des études spirites*, p. 1. [Rules of the Parisian Society of Spiritist Studies.]

In order to provide for the expenses of worship, the spiritist religion has its finances. Article 15 of the regulations reads: "To meet the expenses of the Society, an annual subscription of 24 francs is paid by the titular members, and of 20 francs by the free associates. The titular members, at their reception, pay in addition an entrance fee of 10 francs, once paid." These subscriptions, which place considerable sums at the disposal of the Society's heads, become in their hands a powerful means of propagation. It has its periodic meetings. Art. 17: "The sittings of the Society take place every Friday at 8 o'clock in the evening. No one may speak without having obtained leave from the president. All questions addressed to the Spirits must be addressed through the president." Art. 21: "The private sittings are reserved to members of the Society. They take place on the first, the third and, if there is occasion, the fifth Friday of each month." Art. 22: "The general sittings take place on the second and fourth Friday of each month."

As has just been said, in these meetings all questions must be addressed by the president to the Spirits, and everyone must listen to them with a religious silence. In some, the Spirits are evoked by this formula: "I pray Almighty God to lend an ear to my supplication, to permit a good Spirit (or the spirit of so-and-so) to come to me, to make me write under his influence." The evoker takes a pen or pencil, whose point he rests lightly on the paper, waiting for the Spirit himself to come and guide his hand. "This hand," say the Spiritists, "is a machine which the disincarnate Spirit masters at will." In fact the mediums can converse on matters entirely foreign to what they write, with the persons around them, and that while their arm moves with a speed often surprising. It is the continuation, under a different form, of the ancient pythonesses.

They propagate it with success. Spiritism has its preachers and its apostles. In America, its native country, twenty-two great journals have become its organs. In France it counts ten: at Paris, the *Revue spirite* (monthly), edited by Allan Kardec; the *Revue spiritualiste* (monthly), edited by Piérart (1); *L'Avenir*, *Moniteur du spiritisme* (weekly); at Lyons, *La Vérité, journal du spiritisme* (weekly); at Bordeaux, *La Ruche bordelaise* (bimonthly), *Le Sauveur des peuples* (weekly), *La Lumière pour tous* (weekly), *La Voix d'outre-tombe* (weekly); at Toulouse, *Le Médium évangélique* (weekly); at Marseilles, *L'Écho d'outre-tombe* (weekly). Belgium has two: *Le Monde musical* [*sic*] (weekly), at Brussels; the *Revue spirite*, at Antwerp (monthly). Turin has the *Annali dello spiritismo* (monthly); Bologna *La Luce*; Naples has its own; Palermo its own; London its own: *Spiritual Magazine*, *Spiritual Times*; Germany its own. One may add the *Almanach spirite* printed at Bordeaux.

1. The *Revue spirite* is printed in 1,800 copies; the *Revue spiritualiste*, in 600. Compared with the number of subscribers to the best Catholic reviews of the same periodicity, these figures are enormous.

We scarcely have, in France and in Italy, as many resolutely Catholic organs. Besides these periodical publications, works of every price and every size, some learned, others popular, actively peddled, eagerly read, popularize the replies of the Spirits, and their teachings, whose prodigies are presented as the irrefutable proof. It is not at random that we speak thus. From the year 1864 we have had before our eyes more than sixty spiritist works, recently published, some in their third, others in their fifth, their sixth, their twelfth edition. Since that time many others have appeared. One of the most dangerous, by reason of its popular form, its format and its price, is, for Europe, translated from the French into German, Portuguese, Polish, Italian, Spanish; and, for the East, into modern Greek. In 1863 this booklet already counted five French editions. An analogous propaganda shows itself in England; and Germany is inundated with spiritist publications. Let us add that, for some time, there exists at Paris a school of spiritism, kept by two women; a spiritist hotel; and in the department of the Oise, an establishment of spiritist education. London has a spiritist *lycée*, directed by a Mr. Powell.

So the religion of the Spirits has its disciples recruited in all ages and in all classes of society. The workshops, the bourgeoisie, the bar, the nobility, medicine, above all the army, furnish it their contingent. From year to year this contingent increases in a frightening manner. "This year, 1863," writes Allan Kardec, "is marked by the increase in the number of groups or societies which have formed in a multitude of localities where there were none as yet, both in France and abroad, an evident sign of the increase in the number of adepts and of the diffusion of the doctrine. Paris, which had remained behind, yields at last to the general impulse and begins to stir. Every day sees private meetings formed with an eminently serious purpose and in excellent conditions; the society over which we preside sees with joy multiplying around it vigorous offshoots, capable of spreading the good seed. If for a moment some fears could be conceived on the effect of certain dissidences in the manner of regarding Spiritism, one fact is of a nature to dispel them completely: it is the ever-increasing number of Societies which, from all countries, place themselves spontaneously under the patronage of that of Paris and hoist its flag (1)."

1. *État du Spiritisme en 1863* [State of Spiritism in 1863]. *Revue spirite*, January 1864, p. 3.

According to the information we have gathered and whose exactness appears to us guaranteed, Paris would count today about fifty thousand Spiritists, that is, persons of all conditions habitually devoted, as adepts, to the practices of spiritism. To calculate the number of Spiritists at Paris from the number of officially known meeting-centres and from that of the members who frequent them would be a mistake. Besides the public groups there are the private meetings, called by the Spiritists *family meetings*. We can affirm that these meetings are very multiplied, very frequent, very well attended, and that they exist in all quarters of Paris (1).

1. Here are the names of some of the streets where these public or private meetings are held: rue Laine, rue Rambuteau, rue de l'Arbre-Sec, rue des Enfants-Rouges, passage Sainte-Anne, rue Dauphine [*sic*,

"Danjou-Dauphine"], rue Sainte-Anne, rue Monsieur-le-Prince, rue de Bondy, rue Dauphine (several), rue Sainte-Placide, rue Montmartre, rue Saint-Denis, faubourg Saint-Germain, rue du Faubourg-Poissonnière, faubourg Saint-Denis (two), faubourg Montmartre (two or three), Ménilmontant (many), Montrouge (many), Belleville (many), rue du Sabot, Palais-Royal, Neuilly, Fontenay-aux-Roses, Argenteuil, the Ternes, etc. — These meetings reach the figure of about 3,000. They always take place at night and number 20, 25, 30, 40 and up to 200 persons.

In these meetings, prolonged far into the night, thousands of Christians do what the pagans did at Delphi, at Claros, in all the temples of oracles: evocations and consultations, preceded or followed by prayers to the Spirits. We can affirm further that at Paris a good number of doctors have at their service, for consulting about diseases, somnambulists, girls or women, and that artificial magnetism is becoming a career like any other, to the point that somnambulists no more stand on ceremony than other professions about spreading their prospectuses and soliciting clients. One proof, among all: the following leaflet thrown out in Paris (March 1864): "*Of the marvels of magnetism and somnambulism and of their regenerative applications.* — Madame F., after having followed with success several courses and undergone the examinations of the professor-doctors magnetizers, has for ten years practised this marvellous science, to the satisfaction of the persons whom she has completely cured. At any hour she is to be found at her home, rue S.-H., where one is assured of having a somnambulist of the first degree of lucidity, with whom one puts oneself in communication and who satisfies every request.

"One may put all possible questions to the somnambulist, without however going outside the bounds of propriety; one may ask all advice or consultations on the probable outcome of a marriage, a lawsuit, a hope of a future succession or one to be claimed; on any diversion of goods or money, even buried or hidden. The somnambulist will answer *ad rem* [to the point], with lucidity and presence of mind, on the results of distant things, were they twelve hundred leagues away. If the person consulting is affected by any illness, the consulted one will herself feel the affected spot and will be able to give her advice, without ever having learned the way of healing (1)."

1. We read also the following announcement: *Modern Sibyl, extra-lucid somnambulist, rue de Seine, 16, first floor, Paris. Political and private future. Inveterate and incurable maladies. Explanation of dreams, forecasts, researches and various information.* — Receives every day from 10 to 5 o'clock. One may consult by letters addressed post-paid to the Sibyl.

If these promises had no other guarantee than the word of the somnambulist, it would be quite permissible to laugh at them; but it is not so. The requests enumerated are literally the same that were proposed to the oracles of antiquity. So much so that, in reading them, one thinks one is reading a page of Porphyry. Inspired by the same spirit, resolved by analogous procedures, the one and the others have therefore the same authority. Now nothing is better established than the authority of the oracles: in other words, nothing is falser than to believe that everything was false in their replies.

The provinces follow Paris's example. Among them all, the city of the Blessed Virgin, Lyons, distinguishes itself by its fervour for the new worship and by the number of adherents it gives it. "So much so," writes to us from that city a well-informed person, "that the head of spiritism, Allan Kardec, who on passing through Lyons, in 1861, counted there scarcely four or five thousand Spiritists, does not fear in 1862 to raise the number to twenty-five thousand. I believe one is closer to the truth by reducing this number to fifteen or twenty thousand." Bordeaux counts about ten thousand Spiritists. Tours, Metz, Nancy, Lisieux, Oléron, Marennes, Le Havre, Saumur, Marseilles, Arbois, Strasbourg, Brest, Montreuil-sur-Mer, Carcassonne, Chauny, Laval, Angers, Moulins, Gallène near Tullins, Passy, Saint-Étienne, Toulouse, Limoges, Pontfouchard, Marmande, Mâcon, Valence, Niort, Douai, Pau, Villenave-de-Rions, Gadenet, Grenoble, Besançon, possess spiritist groups more or less numerous. Outside France, Brussels, Antwerp, Petersburg, Algiers, Constantine, Smyrna, Palermo, Naples, Turin, Florence vie in zeal for spiritism and other

demoniacal practices (1).

1. In its number of 21 March 1864, the Italian journal *Il Movimento* contains this announcement: “For some days there has been at Genoa Mr. Francesco Guidi, professor of magnetology. For eleven years he has been travelling Europe giving public sittings of magnetism. He will give one on Saturday evening at the national theatre of Saint Augustine.”

Catholics themselves, who wish to occupy themselves with spiritism, record its progress. “In our epoch one no longer lives, for one has not the time; but one uses up life; so that events grow old rapidly and soon cease to attract attention, even while their consequences continue to develop. That is why the public has for some time ceased to concern itself with spiritism, although the monster does not cease to grow. Yes, one must not dissimulate it: spiritism does not cease to gain new sectaries, favoured as it is by the general tolerance… We have gathered numerous facts worthy of serious examination (1).”

1. *France littéraire* of Lyons, 9 May 1864.

Founded on these facts which we know with certainty and on others which we know less, but which appear to us authentic, the Spiritists of Europe and America proclaim with pride their ever-increasing progress. “Since its appearance,” they write, “spiritism has not ceased to grow, in spite of the attacks of which it has been the object, and today it has planted its flag at every point of the globe. Its partisans are counted by millions; and if one considers the road it has made in ten years, through the countless obstacles sown on its path, one can judge what it will be ten years from now, all the more as the obstacles level themselves as it advances (1).”

1. Speech of the president of the Spiritist Society of Marennes, in the *Revue spirite*, January 1864.

The same progress in the East. The president of the Spiritist Society of Constantinople expresses himself thus: “You have long known my devotion to the spiritist cause. Seconded by MM. Valauri and Montani, I neglect no occasion to make it penetrate into the mind of the population of Constantinople. So I note with legitimate satisfaction that our efforts have not been fruitless… That is why we who represent the Spiritists of Constantinople cry: Courage!… The spiritist idea is no longer a great unknown. Like a penetrating dew it has made the old globe thrill. It has already gone round the world, and wherever it has penetrated it has caused fervent adepts to spring up. Is this not an evident proof of its intrinsic value? Thus spiritism must henceforth march with head held high… The past is over, the era of hell is closed. The era of peace, of liberty and of love rises on the horizon. Glory to God in the highest of the heavens (1).”

1. Constantinople, 8 November 1864; your brother in spiritism, B. Repos. *L’Avenir, Moniteur du spiritisme*, 20 April 1865.

Finally, calculations coming from another source, and as exact as it is possible to make them, put the number of Spiritists at five millions (1). Let us now measure the road that spiritism has made in sixteen years. At its origin it was only an amusement, a fashion, a game, at most an object of more or less vain curiosity. Propagated at first like a trail of powder in the old and in the new world, it seemed to have disappeared. It was thought dead, it was only asleep. With the war of Italy [1859] it awoke more vigorous than ever. Throwing off the mask of a simple pastime, it has become a learned society; and, a serious thing, men of all conditions occupy themselves with it. “In the drawing-rooms, as in the workshops, people meet today for the study of our phenomena. It is no longer as at the beginning of the turning tables, where one contented oneself with the naive phenomenon of a few insignificant answers by yes and no. Today it is grave and serious. The evocation is made religiously. No charlatanism, no staging. Everything is done simply, and the communications have a character of elevation and depth which commands respect and attention (2).”

1. See the excellent Neapolitan review *La Scienza e la Fede*, June 1863, p. 374. [The French text of the note numbers and sources is garbled; I have arranged it as the sense requires.]

2. We can affirm that there is much truth in this account by a Spiritist known to us.

However, spiritism has taken one step more. Today it translates itself into worship, and proclaims itself the religion of the future, the religion which is to replace all others. Dictated by the Spirits themselves and drawn up by their high priest Allan Kardec, its Creed is the radical negation of Christianity and the dogmatic affirmation of the fundamental errors of ancient paganism. To concentrate all our attention on other points, however important they appear, and to leave unnoticed this menacing fact, on the pretext that time will soon do justice on the Spiritists, as it did on their predecessors, would be, in our eyes, a deplorable illusion. We say on the contrary that spiritism is a power with which one must seriously reckon. On the one hand, it is the *religious incarnation* of the Revolution, that is, of paganism, as socialism will be its *social incarnation*. On the other hand, notable differences distinguish it from Mesmerism, Somnambulism, Magnetism and other demoniacal practices of past centuries. These differences are, among others: the extent of the phenomenon; its rapid propagation; its avowed negation of Christianity; the establishment of the religion of the Spirits.

Let us pause a moment on this last difference. The great danger of spiritism is that it comes at its hour. To believe that the present weakening of faith leads the world to Protestantism, to Judaism, to Mohammedanism, to atheism, would be a mistake. Unbelieving Europe hardly dreams of becoming Protestant, Jewish or Mohammedan. As to atheism, it will not be, as has been said, the last religion of humanity. Atheism is a negation. The world cannot live on negations, it never has lived on them. Of absolute necessity it needs a religious affirmation. Now let us not cease to repeat it: between the religion of Jesus Christ and the religion of Belial, between Christianity and Satanism, there is no middle. The modern world, which turns its back on Christianity, where is it going? It is going to Satanism; and spiritism is nothing other than Satanism: *imperii daemonis instauratio* [the restoration of the empire of the demon].

If therefore the clergy do not oppose to spiritism a powerful league, and if God does not intervene in a sovereign manner in this decisive struggle, who will prevent the new worship from taking on, before the end of this century, unknown proportions? The first condition of this league is to instruct the faithful solidly, not only in catechisms but also in sermons and in books, on the power of good and bad angels. On this point our education has to be made or remade. Let us add that spiritism is seconded by powerful auxiliaries. To prepare the ways for it, by clearing the ground, two innumerable armies work night and day: the secret societies and the *Solidaires* [a free-thought society pledged to refuse religious rites at birth, marriage and death]. How doubt the gravity of the situation? How not see that today the Church finds herself enveloped in the City of Evil, and that the social order in Europe, undermined to its very foundations, is threatened with some unknown catastrophe?

Such a spectacle recalls this saying of Saint Augustine: “Just as the spirit of truth has always urged men to unite themselves with the good angels, so the spirit of error always urges them to unite themselves with the demons (1)”; and the prediction of the Apostle: “The Spirit saith expressly that in the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error and doctrines of devils (2).”

1. *Sicut veritas hortatur homines fieri socios sanctorum angelorum, ita seducit impietas ad societatem daemoniorum.* Letter 102, no. 19. [Rendered in the text.]

2. *Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum.* 1 Tim. 4:1.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXII

1. **Heading.** Printed “XXXII Le Spiritisme”. This is the longest chapter of Vol. 1 so far, and it is Gaume’s most explicit engagement with a contemporary movement. It is a good example of his method: the facts of spiritism (as reported in the movement’s own organs, the *Revue spirite, L’Avenir, La Vérité*) are quoted at length and then interpreted as *satanic*, never as fraud or psychological phenomena (for which cf. the

Robert-Houdin passage).

2. **Dates and the later printing.** Footnote 2 on the Zouave Jacob ("l'année dernière, 1867") shows that Gaume (or his publisher) revised this chapter for a later impression; the rest of the chapter retains 1864–65 data. Mgr Pie's pastoral instruction is cited via the footnote (the "évêque de Poitiers"); Perrone's *De virtute religionis* (Rome, 1866) is a post-1864 addition too.

3. **Kardec's "Rivail".** Kardec = Hippolyte-Léon-Denizard Rivail (1804–69); Gaume mocks the "previous existence as a Breton soldier called Allan Kardec" (the medium's own account). "Piérart" = Z. J. Piérart, editor of the *Revue spiritualiste*; "Alis d'Ambel" (pseud.), "P. G. Leymarie" (Pierre-Gaëtan Leymarie, medium and later publisher of Kardec's works).

4. **Names and the "Zouave Jacob".** Jacob (Jacob Zouave) was a healer in Paris in 1866–67. Robert-Houdin (1805–71) was the famous conjurer.

5. **Footnotes.** The footnote numbering near "Spiritual Magazine, April 1865" is irregular; I have arranged the notes as the sense requires. The French "5 millions" and the street list are as printed.

6. **Scriptural and patristic references.** Deut. 18:10–12, Isa. 8:19, Wisdom 13, Tertullian *De anima* 57, Augustine *De civ. Dei* 10.11, Ep. 102.19, 1 Tim. 4:1, all checked in the standard text; the printed Exod. "xxii, 8" is probably 22:18 (Exod. 22:18, "Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live").

7. **Idioms.** *Niaiserie* (simple-mindedness); *tourner le dos*; *c'est à tel point que*; *jeter le masque* (cast off the mask); *rosée pénétrante*.

Chapter XXXIII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Results of Spiritism. — The ever more general negation of Christianity. — Liberty given to all the passions. — Madness. — Suicide. — Statistics. — Last obstacle to the satanic invasion: the papacy. — Cry of the present war: Rome or death. — Fear, the general sentiment of Europe. — The only means of calming it: to place ourselves again under the empire of the Holy Spirit. — How to place ourselves there again.

The new religion has its practical results. It is of the essence of every doctrine to incarnate itself in facts which are its natural fruits. Up to now the clearest effects of Spiritism are, in the religious order, the ever more general negation of Christianity as a divine work and as a positive religion; the weakening of the fear of God's judgments; confidence in metempsychosis, which, transporting into the nineteenth century the errors of theoretical Gnosticism, leads to practical Gnosticism, that is, to the emancipation of all corrupt inclinations. Could it be otherwise? To come and proclaim in the midst of a world like ours that the practices of Catholicism are not obligatory; and that whatever life one has led, one will get off with passing pains; that these very pains will always go on diminishing until one arrives at a perfect and eternal happiness: is this not to throw oil on the fire and to make an appeal to all the passions, which will be heard?

"Railways," say the Spiritists with reason, "have made the material barriers fall. The watchword of Spiritism: *Outside charity no salvation*, will make all moral barriers fall. It will above all put an end to religious antagonism, cause of so many hatreds and bloody conflicts; for then Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims will hold out their hand to one another, adoring, each in his own way, the one God of mercy and peace who is the same for all (1)." And elsewhere: "The principle of the plurality of existences has above all a marked tendency to enter into the opinion of the masses and into modern philosophy (2)." We believe it without difficulty.

1. *Revue spirite*, ibid., p. 23.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

Of all these errors, more or less seductive, what is the final result? That which the demon has always coveted and which he alone covets: the loss of souls, that is, their eternal separation from the Redeemer Word. “Satan,” says Saint Cyprian, “has no other desire than to draw men away from God, and to attract them to his worship by taking from them the understanding of the true religion. Punished, he seeks to make companions of his punishment of those whom by his deceptions he makes sharers of his crime (1).” And Saint Augustine: “The demons feign to be constrained by magicians, whom they obey very willingly, in order to enmesh them and others more strongly in their nets and to hold them enmeshed (2).” “The demon,” adds Alphonsus de Castro, “feigns to be taken, in order to take you; conquered, in order to conquer you; subject to your will, in order to subject you to his; a prisoner, in order to put you in his chains; he feigns to be bound, by your invocations, to a statue, to a stone (to a table), in order to bind you with the chains of sin and drag you to hell (3).” And, in the bosom of baptized nations, such a religion is quietly allowed to propagate itself!

1. *Nec aliud studium est, quam a Deo homines avocare, et ad superstitionem sui ab intellectu verae religionis avertere; et cum sint ipsi poenales, quaerere sibi ad poenam comites, quos ad crimen suum fecerint errore participes. On the Vanity of Idols*, ch. 7. [Rendered in the text.]

2. *Fingunt Daemones se a Magis cogi, quibus sponte obtemperant et famulantur, quo magis eos et alios irretiant, et irretitos retineant. City of God*, bk. 2 [sic], ch. 6. [Rendered in the text; I have not verified this citation.]

3. *Daemon simulat se captum, ut te capiat; se victum, ut te vincat; se tuo imperio subditum, ut te sibi subdat; a te inclusum, ut te finaliter concludat; fingit se tua arte imagini vel lapidi alligatum, ut funibus peccatorum religatum ad infernum te perducat.* Alphonsus de Castro, bk. 1 *On the Just Punishment of Heretics*. [Rendered in the text.]

In the social order, its effects are no less disastrous. By the very fact that it tends to destroy Christianity, spiritism prepares the ruin of society. It must be added that the principal agents of the European Revolution are Spiritists, and that the oracles of the Spirits on future events are sent to Garibaldi. Between him and the heads of spiritism a lively correspondence takes place. In the civil or domestic order, the new Religion translates itself into madness and suicide. Here again we shall say: It had to be so. Satan is the eternal enemy of man; whoever plays with him plays with fire. A victim of his temerity, he marches towards insanity, thinking he marches towards reason; towards death, thinking he marches towards life. To kill man in his soul and in his body is the last word of the great Homicide.

So today there are revealed, surrounded by a sinister gleam, these two great signs of the reign of Satan over the present world: signs which Spiritism has doubtless not produced, but which it has come to render more manifest than they have ever been. Here the figures are of a frightening eloquence. The number of the insane under treatment in the asylums of France, ascertained for the first time in 1835, was at that epoch 10,539. In 1851 there were counted 44,960 insane or idiots, in their families and in the asylums together. In 1856 the number of insane properly so called rose to 35,031, of whom 11,714 at home and 23,315 in the asylums. In 1861 there were counted in the 86 departments of old France 14,853 insane properly so called at home, nearly 20 per cent more than in 1856. On 1 January 1860 the number of the insane in the asylums was 28,706. “As this number increases without respite, we do not hesitate to put it at 29,500 in June 1861. This would thus be a total of 44,353 insane in the asylums or at home. By uniting the insane, the idiots and the cretins, one has for old France in 1861 a total of 80,839 sick (1).” Thus in the space of the last twenty-six years the number of madmen counted in France has almost tripled (2).

1. *Journal de la Société de statistique de Paris*. “On the movement of mental alienation,” etc., by M. Legoyt, head of the division of general statistics of France. March 1863. — England follows the same progress. On 1 January 1864 there were counted there 44,695 insane for England and Wales, and this number represents only imperfectly the real proportions of madness in the whole kingdom.

2. *Statistique de la France*, 2nd series, vol. 3, 2nd part, and *Census of the Ministry of the Interior*, 1861.

It is not calumniating Spiritism to attribute to it a great share in this rapid progression. Ten years ago it was calculated in the United States that it accounted for a tenth of the cases of madness and suicide (1). In a report on Spiritism considered as a cause of madness, read quite recently to the Society of Medical Studies of Lyons, Doctor Burlet summarizes his conclusions thus: “The influence of the so-called spiritist doctrine on madness is today well demonstrated by science. The observations which establish it are counted by thousands. It seems to us beyond doubt that Spiritism can take its place among the most fruitful causes of mental alienation (2).” A letter from Lyons subsequent to this report says: “It is recognized that, since the invasion of Spiritism within our walls, the number of those whom one is obliged to confine on account of madness has more than doubled.” Wherever Spiritism is established a similar progression shows itself. In his pastoral letter for Lent 1863, the Archbishop of Bordeaux says to his clergy: “Defend Catholic truth against the mysterious practices, the evocations, the fascinations, which recall sad epochs in the history of the world and which, too often, among other deplorable results, have that of producing madness.” After having recalled that the number of madmen has tripled in these latter times, the Cardinal adds: “One has come, in the midst of meetings which we think we ought to point out to the solicitude of our co-operators and of fathers of families, to the point of formulating doctrines in opposition to those of the Church. Be constantly on the breach; turn the faithful away from the places where these damnable superstitions are practised.”

1. Nampon, *Discourse on Spiritism*, p. 41. [Fr. Nampon, S.J.]

2. Ibid.

More even than madness, suicide is a manifest sign of the influence of the demon. Supreme violation of the divine law, absolute negation of the faith of the human race, this desperate crime is not in nature. Every being shrinks from its destruction: *mortem horret*, says Saint Augustine, *non opinio sed natura* [it dreads death — not opinion but nature]. Thus even the beast does not kill itself voluntarily. The thought of suicide, which puts man below the beast, can therefore come only from an inspiration foreign to his nature. Now there are only two inspirers of thought: the Holy Spirit and Satan. The thought of suicide does not come from the Holy Spirit. He condemns it: *Non occides* [Thou shalt not kill]. It therefore comes from Satan, the great Homicide who, since the creation, has never ceased and will never cease to hate man with a hatred pushed to destruction.

If the thought of suicide comes from the demon, what is to be said of the crime itself? To lead man to destroy himself, what empire must one not have over him! The more coolly he acts in perpetrating this crime, the less free he is: it is a character of present-day suicide. When therefore you learn that a man has voluntarily put himself to death, say with assurance: he was under the empire of the demon. If in history you find an epoch in which suicide is frequent, say with the same assurance: the demon reigns over that epoch with great empire. If you find one in which suicide is more frequent than in any other; in which it is committed in cold blood, on every pretext, at every age and in every condition; in which it ceases to inspire horror and dread, the hour will have come to tremble. In spite of all denials, you will affirm loudly that the demon reigns over that epoch with an almost sovereign power, and your affirmations will be infallible: history confirms them.

When suicide on a large scale appeared in the ancient world, the reign of Satan was at its apogee (1). This crime was its sign and its measure. Become like the Beast he adored, man had become brutish. He no longer believed in anything, not even in himself: his deep corruption called for the barbarians and the deluge of blood which was to purify the world. Banished by Christianity, suicide reappeared in Europe with the Renaissance (2). As the Renaissance bears its fruits, suicide develops; for it is one. Today it reaches proportions that the pagan world never knew. It is committed for the most futile causes, it is committed by men and by women, it is committed by children and by old men, by rich and poor, in the countryside as well as in cities. It no longer inspires either horror or dread. One reads of it as a piece of news of the day. The law

no longer brands it. People find it wrong that the Church condemns it, and, among a great number, conscience absolves it.

1. See *Histoire du suicide*, by Buonafede.

2. Ibid.

Do you wish to see in its hideous splendour this sign of the satanic reign over the present world? In 1783 Mercier wrote in the *Tableau de Paris*: “For some years about twenty-five suicides a year are counted at Paris.” At that time suicide was almost unknown in the provinces. It retained there its odious character, to such a degree that a single case sufficed to throw terror over a whole region. Half a century after Mercier, Paris has seen fifty-six suicides in a month. Moreover, here is for France the official statistic of suicide during the year 1861. “The number of suicides in France is, on average, 10 to 11 per day, that is 3,899 per year. Of this number there are counted: 842 women and 3,057 men; 16 children took their own lives: 9 of 15 years; 3 of 14 years; 2 of 13 years; 2 of 11 years. 49 nonagenarians, of whom 38 men and 11 women (1).”

1. Statistics published by the Ministry of Justice. — In 1866 the number of suicides in France was 5,119, or 173 more than in 1865. Statistics, id., 1868.

According to the very exact and very well made work *On Suicide in France*, published in 1862 by M. Hippolyte Blanc, head of bureau at the Ministry of Public Instruction, the number of suicides rises in France, from 1827 to 1858, that is, in the space of thirty-two years, to the figure of 99,662. In thirty-two years, in the bosom of the Most Christian Kingdom, ninety-nine thousand men have voluntarily given themselves death! Is it by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit? And one denies the action of Satan on the world! One jests about him! One speaks of an ever-increasing moral improvement! Something more: in this satanic butchery France is no exception. She is not even at the head of this progress of a new kind. “On consulting the most recent official documents, one finds the following figures of suicides, per million inhabitants, in various States of Europe: Belgium, 57; Sweden, 67; England, 84; France, 100; Prussia, 108; Norway, 108; Saxony, 202; Geneva, 267; Denmark, 288 (1).” Here only the suicides ascertained are counted. How many which, for one reason or another, escape official publicity!

1. *Annales d’hygiène publique*, January 1862, p. 85. As for Russia, here is what is found in the *Studies on the Future of Russia*, published at Berlin in 1863 by D. K. Schedo-Ferroti: “A great number of sects are counted in Russia. Here are some of those which are most distinguished by the extravagance of their doctrines. ‘The *Kapitones*, so called from their founder, the monk Kapiton, form the most ancient of the sects, without clergy. They consider the suicide for the faith as the most meritorious of actions. ’The *bespopowzi* of Siberia believe that Antichrist has appeared and reigns over the Russian Church, that therefore one must avoid all contact with its ministers and adherents. As a means of escaping the danger of falling victim to the cunning of the devil, they recommend above all suicide by fire, and these recommendations are not in vain, for one day 1,700 persons perished voluntarily by the immaculate baptism of fire, which they demanded of their chief. ’The *pomoriantsy* and the *philippones* share the same belief in the efficacy of suicide for the faith. There are monstrous ones, such as those of the child-killers, who think it a meritorious act to send to heaven the immaculate soul of an infant; of the stranglers, who believe that heaven will be opened only to those who die a violent death, and make it a duty to strangle or knock on the head those of their own for whom a grave illness makes them fear the misfortune of a natural death. The most fanatical knock even their healthy friends on the head.’” [Spelling of Russian names as printed: “poinoraenees”, “philippones”.]

Such is the bloody way in which for four centuries Europe, the ancient City of Good, has been marching. Seeing suicide abolished by Christianity, become again, with the Renaissance, endemic in Europe, what can one conclude, if not that the Renaissance was the return of Satanism into Europe; that the great Homicide has reconquered a part of his empire and that he reigns over his new subjects with as much power as over the old? What do I say? with a more extended power, since the sign of this power arrives in our days at

proportions that antiquity never knew. Thanks to spiritism, these proportions go on developing every day (1). With spiritism disappears the fear of hell; often even the spirits call the living to them and engage them to enter, by death, into a new, more perfect incarnation, or even to enjoy the state of pure spirits. The avowals of the Spiritists themselves, the too numerous facts that have resounded in the newspapers, the observations of doctors, the reports of families leave henceforth no doubt as to the homicidal influence of the new religion.

1. Here are some avowals that we have gathered from the very mouth of Spiritists very advanced in the practices of spiritism and witnesses of the facts they confided to us. “Spiritism is full of dangers for health and even for life. Wherever it develops with a certain intensity, there arise anomalous diseases, an immense number of cases of madness, and the deplorable propagation of suicide, which come to strike those who give themselves to it with ardour.” Having come back, not without difficulty, from their errors, the same Spiritists reported to us a great number of cases of suicide and madness that occurred among their brothers in spiritism. Their testimony only confirmed our personal experience. On this subject the *Vera buona novella* [a Catholic paper of Florence] relates that at Florence, where magnetism and somnambulism count many practitioners, an impious man gave himself to the trade of spiritist. He found as medium a poor young girl and set about evoking the infernal spirits. By dint of being called, the spirits, who are no longer deaf, came; they came often, so often that they thought it shorter to establish themselves permanently in the young girl, who at this hour is possessed and on the point of dying.

Let it be judged now whether the Church was right to condemn the Spiritists, the somnambulists, the magnetizers, their books and their practices. From the year 1856 the sovereign Pontiff pointed out the demoniacal practices which had for their aim to evoke the souls of the dead, and recommended to all the bishops of the Catholic world to employ all their efforts to extirpate these abusive practices (1). Although the decree does not name spiritism by name, since at that epoch it had not yet unmasked itself well, nevertheless it is clearly condemned by these words: *to evoke the souls of the dead and to obtain answers from them is an illicit and heretical thing*. Later it was so more directly, when the same Pius IX, by the decree of the Holy Congregation of the Holy Office dated 20 April and of the Holy Congregation of the Council of the 25th of the same month, 1864, condemned all the works of Allan Kardec which treat of spiritism and all other works treating of the same matters: *omnes libri similia tractantes* [all books treating of similar things]. Finally Father Perrone, a Roman Jesuit, establishes theologically the following proposition, which is the condemnation of the modern demoniacal practices: “Animal magnetism, somnambulism and spiritism, taken together, are nothing other than the restoration of the pagan superstitions and of the empire of the demon (2).”

1. Here is the text of the Encyclical: *Adeo crevit hominum malitia, ut neglecto licito studio scientiae, potius curiosa sectantes, magna cum animarum jactura, ipsiusque civilis societatis detrimento, ariolandi, divinandive principium quoddam se nactos glorientur. Hinc somnambulismi et clarae intuitionis, uti vocant, praestigiis muliercuIae illae gesticulationibus non semper verecundis abreptae, se invisibilia quaeque conspicere effutiunt, ac de ipsa religione sermones instituere, animas mortuorum evocare, responsa accipere, ignota ac longinqua detegere, aliaque id genus superstitiosa exercere ausu temerario praesumunt… In hisce omnibus, quacumque demum utantur arte, vel illusione, cum ordinentur media physica ad effectus non naturales, reperitur deceptio omnino illicita, et haereticalis, et scandalum contra honestatem morum. — Igitur ad tantum nefas et religioni et civili societati infestissimum efficaciter cohibendum, excitari quam maxime debet pastoralis sollicitudo, vigilantia, ac zelus Episcoporum omnium. Quapropter quantum divina adjutrice gratia poterunt locorum Ordinarii, qua paternae charitatis monitis, qua severis objurgationibus, qua demum juris remediis adhibitis, prout attentis locorum, personarum, temporumque adjunctis, expedire in Domino judicaverint, omnem impendant operam ad hujusmodi magnetismi abusus reprimendos et avellendos, ut dominicus grex defendatur ab inimico homine, depositum fidei sartum tectumque custodiatur, et fideles sibi crediti a morum corruptione praeserventur.* Encyclical

Letter of Pius IX to all Bishops, of 4 August 1856 [the *Quanta cura*? no: the letter *Magnetismi abusus*, Holy Office, 4 August 1856]. [Rendered by Gaume in the text.]

2. *Magnetismus animalis, somnambulismus ac spiritismus, in suo complexu, nil aliud sunt quam paganae superstitionis atque imperii Daemonis instauratio. De Virtute religionis,* etc., p. 351, no. 825.

[English of the encyclical text in the preceding note: "So far has the malice of men grown that, neglecting the lawful study of science and seeking rather curious things, to the great loss of souls and the injury of civil society itself, they boast of having found a certain principle of divining and soothsaying. Hence, carried away by the illusions of what they call somnambulism and clear intuition, those poor women, with gestures not always modest, babble that they behold all invisible things, undertake to hold discourses on religion itself, to evoke the souls of the dead, to receive answers, to uncover things unknown and distant, and to practise other superstitious things of the kind, with rash daring… In all these things, whatever art or illusion they use, since physical means are ordered to non-natural effects, there is found a deception wholly illicit and heretical, and a scandal against the decency of morals. — Therefore, to restrain effectively so great a wickedness, most hostile to both religion and civil society, the pastoral solicitude, vigilance and zeal of all Bishops must be roused to the utmost. Wherefore, as far as with the help of divine grace they can, let the Ordinaries of places, whether by the admonitions of paternal charity, or by severe reproofs, or finally by the remedies of law, as they shall judge expedient in the Lord, regard being had to circumstances of places, persons and times, spare no effort to repress and root out such abuses of magnetism, that the Lord's flock may be defended from the enemy man, that the deposit of faith may be kept safe and sound, and that the faithful entrusted to them may be preserved from corruption of morals."]

One thing alone prevents spiritism from producing all its fruits: Catholicism. Now Catholicism is personified in the papacy. Better even than Mazzini and Garibaldi, Satan knows it. Hence what we see: his relentless war against Rome. From his council of Babel down to the coming of the Messiah, the persevering efforts of the prince of darkness had only one aim: to form his gigantic city and make Rome his capital. He succeeded. Master of Rome, he was master of the world. So the apostles are scarcely armed with the Holy Spirit when Rome becomes the stake of the combat. ROME OR DEATH: this is the war-cry of the City of Good and of the City of Evil. For three centuries it echoed from East to West. Eleven million martyrs attest the extent of the melee and the fierceness of the struggle. For the Incarnate Word, Rome means the empire; for Satan, death means the loss of Rome and of the empire. Who would not be struck to see, after eighteen centuries, Rome become again the stake of the combat, and the war-cry ROME OR DEATH serve as the rallying-word of the two opposed camps? Among all the signs of the times, this one seems not the least worthy of attention.

That Rome is the cry of the present world, the cry which dominates all the others, is a fact which needs no proof. Kings and peoples, diplomats and thinkers, writers and soldiers, Catholics and revolutionaries, all covet Rome on different titles. Today, more than ever, hatred and love dispute Rome, and everything that speaks of Rome stirs souls, excites the double passion of good and evil. What does this supreme drama, which the world has seen only once, prove? What it proved eighteen centuries ago. It proves that Rome is still the queen of the world. It proves that Satan, expelled from his empire and put in irons by the Redeemer, has broken his chain and re-formed his City: a redoubtable city which is composed of a great part of Europe torn from Christianity. It proves that to reconstitute it as it was formerly, he has only to give it back Rome, its ancient capital; that he wants it at any price and that to seize it he marches at the head of an immense army of renegades, recoiling, today as formerly, before no means, and promising himself a speedy victory which, according to Pius IX's phrase, will begin again the era of the Caesars and of the pagan centuries, that is, will plunge the world again into the moral and material slavery from which Christianity had drawn it (1). Nothing is truer than this oracle.

1. *Ecclesiae hostes… ad Italorum animos a fide catholica abalienandos asserere… non erubescunt, catholicam religionem Italiae geniis gloriae, magnitudini et prosperitati adversari… quo Italia pristinum*

veterum temporum, id est ethnicorum, splendorem acquirere possit. Encyclical of 8 December 1849 [*Nostis et nobiscum*]. — It is, in other words, what the Revolution never ceases to say to its sons: "I am possible only on the ruins of Rome. The pope removed, all thrones will fall naturally. Italy because of Rome; Rome because of the papacy. Such must be the constant aim of your efforts." [The Latin: "The enemies of the Church… do not blush to assert, in order to alienate the minds of the Italians from the Catholic faith, that the Catholic religion is opposed to the glory, greatness and prosperity of Italy… so that Italy may acquire the pristine splendour of the ancient, that is, pagan, times."]

Now, if it is manifest that the world is withdrawing day by day more completely from the influence of the Holy Spirit, it is no less evident that it falls, in a similar proportion, under the empire of the evil Spirit and devotes itself to all the consequences of its culpable unfaithfulness. The past is the history of the future. In spite of the reassuring predictions of their false prophets, the nations of today have the presentiment of what is reserved for them: they are afraid. This indefinable feeling, unknown to regularly constituted epochs, forms one of the characters of ours. Europe takes cities reputed impregnable, and she is afraid. With a handful of soldiers she wins brilliant victories far away over powerful enemies, and she is afraid. Four million bayonets watch over her defence, and she is afraid. She tames the elements, she suppresses distances, she sings with pride the miracles of her industry; gold in abundance flows from her hands; in her clothing silk has replaced homespun; all nature has become tributary to her luxury; her life resembles the feast of Balthasar [Belshazzar], and she is afraid. Fear is everywhere. Nations are afraid of nations. Kings are afraid of peoples; peoples are afraid of kings. Man is afraid of man. Society is afraid of the present and more afraid of the future. She is afraid of someone or something whose name is a mystery. Why is she afraid? Because the instinct of her preservation warns her that she is no longer ruled by the Spirit of truth, of justice, of charity, without whom there is no possible order, no lasting society, no security for anyone. These fears are not vain. For nations as for individuals, between the City of Good and the City of Evil, between Belial and Jesus Christ: no middle.

Now, in returning into the world, Satan, whatever his apologists say, returns as he is, as he has always been, as he will always be: HATRED. A convict of hell [*forçat de l'enfer*], let him come out of the penal colony [*bagne*], freed from the powerful strait-jacket called Catholicism, and we shall see what he will do. Pride and cruelty, lying and voluptuousness: he will do tomorrow what he did at all the epochs when he was God and King, what he continues to do among all the nations still subject to his empire. War will be everywhere; the soil will be covered with ruins. Rivers of tears and rivers of blood will be seen to flow. Debased humanity will undergo outrages unknown in history: adequate chastisement of a revolt against the Holy Spirit without analogue in the annals of Christian peoples. Barring a miracle, such is — one must not dissimulate it — the yawning abyss towards which we are marching. How stop ourselves on the slope?

Away with all the means of salvation of human wisdom. No, a hundred times no: Europe unfaithful to the Holy Spirit will be saved neither by philosophy, nor by diplomacy, nor by absolutism, nor by democracy, nor by gold, nor by industry, nor by the arts, nor by stock-jobbing [*agiotage*], nor by steam, nor by electricity, nor by luxury, nor by fine speeches, nor by bayonets, nor by rifled cannon, nor by ironclad ships. How then will she be saved, if she is to be? The answer is easy. Lost for having given herself to the Spirit of Evil, the modern world, like the ancient world, will be saved only by giving itself to the Spirit of Good. The prodigal son finds life again only by returning to his father.

By reason of the incalculable dangers which at this moment threaten old Europe, this return to the Holy Spirit, prompt, sincere, universal, is the first necessity of the day. To show it, even to the blind, we have recalled the too-forgotten existence of the two opposed spirits who dispute the empire of the world and who govern it with sovereign authority. We have established the pitiless alternative in which the human race finds itself, of living under the empire of the one or under the empire of the other. Finally universal history, summed up in the parallel picture of the two Cities, has told us what it is for man to be a citizen of the City of

Good or a citizen of the City of Evil.

To know what must be done is not enough; it remains to give the means of doing it. To know the Holy Spirit, in order to love Him, to call upon Him, to place ourselves again under His empire and to remain there: everything is there. Up to now we have shown the work rather than the worker; the exterior and general work, rather than the intimate and particular work; the body rather than the soul. It is now necessary to make known in Himself this divine Soul of man and of the world; this creating Spirit, to whom heaven and earth owe their brilliant adornment; this vivifying Spirit, who feeds us like the air, who envelops us like light; this sanctifying Spirit, author of the world of grace and of its magnificent realities. It is necessary to explain His multiform operations in the order of nature and in the order of grace, in the Old as in the New Testament. Theological, in order to be exact; simple and in some sort catechetical, in order that the truth may be in the hands of the priest a bread easy to break for the weakest intelligences: such must be the second part of our work. We confess without mental reservation: more even than the first it is beyond our strength. Nevertheless we shall approach it. Two things encourage our weakness: the indulgence already won of enlightened men who understand the difficulty of such a task; the infinite goodness of Him for whom we labour: *Da mihi sedium tuarum assistricem Sapientiam… ut mecum sit et mecum laboret* (1).

1. Wisdom 9:4. [*Give me wisdom, that sitteth by thy throne… that she may be with me, and may labour with me.*]

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXXIII

1. **Heading.** Printed "XXXII (Suite du précédent)". This is the last chapter of Vol. 1. Gaume closes the first (historical, "parallel Cities") part and announces the second part (the Holy Spirit in Himself, in nature and grace), which opens Vol. 2.

2. **Dates and later printing.** The footnote giving the 1866 suicide figure ("5,119, … 173 de plus qu'en 1865. Statistique id. 1868") is a later addition (cf. the 1867 "Zouave Jacob" note in Ch. XXXII).

3. **The 1856 letter.** The Holy Office's letter *Magnetismi abusus* to all bishops (4 Aug. 1856), here called an "Encyclical of Pius IX"; and the 1864 decree (20/25 April 1864 — dates as printed by Gaume). The Perrone sentence is the same as cited in Ch. XXXII.

4. **"Eleven million martyrs".** Gaume's figure for the martyrs of the first three centuries; far above the figure accepted by modern historians. Given as written.

5. **Contemporary persons.** Garibaldi and Mazzini (Italian *Risorgimento*); Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* (1783); Hippolyte Blanc, *Du suicide en France* (1862); M. Legoyt's statistics (1863); Dr. Burlet (Lyons); the Archbishop (Cardinal Donnet) of Bordeaux; Schedo-Ferroti (pseud. of F. Firks), *Études sur l'avenir de la Russie* (Berlin, 1863). The author of the "Histoire du suicide" is printed "Buoh'afede" (garbled; read as Bonafede, unverified).

6. **Alphonsus de Castro** (1495–1558), Franciscan theologian, *De justa haereticorum punitione*.

7. **Idioms.** *Forçat de l'enfer* (convict of hell) / *bagne* (penal colony) / *camisole de force* (strait-jacket) – Gaume's metaphor for Satan restrained by Catholicism; *agiotage* (stock-jobbing); *sur la brèche* ("on the breach"); *pain facile à rompre* ("bread easy to break").

Volume II

Chapter I. Divinity of the Holy Spirit

Existence of God. — Proofs and necessity of this dogma. — God is the Trinity. — To prove the dogma of the Trinity is to prove the divinity of the Holy Spirit. — Developments. — Indirect proofs of the Trinity: the notion of being, material creatures and rational creatures. — Necessity and influence of this dogma.

God, the Trinity, the divinity of the Holy Spirit! In the language of revelation as in the faith of the nations, these three truths are so closely bound together that the certainty of the first implies the certainty of the other two. Now, God exists, with all the attributes which the human race adores. Before all ages, beyond all worlds, He is ONE BEING, personal, eternal, infinite, immutable, who is to Himself His own principle and His own happiness. Ever fruitful Being, He is the life of all lives, the centre of all movements, the beginning and the end of all that is. As the Ocean holds the drop of water in its immensity, so He enfolds in His bosom the universe and its manifold creations. He is within and without; He is far, He is near; He is everywhere. In the star that shines on the brow of the heavens, He is there. In the air that gives me life, He is there. In the warmth that quickens me and in the water that quenches my thirst; in the breath of the breeze and in the roaring of the waves; in the flower that delights me and in the animal that serves me; in spirit and in matter; in the cradle and in the tomb; in the atom and in immensity; in noise and in silence: He is there. Always He, everywhere He. He hears all: the harmonious music of the heavenly spheres, and the joyous songs of the lark, and the humming of the bee, and the roaring of the lion, and the step of the ant, and the rustle of the stirring leaf, and the breathing of man, and the prayer of the just, and the blasphemies of the wicked. He sees all: the sun glittering before the eyes of the universe, and the insect hidden beneath the grass, and the little worm buried under the bark of the tree, and the imperceptible infusorium lost in the abysses of the Ocean. He sees the varied play of their muscles, and the circulation of their blood, and the thoughts of my mind, and the beatings of my heart, and the needs of the little bird that asks its food, and the lonely wishes of the weak, and the tears of the oppressed. He governs all: the innumerable army of the heavens, and the seasons, and the winds, and the tempests, and the centuries, and the peoples, and the human passions, and the powers of darkness, and the creatures devoid of reason, and the beings endowed with intelligence. He feeds, He warms, He lodges, He clothes, He protects, He preserves all that breathes; for all that breathes breathes only through Him and ought to breathe only for Him.

Eternal source of the true, immutable rule of the good, He gives to man the light to know Him and the strength to fulfil Him. In His unerring balance He weighs the actions of kings and subjects, of private persons and of peoples. Supreme Rewarder of virtue and incorruptible Avenger of vice, He cites to His tribunal the weak and the powerful, the just man who adores Him and the impious man who outrages Him. To the one, chastisements without mercy and without hope; to the others, a happiness without alloy and without end. Being above all beings, Creator and Ruler of the universe, all things proclaim Your existence: the magnificence of the heavens, and the dazzling adornment of the earth, and the filial obedience of the angry waves, and the virtues of the good man, and the punishments of the guilty, and the very madness of the atheist. What speaks praises You by its acclamations; what is mute, by its silence. All things revere Your majesty, living nature and dead nature alike. To You are addressed all sorrows; toward You rise all prayers. Creator, preserver, ruler, father, judge, rewarder and avenger — all the names of power, of wisdom, of love, of independence and of justice are given to You; all befit You, and yet none can name You. Being above all beings: this name is the only one not unworthy of You: *EGO SUM QUI SUM* [I AM WHO AM]. One Being above all beings, one God, author and supreme regulator of the world and of the ages: such is the fundamental dogma which the universe proclaims, and before which all the generations that for six thousand years have passed over the face of the globe have bowed, their foreheads in the dust. Against this fact, on which the faith of the human race rests as the building on its foundation, what do the denials of the atheist

prove, and what can they do?

What do they prove? What a discordant voice proves in a vast concert. It is silenced, or it comes back into unison,(1) and, without it or with it, the concert goes on. What can they do? What the feeble shaft, shot in passing by the fleeing Arab, can do against the pyramid of the desert. The Arab disappears, and the pyramid remains. And in his turn, what would rationalist philosophy have of us with its god of human manufacture, its log-god [a "King Log" god, a mere block], its god of nothingness? A being of reason, or rather of unreason, an impersonal god, deaf, dumb, indifferent to the works and the needs of his creatures; a variable product of individual thought: no, such is not, such never was, in any age or under any sky, the God of the human race. Its history bears witness. "Never," says a man who knew it thoroughly, "did the nations fall so low in the worship of idols as to have lost the knowledge, more or less explicit, of one true God, Creator of all things."(1)

1. *Gentes non usque adeo ad falsos deos esse delapsas, ut opinionem amitterent unius veri Dei, ex quo est omnis qualiscumque natura.* [The nations did not fall so far into false gods as to lose the notion of the one true God, from whom comes every nature of whatever kind.] S. Aug., *Contra Faust.*, lib. XX, n. 19; cf. Lactantius, *De errore.*

The dogma of the unity of God is not true merely because it has as many witnesses as there are stars in the firmament and blades of grass on the earth; it is true also because it is necessary. What the sun is in the physical world, God is in every respect, and still more, in the moral world. Suppose that, instead of continuing to pour its torrents of light and heat upon the globe, the sun should suddenly go out: imagine what becomes of nature. At that instant vegetation stops; the rivers and the seas become plains of ice; the earth grows hard as rock; all the noxious beasts, which the light keeps chained in their dark dens, come out of their lairs and call one another to carnage; trouble and terror seize upon man; everywhere reign confusion, despair, death; a few days suffice to bring the world back to chaos. Let God, the necessary sun of intelligences, disappear. At once moral life is extinguished. All notions of good and evil are effaced; error and truth, the just and the unjust, are confounded in the right of the strongest. In the midst of these shadows all the hideous lusts that slumbered in the heart of man awake, and, without fear as without remorse, dispute the mangled shreds of fortunes, of cities and of empires; war is everywhere, the war of all against all, and the world is no more than a den of thieves and murderers. This spectacle the eye of man has never seen, any more than it has seen the universe without the star that quickens it. But what it has seen is a world in which, like the sun veiled by thick clouds, the idea of God cast no more than an uncertain gleam. Through the darkness in which they had voluntarily buried themselves, the pagan peoples perceived only indistinctly the incommunicable unity of the divine essence. Because the torch that should have guided them flickered in the wind of passions, interests and opinions, their intellectual and moral march was by turns tottering, absurd, backsliding: the gods led man astray. Eternal gropings upon the most important and the simplest questions, gross and cruel superstitions, hollow or immoral systems, condemned the human race to the penal servitude [*bagne*: the convict prison, the galleys], twenty centuries long, of idolatry. There the modern nations still lie in chains, far from the blessed zones upon which the tutelary dogma of the divine unity shines with all its brightness.

It cannot be otherwise: between man and evil there is but one barrier, God; God known, God respected. Take God away, and man, without bridle and without rule, becomes a wild beast, who descends with delight even to gladiatorial combats and feasts of human flesh. By the contrary reason, would you keep man from falling into the abyss of degradation and misery? If he is buried there, would you draw him out and lead him to the highest degree of light, of virtue and of happiness? Enough of speeches, enough of schemes and systems: one word suffices. Say to the great invalid: There is a God; arise and walk in His presence. Let the human race take this word seriously, so that the sovereign dogma of the divine unity weighs with all its weight upon minds and upon wills, and the invalid is cured. God reigns; and man is enlightened with the only light that is not deceptive; he is virtuous with the only virtue that is not a mask; he is happy with the only happiness that

is not a delusion; he is free with the only liberty that is neither a shame, nor a crime, nor a lie.(1)

1. *Ambula coram me et esto perfectus.* [Walk before Me, and be perfect.] Gen. xvii, 1.

We repeat: with this one word — There is a God — the world will be healed; otherwise, not. One day this word was spoken over the human race, gangrened with paganism, spoken everywhere, spoken with sovereign authority; and the great Lazarus rose from his bed of pain, and covered with his burning kisses the hand that had saved him. Philosophers, politicians, senate, areopagus, all you who gave yourselves out, and still give yourselves out, as the healers of nations: that hand was not yours; it never will be. Every day still this sovereign word is pronounced, Europe, over some sick soul; in the distant isles of Oceania, over some cannibal tribe; and, near as afar, it produces under our eyes the miraculous effect that it produced eighteen hundred years ago. Such, attested by reason and by history, is the saving power, and therefore the truth, of the dogma of the unity of God.

But what is God? God is the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three distinct Persons in one and the same Godhead. In other words, God is the Trinity; He can be nothing else. Questioned as to what He is, God Himself answered: I am Who am; I am the Being, the absolute Being, the Being without qualification.(1) Now the absolute Being necessarily possesses all that constitutes being, and possesses it in all its perfection. Three things constitute being: measure, number, weight.(2) In material beings, measure is the ground or substance; number is the figure which determines the substance; weight is the bond which unites the substance to the figure, and all the parts of the being among themselves. Search through all nature, from the cedar to the blade of grass, from the elephant to the mite, from the mountain to the grain of sand: you will not find a single being that does not unite these three things. They are so essential that, if one is lacking, the being cannot exist, nor even be conceived. Thus, take away the substance: what have you? Nothingness; the figure? Nothingness; the bond? Nothingness.(1)

1. *Ego sum qui sum.* [I am Who am.] Exod. iii, 14.

2. *Omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti.* [Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight.] Wisd. xi, 21.

3. *Mensura omni rei modum praefigit, et numerus omni rei speciem praebet, et pondus omnem rem ad quietem et stabilitatem trahit.* [Measure fixes a limit for everything, number gives everything its form, and weight draws everything to rest and stability.] S. Aug., *De Gen. ad Litt.*, lib. IV, c. iii.

Measure, number and weight are in creatures only because God has put them there. God has put them there only because He possesses them, that is, because He is Himself measure, number and weight.(2) As we saw of the dogma of the unity of God, the Trinity has therefore as many witnesses as there are in the universe inanimate creatures, stars in the firmament, atoms in the air and blades of grass on the earth: this is the thought of the greatest geniuses. “In all creatures,” says Saint Augustine, “there appears the vestige of the Trinity. Every work of the divine Artisan presents three things: unity, beauty, order. Every being is one, as the nature of bodies and the essence of souls. This unity takes on some form, as the figures or qualities of bodies, the doctrines or talents of souls. This unity and this form have relations between them and stand in a certain order: thus, in bodies, weight and position; in souls, love and pleasure. Therefore, since it is impossible not to glimpse the Creator in the mirror of creatures, we are led to know the Trinity, of which every creature presents a vestige more or less bright. For in that sublime Trinity is the origin of all beings, the perfect beauty, the supreme love.”(3)

2. *Haec tria: modus, species et ordo, tanquam generalia bona sunt in rebus a Deo factis. Et ita haec tria ubi magna sunt, magna bona sunt; ubi parva, parva bona sunt; ubi nulla, nullum bonum est.* [These three — mode, form and order — are, as it were, general goods in things made by God. And so, where these three are great, the goods are great; where small, small; where they are nil, there is no good.] S. Aug., *De nat. boni*,

c. iii.

3. *Trinitatis vestigium in creaturis apparet.* [The vestige of the Trinity appears in creatures.] Lib. VI, *De Trinit.*, c. x, ad fin. — *Haec igitur omnia quae arte divina facta sunt, unitatem quamdam in se ostendunt, et speciem, et ordinem. Quidquid enim horum est, et unum aliquid est, sicut sunt naturae corporum, et ingenia animarum; et aliqua specie formatur, sicut sunt figurae vel qualitates corporum, ac doctrinae vel artes animarum; et ordinem aliquem petit aut tenet, sicut sunt pondera vel collocationes corporum, atque amores aut delectationes animarum. Oportet igitur ut Creatorem, per ea quae facta sunt, intellectum conspicientes, Trinitatem intelligamus, cujus in creatura, quomodo dignum est, apparet vestigium. In illa enim Trinitate, summa origo est rerum omnium, et perfectissima pulchritudo, et beatissima delectatio.* [Rendered in the text.] Id., *De Trinit.*, lib. VI, n. 12, t. VIII, p. 1300, Paris ed.

Trinity! This, according to Lactantius, Saint Athanasius, Saint Denys of Alexandria and Tertullian,(1) is the dogma which the universality of beings ceaselessly proclaims to those who have eyes to hear. The noblest repeat it with a louder voice. Would it be just were it otherwise? Do they not owe a particular homage to the august mystery whose brighter vestige, stamped upon their brow, is the very reason and measure of their nobility? Thus the sun, the tree, the spring are eloquent preachers of the Trinity. In the unity of the same essence they show us, the one: the hearth, the ray and the heat; the other: the root, the trunk and the branches; the third: the reservoir, the outflow and the river.(2) Expounding the doctrine of the Fathers, the Angel of the School [St Thomas Aquinas] adds: “In each creature are found things which necessarily refer to the divine Persons as to their cause. For every creature has its own being, its form, its order or weight. Now, as a created substance, it represents the cause and principle, and demonstrates the Person of the Father, who is the principle without principle. As it has a form, it represents the Word, as the form of the work is conceived by the workman. As it has order or weight, it represents the Holy Spirit, as love, uniting beings among themselves and proceeding from the creative will. To this refer measure, number and weight: measure to the substance of the being; number to the form; weight to the order.”(4)

1. See Vitasse, *De Trinit.*, quaest. i, art. 1.

2. Id., ibid.

3. *In creaturis omnibus invenitur repraesentatio Trinitatis per modum vestigii; in quantum in qualibet creatura inveniuntur aliqua quae necesse est reducere in divinas personas, sicut in causam. Quaelibet enim creatura subsistit in suo esse, et habet formam per quam determinatur ad speciem, et habet ordinem ad aliquid aliud. Secundum igitur quod est quaedam substantia creata, repraesentat causam et principium; et sic demonstrat personam Patris, qui est principium non de principio. Secundum autem quod habet quamdam formam et speciem, repraesentat Verbum, secundum quod forma artificiati est ex conceptione artificis. Secundum autem quod habet ordinem, repraesentat Spiritum sanctum, in quantum est amor; quia ordo effectus ad aliquid alterum, est ex voluntate creantis… et ad haec etiam reducuntur illa tria, numerus, pondus, mensura. Nam mensura refertur ad substantiam rei limitatam suis principiis, numerus ad speciem, pondus ad ordinem.* [Rendered in the text.] I p., q. xlv, art. 7, cor.

If inanimate creatures, which are the last in the scale of beings, present the vestige of the Trinity, it is evident that this vestige must shine with greater brilliance in creatures of a higher order. What do I say? It is not merely the vestige we shall find; it is the image. “Every effect,” continues Saint Thomas, “represents its cause in part, but in different ways. A certain effect represents only the causality of the cause, without indication of the form. Thus smoke represents fire. Such a representation is called representation by vestige. And rightly, for the vestige proves that some being has passed that way, but does not say what it is. A certain effect represents the cause as to likeness. Thus the fire generated represents the fire generating; the statue of Mercury, Mercury. This representation is called representation by image. Now the processions of the divine Persons are considered according to the acts of the intellect and of the will. For the Son proceeds as the word

of the intellect; the Holy Spirit, as the love of the will. It follows that in rational creatures, endowed with intellect and will, is found the representation of the Trinity by way of image, since there is found in them the word conceived and the love proceeding."(1) It follows further that the dogma of the Trinity has as many mirrors as there are angels in heaven, demons in hell, and men come or to come upon the earth, from the beginning of the world to the end.

1. I p., q. xlv, art. 7, cor. [The note gives "art. 7" for both citations; the second passage is in the same article.]

In sum, what in inanimate creatures is measure, number and weight is called in rational creatures power, wisdom, love; and in God, Father or power, Son or wisdom, Holy Spirit or the mutual love of the Father and the Son. These three things — power, wisdom, love — are so essential in God that, if one is lacking, God is not and cannot even be conceived. If you take power from Him, what have you? Nothingness. Wisdom? Nothingness. Love?(2) Nothingness. We added that God possesses the three essential conditions of being in all their perfection. Now, in being properly so called, the perfection of these conditions is to be real, substantial, subsistent by themselves; in a word, true hypostases or distinct Persons. Pending the direct proofs of the dogma of the Trinity, let this be said, not to demonstrate what is indemonstrable, but to show that the august mystery has nothing contrary to reason, and that true philosophy even suspects its existence before having certainty of it.(1)

2. Hence the saying of Saint Jerome: Without the Holy Spirit, the mystery of the Trinity is incomplete: *Absque enim Spiritu sancto, imperfectum est mysterium Trinitatis.* [For without the Holy Spirit the mystery of the Trinity is imperfect.] *Ad Hedibiam*, Opp. t. IV, p. 189.

3. *Repraesentatio vestigii attenditur secundum appropriata; per quem modum ex creaturis in Trinitatem divinarum personarum veniri potest.* [The representation by vestige is regarded according to appropriations; in this way one can come from creatures to the Trinity of the divine Persons.] S. Th., ibid., ad 1.

So God willed it. And why? On the one hand, that He might never leave Himself without witness, by impressing His vestiges or His image upon all creatures; on the other, that He might give to men, and especially to Christian nations, the means of attaining their perfection, by taking as their model infinite Power, infinite Wisdom, infinite Love. For if the dogma of the unity of God was the sun of the Jewish world, the dogma of the Trinity is the sun of the evangelical world. Now, what the rosebud is to the rose in full bloom, the dogma of the unity of God is to the dogma of the Trinity. To walk in the presence of a God in three Persons, clearly known, is therefore for Christian peoples the law of their being and the condition of their superiority.

It is the law of their being. If they come to forget it or to misunderstand it, immediately they fall from the luminous heights of Calvary and, retrogressing forty centuries, plunge again into the darkness of Sinai. Their fall does not stop there. A Christian people cannot cease to be so without sinking below the Jew, below the Mahometan, without becoming a degraded race that has no name in human speech.

It is the condition of their superiority. The intellectual and moral perfection of a society is always in direct ratio to the notion it has of God. As much as the clear knowledge of the divine unity raised the children of Israel above the pagan nations, so much does the revelation of the Trinity raise Christian peoples above the Jewish people. Whether baptized societies know it or are ignorant of it, whether they believe it or deny it, it is in the depths of this eternally fruitful dogma that the hidden source of their superiority, in every respect, is found. The Trinity is the pivot of Christianity, and consequently the first foundation-stone of the societies born of Christianity. Take away this dogma, and the Incarnation of the Word is no more than a chimera; the redemption of the world, a chimera; the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, a chimera; the communication of grace, a chimera; the sacraments, a chimera; the whole of Christianity, a chimera; and society, a ruin.(1)

1. *Trinitatis fides per quam subsistit omnis Ecclesia.* [The faith of the Trinity, by which the whole Church subsists.] Orig., *Hom.* ix *in Exod.*, n. 3. — *De mysterio agimus, quod fidei nostrae praecipuum caput est, et totius christianae religionis fundamentum. Hoc sublato, jam nulla esset Verbi incarnatio, nulla Christi satisfactio, nulla hominum redemptio, nulla Spiritus sancti effusio, nulla gratiarum largitio, nulla sacramentorum efficacia: totum rueret salutis opus.* [We treat of the mystery which is the chief head of our faith and the foundation of the whole Christian religion. Take it away, and there would be no Incarnation of the Word, no satisfaction of Christ, no redemption of men, no outpouring of the Holy Spirit, no bestowal of graces, no efficacy of the sacraments: the whole work of salvation would fall.] Liebermann, *Instit. theolog.*, t. III, p. 123.

Translator's notes — Chapter I

1. **Volume 2.** The first chapter of Vol. 2 opens Part Two, "The Holy Spirit in Himself, in nature and in grace". Chapter numbers restart at I.

2. **Footnote numbering.** The printed footnote marks are muddled in this chapter (a "(1)" appears several times for different notes, and a "(4)" where "(1)" is meant). I have placed each note after the paragraph that cites it and kept Gaume's marks, adding the right reference where the sense is clear.

3. **Wisdom xi, 21** (Vulgate "Omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti"). Douay-Rheims renders: "thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight."

4. **Augustine citations.** *Contra Faustum* XX, 19. The long Latin of *De Trin.* VI, x, 12 is given in Latin and, since Gaume gives its French in the text, marked [Rendered in the text]. *De nat. boni* iii is the "modus, species, ordo" passage.

5. **St Thomas.** *Summa theol.* I, q. 45, a. 7 ("Whether in creatures there must be a trace of the Trinity"): the *vestigium / imago* distinction. The Latin note is given in full and marked as rendered in the text. "Angel of the School" is the traditional epithet of Aquinas.

6. **"Dieu soliveau".** A *soliveau* is a joist or beam; "the god-beam" alludes to La Fontaine's fable of the frogs who asked for a king (*Les Grenouilles qui demandent un roi*), who received King Log. I render "log-god" with a bracket.

7. **"Bagne".** The convict prison (the galleys); rendered "penal servitude".

8. **"Vitasse" and "Liebermann".** Manual-theologians (Vitasse, *De Trinitate*; Liebermann, *Institutiones theologicae*); the French gives only the surnames and I have not identified editions.

9. **Jerome.** The sentence cited to "*Ad Hedibiam*" could not be verified against Jerome's text; translated as printed.

Chapter II. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Direct proofs of the Trinity: the Bible. — The world, man, the Christian: three creations that reveal the mystery of the Trinity. — "In the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the Spirit of God moved over the waters": the formula of the creation of the physical world. — Explanation of Saint Augustine. — "Let us make man to our image": the formula of the creation of man. — Explanation of Saint Thomas, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Augustine, Bossuet. — Manifold manifestations of the Trinity. — Passage from M. Drach. — "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit": the formula of the creation of the Christian. — Explanation. — As many proofs of the Trinity, so many proofs of the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

To see the august Trinity in the mirror of creatures is no more an illusion than to recognize the tree by its fruits or the workman in his work. Thus the glimpses and reasonings of the great geniuses we have just cited

are authentically confirmed by the Creator Himself. Three masterpieces sum up, in our eyes, His outward work: the material world, man, the Christian. Now, as the manufacturer stamps his mark on each product of his industry and so gives his address to the public, God Himself tells us that He has engraved Himself in ineffaceable characters upon each of His masterpieces, so as to declare Himself the author of all beings and to manifest Himself to whoever has eyes to see and a mind to understand. “I am not ashamed of the Gospel,” says Saint Paul, “for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all impiety and injustice of those men that detain the truth of God in injustice; because that which is known of God is manifest in them. For God hath manifested it unto them. For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity: so that they are inexcusable. Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God.”(1)

1. Rom. i, 16–21. [The passage is a condensed paraphrase of Rom. i, 16–21.]

Would we see how legitimate is this inspired wrath against the deniers or despisers of the Trinity? Let us study the conduct of God Himself. He wills that His first organ, Moses, should begin the history of the world with the revelation of the creating Trinity. “In the beginning God created heaven and earth… and the Spirit of God moved over the waters.”(2) On which the most authoritative, as the most profound, of interpreters, Saint Augustine, expresses himself thus: “At the very moment when the creation *en bloc* was called out of nothing, under the name of heaven and earth, to indicate what was to be made, the Trinity of the Creator is insinuated. Scripture says: In the beginning God created heaven and earth. Now under the name of God we understand the Father; under the name of Principle, the Son, who is not principle for the Father, but for all creatures. When Scripture adds: And the Spirit of God moved over the waters, we have the complete revelation of the Trinity; for this word indicates the sovereign power of the Holy Spirit.”(1)

2. Gen. i, 1, 2.

3. *Ut quemadmodum in ipso exordio inchoatae creaturae, quae coeli et terrae nomine, propter id quod de illa perficiendum erat, commemorata est, Trinitas insinuatur Creatoris (nam dicente Scriptura: In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram; intelligimus Patrem in Dei nomine, et Filium in Principii nomine, qui non Patri, sed per seipsum creatae primitus ac potissimum spirituali creaturae, et consequenter etiam universae creaturae principium est: dicente autem Scriptura: Et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas, completam commemorationem Trinitatis agnoscimus); ita, etc…. Non enim loco, sed omnia superante ac praecellente potentia (superferebatur).* [Rendered in the text.] *De Gen. ad Litt.*, lib. I, n. 12 and 13.

Not content with having revealed herself in the creation of the material mass, the Trinity reveals herself in each particular work she draws from it. This is again the thought of the great bishop of Hippo: “In the shaping and perfecting of matter, to form distinct creatures from it, the same Trinity is insinuated. In these words: God said, we have the Word and the Begetter of the Word; and in these: God saw that it was good, we have the infinite Goodness, the Holy Spirit, by whom alone whatever pleases God pleases Him.”(2) Now the same words recur seven times in the work of creation; it is therefore seven times the proclamation of the dogma of the Trinity; seven times the divine affirmation that the material world, as a whole and in each of its parts, bears the seal of its author.

2. *Ita et in conversione atque perfectione creaturae, ut rerum species digerantur, eadem Trinitas insinuatur: Verbum Dei scilicet, et Verbi Generator, cum dicitur: Dixit Deus; et sancta Bonitas, in qua Deo placet quidquid ei pro suae naturae modulo perfectum placet, cum dicitur: Vidit Deus, quia bonum est.* [Rendered in the text.] Ibid., n. 12.

Let us hear another commentator, equally remarkable for the purity of his heart and the solidity of his learning: “The book which contains the origin of things,” says Abbot Rupert, “begins with these words: In the beginning God created heaven and earth. Since creation itself is the beginning of the world, why is it

said: In the beginning God created? It is the same as if it were said: In the beginning He began. If the word beginning is taken here in the ordinary sense, it forms a ridiculous tautology. We are therefore well founded in taking it as a proper name of the Son. He Himself wills it so, since, being questioned by the Jews, who said to Him: Who art Thou? He answered: I am the Beginning [the Principle], who also speak to you. Indeed it is truly in the Principle that God created heaven and earth, since all things were made by Him. Scripture itself confirms this interpretation when it says elsewhere: Thou hast made all things in wisdom. Now this wisdom is none other than the Word-God, who, as we have just seen, calls Himself the Principle. *And the Spirit of God moved over the waters.* Matter exists, but it is formless; it must be given life and beauty. The Spirit of God does for it what the bird, by its warmth, does for the chick enclosed in the egg: He warms it, animates it, vivifies it, makes of it a being endowed with all its perfections. What do you think this Spirit of God is, if not the very Love of God — a love not of affection, but a substantial Love, living life and power, dwelling in the Father and in the Son, proceeding from both and consubstantial with both?(1) Now He moved over the waters, and consequently over the earth enclosed in their bosom, because the Creator was drawn by an immense love toward His creature; and, being unable Himself to be what He had created, He willed to draw from it beings capable of uniting themselves to Him. This Goodness, this Love of the Creator, is the Holy Spirit Himself. At the head of the Book of books, therefore, the dogma of the creating Trinity is splendidly inscribed. In the name of God we see the Father; in the name of the Principle, the Son; in Him who is borne upon the waters, the Holy Spirit."(1)

1. Cornelius a Lapide, on this place.

2. *Igitur in capite libri splendide demonstratur Creatricis praesentia Trinitatis. Etenim in nomine Dei, Pater: in nomine Principii, Filius intelligitur; et qui super aquas fertur, ipse est Spiritus sanctus.* [Therefore at the head of the book the presence of the creating Trinity is splendidly shown. For in the name of God the Father is understood; in the name of Principle, the Son; and He who is borne over the waters is the Holy Spirit himself.] (Rupert, *De Trinit. et operib. ejus*, lib. XLII [sic]; *in Gen.*, lib. I, c. iii and ix.)

As proof of this so clear and so authoritative interpretation, the interpreters most skilled in the Hebrew tongue point to the grammatical anomaly of the Hebrew text. Literally it must be translated: *in the beginning the Gods created.* Why this strange form? Because thought must prevail over words, and before the sovereign will of Him who, in the first word inspired to His first organ, wills to reveal His divine essence, all the laws of grammar must bend. *Elohim*, "the gods," in the plural, indicates in God the plurality of Persons; as the unity of essence is indicated by the singular verb *bara*, "created."(2) The history of the creation of the material world begins, then, with the revelation of the dogma of the Trinity.

2. *Elohim plurale innuit in Deo pluralitatem personarum, sicut unitas essentiae innuitur per verbum singulare Bara, id est creavit.* [Elohim, a plural, hints at a plurality of persons in God, as the unity of essence is hinted by the singular verb *bara*, that is, "he created".] So Lyranus, Burgensis, Galatinus, Eugubinus, Catharinus, etc. — See Cornelius a Lapide, *In Gen.*, i, 1.

In the same manner begins the history of the creation of man. "Let us make man to our image and likeness," says the Creator;(3) and the divine Workman engraves Himself in indelible characters, even into the essence of this new creature. Let us observe first the depth of the biblical language: these two words, image and likeness, are not a useless repetition. The one is the preamble of the other. Both together reveal to man both his relations with God and the aim of his life. To the Father of the human race and to each of his descendants, they say: "Endowed with the threefold faculty of remembering, knowing and loving, you are made in the image of the Trinity God. This image is stamped even in the depths of your being. Jew, pagan, Catholic, heretic, just or sinner, whoever you are and whatever you do, as long as it is true that you are a man, it will be true that you are the image of God. Damned, you will bear it in hell, and the eternal flames will burn it without destroying it."(1) "To preserve it is not the aim of your life; it is to perfect it, until the likeness to God is formed in you. Such is the law of your being and the condition of your happiness. As a sinner, you

lose this likeness; just on earth, you have it, but imperfect; a saint in heaven, you will possess it in its perfection. Then, and then only, will you be able to say: I have attained the end of my creation; I am like unto God."(2)

3. Gen. i, 26.

4. *Imago siquidem in gehenna uri poterit, non exuri; ardere, sed non deleri. Similitudo non sic; sed aut manet in bono; aut si peccaverit anima, mutatur miserabiliter jumentis insipientibus similata.* [The image, indeed, can be burned in Gehenna but not consumed; it burns but is not destroyed. The likeness does not so: it either remains in good, or, if the soul sins, is miserably changed, made like to senseless beasts.] S. Bern., Serm. i *de Annuntiat.*

5. *Imaginem Dei semper diximus permanere in mente; sive haec imago Dei sit obsoleta, ut pene nulla sit, ut in his qui non habent usum rationis; sive sit obscura atque deformis, ut in peccatoribus; sive sit clara et pulchra, ut in justis.* [We have always said that the image of God remains in the mind: whether it be worn away until almost nothing, as in those without the use of reason; or dim and deformed, as in sinners; or bright and beautiful, as in the just.] S. Th., I p., q. xciii, art. 8, ad 3.

If no doctrine is more luminous, none is more certain. "To the image of God imprinted in my soul," says Saint Basil, "I owe the use of reason; to the grace of being a Christian, the likeness to God."(1) And Saint Jerome: "It is to be noted that the image alone is made in us by creation; the likeness, by baptism."(2) And Saint Chrysostom: "God said *image*, because of man's dominion over all creatures; *likeness*, that, as far as human strength allows, we may make ourselves like to God by meekness, by gentleness, by virtue, according to the precept of Jesus Christ Himself: Be like your Father who is in heaven."(3) A magnificent labour, of which Saint John makes the eternal completion shine before our eyes when he writes: "Dearly beloved, we are now the sons of God; and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like to Him."(4)

1. *Per imaginem animae impressam meae, obtinui rationis usum; verum christianus effectus utique similis efficior Deo.* [Through the image impressed upon my soul I have obtained the use of reason; but made a Christian, I am made like to God.] S. Basil, *Hom.* x *in Hexaem.*

2. *Notandum est quod imago tunc (in creatione) facta sit tantum, similitudo in baptismate compleatur.* [It is to be noted that the image was then (in creation) only made; the likeness is completed in baptism.] S. Hier., on Ezech. xxviii, *In signaculum.*

3. *Imaginem dixit ob principatus rationem; similitudinem, ut pro viribus humanis similes fiamus Deo; mansuetudine, inquam, lenitate et virtutis ratione Deo similes efficiamur, ut et Christus dicit: Similes estote Patri vestro qui est in coelis.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Chrysost., *in cap.* i *Gen.*, *hom.* ix, n. 3.

4. 1 John iii, 2.

But in what does this image of the Trinity which we bear in ourselves consist? In the name of all, let us hear two great masters of doctrine: Saint Augustine and Bossuet. "In dealing with creation," says the first, "we have, so far as lay in us, warned those who seek the reason of things to apply all the force of their minds to considering the invisible perfections of God in His outward works, and chiefly in the rational creature, which was made to the image of God. There, as in a mirror, they will see, if they are able to see, the divine Trinity in our three faculties: memory, understanding and will. Whoever clearly distinguishes these three things, engraved in his soul by the hand of the Creator, and who remarks how great a thing it is to see, in this created soul, the immutable nature of God recalled, seen, loved — for we remember by memory, we see by understanding, we love by charity — he, without contradiction, finds in himself the image of the Trinity. Sovereign Trinity, eternal object of memory, of understanding and of love, to recall, to contemplate and to love which the whole of life should aim!"(1)

1. …*Per quod velut speculum, quantum possent, si possent, cernerent Trinitatem Deum, in nostra memoria, intelligentia, voluntate… ad quam summam Trinitatem reminiscendam, videndam, diligendam, ut eam recordetur, eam contempletur, ea delectetur totum debet referre quod vivit.* [Rendered in the text.] *De Trinit.*, lib. XV, n. 39.

After the bishop of Hippo, let us hear the bishop of Meaux. Retracing for man the august image he bears within himself, and conjuring him to make it the constant object of his imitation: "This Trinity," says Bossuet, "uncreated, sovereign, almighty, incomprehensible, in order to give us some idea of its infinite perfection, has made a created Trinity on earth… If you would know what this created Trinity is of which I speak, enter into yourselves and you will see it; it is your soul. For, as the most august Trinity has one source and one fountain of divinity, as the Greek Fathers say, a treasure of life and intelligence which we call the Father, from which the Son and the Holy Spirit never cease to draw; so the human soul has its treasure which makes it fruitful. All that the senses bring it from without, it gathers within; it makes of it, as it were, a reservoir which we call memory. And as this infinite treasure, that is, the eternal Father, contemplating His own riches, produces His Word, which is His image; so the rational soul, full and enriched with beautiful ideas, produces that inner word which we call thought, or conception, or discourse, which is the living image of things. For do we not feel, Christians, that when we conceive some object we make for ourselves a living picture of it, which the incomparable Saint Augustine calls *the Son of our heart*: *Filius cordis nostri*?(1) Finally, as in producing in ourselves this image which gives us understanding we take pleasure in understanding, we consequently love this understanding; and thus from this treasure which is memory, and from the understanding which it produces, is born a third thing called love, in which all the operations of our soul terminate. Thus from the Father, who is the treasure, and from the Son, who is reason and understanding, proceeds that infinite Spirit, who is the term of the operation of both. And as the Father, that eternal treasure, communicates Himself without being exhausted, so this invisible and inward treasure which our soul holds in its own bosom loses nothing in pouring itself out: for our memory is not exhausted by the conceptions it brings forth; it remains ever fruitful, as God the Father is ever fruitful."(1)

1. *De Trinit.*, lib. IX, c. vii. [Augustine's phrase *filius cordis nostri* is Gaume's/Bossuet's gloss; I give the reference as printed.]

2. Sermon on the mystery of the Holy Trinity, t. IV, ed. 1846.

And elsewhere: "We have said it: the Trinity shines magnificently in the rational creature. Like the Father, it has being; like the Son, it has understanding; like the Holy Spirit, it has love. Like the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, it has in its being, in its understanding, in its love one same felicity and one same life. You cannot take anything from it without taking all. Happy creature and perfectly like, if it occupies itself solely with Him. Then, perfect in its being, in its understanding, in its love, it understands all that it is, it loves all that it understands. Its being and its operations are inseparable. God becomes the perfection of its being, the immortal nourishment of its understanding and the life of its love. It utters, like God, but one word, which comprehends all its wisdom. Like God, it produces but one love, which embraces all its good. And all this does not die in it. Grace comes upon this foundation and raises nature; glory is shown to it and adds its completion to grace. Happy creature, once more, if it knows how to keep its happiness! Man, you have lost it! Where does your understanding wander? Where is your love going to drown itself? Alas! alas! and without end, alas! return to your origin."(2)

2. *Élévations sur les mystères*, élév. vii, t. II, p. 247. [Bossuet's *Élévations sur les mystères*; the "élévation" number as printed.]

Return; and, if you would know your dignity and the aim of your existence, look neither at the heavens nor at the earth, neither at the stars nor at the elements, nor at all this universe that surrounds you: look at yourself, O man! Listen no longer to the voice that comes from creatures, but to the voice that comes from yourself.

You are yourself the preacher of the Trinity. Wherever you go, you bear its image. Respect it, love it, copy it, make yourself to its likeness: your happiness is at that price.

In the great events that mark the life of primitive man, the Trinity reappears. Adam has fallen. “Behold,” say the divine Persons, “Adam is become as one of Us: *Ecce Adam factus est quasi unus ex nobis*.”(1) As clear as these words are, interpreted in the Catholic sense, so absurd are they if they do not indicate the plurality of the divine Persons. In that case they would carry this meaning: “Behold Adam become like one of me.” Satan wishes to lay the foundations of the City of Evil. To build it, he gathers men in the plains of Sennaar. The city and the tower that is to rise to heaven grow before one’s eyes. This audacious enterprise provokes a fresh manifestation of the Trinity. As the three Persons took counsel to create man, they take counsel to punish him. “Come,” they say to one another, “let us go down and confound their tongue.”(2)

1. Gen. iii, 22.

2. *Venite igitur, descendamus et confundamus ibi linguam eorum.* [Come ye, therefore, let us go down, and there confound their tongue.] Gen. xi, 7.

In His turn God wills to form the City of Good. Abraham will be its cornerstone, and the Trinity appears to him. In the midst of the valley of Mambre stood the tent of the Father of believers. One day, about the hour of noon, the charitable patriarch was sitting at his door when, lifting up his eyes, he sees three persons standing before him. At this sight he falls with his face to the ground and adores, saying in the singular: “Lord, if I have found favour in Thy sight, pass not away from Thy servant.”(1) Abraham sees three persons, and adores but one Lord, to whom he constantly gives the incommunicable name of Jehovah. What does this language mean? Let us consult the oracle, the infallible interpreter of Scripture: tradition. “Behold, suddenly,” says a Father of the Church, “the incorporeal Majesty descends upon earth, in the bodily figure of three men. Abraham runs to meet them. He stretches out his suppliant hands to them, kisses their knees and says: Lord, if I have found favour before Thee, pass not away from Thy servant without stopping. You see: the Father of believers hastens to meet three, and adores only one: unity in three, Trinity in one. Behold, the heavenly Majesty takes its place at the table of a mortal, accepts a meal, tastes the dishes; and a friendly, familiar conversation is established between God and a man. At the sight of these three persons Abraham understands the mystery of the holy Trinity; and if he adores in them but one Lord, it is because he is not ignorant that in these three persons there is but one God.”(2)

1. *Domine, si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, ne transeas servum tuum.* [Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away from thy servant.] Gen. xviii, 3.

2. *Ecce subito in trium virorum persona Majestas incorporea descendit. Accessit, properat, manus supplices tendit, et transeuntium genua osculatur. Domine, ait, si inveni gratiam coram te, ne transieris puerum tuum. Videtis; Abraham tribus occurrit, et unum adorat. Trina unitas et una Trinitas… Ecce ad humanam mensam coelestis sublimitas recumbebat, cibus capitur, prensitatur et contumeliosa… colloquio inter hominem et Deum familiaria verba miscentur. In eo autem quod tres vidit Trinitatis mysterium intellexit, quod autem quasi unum adoravit in tribus personis unum Deum esse cognovit.* [Rendered in the text.] *Serm. de Temp.*, I, xviii, n. 2 and 4. — *Hi tres symbolice significabant sanctam Trinitatem, et medius significabat essentiam divinam, tribus personis communem.* [These three signified the holy Trinity symbolically, and the middle one signified the divine essence, common to the three Persons.] So Eusebius, Cyril, etc. Corn. a Lap., in c. xviii, 3, Gen. — *Et ipse Abraham tres vidit et unum adoravit.* [And Abraham himself saw three and adored one.] S. Aug., *Contr. Max. Arian.*, lib. II, c. xxvi, n. 7. — *Tres videt, et unum adorat.* [He sees three, and adores one.] S. Ambr., *De Cain et Abel*, t. I, p. 197.

From these manifold manifestations there had resulted among the Jews the certain knowledge of the fundamental dogma of the faith of the human race, in the old covenant as in the new. “The enlightened men among the Hebrews,” says Saint Epiphanius, so profoundly instructed in the things of his nation, “taught at

all times, and with entire certainty, the Trinity in one single divine essence."(1) Another child of Israel, not less versed in the religious history of the synagogue, M. Drach, expresses himself thus: "In the four Gospels there is no more to be remarked a new revelation of the holy Trinity, the fundamental point and pivot of the whole Christian religion, than of any other doctrine already taught in the synagogue at the coming of Christ: as, for example, original sin, the creation of the world without pre-existing matter, and the existence of God. When Our Lord gives to His disciples, all of whom He had chosen from among the Jews, the mission of going to preach His holy Gospel to the peoples of the earth, He commands them to baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. It is clear that these words, the only ones of the four Gospels in which the three divine Persons are named together in such express terms, are not spoken as having for object to reveal the holy Trinity. If the Saviour here pronounces the adorable names of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, it is to prescribe the sacramental formula of baptism. The mention of the great mystery on this occasion, in connection with baptism, produces upon the mind of whoever reads the Gospel the effect of an article of faith already known and fully admitted among the children of Israel. In a word, the evangelists take as their starting-point the mystery of the Incarnation. They reveal it to us and prescribe that we believe it. As for that of the Trinity, which precedes it and is its basis in faith, they take it up as a point already manifest, admitted in the belief of the old law. That is why they nowhere say: Know, believe that there are three Persons in God. In fact, whoever is familiar with what the ancient doctors of the synagogue taught, especially those who lived before the coming of the Saviour, knows that the Trinity in one God was a truth admitted among them from the most remote times."(1)

1. *Adv. haeres.*, lib. I, haer. 5. — Less clearly, however, than the apostles and the Fathers..

2. *Harmonie de l'Église et de la Synagogue*, t. II, p. 277–279.

Nevertheless, there is a creation nobler than that of the material universe, nobler than that of man himself: it is the creation of the Christian. Like the first two, this third masterpiece begins with the revelation of the dogma of the Trinity. The fullness of time is accomplished; the Word, by whom all things were made, has come down upon the earth to regenerate His work. A new world, more perfect than the old, is to come to birth at His voice. He Himself is about to return to His Father; but His apostles have received the order and the power to continue this marvellous creation. At the solemn moment of His departure, He lets fall from His divine lips the ineffable name of Jehovah, which He had not yet pronounced in its entirety, and whose complete utterance was to be, according to the prophetic tradition of the synagogue, the signal of the universal redemption.(1) He says to them: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."(2) Here, if ever, is the perfect equality of the three Persons, the same power, the same sanctifying virtue in one name, that is, in one divinity: what could be clearer!

1. [Drach's note:] The Trinity of persons in one only God was not to be publicly and clearly taught, by the admission of the Rabbis themselves, until the era of the coming of the Messiah, our own era, when the name Jehovah, which announces this august mystery as well as the Incarnation of the Word, was to cease to be ineffable… One of their ancient traditions says in express terms: *Redemption will be wrought by the whole name Jehovah; when one of the three divine Persons, inseparable from the other two, shall have made himself what the last letter of the ineffable name signifies: GOD-MAN.* Drach, ibid., t. II, p. 455.

2. Matt. xxviii, 19.

Thus man, who owes his natural being to the adorable Trinity, will owe to it his supernatural being. Human life and divine life come to him from the same source. This great truth will be written in the very act of his double creation. Under whatever climate he is born, not a son of Adam becomes a Son of God without the Church, his mother, engraving on his forehead the indelible seal of the august Trinity. This is not enough. As in the Old Testament the God in three Persons multiplied His appearances to primitive man, under the law of

grace He multiplies them more numerous and clearer for the new man. Follow the Christian from the cradle to the tomb: he cannot take a step in life without meeting the Trinity. Baptized in the name of the Trinity, is he clothed with the strength and filled with the lights of the Holy Spirit? It is in the name of the Trinity. Does he receive the life-giving flesh of his Redeemer? It is in the name of the Trinity. Does he recover purity of soul by the remission of his sins? Is he strengthened in the dangers of the last struggle? Does he become, according to the flesh or according to the spirit, the father of a new family? It is again in the name of the Trinity. Does he return to his last earthly dwelling? Is he entrusted to the tomb as an inviolable deposit? It is always in the name of the Trinity.

So, whichever way he turns — whether he lifts his eyes to the firmament, lowers them to the earth, or concentrates them upon himself — everywhere man sees the august dogma of a God in three Persons shine out. To deny it, he must deny the universe, deny his reason, deny the Scriptures, deny himself, as man and as Christian. But as often as he affirms it, so often he affirms the divinity of the Holy Spirit: our task was to establish it.

Translator's notes — Chapter II

1. **Heading.** "CHAPITRE II (SUITE DU PRÉCÉDENT)": the continuation of Ch. I.

2. **Footnote marks.** As in Ch. I the printed marks repeat (several "(1)"); I place each note after the paragraph that cites it.

3. **Hebrew *Elohim*.** Gaume (following the older Latin commentators) argues from the plural noun with a singular verb. Modern scholarship generally explains this as the "plural of majesty/abstraction"; I translate without comment on the argument.

4. **Rupert of Deutz.** The long passage attributed to "l'abbé Rupert" is translated as given; the Latin footnote reference ("lib. XLII") is doubtful (Rupert's *De Trinitate et operibus eius*, on Genesis). Text of the "Principle" argument draws on John 8:25 (Vulgate: *Principium, qui et loquor vobis*).

5. **"The Son of our heart".** Gaume/Bossuet's phrase *Filius cordis nostri* appears in the Bossuet sermon with an Augustine reference (*De Trin.* IX, vii); I give the reference as printed.

6. **Jerome and Chrysostom.** Jerome's reference is to Ezek. 28:12 (the "signaculum" passage). The Chrysostom passage is *Hom. in Gen.* ix, 3.

7. **Drach.** Paul-Louis-Bernard Drach (1791–1865), a rabbi converted to Catholicism in 1823; *De l'harmonie entre l'Église et la Synagogue* (1844). His note on the "whole name Jehovah" is given in Gaume's French and rendered as printed. The Latin of the Abraham sermon (Pseudo-Augustine? *Serm. de Temp.*) is attributed as printed; I could not verify the sermon.

8. **Epiphanius.** *Adv. haeres.*, lib. I, haer. 5.

9. **Biblical references.** Gen. xvii–xviii; Matt. xxviii, 19; 1 John iii, 2.

Chapter III. Direct Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit

The names. — All the names that befit God alone are given to the Holy Spirit: in the Old Testament, Jehovah; in the New, God. The attributes: eternity, immensity, infinite intelligence, omnipotence. — The works: the creation and the regeneration of man and of the world. — Tradition: Saint Clement, Saint Justin, Saint Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Eusebius of Palestine, the Church of Smyrna, Lucian, Tertullian, Saint Dionysius of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, Rupert; the liturgy, the sign of the cross, the doxology, the Gloria Patri.

The first thing to know of the Holy Spirit is that He is God, as the Son and the Father are; that He has the same nature, the same divinity, the same perfections; that like them He is eternal, almighty, infinitely wise and infinitely good; worthy like them of the confidence and the love, the adorations, the prayers and the praises of heaven and earth, of angels and of men. This is all that we profess in saying: I believe in the Holy Spirit: *Credo in Spiritum sanctum* [I believe in the Holy Spirit]. Now, in the holy books, from Genesis to the Apocalypse; in the teaching, uninterrupted for eighteen centuries, of the Fathers of the Church and of the Church herself, the divinity of the Holy Spirit shines with no less brilliance than the divinity of the Son and of the Father. The proof is in the testimonies cited so far in favour of the dogma of the Trinity.(1) We might stop there; for nothing is better founded than our faith in the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Let us nevertheless bring some direct proofs of this fundamental truth. They present themselves in crowds: in the names which Scripture gives to the Holy Spirit; in the attributes it acknowledges in Him; in the works it assigns to Him; in the tradition of the Fathers and in the doctrine of the Church.

1. The others may be found in the great theologians: Vitasse, *De Trinitate*; Petavius, *De dogmatibus theologicis*, etc.

The names. They offer us two kinds of proofs of the divinity of the Holy Spirit: one negative, the others positive. The first results from this peremptory fact, that never in the Scriptures of the Old or New Testament is the Holy Spirit called a creature. Yet we find, in the prophets and in the apostles, the brilliant enumeration of the principal creatures of heaven and earth. David gives it us several times in the Psalms.(2) Daniel repeats it magnificently in the canticle of the three children of Babylon. Among all the masterpieces of creative power there is no mention of the Holy Spirit. Paul, caught up into the third heaven, saw the angelic hierarchies; he names, each by its name, the orders that compose them. In none of them did his gaze, illumined by the light of God Himself, discover the Holy Spirit. Nowhere does he name Him among creatures — a thing which he would not have failed to do, had the Holy Spirit not been God. For his sublime census of the angelic creations has for its purpose to show that all that is not God is below the Incarnate Word.(1) Not only does he never name the Holy Spirit among creatures, but always he places Him on the same line as the Father and the Son and names Him with them.

2. Among others, Ps. 148 and 102 [probably Ps. 102 (103) or 135 — as printed].

3. [Gaume's note mark; no note text is printed.]

Let us come to the positive proofs. In the Old Testament the name of Jehovah, and in the New the name of God without qualification, is, as everyone knows, the incommunicable name of God.(2) Now this double name is constantly given to the Holy Spirit. In the second book of Kings [2 Samuel], David says: "The Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] hath spoken by me, and His word by my tongue."(3) Who is this Spirit? The next verse tells us at once: "The God of Israel said to me, the Strong One of Israel spoke."(4) Whence it is seen that the Spirit of Jehovah is Jehovah Himself, the Strong One, the God of Israel. Isaias in his turn expresses himself thus: "And the Lord of hosts [Jehovah] said: Go, and say to this people: Hear ye indeed, and understand not."(5) Who is this God, this Jehovah of hosts? The Holy Spirit, answers Saint Paul. In his prison at Rome, speaking to the unbelieving Jews who had hastened to hear him, he recalls this text of Isaias and says to them: "Well did the Holy Spirit speak to our fathers by Isaias the prophet, saying: Go to this people, and say to them: With the ear you shall hear, and shall not understand."(1) Here again, the one whom Isaias calls the Lord of hosts, Jehovah, the God of Israel, the true God, in a word, the Apostle tells us is the Holy Spirit. Could he teach more clearly the divinity of the third Person of the august Trinity?

2. [Gaume's note mark; no note text is printed.]

3. [2 Kings xxiii, 2; Gaume gives no reference.]

4. [2 Kings xxiii, 3.]

5. [Isaias vi, 9.]

6. *Bene Spiritus sanctus locutus est per Isaiam: Vade, et dices populo huic: Audite audientes, et nolite intelligere.* [Well did the Holy Spirit speak by Isaias: Go, and thou shalt say to this people: Hear ye indeed, and do not understand.] Acts xxviii, 25.

It is not only in Isaias, it is in all the books of the Old and the New Testament that it is said that God spoke by the prophets. To cite only two examples: at the beginning of his Gospel Saint Luke expresses himself in these terms: "As He spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets, who are from the beginning."(2) And Saint Paul writing to the Hebrews: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets."(3) Well, this God, inspirer of the prophets, is again the Holy Spirit. We cannot be more certain of it than by the testimony of Saint Peter himself. Here are his words: "The Scripture must needs be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spoke before by the mouth of David."(4) And elsewhere: "The holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Spirit."(5) Hence this reasoning, as simple as it is conclusive: He who spoke by the prophets is the true God. Now it is the Holy Spirit who spoke by the prophets. The Holy Spirit is therefore God, true God like the Father and the Son. Moreover, as Scripture distinguishes the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son, it clearly follows that the Holy Spirit is a Person distinct from the Son and from the Father.

2. *Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum, qui a saeculo sunt, prophetarum ejus.* Luke i, 70. [As He spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets, who are from the beginning.]

3. *Olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis.* Heb. i, 1.

4. *Oportet impleri scripturam, quam praedixit Spiritus sanctus per os David.* [Rendered in the text.] Acts i, 16.

5. *Spiritu sancto inspirati locuti sunt sancti Dei homines.* [Rendered in the text.] 2 Pet. i, 21.

On a memorable occasion the same apostle proclaims with no less brilliance the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Ananias deceives about the price of his field. To the deception he adds a public lie. In the presence of the whole Church of Jerusalem, Peter says to him: "Why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Spirit?… Thou hast not lied to men, but to God."(1) Ananias lied to the Holy Spirit. Peter exposes his fault and says to him: In lying to the Holy Spirit, it is neither to men nor to a mere creature that you have lied, but to God Himself. Therefore the Holy Spirit is God. The consequence is logical and the conclusion unassailable.

1. *Dixit autem Petrus: Anania, cur tentavit Satanas cor tuum, mentiri te Spiritui sancto et fraudare de pretio agri?… Non es mentitus hominibus sed Deo.* [Rendered in the text.] Acts v, 3, 4.

The attributes. The same reasoning as for the names. He is God to whom all the attributes of God belong. Now all the attributes of God belong to the Holy Spirit. The great attributes of God are: eternity, immensity, infinite intelligence, omnipotence: the Holy Spirit possesses them all.

Eternity. He is eternal who preceded all times. He preceded all times who, in creating the world, created time itself. Now the Holy Spirit created the world in concert with the Father and the Son. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the Spirit of God moved over the waters."(2)

2. Gen. i, 1–3.

Immensity. He is immense who embraces all places and fills them, so that none can withdraw from His presence. "The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world. Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? Or whither shall I flee from Thy face? If I ascend into heaven, Thou art there; if I descend into hell, Thou art present. If I take my wings early in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea: even there also shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me."(1)

1. *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.* [Wisd. i, 7.] — *Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo et quo a facie tua fugiam? Si ascendero in coelum, tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, ades. Si sumpsero pennas meas diluculo et habitavero in extremis maris, etenim illuc manus tua deducet me et tenebit me dextera tua.* [Rendered in the text.] Ps. cxxxviii, 7–10.

Infinite intelligence. He sees all, knows all, who has no secret from heaven and earth; who penetrates even into their depths the mysteries of God Himself; who embraces the truth, the whole truth, in the past, in the present, in the future, and is its infallible teacher. Such is the Holy Spirit. Speaking of the marvels of the heavenly Jerusalem, Saint Paul says: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him. But to us God hath revealed them by His Spirit. For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him? So the things also that are of God no man knoweth, but the Spirit of God."(2) And Saint John: "The Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind whatsoever I shall have said to you… and the things that are to come, He shall show you."(3) These so clear texts were the victorious weapons which Saint Ambrose and the ancient Fathers used to confound the denier of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, the impious Macedonius.

2. 1 Cor. ii, 9–11.

3. John xiv, 26, and xvi, 13.

Omnipotence. He is almighty who brings being out of nothing by a sign of His will, and all of whose works denote an infinite power. Such again is the Holy Spirit. "By the word of the Lord," say the prophets, "the heavens were established, and all the power of them by the Spirit of His mouth"; for "the Spirit of creative wisdom is almighty."(1)

1. *Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.* Ps. 32, 6. — *Omnium enim artifex docuit me sapientia… est enim in illa Spiritus… omnem habens virtutem.* [For wisdom, the artificer of all things, taught me… for in her is the spirit… that hath all power.] Wisd. vii, 21–23.

The works. We shall only touch this vast subject, since we must treat it in detail in the sequel of our work. The works of God are of two kinds: the works of nature and the works of grace. Now all these works are attributed to the Holy Spirit, as to the Son and the Father. In the natural order, the creation of man and of the world: we have just seen it by the testimonies of the holy books. Let us add only the very precise word of the holy man Job: "The Spirit of God made me: *Spiritus Dei fecit me*."(2) In the order of grace, the regeneration of man and of the world. The prophet informs us: "Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created; and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth."(3) And still more clearly the Master of the prophets: "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."(1) And the very formula of the universal regeneration: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."(2) What more perfect equality! "Oh yes, sanctifying Spirit," cries Bossuet, "You are equal to the Father and the Son, since we are equally consecrated in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and since You have with them one same temple, which is our soul, our body,(3) all that we are. Nothing unequal or foreign to the Father and the Son ought to be named with them in equality. I will not be baptized or consecrated in the name of a fellow-servant; I will not be the temple of a creature: it would be idolatry to build a temple for it, and still more to be and to believe oneself its temple."(4)

2. Job xxxiii, 4.

3. Ps. 103, 30.

4. John iii, 5.

5. Matt. xxviii, 19.

6. 1 Cor. iii, 16, 17; vi, 19.

7. *Élév. sur les myst.*, II Serm., Élév. 5.

Tradition. It has expressed itself by the voice of the Fathers and doctors. No less precise than that of Scripture, its word has crossed the centuries, ceaselessly reproduced by new organs. We see it even fixed in monuments that go back to the cradle of Christianity. The echoes of East and West were still repeating the last accents of the apostles' voice, Saint John had scarcely gone down into the tomb, when the first Christian apologists appeared. According to Saint Basil, Pope Saint Clement, third successor of Saint Peter, martyred about the year 100, was accustomed to make this prayer: "Live God, and Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit."(1) In his eloquent plea presented to the Emperor Antoninus, about the year 120 [sic], Saint Justin expresses himself thus: "We honour and adore, in spirit and in truth, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."(2) What Saint Justin had said at Rome, some years later Saint Irenaeus taught in the Gauls. "Those," he says, "who shake off the yoke of the law and let themselves be carried away by their lusts, having no desire of the Holy Spirit, the apostle rightly calls carnal men."(3) At the same period, Athenagoras asked: "Is it not strange that we should be called atheists, we who preach God the Father and God the Son and the Holy Spirit?"(4) His contemporary, Eusebius of Palestine, to encourage himself to speak, said: "Let us invoke the God of the prophets, author of light, through our Saviour Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit."(5)

1. *Vivit Deus et Dominus Jesus Christus et Spiritus sanctus.* [As God lives, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit.] Lib. *de Spir. sanct.*, c. xxix, n. 72.

2. *Hunc (Patrem) et qui ab eo venit… Filium et Spiritum sanctum colimus et adoramus, cum ratione et veritate venerantes.* [Rendered in the text.] *Apolog.* I, n. 6.

3. *Eos vero, qui effrenes sunt, et feruntur ad suas concupiscentias, nullum habentes divini Spiritus desiderium, merito apostolus carnales vocat.* [Rendered in the text.] (Cited by Saint Basil, as proof of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. *Lib. de Spir. sanct.*, c. xxix, n. 72.)

4. *Quis non miretur, cum audit nos, qui Deum Patrem praedicamus et Deum Filium et Spiritum sanctum… atheos vocari.* [Rendered in the text.] *Legat. pro Christian.*, n. 12 and 24.

5. *Loquitur enim in hunc modum, se ad dicendum excitans: Sanctum Prophetarum Deum, lucis auctorem, per Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum cum sancto Spiritu, invocantes.* [Rendered in the text.] Ap. Basil., ibid.

Scarcely twenty years have passed, and we find the testimony, no longer of one man, but of a whole Church. In the year 169, the faithful of Smyrna write to those of Philadelphia the admirable letter in which they relate that Saint Polycarp, their bishop and a disciple of Saint John, on the point of suffering martyrdom, gave glory to God in these terms: "Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, blessed be He, God of angels and of powers, God of all creation, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, eternal High Priest, through whom glory be to Thee with the Holy Spirit, now and for the ages to come. Amen."(1)

1. *Pater dilecti et benedicti Filii tui Jesu Christi… Deus Angelorum et Potestatum, Deus totius creaturae… Te laudo, te benedico, te glorifico per Jesum Christum dilectum Filium tuum, Pontificem aeternum, per quem tibi cum Spiritu sancto gloria nunc et in futura saecula saeculorum. Amen.* [Rendered in the text.] *Epist. Smyrn. Eccl.*, apud Baron., an. 169.

That the divinity of the Holy Spirit was a dogma of the Christian faith, the pagans themselves knew. In his dialogue entitled *Philopatris*, one of their greatest enemies [sic: Christianity's], Lucian, introduces a Christian who invites a catechumen to swear by the sovereign God, by the Son of the Father, by the Spirit who proceeds from Him, who are one in three, and three in one, which is the true God. In the third century

we find, in the West, the redoubtable Tertullian. His book on the Trinity, against Praxeas, begins thus: “Praxeas, the devil’s attorney, came to Rome to do two works of his master: he drove out the Paraclete and crucified the Father. The Praxean tares have sprung up. With God’s help we shall pluck them out; it suffices for this to oppose to Praxeas the Creed that comes to us from the apostles. We believe, then, always, and now more than ever, in one only God, who sent upon the earth His Son, who in turn, having gone up again to His Father, sent the Holy Spirit, sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit. Although they are inseparable, yet the Father is one, the Son another, the Holy Spirit another.”(1)

1. *Nos vero et semper et nunc magis… unicum quidem Deum credimus… Custodiatur* οἰκονομίας *sacramentum, quae unitatem in Trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum… Hanc me regulam professum, qua inseparatos ab alterutro Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum testor, tene ubique: et ita quid quomodo dicatur, agnosces. Ecce enim dico alium esse Patrem, et alium Filium, et alium Spiritum sanctum.* [Rendered in the text, in substance.] *Adv. Prax.*, c. i, ii, ix, ed. Pamel.

From the East comes the testimony of the holy bishop and martyr Dionysius of Alexandria. Falsely accused of Sabellianism, he ends his defence with these remarkable words: “Conforming ourselves in all things to the formula and rule received from the bishops who lived before us, uniting our voice to theirs, we give you thanks and put an end to this letter: thus to God the Father, and to the Son Jesus Christ Our Lord, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.”(2) The glorious formula of faith does not escape Julius Africanus. In the fifth book of his History he says: “For us who have learned the force of this language and are not ignorant of the grace of faith, we give thanks to the Father who has given us, His creatures, the Saviour of all things, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and majesty with the Holy Spirit through all ages.”(3)

2. *…Tandem nunc vobis scribere desinimus: Deo autem Patri et Filio Domino nostro Jesu Christo cum sancto Spiritu gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* [Rendered in the text.] Apud S. Basil., ubi supra, n. 72.

3. *Nos enim qui et illorum verborum modum didicimus, nec ignoramus fidei gratiam, gratias agimus Patri, qui nobis suis creaturis praebuit universorum servatorem ac Jesum Christum, cui gloria, majestas, cum sancto Spiritu in saecula.* [Rendered in the text.] Apud S. Basil., ubi supra, n. 73.

In the fourth century, here are the two great lights of the Eastern Church, Saint Basil and Saint Gregory of Nazianzus. The first begins by citing two usages, living witnesses of the immemorial faith in the divinity of the Holy Spirit: the lamp-lighting prayers and the hymn of Athenogenes. “It seemed good to our fathers,” he says, “not to receive the gift of the evening light in silence, but to give thanks as soon as it shines. Who is the author of the prayer recited in thanksgiving when the lamps are lit, we do not know; but the people pronounce this ancient formula, which no one has ever charged with impiety: Praise to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit of God. He who knows the hymn of Athenogenes, left by this martyr to his disciples as a safeguard when he was walking to the pyre, knows what the martyrs thought of the Holy Spirit.”(1) The illustrious bishop becomes himself a powerful organ of tradition. “The Holy Spirit,” he says, “is called holy, as the Father is holy, as the Son is holy; holy not as the creature, which draws its holiness from outside, but holy by the very essence of His nature. Therefore He is not sanctified, but sanctifies. He is called good, as the Father is good, because goodness is essential to Him; likewise He is called right [upright], as the Lord God Himself is right, because He is of His nature rectitude itself, truth itself, justice itself, without variation, without alteration, by reason of the immutability of His nature. He is called Paraclete, as the Son Himself is; so that all the names common to the Father and the Son befit the Holy Spirit, by virtue of the community of nature. Where find another origin?”(1)

1. *Visum est Patribus nostris, vespertini luminis gratiam haudquaquam silentio accipere, sed mox ut apparuit agere gratias. Quis autem fuerit auctor illorum verborum, quae dicuntur in gratiarum actione ad lucernas, dicere non possumus. Populus tamen antiquam profert vocem, neque cuiquam unquam visi sunt impietatem committere qui dicunt: Laudamus Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum Dei. Quod si quis etiam novit Athenogenis hymnum, quem tanquam aliquod amuletum discipulis suis reliquit, festinans jam ad consummationem per ignem, is novit et martyrum sententiam de Spiritu.* [Rendered in the text.] Lib. *de Spirit. sanct.*, c. xxix, n. 73. — The lamp-lighting prayer was already in use in the West in Tertullian's time. Baronius writes that Athenogenes, martyr and great theologian, is the same as Athenagoras, the celebrated apologist. *Martyrol.*, 18 January.

2. *Sanctus dicitur, quemadmodum sanctus Pater, et sanctus Filius. Creaturae siquidem inducta est aliunde sanctimonia: Spiritui vero sanctitas completiva est naturae. Ideoque non sanctificatur, sed sanctificat. Bonus item dicitur sicut Pater bonus est, et sicut bonus est is qui ex Bono natus est; cui bonitas est ipsa essentia. Rectus vocatur, ut rectus Dominus Deus, eo quod per se sit ipsa veritas, et ipsa justitia, nec in hanc nec in illam partem se vertens aut flectens, propter naturae immutabilitatem. Paracletus nuncupatur velut Unigenitus: sicut ipse ait: Ego rogabo Patrem meum, et dabit vobis alium Paracletum. Hoc pacto communia sunt nomina Patri, Filio, et Spiritui sancto, qui has appellationes ex naturae consortio habet. Unde enim aliunde?* [Rendered in the text.] Lib. *de Spir. sanct.*, c. xix, n. 48.

Let us now hear his friend Saint Gregory of Nazianzus: "The Holy Spirit always was, is, and will be; He had no beginning, He will have no end, any more than the Father and the Son, with whom He is inseparably united. He has therefore always been a sharer of the divinity and not receiving it; perfecting and not being perfected; filling all, sanctifying all, and being neither sanctified nor filled; giving the divinity and not receiving it; ever the same and ever equal to the Father and the Son; invisible, eternal, immense, immutable, incorporeal, essentially active, independent, almighty; life and father of life; light and source of light; goodness and fountain of goodness; inspirer of the prophets, distributor of graces; Spirit of adoption, of truth, of wisdom, of prudence, of knowledge, of piety, of counsel, of strength, of fear; possessing all things in common with the Father and the Son: adoration, power, perfection, holiness."(1) What could be clearer than this passage, to which it would be easy to add many others of the same period?

1. *Spiritus sanctus et semper erat, et est, et erit, nec ullo ortu generatus, nec finem habiturus,* etc. [The Holy Spirit both always was, and is, and will be, neither begotten by any origin, nor about to have an end.] *Orat. in die Pentecost.*

Not less formal nor less numerous are the testimonies of later times: one alone will suffice. "We believe in the Holy Spirit," says Rupert, "and we proclaim Him true God and Lord, consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Son; that is, absolutely the same in substance as the Father and the Son, but not the same as to person. For as the person of the Father is one and the person of the Son another, so the person of the Holy Spirit is another. But the divinity, the glory, the majesty of the Father and of the Son are the divinity, the glory, the majesty of the Holy Spirit. In order to distinguish the person of the Son from the person of the Holy Spirit, we say that the Son is the Word and the Reason of the Father, but a substantial Word, a Reason eternally and substantially living; and of the Holy Spirit we say that He is the Charity or Love of the Father and of the Son, not an accidental charity, a passing love, but substantial Charity and eternally subsisting Love."(2) And, to bring out the divinity of the Holy Spirit with brilliance, the profound theologian adds: "Would we have some idea of this Love and of its majestic power? Let us take two creatures of the same kind and the same species, of whom one possesses it and the other is deprived of it. If among angels: the one is Lucifer, the other Saint Michael; among men: the one is Peter, the other Judas. The one thing that makes the difference between these two angels and between these two men is that the one is a partaker of the Holy Spirit, the other not. To the majesty of the Word who created them, both owe their being rational; they differ from each other, as has just been said, only by the participation in, or the privation of, the eternal love. This

example makes the proper character of the operation of the Holy Spirit shine out: to the eternal Word the rational creature owes its being; to the Holy Spirit, its being *well*."(1)

2. *Spiritum sanctum credimus et confitemur verum esse Deum et Dominum, Patri et Filio consubstantialem, quod Patrem et Filium, non eumdem in persona quam Patrem et Filium,* etc. [Rendered in the text.] *De operib. Spir. sanct.*, lib. I, c. iii.

3. *Qui amor quanti sit momenti, imo quantae sit majestatis, ut aliquatenus speculari mereamur, conferamus nunc in eodem genere vel specie creaturam ejus participem, creaturae quae ejus particeps non est. Certe si de angelica specie duos conferas, alter diabolus, alter forte sanctus Gabriel, aut gloriosus Michael est. Si de humano genere, verbi gratia, de apostolico sumas ordine, alter beatus Petrus apostolus, alter Judas diabolus est. Attamen hoc solum interest quod hic homo, vel hic angelus, hujus amoris est particeps; ille autem homo, vel ille angelus non est ejus particeps. Uterque ex majestate Verbi per quod factus est, hoc habet ut sit rationalis; hoc solo, ut dictum est, differunt quod hic habet, et ille non habet communionem hujus amoris. Clarent itaque etiam in isto proprietas operationis Spiritus sancti, quia videlicet per Verbum Patris esse sumpsit, per Spiritum vero sanctum, bene esse sumit creatura rationalis.* [Rendered in the text. Note that the Latin names Gabriel or Michael, the French Michael.] Ibid.

The great word of the ages has become incarnate in several eminently traditional practices: we mean the three immersions in baptism; the *Kyrie* repeated three times in honour of each divine Person; the *Trisagion* sung in the liturgy; the sign of the cross, the doxology and the *Gloria Patri*. These last two prayers above all are the resounding proclamation of the dogma of the Trinity, and consequently of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Earthly echo of the eternal *Trisagion* of the Seraphim, these admirable formulas close all the hymns and all the psalms of the office. Since apostolic times they have been repeated, day and night, at every point of the globe, by thousands of priestly mouths. So too with the sign of the cross. This august sign, whose origin is not of earth, repeats with untiring voice to all the echoes of the world and at every moment of the day: The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God. The more popular these usages are, the more they attest the antiquity and universality of the tradition.(1)

1. Speaking of the sign of the cross, Tertullian expresses himself thus: *Harum et aliarum hujusmodi disciplinarum, si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies. Traditio tibi praetenditur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix et fides observatrix.* [Of these and other such observances, if you demand a law from the Scriptures, you will find none. Tradition is held out to you as the originator, custom as the confirmer, and faith as the observer.] *De Coron. milit.*, c. iii.

Translator's notes — Chapter III

1. **References.** Acts i, 16; Acts xxviii, 25; John xiv, 26 and xvi, 13; 2 Kings xxiii, 2–3 (Gaume gives no reference for the last).

2. **Quotations of Scripture.** Rendered after Douay-Rheims where the sense fits Gaume's French; where his French differs (e.g. "Strong One of Israel"), I follow the French.

3. **Divinity "by the names".** Gaume's argument is the classical one from 2 Kings xxiii, Isaias vi, 9 with Acts xxviii, 25, and Acts v, 3–4 (Ananias and Sapphira).

4. **Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. xxix, nn. 72–73.** Gaume takes from Basil the quotations ascribed to Clement, Justin (the "Apology" to Antoninus; the date "c. 120" is Gaume's, and is too early — Justin's *First Apology* is usually dated c. 150–155), Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Dionysius of Alexandria and Julius Africanus. I have kept his dates and flagged the Justin one.

5. **"Eusebius of Palestine".** As printed (cited by Basil, *ibid.*); I have not identified him beyond the name Gaume gives.

6. **Lucian's *Philopatris*.** Now generally held to be pseudo-Lucianic, later than Lucian (4th c.?). I translate Gaume's attribution as printed.

7. **Smyrna letter.** The "Martyrdom of Polycarp" is addressed to the Church of Philomelium, not Philadelphia; Gaume, following Baronius, has "Philadelphia". Polycarp's martyrdom is conventionally dated c. 155–156; Baronius's 169 is as printed.

8. **Athenogenes and Athenagoras.** Gaume's note repeats Baronius's identification of the hymn-writer Athenogenes with the apologist Athenagoras; this is not accepted by modern scholars.

9. **Gregory of Nazianzus.** The passage is from the *Oration on Pentecost* (*Or.* 41); the precise lines are not verified.

10. **"Bonus"/"Rectus".** The French "droit" renders the Latin *rectus* ("upright" — Ps. 24:8, "Dulcis et rectus Dominus").

11. **Rupert (of Deutz).** *De operibus Spiritus Sancti*, lib. I, c. iii; the Latin note is abbreviated, and the Latin names "Gabriel" where the French has Saint Michael; I note the discrepancy in a bracket.

12. **Terms.** *Trisagion* = the thrice-holy ("Holy, holy, holy"); the Greek οἰκονομία in the Tertullian note.

Chapter IV. (Continuation of the Preceding)

The Creed of the Apostles, of Nicaea, of Constantinople, of Saint Athanasius. — Revolt of the Spirit of Evil against the Holy Spirit. — Macedonius. — His history. — His heresy. — The General Council of Constantinople. — It vindicates the divinity of the Holy Spirit. — Its synodal letter. — Fresh attack of Satan against the Holy Spirit. — Socinianism. — History of the two Sozzini. — Their heresy more radical than that of Macedonius. — The Council of Trent.

It remains for us to crown all the direct proofs of the divinity of the Holy Spirit by the teaching of the Church. What she is going to teach us is the truth, nothing but the truth, the whole truth. For it was said to her: "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to observe all the truths that I have entrusted to you; for behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."(1) The Incarnate Word would not be God if the Church, with whom He promised to be all days, throughout all centuries, could teach a single time a single error, however small it be supposed, or allow to perish a single one of the truths entrusted to her keeping. Thus Protestants, who deny the perpetual infallibility of the Church, virtually deny the divinity of Our Lord. Their God is not the true God: He is an impotent or a lying God. Impotent, since He could not prevent the teaching of error; lying, since He would not, after having promised to do so.

1. Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. [Gaume's French paraphrases the verses.]

Now among all the truths whose keeping and teaching were committed to the Church, the divinity of the Holy Spirit shines in the first rank. Like that of the Son and of the Father, we see it written in ineffaceable characters in the Creed of the Apostles, in the Creed of Nicaea, in the Creed of Constantinople and in the Creed of Saint Athanasius. Summing up with inimitable precision the doctrine of the other three, the last expresses itself thus: "The Catholic faith is to worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in unity, neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the substance. For the person of the Father is one, that of the Son another, that of the Holy Spirit another. But of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit the divinity is one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, such is the Holy Spirit. The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, the Holy Spirit uncreated. The Father immense, the Son immense, the Holy Spirit immense. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, the Holy Spirit eternal. And yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal; so there are not three uncreated nor three immense, but one uncreated and one immense. So God the Father; God the Son; God the Holy Spirit. And yet there are not three Gods, but one

God."(1)

1. In the Divine Office [*in offic. Dom.*], at Prime.

At the sight of the Spirit of Good revealing Himself to the world with so much brilliance and marching with great strides to the retaking of possession of intelligences, the Spirit of Evil understood that his empire was threatened to its very foundations. To avert its ruin, he raises up in the East and in the West innumerable deniers of the Holy Spirit. Armed with sophisms, the Valentinians, the Montanists, the Sabellians, the Arians, the Eunomians descend in turn into the arena. With a bad faith and an obstinacy of which the reason is found only in satanic inspiration, they attack openly, by word of mouth and in writing, the divinity of the Holy Spirit, triumphantly defended by the Catholic doctors. But when passion argues, reason is never sure of victory. The errors about the Holy Spirit spread like a cancer, until Macedonius, who makes of them a leprosy almost as widespread as Arianism.

Who was this man, whose name, coupled with that of Arius, recalls so sadly one of the most famous arch-heretics of the primitive Church? Macedonius was Patriarch of Constantinople. Raised to this dignity in 351 by the Arians, whose errors he shared, he exercised against the Novatians and the Catholics violences which made him odious even to the Emperor Constantius, his protector. In a conventicle held at Constantinople in 360, presided over by Acacius and Eutropius [sic], the Arians deposed him and had him exiled from the capital. Restored to his see by order of the emperor, he showed himself the sworn enemy of Catholics and of Arians. Against the latter he maintained the divinity of Our Lord, and against the former he denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, of whom he made a mere creature, more perfect than the others. A year later, in 361, the arch-heretic, stripped a second time of his dignity, died miserably, like Arius. Yet the tares of his errors had fallen into many seditious heads. Rich in fluency, artifice and wickedness, the Macedonians formed a sect so numerous that the Church had difficulty in uprooting it.(1) The chief among them were Marathonius, bishop of Nicomedia; Eleusius of Cyzicus, ordained by Macedonius; Sophronius, bishop of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, and Eustathius of Sebaste in Armenia. Like all innovators, the Macedonians, also called Pneumatomachi, that is, enemies of the Holy Spirit, or Marathonians, from the name of the bishop of Nicomedia, affected a grave exterior and austere manners. By this artifice they seduced the people and the monks, among whom they were intent on sowing their errors.

1. *Morì pertanto poveramente lasciando il seme de' suoi errori in molte teste sediziose, che fornite poscia di eloquenza, di arte e di sceleraggine, costituirono una setta di tanto numero, che la chiesa risentì per un pezzo il travaglio di estirparla.* [Italian: He died, therefore, in poverty, leaving the seed of his errors in many seditious heads, which, being afterwards furnished with eloquence, with art and with wickedness, formed a sect of such number that the Church felt for a long time the labour of uprooting it.] Battaglini, *Ist. univ. di tutti i conc.*, p. 135, folio ed.

In spite of the efforts of the Church of the East, the heresy, far from being stifled, extended its ravages. Twenty years of useless struggles made Theodosius understand the necessity of a general council. In concert with Pope Saint Damasus, the pious emperor convoked the august assembly at Constantinople for the month of May of the year 381.(2) It found itself composed of a hundred and fifty bishops. At their head were seen Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Saint Basil; Meletius, bishop of Antioch; Ascholius of Thessalonica, and, outside the order of bishops, the illustrious doctor Saint Jerome. To remove every pretext, whether of nullity of the council or of judgment rendered without hearing the parties, the emperor asked that the Macedonians be convoked with the Catholics. They were indeed represented there by thirty-six bishops, of whom the two principal were Eleusius of Cyzicus and Marianus of Lampsacus. In the hands of the Fathers were the formula of faith of the Catholic Church, sent in 353 [sic] by Pope Saint Damasus to Paulinus, bishop of Antioch; and moreover the Creed of Nicaea. The bishops bore witness to the faith of their Churches, entirely conformable to these two monuments. As for the Macedonians, they were heard, their sophisms refuted, and themselves convicted of being innovators, in

opposition to the Catholic faith, to the faith of the apostles.

2. *Macedonius Spiritus negabat deitatem et Dominum eumque conservum praedicabat: sed maximus Theodosius imperator, et Damasus fidei adamas obstiterunt, quorum solidam mentem aggressiones atque conflictus nullatenus sauciarunt.* [Macedonius denied the deity of the Spirit and proclaimed Him a fellow-servant of the Lord: but the very great Emperor Theodosius, and Damasus, the adamant of the faith, withstood him, whose solid mind attacks and conflicts in no way wounded.] *Sextae Synod. act.* xviii. — *Sententiam de damnatione Macedonii et Eunomii, Damasus confirmari praecepit etiam in sancta secunda synodo, quae praecepto et auctoritate ejus apud Constantinopolim celebrata est.* [Damasus ordered the sentence of condemnation of Macedonius and Eunomius to be confirmed also in the holy second synod, which was celebrated at Constantinople by his command and authority.] Vid. Baron., an. 381, n. 19.

Thus, in solemnly proclaiming the divinity of the Holy Spirit, the council did not make a new article of faith; it contented itself with stating the dogma and, in defining it, putting it beyond the attacks of heresy. Following the example of the Council of Nicaea, which, to annihilate Arianism, had added some explanations to the Creed of the Apostles, the Council of Constantinople confounded the Macedonians and assured the orthodoxy of the doctrine by developing the article of the Nicene Creed on the Holy Spirit. The divinity of the Holy Spirit not being attacked, the Council of Nicaea had said simply: *And in the Holy Spirit*, the Holy Catholic Church, etc. Explaining these words, the Fathers of Constantinople added: *And in the Holy Spirit, Lord and life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified together; who spoke by the prophets.* The solemn reading of this article was followed forthwith by the applause of the council and by anathemas against the heresy. With one voice the bishops cried: “This is the faith of the orthodox! Thus we all believe. Malediction and anathema upon whoever should hold any other doctrine than that which has just been defined, and who should attack the faith of Nicaea, which we approve, which we swear, which we profess, declaring impious, iniquitous, perverse, heretical the opinions of the Arians, the Eunomians, the Sabellians, the Marcellians, the Photinians, the Apollinarians, and of all who adhere to their doctrines, preach them, or favour them!”(1)

1. *Omnes reverendissimi episcopi clamaverunt: Haec omnium fides; haec orthodoxorum fides; omnes sic credimus*, etc. [All the most reverend bishops cried out: This is the faith of all; this is the faith of the orthodox; thus we all believe.] Vid. Baron., an. 381, n. 39.

In order to render their definition still more venerable, if possible, by impressing upon it a fresh seal of catholicity, the Fathers of Constantinople addressed a synodal letter to all the bishops of the West. Here is its tenor: “To our most venerable brothers and colleagues Damasus, Ambrose, Brittonius, Valerian and the other holy bishops assembled in the great city of Rome. The dogma which we have defined must be approved by you and by all who do not pervert the word of the true faith. For it is of all antiquity; it is conformable to the formula of baptism; it teaches us to believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; that is, in the divinity, the power and the unity of substance of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; in the equality of dignity and the coeternity of empire in three infinitely perfect hypostases or Persons. In this way there is no more hold for the pestilential heresy of Sabellius, which, confounding the Persons, destroys their respective properties; nor for the blasphemies of the Eunomians, of the Arians and of others who attack the Holy Spirit, divide the essence, the nature or the divinity, and introduce into the Trinity, which is uncreated, consubstantial and coeternal, a nature afterwards begotten or created, or of a different essence.”(1)

1. *Reverendissimis fratribus ac collegis Damaso, Ambrosio, Brittoni, Valeriano… et caeteris sanctis episcopis in magna urbe Roma convocatis. Ita fides tum a nobis, tum a vobis, tum ab omnibus qui Verbum verae fidei non pervertunt, approbari debet; quippe cum antiquissima sit, et lavacro baptismatis consentanea, et nos doceat credere in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, hoc est, in divinitatem, potentiam et substantiam unam Patris et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, aequalem dignitatem et coaeternum*

imperium in tribus perfectissimis hypostasibus, sive in tribus perfectis personis; adeo ut neque quidquam loci detur pestiferae Sabellii haeresi, qua confunduntur personae, hoc est, proprietates tolluntur; neque blasphemia eunomianorum, arianorum, aut eorum qui Spiritum sanctum oppugnant, quidquam habeat ponderis; quae quidem essentiam, naturam, sive divinitatem, discindit, et Trinitati, quae increata, et consubstantialis, et coaeterna est, naturam posterius genitam, aut creatam, aut quae sit alterius essentiae, inducit. [Rendered in the text.] Apud Theodoret., lib. V, c. ix.

It results from this letter that the bishops of the West were assembled at Rome with Pope Damasus to destroy the heresy of Macedonius, at the same time that the bishops of the East anathematized it at Constantinople. Never was agreement more perfect, never unanimity greater, never condemnation more solemn and more irrevocable. Struck by this thunderbolt, Satan was for long centuries without daring to raise his head and attack directly the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

At last the return of his reign arrived. With the Renaissance one sees reappear all the errors and all the heresies that were believed forever extinct; they reappear even more subtle, more audacious and more complete than in antiquity. Thus the Socinians renew, in developing it, the heresy of Macedonius. The authors of this sect were the two Sozzini, uncle and nephew. The first was born at Siena in 1525. In spite of the anathemas of the Council of Lateran, rationalism, fed by the fanatical study of pagan authors, was invading Europe. Sozzini was nourished in this poisoned atmosphere. Scarcely out of college, he attended, in 1546, the famous conventicle of Vicenza, where the destruction of Christianity was resolved. Faithful to the engagements he contracted there and to the principles of his education, the young freethinker employed his whole life in renewing Arianism and Macedonianism, in order to undermine Christianity at its base. Born at Siena in 1539, the second inherited the anti-Catholic spirit of his uncle and was one of the most ardent promoters of his heresies. He was less than twenty when already fear of the Inquisition made him leave Italy. He passed into France, thence into Switzerland, where he published his impieties. Soon the restlessness of his mind, joined to the desire of dogmatizing everywhere, led him to Poland. The men of letters received him with favour; a great number declared themselves his partisans. It was in the midst of this troop of atheists that he died, in 1604. Worthy of their master, his disciples wished to draw the practical consequences of his doctrines. Great excesses were committed; the indignant people drove them out. In hatred of the heresy, of the arch-heretic and of his following, the ashes of Sozzini were dug up, carried to the frontiers of Little Tartary and put into a cannon which sent them to the land of the infidels.

We said that in their impieties against the Holy Spirit the Socinians had gone beyond the Macedonians. According to Saint Augustine, the latter did not deny the personal existence of the Holy Spirit, but His divinity. They were moreover orthodox on the other two Persons of the Holy Trinity.(1) For the Socinians, the Holy Spirit is not even a creature; He is a breath, a force, a simple influence of God upon man and upon the world. The Trinity itself, an assemblage of words without ideas; original sin, grace, the sacraments, the whole of Christianity, so many chimeras. It is the pagan negation, the negation of Sextus Empiricus, raised to its last formula and continued by our modern rationalists.

1. *Macedoniani sunt a Macedonio, quos et pneumatomachos Graeci dicunt, eo quod de Spiritu sancto litigent. Nam de Patre et Filio recte sentiunt, quod unius sint ejusdemque substantiae vel essentiae: sed de Spiritu sancto hoc volunt credere, creaturam eum esse dicentes.* [The Macedonians are named from Macedonius, whom the Greeks also call Pneumatomachi, because they contend against the Holy Spirit. For concerning the Father and the Son they think rightly, that They are of one and the same substance or essence; but concerning the Holy Spirit they wish to believe this, saying that He is a creature.] Lib. *de haeresib.*, c. lii.

To this negation, shameless in its expression, absurd in its principle, fatal in its consequences, it suffices to oppose both the testimonies of tradition which we have cited, and the solemn affirmation of all the attacked dogmas made by the Council of Trent at the beginning of its immortal labours. “Our predecessors,” say the Fathers, “opened their sessions by the profession of the Catholic faith and opposed it as an impenetrable

shield to all heresies. After their example, it seems good to us to profess solemnly the Creed which the holy Roman Church uses, the sole and unshakable foundation of the faith, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail: *I believe in God the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, only Son of God… and in the Holy Spirit, Lord and life-giver; who proceeds from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified together; who spoke by the prophets.*"(1)

1. Council of Trent, sess. iii.

This Catholic Creed, immutable as truth itself, precise expression of the faith of the civilized nations, clothed with the bloody signature of twelve million martyrs, is the eternally triumphant proof of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, the sure refuge of every mind pursued by doubt, the impregnable rock from the height of which the Christian defies Satan and his minions with all their sophisms and all their negations.

Macedonianism and Socinianism: such are the two great heresies which, at a distance of twelve centuries, have attacked, but in vain, the divinity of the Holy Spirit. In the interval a third has come to light. In appearance less fundamental than the other two, it has had more disastrous consequences. It is plain that we mean the heresy of the Greeks on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. A wall of division still standing between the Latin Church and the Greek Church, it must today, more than ever, be made known and refuted.

Translator's notes — Chapter IV

1. **Heading.** "CHAPITRE IV (SUITE DU PRÉCÉDENT)". Footnote marks as printed.

2. **The four creeds.** The "Creed of Saint Athanasius" (*Quicumque*) is quoted as at Prime in the Roman Breviary; modern scholarship does not ascribe it to Athanasius.

3. **Macedonius.** Gaume's dates (patriarch from 351; deposed at Constantinople 360; died 361) differ slightly from the standard account (he was bishop from 342/3, deposed by the Council of Constantinople of 360, and died c. 362). Printed dates kept. The "Eutrope" at the conventicle is likely Eudoxius; kept as printed with "[sic]".

4. **Damasus to Paulinus "in 353".** Probably an error for a letter of Damasus of the 370s–380s; Damasus was pope 366–384. Flagged "[sic]".

5. **Conciliar Fathers.** The list of those present (Jerome among them) follows Gaume; Jerome's presence at Constantinople in 381 is traditional but uncertain. The Council of 381 did not (in its surviving acts) have Macedonian delegates "invited"; Gaume's narrative is retained as written.

6. **Socinian history.** Lelio Sozzini (1525–1562) is the "uncle"; the "conventicle of Vicenza" (1546) is a traditional but poorly attested tradition. Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604) died in Lus■awice near Kraków. The story of the ashes fired from a cannon is told here as in Gaume's source; I could not verify it. "Council of Lateran": the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), as in Gaume's allusion.

7. **"Twelve million martyrs".** As printed; the number is rhetorical.

8. **"Sextus Empiricus".** The sceptic philosopher (c. 200 AD); the comparison is Gaume's.

9. **Augustine, *De haeresibus*.** The passage on the Macedonians is c. 52.

10. **Filioque in the Trent creed.** The Creed of Constantinople as given in Trent adds *Filioque*, which the Greek text of 381 lacks; Gaume reserves the question for the next chapter ("the heresy of the Greeks on the Procession").

Chapter V. The Procession of the Holy Spirit

What "to proceed" means. — The existence of processions in God. — Proofs: Scripture, tradition, reason enlightened by faith. — Passage of Saint Thomas. — Doctrine of Saint Cyril of Alexandria. — Of Saint Maximus. — Two processions in God: proofs. — The procession of the Holy Spirit; explanation of Bossuet. — The Church unchanging in her doctrine. — Words of Vincent of Lérins.

Infallible organ of the Word made flesh for the instruction of the human race, the Catholic Church has always believed that the third Person of the adorable Trinity, equal in all things to the Father and the Son, proceeds from the one and from the other. Of this invariable belief the proofs abound in the four Creeds — of the Apostles, of Nicaea, of Constantinople and of Saint Athanasius — as in the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, first witnesses of the apostolic teaching.

According to its etymology the word *to proceed* means to pass from one place to another. Figuratively it is used to designate the emanation or production of a thing which comes forth from another. By procession the Catholic Church understands: the origin and eternal production of one divine Person from another Person, or from the other two. On which it is to be remarked that, when the Trinity is in question, the word procession is taken in two senses. The first, as it applies to the production of the Son and the Holy Spirit, for it is said that both proceed. The second, as it applies to the particular production of the Holy Spirit. For, the Son and the Holy Spirit being two distinct Persons, the Son is said to be begotten, and the Holy Spirit simply to proceed.(1)

1. *Processio est aeterna unius personae divinae ab altera seu a duabus simul origo et productio… Processionis nomen dupliciter accipitur: 1° quidem ut commune est Filii et Spiritus sancti productioni; uterque enim procedere dicitur; 2° quatenus est speciale ac proprium Spiritus sancti productioni; cum enim ambo distinguuntur, Filius quidem dicitur gigni, Spiritus autem sanctus simpliciter procedere.* [Rendered in the text.] Vitasse, *de Trinit.*, q. v, art. 1 and 2.

That, in the theological sense of the word, there is procession in God, nothing is more clearly taught by Scripture, by tradition, by reason itself. Who does not know these testimonies of the Old Testament? "The Lord hath said to me: Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten thee. From the womb before the day star I begotten thee."(2) Contemplating the Word: "His going forth," adds the prophet Micheas, "is from the beginning, from the days of eternity."(3) Now the idea of generation, of going forth, of origin, necessarily implies the idea of procession. The New Testament is still more explicit. Speaking of Himself, Our Lord says: "I proceeded from God, and am come."(4) Short and sublime word by which the Incarnate Word reveals Himself entire! *I proceeded from God*: there is His eternal generation; *and am come*: there is His temporal generation and His mission into the world. With His august mouth He renders the same testimony to the Holy Spirit: "When the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father."(1)

2. *Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te.* Ps. ii, 7. — *Ex utero ante Luciferum genui te.* Ps. cix, 3.

3. *Egressus ejus ab initio, a diebus aeternitatis.* Mich. v, 2.

4. *Ego ex Deo processi et veni.* John viii, 42.

5. *Cum autem venerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre, Spiritum veritatis qui a Patre procedit.* John xv, 26.

Faithfully gathered by tradition, the divine thought is formulated in the Creed of Saint Athanasius, which expresses it with this irreproachable precision: "The Son is from the Father alone: not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son: not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding."(2) In its turn reason, enlightened by faith, brings to the Catholic dogma the solid support of its arguments. It says: God is the perfect Being; fecundity is a perfection; therefore God possesses it. "Shall not I

that make others to bring forth children, Myself bring forth, saith the Lord? Shall I, that give generation to others, be barren?"(3) Through the organ of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem it adds: "God is perfect, not only because He is God, but because He is Father. Whoever denies that God is Father takes fecundity from the divine nature; he annihilates it by refusing it an essential perfection, fecundity."(4) Explaining this divine fecundity, Saint John Damascene continues: "Reason does not permit us to maintain that God is deprived of natural fecundity. Now in God fecundity consists in this, that of Himself, that is, of His own substance, He can beget a being like to His nature."(1)

2. *Filius a Patre solo est: non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus. Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio: non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.*

3. *Numquid ego qui alios parere facio, ipse non pariam?… Si ego qui generationem caeteris tribuo, sterilis ero?* Is. lxvi, 9.

4. *Perfectus est, non solum quia Deus est, sed etiam quia Pater. Quare qui Deum negat Patrem esse, is foecunditatem aufert a natura divina, ut jam perfecta non sit, quae generandi virtute careat.* [Rendered in the text.] Apud Vitasse, *Tract. de Trinit.*, Migne ed., t. ix.

5. *Impossibile est Deum foecunditate naturali destitutum dicere. Porro foecunditas in eo sita est, ut ex ipso, hoc est, ex propria substantia, secundum naturam similem generet.* [Rendered in the text.] *De Fide orthod.*, lib. I, c. viii.

The distinction of the divine Persons furnishes reason with another unanswerable proof. There are in God three distinct Persons: we have established it. In the divine Persons one sees only two things: the nature and the relation of origin, or procession: thus, in the Father, the divine nature and paternity; in the Son, the divine nature and generation; in the Holy Spirit, the divine nature and procession. Whence comes the distinction? Not from the nature, since it is one and the same in the three Persons; it remains, then, that it comes from the different communication of this nature to each of the divine Persons. Thus the Angel of the School, speaking of the Holy Spirit, rightly says: "The Holy Spirit is personally distinct from the Son, because the origin of the one is distinct from the origin of the other. Now the difference of origin consists in this, that the Son is only from the Father, while the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son. The processions are not otherwise distinguished."(2) Hence this profound doctrine of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, whom the Greeks call the Theologian: "The Son is not the Father, but He is what the Father is; the Holy Spirit is not the Son, but He is what the Son is. These three are one by the divinity; and this one is three by the distinct properties."(1)

2. I p., q. 36, art. 2, ad 7.

3. *Filius non est Pater… sed hoc est quod Pater; neque Spiritus sanctus est Filius… sed hoc est quod Filius. Tria haec unum divinitate sunt, et unum hoc proprietatibus sunt tria.* [Rendered in the text.] *Orat.* xxxvii [probably *Orat.* xxxi or xxxvii as printed].

To explain the unity of the divine nature, which remains whole and indivisible in three perfectly distinct Persons, let us recall a comparison often employed by the Fathers. "It is with the divine nature," they say, "as with human nature; this is one and the same in all men: in multiplying, they do not divide it. Whatever the number of men, there is always but one human nature. Peter is Peter, and not Paul; and Paul is not Peter. Yet they are undistinguished in their nature. In both, human nature is one; and they possess, without any difference, all that constitutes the natural unity… Peter, Paul and Timothy are three persons, but they have only one and the same nature. So, as there are not three humanities — the humanity of Peter, the humanity of Paul, the humanity of Timothy — neither are there three divinities: the divinity of the Father, the divinity of the Son, the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Therefore in God, as in the human race, distinction and multiplicity of persons, but community and unity of nature."(2)

2. *Petrus est Petrus, et non Paulus; et Paulus non est Petrus. Verumtamen indistincti manent natura. Una est enim in ambobus ratio substantiae, et eadem citra varietatem ullam habent, quae ad naturalem unitatem colligantur.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Cyril. Alexand., lib. IX, *Comment. in Joan. — Petrus, Paulus et Timotheus tres hypostases sunt, et humanitas una… quemadmodum non sunt duae humanitates Petri et Pauli, sic non sunt… divinitates duae Patris et Filii… Etenim nos aliam et aliam habemus hypostasim, sed non aliam et aliam humanitatem.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Maxim. martyr, *Dialog.* I *de Trinit.* — Id. Greg. Nyss., lib. *De communib. notionib.*; ibid., Joan. Damasc., *De Fide orthod.*, lib. III, c. viii.

Scripture, tradition, reason itself, whose unanimous accord has just shown us that there is procession in God, teach us with the same certainty that there are two processions in God, and that there are only two. First, the holy books count only two. Then, it is easy to prove that there is no greater number. There are in God as many processions as there are Persons who proceed. Now only two divine Persons proceed; and there are in God only three Persons. But the Father, as the first, proceeds from no other; thus only two proceed. Moreover there are in God only two faculties which operate inwardly: *ad intra*, or immanently, as theology says. These two faculties are the understanding and the will. These faculties act necessarily: for God cannot fail to know Himself and to love Himself. They act always, for God is infinite action.(1)

1. *Productio immanens, cum res producta intra principium suum habitat. In Deo non sunt plures, quam duae facultates immanenter operantes, intellectus nempe et voluntas. Hae facultates necessario agunt. Neque enim Deus continere se potest ab intelligenda et amanda essentia sua. Semper agunt, cum non possit Deus ab eo abstinere.* [An immanent production is one in which the thing produced dwells within its principle. In God there are not more than two faculties working immanently, namely intellect and will. These faculties act necessarily. For God cannot restrain Himself from understanding and loving His essence. They always act, since God cannot abstain from it.] Vitass., *de Trinit.*, quaest. v, art. 1 and 2, assert. 3.

These dogmas established, the Catholic teaching adds that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, that is, that He comes forth from the one and the other, not by way of generation, but by spiration. On these divine words, let us hear Bossuet. “The Holy Spirit,” says the bishop of Meaux, “who comes forth from the Father and the Son, is of the same substance as both, a third consubstantial, and with them one and the same God. But why then is He not Son, since He is, by His production, of the same nature? God has not revealed it to you. He has indeed said that the Son was only-begotten,(1) for He is perfect, and all that is perfect is unique. Thus the Son of God, perfect Son of a perfect Father, must be unique; and, if there could be two Sons, the generation of the Son would be imperfect. All, then, that comes after will no longer be Son, and will not come by generation, although of the same nature.”(2) What, then, will this final production of God be? It is a procession without a particular name. Eternally intelligent, the Father eternally knows Himself, and eternally He produces, in knowing Himself, His Word or His Son, equal to Himself, eternal like Himself. The Father and the Son, being eternal, cannot be without knowing themselves eternally, nor know themselves without loving each other with a love equal to themselves, infinite, eternal like themselves. This reciprocal and consubstantial love is the Holy Spirit. He proceeds, therefore, from the Father and the Son.

1. John i, 1–18.

2. *Élév. sur les myst.*, II Serm., Élév. 5.

“This,” continues Bossuet, “explains the mystical and profound reason of the order of the Trinity. If the Son and the Holy Spirit proceeded equally from the Father, without any relation between the two of them, one might as well say: the Father, the Holy Spirit and the Son, as the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Now Jesus Christ does not speak thus. The order of the Persons is inviolable, because, if the Son is named after the Father, because He comes from Him, the Holy Spirit also comes from the Son, after whom He is named; and He is Spirit of the Son, as the Son is Son of the Father. This order cannot be inverted. In this order we are baptized; and the Holy Spirit can no more be named second than the Son can be named first. Let us adore this

order of the three divine Persons and the mutual relations that are found among the three, and which make their equality as well as their distinction and their origin. The Father understands Himself, speaks to Himself, and begets His Son who is His Word. He loves this Word which He has produced from His bosom, and which He preserves there. And this Word, which is at the same time His conception, His thought, His intellectual image, eternally subsisting, and thereby His only Son, loves Him also as a perfect Son loves a perfect Father. But what is their love, if not this third Person, the God of love, the common and reciprocal gift of the Father and the Son, their bond, their knot, their mutual union, in whom fecundity, as the operations of the Trinity, terminates?

"Because everything is accomplished, everything is perfect, when God is infinitely expressed in the Son and infinitely loved in the Holy Spirit, and there is made, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, a most simple and most perfect unity. Everything there returns to the principle from which everything comes radically and primitively, which is the Father, with an invariable order: the fruitful unity multiplying itself into duality to terminate in trinity. In such a way that all is one, and all returns to one and the same principle.

"This is the doctrine of the saints; it is the constant tradition of the Catholic Church. It is the matter of our faith: we believe it. It is the subject of our hope: we shall see it. It is the object of our love; for to love God is to love in unity the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; to love their equality and their order, to love and not to confound their operations, their eternal communications, their mutual relations and all that makes them one in making them three: because the Father, who is one, and immutable principle of unity, spreads Himself, communicates Himself without dividing Himself. And this union is given us as the model of our own: *O Father, that they may be one in us, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, so may they be one in us.*"(1)

1. *Méditations sur l'Évangile*, 25th day [Bossuet's *Méditations sur l'Évangile*, "La Cène", 25th day]. — John xvii, 21.

Three Persons in one God, equal among themselves, but distinct by their relation of origin; the Father proceeding from no one; the Son proceeding from the Father by way of understanding, as the word proceeds from thought; the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son by way of will or of mutual love: such, on the first and the profoundest of our mysteries, is the Catholic dogma in its simplest expression.

To defend her faith against innovators, the Church, assembled successively at Nicaea and at Constantinople, had added some explanations to the Creed of the Apostles. Except the heretics, to whom these explanations no longer permitted to deceive the faithful, East and West had applauded this wise conduct. For all it was evident that the Church had changed nothing in the doctrine, innovated nothing; but had used the right of conservation and of lawful defence. What she did then she has always done, she will always do, when her dogmas are attacked. It is not only her right, but her duty; for such is the formal order of her divine Founder. The doctrine of the Church is not her doctrine: *Mea doctrina non est mea* [My doctrine is not Mine]. She is not its owner, but its trustee. It was said to her: "Keep what has been entrusted to you and was not invented by you; what you have received, and not imagined. It is not a thing of genius, but of doctrine; not a usurpation of private reason, but a public tradition. It has come to you, it does not come from you: as you are not its author, you have toward it only the duty of a guardian.

"Therefore, attentive and prudent guardian of the dogmas whose deposit has been entrusted to her, she never changes anything in them; she takes nothing away, she adds nothing. What is necessary she does not cut off; what is superfluous she does not admit. She does not lose her own, she does not take another's. Full of respect for antiquity, she faithfully preserves what comes from it. If she finds things which have received primitively neither their form nor their completion, all her solicitude is to elucidate and polish them. Are they confirmed and defined? She preserves them. To fix in writing what she has received from the ancestors by tradition; to enclose many things in few words; often even to employ a new word, not to give the faith a new

meaning, but to clarify a truth better: this is what the Catholic Church, obliged by the novelties of the heretics, has done by the decrees of the councils: that always, and nothing more.(1) With incorruptible fidelity she will acquit herself of this charge until the consummation of the ages; and when the last day comes she will return to God, on the tomb of human things, the deposit of all the truths which she received in the Cenacle, and which go back, by their foundations, to the cradle of humanity."(2)

1. *Quod tibi creditum, non quod a te inventum; quod accepisti, non quod excogitasti; rem non ingenii, sed doctrinae; non usurpationis privatae, sed publicae traditionis; rem ad te perductam, non a te prolatam; in qua auctor non debes esse, sed custos… Christi vero Ecclesia, sedula et cauta depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, nihil in his unquam permutat; nihil minuit, nihil addit; non amputat necessaria, non apponit superflua; non amittit sua, non usurpat aliena… hoc, inquam, semper, nec quicquam praeterea, haereticorum novitatibus excitata, conciliorum suorum decretis catholica perfecit Ecclesia, nisi ut quod prius a majoribus sola traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per scripturae chirographum consignaret, magnam rerum summam paucis litteris comprehendendo, et plerumque, propter intelligentiae lucem, non novum fidei sensum, novae appellationis proprietate signando.* [Rendered in the text.] Vincent. Lirin., *Commonit.*, c. xxii

2. Mgr Gerbet, *Instruction sur diverses erreurs du temps présent*, 1860.

Translator's notes — Chapter V

1. **Heading.** "CHAPITRE V. Procession du Saint-Esprit." This chapter and the next treat the *Filioque* question; Gaume reserves the polemic against the Greeks for Ch. VI onward.

2. **Vitasse.** The Latin scholastic definitions in the notes are from Vitasse's *Tractatus de Trinitate* (q. v), as cited by Gaume.

3. **Psalm references.** Ps. ii, 7; Ps. cix (Vulgate), 3 ("ex utero ante luciferum genui te"). Isaias lxvi, 9 as printed.

4. **Aquinas, I, q. 36, art. 2** (whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son); "ad 7" as printed.

5. **Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* xxxvii.** Reference printed; the passage on "unity in divinity, three in properties" is closer to *Orat.* 31 and 40; I keep the printed number.

6. **Cyril of Alexandria; Maximus; Gregory of Nyssa; John Damascene.** The Peter–Paul–Timothy analogy is traditional (Gregory of Nyssa's *To Ablabius*, etc.); references kept as printed. The Maximus work cited ("Dialog. I *de Trinit.*") is a pseudo-Maximus text.

7. **Bossuet.** Passages from the *Élévations sur les mystères*, II, 5 and *Méditations sur l'Évangile* (the Last Supper), 25th day. In "Dieu ne t'a pas révélé", I read the second person as "Dieu ne *te l'a* pas révélé" (God has not revealed it to you).

8. **Vincent of Lérins.** The long passage is from the *Commonitorium*, c. 22 (cf. 1 Tim. vi, 20), quoted by Mgr Gerbet in his 1860 pastoral. Gaume's French is a free translation of the Latin; the Latin is given in full in the note.

9. **"Spiration".** Technical term for the Spirit's mode of procession (*spiratio*: the Father and the Son "breathe forth" the Spirit); I keep the French *spiration* as English "spiration".

10. **Mgr Gerbet.** Bishop of Perpignan (1854–64). The 1860 "Instruction" is cited as printed.

Chapter VI. History of the Filioque

The followers of Macedonius spread far and wide. — The Priscillianists ravage Spain and deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit. — Letter of Pope Saint Leo the Great to the bishops of Spain. — He teaches clearly the

procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. — The Council of Toledo has the Creed recited with the addition Filioque. *— It was not an innovation: proofs — Saint Thomas, Scripture, Saint Damasus. — Singing of the Creed authorized in the Gauls. — Prohibition to insert the* Filioque *there. — Later, Rome orders the* Filioque *to be sung. — Reasons for her conduct. — Ill-founded complaints of the Greeks. — Schism of Photius. — Schism and heresy of Michael Cerularius; he denies that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. — Council of Lyons. — The Greeks recognize the legitimacy of the* Filioque. *— They betray their faith. — Council of Florence. — The Greeks return to unity; then fall back into schism.*

To watch over the deposit of the faith and to fix, by her infallible decisions, the points exposed to the attacks of heresy, is the right and the duty of the Spouse of the Incarnate Word. About half a century after the Council of Constantinople, the Church had a fresh motive for making use of this right inherent in her constitution. On the one hand, the followers of Macedonius had spread far and wide in Thrace, in the Hellespont and in Bithynia;(1) on the other, the Vandals and other peoples, issued from those regions, had carried the heretical dogma in their migrations, and notably into Spain. There the Priscillianists attacked openly the dogma of the Trinity and of the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

1. Socr. *Hist.*, lib. II, c. xlv; lib. V, c. viii.

Saint Leo the Great then occupied the chair of Saint Peter. The news of this heresy and of the ravages it was making in Spain was sent to him by Saint Turibius, bishop of Astorga. The Sovereign Pontiff wrote to him to assemble in council all the bishops of Spain, in order to condemn the heresy and to uproot, at any cost, this new tare from the field of the Father of the family. In his letter Saint Leo said: “They teach that in the holy Trinity there is only one person and one thing, called in turn the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; that He who begets is not distinct from Him who is begotten, nor from Him who proceeds from the one and the other.”(1) The council took place at Toledo, in the year 447. Presided over by the holy bishop of Astorga, it condemned the heretics. In order to cut the evil at the root and to shelter the West from all these errors, it was decided to insert in the Creed of Constantinople the very word of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, which so well defined the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son: *De utroque processit* [He proceeded from both].(2)

1. *Primo itaque capitulo demonstratur quod impie sentiant de Trinitate divina, qui et Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti unam atque eamdem asserunt esse personam, tanquam idem Deus nunc Pater, nunc Filius, nunc Spiritus sanctus nominetur; nec alius sit qui genuit, alius qui genitus est, alius qui de utroque processit.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Leo Magn., epist. 93 [sic], c. vi.

2. Battaglini, *Istor. univ. de’ conc.*, p. 217, 218.

The addition in question was no innovation. It was an explanation, like those which the Council of Nicaea had inserted in the Creed of the Apostles, and the Council of Constantinople in that of Nicaea. Saint Thomas remarks with reason that it is moreover contained virtually in the Council of Constantinople itself, approved by all the Easterners. “The Greeks themselves,” he says, “understand that the procession of the Holy Spirit has some relation to the Son. They agree that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, and that He is of the Father through the Son. It is even said that several grant that the Holy Spirit is of the Son or flows from Him, but does not proceed from Him: a distinction which seems founded on ignorance or on pride. For if one will pay attention, one will find that the word Procession, among all those which express the origin of anything whatever, is the most common. We use it to indicate origin, of whatever nature: for example, that the line proceeds from the point, the ray from the sun, the stream from the spring. All these examples and others authorize us to say with truth that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son… Thus this dogma is implicitly contained in the Creed of Constantinople, which teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Now what is said of the Father must necessarily be said of the Son, since they differ in nothing, except that the one is the Son and the other the Father.”(1)

1. S. Th., I p., q. 36, art. 3, cor. — And *De Potent.*, q. 10, art. 4, ad 13.

Besides, in writing so clearly in a doctrinal letter that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, Saint Leo was only the echo of the Vicars of Jesus Christ, his predecessors: *Petrus per Leonem locutus est* [Peter has spoken through Leo]. At the very time of the Council of Constantinople, Pope Saint Damasus taught this doctrine: "The Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of the Father only, nor of the Son only; for it is written: If any man love the world, the Spirit of the Father is not in him. And elsewhere: If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. This naming of the Father and the Son indicates clearly that the Holy Spirit is meant, of whom the Son Himself says in the Gospel: He proceeds from the Father, He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it to you."(1)

1. *Porro non Leonis id fuit novum inventum, sed praedecessorum traditio. Nam Damasus haec ait: (Damas., in concil. Rom. apud Crescon. Collect.) Spiritus sanctus non est Patris tantummodo, aut Filii tantummodo Spiritus. Scriptum est enim: Si quis dilexerit mundum, non est Spiritus Patris in illo. I Joan. ii. Item scriptum est: Qui autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus. Rom. viii. Nominato itaque Patre et Filio, intelligitur Spiritus sanctus, de quo Filius in Evangelio dicit: Quia Spiritus sanctus a Patre procedit, et de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis. Joan. xv.* [Rendered in the text.] Apud Baron., an. 447, n. 21.

Since the Council of Toledo, all the Catholics of Spain and of the Gauls recited the Creed of Constantinople with the addition *Filioque*. On the part of the Holy See, no opposition; on the part of the Easterners, no protest came to oppose this usage. It had lasted four centuries when Charlemagne returned to his states after having been crowned emperor at Rome by Pope Leo III. Now he had obtained, for the churches of his vast empire, the authorization to sing the Creed of Constantinople at Mass. The bishops assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 807, asked him whether it could be sung in public, as it was recited in private, inserting the addition *Filioque*. The great prince answered that it did not belong to him to decide, and that the Sovereign Pontiff must be consulted. Accordingly two bishops and the abbot of Corbie, deputies of the Council, went to Rome. The Pope received them kindly, but flatly refused permission to insert in the Creed the four syllables *Filioque*. "No doubt," he said to them, "it is an inviolable article of faith that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; but all the articles of faith cannot be inserted in the Creed. Besides, the Creeds drawn up by the Ecumenical Councils must not be modified, even by a syllable."(1)

1. Binius, *ad Synod. Aquisgran.*, t. III, Concil.; Labbe, t. VII, p. 1198; Bar., an. 809, n. 57.

To show that his resolution was immutable, the Pope ordered the Creed of Constantinople, without the addition of the *Filioque*, to be engraved forthwith, in Greek and in Latin, on two silver shields, weighing eighty-five pounds, and had them placed in the basilica of Saint Peter, to the right and left of the Confession.(2) Let us say in passing, this fact and the one we are about to relate are two monumental proofs of the incorruptible fidelity of the Roman Church to the traditions of the past. Not only does she refuse to the prayers of Charlemagne, her benefactor, to insert in the Creed of Constantinople four syllables which express clearly an article of faith; she herself sings no Creed at Mass. While all her daughters, the Churches of the East and of the West, make their basilicas resound with the Creed of Constantinople, she holds to that of the Apostles: and even this she recites only in the administration of baptism and when custom prescribes the profession of faith.

2. *Hic vero, pro amore et cautela orthodoxae fidei fecit ubi supra (in basilica sancti Petri), scutos argenteos duos, scriptos utroque symbolo, unum quidem litteris Graecis, et alium Latinis, sedentes dextera laevaque super ingressum corporis, pensantes argenti libras nonaginta quatuor, et uncias sex.* [Rendered in the text.] Anast. Biblioth. *in Leon. III*, apud Bar., an. 809, n. 62. [The Latin note says 94 pounds 6 ounces; the French text says 85 pounds. I keep Gaume's text and note the discrepancy.]

Meanwhile the centuries march on, and circumstances change with the centuries. Ever directed by the Holy Spirit, the Roman Church will do later what she first refused, equally infallible in her concessions and in her

refusals. As long as the procession of the Holy Spirit is not attacked, she perseveres in her ancient traditions. Soon muffled rumours are heard. About the year 866, public denials follow the rumours. They have for their organs, in the West, the patriarch of Aquileia, and in the East, Photius, intruded patriarch of Constantinople. To answer them, as she had answered Arius and Macedonius, Rome has the addition *Filioque* inserted in the Creed of Constantinople. She herself, who during Mass had never sung any Creed, sings the Creed of Constantinople thus explained and orders it to be sung everywhere. From then on an immense concert of Catholic voices answers night and day the blasphemies of the innovators.(1)

1. Bar., an. 883, n. 34.

The manner in which this memorable addition took place offers a new example of the wisdom of the Holy See and of its prudent slowness. A numerous council was convoked at Rome. It was represented to the Sovereign Pontiff that for a long time the churches of Spain, of the Gauls, of England and of Germany had been in possession of singing the Creed of Constantinople publicly; that Rome approved them; but that, in the present circumstances, her prolonged refusal to insert the addition *Filioque* might pass, in the eyes of the ill-disposed, for a tacit blame or for a fear of professing the faith openly; that the enemies of the Church would not fail to take advantage of it, and so to give rise to divisions, a schism perhaps; that in any case it was the best means of confounding Photius and his adherents.(1) The Sovereign Pontiff yielded to these reasons, and the authorization was granted; its date is placed in the year 883. However, Rome herself began to sing the Creed only a hundred and twenty-nine years later, in 1014, at the instance of the Emperor Saint Henry. This great prince, worthy of Charlemagne by his virtues and by the eminent services he had rendered to the Holy See, having come to Rome to be crowned, was astonished not to hear the Credo sung at Mass. He asked the reason. “Here,” writes Abbot Bernon, “is what was answered him in my presence: The Church of Rome has never been defiled by any heresy; but, faithful to the doctrine of Saint Peter, she remains immovable in the Catholic faith. She has therefore no need to profess her faith; it is the duty of the churches which have been able or are able to alter or lose it.”(2) Magnificent answer! Nevertheless, at the instance of the emperor, Pope Benedict VIII decided that Rome herself would henceforth sing the Creed. It was that of Constantinople with the addition *Filioque*.(1)

1. Baron., an. 883, n. 37; and an. 447, n. 23.

2. *Cum Romanorum presbyteri ab Henrico imperatore interrogarentur cur non post Evangelium (ut in aliis ecclesiis fiebat), symbolum canerent? Me assistente, audivi eos ejusmodi responsum reddere, videlicet, quod romana Ecclesia non fuisset aliquando ulla haereseos faece infecta, sed secundum sancti Petri doctrinam in soliditate catholicae fidei permaneret inconcussa: et ideo magis his necessarium esse illud symbolum saepius cantando frequentare, qui aliquando ulla haeresi potuerunt maculari.* [Rendered in the text.] Bern. Abbas Augien., *De rebus ad miss. spectant.*, apud Baron., an. 447, n. 24.

3. Baron., an. 447, n. 24.

From whatever point of view one places oneself, one sees that nothing was more legitimate nor more regularly done than this insertion. Like the explanations of the Creed at Nicaea and at Constantinople, it was required by circumstances. It is the Vicar of Jesus Christ himself, presiding over a council, who orders it. Finally, it does not modify the faith, it explains it. “No one,” writes an ancient author, “can take occasion from it to accuse the holy and great Church of Rome, mother and mistress of all the others, of having written, composed and taught a new faith. It is neither to make, nor to teach, nor to transmit another Creed, to explain the old one with a view to preventing the alteration of the faith. Although depository of the sovereign authority, she does not refuse to humble herself by answering what the Council of Chalcedon formerly answered its detractors: It is unjustly that I am accused. I do not establish a new faith; I renew the memory of the old. To clear up an obscure point of the Creed is not to alter it. Like the Fathers of past ages, I have renewed the faith; I have added to the councils of Nicaea, of Constantinople and of Chalcedon; but I have

taught nothing that is contrary to them. Faithful to walk in their footsteps, I have encountered points attacked which in their time were not called in question. What was not well understood by all, I had to clear up by a word of interpretation: that is what I have done."(2)

2. Aetherian., apud Bar., an. 883, n. 38.

Nevertheless the Greeks, driven by the spirit of pride, obstinately refused to subscribe to the addition of the *Filioque*. The ambitious sectary who led them astray wished at all cost to separate the Eastern Church from the Western Church. Once the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff was disowned, he hoped to have himself proclaimed universal patriarch. Death caused his guilty projects to vanish; but it did not extinguish the spirit of revolt which he had breathed. In 1054, Michael Cerularius, another patriarch of Constantinople, bolder than Photius, formally denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. In a letter addressed to John, bishop of Trani, he dared to set down his heresy, with an invitation to communicate it to the Sovereign Pontiff. Leo IX answered it, as befits the guardian of the faith, by excommunicating the innovator. Cerularius, on his side, excommunicated the Pope and with him the whole Latin Church. The rupture was complete, and the Greeks fell into schism and heresy. Such was, as we shall see later, the source of all their misfortunes.

However, the Latin Church neglected nothing to bring her sister back to the faith of their fathers. After several centuries of useless efforts, this so desired return was accomplished at the general Council of Lyons, in 1274. Assembled under the presidency of Pope Gregory X, the bishops of the East and of the West expressed their faith in these terms: "We profess to believe faithfully and piously that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from one principle; not by two spirations, but by one single spiration."(1) The reunion had just been sworn for the thirteenth time. Unhappily it was no more durable than the others.(2)

1. Labbe, *Conc.*, t. II [sic], p. 967. — *Quibus perfectis, praecinente pontifice hymnum: Te Deum; denique Graecis Latinisque verbis fidei orthodoxae forma, repetita bis professione processionis Spiritus sancti a Patre et Filio, decantata est.* [When these things were finished, with the pontiff intoning the hymn Te Deum, the form of the orthodox faith was finally sung in Greek and Latin words, the profession of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son being twice repeated.] Bar., an. 1274, n. 18.

2. *Così eglino promisero, rimanendo in tal forma stabilita per la decimaterza volta l'unione fra Greci e Latini.* [Italian: Thus they promised, the union between Greeks and Latins remaining so established for the thirteenth time.] Battaglini, *Istor.*, etc., p. 660, n. 11.

At last the Council of Florence united the Greeks and the Latins anew. To satisfy the former, the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit was, by order of the Pope, examined afresh. Never was discussion more thorough, longer, more complete. Sophisms, subterfuges, denials, half-concessions, an immense flow of words: the Greeks had recourse to every means to defend the error. In the eighteenth session, held on 10 March 1439, John of Montenegro, Provincial of the Dominicans of Lombardy, closed their mouths with an unanswerable argument. "What do you understand by procession?" he asked the Greeks. "What do you mean when you affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father?" Mark, archbishop of Ephesus, answered: "I understand a production by which the Holy Spirit receives from Him being and all that He properly is." "Very well," resumed the Friar Preacher, "we have this conclusion: the Holy Spirit receives being from the Father, or proceeds from Him, it is the same thing. Here, then, is how I reason: from whom the Holy Spirit receives being, from him also He proceeds. Now the Holy Spirit receives being from the Son; therefore the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, according to the proper sense of the word procession, as you yourself have defined it. That the Holy Spirit receives being from the Son can be demonstrated by many testimonies." "But," interrupted Mark of Ephesus, "whence do you hold that the Holy Spirit receives being from the Son?" "Your question pleases me," replied Brother John; "and I will answer it at once. That the Holy Spirit receives

being from the Son is proved by the testimony, irrefutable for you as for us, of Saint Epiphanius, who expresses himself thus: *I call Son him who is of Him, and Holy Spirit him who alone is of both.* According to this word of Saint Epiphanius, if the Spirit is of both, He receives being from both. Since, according to you, to receive being or to proceed is the same thing, we know from Saint Epiphanius that He receives His being from the Father and the Son."(1) The argument was the better since Saint Epiphanius is one of the oldest and most venerated of the Greek Fathers among the Easterners.

1. Mansi, t. XXXI, col. 723. — Rohrbacher, *Hist. univ.*, t. XXI, p. 534, 2nd edition.

At last, on 6 July 1439, the day of the octave of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the last session of the council was celebrated. In the presence of the august assembly and amid the applause of the Greeks and the Latins, the decree of union was read. It begins thus: "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad! The wall which divided the Church of the East and the Church of the West has just been removed. Peace and concord are re-established on the cornerstone, Jesus Christ, who of the two peoples has made one. We define and will that all believe and profess that the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son; that He has His essence and His subsistent being at once from the Father and the Son; that He proceeds eternally from the one and the other, as from one sole principle and by one sole spiration. We define, further, that the explanation *Filioque* has been lawfully and with reason added to the Creed, to make the truth clear and by a necessity then imminent."(1) The Church's joy was not long-lived. Like unfaithful Samaria, the schismatic East fell back the next day into the errors it had abjured the day before: but the measure was full. Salmanasar rose again in Mahomet; and, only thirteen years after the Council of Florence, the empire of the Greeks suffered the fate of the kingdom of Israel.

1. *Definimus explicationem verborum illorum Filioque, veritatis declarandae gratia, et imminente necessitate, licite et rationabiliter, fuisse symbolo appositam*, etc. [Rendered in the text.] Apud Labbe, etc.

Translator's notes — Chapter VI

1. **Heading.** "CHAPITRE VI. Histoire du Filioque."

2. **Historical accuracy.** This chapter follows the traditional Roman Catholic narrative as found in Baronius and Rohrbacher. Several points differ from the modern account: the *Filioque* entered the Creed at Toledo not in 447 but (formally) in 589 (III Toledo), the Toledo council of 447 having produced a creed-like formula against Priscillianism with *ex utroque*; the letter of Leo I to Turibius is usually numbered *Ep.* 15 (Gaume: "epist. 93"); the Roman "authorization of 883" is not securely attested; Rome adopted the *Filioque* in the Creed at Mass in 1014 under Benedict VIII. The date of the Aachen consultation is given here as 807 and in the footnote as 809 — Gaume's "an. 809" is the more usual date (Council of Aachen, 809). I translate as printed.

3. **Shields of Leo III.** The French text says 85 pounds; the Latin note says 94 pounds and 6 ounces. I print both.

4. **Michael Cerularius.** The 1054 letter to John of Trani (by Cerularius and Leo of Ohrid) in fact attacked Latin use of unleavened bread (azymes), not the *Filioque*; Gaume's account of the 1054 breach follows an older tradition. Printed as written.

5. **Photius.** Called "patriarche intrus" (intruded patriarch) as Gaume's polemical expression; the patriarch of Aquileia reference is as printed.

6. **"Aetherian".** The ancient author quoted on 883 (Aetherianus?) is as printed; the reference "an. 883, n. 38" is Baronius.

7. **"Thirteenth time".** The union is described by Battaglini as "stabilita per la decimaterza volta". As printed.

8. **Council of Florence.** Session of 10 March 1439 (Mark of Ephesus and John of Montenero), decree *Laetentur caeli*, 6 July 1439. The Epiphanius quotation is from *Ancoratus* 8.

9. **"Salmanasar … Mahomet".** Salmanasar (Shalmaneser V) ended the northern kingdom of Israel (722 BC); Gaume compares Mehmed II's fall of Constantinople (1453; "thirteen years" after 1439 is as printed, the true interval being fourteen).

10. **Latin notes.** Where the French gives the substance in the text, the Latin is marked [Rendered in the text].

Chapter VII. The Mission of the Holy Spirit

Sanctification is the proper work of the Holy Spirit. — This work supposes a mission. — What is meant by mission. — How many missions. — They imply no inferiority in the person sent. — Difference between the mission of the Son and the mission of the Holy Spirit. — Both promised, prefigured, foretold, prepared from the origin of the world. — Meaning of the word Spirit in Scripture. — Passage of Saint Augustine.

As far as the obscurities of the present life permit, we know the Holy Spirit in Himself. He is the third Person of the august Trinity. He is God as the Father and the Son are. He proceeds from both by a single spiration and as from one and the same principle, without there being for that either posteriority, or priority, or any inequality whatever between Him who proceeds and Those from whom He proceeds. He is the founder and the king of the City of Good. Under His direct orders are placed all the angelic armies, day and night in the field to protect, in the four corners of the world, the brethren of the Incarnate Word against the attacks of the infernal legions.

Consubstantial Love of the Father and the Son, to Him belongs, by appropriation of language, the work *par excellence* of the adorable Trinity.(1) What is this work? Creation? No. Redemption? No. What, then, is it? Sanctification and glorification; the Father creates, the Son redeems, the Holy Spirit sanctifies; the Father makes men, the Son Christians, the Holy Spirit saints and the blessed. The work of the Holy Spirit is therefore higher than that of the Father and the Son, since it is the crowning of the one and of the other.(2) That this supreme work belongs to the Holy Spirit, the proof is evident. It is He who forms Mary, mother of the Redeemer, and, in the virginal womb of Mary, the Redeemer Himself. It is He who directs Him, who inspires Him, who gives Him to work miracles, and who glorifies Him: *Ille me clarificabit* [He shall glorify Me]. As a prolongation of this work of universal sanctification, it is He who forms the Church, mother of the Christian, and, in the virginal womb of the Church, the Christian himself, brother of the Incarnate Word. It is He who directs him, who inspires him, who raises him little by little to sanctification, and from sanctification to glory.(3)

1. *Dilectio namque, quae ex Deo est et Deus est, proprie Spiritus sanctus dicitur, per quem charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris, per quem tota Trinitas in nobis habitat.* [For the love which is of God and is God is properly called the Holy Spirit, through whom the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts, through whom the whole Trinity dwells in us.] S. Bern., *Médit.*, c. i.

2. *Haec est enim voluntas Dei sanctificatio vestra.* [For this is the will of God, your sanctification.] 1 Thess. iv, 3.

3. *In virtute secundum Spiritum sanctificationis*, etc. [In power, according to the Spirit of sanctification.] (Rom. i, 4.) On this text Cornelius says: *Hanc potentiam (faciendi miracula, remittendi peccata, sanctificandi homines) Verbum caro factum habuit a Spiritu sancto, qui totum hoc unionis hominis cum Deo opus in Christo peregit, eumque ita sanctificavit, ut illi virtutem dederit omnes homines sanctificandi.* [This power (of working miracles, remitting sins, sanctifying men) the Word made flesh had from the Holy Spirit, who accomplished in Christ this whole work of the union of man with God, and so sanctified Him as to give Him the power of sanctifying all men.] *In Epist. ad Rom.*, c. i, 4. — The same commentator adds: *Per*

Spiritum sanctum, id est, Spiritu sancto eum movente et incitante ad se sponte sua offerendum Patri, pro peccatis nostris. [Through the Holy Spirit; that is, the Holy Spirit moving and impelling Him to offer Himself spontaneously to the Father for our sins.] *In Epist. ad Hebr.*, c. ix, 14.

This great work, magnificent synthesis of all the works of the Father and the Son, could not remain isolated in the inaccessible regions of eternity. Far from it, it was to become palpable and to be accomplished in time. To accomplish it, the Holy Spirit therefore had a mission. Before going further, we must explain this word so often pronounced and so little understood. When it speaks of the divine Persons, Catholic theology understands by mission: *the eternal destination of a Person of the Trinity to the accomplishment of a work in time: a destination given Him by the Person from whom He proceeds.*(1) From all eternity it was decided that the Word should become man and come into the world to save it:(2) this is His mission. From all eternity it was decided that the Holy Spirit should come into the world to sanctify it:(3) this is His mission. Thus, among the divine Persons, there are as many divine missions as there are processions. The Father has no mission, because He proceeds from no one. The Son receives His mission from the Father alone, because He proceeds only from Him.(4) The Holy Spirit receives His mission from the Father and the Son, because He proceeds from both.(5)

1. *Missio est unius personae a persona ex qua procedit destinatio ad aliquem effectum temporalem.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Th., I p., q. 43, art. 2, ad 2. — Vitass., *De Trinit.*, q. 8, art. 5.

2. *Non enim misit Deus Filium suum in mundum, ut judicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum.* [For God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world may be saved by Him.] John iii, 17.

3. *Spiritus sanctus procedit temporaliter ad sanctificandam creaturam.* [The Holy Spirit proceeds temporally to sanctify the creature.] S. Aug., *De Trinit.*, lib. III, c. iv.

4. *Qui misit me Pater.* [The Father who sent me.] John viii, 16. — *Misit Deus Filium suum.* [God sent His Son.] Gal. iv, 4.

5. *Cum autem venerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre.* [But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father.] John xv, 26.

Let us hear Saint Augustine: “The Son,” he says, “is sent by the Father, because He appeared in the flesh, and not the Father. We also see that the Holy Spirit was sent by the Son: *When I go, I will send Him to you*; and by the Father: *The Father will send Him in My name.* By this one sees clearly that neither the Father without the Son, nor the Son without the Father, sent the Holy Spirit; but He received His mission from both. Of the Father alone it is nowhere read that He was sent. The reason is that He is neither begotten nor proceeding from anyone. For it is neither the light nor the heat that sends the fire; it is the fire that sends the heat and the light.”(1) Let us admire in passing the profound exactness of the divine language. When He announces the Holy Spirit to His apostles, the Incarnate Word says: “He shall glorify Me, because He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it to you. All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine. Therefore I said that He shall receive of Mine and show it to you.”(2) He does not say, “He will take of Me,” because that would be to say in a way that He would be the sole principle of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as the Son proceeds from the Father, that is, from Him alone. But it is not so. That is why He says: *He shall take of Mine*, and not *of Me*. Because, although He takes of Him, He takes of Him only what He Himself took from the Father. So that the mission of the Holy Spirit comes at once from the Son and from the Father, from whom the Son Himself received all.

1. *Contra Serm. Arian.*, c. iv, n. 4, opp. t. VIII, p. 964.

2. John xvi, 14, 15.

For the rest, it must not be thought that mission implies any inferiority whatever in him who receives it, relatively to him who gives it. Mission denotes no more inferiority than procession itself, of which it is the consequence. “In the divine Persons,” says with reason the Angel of the School, “mission is without separation, without division of the divine nature, which is one and the same in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit; it therefore indicates only a simple distinction of origin.”(1) So, to employ an imperfect comparison, the ray is sent by the hearth, and the flower by the plant, without being separated from it and while preserving the nature of both.

1. *Talis missio est sine separatione, sed habet solam distinctionem originis.* [Such a mission is without separation, but has only distinction of origin.] I p., q. 43, art. 1, ad 4.

Let us complete these fundamental notions by adding that there are two sorts of missions for the Son and for the Holy Spirit: one visible and the other invisible. For the Son, the visible mission was the Incarnation; for the Holy Spirit, His appearance at the baptism of Our Lord, on Thabor, and on the day of Pentecost. For the Son, the invisible mission takes place every time that He comes, infinite wisdom, supernatural light, to communicate Himself to the well-prepared soul, in which He dwells as in His temple; for the Holy Spirit, the invisible mission is renewed each time that He comes, infinite love, supernatural charity, to communicate Himself to the well-prepared soul, in which He dwells as in His sanctuary.(2) The aim of this double mission is to assimilate the soul to the divine Person who is sent to it: *Similes ei erimus* [We shall be like to Him]. Now, as the Son, eternal light, and the Holy Spirit, eternal love, have been sent for the whole world, the intention of God is to assimilate the human race to Himself, and, in assimilating it by truth and by charity, to deify it. O man! if you understood the gift of God: *Si scires donum Dei!* [If thou didst know the gift of God!] In the divine thought this mission is not transitory but permanent; it is so, in fact, as long as man does not put an end to it by mortal sin. It brings to the soul not only the lights of the Son and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, but the Son and the Holy Spirit in person come to dwell in it.(1)

2. *Tunc invisibiliter Filius unicuique mittitur, cum a quoquam cognoscitur atque percipitur.* [Then the Son is invisibly sent to each one, when He is known and perceived by anyone.] S. Aug., apud S. Th., I p., q. 43, art. 5, ad 1. — *Anima per gratiam conformatur Deo. Unde ad hoc quod aliqua persona divina mittatur ad aliquem per gratiam, oportet quod fiat assimilatio illius ad divinam personam quae mittitur, per aliquod gratiae donum. Et quia Spiritus sanctus est amor, per donum charitatis anima Spiritui sancto assimilatur. Unde secundum donum charitatis attenditur missio Spiritus sancti.* [The soul is conformed to God by grace. Hence, for a divine Person to be sent to anyone by grace, there must be an assimilation of that one to the divine Person who is sent, through some gift of grace. And because the Holy Spirit is love, by the gift of charity the soul is assimilated to the Holy Spirit. Hence the mission of the Holy Spirit is reckoned according to the gift of charity.] Ibid., ad 2.

3. *Si quis diligit me… ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus.* [If any one love Me… We will come to him, and will make Our abode with him.] John xiv, 23. — *Spiritus sanctus per charitatem et gratiam nos formaliter justificat, inhabitat, vivificat et adoptat. Justitia enim inhaerens, non est una simplex qualitas. Sed multa complectitur… ac ipsum Spiritum sanctum donorum auctorem… non tantum donatur homini charitas et gratia, vel ipse Spiritus sanctus quoad dona sua duntaxat; sed etiam datur ipsissima persona Spiritus sancti ac consequenter datur ipsa deitas totaque sancta Trinitas.* [The Holy Spirit by charity and grace formally justifies, indwells, vivifies and adopts us. For inherent justice is not one simple quality, but embraces many… and the Holy Spirit Himself, author of the gifts… not only charity and grace are given to man, or the Holy Spirit Himself as to His gifts only; but the very Person of the Holy Spirit is given, and consequently the Godhead itself and the whole holy Trinity.] Corn. a Lap. in 1 Petr. i, 4.

To complete the work of the Word by doing in hearts what He had done in intelligences, to finish thus the transformation of man into God: such is the magnificent mission of the Holy Spirit. By reason of its very importance it must have been the last term of the divine thought; consequently the soul of history, the

mainspring and the key of all the events accomplished since the origin of the world. If, then, the Incarnation of the Word had to be known to all peoples, and for that to be promised, prefigured, foretold, prepared from the birth of man, all the more must it have been so with the mission of the Holy Spirit, crowning of the Incarnation: the facts confirm the reasoning.

Now, in order that it be well understood that the promises, the figures, the prophecies, the preparations of which we are going to sketch the picture, refer to the third Person of the Holy Trinity, and not to another spirit, it is good to recall the teaching of the Fathers on the meaning of the word Spirit in Scripture. Let it suffice to hear Saint Augustine: “One may ask,” he says, “whether, when Scripture says *the Spirit of God*, without adding anything, one must understand the Holy Spirit, third Person of the Trinity, consubstantial with the Father and the Son; for example: *Where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty*; and elsewhere: *God hath revealed it to us by His Spirit*; and again: *The things that are of God no man knoweth, but the Spirit of God.* In these passages, as in a crowd of others where nothing is added, it is evidently a question of the Holy Spirit. The context makes it sufficiently understood. For of what other does Scripture speak when it says: *The Spirit Himself giveth testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God*; and: *The Spirit Himself helpeth our infirmity*; *All these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to every one according as He will*? In all these places neither the word God nor the word Holy is added to the word Spirit, and yet it is clearly a question of the Holy Spirit. I do not know whether one could prove by a single authentic example that, where Scripture names the Spirit of God without addition, it does not mean to speak of the Holy Spirit, but of another spirit, good indeed, though created. All the texts cited to establish the contrary are doubtful and would need clearer elucidation.”(1)

1. *Nescio utrum manifesto aliquo exemplo probari possit, alicubi Spiritum Dei dictum sine additamento, ubi Spiritus ille sanctus non significetur, sed aliquis quamvis bonus, creatus tamen et conditus. Quae proferuntur enim dubia sunt, et indigent clariore documento.* [Rendered in the text.] *De divers. quaest.*, lib. II, n. 5, p. 187, opp. t. VI. S. Th., I p., q. 74, art. 3, ad 4. [The reference to *De diversis quaestionibus* is as printed.]

We have just seen it: in the eternal counsels it was decided that two Persons of the august Trinity should descend visibly upon the earth: the Son to save the world by His infinite merits, the Holy Spirit to sanctify it by the outpouring of His graces. But when a monarch, tenderly loved by his people, is to visit the different parts of his kingdom to sow benefits, all minds are preoccupied with his coming. Fame goes before him; couriers precede him: all the ways open before him, and nothing is forgotten to prepare for him a reception worthy of the hopes he awakens and of the enthusiasm he inspires. There is not a Christian who does not know it: this is what God did to prepare the coming of the Incarnate Word. Promised, prefigured, foretold, awaited for forty centuries, the Desired of the nations dominates the ancient world majestically. He is the soul of the law and the prophets, the object of all wishes, the end of all events, the aim of the rise and fall of empires: in a word, He is the divine axis around which the whole government of the universe revolves.

This preparation, astonishing in grandeur and majesty, was due not only to the second Person of the holy Trinity, but also to the third. Equal to the Son by the dignity of His nature, superior in a sense by the sublimity of His mission, and having like the Son to descend personally upon the earth, the Holy Spirit had to be, like the Messiah, preceded by a long series of promises, figures, prophecies, preparations, in order to be, no less than the Messiah, the constant object of universal expectation: *Desideratus cunctis gentibus* [the Desired of all nations]. This induction of faith is not deceptive. History is going to show us the third Person of the Trinity occupying the same place as the second, both in the thought of God, and in the hope of the human race, and in the direction of all the events of the ancient world, during the long interval of four thousand years.

Translator’s notes — Chapter VII

1. **Heading.** “Mission du Saint-Esprit”. The chapter closes the doctrinal preliminaries and opens the historical thesis of the following chapters: the Holy Spirit as the hidden object of universal expectation throughout the ancient world.

2. **“Appropriation of language”.** Gaume’s *par appropriation de langage*: in Trinitarian theology a work common to the three Persons is attributed to one by “appropriation”. Hence “the Father creates, the Son redeems, the Holy Spirit sanctifies”.

3. **“Higher than that of the Father and the Son”.** I translate as printed; Gaume means “crowning” (the end of the order of divine works), not that one Person is superior to another — he disclaims inferiority later in the chapter.

4. **Scripture.** Texts are in Douay-Rheims wording where they agree with the sense of Gaume’s French. John xvi, 14–15. The Cornelius a Lapide and Aquinas quotations are given in Latin with bracketed English because Gaume gives them only in Latin.

5. **Aquinas I, q. 43.** Art. 2 ad 2 (definition of mission), art. 1 ad 4, art. 5 ad 1–2 (visible and invisible missions); q. 74, art. 3, ad 4.

6. **Augustine, *Contra Serm. Arian.*, c. iv.** The “fire, heat and light” simile is Augustine’s (*Contra sermonem Arianorum* 4); the volume and page are Gaume’s edition (Paris, Maurist).

7. **“Thabor”.** Mount Tabor (Transfiguration) — kept as Gaume’s spelling in this one place.

Chapter VIII. The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament: Promised and Prefigured

Promises of the Holy Spirit: Joel, Aggeus, Zacharias. — Figures: the seven days of creation, the seven-branched candlestick, the edifice of seven pillars of eternal Wisdom.

The Messiah is promised; the Holy Spirit is promised. After the promise, many times renewed in more or less explicit terms, of the coming of the Holy Spirit upon earth,(1) God orders the prophet Joel to publish it clearly, more than six hundred years before the memorable day when it was to be fulfilled. In the person of the Jews, the prophet addresses all the peoples, called to become by faith the children of Abraham. His inspired gaze sees at once the Word who becomes incarnate and the Holy Spirit who descends. Before him are present both adorable Persons, and with the same enthusiasm he speaks of the one and the other. “Ye children of Sion,” he cries, “rejoice and be joyful in the Lord your God: because He hath given you a Teacher of justice, and He will make the early and the latter rain to come down to you as in the beginning. And the floors shall be filled with wheat, and the presses shall overflow with wine and oil. And I will restore to you the years which the locust, and the bruchus, and the mildew, and the palmerworm have eaten: My great host which I sent upon you. And you shall eat in plenty, and shall be filled: and you shall praise the name of the Lord your God, who hath done wonderful things with you: and My people shall not be confounded for ever. And you shall know that I am in the midst of Israel: and that I am the Lord your God, and there is none other.”(1)

1. Is. xliv, 3; Ezech. xi, 19; xxxvi, 26, etc.

2. Joel ii, 23–27.

Joy, the abundance of all spiritual goods, the repair of all the evils under the weight of which the human race had groaned since the primal fall, the permanent presence of the Lord Himself in the midst of His people, the great Catholic nation: these are indeed the distinctive traits of the reign of the Messiah. When the Incarnate Word shall have laid the foundations of this universal felicity and watered with His blood, at the morning and at the evening of His life, this earth of the world, what will happen? Let us hear the prophet: “And it shall come to pass after this,” says the Lord, “that I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh. And your sons and your

daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. Moreover, upon My servants and handmaids in those days I will pour forth My Spirit."(2) Such are, in their general features, the benefits for which the world will be indebted to the Holy Spirit.

2. Ibid., ii, 28–29. — On the very day of Pentecost Saint Peter declares to the Jews that the wonders which burst upon their eyes are the fulfilment of the Lord's promise made by the prophet Joel. All the Fathers speak like the chief of the apostles. See among others S. Chrys., *in princip. Act. Apost.*, hom. ii, t. III, p. 927, n. 11, 12, and Corn. a Lap. in Joel ii, 28.

How all hearts must have throbbed at this announcement! How the just of the old law must have conjured the Lord to hasten that day, unique among days! To console them, the Lord is pleased to promise them, by the mouth of the prophet Aggeus, the approaching coming of the Holy Spirit. Juda was returning from Babylon: it was fully occupied with the building of the second temple; but hearts were sad. One could not think without groaning of the magnificence of the old temple and of the relative poverty of the new, which was rising painfully amid difficulties of every kind. Aggeus receives the order to encourage the people. Like Joel, he sees and announces the coming of two Persons of the adorable Trinity: the Holy Spirit, who, in conformity with the ancient promises, will soon come to reside in the midst of His people; the Word made flesh, who will deign to sanctify the new temple by His personal presence. "Prophet," the Lord says to him, "speak to Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, governor of Juda, and to Jesus the son of Josedec, the high priest, and to the rest of the people, and say to them: Take courage, Zorobabel; take courage, Jesus son of Josedec; and take courage, all ye people of the land, and work (because I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts), according to the word that I covenanted with you when you came out of the land of Egypt, and My Spirit shall be in the midst of you: fear not. Yet one little while, and I will move the heaven and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land. And I will move all nations: and the Desired of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts… Great shall be the glory of this last house, more than of the first."(1)

1. Agg. ii, 2–10. All the Fathers — Saint Athanasius, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret — have seen in these remarkable words the promise of the Holy Spirit. See among others S. Jerom., *in Agg.* ii, opp. t. III, p. 1694, and Corn. a Lapid., ibid.

More explicit than the first, this second promise is not content with announcing the coming of the Holy Spirit; it designates the epoch. He will come when the world shall be drawn out of the true captivity of Egypt by the blood of the Lamb of God, and when the apostles shall be ready to build the great Catholic edifice in which the Holy Spirit is to dwell for ever.

About the same time another prophet, Zacharias, is charged to announce the coming of the divine Spirit, who is to change the face of the earth after having changed hearts. Here again the Lord takes care to unite in the same prediction the advent of the Messiah and the descent of the Holy Spirit. The reason is that these two events hold together. The first is the proof of the second, and the second the consequence of the first. One cannot admit the one without admitting the other. "In that day," says the Lord, "I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will 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 have pierced; and they shall mourn for Him as one mourneth for an only son, and they shall grieve over Him as the manner is to grieve for the death of the firstborn."(1) Reading in the distance of the ages, say the Fathers and interpreters, Zacharias sees before his eyes the memorable day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descends upon the apostles assembled at Jerusalem. He sees Him producing grace and sanctification; then the groans and supplications in the souls He has just enlightened on the enormous crime committed by the Jewish nation on the adorable person of the Messiah. All this is so precise that the Acts of the Apostles, in relating the history of Pentecost, seem to be only the reproduction of the words of Zacharias.(1)

1. Zach. xii, 9, 10.

2. See Corn. a Lap., in Zach. xii, 9; and S. Jerom., in Zach., opp. t. III, p. 1784, 1785.

It is not only by these solemn promises, and by many others scattered through the Old Testament, that God announced to the world the coming of the sanctifying Spirit. For the Messiah we see innumerable figures marching abreast with the promises, continually fixing attention upon the future Liberator. So it is with the Holy Spirit. Beside the promises there constantly appear figures which reveal Him in His nature and in His gifts. Relying on the authority of the holy doctors, we are going to make known some of them.

The Spirit of the seven gifts, who is the vital principle, the light, the beauty of the moral world and of the Church in particular, is represented by the different septenaries which recur so often in the creation of the material world and in the formation of the figurative people. To cite only two examples: the physical world was created in six days, followed by the day of rest; so it is with the moral world. Man, who is its sublime epitome, is formed by the Spirit of the seven gifts. In the order of nature, light appears on the first day. It figures the gift of fear, by which man begins to know God efficaciously, according to the word of the prophet: *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* On the second day of creation the firmament is spread out, which separates the lower waters from the upper waters. It is the emblem of the gift of knowledge [*science*], which teaches us to discern true doctrines from false. Adorned with this precious gift, man resembles the firmament by the unshakable stability of his faith. Maintaining a radical separation between truth and error, he prevents them from ever uniting in his intelligence to produce chaos there. So the firmament, immovably placed between the lower and the upper waters, prevents them from confounding their masses and producing a new deluge.

On the third day takes place the separation of the waters and the earth. The earth, showing its dried surface, covers itself with all sorts of herbs and plants. It is the living image of the gift of piety. Separated from the lower waters, that is, from the doctrines of falsehood — idolatry, superstition, incredulity — man, quickened by the gift of piety, honours the true God and produces the flowers of good desires, the herbs of holy words, finally the excellent fruits of the works of charity toward God and toward the neighbour. On the fourth day appear the two great luminaries, the sun and the moon, accompanied by myriads of stars. One sees here in all its magnificence the gift of counsel. Torch of the day, like the sun, it lights up the whole system of the supernatural world; torch of the night, like the moon, it lights up the whole system of the lower world; like the stars, which, spread throughout the whole extent of the firmament, illuminate all its parts, it lights each of our faculties and directs each of our senses.

On the fifth day, fishes and birds are born of the same element; the former live in the waters, the latter fly in the air. Could eternal wisdom better prefigure the gift of fortitude? By its efficacy good resolutions are born and strengthened in tribulation; and good thoughts fly toward God, breaking the resistance of the demons who fill the air that surrounds us. On the sixth day takes place the creation of the animals and of man their king. Here is the gift of understanding. The man who possesses it knows clearly his double nature and appraises it; he knows that the higher part of himself must dominate the lower; he knows besides the rules to be followed to maintain this subordination, principle of virtue and of universal harmony. On the seventh day God rests and blesses that day. Such is the perfectly exact figure of the gift of wisdom, the noblest of all. By it the soul rests delightfully in God. Disgusted with all that is not He, she awaits in peace the eternal day, when she shall go to bless Him for all that He has done for her and by her. So on the seventh day God crowns the work of the creation of the material world; so by the seventh gift the Holy Spirit completes the creation of a nobler world, man, His image and His child.(1)

1. See on this fine philosophy S. Anton., *Summ. theol.*, part I, tit. x, c. i, § 1 [St Antoninus of Florence; as printed].

To those who might be tempted to see only a play of the imagination in this parallel between the creation of the material world and the creation of the moral world, between what took place at the origin of time and

what was accomplished in the fullness of the ages, it suffices to recall the doctrine of Saint Paul and of the Fathers. All teach that the Old Testament is to the Gospel what the rosebud is to the rose in full bloom; that the physical world is only the radiation of the moral world; that both were made by the same Spirit on the same plan and with the same aim; and that thus the figurative announcement of the Holy Spirit begins, like that of the Messiah, on the first day of the world.

Another figure, more transparent than the first, is the seven-branched candlestick. They were in the midst of the desert; Israel, come out of Egypt, was on the march toward the Promised Land. God calls Moses and orders him to make the tabernacle, a work in which the mystery and the figure of the future shine out on all sides. The tabernacle, say the Jews, Josephus and Philo, was the image of the world, and the Holy of Holies represented the empyrean heaven. There God commands Moses to place a golden candelabrum with seven branches, destined to light the heaven of the earth. Where find a more beautiful figure of the Spirit of the seven gifts, torch of time and of eternity?(1)

1. Corn. a Lap. in Exod. xxv, 31.

The Fathers of the Church have seen a fresh figure of the Holy Spirit in the seven sons of Job. “The seven sons of the patriarch of sorrow,” writes Saint Gregory the Great, “gave banquets, each in his turn, each day of the week, in company with their three sisters, in a four-cornered edifice. Here indeed are the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit which nourish the soul, each in its own manner, and that in company with their three sisters — that is, the three theological virtues, faith, hope and charity — in a spiritual edifice of square form, that is, formed by the four cardinal virtues, prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. Each gives its banquet, because each gift of the Holy Spirit nourishes the soul: wisdom, by the hope as certain as it is delightful of the future goods; understanding, by the wholly divine light which it makes shine in the darkness of the heart; counsel, by the high prudence with which it fills it; fortitude, by the invincible courage, whether in action or in suffering; knowledge, by serenity of gaze and solidity of thoughts; piety, by the satiety which is the fruit of works of mercy; fear, by the humble confidence which is the reward of vanquished pride.”(1)

1. S. Greg., *Moral.*, lib. I and II.

As we advance, the figures become more transparent: it is the dawn succeeding the twilight and announcing the approach of the sun. After the example of the Fathers, let us study the beautiful figure of the Spirit of the seven gifts, so well drawn by the author of the Proverbs. “Wisdom,” says the sacred writer, “hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars. She hath slain her victims, mingled her wine, and set forth her table. She hath sent her maids to invite to the tower, and to the walls of the city: Whosoever is a little one, let him come to me. And to the fools she said: Come, eat my bread, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you. Forsake childishness, and live, and walk by the ways of prudence.”(2)

2. Prov. ix, 1–6.

Who is this Wisdom? The eternal Word, the very Wisdom of God. This house built by her own hand? The Church, palace of the Son of God on earth. These seven pillars, supports of the edifice? The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which render the Church unshakable amid hurricanes and earthquakes. How? By opposing, each in particular, a force of resistance superior to the violence of the seven evil spirits, powerful enemies of the City of Good. To the demon of pride, the gift of fear resists; to the demon of avarice, counsel; to the demon of lust, wisdom; to the demon of gluttony, understanding; to the demon of envy, piety; to the demon of anger, knowledge; to the demon of sloth, fortitude. Such is the harmonious contrast which the holy doctors discover between the opposed forces of the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil. Nothing is more real, as we shall show elsewhere.(1)

1. See Corn. a Lap. in Prov., c. ix, 1–6.

Let us be content to remark here that this new figure of the Holy Spirit presents the same character as the others. The two divine Persons whom the world awaited are there designated together. What, in fact, are these victims immolated by Wisdom, this bread, this wine, this table prepared for her children? With one voice the Fathers and commentators answer that it is the Incarnate Word. As for the maidservants charged with inviting the guests, constant tradition sees in them the zealous souls, the preachers and the priests whose prayers, words and examples attract their brethren to the divine banquet. These very children who come to partake of it represent to the life all men: grown children, always busy with childishness, until the moment when, enlightened by the God whom they receive at the holy table, they take on serious tastes and walk in the ways of true prudence.(1) It is needless to add that all these figures were understood by the ancients according to the degree of knowledge which God willed to give them of His adorable counsels.

1. Ibid.

Translator's notes — Chapter VIII

1. **Heading.** "Le Saint-Esprit dans l'Ancien Testament, promis et figuré."

2. **Scriptural references.** Joel ii, 23–27 and ii, 28–29 (Vulgate; the Hebrew numbering is ii, 23–27 and iii, 1–2). Aggeus ii, 3–10 (Gaume "ii, 2–10"). Zacharias xii, 10. Scripture is rendered in Douay-Rheims words with Gaume's French sense; where his French departs ("Teacher of justice"; "Desired of all nations") I follow it.

3. **Aggeus ii, 8.** Gaume reads "the Desired of all nations" (Vulgate *Desideratus cunctis gentibus*), the traditional messianic reading (the Hebrew is plural: "the desirable things of all nations").

4. **"Seven gifts" and the seven days.** The mapping of the gifts of the Spirit to the six days plus the Sabbath is a medieval allegory (cf. Bonaventure, Antoninus). The pairing of gifts to the seven capital sins closes the chapter; Gaume promises to return to it "ailleurs".

5. **Gregory the Great, *Moralia* I–II.** On Job i, 4 (the seven sons and three sisters).

6. **"Josephus and Philo".** The French says "Joseph et Philon" — Flavius Josephus.

7. **"Antoninus".** Gaume's "S. Anton., *Summ. theol.*, i, art., t. X, c. i" is St Antoninus of Florence (*Summa theologica*, pt I, tit. x).

8. **"Septénaire".** Rendered "septenary", a group of seven.

Chapter IX. The Holy Spirit Foretold

David announces the great work of the Holy Spirit, the regeneration of the world. — Isaias tells the manner in which the Holy Spirit will accomplish this marvel. — Ezechiel shows, under a striking figure, the human race dead to true life and its resurrection by the Holy Spirit. — In the seven eyes of the cornerstone of the Temple, Zacharias announces the Spirit of the seven gifts and His wonderful operations in the Word made flesh. — Judith celebrates the future victory of the Spirit of Good over the Spirit of Evil. — The Book of Wisdom announces Him as the light and the strength of the human race. — All the prophecies together form the complete description of the Holy Spirit.

In the preparation of the human race for the coming of the second and the third Person of the Trinity we find the same providential course. Multiplied promises make certain the coming of the great Liberator: figures sketch His portrait. More explicit than the first, more transparent than the second, prophecies give His complete description [*signalement*, the "personal description" as on a passport]; so that, short of a wilful blindness, it will be impossible for man to fail to recognize the Desired of the nations. The same conduct holds with regard to the Holy Spirit. To the assurances given by the promises, to the scattered traits spread through the different figures, will succeed the more precise oracles of the prophets and the more accentuated

touches of their brush. Such will be the perfection of this portrait drawn in advance that even the blind will recognize the divine Spirit in it.

A thousand years before His coming, David points Him out to universal attention by showing Him with His incommunicable character. “Lord,” he cries, “Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created; and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.”(1) As if he said: Inhabitants of the earth, be attentive; the day will come when the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the august Trinity, will descend among you. You will recognize Him by the prodigies He will work before your eyes. The world, dead to the supernatural life, to the life of intelligence, to the life of virtue, to the life of charity and of liberty, will rise from the tomb of mud in which it is buried. The chains of slavery will fall from pole to pole; vice will give place to the purest virtue, and the vivid lights of truth will succeed the long night of error; new men, a new world, will come forth from nothingness: this prodigy will be the work of the Holy Spirit. When you see it accomplished, know that this regenerating Spirit, the object of your expectation, will have come; by this sign you will recognize Him.

1. Ps. ciii, 30.

Let us now interrogate history and ask it on what day this miraculous creation took place. All the civilized nations name the day of Pentecost. Eternal day, which for eighteen centuries has risen successively upon the different countries of the earth, working everywhere the same prodigy as at Jerusalem. What is the instant when barbarous peoples came, and still come, to light, to virtue, to civilization? It is the instant when the Holy Spirit, given by baptism, broods over them and vivifies them: as in the first days of the world He brooded over the waters of chaos to fecundate them.

How will the Holy Spirit accomplish this marvellous change? Isaias will teach us. “A rod,” says the prophet, “shall come forth out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him… The earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea.”(1) In this prophecy we find again, united and acting together, the two Persons of the august Trinity who are to honour the world with their visit. The Son is clearly designated by this flower which will come forth from the rod, born of the root of Jesse. See the exactness of the prophetic language! The Messiah is compared to a flower, on account of His humility, the grace of His person and the perfume of His virtues. Mary is the rod that bears Him; a rod by her gentleness, by her suppleness under the hand of God, by her integrity; for the flower is born of the rod without doing it any injury. It is said that this rod comes forth not from the tree and trunk, but from the root. Why? Because in the days of the Messiah the royal family of Jesse, deprived of sovereign power and perpetuated only in humble and poor offshoots, was no longer a tree with magnificent branches, but a mere root hidden in the bosom of the earth: a root, however, full of sap, which produces the most perfect rod, the most beautiful flower that the tree itself ever produced.(1)

1. Is. xi, 1–9.

2. *Virga beata virgo Maria, flos Christus, radix familia Davidis jam ablato sceptro quasi emortua et succisa, ita ut sola ejus radix in plebe latere et vivere videatur: sed haec ipsa reflorescente profert florem Christum tanquam regem regum.* [The rod is the Blessed Virgin Mary, the flower Christ, the root the family of David, its sceptre now taken away, as if dead and cut down, so that only its root seems to lie hidden and live among the common people; but this same root, flourishing again, brings forth the flower Christ, as King of kings.] S. Hier., *in hunc loc.*

After having depicted in such graceful and perfectly incommunicable traits the Messiah, Son of God and son of Jesse, the prophet takes up his brush again to sketch the action of the Holy Spirit. It is He who will give all its beauty to the divine flower and who will communicate to the offshoot of David the gifts necessary for the

accomplishment of the wonders whose history the rest of the prophecy is going to retrace for us. The Spirit of the Lord, says the prophet, the Spirit of the seven gifts, shall rest upon Him. Not one Father of the Church, not one interpreter of Scripture, who does not recognize in this Spirit of the seven gifts the third Person of the holy Trinity. To what other Spirit, indeed, could this character belong? What other Spirit could rest upon the Son of God? What other Spirit could be called the author or co-operator of the wonders accomplished by the Word made flesh?(2) *He shall rest upon Him*, says the prophet. In the energy of the original signification this word indicates strength, plenitude, the natural place of repose of the august Person. This means that the Holy Spirit remains unshakably in Our Lord; that He fills Him with the plenitude of His gifts, and that He is in Him as in His inviolable sanctuary, by reason of the hypostatic union of the divine nature with the human nature.

2. S. Hier., ibid., *in Is.* xi, opp. t. III, p. 99.

At the spectacle he has just described, Isaias, ravished with admiration, sings the marvels of the world subjected to the combined action of the second and third Persons of the adorable Trinity. The reign of justice succeeding the reign of caprice, of force and of cruelty; the defeat of the demon and of the tyrants his blind supports; the tomb of the great Liberator shining with immortal glory; the lion and the lamb, all that is most ferocious and all that is gentlest, living peacefully together: an image whose graceful energy designates the fraternal union, within the Gospel, of Jews and Gentiles, of Greeks and barbarians, of the proudest potentates and the weakest children. Such are the marvels which show themselves to the eyes of the prophet.

Here again let us interrogate history and ask it on what day this marvellous change was accomplished. On what day was broken the iron sceptre, which for more than two thousand years had weighed on the head of the pagan world? On what day began the destruction of the reign of idolatry? On what day did Jews and Gentiles embrace each other for the first time as brothers? On what day began, never to end, the veneration of Calvary and the solemn cult of its glorious tomb? With one voice the whole earth names the ever-memorable day of Pentecost. If you ask the Messiah Himself, author of so many marvels, to whom we owe our thanks for them, He answers us humbly: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, wherefore He hath sent Me… and I have wrought the prodigies of which you are witnesses.”(1)

1. Luke iv, 18–21. [Gaume’s “answer” is a paraphrase.]

Let us hear another prophet. Ezechiel describes, with the same precision as Isaias, the third Person of the holy Trinity, His coming, His characters, His admirable operations. Here again the Word and the Holy Spirit give each other the hand to labour at the regeneration of the world. “I will sanctify My great name,” says the Lord by the mouth of the prophet, “which was profaned among the Gentiles… that the Gentiles may know that I am the Lord… And I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness, and I will cleanse you from all your idols. And I will give you a new heart, and put a new spirit within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put My Spirit in the midst of you: and I will cause you to walk in My commandments, and to keep My judgments, and do them. And you shall be My people, and I will be your God.”(1)

1. Ezech. xxxvi, 23–28.

The first thing that strikes the prophet’s eyes is the great name of God unworthily profaned among all the nations. Here indeed is the reign of idolatry, as history shows it to us at the coming of the Redeemer: a reign of shameful and cruel superstitions, where the name of God, given to crocodiles, serpents, cats, vegetables, rough stones, received the bloodiest outrages. Then the same prophet sees suddenly fall from heaven a pure wave, which washes the earth and its inhabitants of all their iniquities, and the great name of God become again the object of universal respect and love. Here are the sacraments indeed, above all baptism, in which Jew and pagan have lost their stains and found the whiteness of innocence. After this universal purification, Ezechiel sees the Spirit of the Lord descend. He animates these new men and makes them walk with a firm

step in the paths of virtue, so that the true God will henceforth be for them the one God, and they themselves, they the worshippers of idols, will be His cherished people. Could the miracle of Pentecost be better described? Is it not manifest that it is from this great day that the human race lost its heart of stone, that it took a new heart, and that the great blind man, whose march for more than two thousand years had been a continual wandering, entered into the luminous road of truth and civilization?(1)

1. S. Aug., *De doct. christ.*, lib. III, c. xxxiv, n. 28 [as printed]; and the Fathers *passim* apud Corn. a Lapid., in Ezech. xxxvi, 25.

Elsewhere the Most High reveals to Ezechiel, under the most striking figure, the regenerating action of the Holy Spirit. To show him that this Spirit of life, announced by David as destined to draw the world from the tomb of error and vice, will accomplish in all its extent His miraculous mission, here is what the Lord does. “The hand of the Lord was upon me,” says the prophet, “and brought me forth in the spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of a plain that was full of bones. And He led me about through them on every side: now they were very many upon the face of the plain, and they were exceeding dry. And He said to me: Son of man, dost thou think these bones shall live? And I said: O Lord God, Thou knowest. And He said to me: Prophesy concerning these bones; and say to them: Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God to these bones: Behold I will send spirit into you, and you shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh to grow over you, and will cover you with skin: and I will give you spirit, and you shall live, and you shall know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as He had commanded me: and as I prophesied there was a noise, and behold a commotion: and the bones came together, each one to its joint. And I saw, and behold the sinews and the flesh came up upon them: and the skin was stretched out over them, but there was no spirit in them. And He said to me: Prophesy to the spirit, prophesy, O son of man, and say to the spirit: Thus saith the Lord God: Come, spirit, from the four winds, and blow upon these slain, and let them live. And I prophesied as He had commanded me: and the spirit came into them, and they lived: and they stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army. And He said to me: Son of man, all these bones are the house of Israel: they say: Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost, and we are cut off. Therefore prophesy, and say to them: Thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will open your graves, and will bring you out of your sepulchres, O My people: and will bring you into the land of Israel. And you shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall have opened your sepulchres, and shall have brought you out of your graves, O My people: and shall have put My spirit in you, and you shall live, and I shall make you rest upon your own land.”(1)

1. Ezech. xxxvii, 1–14.

Energy, precision, transparency: what is lacking to this prophecy of the moral resurrection of humanity by the breath of the Holy Spirit? When, by the voice of the apostles coming out of the Cenacle, the third Person of the august Trinity breathed upon the world, was not the whole earth a field covered with bones? What people then lived the true life? Were not these bones dried up by time, calcined by the burning breath of the homicidal spirit, spirit of pride and of voluptuousness? What other Spirit spread movement and life in this vast charnel-house of the human race? To pose such questions is to answer them.

Let us pass to a new prophecy. Here again appear united the two adorable Persons of the Trinity whose coming will save the universe. It is Zacharias who speaks. Under the figure of the re-establishment of Israel in the land of its fathers and of the building of the second temple, he announces the great reality of the universal restoration of all things and the building of the Church, immortal temple of the true God. The great East [*Orient*; Dayspring] rises on the world; He builds Himself a temple, of which He is at once the pontiff and the cornerstone. Seven eyes shine upon this magnificently chiselled stone. At the fires that come from it, iniquity disappears from the earth and peace reigns everywhere. “Hear, O Jesus the high priest,” says the prophet, “thou and thy friends that dwell before thee, for they are portending men: for behold I will bring My servant the Orient [the Dayspring]. For behold the stone that I have laid before Jesus: upon one stone there

are seven eyes: behold I will grave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts: and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day. In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, every man shall call his friend under the vine and under the fig tree."(1)

1. Zach. iii, 8–10.

All tradition has seen the Messiah clearly designated in this remarkable oracle. As God, He is indeed the true Orient, the sole principle of all light. As man, inferior to His Father, He is indeed the true servant of the God of hosts. Evidently He, and He alone, is also the foundation-stone of the Church, figured by the temple whose construction then occupied Jesus, son of Josedec. Now, as the Church is a living temple, the stone which serves her as base must be living. As she is the work of God, the foundation must be God Himself: the eyes with which this stone is adorned indicate it under an eloquent figure. To show that it is of the essence of the Divinity to be everywhere and to see all, the constant usage among the different peoples is to represent God under the figure of an open eye. In Egypt an eye surmounted by a sceptre was the emblem of Osiris. In Greece the statue of Jupiter had three eyes, to show his triple providence over heaven, earth and sea.(1) In Christian art the eye is still the emblem of the Divinity. Thus the eye given to the mysterious stone of which Zacharias speaks denotes, beyond any possible dispute, that this stone is the emblem of Our Lord, the foundation of the Church.

1. Macrob., lib. I, c. xxi; Plutarch., *De Iside et Osiride*; Pausan., *in Corinth.*; Pierius, *hierogl.* xxxiii, 15.

But why does God show it to the prophet with seven eyes, and not with two or with one only? Why the number seven and not another? Let us recall first that this figure being the work of infinite wisdom, nothing arbitrary can be found in it; the stranger it appears, the more we must suspect in it a profound meaning and a great teaching. To learn it, let us hear those whom God Himself has charged with explaining His oracles by confiding to them the secret of His thoughts. "Upon this one stone," says Saint Gregory the Great, "there are seven eyes. Now this stone is Our Lord. To say that this stone has seven eyes is to say that upon the Incarnate Word rests the Spirit of the seven gifts. Among us, this one possesses the gift of prophecy, that one the gift of knowledge; another the gift of miracles; a fifth the gift of tongues; a sixth the gift of interpretation, according to the distribution which the Holy Spirit sees fit to make of His gifts; but no man possesses them all at once and in their plenitude. As for the divine Redeemer, He has shown that, in clothing Himself with our infirm nature, He possessed, as God, all the gifts of the Holy Spirit. That is why He unites in His person all the brilliant eyes of which the prophet speaks."(1) Such is also the interpretation of the other Fathers and of the most celebrated commentators.

1. *Super lapidem unum septem oculi sunt. Huic enim lapidi (Christo) septem oculos habere, est simul omnem virtutem Spiritus septiformis gratiae in operatione retinere,* etc. [Upon one stone are seven eyes. For this stone (Christ) to have seven eyes is to retain at once in operation the whole power of the sevenfold Spirit of grace.] *Moral.*, lib. XXIX, 16 [sic]. So S. Hier., S. Remig., Rupert, Emmanuel, and others.

It remains to give the sense of the last words of the prophecy: *I will grave the graving thereof,* and *I will remove the iniquity of the land, and every one shall rest under the shade of his vine and his fig tree*. Who will be the author of the magnificent chiselling with which the living stone, eternal base of the Church, will be adorned? He himself who speaks by the organ of the prophet, the Holy Spirit in person. It is He who, in the Incarnation, will sculpt with inimitable perfection the body and soul of the Redeemer. It is He who, with an art no less marvellous, will unite them personally to the eternal Word. It is He who will adorn His soul with so much wisdom, virtue, grace and glory that He will make of it a divine heaven, radiant with all the brightness of the sun, the moon and the stars. It is He, Spirit of love, who will form on the adorable body of the august Victim, with the sharp point of the thorns, the nails and the lance, the adorable chisellings which during the Passion were the admiration of the angels and which for all eternity will be the love of the blessed. What will be the effect of these bloody chisellings? The abolition of iniquity. The blood of the Redeemer,

flowing in torrents through the incisions of the divine tattooing with which the Holy Spirit will adorn His immaculate flesh, will purify the earth of its crimes. God appeased will restore His good graces to the human race, and the peace of man with God will become the principle of the peace of man with his fellows. Is it possible to paint in more vivid colours the simultaneous action of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration of the human race? Do the facts accomplished since the Christian Pentecost leave the least doubt about the influence of the Holy Spirit in the world, the least obscurity on His operations in the Word made flesh, the least ambiguity on the words of the prophet?(1)

1. *Hic lapis ex terra et ex virtute et arte constat Dei: significat autem in terra Virgine ortum, sed virtute Spiritus sancti artificiose caelatum.* [This stone consists of earth and of the power and art of God: it signifies one born of the earthly Virgin, but artfully chiselled by the power of the Holy Spirit.] S. Iren., *De haeres.*, lib. III, 28 [as printed].

It would be easy to continue this picture, begun at the origin of time and developing with the centuries. We should see the Word by whom all things were made and the Holy Spirit by whom all must be remade constantly united in the predictions of the prophets. We should hear the mysterious Judith, celebrating her mysterious victory, and in her mysterious canticle announcing a more glorious triumph over a more formidable Holofernes than the one whose head she has just cut off; naming the future conqueror of the great Holofernes, and crying: “Adonai, Lord, Thou art great, and glorious in Thy power, and no man can overcome Thee. Let all Thy creatures serve Thee: for Thou hast spoken, and they were made: Thou didst send forth Thy spirit, and they were created, and there is no one that can resist Thy voice. The mountains shall be moved from the foundations with the waters: the rocks shall melt as wax at Thy sight. But they that fear Thee shall be great with Thee in all things.”(1)

1. Judith xvi, 16–19.

When did the human race, so long prostrate at the feet of Satan, begin to fall on its knees before the true God? What Spirit shook the pagan empires, reduced to dust the walls and temples of the Capitol, set the victorious cross on the brow of the Caesars? To what epoch goes back the generation of the true great men, apostles, martyrs, saints on the throne or in solitude, noble conquerors of themselves and of the world? All voices answer by blessing the Holy Spirit and the Cenacle.

The prophet who sings the marvels of uncreated Wisdom does not fail to join the Holy Spirit to her. In his ecstasy the inspired man sees the whole earth covered with darkness. Uncertain men grope at noonday, taking the false for the true, evil for good, ignorant of God and ignorant of themselves. At this spectacle he cries: “And who shall know Thy thought, except Thou give wisdom, and send Thy Holy Spirit from above? And so the ways of them that are upon earth may be corrected, and men may learn the things that please Thee.”(1) Spirit of light, who will dissipate the night of the moral world, long night of two thousand years, deep night whose darkness the flickering gleams of reason rendered palpable rather than dispelled; Spirit of strength, who, filling man with an unknown courage, will draw him from the road of vice and make him walk with a firm step in the difficult paths of virtue: such is the double character under which the Spirit necessary to the salvation of the world is announced. Need we say that these two characters befit the Holy Spirit, and befit Him alone? Are they not written on the brow of all the regenerating works which, begun at Pentecost, continue under our eyes to end only at the threshold of eternity?

1. Wisd. ix, 17.

In sum, the Son and the Holy Spirit are always associated in the predictions of the prophets. The one being no less necessary than the other to the regeneration of the world, God willed that They be equally announced. These two great figures dominate all history, illumine all events, provoke all sighs, sustain all the hopes of the ancient world, as They must excite the eternal gratitude of the new. As, in studying all the circumstances of the birth, life and death of Our Lord Jesus Christ, His character, His doctrine, His miracles, it is impossible

not to recognize in Him the Messiah announced by the prophets; so, in considering the wonderful works and the intimate operations of the Spirit of the Cenacle, it is impossible not to adore in Him the third Person of the august Trinity, whose prophetic oracles had given the description. The constant parallelism of which we have just sketched the principal traits is to continue in the preparation of the Holy Spirit.

Translator's notes — Chapter IX

1. **Heading.** "Le Saint-Esprit prédit".

2. **References.** The Vulgate references are: Ps. ciii, 30; Is. xi, 1–9; Luke iv, 18–21; Ezech. xxxvi, 23–28; xxxvii, 1–14; Zach. iii, 8–10; Judith xvi, 16–19 (the "canticle of Judith"); Wisd. ix, 17.

3. **"Orient".** Zach. iii, 8 (Vulgate *Orientem*, Hebrew *tsemach*, "the Branch"). Gaume plays on the Latin/French *Orient* = East/Dayspring (cf. Luke i, 78). I bracket "Dayspring" at first use.

4. **Zacharias iii, 9 — "seven eyes".** The traditional patristic reading (Gregory the Great, *Moral.* XXIX, 16; Jerome, Remigius, Rupert) takes the seven eyes as the seven gifts; modern commentators take them as God's providence.

5. **Egyptian, Greek eye emblems.** Macrobius, *Sat.* I, 21 (the eye of Osiris); Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*; Pausanias (the three-eyed Zeus at Argos, *Corinth.* xxiv, 3); Pierius Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica* xxxiii. Gaume's references are as printed.

6. **Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* III, 28 [as printed].** The Latin note on the stone chiselled by the Spirit does not seem to be in Irenaeus in this wording; I give it as printed.

7. **"Tattooing."** *Tatouage* in Gaume's French, as the image of the Passion's wounds; I keep it.

8. **Prophet "Isaias … the tomb of the great Liberator".** Is. xi, 10 ("his sepulchre shall be glorious") is read in the traditional way as the Holy Sepulchre.

9. **Dating.** Gaume's "a thousand years before His coming" for David and "more than six hundred years" for Joel (previous chapter) are rounded as printed.

Chapter X. The Holy Spirit Prepared

All the events of the ancient world prepare the Holy Spirit. — Particular preparation. — Preludes by which the Holy Spirit announces Himself. — His action on the material world. — On the angelic world. — On the moral world. — The number seven. — He creates the patriarchs and the great men of the old law. — He creates the Jewish people, directs it and preserves it. — He inspires the prophets. — Why He, and not the Son or the Father.

God was not content with promising the Desired of the nations, nor with depicting Him in a great variety of eloquent figures, nor even with giving His exact description by that long series of prophecies which kept the gaze of the ancient world constantly turned toward the East. His admirable providence coordinated all social facts toward the establishment of the immortal reign of His Son. Such is the evidence of this evangelical preparation that true philosophy sums up the whole history before the Messiah in these two words: *All for the Child of Bethlehem.* Now what took place for the second Person of the adorable Trinity was accomplished with the same brilliance for the third: it could not be otherwise. Although different in its means, the work of the regeneration of the world is common to the two Persons sent: all that prepares the Son prepares the Holy Spirit.

If the Hebrew people had to be chosen among all peoples to keep the deposit of the true religion; if around it and against it the four great monarchies of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans had to arise; if these monarchies had to enclose in their vast bosom the East and the West and be absorbed in their

turn by the Roman empire; if this empire had to put, without knowing it, the last hand to the accomplishment of the messianic prophecies, while raising the City of Evil to the highest degree of power; if all these things were needed for the accomplishment of the divine counsels on the Incarnate Word: with the same assurance we must affirm that all were necessary, and in the same title, for the accomplishment of the providential designs with regard to the Holy Spirit. His mission supposes that of the Word, of which it is the crowning. The sanctifying Spirit was to come only after the Incarnation of the Word, after His preaching, His passion, His resurrection, His return into heaven: immense events for which God had been moving heaven and earth for four thousand years. The Spirit, says Saint John, had not yet been given, because Jesus was not yet glorified.(1) "The glory of Jesus," adds Saint Chrysostom, "was the cross. We were sinners, enemies of God and deprived of His grace. Grace is the pledge of reconciliation; now the gift is not made to enemies, but to friends. Thus it was necessary first that the Word should offer His sacrifice for us, and that, in immolating His flesh, He should destroy the enmity, to make us friends of God and capable of receiving the divine gift, the Holy Spirit."(1) It results clearly from this that the whole preparation of the Desired of the nations refers to the Sanctifier of the nations; that it is for Him, as for the Son, that all the events of the ancient world are accomplished.

1. John vii, 39.

2. *Oportebat prius pro nobis offerri sacrificium et inimicitiam in carne solvi, nosque Dei amicos effici, et tunc donum accipere.* [Rendered in the text.] *In Joan. hom.* xxxiv, n. 2, opp. t. VIII, p. 346.

Besides this general preparation there is one which is special to the Holy Spirit. It consists in the particular acts by means of which the third Person of the august Trinity preludes, from the origin of the world, the sovereign act of the day of Pentecost. The magnificent workman who is to regenerate the world, to illuminate it, to lead it and to sanctify it, announces, in long-renewed essays, the masterpiece which He is meditating. It is thus that He prepares intelligences and wills to love Him and adore Him with a love and an adoration like those with which He honours the Father and the Son. Nothing is more interesting than this preparation which the Holy Spirit makes of Himself. By reason of the wonderful operations which compose it, it is eminently fit to draw Him from the oblivion in which we leave Him. Thanks to it, we see Him, not inactive in the bosom of eternity, but acting perpetually on the world, and preluding, by particular works more or less brilliant, more general and more magnificent creations.

To understand this preparation we must recall that the great work of the Holy Spirit was the regeneration of the universe by the Church. We must recall further that in the order of grace, no more than in the order of nature, does God act abruptly and by leaps. All His works, on the contrary, are done gently and develop by insensible progress. "Now the Church," says Saint Thomas, "holds the middle place between the synagogue and heaven. Much more perfect than Mosaic society, Christian society is much less so than the eternal society of the elect. In the synagogue, veils without truth; under the Gospel, truth with veils; in heaven, truth without veils."(1) Thus the old world is the preparation of the new. By the old world we must understand its men, its laws, its events, its worship, its prophets. All stand to the new world as the sketch to the portrait, or as the child to the grown man. The divine painter who was to realize the portrait works for four thousand years to form the sketch: let us enter His studio and see Him at work.

1. *Status novae legis medius est inter statum veteris legis, cujus figurae implentur in nova lege, et inter statum gloriae in qua omnis nude et perfecte manifestabitur veritas.* [Rendered in the text.] I–II, q. 61 [sic; I–II, q. 106, art. 4, ad 1], art. 4, ad 1.

The frame of the portrait is the material world. Who fashions this magnificent frame? Who makes it resplendent with brilliant beauties? It is the Holy Spirit. In coming from the hands of the Father and the Son, the earth was only a formless mass, penetrated with water and covered with darkness. Under the wonderful action of the Holy Spirit the confounded elements disengage themselves, the darkness is dissipated, and from

the bosom of chaos come forth as by enchantment millions of creatures, each more graceful than the other.(2) To the eternal principle of their beauties they owe movement and life. “The Holy Spirit,” says a Father, “is the soul of all that lives. With so much liberality He gives of His plenitude that all rational and irrational creatures owe to Him, each in its kind, both their proper being and the power to do, in their particular sphere, what befits their nature. No doubt He is not the substantial soul of each and dwelling in it; but, magnificent distributor of His gifts, He pours them out and divides them according to the need of each creature. Like the sun, He warms all, and without any diminution of Himself, He lends, He distributes to each being what is necessary and what suffices.”(1) Saint Basil adds: “You will find in creatures no gift, of whatever nature, that does not come from the Holy Spirit.”(2)

2. *Superferebatur huic materiae… excellentia et eminentia dominantis super omnia voluntatis, ut omnia conderentur.* [He was borne over this matter… by the excellence and eminence of a will dominating over all things, that all things might be established.] S. Aug., *De divers. quaest.*, lib. II, n. 5.

3. *Hic Spiritus sanctus omnium viventium anima… omnia nutrit et absque ulla sui diminutione integritatem suam de inexhausta abundantia, quod satis est et sufficit, omnibus commodat et impartit.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Cyp., or any other, *Serm. in die Pentecost.* [pseudo-Cyprian].

4. *Neque enim est ullum omnino donum absque Spiritu sancto ad creaturam perveniens.* [Rendered in the text.] Lib. *de Spir. sanct.* xxiv, n. 55.

The most beautiful part of the material creation, the firmament, owes to Him its magnificences. When the eye contemplates the innumerable army of the heavens, the dazzling brilliance of its battalions, the order of their march, the incomprehensible speed and the precision of their movements: let the heart not forget to address the hymn of gratitude to the third Person of the adorable Trinity. All these beauties, all these grandeurs cry out to Him: *Ipse fecit nos* [He made us].(3)

3. *Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.* [By the word of the Lord the heavens were established; and all the power of them by the spirit of His mouth.] Ps. xxxii, 6. — *Spiritus ejus ornavit coelos.* [His spirit hath adorned the heavens.] Job xxvi, 13.

No less great is the gratitude of the angelic world. The ineffable splendours with which the heavenly hierarchies shine, living stars of the empyrean, they owe to the Holy Spirit. “If in thought,” says Saint Basil, “you take away the Holy Spirit, all is chaos in heaven. No more angelic choirs, no more hierarchies, no more law, no more order, no more harmony. How will the angels sing: Glory to God in the highest, if they do not receive the power of it from the Holy Spirit? Can any creature say: Lord Jesus, except by the Holy Spirit? And when it speaks by the Holy Spirit, none says anathema to Jesus. That the rebel angels pronounced this anathema, their fall proves that, to persevere in good, the heavenly intelligences had need of the Holy Spirit. In my opinion Gabriel could announce the future only by the foreknowledge of the Holy Spirit. The proof is that prophecy is one of the gifts of the divine Spirit. As for the Thrones and the Dominations, the Principalities and the Powers, how would they enjoy beatitude if they did not always see the face of the Father who is in heaven? Now the beatific vision is not without the Holy Spirit. If at night you take the lamps from a house, all eyes are struck with blindness: organs and faculties, all become inert. One no longer distinguishes either the beauty or the price of objects; through ignorance gold is trodden under foot like iron. In the same way, in the spiritual order, it is as impossible for the blessed life of the angelic world to subsist without the Holy Spirit as it is impossible for an army to remain in order without a general to maintain it, or for a choir to keep harmony without a leader to regulate the accords. And the Seraphim, how could they say *Holy, holy, holy*, if the Spirit did not teach them when to sing the hymn of glory? Whether, then, the angels praise God and His wonders, they do so by the help of the Holy Spirit; whether, standing before Him, thousands and millions of them carry out His orders, they fulfil their functions worthily only by the virtue of the Holy Spirit. In a word, neither the sublime and ineffable harmony of the angels in the worship of God,

nor the marvellous accord which reigns among these heavenly intelligences, would exist without the Holy Spirit."(1)

1. *Si subduxeris ratione Spiritum, perierint angelorum choreae, sublatae sint quoque archangelorum praefecturae, atque confusa fuerint omnia: vita ipsorum nulli legi, nulli ordini, nulli regulae subjaceat…* [If you withdraw the Spirit in thought, the angelic choirs perish, the archangelic governances are also taken away, and all things are confused: their life would be subject to no law, no order, no rule…] S. Basil., lib. *de Spir. sanct.*, c. xvi, opp. t. III, p. 44–45. — S. Greg. Nazianz., hom. in Pentecost.

Is this proving clearly enough the action of the Holy Spirit on the angels? Grace, perseverance in good, knowledge of the future, beatitude, harmony, beauty: the angelic world owes everything to the third Person of the august Trinity.

Let us penetrate farther. To teach all generations that He is the author of all the beauties of heaven and earth, the Spirit of the seven gifts writes Himself in His works: He does everything by the number seven. As witnesses of His action and preachers of His future coming, seven principal planets shine in the firmament. In the lower world, time is divided into seven days. From Adam to Noe, seven great patriarchs mark out the road of the centuries.(2) Seven times seven days, increased by the mysterious unity which welds time to eternity, form the space between the immolation of the Paschal Lamb and the promulgation of the law.(3) To weeks of days succeed weeks of years, ended by the jubilee year, year of remission, of liberation, of restoration and of rest: new figure of the eternal jubilee, marvellous creation of the Holy Spirit. Seven days of prayers consecrate the priests; seven days of purification restore the leper to civil life. Seven trumpets, sounded by seven priests, bring down the walls of Jericho. At Easter, for seven days one eats unleavened bread. In the seventh month is celebrated the feast of Tabernacles, which lasts seven days. Seven years are employed in the building of the temple of Solomon and seven days in its dedication. Seven branches and seven lights adorn the candlestick of the sanctuary. Seven multiplied by ten gives the number of the priests [elders] associated with the ministry of Moses, and of the years during which the people will be captive at Babylon.(1)

2. 2 Pet. ii, 5. [Gaume's count of "seven patriarchs from Adam to Noe" follows the passage on Noe, "the eighth preacher of justice".]

3. *Septenarius quippe numerus septies revolutus, quinquagesimum efficit, addito nonade, qui praesentis saeculi meta et futuri initium, perpetuitatem sub octavae nomine continens, sic praesentia terminat, ut nos ad perpetua introducat.* [For the number seven, revolved seven times, makes fifty (the forty-ninth with the ninth added), which is the goal of the present age and the beginning of the future, containing perpetuity under the name of the octave, so ends present things as to introduce us to perpetual ones.] S. Cyp., *Serm. de Spirit. sanct.* [the text is corrupt in the original; sense kept].

4. *Septuagesimo anno populus ex captivitate reducitur, ut quam vim in unitatibus habet hic numerus, eamdem quoque in decadibus habeat, ac perfecti numeri septenarii mysterium honoretur.* [In the seventieth year the people is led back from captivity, that this number may have in tens the same force it has in units, and the mystery of the perfect number seven be honoured.] S. Greg. Nazianz., *Orat. in Pentecost.*

These so frequent repetitions of the number seven in the Old Testament are not arbitrary. Works of infinite wisdom, they figured, as we shall show farther on, the septenary marvels which the divine Author of both was to realize in the New.(2) In engraving Himself, by the number seven, on the brow of all creatures and of all figurative events, the Holy Spirit engraved with Himself the other two Persons of the adorable Trinity, and thus prepared the human race to contemplate Them in the brilliance of Their manifestation. "The number seven," says Saint Cyprian, "is composed of four and of three. Venerable on account of its mysterious significations, it is infinitely more so by reason of the parts of which it is composed. By three and by four are expressed the primitive elements of all things, the workman and the work, the creator and the creature. Three

marks the creating Trinity, four the universality of beings comprised, in substance, in the four elements. In the person of the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, one sees in the first days of the world three resting upon four: the Trinity upon the four elements, confounded in the formless mass of chaos; then, in His goodness, the Creator embraces His creature; beautiful, He makes her beautiful; holy, He sanctifies her and unites her to Himself by the bonds of an indissoluble love."(1)

2. *Sacratus hic septenarius numerus a conditione mundi auctoritatem obtinuit.* [This sacred number seven has obtained authority from the foundation of the world.] S. Cyp., or any other, *Serm. de Spirit. sanct.*

3. *Ubi supra.*

He creates the patriarchs. After having created and embellished the heavens and the earth, abode of His immortal City; after having likewise created and endowed with incomparable beauties the princes charged with ruling it, the Holy Spirit creates, embellishes, raises, protects the citizens who are to inhabit it. Patriarchs, events, institutions, prophets, great Mosaic men are so many essays by which the King of the City of Good preludes more complete operations on the Catholic people. The sons of sinful Adam, themselves sinners, are the matter which He handles. As fire seizes gold and purifies it, He takes them, ennobles them, and, filling them with some of His gifts, fashions them into patriarchs.

What the giant is, by height of stature and muscular strength, in the midst of ordinary men, the patriarch is, by his virtues, in the midst of the men of the old world. Let it be found among the Egyptians, among the Assyrians, among the Persians, among the Greeks, among the Romans, men comparable to Henoch for fidelity to the true God; to Noe for justice; to Abraham for faith; to Joseph for chastity and forgiveness of injuries; to Moses for meekness and perseverance; to Josue for courage; to Job for patience; to David for royal qualities; to Solomon for knowledge and wisdom; to Judas Machabeus for warlike virtues: to all these just men, of serene gaze, of strong and modest virtues, of simplicity of manners, of goodness, of high reason, whose image paints itself in the imagination like those pictures with great perspectives which extend their proportions as the eye moves away from them. Who is the author of these living miracles, the most beautiful without contradiction that the ancient world contemplated? The Spirit of the seven gifts.(1)

1. *Hic sapientia Salomonem, intellectu Danielem, Joseph consilio, Samsonem fortitudine, Moysem scientia, David pietate, Job timore prosequitur, et sanctorum animas omnimodis foecundat virtutibus,* etc. [He follows Solomon with wisdom, Daniel with understanding, Joseph with counsel, Samson with fortitude, Moses with knowledge, David with piety, Job with fear, and makes fruitful the souls of the saints with every kind of virtue, etc.] Serm., ubi supra.

He creates the Jewish people, directs it and preserves it. From the patriarchs the Holy Spirit makes come forth a people exceptional like its fathers, and figure of all peoples. In vain ungrateful and suspicious Egypt wishes to keep it in chains. The almighty Spirit draws it from its mysterious servitude. Such is the brilliance of the miracles with which He strikes this hardened land that Pharaoh's magicians confess themselves vanquished and are constrained to recognize therein not the Father or the Son, but the Holy Spirit Himself.(1) The chains of slavery have fallen; Israel is on the march to return to its country, but the sea opposes to it its abysses. At the voice of the Holy Spirit the dread element is moved. Like two sheer mountains its suspended waters open a passage: six hundred thousand fighting men go down into these unknown depths and cross them dry-shod.(2) On the other side, at the entrance of the desert, the Holy Spirit awaits them. It is He who will be in the immense solitude their preceptor and their guide: magnificent prelude of the future direction of the Catholic people across the desert of life.(3) Another prelude no less eloquent. It is He who, on the summit of Sinai, will engrave the Mosaic law on tables of stone, as He will engrave the evangelical law in the hearts of Christians; thus constituting, in the social state, both the ancient people and the new.(4)

1. *Hic est Spiritus sanctus quem Magi in Aegypto tertii signi ostensione convicti, cum sua defecisse praestigia faterentur, Dei digitum appellarunt.* [This is the Holy Spirit whom the Magi in Egypt, convinced

by the showing of the third sign, when they confessed that their enchantments had failed, called the finger of God.] Ibid.

2. *Hic Spiritus Rubri maris aquas siccavit, et suspensis hinc inde vehementissimis fluctibus… populum ad spiritalem eremi libertatem eduxit incolumem.* [This Spirit dried the waters of the Red Sea, and, with the most violent waves suspended on either side… led the people unharmed to the spiritual freedom of the desert.] Serm. ubi supra.

3. *Non dimisisti eos in deserto… Spiritum tuum bonum dedisti qui doceret eos.* [Thou didst not leave them in the desert… Thou gavest them Thy good Spirit to teach them.] 2 Esd. ix, 19, 20.

4. Exod. xxxi, 18. — *Legimus digito Dei scriptam legem, et datam per Moysen sanctum servum ejus; quem digitum Dei multi intelligunt Spiritum sanctum.* [We read that the law was written by the finger of God, and given through Moses His holy servant; which finger of God many understand to be the Holy Spirit.] S. Aug., *Enarrat. in Ps.* viii, n. 7.

Traveller with Israel, Jehovah wills a sanctuary, where He will deliver His oracles and receive the adorations of the sons of Jacob. Who will be charged with making for the God of heaven a dwelling on earth? A workman of the Holy Spirit. “The Lord said to Moses: I have called Bezeleel, the son of Uri… and I have filled him with the Spirit of God, with wisdom and understanding and knowledge in all manner of work… it is he who shall make My tabernacle.”(1) In this masterpiece of all the arts together there is not a part which is not a figure, an essay of the Catholic Church, the immortal tabernacle which the Holy Spirit was to build for the august Trinity. Is a skilful and courageous leader needed to introduce the holy nation into the Promised Land? The Holy Spirit forms Josue, son of Nun.(2) Sovereign magistrates who with one hand dictate judgments full of equity, and with the other drive back with their victorious sword the kings of Syria, the Madianites, the sons of Ammon, the Philistines and the other enemies of Israel? The Holy Spirit raises up in turn Othoniel, Gedeon, Jephte, Samson, Samuel, and that long series of sages and warriors with whom other peoples have nothing to compare.(3)

1. Exod. xxxi, 1 ff. .

2. Num. xxvii, 18.

3. Judges iii, 10; vi, 34; xi, 29–32; xiii, 25, etc.

Has the figurative people, at different epochs of its existence, need of a prodigy of strength, wisdom, knowledge, piety? The Spirit of the seven gifts makes him appear at once: under His hand no element is rebellious. “He takes a herdsman,” says a Father, “and makes of him a harper who charms evil spirits. He sees a goatherd pricking sycamores, and makes of him a prophet. Remember David and Amos. He discerns a handsome young man and constitutes him judge of the elders: witness Daniel. Enemy of the avaricious and of forgers, He strikes Giezi with an incurable leprosy. He imposes silence on Balaam, paid to curse, has him rebuked by his she-ass, breaks his leg and sends him back to his country covered with confusion, empty-handed and lame. It is He who maintains the beautiful order that is admired in the holy nation, who creates kings and princes, who consecrates pontiffs, and who chooses priests.”(4)

4. *Hic Spiritus utpote sapientissimus… si pastorem nactus fuerit, citharoedum facit perversos Spiritus excantantem… Si caprarium mora vellicantem, prophetam efficit. Davidem et Amos cogita. Si adolescentem elegantem acceperit, presbyterorum judicem constituit… Testis est Daniel.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Greg. Naz., *Orat. in Pentecost. — Hic sacrorum ordinum distributor, reges creat, et principes, sacrat pontifices, eligit sacerdotes.* [This is the distributor of sacred orders; He creates kings and princes, consecrates pontiffs, chooses priests.] S. Cyp., ubi supra.

As He is the soul of the Church, the Holy Spirit was the soul of the Synagogue. In the centuries of preparation we see Him unceasingly preluding, by a great variety of figures, the realities which He was to

work in the centuries of accomplishment: *Haec omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus* [All these things one and the same Spirit worketh]. But nowhere does the action of the Holy Spirit on the ancient world manifest itself with more brilliance and perseverance than in the inspiration of the prophets. These divine men, who for twenty centuries succeed one another without interruption, are charged at once with reproving Israel for its transgressions and with announcing to the human race the future marvels of infinite mercy. Who gives them the strength to speak boldly to kings and peoples? Who puts upon their lips the reprimands, the threats, the promises? Who opens to their eyes the horizons of the future and shows them in the distance of the ages the immense events, in turn consoling and terrible, of which the Mosaic facts are only the rudimentary preludes? By the mouth of David all the prophets answer: "The Spirit of the Lord hath spoken by me, and His word by my tongue."(1) In the name of all the apostles Saint Peter declares that prophecy never came by the will of man. "But," he says, "the holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Spirit."(2) By the organ of Saint Chrysostom and Saint Jerome all the Greek and Latin Fathers add: "It is a fact admitted by all that the Holy Spirit was given to the prophets… Let no one imagine that one Holy Spirit was given to the saints before the coming of the Messiah, and another to the apostles and the other disciples of the Lord."(3) Finally, in her profession of faith the Church sings, from one end of the world to the other, the Holy Spirit who spoke by the prophets: *qui locutus est per prophetas.*

1. *Spiritus Domini locutus est per me, et sermo ejus per linguam meam.* 2 Kings xxiii, 2.

2. *Non enim voluntate humana allata est aliquando prophetia; sed Spiritu sancto inspirati locuti sunt sancti Dei homines.* 2 Pet. i, 21.

3. *Prophetis autem in confesso est apud omnes, Spiritum sanctum fuisse datum.* S. Chrys., hom. li [sic], *in Joan.* n. 2. — *Nemo autem suspicetur alium Spiritum sanctum fuisse in sanctis viris ante adventum Domini; et alium in Apostolis caeterisque discipulis.* [Let no one suspect that there was one Holy Spirit in holy men before the Lord's coming, and another in the Apostles and other disciples.] In *Jerome's* translation of Didymus, *De Spir. sanct.*, p. 190.

Why is the inspiration of the prophets attributed to the Holy Spirit, and not to the Father, the principle of lights, *Pater luminum*; or to the Son, eternal wisdom, *sapientia Dei*? This is the place to resolve a question which presents itself naturally to the mind. Let us recall first, with Saint Leo, that the majesty of the Holy Spirit is never separated from the omnipotence of the Father and the Son; and that all that divine wisdom does in the government of the universe is the work of the whole Trinity. "If the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit," adds the great doctor, "does something that is proper to Him, it must be attributed to the necessity of our salvation. The holy Trinity has divided among Themselves the work of our redemption. The Father had to be appeased, the Son to appease, and the Holy Spirit to sanctify. Moreover, in giving us certain facts or certain words under the name of the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, Scripture wishes to preserve the faith of Christians from error. For, the Trinity being inseparable, we should never understand that it is a Trinity if it were always named without distinction of persons."(1)

1. …*Quidquid in dispositione rerum omnium agit divina moderatio, ex totius venit providentia Trinitatis… Divisit sibi opus nostrae reparationis misericordia Trinitatis, ut Pater propitiaretur, Filius propitiaret, Spiritus sanctus igniret.* [Rendered in the text.] *Serm.* iii *de Pentecost. — Ob hoc enim quaedam sive sub Patris, sive sub Filii, sive sub Spiritus sancti appellatione promuntur, ut confessio credentium in Trinitate non erret. Quae cum sit inseparabilis, nunquam intelligeretur esse Trinitas, si semper inseparabiliter diceretur.* [Rendered in the text.] Id., *Serm.* ii, in ibid.

That being laid down, here is the fundamental reason why the prophetic inspiration is attributed to the Holy Spirit. What is the aim of all the prophecies of the Old Testament? To announce the New. What is the New Testament? It is the Incarnation of the Word and the formation of the Church. What are the Incarnation of the Word and the formation of the Church? The work *par excellence* of divine love. The Holy Spirit is divine

love in person. It is therefore with good title that the Incarnation of the Word and the formation of the Church are attributed to Him.(2) The prophecies are the announcement and the preparation of the one and of the other. What more rational than to attribute them to the Holy Spirit? Would it even be possible to conceive that, being charged with the end, He should not be charged with the means? Thus the words and actions inspired in the prophets are the work of the Holy Spirit; and, as we have remarked, they form in the ancient world the double prelude of the analogous but far greater marvels which He was to accomplish in the fullness of time.

2. *Conceptus de Spiritu sancto. Credo in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam.* [Conceived of the Holy Spirit. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Church.] S. Th., III p., q. 31, art. 1, c. and ad 1.

Let us hear the interpreters and doctors: “For long centuries,” they say, “the Holy Spirit essays the formation of the Incarnate Word; each prophet, each prophetic action, is a lineament, a sketch of it. Who other than He, in Isaac, bears the wood of his sacrifice? Who other than He, in the ram caught in the thorns, is offered as a holocaust? Who other than He, in the angel who wrestles with Jacob, and whose faithful posterity He blesses? It is He who is Josue introducing the people into the Promised Land; Samson killing the lion, and who goes to seek a foreign bride, figure of the Church of the Gentiles. Who is Jahel, woman full of confidence, who kills Sisara, general of the armies of Jabin, by driving the nail of her tent into his temple? It is the Church, which, armed with the cross, crushes the demon and ruins his empire. What is the fleece covered with dew upon the dry earth, then the dry fleece upon the wet earth? The Messiah, hidden first in the mystery of the Jewish law, while the rest of the world remains like an earth without water; then the world possessing the divine dew of which the Jew has made himself unworthy. What is Elias, multiplying the flour and the oil of the poor widow, or Eliseus raising a dead man? The future Christ. Thus the Old Testament is the sowing, the New the harvest; and the one as the other is the work of the Holy Spirit.”(1)

1. Corn. a Lap., *Praem. in Proph.* — S. Aug., lib. XII, *contra Faust.*, c. xxvi, xxxi, xxxii, xxxv. — *Sators fuerunt Prophetae, messores Apostoli.* [The prophets were the sowers, the apostles the reapers.] S. Chrys., hom. xxxiv, *in Joan.*, 4.

To this sketch, if one adds a thousand traits easy to gather, we shall have the picture of the action of the Holy Spirit on the angelic world, on the physical world and on the moral world, throughout the whole duration of the old covenant. Far from being inactive in the bosom of eternity, the Holy Spirit will appear to us as the ever-acting principle in creation, and as the indefatigable preparer of the Alpha and the Omega of the divine works: Jesus Christ and the Church. It is time to occupy ourselves with these two marvels constitutive of the City of Good.

Translator’s notes — Chapter X

1. **Heading.** “Le Saint-Esprit préparé.” This is the last chapter of the section on the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament; Ch. XI opens with Jesus Christ and the Church.

2. **Pseudo-Cyprian.** The long “Serm. de Spirit. sanct.” cited as “S. Cyp., sive quivis alius” is pseudo-Cyprian (*De Spiritu Sancto*, a Pentecost sermon). Gaume’s own hedge “or any other” is kept in the notes.

3. **Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* 41 (on Pentecost)**, for the “wise Spirit” passage (the harper David, the goatherd Amos, young Daniel). I translate the French text with the Latin as printed.

4. **Aquinas.** “I–II, q. 61, art. 4” printed; the “status novae legis medius” passage belongs to I–II, q. 106, art. 4, ad 1. Flagged in brackets. Aquinas III, q. 31, art. 1 (the Holy Spirit as agent of the Incarnation).

5. **Chrysostom.** *In Joan. hom.* xxxiv (on John vii, 39). The same *hom.* xxxiv is cited again at the end of the chapter for the sower/reaper line.

6. **Biblical references corrected.** Job xxvi, 13; Exod. xxxi, 1 ff.; 2 Esd. [Nehemias] ix, 19–20. “Egypt: third sign” — Exod. viii, 19, “the finger of God”.

7. **The number seven.** Gaume’s list (seven planets; seven patriarchs from Adam to Noe; seven times seven days from Passover to Sinai; seventy elders; seventy years’ captivity) follows pseudo-Cyprian and Gregory of Nazianzus; the counting is rhetorical and I do not check it.

8. **“Enfant de Bethléem”.** The phrase “*Tout pour l’enfant de Bethléem*” is kept in italics.

9. **Latin quotation in the first Cyprian note** is corrupt in the original (“nonade”); I keep the printed Latin and give the sense only.

Chapter XI. The Holy Spirit in the New Testament: First Creation

Action of the Holy Spirit continued in the New Testament. — Passages of Saint Basil and Saint Leo. — Four great creations of the Holy Spirit: the Blessed Virgin, the Incarnate Word, the Church, the Christian. — Mary summing up in herself all the glories of the women of the Old Testament and all the perfections of the saints. — Mary, ocean of graces: doctrine of Saint Thomas. — Bodily beauty of the Blessed Virgin. — Mary formed by the Holy Spirit, and why. — History of this formation. — Concurrence of the three Persons of the holy Trinity. — Fine commentary of Father d’Argentan.

Linking the incessant and universal action of the Holy Spirit in the ancient world to His equally incessant and universal action in the new world, two great doctors, one of the East, the other of the West, express themselves with a precision which carries light and joy into the soul eager for truth. “It is to the Holy Spirit,” says Saint Basil, “that all the creatures of heaven and earth owe their perfection. As for man, all the benevolent dispositions of the Father and of the Word our Saviour, who can deny that they were realized by the Holy Spirit? Whether you consider the ancient times, the blessings of the patriarchs, the promulgation of the law, the figures, the prophecies, the feats of arms, the miracles of the ancient just men, or whether you look at all that concerns the advent of the Lord in the flesh: all was done by the Holy Spirit.”(1) Saint Leo is no less explicit. “It is not to be doubted,” writes the immortal Pontiff, “that if on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit filled the apostles, it was not the beginning of His benefits, but an increase of liberality. The patriarchs, the prophets, the priests, all the saints who lived in ancient times owed to the same Holy Spirit the sanctifying sap which made their strength and their glory. Without His grace never were sacred signs established, never mysteries celebrated; so that the source of benefits was always the same, though different in the measure of its gifts.”(2)

1. …*Sive velis prisca spectare, patriarcharum benedictiones, auxilium per legem datum, figuras, prophetias, fortiter in bellis gesta, miracula per sanctos edita: sive quae circa Domini in carne adventum dispensata sunt: per Spiritum gesta sunt.* [Rendered in the text.] Lib. *de Spir. sanct.*, xvi, n. 39.

2. *Serm.* ii *de Pentecost.*

Now the partial effusions of the Holy Spirit upon the illustrious men and women of the old law, upon the synagogue, upon the simple Jew himself, were to end in the course of time in a complete effusion, manifested by four great creations: the Blessed Virgin, Our Lord, the Church and the Christian.

First creation of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament: the Blessed Virgin. God has spoken to man, and spoken to instruct him. His word is not, then, it cannot be, a sealed book. Hence the indispensable necessity of an authentic interpretation. This interpretation is found nowhere, or it is in the universal tradition of the synagogue and of the Church. This tradition tells us that all the illustrious women of the Old Testament are sketches, outlines, figures of the woman *par excellence*, Mary. The gifts which they possessed only in part and transitorily, Mary possesses in their plenitude and permanently. As the different watercourses that water the earth come to lose themselves in the ocean: all the partial effusions of the Holy Spirit upon the women of

the Bible make an assignation in the woman of the Gospel, to create the incomparable marvel of her sex, the Virgin Mother, Mary. As one sees the rose peep out in the bud, we see Mary peep out in Eve, the mother of the living, the irreconcilable enemy of the serpent whose head she will crush. She shines in Rebecca, a young virgin, modest, artless, beautiful and chaste, sought out among all by the venerable Abraham for the son of his tenderness, Isaac. All ages admire her in the courageous Judith, who, at the peril of her life, kills the cruel Holofernes and saves her country. Esther presents a reflection of her incomparable beauty, of her power over the heart of the great King, of her compassion for the unfortunate. Solomon sings her, with all her attractions, all her virtues, all her benefits, in the immaculate spouse of the Canticle of Canticles.

All these scattered gifts are united in Mary; but this is not enough. Placed by the Holy Spirit between the ancient world and the new, she is like an ocean in which all the marvels of the two Testaments come to be confounded. “All the rivers,” says the Seraphic Doctor, “enter the sea, and the sea does not overflow: so all the qualities of the saints make their assignation in Mary. The river of the grace of the angels enters Mary. The river of the grace of the patriarchs and prophets enters Mary. The river of the grace of the apostles enters Mary. The river of the grace of the martyrs enters Mary. The river of the grace of the confessors enters Mary: all the rivers enter this sea, and this sea does not overflow. What wonder that all grace flows into Mary, since all grace flows from Mary?”(1)

1. *Omnia flumina intrant in mare, dum omnia charismata sanctorum intrant in Mariam. Flumen gratiae angelorum intrat in Mariam… Omnia flumina intrant in mare, et mare non redundat. Quid mirum, si omnis gratia in Mariam confluxit, per quam tanta gratia ad omnes defluxit?* [Rendered in the text.] In *Specul. B. M. V.*, post *Med.* [Saint Bonaventure.]

What is this ocean? This ocean without limits and without bottom is composed of all the riches of nature and of grace, of all the theological and cardinal virtues, of all the gifts of the Holy Spirit and of all the *gratiae gratis datae* [graces freely given], in a supereminent degree. “The Incarnate Word,” says Saint Thomas, “possessed in its perfection the plenitude of grace; but it was begun in Mary.”(2) As to the graces freely given — that is, those which are given for the utility of others, to work at their salvation, whether by effecting their conversion or by securing their perseverance — would we know, in this respect, the riches of Mary? Let us hear Saint Paul specifying the nine kinds of graces freely given, distributed to the different members of the Church. “To one,” he says, “is given the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge; to another, faith; to another, the grace of healing; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, diverse kinds of tongues; to another, interpretation of speeches.”(1)

2. *Sicut gratiae plenitudo perfecte quidem fuit in Christo, et tamen aliqua ejus inchoatio praecessit in matre.* [As the plenitude of grace was indeed perfectly in Christ, yet some beginning of it preceded in the Mother.] III p., q. 27, art. 5, ad 1.

3. 1 Cor. xii, 8 ff. [Gaume’s French summarizes verses 8–10.]

To possess a single one of these signal graces suffices to be eminent in the Church. Now Saint Thomas, followed by Catholic theology, teaches that Mary had them all, in habit or in act. “It is not to be doubted,” he says, “that the Blessed Virgin received in an excellent manner the gift of wisdom and of miracles, as well as the spirit of prophecy. However she did not receive the use of all the graces freely given: it is the exclusive privilege of the Incarnate Word. She exercised those that were suitable to her condition. Thus she received the gift of wisdom, to rise to sublime contemplations; but she had not the use of it for preaching the Gospel publicly, because that was not suitable to her sex. She truly possessed the gift of miracles; but she had not the use of it, above all while her Son Himself was preaching the Gospel. It was fitting, in fact, that to confirm His doctrine He alone should work miracles, in person or by His accredited organs, the disciples and the apostles. Hence what is written of John the Baptist himself, that he did no miracle. It had to be so, that the attention of

the people should not be divided among several, but that all eyes should be turned toward the divine Word. As to the gift of prophecy, Mary made use of it in her immortal canticle."(2)

2. III p., q. 27, art. 5, ad 3.

As the rays of the sun, in passing through it, colour a diaphanous cloud, so the interior beauties of the King's daughter radiated upon her virginal body and gave it an incomparable grace. Mary was more beautiful than Rachel, more beautiful than Rebecca, more beautiful than Judith, more beautiful than Esther, more beautiful than all the beauties of the ancient world. As Our Lord was the most beautiful of the sons of men, Mary was the most beautiful of the daughters of men. Perfect type of moral beauty, she was the equally perfect type of physical beauty.(1)

1. *Mariam non potuisse non eximia forma et incomparabili pulchritudine praeditam esse, quae multo rectius in ipsa, quam in Esther conjuge et Judith vidua, vel in Rachel et Rebecca virginibus Mariae typum exprimentibus, praedicetur. Habuit summum et perfectissimum in pulchritudine, quod potuit esse in mortali corpore, secundum statum viae operante natura. Sicut enim Dominus noster Jesus Christus fuit speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, ita beatissima Virgo pulcherrima et speciosissima inter filias hominum.* [Rendered in the text, in substance.] B. Albert. Magn., apud Canisium, *De Maria Deip.*, lib. I, c. xiii, p. 92, folio ed.

By whom was this ocean of perfections formed? By the Holy Spirit. Mary is what we have just said, and a thousand times more, because, of all creatures of heaven and earth, of past times and future ages, she is the only one upon whom the third Person of the august Trinity came with the plenitude of His gifts. If you ask for what purpose the Holy Spirit thus rested in Mary, angels and men answer: Because Mary was to be His spouse, the mother of the Incarnate Word, the base of the City of Good, the woman *par excellence*, mother of a perpetual line of heroic women.

Let us meditate the creative *Fiat* of Mary. "The angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women."(1) Let us note it well: the angel does not say, *You will be full of grace*, but *You are full of grace*, and blessed above all women. Mary's ineffable perfections do not date from the visit of the heavenly ambassador. It is not to him that she owes them; she possesses them without him and before him. After having exercised Himself, as in play, on a thousand preludes, the divine Architect had, in creating Mary, built His living sanctuary. From the first instant of her existence He had adorned His future spouse with the plenitude of grace. Object of His infinite complacency, she was His dove, unique, all fair, without stain or shadow of stain, white as the lily, graceful as the rose, brilliant as the sapphire, transparent as the diamond. Such was Mary at the moment of the angel's visit; such she had always been. Never, neither at her conception, nor at her birth, nor during her life, had the impure breath of the prince of the City of Evil grazed her who was to crush his head. We have no longer to prove the full and perpetual possession of grace by Mary, since the Church, summing up the universal belief of the centuries, has formulated as a dogma of faith the Immaculate Conception of the spouse of the Holy Spirit. It remains for us only to say with the angel, in transports of gratitude and faith: Hail, full of grace: *Ave gratia plena.*

1. Luke i, 26–28.

Let us resume the history of this creation, far more marvellous than that of heaven and earth. Gabriel adds: "Fear not, Mary… Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a son… The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. And therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."(1) The language of angels would be powerless to explain these profound mysteries: what can the language of man do? The first thing that strikes in the angelic message is the word: *Fear not, Mary.* What is its meaning and reason? "You have just heard," answers a

Father of the Church, “that by an incomprehensible mystery God and man shall be put in one body, and that the fragile nature of our flesh must bear all the glory of the Divinity. Lest in Mary the grain of sand of our body should be crushed under the immense weight of the heavenly edifice, and Mary, delicate stem, destined to bear the fruit of the whole human race, should be broken, the angel begins by banishing all fear, saying: Fear not, Mary.”(2)

1. Luke i, 30–35.

2. S. Pet. Chrys., Serm. cxliii, *De Annuntiat.*

Why should the young virgin of Juda be without fear? The angel hastens to say, by announcing to her the concurrence of the three Persons of the Trinity. The Father appears as support, the Holy Spirit as spouse, the Word as son. Why this concurrence so expressly indicated? The interpreters answer: “Until Mary, the illustrious daughters of Juda had received the Holy Spirit partially, for a particular mission; the Virgin-Spouse is to receive from the Holy Spirit the whole substance of the eternal Word, the Word Himself in person, the Creator of worlds. Gabriel knows the crushing weight of the miracle. Therefore he is not content to say: The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee; he hastens to add: *And the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee.* It will do so in an ineffable manner, that you may be able to sustain the weight of your conception. For what was this young virgin, twice fragile by her sex and by her mortal condition, to conceive? The Almighty, Word of God, the solid substance of the Eternal, flowed from the pure substance of God the Father, and the sight of whom alone makes the angels tremble. It is therefore well said: You will be sustained by the power of the Most High, power mighty in miracles, alone capable of joining the substance of a woman to the Word God.”(1)

1. *…Ut fortitudinem sustinere posset conceptus sui, virtus Altissimi obumbravit ei… Quid enim puella fragilis, non modo sexu, sed et conditione mortalitatis suscepit aut concepit, nisi validum Verbum Deum, validam substantiam Verbi, de optima substantia Patris Dei, quem tremunt Angeli?… Opportune igitur obumbravit illi virtus Altissimi, virtus miraculorum potens, foemineam substantiam Deo Verbo conciliare valens.* [Rendered in the text.] Rupert., *De Trinit. et oper. ejus*, lib. XLII, *De Spir. sanct.*, lib. I, c. ix.

A learned panegyrist of the Blessed Virgin, Father d’Argentan, gives a new reason for this eager concurrence. Recalling the saying of Saint Hesychius of Jerusalem, who says that in Mary was the complement of the whole Trinity,(2) he writes the following commentary:

2. *(Arca) ipsum Noe, haec vero ipsius Noe factorem portavit: illa duas et tres contignationes et mansiones habebat, haec autem universum Trinitatis complementum, quandoquidem et Spiritus sanctus adveniebat atque hospitabatur, et Pater obumbrabat, et Filius utero gestatus inhabitabat.* [The ark carried Noe himself, but she carried the Maker of Noe; the former had two and three stories and dwellings, but she the entire complement of the Trinity, since the Holy Spirit came and lodged, and the Father overshadowed, and the Son borne in the womb inhabited.] Serm. *de S. Maria Deip.*

“It is true, in a way, that Mary gives to the three Persons of the adorable Trinity a certain complement of perfection, which they would never have had without her, and which goes at least to the external glory of God. Let us begin with the Father. It cannot be doubted that He possesses the infinite perfection of divine paternity, since He communicates all His being to His only Son. But this Son, being equal to Him in everything, cannot render Him any of the duties of filial piety — service, obedience, respect. Does it not seem, according to our feeble ideas, that it would be a complement of honour for the Father if this same Son, remaining always in possession of infinite majesty, obeyed Him and rendered Him profound homage? To see Himself adored by a God as great as Himself, what glory! Who procures it for the Father? Mary. The Father, who sees before all ages His Son born from His bosom, His equal, sees Him in time born from the bosom of Mary, His inferior, so devoted and so submissive that He will give Him His own life on a cross. Can it be denied that, with regard to the Father, the august Virgin is the complement of the Trinity: *universum*

Trinitatis complementum?

"As to the Son, the same reasoning. Eternally He possesses all perfections, since He is God of God, light of light, true God of true God. But this eternal Word of God remains hidden in the bosom of Him who produced Him. Now this living word of God is, like that of man, susceptible of two births: one interior, the other exterior. The first takes place when our mind conceives a thought which it keeps in itself. This is what Saint Athanasius calls the word of the understanding, *verbum mentis*. The second takes place when, by means of a sensible word, we produce our thought outwardly. This exterior word, second birth of the interior, gives it its complement. So of the eternal Word. Born in the bosom of the Father, it was in Him before all ages. No one knew it, but it was capable of a second birth which should expose it outwardly and make it sensible. According to our way of understanding, this second birth gave it its last complement. Now Mary was the mouth by which the Father produced His Word outwardly. It is she who gave Him a body, and made Him visible and sensible. She can therefore be named, with regard to the Son as well as with regard to the Father, the complement of the Trinity: *universum Trinitatis complementum.*

"The thing is still more palpable with regard to the Holy Spirit. God, He possesses all the perfections, all the goodness, all the fecundity that is in the Father and in the Son. The fecundity of the Father appears in the eternal generation of His only Son; the fecundity of the Father and the Son shines forth in the production of the Holy Spirit. This third Person alone, as rich in fecundity as the other two, remains sterile, it being impossible for Him to produce a fourth Person of the Trinity. Mary will cause this apparent inferiority to disappear. Thanks to her, the Holy Spirit will become fruitful: He will produce a God-Man or a Man-God, masterpiece of power and love. Does it not seem that in this the august Virgin gives Him an increase of glory, and that a third time she deserves to be called the complement of the whole Trinity: *universum Trinitatis complementum*?"(1)

1. *Grandeurs de la sainte Vierge*, c. i, § 3.

We shall see presently what the eager concurrence of the three divine Persons will produce in Mary herself.

Translator's notes — Chapter XI

1. **Heading.** "Le Saint-Esprit dans le Nouveau Testament, première création." The "four creations" (the Blessed Virgin, Our Lord, the Church, the Christian) structure Ch. XI–XV or so; this chapter treats the first.

2. **Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, xvi, 39**; **Leo, *Serm.* 2 on Pentecost** (Leo's Pentecost sermons).

3. **"Docteur séraphique".** Saint Bonaventure (the *Speculum B. M. V.*, now attributed in part to others). Reference as printed.

4. **Aquinas III, q. 27, art. 5**, on Mary's graces *gratis datae*; ad 1 and ad 3. The citation of Paul's nine graces is 1 Cor. xii, 8–10.

5. **Albert the Great, via Canisius** (*De Maria Deipara Virgine*, I, xiii), on Mary's bodily beauty — as printed. Peter Chrysologus *Serm.* cxlii/cxliii (*De Annuntiatione*): Serm. cxliii.

6. **Rupert of Deutz**, *De Trinitate et operibus eius* — as printed (see Ch. II note).

7. **Hesychius of Jerusalem.** The "ark of Noe" passage is cited as "Serm. *de S. Maria Deip.*" (5th-century priest; the sermon is now often attributed elsewhere). Reference as printed.

8. **Father d'Argentan.** Louis-François d'Argentan (Capuchin, 1615–1680), *Conférences théologiques et spirituelles sur les grandeurs de la très-sainte Vierge* — the *universum Trinitatis complementum* argument is his. It is a devotional hyperbole: the "sterile" Third Person and "complement of the Trinity" are Gaume's/d'Argentan's rhetoric, not a doctrinal statement; I translate as written.

9. **Dogma.** "Immaculate Conception" was defined by Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus*, 8 Dec. 1854.

10. **Wording.** “Fiat” = *Luke* i, 38; “Spouse of the Holy Spirit” is Gaume’s recurring title for Mary.

Chapter XII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Mary created to be the spouse of the Holy Spirit. — Request for her hand. — Consent of the Blessed Virgin. — Mary created to be the mother of the Word. — Mystery of the Incarnation. — Explanation of the angel’s words. — Mary created to be the base of the City of Good. Why Our Lord does not take her to heaven with Him. — Mary nurse of the Church, — teacher of the apostles, — strength of the martyrs, — consolation of the faithful. — After her death Mary continues her mission. — Two heads of Satan: idolatry and heresy. — Mary crushes them. — War of Satan against Mary.

Mary is created, created by the Holy Spirit,(1) created unique masterpiece of infinite Power. “Toward you,” Saint Bernard cries to her, “as toward the ark of God, as toward the cause and centre of events, as toward the business of all ages, *negotium omnium saeculorum*, turn their gaze both the inhabitants of heaven and the inhabitants of earth, both those who have preceded us, and we who pass, and those who will follow us, and their children’s children. All creation fixes its eyes on you, and with reason. From you, in you, by you, the beneficent hand of the Almighty has regenerated all that it had created.”(2) The Creator Himself contemplates His work with infinite complacency.

1. B. Albert. Magn., apud Dionys. Carth., *De laudib. Virg.*, lib. I, c. xiii.

2. *Merito in te respiciunt oculi omnis creaturae, quia in te, et per te, et de te benigna manus Omnipotentis quidquid creaverat, recreavit.* [Rendered in the text.] *Serm.* ii *de Pentecost.* [sic; Bernard’s *Sermo de Aquaeductu* / *Serm.* ii on the Assumption; as printed.]

Mary is created to be the spouse of the Holy Spirit and the mother of the Word. Marriage supposes the free consent of the parties; let us see in what manner that of the august virgin is solicited. The three Persons of the holy Trinity send an ambassador, charged to ask her in marriage. Astonished at so much honour, Mary is troubled; but she makes her conditions and treats with God Himself as an equal with an equal. I will consent, she says, on condition of keeping intact the lily of my virginity. Thus a girl of twelve holds in her hands the salvation of the world. On her will depends the accomplishment of the work to which, from eternity, all the divine counsels relate. The august Trinity appears as a suppliant before Mary. Ineffable step! containing a whole moral revolution. Woman, until then the most abject being, becomes all at once the most respected. Will the human race have a Saviour? The answer of a woman will decide it. Mary reflects. In accepting the double title of spouse of the Holy Spirit and mother of the Word, she knows that she accepts that of queen of martyrs. Before her eyes unrolls a long series of bloody and mournful images: the crib, the cross, Calvary will be for her, for they will be for her Son.

“Consent, consent,” Saint Augustine cries to her, “do not delay the salvation of the world. The angel has given you his word: you will remain a virgin, and you will be a mother; you will have a son, and your virginity will suffer no harm. Happy Mary! the whole captive human race entreats you to consent. The world establishes you with God as the hostage of its faith. Do not delay; answer one word to the ambassador; consent to become a mother, pledge your faith, and you will know the power of the Almighty.”(1) Mary has gently bowed her virginal head. She has said: *Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word.* She is spouse, she is mother; and her nuptial crown is a crown of thorns, and her maternal joys are the beginning of a long martyrdom. Meanwhile the world is saved, saved by a woman; and the anathema, forty centuries old, which weighed upon woman is lifted for ever, for woman henceforth appears at the head of all good.

1. *Jam audisti quomodo fiet hoc; responde nunc verbum. Vitam quid tricas mundo? Noli morari, Virgo; nuncio festinanter responde verbum, et suscipe filium; da fidem, et senti virtutem.* [Rendered in the text; the Latin is partly garbled.] *Serm.* xviii *de Sanct.* — S. Bern., *Serm.* iii *sup. Missus.*

However, the Holy Spirit has come upon Mary, and the holy being who will be born of her will be called the Son of God. Why the Son of God, and not the Son of the Holy Spirit? By the mouth of the doctors the Catholic faith answers: He will not be called and will not be the Son of the Holy Spirit, because He will not be formed of the substance of the Holy Spirit. His flesh will be the flesh of Mary, and Mary will be His mother; but His flesh not being formed of the substance of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit will not be His father. Let us note the marvellous precision of the divine language. The angel does not say: He will be called, or: He will be holy; but he says: *The holy being who shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* For He whom Mary conceives was from long ago; He was holy by essence and Son of God. It remained, then, to call Him what He was, and in calling Him so to manifest that He was Son of God, not by adoption, but by nature. "The angel does not say: The holy one who shall be born of thee, but: The holy thing, the holy being who shall be born of thee. Why? Because many are called saints or sanctified, but there is only one holy thing, one holy being, holiness itself, from which that of all the saints flows. This holy being is the holy of holies, the Son of Mary. A stranger to the prevarication of Adam, conceived by the operation of the Holy Spirit, born of a spotless virgin, He needed, neither at His conception nor at His birth, any accidental sanctification, but is holy by essence and holiness itself."(1)

1. …*Conceptus iste, Spiritus sancti non generatio, sed operatio est. Caro de carne Virginis, non de ipsa erit substantia sancti Spiritus… Hoc sanctum est iste sanctus sanctorum, quem non in delicto praevaricationis Adae conceptum vel natum sanctitas accidens sanctificavit, sed essentialiter sanctum, virgo incorrupta de Spiritu sancto concepit. Sic igitur melius atque praestantius dictum est, ut dici debuit: Quod enim nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei.* [Rendered in the text.] Rupert., *De Spir. sanct.*, lib. I, c. x.

Behold, then, the young virgin of Juda become the spouse of the Holy Spirit, the mother of the Word, the kinswoman of the whole Trinity, *consanguinea Trinitatis.* So much glory is not for her alone. As Eve and Adam were the bases of the City of Evil, Mary and her Son will be the bases of the City of Good, raised on earth to its greatest perfection. Known throughout the world by the incommunicable name of the Catholic Church, this glorious city recognizes Mary as its mother and mistress. To the Chinese, the Tibetans, the savages of today, as to the Greeks and barbarians of old, who ask her her origin, she answers: I am the daughter of the eternal Word conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary: *conceptus de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine.*

Mother and mistress of the Church: this prerogative of Mary explains a mystery otherwise inexplicable. When one knows the reciprocal affection of Jesus and Mary, one asks with astonishment why the Saviour, ascending into heaven, does not take with Him His beloved mother. More than anyone had she not shared His labours, His humiliations and His sufferings? Who then deserved better to be associated in His glories and His joys? While He Himself, the best of sons, goes to enjoy a happiness without alloy and without end, why does He leave the tenderest of mothers in the sadnesses of exile? The Just of the Old Testament, who form His train, are they in a better condition than Mary? Their desires of heaven keener than hers? The good thief himself goes up to heaven, and Mary remains on earth! What is the mystery of such conduct?

In returning to His Father, Our Lord was leaving the Church in her cradle. A small and tender child, she needed milk and maternal care: He gives her His mother for a nurse: *ecce filius tuus* [behold thy son]. Ever devoted, Mary accepts this function which will prolong her exile, and acquits herself of it with ineffable solicitude. With her prayers, her examples, her lessons, she nourishes the young spouse of her Son, as she had nourished with her virginal milk the Spouse of the Church while He was a child. As in a house, in the absence or after the death of the father, the mother takes care of the family and does its business; so, the head of the Church having ceased to be visibly present in the midst of her, it is Mary who replaces Him.(1) That is why the apostles and disciples surround her with their respect and their filial obedience. This mission of Mary explains her presence in the Cenacle with the apostles and her continual prayers to obtain for them the Holy Spirit.(2) It explains the apostles' fidelity in consulting her in important affairs. Possessing alone more

graces and lights than the whole apostolic college, when the organs of the Word need a supplement of instruction, or a testimony to confirm the interpretation of the Scriptures, they have recourse to her who for nine months was the living seat of wisdom, *Sedes sapientiae*. Hence Saint Bonaventure calls Mary the mistress of masters, the mistress of the Evangelists.(3)

1. *Hac enim de causa Christus matrem sibi superstitem esse voluit, ut quasi sui vicaria, columen esset Ecclesiae, doctrix apostolorum et consolatrix fidelium.* [Rendered in the text.] Corn. a Lap., in Act. i, 14.

2. *Per Mariae suspiria et orationes, repleti sunt apostoli Spiritu sancto.* [Through Mary's sighs and prayers the apostles were filled with the Holy Spirit.] Dionys. Carthus., lib. IV, *De praecon. B. M. V.*

3. *Sacra Virgo Maria consilio et luce doctrinae collegio praesidet apostolico; nihilque grave faciunt illi, quod non ejus consilio ductuque gerant.* [The sacred Virgin Mary presides over the apostolic college by counsel and the light of doctrine; and they do nothing weighty that they do not carry out by her counsel and guidance.] Lucius Dexter, *Praefect. Praetor. Orient.*, in *Chron.*, ad an. Chr. xxxiv. — *(Apostoli) quidquid supplementi opus erat… vel testimonii ad confirmandos singulorum sensus, quos acceperant ab eodem Spiritu sancto… ex religioso ore tuo perceperunt.* [(The apostles) whatever supplement was needed… or testimony to confirm the individual senses they had received from the same Holy Spirit… they received from your devout mouth.] Rupert., lib. I, in Cant. — *Magistra magistrorum et magistra evangelistarum.* S. Bonav., in *Psalt. Mar.*

The fair days of the primitive Church show her to us in the full exercise of this prerogative. Her sovereign word clears up all doubts, her maternal authority brings all divergences back to unity. It is she who, at the council of Jerusalem, cuts the question of legal observances: a delicate question, keenly discussed, cause of serious trouble to the nascent Church, and which for a moment had divided Paul and Cephas. "Not," says Rupert, "that Mary presided at the council; such a function did not befit a woman, but she had dictated its decrees."(1) It is she who, before the dispersion of the apostles, opens her mouth in the midst of the assembly of the Saints and sends forth, like dew, the words of her wisdom to enlighten the princes of the Church.(2)

1. *Imo et illic et in caeteris agendis tu princeps, omnem solvisti quaestionem; ita tamen ut non clamares… neque audiretur vox tua foris, quia, sicut ante nos dictum est, tu sola es Virgo, quae universam haereticam pravitatem interemisti.* [Nay, both there and in the other business you, the leader, solved every question; yet so that you did not cry out… nor was your voice heard outside, because, as was said before us, you alone are the Virgin who have destroyed all heretical depravity.] *In Cant.*, lib. I; and Corn. a Lap., in Act. xv, 13.

2. Ecclus. xv, 5. — Ps. civ, 21 [as printed; the Psalm reference is doubtful].

How could the apostles and disciples have known, had not the Blessed Virgin instructed them, the mysteries of the holy childhood and the hidden life of Our Lord? What other than the divine Mother could relate to them the announcement of the Precursor, the visit of Gabriel and his conversation with Mary, the visit to Saint Elizabeth, the sanctification of John the Baptist in his mother's womb, the virginal canticle, the wonderful birth of John the Baptist and the canticle of Zacharias, the birth of the Saviour, His circumcision, His presentation in the Temple, the canticle and prophecy of Simeon, the arrival of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, the return to Nazareth, the teaching of Jesus in the Temple, His subjection to His parents and a crowd of other particulars? Where were the witnesses of these mysteries, accomplished for the most part in the secrecy of domestic life? Who knew them like Mary? She alone could teach them to the apostles. These, in their turn, instructed the human race by setting down in the Gospel the narrative of the august Mother. Saint Luke in particular applies himself to describe the first circumstances of the Incarnation of the Word. "I have written," he says, "according to the account of those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word."(1) No doubt there were still many witnesses who had been present at the beginning of the Saviour's preaching, who had seen what He did and heard what He said; but until His thirtieth year Mary alone knew it, she alone could tell it, since at the time when Saint Luke wrote, Saint Joseph had long been

dead.(2) Hence Saint Luke, historian of the hidden life, is called the secretary of the Blessed Virgin, *Notarius Virginis*.

1. *Sicut tradiderunt, qui ab initio viderunt, et ministri fuerunt sermonis.* Luke i, 2.

2. With the best-founded tradition, Pope Benedict XIII teaches that Saint Joseph died at the beginning of Our Lord's preaching. *Serm.* liv *Marian.*, p. 224, folio, Benevento, 1728.

Thus, to borrow the language of Saint Hilary, Mary alone taught the apostles what was from the beginning, what she heard, what she saw with her eyes. What she contemplated, what her hands touched of the Word of life, what she had seen in secret, she manifested publicly. What her ears alone had heard, she announced on the housetops, that the apostolic preachers might make it known to the whole world.(3) "What gratitude we owe to Mary," adds Eusebius of Emesa, "for having kept so many important truths which we should never have known without her: *Nisi enim ipsa conservasset, non ea haberemus.*" For his part Saint Bernard, sounding with his usual penetration the mysteries of Mary, asks why the archangel Gabriel announces to her the state of Saint Elizabeth. He answers: "The state of Saint Elizabeth is made manifest to Mary, in order that, being informed in turn of the arrival of the Precursor and of the arrival of the Word, she might know the time and the order of events, so as to be able later to reveal to the apostles and evangelists the truth of which she had from the origin been fully and divinely instructed."(1)

3. *Can.* x *in Matth.* [as printed.]

4. *Ideo conceptus Elizabeth Mariae nuntiatus est, ut dum nunc Salvatoris, nunc Praecursoris edocetur adventus, rerum tempus, et ordinem tenens, ipsa melius postmodum scriptoribus ac praedicatoribus Evangelii reseraret veritatem, quae plene de omnibus a principio coelitus fuerat instructa mysteriis.* [Rendered in the text.] *Hom.* iv *sup. Miss.*

Not only does the august Mother nourish the young Church with the sweetest and most important mysteries, she strengthens her, consoles her and assures her a glorious immortality. The Passion of her divine Son is not to end at Calvary. There it only begins, to perpetuate itself in the brethren of the Incarnate Word, in every part of the globe, to the end of the ages. The young and courageous deacon Stephen is arrested, tried, condemned to death. Mary no more abandons him than she had abandoned her Son ascending Calvary. Gone down into the depth of the valley of Josaphat, not far from the torrent of Cedron where the young deacon is to be stoned, the gentle Virgin, accompanied by Saint John, kneels down, and the prayers of the Queen of martyrs obtain the palm of victory for the first of the martyrs.(2) The fire of persecution is kindled more and more: the apostles have need of counsel, the faithful of consolation. Mary makes herself all to all; the church of Jerusalem is a family of which she is the mother. Around her her children gather; each lays before her his sorrows and his fears. None leaves her without being enlightened and consoled.(1) Happy conversations! of which one hour would be bought at the price of a life of eighty years. What Saint Augustine says of his good mother must be said with greater reason of Mary: "She was, O my God, the servant of Your servants; she took care of them as if all had been her sons, and she lent herself to their desires as if she had been the daughter of all."(2)

2. Corn. a Lap., in Act. vii, 57.

3. *Miseris et afflictis illa condolebat coafflicta, neque segniter subveniebat, humilibus devota, quae et devotis devotius humiliaretur, omnium quidem operum pietatis apud fideles ministra.* [To the wretched and afflicted she compassionated, afflicted with them, and was not slow to help; devoted to the humble, she herself was more devoutly humbled than the devout; indeed the minister of all works of piety among the faithful.] S. Ignat. martyr, Epist., apud Canis., *De Maria Deip.*, lib. V, c. i.

4. *Erat serva servorum tuorum, o Domine… Ita curam gessit, quasi omnes genuisset; ita servivit, quasi ab omnibus genita fuisset.* [Rendered in the text.] *Confess.*, lib. IX, c. ix.

The mission of consoling the Church, of encouraging her, of protecting her, does not end with the mortal life of the Blessed Virgin. Imperishable like the word which is its title, it will last as long as the centuries. Behold thy son, *ecce filius tuus*, the dying Saviour says to her. As long as this child travels in the land of exile, exposed to the attacks of the prince of the City of Evil, he will need you; you will take the place of a mother to him: *ecce filius tuus*. Mary's fidelity to the divine mandate is written on every page of history. On the one hand, the Church does not hesitate to ascribe to her the destruction of all heresies: *cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universo mundo* [thou alone hast destroyed all heresies in the whole world]. On the other, she gives her the glorious name of Help of Christians: *Auxilium christianorum*. By the splendid sanctuaries raised in her honour at every point of the globe, by the enthusiastic manifestations of their filial confidence, of their love and gratitude, individuals and peoples repeat, since the origin of Christianity, with a voice which impiety will never be able to reduce to silence: Mary is the help of Christians, the pillar of the Church, the terror of Satan, the hope of the despairing, the consoler of the afflicted, the health of the sick, the salvation of the world, the cornerstone of the City of Good.

The synagogue echoes the Church, and by the mouth of its doctors proclaims the glories, the power and the beauties of the Virgin of Juda. "It is," they say, "out of love for the immaculate Virgin that God created the world. Not only was the world created from love of her, but from love of her it is sustained. Long ago the crimes of the world would have made it perish, had not the powerful intercession of the gentle Virgin saved it."(1) Saint Bernard shows that the most orthodox faith finds no exaggeration in the words of the rabbis when he cries: "It is for Mary that all Scripture was made; for her that the whole universe was created. Full of grace, it is by her that the human race was redeemed, the Word made flesh, God humble and man exalted."(2)

1. *Amore intemeratae Virginis creavit Deus coelum et terram. Non solum amore Virginis conditus est mundus, sed etiam sustentatur*, etc. R. Onkelos, apud Corn. a Lap. in Prov. viii, 22. [Quoted from Cornelius a Lapide; I could not verify the attribution to "R. Onkelos".]

2. *Propter hanc omnis Scriptura facta est; propter hanc totus mundus factus est; et haec gratia Dei plena est: et per hanc homo redemptus est; Verbum Dei caro factum; Deus humilis et homo sublimis.* [Rendered in the text.] *Serm.* v *in Salve regina.* [A sermon of pseudo-Bernard.]

Spouse of the Holy Spirit, Mother of the Word, cornerstone of the City of Good, masterpiece of interior and exterior beauty, Mary is the pearl of the universe. Are so many glorious prerogatives the last word of her creation? By no means. By a unique privilege Mary unites in herself the two incompatible glories of woman, virginity and maternity. Virgin and mother, mystery of holiness and mystery of love; mystery of grace, of modesty, of timid reserve, and mystery of courage and sublime devotion; type of a new woman, unknown to the ancient world; eternally fruitful stock of a glorious line of women, virgins by their spotless purity and mothers by the heroism of their charity: such is Mary and such she had to be.(1)

1. *Unum in quo nec primam similem visa est nec habere sequentem, gaudia matris habens cum virginitatis honore, Mariae privilegium est, non dabitur alteri.* [The one thing in which she has neither been seen to have one like her before nor to have a follower — having the joys of a mother with the honour of virginity — is Mary's privilege; it will not be given to another.] S. Bern., *Serm.* iv *in Assumpt.*

Since the primitive prevarication a special anathema weighed upon woman: a woman had to come to lift it. It was needful, so that the Prince of the City of Evil might have the shame of being vanquished by her very self of whom he had made an instrument of victory. It was needful, so that woman, the principal cause of man's ruin, might become that of his salvation. Guilty messenger of the demon, she had borne death to man; beneficent messenger of God, she was to bring him back life.(2) The human race knew it; all the traditions of the ancient world placed woman at the head of evil; all the traditions of the new world will have to place her at the head of good. In repeating to one another, "It is the woman who is the cause of all our misfortunes,"(3)

the ancient generations had heaped upon woman's head a mass of hatred and contempt which had made the ancient companion of man the most abject and most miserable of beings. In repeating to one another, to the threshold of eternity, "It is to woman that we owe all our goods," the new generations will surround woman with a veneration and a gratitude which will make her the most respected and most holily loved of all those whom God drew from nothing.

2. *Per foeminam mors, per foeminam vita; per Evam interitus, per Mariam salus.* [Through a woman death, through a woman life; through Eve destruction, through Mary salvation.] S. Aug., *De Symbol. ad catechum.*, tract. iii, § 4 [sic].

3. *A muliere initium factum est peccati, et per illam omnes morimur.* [From the woman was the beginning of sin, and by her we all die.] Ecclus. xxv, 33.

Virgin and mother, Mary is what woman was in the thought of the Creator: the helper of man, like to him: *Adjutorium simile sibi.* She herself bears daughters like herself, mothers like her, and mothers worthy of the name; virgins like her, and virgins worthy of the name. As Mary had summed up in herself all the glories of the biblical women, their preparations and their figures, so she communicates her qualities to the evangelical women, her continuation and prolongation. All are her daughters; but whatever be their riches and their beauties, Mary surpasses them all. Agnes is her daughter, Lucy is her daughter, Cecilia is her daughter, Agatha is her daughter, Catherine is her daughter. All these virgins, all these women resplendent with virtues, rich in merits and glories, are daughters of Mary, but she surpasses them all.(1) One would have to run through the annals of all Catholic peoples to name these new women, glorious daughters of Mary; these mothers of families so great, so respected, so cherished and so devoted; these heroic virgins, graceful flowers of the garden of the Spouse; indefatigable bees which, of the rarest virtues, compose a sovereign balm for all maladies.

1. S. Bonav., in *Specul.*, c. ii.

Look rather, and see all that the world owes to woman regenerated by Mary. It owes her the family: and it is to the family that Christian society is indebted for all its superiority. Woman is a Christian power. This element of civilization was lacking to the ancient world; it is still lacking to the idolatrous world; and with it civilization is and always will be lacking. It owes her the most touching variety of free services for all the needs of soul and body. It owes her the preservation of what remains of faith on the earth. First in the catacombs, woman is the last at the foot of the altars. It owes her, today even, the spectacle perhaps the most beautiful, but certainly the most mysterious, it has ever seen. Until now Catholic women and virgins, daughters and sisters of Mary, had remained within the domestic hearth; never, at least, had they crossed, for the apostolate, the frontiers of the civilized world. Suddenly the Spirit of the Cenacle has been poured out upon them. His ardour animates them, His strength sustains them. Transformed like the apostles, they fly to the conquest of souls. Timidity, delicacy, prejudices, ties of blood, all has disappeared: the woman gives place to the heroine. Like those light seeds which on autumn days the wind carries in every direction, to give birth to nurseries of flowers and shrubs, they go, borne on the wing of Providence, to rest in the four corners of the world. At their sight the Arab, the Chinese, the Mussulman, the Savage remain struck with stupor. They ask naively whether they are women and not angels come down from heaven in a straight line! So many heroic virtues in a sex which they have never known how to do anything but despise is for them a palpable mystery which disposes them to believe all the others.

Mary being what she is, doing what we know and much more, one may foresee to what degree of power and perfection her influence will raise the City of Good. Better than man, Satan had understood it. The primitive anathema was always present to him: he, pride incarnate, to have one day his head crushed by a woman! this thought raises his hatred to paroxysm. For four thousand years he avenges himself on woman by outraging her in every way. This is not enough; at any price he wishes to prevent the victory he dreads. The woman

whose foot will break his head will be Virgin and Mother of God: he knows it. To make Mary unrecognized and to paralyse her saving action on the world, he employs all his artifices. Great ape of God, long in advance he multiplies among all peoples the caricatures of the august Virgin: “Lest,” he says, “my Enemy be recognized and honoured as the Mother of God, I will invent another mother of God.” And from the highest antiquity he invents Cybele, the mother of all the gods, the wife of old Saturn, the oldest of the gods. Famous over all the earth, her cult will prevent man from making any account of another mother of God, more recent and less fruitful. A single one does not suffice for him. All the ancient mythologies of the West, like all the present mythologies of the East, are full of goddesses mothers of gods.

“No doubt my Enemy will make a parade of her Child: a mother’s pride is to carry her child in her arms. This spectacle will be of a nature to make her loved, and her Son.” And he invents Venus, type of sensual beauty; in her arms he places a son, Cupid, who with his arrows lights love in all hearts. The whole human race will be deceived and will believe that this mother with her child is only a copy of Venus and Cupid. “One will readily attribute to my Enemy great credit over the heart of God. The world will be inclined to implore her; and this confidence will strengthen her empire.” And he invents Juno, queen of Olympus, powerful over the heart of Jupiter her spouse, the master of the gods. “My Enemy will be helpful to the little, to the unfortunate, to persons of her sex. Her sanctuaries will be besieged by multitudes who will come to lay before her their needs of soul and body. Graces obtained will popularize her cult, and mine will fall little by little into contempt.” That no one may have recourse to Mary, he invents Diana, goddess beneficent to all. Shepherds and villagers will invoke her, because it will be received that she presides over forests and mountains. Pregnant women will have recourse to her, as well as night travellers and those who have sore eyes, because, under the name of Lucina or luminous, she will be believed to help the child to come to the light, to dissipate darkness and to restore sight to the blind.(1)

1. See Father d’Argentan, *Grandeurs de la sainte Vierge*, t. III, c. xxv, § 11.

The satanic thought of discrediting Mary has not grown old. A missionary writes from India: “Mariamacovil is a large village near Tanjore. Its houses group themselves around the enormous pagoda of Mariamel, a false divinity, who has given her name to the little town. The demon, furious against Her who crushed his head, wished to travesty the cult of our good Mother of heaven. He therefore inspired his priests to imagine a goddess bearing the name of Mary, and to present her to their dupes as a malevolent divinity, whom one must seek only to appease in order to keep her from doing harm. This horrible blasphemy against the Mother of goodness is well worthy of hell. Also this village is one of the bulwarks of paganism.”(1) In a word, many centuries before the birth of Mary, Satan fills the pagan world with an infinite number of goddesses and demigoddesses, with Pallas, Minerva, Ceres, Proserpine and a hundred others, which all together form an immense counterfeit of Mary, to obscure her glory, as a cloud of dust hides the face of the sun. Vain efforts! “The most holy Virgin,” says Euthymius, “has broken the altars of the idols, overthrown the temples of the Gentiles, dried up the torrents of Christian blood shed in all parts of the world.”(2)

1. *Annales de la sainte Enfance*, n. 89, p. 411, Dec. 1862.

2. *Cingul. Mar.* [as printed; “Euthymius” in *Cingulum Mariae*.]

Satan does not hold himself beaten. By means of heresies he begins the struggle again. Here again, as we have remarked, all his efforts tend to destroy the dogma of the Incarnate Word, and consequently to dethrone Mary. Desperate attempt! Every time the ancient serpent raises his head he feels the virginal foot of Mary crushing it; for the divine anathema must have its effect for ever: *Ipsa conteret caput tuum* [She shall crush thy head]. Until the end of the trial reserved for the human race, the struggle will begin again under one name or another, with the same shame for Satan and the same glory for Mary.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XII

1. **Heading.** “(Suite du précédent)”. Continues the first of the four creations (the Blessed Virgin).

2. **Marian hyperbole and sources.** Much of this chapter relies on late devotional authors (Rupert of Deutz; pseudo-Bernard; pseudo-Augustine; Dionysius the Carthusian; Albert the Great; Bonaventure’s *Psalter/Speculum*; Cornelius a Lapide; d’Argentan). I translate as written and keep the attributions as printed; the “Letter of Ignatius” and several Augustine/Bernard sermons are of doubtful authorship.

3. **“Lucius Dexter”.** The cited *Chronicon* of “Lucius Dexter” (ad an. 34) is the notorious forgery of the Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera (c. 1600), often cited in older Catholic works. Flagged.

4. **“R. Onkelos”.** Cited through Cornelius a Lapide on Prov. viii, 22; I could not verify it.

5. **Pope Benedict XIII (Orsini)**, *Sermones*; the tradition that Joseph died before the public life is old but not scriptural.

6. **Mary at the Council of Jerusalem; Stephen’s stoning, etc.** These are pious traditions (Rupert; Cornelius), not in the Acts. Rendered as in Gaume.

7. **Satan’s “caricatures” (Cybele, Venus, Juno, Diana/Lucina).** Gaume repeats the older apologetic theory of pagan “counterfeits” (d’Argentan). The mission-report from Mariamacovil [sic; Mariammankovil?] is from *Annales de la Sainte-Enfance*, Dec. 1862.

8. **“Girl of twelve”.** Gaume’s detail, as in the pious tradition; not Scriptural.

9. **Scripture references corrected.** Luke i, 26–35; Ecclus. xxiv, 5? (Gaume “xv, 5”, as printed, with Ps. civ, 21 doubtful); Ecclus. xxv, 33 (Vulgate numbering).

10. **“Hostage of its faith”.** French *otage*; Augustine/Pseudo-Augustine. Kept literal.

Chapter XIII. Second Creation of the Holy Spirit: Our Lord

Final end of the works of God and of the Incarnation. — Formation of the God-Man. — First act of His public life, the preaching of penance. — The Holy Spirit Himself forms the divine preacher. — Why He descends upon Him in the form of a dove. — Why He leads Him into the desert. — Struggle of the God-Man against Satan: model of all struggles and prelude of all victories. — The whole life of the God-Man, a prolongation of the struggle in the desert. — This struggle always directed by the Holy Spirit. — Continual dependence of the God-Man on the Holy Spirit.

A Virgin-Mother is the first creation of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament: a God-Man is the second. The order of Redemption required that it be so. Of a guilty woman and a guilty man Satan had formed the City of Evil; by one of those harmonious contrasts so frequent in the works of infinite wisdom, of a woman and a man perfectly just the Holy Spirit will form the City of Good. We know the new Eve; it remains to study the new Adam.

To deify man is the eternal thought of God. To satanize man is the eternal thought of hell. To deify is to unite; to satanize is to divide: on these two opposite poles the moral world swings. To deify man, the creating Word resolved to unite human nature to Himself hypostatically. God-Man, He will become the principle of deified generations. But who will give Him this human nature which He has not, and of which He has need? who will make Him God-Man? To the Holy Spirit this masterpiece is reserved. Doubtless He does not create the divinity, but He creates the humanity and unites it by a personal union to the uncreated Word. He created it not of His substance, which would be monstrously absurd, but by His power. He created it of the purest, holiest flesh, of a virgin without any stain of sin, neither actual nor original.(1) He created it by renewing the miracle of the creation of the first Adam. Of a virgin and lifeless earth God formed the first head of the human race. Of the virginal flesh of a living virgin the Holy Spirit forms the second. Of virgin Adam God formed the virgin Eve: why should not the Holy Spirit have been able to form of a virgin woman a virgin

man? “Mary,” says Saint Cyril, “repays humanity in kind. Eve was born of Adam alone: the Word will be born of Mary alone.”(2)

1. *Opus ergo Spiritus Virginis partus est. Dubitare ergo non possumus Spiritum creatorem, quem Dominicae cognoscimus incarnationis auctorem. Quomodo ergo in utero habuit Maria ex Spiritu sancto? Si quasi ex substantia: ergo Spiritus in carnem et ossa conversus est? Non utique. Si quasi ex operatione et potestate ejus virgo concepit: quis neget Spiritum creatorem?* [The Virgin’s childbearing is therefore the work of the Spirit. We cannot then doubt that the Spirit is Creator, whom we recognize as author of the Lord’s incarnation. How then did Mary have it in her womb of the Holy Spirit? If as of His substance: then was the Spirit turned into flesh and bones? Surely not. If the virgin conceived as of His operation and power: who would deny that the Spirit is Creator?] S. Ambr., *De Spir. sancto*, lib. II, c. v. — *In uno unius ejusdemque personae Christo, creatam hominis naturam conjunxit increato Dei Verbo.* [In one Christ of one and the same person He joined the created nature of man to the uncreated Word of God.] Rupert., *De Spirit. sancto*, c. xiii.

2. *Reddidit igitur Maria gratiae mutuum hujus officium; et non ex viro, sed ex ipsa sola impollute ex Spiritu sancto virtuteque Dei peperit.* [Rendered in the text.] *Catech.* xii.

The most beautiful of the children of men is formed. For thirty years He has lived, unknown to the world, under the wing of His mother and under the direction of the Holy Spirit. The hour of His public mission has struck. Come down from heaven to reunite man to God, His first duty is to preach penance; for penance is only the return of man to God. To authorize His lessons, He begins by proclaiming Himself the great penitent of the world. On the banks of the Jordan, John the Baptist enrolls the multitudes under the standard of penance. Jesus goes there, and, before the eyes of all the assembled sinners, receives the baptism of John. Here the Holy Spirit reappears. Under the mysterious form of a dove He descends upon the God-Man. Principle of His natural life, guide of His hidden life, He will be the inspirer of His public life.(1)

1. S. Aug., *De Trinit.*, lib. XV, c. xxvi.

Why is He who will be a luminous cloud on Thabor, tongues of fire in the Cenacle, a dove at the Jordan? In the works of infinite wisdom everything is wisdom. Therefore this question has exercised the highest Christian intelligences of East and West. “The dove is chosen,” says Saint Chrysostom, “as the symbol of the reconciliation of man with God, and of the universal restoration which the Holy Spirit was about to work through Jesus Christ. It sets the New Testament over against the Old: to the figure it makes the reality succeed. The first dove, with its olive branch, announces to Noe the cessation of the deluge of water; the second, resting on the great victim of the world, announces the approaching end of the deluge of iniquities.”(2) In the dove of the Jordan Saint Bernard sees the infinite gentleness of the Redeemer. He is designated by the two gentlest beings of creation: the lamb and the dove. John the Baptist calls Him the Lamb of God, *Agnus Dei*. Now to indicate the Lamb of God nothing befitted better than the dove. What the lamb is among quadrupeds, the dove is among birds: of both, sovereign is the innocence, sovereign the gentleness, sovereign the simplicity. What is more foreign to all malice than the lamb and the dove?(1) In this double symbol are revealed the mission of the God-Man and the whole spirit of Christianity.

2. *In Gen.* ix, 12 [as printed; the reference is to Chrysostom’s homilies on Genesis].

3. *Serm.* i *de Epiphan.*

According to Rupert, the dove indicates the divinity of the Word made flesh. “Why,” he says, “a dove and not a tongue of fire? The flame or any other symbol could designate a partial infusion of the Holy Spirit, but not the plenitude of His gifts. Now in Jesus Christ dwells corporeally all the fullness of the Godhead.(2) The whole dove, the dove without mutilation, resting on Him, showed that no grace of the sevenfold Spirit was lacking in the Incarnate Word; that He was indeed the Father of adoption, the Head of all the children of

God, and the great Pontiff of time and eternity."(3)

2. *Inhabitat in ipso omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter*. Col. ii, 9.

3. *De Spirit. sancto*, lib. I, c. xx.

Saint Thomas finds in the dove the seven qualities which make it the perfect symbol of the Holy Spirit descended upon the Baptized of the Jordan. "The dove," he says, "dwells by the running of the waters. There, as in a mirror, it sees the image of the hawk that hovers in the air, and puts itself in safety: gift of Wisdom. It shows an admirable instinct for choosing, among all, the best grains of wheat: gift of Knowledge. It feeds the young of other birds: gift of Counsel. It does not tear with its beak: gift of Understanding. It has no gall: gift of Piety. It makes its nest in the clefts of the rocks: gift of Fortitude. It moans instead of singing: gift of Fear.(1) Let us see all these qualities of the divine dove shine in the Incarnate Word. He dwells on the banks of the rivers of the Scriptures, of which He possesses the full understanding. There He sees all the past, present and future wiles of the enemy, as well as the means of escaping them: gift of Wisdom. In the immense treasure of the divine oracles He chooses with marvellous aptness the weapons of precision against each temptation in particular, the sentences best suited to the circumstances of places, times and persons. One sees it by His answers to the demon of the desert, and to the doctors of the temple. One sees it by that profound knowledge of the Scriptures which threw His fortunate hearers into astonishment: gift of Knowledge. He feeds the strangers, that is, the Gentiles, substituted for the ungrateful Jews. He enlightens them, admits them to His covenant and loads them with His graces: gift of Counsel. He is far from imitating the heretic Arius, the heretic Pelagius, the heretic Luther: birds of prey with hooked beaks, who, swooping upon the Scriptures, tear them by the interpretations of private judgment; and, with the shreds which they carry off, use them as rags to hide their lies, deceive the weak and lose souls. He, the pupil of the dove, understands Scripture in its true sense; He admits it entire, and from each text makes a luminous ray spring forth which shows in His person the Word the Redeemer of the human race: gift of Understanding.

1. III p., q. 39, art. 6, corp.

"He has no gall. The infinite meekness of His soul becomes transparent in the parables of the Samaritan, of the lost sheep and of the prodigal son. Himself, practising His doctrine, He returns neither evil for evil nor injury for injury. What do I say? What had never been seen, what man would never have dreamed: He prays for His executioners: gift of Piety. He makes His nest in the unshakable rock of confidence in God, and that of His little ones in the wounds of His adorable body: double refuge inaccessible to the serpent. His enemies wish to throw Him from the top of a mountain: He passes tranquilly through their midst. Gone down into the abysses of the tomb, He comes out of it full of life. Everywhere on His passage He makes demons flee, heals the sick and ends by chaining Satan, the Prince of this world: gift of Fortitude. His life is a long sigh. He walks humbly to death; He experiences all its horrors, asks on His knees to be delivered from it; receives the help of an angel, and finally, on the cross, prays and weeps as He gives up His soul to His Father: gift of Fear."(1)

1. Rupert, ubi supra, c. xxi.

However, the new Adam, baptized and confirmed, is initiated into His great mission of conqueror and clothed with His impenetrable armour. With assurance He can march to battle. The Holy Spirit, who animates Him, drives Him into the desert.(2) The demon awaits Him there: David and Goliath are face to face. Lucifer employs all his wiles to conquer, or at least to learn who this mysterious personage is, whose austerity astonishes him and whose holiness disquiets him. By the uselessness of his attacks he understands that he has found his master. This first victory of the God-Man, prelude of all the others, shakes to their very foundations the walls of the City of Evil. Soon, through breaches ever wider, the captives of Satan will be able to escape and come to dwell in the City of Good. From that moment Christianity advances, paganism recedes: the history of modern times begins.

2. It is the desert of Arabia Petraea, beyond the Dead Sea, not far from the places where John was baptizing.

The victorious work which He inaugurated in the desert, the new Adam comes to continue in inhabited places. Always under the guidance of the Holy Spirit He traverses the countryside, the villages and the towns. “The Spirit of the Lord,” He says Himself, “is upon Me. He hath anointed Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the contrite of heart; to preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of reward.”(1) Further on, summing up His whole mission in two words, He says: “The Son of God appeared to destroy the works of the devil.”(2) The work of the devil is the City of Evil, with its institutions, its laws, its cities, its armies, its emperors, its philosophers, its gods, its superstitions, its errors, its hatreds, its slavery, its intellectual and moral ignominies: formidable City, of which Rome, mistress of the world, was then the capital. Only the almighty king of the City of Good can succeed in such an enterprise. It is only by blows of miracles of dazzling brilliance and victorious authenticity that the fortresses of Satan can fall, built on prodigies and protected by oracles in possession of universal faith.(1)

1. Luke iv, 14–20 [Gaume’s citation is of verses 18–19].

2. *In hoc apparuit Filius Dei, ut dissolvat opera diaboli.* 1 John iii, 8.

3. See our little work: *CREDO.*

The Spirit of miracles therefore communicates Himself wholly to the Incarnate Word. By the mouth of Isaias He Himself had foretold it: “And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord.”(2) In His turn the Incarnate Word refers to the Holy Spirit all the glory of success. If He baptizes; if He casts out demons, if He teaches the truth, if He gives the power to remit sins: in other words, if with one hand He overthrows the City of Evil, and with the other builds the City of Good, it is in the name, by the power, and as lieutenant of the Holy Spirit.(3) The very virtues which shine in Him and which ravish the peoples with admiration, He makes it His honour to owe to the Holy Spirit and to be Himself the living accomplishment of the word of Isaias: “Behold My servant, I will uphold Him: My elect, My soul delighteth in Him. I have given My spirit upon Him, He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not contend, nor cry out, neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets. The bruised reed He shall not break, and smoking flax He shall not extinguish, till He send forth judgment unto victory. And in His name the Gentiles shall hope.”(4)

2. Is. xi, 2.

3. Matt. iii, 16; xii, 18, etc.

4. Is. xlii, 1–4; Matt. iv, 1; xii, 18, 28.

There arrives the solemn hour when He is to win His last victory and save the world by His divine blood. New Isaac, victim of the human race, it is the Holy Spirit, new Abraham, who leads Him to Calvary and immolates Him. He dies; and the Holy Spirit draws Him living from the tomb.(1) Is it a question of defending the rights of the Holy Spirit? He seems to forget His own. He Himself pronounced this sentence: “Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but he that shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.”(2) Is the moment come to make room for Him in souls? He does not hesitate to part with all that is dearest to Him in the world, fearing that His presence should be an obstacle to the absolute reign of the divine Spirit. “It is expedient to you that I go,” He says to His apostles; “for if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you.”(3) Is it a question of the great mission to be entrusted to them? He explains to them its nature and extent, He gives them its investiture; but He warns them that the heroic strength they need to accomplish it will be communicated to them by the Holy Spirit.(4) Finally, continuing to efface Himself before the divine

Paraclete, the Master come down from heaven declares to them in formal terms that, in spite of the three years spent in His school, their instruction is not finished. To the Holy Spirit is reserved the glory of completing it, by teaching them all that they must know.(5)

1. Heb. ix, 14; Rom. viii, 11.

2. Matt. xii, 32.

3. John xvi, 7.

4. Luke xxiv, 46, 49.

5. John xvi, 12, 13.

Such have been the teachings and the acts of the God-Man with regard to the Holy Spirit. Never have heaven and earth heard, and never will they hear, anything so eloquent on the majesty of the Holy Spirit and on the necessity of His influence, whether to regenerate man or to maintain him in his state of regeneration.

Translator's notes — Chapter XIII

1. **Aquinas and Rupert on the dove.** Gaume attributes the seven properties of the dove to Aquinas (III, q. 39, art. 6) and then gives a long application of each to Christ, which his footnote assigns to Rupert (*De Spiritu Sancto* I, xxi). Where the quotation marks of the original end is not fully clear; I have kept the printed layout and not attempted to separate the two voices.

2. **"Arius, Pelagius, Luther."** Gaume's polemical triad; "private judgment" (*sens privé*) is his phrase for Protestant interpretation. Translated as written.

3. **Scripture references.** Luke iv, 18–19; Is. xlii, 1–4; Matt. xii, 32; John xvi, 7. "The Son of God appeared to destroy the works of the devil" is 1 John iii, 8. Gaume's quotations follow the French Vulgate sense; I have used Douay wording where it agrees.

4. **"Baptized and confirmed."** Gaume's phrase for Christ at the Jordan is figurative: he does not mean that Christ received sacraments in the Church's sense.

5. **Holy Spirit as "new Abraham."** The image of the Spirit immolating Christ as a new Isaac is Gaume's own, resting on Heb. ix, 14 ("through the Holy Spirit offered himself unspotted unto God").

6. **"Our little work: CREDO."** Gaume refers to one of his own booklets by this title; I give it as printed, without a fuller title, which I could not verify.

7. **Chrysostom, *In Gen.* ix, 12** and **Cyril, *Catech.* xii** are given as printed; the Genesis reference is to Chrysostom's homily on the dove of Noe, which I did not check.

Chapter XIV. (Continuation of the Preceding)

The God-Man, masterpiece of the Holy Spirit. — Our Lord, unique type of perfection. — Man par excellence. — The one true personality of history. — Instead of being nothing, He is all. — The ancient world leads up to Him. — The modern world proceeds from Him. — Heaven, earth and hell acknowledge Him as the Alpha and Omega of all things. — The angels and the stars make their act of faith: astronomical calculations. — The earth makes its act of faith: general expectation of the Messias. — Testimonies. — Hell makes its act of faith: flight of the demons. — Their words. — Cessation of the oracles. — Death of the great Pan. — This threefold act of adoration has continued for two thousand years. — The Incarnation the pivot of the modern world, whose existence rests on the resurrection of a dead man. — Believe it, or be mad. — Attempts of the demon to hinder belief in the Incarnation.

The second creation of the Holy Spirit is, like the first, an unspeakable masterpiece. The Son of Mary rises to such a height that He surpasses everything the world has ever seen. An ineffable blending of grace and majesty, of gentleness and strength, of simplicity and dignity, of firmness and condescension, of calm and activity, He speaks, and never man spoke like Him. He commands, and all obey. With a word He calms the tempests; with another He drives the sellers from the temple, or the demons from the bodies of the possessed. He teaches as one having an authority of His own, which no one shares with Him. His preferences are for the little, the poor and the oppressed. He sows miracles along His path, and all His miracles are benefits. Whatever the crime, if repentant, He pardons it with a mother's goodness. Such is the holiness of His life that He defies His bitterest enemies to find in Him the shadow of a fault. He is silent when accused; He blesses when insulted. Unjustly condemned by enemies thirsting for His death, He stays their blows, baffles their plots, and lets the storm burst only on the day and in the manner that He Himself has fixed, proving His divinity more invincibly by His death than by His life.

But the aim of the Holy Spirit is not merely to make of the Incarnate Word an exceptional creation, worthy of the admiration of heaven and earth. Before all, He wills to realize in Him man par excellence, such as he existed from all eternity in the divine thought, and such as he was one day to appear in order to deify all men: a marvellous operation which, welding the lower creation to the higher, human nature to the divine, was to bring all things back to unity. Now this deification of man is the last word of the works of God, the final end of the City of Good.(1) "In the beginning," says the learned Doctor Sepp, "man, and through him nature, of which he was at once head and representative, were intimately united to God. This union lasted until sin, by detaching man from his Creator, made him lose at the same time the power he had received over nature. But God, to repair His work marred by sin, drew near again to the creature by the Incarnation.

1. *Instaurare omnia in Christo.* [To re-establish all things in Christ.] *Christus enim est summa, caput et recapitulatio omnium operum Dei, visibilium et invisibilium. Quocirca omnes res feruntur in Christum, tanquam in centrum, cui conjungi desiderant.* [For Christ is the sum, the head and the recapitulation of all the works of God, visible and invisible. Wherefore all things are borne toward Christ as toward a centre to which they desire to be joined.] Corn. a Lap., *in Agg.* ii, 8.

"It consists in this, that the divinity having united itself to humanity in the person of Jesus Christ, He has become the centre of history. This intimate union, once accomplished in the centre, communicates itself by a continual effusion to all points of the circumference, and what was produced once in the life of Jesus Christ is reproduced and developed unceasingly in the life of humanity."(1) According to the beautiful thought of Clement of Alexandria, the whole drama of history was accomplished, by way of prelude, in the life of Jesus Christ. The Word, who was once incarnate in the womb of Mary, must be incarnate every day, both in humanity and in each man in particular. Each day, too, the birth of the Word is reproduced in history, and in that spiritual rebirth which the sacraments, wherein He has deposited His grace, ceaselessly work. It follows that Our Lord Jesus Christ is not only the greatest figure, but moreover the sole personality of history. Instead of being nothing or little, He is all: *Omnia in omnibus* [all in all].(2) Instead of being a myth or an impostor, as stupid blasphemers have dared to say, He is the reality to which the whole ancient world leads, the hearth from which the whole new world proceeds. So much so that if Our Lord Jesus Christ, born in the stable of Bethlehem and dead on the cross of Calvary, is not man par excellence, the God-Man, truly God, truly man, and principle of universal deification, false from one end to the other are all the ancient traditions and aspirations, false all modern beliefs; and the life of the human race is a madness without lucid intervals, begun six thousand years ago, to last, to the great despair of unbelief, as long as a human breast shall breathe on the globe.

1. *Vie de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ* [Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ], vol. I, introduction, 17, 18. [Sepp.]

2. [Gaume's italics; cf. 1 Cor. xv, 28 and Col. iii, 11. Gaume gives no reference.]

In fact, if there is in history an uncontestable point, it is that the nations, even the most grossly idolatrous, never lost the memory of the primitive fall, nor the hope of a restoration. This double dogma has its formula in sacrifice, offered constantly in every part of the earth. A divine personage, Saviour and regenerator of the universe, is the evident object of all their aspirations. The Jew sees Him in Noe, in Abraham, in Moses, in Samson, in twenty others who photograph Him. In vain the spirit of evil strives to alter among the Gentiles the traditional type of the Desired of the nations. He can obscure some of its features, but the substance remains. We see even that at the coming of the Messias the whole world was more than ever in expectation of a deliverer. We say the whole world, to express all the parts of which it is composed: heaven, earth and hell. Each in its own way was to proclaim the universal Restorer, and, according to the expression of Saint Paul, to bend the knee before His adorable person.

Scarcely is He born when all the heavenly host comes to prostrate itself about His cradle, and announces the accomplishment of the most desired of mysteries, the reconciliation of man with God, glory in heaven and peace on earth. To the voice of the angels is joined the voice of the stars. We speak not of the star which leads the Magi to Bethlehem; we speak of the whole planetary system. The most learned astronomical calculations establish that the stars foretold the coming of the Incarnate Word; that the sabbatical year, year of pardon and renewal, was calculated on their revolutions, and that the stars renewed their course each time the earth was renewed in penance. The learned German doctors Sepp and Schubert have shown that all the peoples of antiquity knew this language of the stars and the great event which they announced. “But all these particular harmonies tended toward a more general and higher harmony in the movement of Uranus, the highest and most distant of the planets. In the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Uranus, whose time of rotation round the sun embraces that of all the other planets, was accomplishing its fiftieth revolution. Now the year of Uranus may rightly be regarded as the one real and complete year of the planetary system, since it is then that all the stars, even the most distant, begin their course afresh.

“Well! it was precisely at this epoch, when the whole planetary system united celebrated its first year of reparation and reconciliation, that all the prophecies were being fulfilled, that the angels of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth sang, mingling their voices with the harmonious concerts of the spheres: Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace to men of good will. This epoch coincided with the end of the week of the sabbatical year, in which, according to an ancient prediction, God was to strengthen His covenant with His own. In sum, in this great clock of the universe, whose primitive destination is to mark time, the wheels and springs had been, from the beginning, so disposed by the Creator Himself that they all bore upon the GREAT HOUR when God was to make shine forth the eternally foreseen day of pardon and renewal of the universe. In the great proportions of its general ordering, as in the disposition of its inner harmonies, the firmament therefore announced Him by whom and for whom the starry heaven was made.”(1)

1. Schubert, *Symbolik des Traumes* [Gaume: “Symbolique des songes”, as printed]; Sepp, *Vie de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, vol. II, 387 ff.

Thus at the hour of His Incarnation the angels and the stars bent the knee before Him and acknowledged Him as their author: *Omne genu flectatur coelestium.* [Let every knee of the heavenly bow. — cf. Phil. ii, 10.] The same homage is rendered Him by the inhabitants of the earth. Instructed from the origin of their nation by the prophecy of Jacob, which marked the coming of the great deliverer at the moment when the sceptre, departed from the house of Juda, should be borne by a stranger, the Jews are in expectation of His speedy coming. Their ears are open to all the impostors who, calling themselves the Messias, promise to free them from the yoke of the nations: they attach themselves to them with a facility hitherto without example.(2) History attests that the principal motive of the senseless war which they then waged against the Romans was an oracle of the Scriptures announcing that at that time there would arise in their country a man who would extend his dominion over the whole earth.(3)

2. Acts v, 36, 37, etc.

3. *Quod maxime eos ad bellum excitaverat, vaticinium erat ambiguum in sacris libris repertum, illis circiter temporibus quemdam ex ipsorum finibus orbis terrarum imperio potiturum.* [What most of all had roused them to war was an ambiguous oracle found in their sacred books, that about those times someone from their country would gain the empire of the world.] Joseph., *De bello judaico*, lib. VI, c. v, n. 4.

This expectation of the speedy arrival of the Messias was not peculiar to the Jews; all the nations of the world shared it. It had to be so; otherwise, how could the prophets, from Jacob to Aggeus, have called the Messias the Expectation of the nations, the Desired of all nations?(1) The Gentiles owed this knowledge of the future Redeemer as much to primitive tradition as to the commerce of the Jews, spread for several centuries through the various countries of the earth and in Rome itself. Far from being few, unknown and without influence in that capital of the world, they were very numerous there. They held important posts, and such was their union that they exercised a marked influence on the public assemblies. “You know,” said Cicero to the Roman magistrates, pleading for Flaccus, “how considerable is the multitude of the Jews, how united they are, how much influence they have in our assemblies. I speak low, only loud enough for the judges to hear me. For there is no lack of people to stir them up against me and against the best citizens.”(2) Evidently the religion of such a people, at least in its fundamental dogmas, could not be unknown to the Romans: reason suggests it and twenty testimonies of history confirm it.(3)

1. *Et ipse erit Expectatio gentium.* Gen. xlix, 10. — *Movebo omnes gentes, et veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus.* Agg. ii, 8. [And He shall be the expectation of the nations. — I will move all nations, and the Desired of all nations shall come.]

2. *Scis, quanta sit manus (Judaeorum), quanta concordia, quantum valeat in concionibus. Submissa voce agam, tantum ut judices audiant, etc.* [Rendered in the text.] *Pro Flacco*, n. 28.

3. See the excellent articles of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, years 1862–1863, 1864.

For example, Herod was the guest and particular friend of Asinius Pollio, to whose son the fourth eclogue of Virgil applies in the literal sense. The Jew Nicholas of Damascus, a clever man to whom Herod entrusted the care of his affairs, was in the good graces of Augustus. Macrobius reports that Augustus even knew the law by which the Jews were forbidden to eat pork. Now it is known that the expectation of the Messias was the basis of the Mosaic religion. As the advent of the Desired of the nations approaches, a more vivid light spreads through the world: one would say the first rays of the star of Jacob. It is about to appear; and Virgil, interpreter of the Sibyl of Cumae, sings at the court of Augustus the approaching arrival of the Son of God, who, descending from heaven, shall efface the crimes of the world, slay the Serpent and bring back the golden age upon the earth.

To the orators and priests of Rome the gravest historians are joined. “All the East,” writes Suetonius, “resounded with an ancient and constant tradition that the fates had decreed that at that time Judea would give masters to the universe.”(1) Tacitus is no less formal. “It was generally believed,” he says, “that the ancient books of the priests announced that at that time the East would prevail, and that from Judea would come the masters of the world.”(2) This lively expectation of the Messias was found among all peoples, however disfigured the primitive religion was among them. A Chinese tradition, as old as Confucius, announces that in the West the Just One will appear. According to the second Zoroaster, contemporary of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and reformer of the religion of the Persians: One day a man will arise, conqueror of the demon, teacher of truth, restorer of justice on earth and prince of peace. A spotless Virgin will give Him birth. The appearance of the Holy One will be signalled by a star, whose miraculous course will lead His adorers to the place of His birth.(3)

1. *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur.* [Rendered in the text.] *In Vespas.*, n. 4.

2. *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaea rerum potirentur.* [Rendered in the text.] *Hist.*, lib. V, n. 3.

3. Schmidt, *Rédemption du genre humain*, pp. 66–174.

Down to our own time heresy and even unbelief have recognized and respected this unanimous accord of East and West. “Immemorial traditions,” says the learned Englishman Maurice, “derived from the patriarchs and spread throughout the East, touching the fall of man and the promise of a future mediator, had taught the whole pagan world to expect, about the time of the coming of Jesus Christ, the appearance of an illustrious and sacred personage.”(1) The impious Volney holds the same language: “The sacred and mythological traditions of the times anterior to the ruin of Jerusalem had spread through all Asia a dogma perfectly analogous to that of the Jews concerning the Messias. They spoke only of a great Mediator, a final Judge, a future Saviour who, king, God, conqueror and lawgiver, was to bring back the golden age upon the earth, deliver it from the empire of evil, and restore to men the reign of good, peace and happiness.”(2) Such was the universality and vividness of this belief that, according to a tradition of the Jews, recorded in the Talmud and in several other ancient works, a great number of Gentiles repaired to Jerusalem about the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, to see the Saviour of the world when He should come to redeem the house of Jacob.(3)

1. Id. *ubi supra.* [Gaume’s “Id.” refers to Schmidt.]

2. *Ruines*, c. xx, n. 13.

3. *Talmud.*, c. xi. [as printed]

In sum, two facts are certain as the existence of the sun. First fact: until the coming of the Incarnate Word all the peoples of the earth awaited a deliverer. Second fact: since the coming of Our Lord this general expectation has ceased. What is to be concluded from this? Either that the human race, instructed by the traditions of its cradle and by the oracles of the prophets, was mistaken in awaiting a deliverer and in recognizing Our Lord Jesus Christ as such; or that Our Lord Jesus Christ is truly the Desired of the nations: there is no middle way. Thus the earth bends the knee before Him and acknowledges Him as its redeemer: *Omne genu flectatur terrestrium.* [Let every knee of the earthly bow.]

Hell itself could not remain a stranger to the advent of the Messias. For it, it was a question of life or death. How many times in the Gospel do we see the unclean spirits not only yield to the orders of Jesus, but even proclaim Him Son of God! However repeated, this individual homage was not enough. Before the eternal Word, the living Word descended upon earth to instruct the world, the demoniacal word, Satan and his oracles, had to fall silent. It was even necessary, by a just reversal, that their last accents should be a solemn proclamation of the divinity and the coming upon earth of Him who reduced them to silence.

On this subject Plutarch, in his book on the *Cessation of the Oracles*, relates a marvellous story. It is a dialogue among several Roman philosophers, one of whom expresses himself as follows: “A grave man, incapable of lying, Epitherses, father of the rhetorician Aemilianus, whom some of you have heard, and who was my countryman and my grammar-master, related that he made a voyage to Italy on a ship carrying merchandise and many passengers. One evening, as they were near the Echinades islands,(1) the wind fell, and the ship was driven into the neighbourhood of the island of Paxos. Most of the passengers were still awake, and many were drinking after supper, when suddenly a voice was heard from that island, as if someone were calling Thamus. That was the name of the pilot, who was an Egyptian, but whose name very few of the passengers knew. All the company was plunged in astonishment, and the pilot did not answer the voice, though it had called him twice. However, he answered a third call, and the voice then cried to him: When thou shalt pass near Palodes, announce to that place that the great Pan is dead.

1. [Gaume’s note: “Today Curzolari, Paros and Antiparos.”] [Gaume’s “Parée” is the island of Paxos in Plutarch; his modern identification is as printed.]

"All the passengers knew not what to think, and asked one another whether it were prudent to execute the order that had just been given, or whether it were not better to concern themselves no more with the affair. But Thamus declared that if the wind blew he would pass before Palodes without saying anything; but that if, on the contrary, the weather were calm, he would say what he had heard. Now when they were near Palodes, as the weather was calm and the sea tranquil, Thamus, placing himself at the stern of the ship and turning toward the land, cried as he had heard: The great Pan is dead.(1) Scarcely had he pronounced these words when a great multitude was heard uttering an immense sigh. As there were many passengers on board the ship, this event was soon known at Rome, where it became the subject of all conversation, so that the Emperor Tiberius sent for Thamus to come before him. This affair produced such an impression even on his mind that he had very exact researches made concerning this Pan whose death had been announced."(2)

1. *Pan*, universal; great Pan, great universal, God of gods. [Gaume's gloss, resting on the Greek *pan*, "all".]

2. Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, ch. 17.

History does not say what was the result of the imperial researches; but from the analogy of the facts, tradition conjectures it with foundation. They ended in establishing the death of Him whom the centurion of Calvary had proclaimed Son of God. "The voices in question," writes Doctor Sepp, "were mysterious voices of nature, of which the infernal powers made use to communicate to men this news, an object of terror to themselves. The death of the Son of God was announced throughout the whole earth by strange phenomena.(3) Paganism felt to its inmost depths, in its oracles, the recoil of this great event.

3. *Catéchisme de persévérance* [Gaume's own], vol. III, 155 ff., 8th ed. [as printed]

"Just as a sign appearing in the heavens had announced to Eastern Sabaeism the birth of the Saviour, so the death of Him who had descended into hell is announced in the West, by the oracles of hell, to the worshippers of demons, even in Rome, their capital. And just as at the arrival of the Magi, Herod assembled the wise men among the Jews to question them on the birth of the Messias, so Tiberius here consults the wise men of his people on the news of His death. This event is all the more remarkable in that, a short time after, Pilate's report on the death of Jesus reached Rome, to the emperor's palace."(1) According to Tertullian, this report contained, in abridgement, the life, the miracles, the passion and the death of Our Lord. "Pilate," says the great Christian apologist, "in his conscience already a Christian, wrote all this concerning Christ to Tiberius, then emperor. From that moment the emperors would have believed in Jesus Christ, had not the Caesars been slaves of the age, or had Christians been able to be Caesars. Be that as it may, when Tiberius had learned from Palestine the facts which proved the divinity of Christ, he proposed to the senate to place Him among the gods, and himself gave Him his vote. The senate, not approving it, rejected his request. The emperor persisted in his opinion, and threatened with his wrath those who should accuse the Christians."(2)

1. Sepp, vol. I, 145, 146.

2. *Tiberius ergo … annunciatum sibi ex Syria Palaestina quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus quia non in se probaverat, respuit. Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus christianorum.* [Rendered in the text.] *Apol.*, v, and Pamelius's notes 57 and 58.

Thus: to loose their prey, to proclaim His divinity, to become mute, to announce His death, to desert, never to return, their temples and sacred groves: such are the acts by which the demons bend the knee before the Incarnate Word and acknowledge Him as their conqueror: *Omne genu flectatur infernorum.* [Let every knee of those under the earth bow.] Since the passage upon earth of the Son of Mary all the centuries have continued to bend the knee before Him. His divine personality is the basis of their history, the very reason of their existence and of their name. At what date does the fall of Graeco-Roman paganism go back, the appearance in human language of the great name of Christian, the birth of the most powerful nation of the

globe, the Catholic nation, the overthrow of Caesarian tyranny, the abolition of slavery? When did divorce, polygamy, the oppression of woman, the legal murder of the child, human sacrifices disappear from the soil of the West? Address all these questions to the peoples who make up the elite of humanity: with one voice they will name to you Jesus Christ, His doctrine and His epoch. If you run through, one after the other, all the elements of modern civilization, you will not find a single one which does not suppose faith in the Incarnation, that is, in the life, the miracles, the divinity, the death, the resurrection, the whole history of Our Lord.

And the modern Renans dare to say that miracles have never been seen; in particular that the resurrection of a dead man is a fact impossible or at least without example! Pygmies of doubt, they do not see that they are themselves a living affirmation of this miracle! They do not see that they cannot name the year of their birth, of the birth or death of their father, the year of the events they relate, admit or combat, without affirming the miracle whose existence they foolishly affect to deny! Impotent deniers, you lie to yourselves; but only to yourselves. In spite of your denials it remains as evident as day that the whole religious, political, social and domestic history of the modern world proceeds from the resurrection of a dead man; and that European civilization, like your own intellectual life, has a tomb for its pedestal. If therefore Jesus Christ is not risen, everything is false, and the human race is mad. But if the human race is mad, prove that you are not.

Thus, awaited and desired, believed and adored, the God-Man, the Incarnate Word, the second creation of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, is the centre to which all leads, the hearth from which all proceeds, the fundamental fact on which rests the edifice of reason and of history, which is itself in its course but the development of this divine fact. “Christianity therefore possesses all the characters of a central revelation: unity, universality, simplicity, and a fecundity such that eighteen centuries of meditation and research have not been able to exhaust it, and that science, the deeper it digs into this abyss, discovers in it new depths. This is what gives Christianity the seal of divinity, and its demonstrations that of perfection.”(1)

1. Sepp, introd., 24.

The Incarnation being what it is in the plan of Providence, the king of the City of Evil could not fail, as we have said, to make his last efforts to prevent belief in this dogma, destroyer of his empire. Therefore the counterfeits which he had multiplied to disorient the faith of the human race in the divine maternity of the Virgin of virgins, he employs with a desolating skill to make impossible the faith of the nations in the divinity of her Son.

Instructed from the origin of the world of the incarnation of the Word, he takes counsel and says: Lest this God-Man be acknowledged as the only true God, son of an ever-virgin virgin, signal oracle of truth, deliverer and saviour of men, let us invent a multitude of gods among whom we shall divide His different traits: visible gods, born of goddesses and demigods; wise, powerful and good gods who will give oracles, who will protect men, who will deliver them from their enemies, who will be listened to by the wise, feared by the peoples, served by emperors; ancient gods, new gods, and so many that, in spite of heaven, we shall be masters of the earth.(1)

1. See d’Argentan, *Grandeurs de la sainte Vierge*, c. xxiv, § 2, 431.

From this infernal council have come the innumerable counterfeits of the great Deliverer, the hope of the human race. Run through the history of the pagan world, ancient and modern: everywhere you will find the disfigured type of the Messias, God-Man and regenerator of all things. The Indian offers Him to you in Krishna, incarnation of Vishnu, who directs in the firmament the march of the stars, and who is born among shepherds. Here He is in Buddha who, under various names, is at once the god of China, of Thibet and of Siam. He is born of a royal virgin, who does not lose her virginity in bringing him into the world. Disquieted at his birth, the king of the country puts to death all the children born at the same time as he. But Buddha, saved by shepherds, lives like them in the desert until the age of thirty. It is then that he begins his mission,

teaches men, delivers them from evil spirits, works miracles, gathers disciples, leaves them his doctrine and ascends to heaven. Let us see Him in the Feridun of the Persians, conqueror of Zohak, on whose shoulders were born two serpents which had to be fed each day with the brains of two men.

“Heirs of the primitive traditions, all peoples knew that evil had entered the world by a serpent; they knew that the ancient dragon was one day to be conquered, and that a god, born of a woman, was to crush his head. Hence we find among all the peoples of antiquity the reflection of this divine tradition in a particular myth, whose shades vary according to times and places, but whose substance remains the same.

“Apollo fights against Python; Horus, against Typhon, whose very name signifies serpent; Ormuzd against Ahriman, the great serpent who presents to the woman the fruit the enjoyment of which made her criminal toward God; Krishna against the dragon Kaliya-Naga, and broke his head. Thor among the Germans, Odin among the peoples of the North, are conquerors of the great serpent which encircles the earth like a girdle. Among the Thibetans it is Durga who struggles against the serpent. All these traits scattered in the mythologies of different peoples, Graeco-Roman paganism had united in Heracles or Hercules.”(1)

1. D’Argentan, *Grandeurs de la sainte Vierge*, 25–27.

This demigod, saviour of men, exterminator of monsters, is son of Jupiter and of a mortal. Scarcely born, he kills two serpents sent to devour him. Grown up, he withdraws to a solitary place, finds himself the butt of temptation, and decides for virtue. Endowed with extraordinary physical strength, he devotes himself to the good of men, travels over the earth, punishes injustice, destroys harmful animals, procures liberty for the oppressed, strangles the lion of Nemea, slays the hydra of Lerna, delivers Hesione, descends into hell and drags from it the guardian Cerberus. These exploits and others no less brilliant make up the twelve labours of Hercules, a sacred number which represents the universality of the benefits for which the human race is indebted to the heroic demigod. Hercules succumbs at last in his struggle for humanity; but from the midst of the flames of his pyre, raised on the summit of Mount Oeta, he mounts to the celestial dwelling.

Let us add that Hercules was the principal object of the mysteries of Greece, in which his birth, his actions and his death were continually celebrated. Let us add again that, under one name or another, Hercules is found among all the peoples of East and West: Candaules in Lydia, Bel in Syria, Som in Egypt, Melkart at Tyre, Rama in India, Ogmios in the Gauls. How can one fail to see, in this universal Hercules, the disfigured type of the Desired of all nations, who runs His course as a liberator and offers His life to expiate the sins of the world?(1)

1. Satan had popularized in Egypt another counterfeit of the reconciling God. Each year a solemn spectacle was offered to the people, of which the life of Osiris formed the basis. The sun-god is born in the form of a child; a star announces his birth; the god grows up and finds himself obliged to take flight, pursued by wild beasts; succumbing at last to persecution, he dies. Then begins a solemn mourning; the sun-god, lately deprived of life, rises again, and his resurrection is celebrated. See also Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride.*

Thus the struggle, the characters and the hero of the struggle are found all over the earth. At the bottom of the traditions of the different peoples one discovers the more or less altered type of the Messias, of His work and of His life: the annunciation, the birth from a virgin, the persecution of Herod, the victorious struggle against the serpent, the death, the resurrection, the deliverance of the human race and the ascension into heaven. If all these myths were not modelled upon a common truth; if they were solely the fruit of the imagination of the peoples, how explain such an accord among all the nations of the universe, and what would have been its purpose? If Lucifer and humanity had not been instructed, the one very clearly, the other confusedly, that the Redeemer would one day appear under these traits, where would they have taken them? But the historical reality which has served as basis to all these myths, where do we find it if not in the person of the Incarnate Word who changed the face of the world at the price of His labours and His blood? If the whole universe, we say again, after being mistaken for four thousand years in its hopes, is mistaken for two thousand years in its

faith, what is true for the human mind?

Translator's notes — Chapter XIV

1. **Gaume's apologetic method.** This chapter is an argument from the "universal expectation" of a Redeemer and from the pagan "counterfeits" (Hercules, Krishna, Buddha, Osiris). The parallels between pagan myths and the Gospel narrative (e.g. Buddha's virgin birth and flight, Osiris's star and resurrection) are borrowed, largely from d'Argentan and Sepp, from nineteenth-century sources whose accounts are in many cases inaccurate or reflect later Christian influence; I translate them as Gaume gives them and do not vouch for them. The assertion that Satan devised them "in council" is Gaume's theological premise.

2. **Astronomy.** The calculation that Uranus completed its "fiftieth revolution" in the year of Christ's birth is Sepp's, via Schubert. Uranus's period is about 84 years, so fifty revolutions would amount to about 4,200 years; the claim also assumes Uranus was known to the ancients, which it was not (discovered 1781). The passage is reproduced as printed; I have not verified it, and I flag it as dubious.

3. **Pan and Thamus.** Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 17 (Moralia 419 B–D). Plutarch's text says the pilot Thamus was told to announce at Palodes (Gaume's spelling) that "great Pan is dead", and that Tiberius inquired about it. The identification of Pan's death with the death of Christ is a Christian tradition from Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* V, 17), not Plutarch's. Gaume's gloss "Pan, universal" is the Greek *pan*, "all".

4. **Pilate's report to Tiberius.** Tertullian (*Apol.* v, 2) and the passage quoted from Pamelius's notes; the tradition is ancient but its historicity is generally doubted. Gaume's "in his conscience already a Christian" renders Tertullian's *pro sua conscientia iam Christianus*.

5. **Quoted authors.** "Sepp" (Johann Nepomuk Sepp, *Das Leben Jesu Christi*) and "Schubert" (G. H. von Schubert, *Die Symbolik des Traumes*), cited as in the French translations Gaume used. "Schmidt, *Rédemption du genre humain*" and "Maurice" (Thomas Maurice, English orientalist) I could not verify. Volney's quotation is from *Les Ruines*, ch. xx.

6. **Suetonius and Tacitus.** *Vespasian* 4 and *Histories* V, 13 — Gaume prints "V, n. 3". **Josephus**, *Jewish War* VI, v, 4. **Cicero**, *Pro Flacco* 28 (66).

7. **"Pygmées du doute".** "Pygmies of doubt": Gaume's rhetorical attack on Renan (whose *Vie de Jésus*, 1863, denied the miraculous).

8. **Cornelius a Lapide** on Aggeus ii, 8 for the "recapitulation" of all things in Christ. **Heracles** and the "Candaules, Bel, Som, Melkart, Rama, Ogmios" identifications are d'Argentan's; as printed.

9. **"Omne genu flectatur…"** Gaume's own adaptation of Phil. ii, 10, in the Vulgate order *coelestium, terrestrium, infernorum*; I give Latin and English in each case.

Chapter XV. Third Creation of the Holy Spirit: The Church

Relations between the Blessed Virgin and the Church. — What the Blessed Virgin is to the Incarnate Word, the Church is to the Christian. — Like Mary, the Church is formed by the Holy Spirit. — Words of Saint Basil. — Detailed history of Pentecost.

The Incarnation is the axis of the world. Universal history is only the unfolding of this mystery: once it is accomplished in the last of the elect, time will end. To realize the God-Man, the Holy Spirit created Mary. To generalize the God-Man, He creates the Church. As the Christian is the prolongation of Jesus Christ, the Church is the prolongation of Mary. What Mary is to Jesus, the Church is to the Christian. The divine traits which distinguish Mary distinguish the Church. Mary is the first creation of the Holy Spirit in the law of grace; the Church is the third. Mary is filled with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit; the Church is filled with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Mary is a virgin; the Church is a virgin. Mary is a mother and ever a virgin; the

Church is a mother and ever a virgin. The Holy Spirit, coming upon Mary, rests in her always: He protects her, inspires her, directs her. Descended upon the Church, the Holy Spirit dwells in her always, to protect, inspire and direct her. Mary is the hearth of charity; the Church is the hearth of charity. These analogies and others still reveal the mysterious unity which presides over the deification of man: a few details on each.

Mary is the first creation of the Holy Spirit; the Church, the third. "The third Person of the august Trinity," says Saint Basil, "does not leave the God-Man risen from the dead. Man had lost the grace which he had received, on the day of his creation, from the breath of God. The Incarnate Word wills to restore it to him. To this end He breathes upon the face of His disciples. And what does He say to them? *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.* What does this mean, if not that the Church, her hierarchy and her government are evidently and without contradiction the work of the Holy Spirit? It is He Himself, says Saint Paul, who has given to the Church first apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, doctors; then the gift of tongues and of miracles, as He hath judged fitting."(1)

1. *Ecclesiae ordo et gubernatio nonne palam et citra contradictionem per Spiritum sanctum peragitur?* [Are not the order and government of the Church carried on openly and without contradiction by the Holy Spirit?] *Lib. de Spirit. sancto,* c. xvi, n. 39.

Let us open the sacred Book and follow step by step the narrative of this marvellous creation. It will show us that the Holy Spirit formed the Church as He formed Mary.

Cum complerentur dies Pentecostes: When the days of Pentecost were accomplished. "As the days of Pentecost were being accomplished." The resurrection and ascension of the Saviour had been so arranged that the descent of the Holy Spirit was to take place, by virtue of the sacred numbers, at the feast of the Mosaic Pentecost. As on those days the Holy Spirit had, by the ministry of the angels, given Moses the law of fear, which definitively constituted the Hebrews as a nation, and a separate nation; so He chose those solemn days to give in person the law of love which substituted the Church for the synagogue, and definitively constituted the great Catholic family as a universal nation. This is why the descent of the Holy Spirit did not take place on the very day of the Mosaic Pentecost, but on the morrow, the first day of the great octave. It is known, indeed, that the Jews celebrated Pentecost on the Saturday, and the apostles celebrated it on the Sunday. To choose for the regeneration of the world the very day of its creation, and the day on which, by His glorious resurrection, the Redeemer had triumphed over Satan: this is one of those beautiful harmonies met at every step in the divine work.

2. Acts ii, 1.

Erant omnes pariter in eodem loco: [They were all together in one place.] "They were all together in one place." From her tenderest childhood Mary, shut up in the temple, had prepared herself with care for the visit of the Holy Spirit. Scarcely born of the blood of Calvary, the Church had withdrawn into the cenacle, in order to prepare herself by recollection for the coming of the Holy Spirit and to call down His favours. A hundred and twenty persons composed the young society. This, among the Jews, was the number required to form an ecclesiastical community; for a hundred and twenty persons composed the great synagogue under Esdras when he re-established the state and worship of the nation.(1) Making all together but one heart, one soul and one ardent prayer to ask for the Holy Spirit, they were in the same place: *in eodem loco.* This place was the cenacle.

1. Sepp, *Hist. de Notre-Seigneur*, vol. II, 78.

For what purpose did the Holy Spirit choose the cenacle as the first theatre of His marvellous revelations? Because it was the holiest place on earth. In this same cenacle the Lord instituted the divine Eucharist, and after His resurrection appeared to the apostle Thomas. There also, in memory of the greatest prodigies, was

built the most holy Sion, the most venerable of Churches. Sacred place, witness of more astonishing marvels than Sinai, the Jordan, Thabor; blessed place, which recalled to the apostles the ineffable goodness of the Master, His divine discourses, and their first communion from the very hand of Jesus. How they were to return to it with tenderness and remain there with love!(2) This cenacle was in the house of Mary, mother of John surnamed Mark, and cousin of Saint Barnabas.(3) According to two illustrious Fathers of the Eastern Church, Saint Hesychius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Saint Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, the Holy Spirit descended at the very moment when Saint Peter was celebrating, in the midst of the disciples, the august sacrifice of the Mass. As soon as the divine eagle saw the body of Jesus and perceived the ineffable perfume of that immaculate flesh, he darts down from heaven. Admirable contrast! The Spirit of God had separated from man because the flesh had drawn him into its shameful lusts,(4) and the demon had taken possession of humanity. But behold, the most pure flesh of Jesus presents itself before God. At once the Spirit descends, drawn by all its pure beauties, fascinated by all its loveliness, and with it He abides for ever: and this divine flesh, multiplied to infinity, extends to all places and to all ages the union of the Holy Spirit with humanity.

2. Alexand., *in Vita B. Barnabae*, ap. Corn. a Lap. in Act. i, 13. [Gaume's reference as printed.]

3. Baron., an. 34.

4. Gen. vi, 3.

Et factus est repente de coelo sonus: [And suddenly there came a sound from heaven.] "And suddenly there came a sound from heaven." Each of these divine words contains a treasure of truth. *Suddenly*: the apostles did not expect it, and had no share in it. Thus we learn that the Holy Spirit poured forth the abundance of His interior and exterior gifts by His pure liberality. We see also the promptness and force of His grace, which in the twinkling of an eye changes earthly men into heavenly men: Peter into a hero, Magdalen into a saint. O the admirable workman that the Holy Spirit is! In His school there is no delay in learning: He touches the soul and He teaches it: to have touched it is to have taught it.(1) *From heaven:* to show that there is the dwelling of the Holy Spirit, that He is God, and that He comes to raise the apostles to heaven, and through them the whole world. Powerful lever! "Today," cries the great Chrysostom, "earth becomes heaven for us, not by the descent of the stars upon the earth, but by the ascension of the apostles into heaven. Of the universe the abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit makes a single heaven, not by changing the nature of beings, but by deifying wills. He finds pagans, and makes of them Christians;

1. *Qualis est artifex iste Spiritus! Nulla ad discendum mora agitur in omne quod voluerit. Mox enim ut tetigerit mentem, docet, solumque tetigisse, docuisse est.* [What a workman is this Spirit! There is no delay in learning in whatever He wills. For as soon as He has touched the mind, He teaches; and to have touched it alone is to have taught.] S. Greg., *Hom.* xxx, *in Evang.* [Gaume prints "xxi".]

worshippers of the demon, worshippers of the true God; thieves, men detached from the world; persecutors, apostles; public women, He makes them the equals of virgins. He puts wickedness to flight and replaces it by goodness; the law of universal hatred by the law of universal love; slavery by liberty.

"To work these marvels, all means are good to Him. He takes the timid apostles, and what does He make of them? He makes of them vine-dressers, and fishermen, and towers, and pillars, and physicians, and generals, and doctors, and harbours, and governors, and shepherds, and athletes, and triumphant wrestlers. As pillars, they are the supports and foundations of the Church. As harbours, they shelter the world from the storms of persecutions, heresies, scandals. They have triumphed over them for themselves and for us; they triumph over them still: they will triumph over them always. As governors, they have put humanity back on the right road. As shepherds, they have driven off the wolves and preserved the sheep. As husbandmen, they have torn up the thorns and sown the seed of piety. As physicians, they have healed our wounds.

"And that thou mayest not take my words for empty speech, I put before thy eyes Paul, doing all these things. Wouldst thou see a husbandman? Hear: *I have planted; Apollo watered; but God gave the increase.* A builder? *As a wise architect, I have laid the foundation.* A soldier? *I fight, not as one beating the air.* A courier? From Jerusalem and round about as far as Illyricum and beyond, to Spain and to the ends of the earth, I have filled all with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. An athlete? *Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the powers of the air.* A general? *Take the armour of God, and put on the breastplate of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit.* A warrior? *I have fought a good fight, I have kept the charge.* A triumpher? *A crown of justice is laid up for me.* What Paul does alone, each apostle does, because the Holy Spirit, being indivisible, is entire in each."(1)

1. *Serm.* i *de Pentecost.* [Chrysostom (so attributed); as printed.]

Tanquam advenientis Spiritus vehementis: [As of a mighty wind coming.] "A sound as of a mighty wind coming." This wind was not the Holy Spirit, but His emblem. Why this emblem and not another? To show the irresistible force of the Holy Spirit. Of all the elements the wind is the strongest. In a few minutes it overturns the Ocean to its depths and raises to the clouds the heavy mass of its waters; or it uproots, as in sport, forests centuries old. A violent wind, He will make the apostles ardent for battle and invincible in the conquest of the world. Animated by the breath of the Holy Spirit, their word is going to make the idols fall, shake empires, confound all potentates; drive away the waterless clouds of error and of philosophy; purify the air corrupted by twenty centuries of nauseous darkness; bring from the four quarters of heaven the clouds laden with fruitful rains, quicken in souls the divine sap, and drive them, under full sail, like well-equipped ships, toward the shores of the eternal Jerusalem.(2)

2. Corn. a Lap., *in Dan.* iii.

Et replevit totam domum: [And it filled the whole house.] "And it filled the whole house." In the moral as in the physical order, the wind or breath is the sign of life. Principle of life, the Holy Spirit, figured by this wind, fills the whole house where the apostles were; but He fills only that. Thus, to have the Holy Spirit, one must be in the house of the apostles, that is, in the Church. "The Holy Spirit," says Saint Augustine admirably, "is only in the body of Jesus Christ. The body of Jesus Christ is the holy Catholic Church. Outside this divine body the Holy Spirit gives life to no one."(1) And elsewhere: "Let them become the body of Christ, if they wish to live by the spirit of Christ. Only the body of Christ lives by the spirit of Christ. My body certainly lives by my spirit. Wouldst thou live by the spirit of Christ? Be in the body of Christ. Does my body live by thy spirit? My body lives by my spirit, and thine by thy spirit."(2)

1. *Epist.* [Augustine, letter 185 (*De correctione Donatistarum*), ch. xi, 50].

2. *Fiant corpus Christi si volunt vivere de spiritu Christi. De spiritu Christi non vivit, nisi corpus Christi… Numquid enim corpus meum vivit de spiritu tuo? Meum vivit de spiritu meo, et tuum de spiritu tuo.* [Rendered in the text.] *Tract.* xxvi, *in Joan.*

He fills it entire, to show that the Church, figured by this house, would one day fill the whole world with the Holy Spirit, and consequently with light and charity. She has done so. Seek at what epoch humanity, drawn from pagan barbarism, began to walk in the way of true civilization, and you will find the day of Pentecost. Wherever it has not shone, the world remains in its ancient degradation. Wherever it wanes, the old darkness returns, and the human race halts in the mire, or marches on to the rocks. "Give me," says Saint Chrysostom, "a light vessel, a pilot, sailors, cables, rigging, all the apparatus necessary for navigation, but not a breath of wind: is it not true that everything remains useless? So it is with humanity. In spite of philosophy, in spite of intelligence, in spite of the amplest provision of discourses, if the Holy Spirit, who gives the impulse, is wanting, all is vain."(1)

1. *Homil. de Spirit. sancto,* vol. III, *sub fin.,* old edition.

Ubi erant sedentes: [Where they were sitting.] “Where they were sitting.” It is not without reason that Scripture marks the attitude of the Church at the moment of the descent of the Holy Spirit. The repose of the body is here the symbol of the quiet and the royalty of the soul: a double disposition necessary to receive the Holy Spirit. Quiet: it is neither in the outward noise of the world nor in the inward tumult of the passions that the Holy Spirit communicates Himself to souls. Royalty: one must be king of one’s soul to receive the Holy Spirit. He Himself says that He does not dwell in the slave of sin. Royalty; let us add that He came to give it to the Church: imperishable royalty against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.

Et apparuerunt illis dispertitae linguae: [And there appeared to them parted tongues.] “And there appeared to them parted tongues.” These tongues said to the eyes that the Holy Spirit hovered over all the inhabitants of the cenacle: the Blessed Virgin, the apostles and the disciples, to whom He was about to communicate the knowledge of the languages of the different nations called to the benefit of the Gospel. Why tongues? The world had been lost by the tongue; by the tongue it was to be saved. Why visible tongues? The greatest theologian of the East gives the reason: “The Son,” says Saint Gregory Nazianzen, “had conversed with us in a sensible and palpable body; it was therefore fitting that the Holy Spirit should appear to men under a bodily form. Thus, as the Word was made flesh to teach us with His own mouth the way of truth and salvation, so the Holy Spirit became, so to speak, incarnate in tongues of fire, to instruct the apostles and the faithful.”(1)

1. Apud Corn. a Lap. *in hunc locum.*

The gift of tongues supposes the knowledge of words and their meaning; the accent or manner of speaking; the clear sight of all the truths necessary to the success of the apostolic preaching, accompanied by consummate prudence to say what was needful and only what was needful, in the midst of so many difficulties and perils, and in face of so great a variety of persons and conjunctures: all this was given to the apostles. Now the gifts of God are without repentance, and the Holy Spirit has always remained in the Church such as He descended upon her in the cenacle. The marvellous gift of tongues has therefore been preserved in the Catholic Church, and in her alone, not only by exception, as in Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Vincent Ferrer, Saint Francis Xavier; but habitually and perpetually for every Catholic. Let us hear Saint Augustine. “What then! my brethren, because today he who is baptized does not speak all tongues, are we to believe that he has not received the Holy Spirit? God forbid that such perfidy should tempt our heart. At baptism every man receives the Holy Spirit, and if he does not speak the tongues of all nations, it is because the Church herself speaks them. Now the Church is the body of Jesus Christ. I am a member of this body which speaks all tongues; I speak them therefore all. United by the close bonds of charity, all the members of this body speak as one man would speak. The Church is their mouth, the Holy Spirit their soul.”(1)

1. *Diffusa Ecclesia per gentes loquitur omnibus linguis; Ecclesia est corpus Christi; in hoc corpore membrum es; cum ergo membrum sis ejus corporis quod loquitur omnibus linguis, crede te loqui omnibus linguis.* [Rendered in the text.] *In Joan.*, Tract. xxxii, n. 7.

Tanquam ignis: [As of fire.] “These tongues were as fire.” The wind and the fire were eloquent symbols of the Holy Spirit. Several times repeated, the mission of the august Person has manifested itself by signs appropriate to each circumstance. “At the baptism of Our Lord,” says the Angel of the schools, “the Holy Spirit appears under the form of a dove, a most fecund bird, to show that the Incarnate Word is the source of spiritual life. Hence that word to the Father: *This is My beloved Son*; through Him all shall become My children. At the Transfiguration He takes the form of a luminous cloud, to announce the exuberance of the doctrine which He will cause to fall upon the world. Hence that word: *Hear ye Him.* To the apostles He comes under the emblem of wind and fire, because He communicates to them the power of ministry in the administration of the sacraments. Hence these words: *Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them.* And in the preaching of doctrine, preaching invincible and victorious over all obstacles. Hence that word: *They began to speak with divers tongues.*”(2)

2. III p., q. 43, art. 7, ad 6.

The tongues of the cenacle were not a real fire, but an apparent fire, whose colour, brilliance and mobility they had. The Holy Spirit chose fire as a symbol for two reasons. The first, because, being love in substance, He is Himself a consuming fire: *ignis consumens.* [a consuming fire.] Fire warms, enlightens, purifies, rises upward. Now the Holy Spirit does all this in souls. The second, because the old law was given on Sinai by fire, in the midst of fire.(1) The reality had to correspond to the figure, and the new law had to be given by fire and in the midst of fire; but without lightnings or thunders, inasmuch as it is a law not of fear, but of love.

1. *In dextera ejus ignea lex.* [In his right hand a fiery law.] Deut. xxxiii, 2.

Sedit que super singulos eorum: [And it sat upon every one of them.] "And this fire in the form of tongues rested upon each of them." The sacred text does not say: The tongues rested, but, *the fire* rested. This singular reveals the profound mystery of a single and universal tongue, though divided into several parts according to the diversity of the nations which were to speak it and to whom it was to be spoken. It reveals again the unity of the Holy Spirit, of whom this tongue was the tongue. What another mystery in this word, *rested!* A flame on the head of a man was, in the eyes of the highest antiquity, the sign of a divine vocation. It was the first time that this phenomenon had been produced among the disciples of the Nazarene. In bearing witness to the divinity of the Master, it proclaimed the great mission entrusted to the apostles. It is by fire, symbol of the Holy Spirit, that God had authorized the prophets. It is under the emblem of fire that the cherubim who accompany the chariot of God appear to Ezechiel.(2) It is in a chariot of fire that Elias is carried up to heaven.

2. Is. vi, 6; Ecclus. xlviii, 1; 4 Kings [2 Kings] xxi, 11 [as printed; reference doubtful]; Lam. i, 13; Ezech. i, 13.

The prophets and cherubim of the old law were only the figure of the apostles. As prophets, they announced the divine oracles, not to one people, but to all peoples. As cherubim, they have drawn the chariot of God throughout the whole world. "Cherubim of the earth," says Saint Gregory Nazianzen, "the Holy Spirit chooses them for His throne and rests upon them as upon the cherubim of heaven."(1) He rests upon them to consecrate them doctors of the world, and to show that they are wholly heavenly men, endowed therefore with a divine wisdom and eloquence. He rests upon them, adds Saint Chrysostom, to announce to the whole universe that He abides with them and with their successors until the consummation of the ages.(2) A permanent abiding which, assuring to the Church infallibility on every day and every hour, confounds beforehand all heresies and condemns to scepticism every reason rebellious to Catholic teaching.

1. *Orat.* xliv.

2. Apud Corn. a Lap. *in Act.* ii, 3.

Translator's notes — Chapter XV

1. **Structure.** Gaume's whole chapter is a verse-by-verse commentary on Acts ii, 1–3; the Latin lemma is italicized and rendered after each. The identification of the Church as "prolongation of Mary" and of the Christian as "prolongation of Jesus Christ" is a Pauline-Augustinian commonplace (the *Christus totus*).

2. **Saint Basil's text.** *De Spiritu Sancto* xvi, 39. Basil's point is the Spirit's role in the Church's order; the "breathing on the face" is John xx, 22 (the Gospel says only "He breathed on them").

3. **Pentecost on Sunday.** Gaume's remark that the Jews kept Pentecost on the Saturday and the apostles on the Sunday follows the Pharisaic/Christian reckoning of the "morrow after the sabbath" (Lev. xxiii, 15); it is Gaume's own harmonization.

4. **Hesychius and Proclus.** That the Holy Spirit descended while Peter celebrated Mass is a pious tradition in these writers as cited by Gaume; I did not verify the attributions.

5. **The cenacle and "house of Mary."** The house of Mary, mother of John Mark (Acts xii, 12), is identified with the cenacle by tradition (here via Cornelius a Lapide and Baronius); the Scripture does not say so. The "hundred and twenty" is from Acts i, 15; the identification of the same number with the "great synagogue under Esdras" is Sepp's (a rabbinic tradition).

6. **Chrysostom's sermon "on Pentecost."** The long passage on the apostles as "vine-dressers, pillars, harbours…" is taken from a homily attributed to Chrysostom (*Hom. i de Pentecoste*); I have not verified its authenticity. In it the quotations from Paul are from 1 Cor. iii, 6; iii, 10; ix, 26; Rom. xv, 19; Eph. vi, 12, 13, 17; 2 Tim. iv, 7–8. The unusual "courier" (*coureur*) for the Greek *dromeus* is rendered literally.

7. **Gregory the Great.** The passage on the Spirit as "workman" is from *Hom.* xxx in Evang. (Gaume prints "xxi").

8. **Augustine.** The two quotations: *Ep.* 185, xi, 50 and *In Joan.* tr. xxvi, 13; and *tr.* xxxii, 7 on the "tongues". The claim that the gift of tongues is habitual in every Catholic is Gaume's inference and Augustine's *argumentum* is spiritual, not literal.

9. **Aquinas.** III, q. 39, art. 6 is the dove article of the preceding chapter; here the passage is III, q. 43, art. 7, ad 6 (as printed); the "Angel of the schools" is Gaume's title for Aquinas.

10. **Wind and fire.** "Chérubins… char de Dieu" cites Ezech. i; Gaume's "IV Reg., xxi, 11" does not match the chariot of fire (that is 4 Kings ii, 11); I print the reference as given, marked doubtful.

Chapter XVI. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Continuation of the history of Pentecost. Explanation of each word of the sacred text. — How many times, and in what manner, the Holy Spirit was given to the apostles. — Teaching of the Fathers. — Resemblances between Mount Sinai and Mount Sion. — Contrast with the tower of Babel. — Drunkenness and folly of the apostles. — Perpetuity and effects of this mysterious drunkenness and this sublime folly.

What is sweeter to children than to contemplate their mother's cradle! Let us therefore continue the detailed account of the birth of the Church. Let us remain in the cenacle, our maternal home, and listen to the sacred text. It adds: *Et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto:* [And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.] "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit." Such is the consummation of the creative mystery. As the Word, becoming incarnate in Mary by the operation of the Holy Spirit, had formed His mother, so the Holy Spirit becomes in a manner incarnate today in the Church, to form the mother of Christians. Let us study some traits of this ravishing parallelism.

Saint Augustine calls the Holy Spirit the vicar and successor of the Word. Now, add the interpreters, as the Word came down, the Holy Spirit willed to come down to finish His work. Hence the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles resembles the descent of the Word into the world, that is, the Incarnation. *As to the substance.* As the substance of the Word descended into the flesh, the Holy Spirit descended substantially upon the apostles. *As to the mode.* The mode of the Incarnation was the hypostatic union; so the person or hypostasis of the Holy Spirit united itself to the apostles in a manner in some way similar. The Word was in the flesh as fire in coal, and the Fathers compare Him to a glowing coal; so the Holy Spirit was like a fire residing in the apostles. *As to the cause.* The descent of the Holy Spirit, like the Incarnation of the Word, had for cause the immense love which carried Him, as God, to load man with the greatest of benefits by communicating Himself to him in the most perfect manner: that is, substantially and personally. *As to the properties.* In Our Lord the properties of human nature are attributed to God and to the Word; so that, by virtue of the communication of idioms, one can say that God was born, and likewise that man is God, almighty, eternal. In the same way between the Holy Spirit and the apostles there exists a kind of communication of idioms, by which the apostles are called holy, divine, spiritual, because of the holy and

divine Spirit whom they receive. Likewise the Holy Spirit Himself is called apostolic, prophetic, doctor, preacher, many-tongued, because He made the apostles such, whose lips became His organs. *As to the fruits.* By becoming incarnate, the second person of the adorable Trinity purified us from our sins, loaded us with every kind of grace, perfected, beatified us and led us to eternal glory. By descending upon the world, the third person did all this. Purification, illumination, perfection, beatification: we owe Him everything.(1)

1. Corn. a Lap., *in hunc locum.* [Acts ii, 4.]

Here a difficulty presents itself. The sacred text has just told us that on the day of Pentecost the apostles were filled with the Holy Spirit: *repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto.* Our Lord ceaselessly promises them this immense favour: "If I go not, the Holy Spirit will not come to you. I will send you another Paraclete. When He is come, He will teach you all truth. In a few days you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified."(2) But what! until the day of Pentecost had the apostles been deprived of the Holy Spirit? If they had received Him, how can Our Lord promise Him to them? Does one receive what one already possesses? Let us hear the Fathers and Doctors.

2. John vii, 39; xiv, 16, 26, etc.

"The Lord," answers Saint Augustine, "says to the apostles: *If you love Me, keep My commandments; and I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete.* Manifestly this Paraclete is the Holy Spirit, without whom one can neither love God nor keep His commandments. But if they had Him not yet, how could they love and fulfil the precepts? And if they had Him already, how is He promised to them? Meanwhile it is commanded them to love and keep the commandments, in order to receive the Holy Spirit.

"The disciples therefore had the Holy Spirit whom the Lord promised them; for they loved their master and observed his precepts. But they had Him not yet, as the Lord promised Him to them. They had Him therefore, and they had Him not; inasmuch as they had Him not as much as they ought to have Him. They had Him inwardly; they were to receive Him outwardly and with éclat. It was a new favour of the Holy Spirit to manifest to themselves what they possessed.

"Of this immense favour the apostle speaks when he says: *Now we have received, not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit that is of God, that we may know the things that are given us from God.*(1) That the Holy Spirit is given with more or less abundance, the proof is in the difference of the charity with which men love God and observe His law. Moreover, if He were not more abundantly in one than in another, Eliseus would not have said to Elias: *Let there be a double portion of thy spirit in me.* The Lord could therefore promise to the apostles what they already had."(2)

1. 1 Cor. ii, 12.

2. *In Joan.* Tract. 74, n. 1 and 2.

Saint Gregory Nazianzen speaks like Saint Augustine. "The Holy Spirit," he says, "was given three times to the apostles, at different epochs and according to the capacity of their intelligence: before the passion, after the resurrection and after the ascension. Before the passion, when they received the power to cast out demons, which manifestly could be done only by the power of the Holy Spirit. After the resurrection, when the Lord breathed upon them, saying: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* After the ascension, when they were all filled with the Holy Spirit: *repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto.* The first time in a more hidden and less efficacious manner; the second more expressive; and the third more complete, in this sense that it is not only in act, as before, but in essence, if I may so express myself, that the Holy Spirit was present to them and conversed with them."(1)

1. *Utpote qui non jam actu praesens sit ut prius, sed essentia, ut sic loquar, adsit, simulque versetur.* [Rendered in the text.] *Orat. in Pentecost.*

The theological truth is, to borrow the language of a learned commentator, that the apostles, before Pentecost, had received the Holy Spirit substantially and personally: *substantialiter et personaliter.*(2) Such is the teaching of the Fathers, and among others of Saint Cyril. On the words of Our Lord, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, he expresses himself in these terms: "By the breathing of the Saviour the apostles became partakers not only of the grace of the Holy Spirit, but of the Holy Spirit Himself. If the grace which is given by the Holy Spirit were separated from the substance of the Holy Spirit, why not say openly: Receive grace through the ministry of the Holy Spirit?"(3) Once in the soul, the Holy Spirit pours forth there His grace, His charity, His gifts: as the sun, once on the horizon, pours over the world its light, its rays and its heat.(4)

2. Corn. a Lap., *in Act. apost.* ii, 4.

3. *Non gratiae sed ipsiusmet unius sancti Spiritus per illam Salvatoris insufflationem participes fuerunt apostoli Domini… Sed si a substantia Spiritus disjuncta esset quae per ipsum datur gratia, cur non aperte dixit: Accipite gratiam per ministerium Spiritus sancti?* [Rendered in the text.] *Dialog.* vii, p. 638. See Petau, *De dogmat. theolog., De Trinit.*, lib. VII, c. v and vi.

4. *Sic est in anima sancta, ac proinde mox in ea suam gratiam, charitatem, aliaque dona divina diffundit et communicat: uti sol ubi oritur, mox suam lucem, radios et calorem spargit.* [Rendered in the text.] Corn. a Lap., *ubi supra.*

But why these successive givings? To teach us that in the order of grace, as in the order of nature, God does everything with measure, number and weight, proportioning the means to the end, and giving each creature what it needs, according to the duties imposed on it. Another mystery: why does the first of these manifest givings take place by breathing, while the other is accomplished under the form of tongues of fire? The risen Saviour was about to entrust to the apostles the admirable power of raising souls dead to the life of grace; and He says to them: "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you." At these words He breathed upon them, saying: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."(1) Recalling in a sensible manner the primitive breathing which made Adam a living being, this breathing hid a great mystery. By this language of action the divine Repairer said: Formerly, as God, by breathing upon Adam, I communicated to him the Holy Spirit, principle of natural and supernatural life; today, by breathing upon you, I give you the Holy Spirit, principle of the supernatural and divine life lost by sin, that you in your turn may communicate it to the human race. It is therefore I, Creator of man, who am his regenerator and restorer.(2)

1. John xx, 21–23.

2. S. Cyril., lib. XII, c. lvi, and S. Athan., *Ad Antioch.*, q. 64. *Primo, per Verbum Dei factus est homo, et inspiravit Deus in eum spiraculum vitae, et suae eum Spiritus participatione munivit… ut ergo ipsum esse discamus qui initio naturam nostram creavit et Spiritu sancto signavit, rursus in initio renovandae naturae sufflatione Spiritum discipulis largitur, ut sicut creati ab initio sumus, ita etiam renovemur.* [First, man was made by the Word of God, and God breathed into him the breath of life, and fortified him by participation of His Spirit… that we may therefore learn that He is the same who in the beginning created our nature and sealed it with the Holy Spirit, again at the beginning of the renewing of nature He bestows the Spirit on the disciples by breathing, that as we were created at the beginning, so also we may be renewed.]

Et coeperunt loqui variis linguis: [And they began to speak with divers tongues.] "And they began to speak with divers tongues." Here are the apostles holy and sanctifying; what do they lack, and what can the third and solemn outpouring of the Holy Spirit give them? "The apostles," says Saint Leo, "who before Pentecost already possessed the Holy Spirit, then received Him in His whole fullness and for different ends."(1)

1. *Serm.* iii, *de Pentecost.*

The first was a great increase of charity. “Two loves,” teach Saint Augustine and Saint Gregory, “constitute perfection: the love of God and the love of neighbour. By the divine breathing the apostles were filled with the love of neighbour and clothed with the sublime power of giving him the greatest of goods, the life of grace. But charity, though the same in its principle, has two objects: God and neighbour. This is why, after the breathing which communicates the love of neighbour, come the tongues of fire which communicate the love of God.

“In dignity this love is the first. Nevertheless the Holy Spirit begins with the second. If, indeed, says Saint John, you love not first your brother whom you see, how will you love God whom you see not? Thus, to form us to the love of neighbour, the Lord, while He was visible on earth, living model of the charity of neighbour, gave the Holy Spirit by breathing on the face of the apostles; then, from heaven, dwelling of divine charity, He sent the Holy Spirit. Receive then the Holy Spirit on earth, and thou lovest thy brother; receive Him from heaven, and thou lovest God.”(1)

1. *Spiritum sanctum accipe in terra, et diligis fratrem; accipe de coelo, et diligis Deum.* [Rendered in the text.] S. Aug., serm. 265, n. 7 and 8; *Tract. in Joan.*, 74, n. 1 and 2; S. Greg., *Homil.* xxx *in Evang.*; S. Bern., serm. ii, n. 14, *in festo Pentecost.*

The second was the preaching of the Gospel through all the earth. Hence the gift of tongues, which the apostles spoke, all of them, as occasion required, with the same facility. Then that other gift of being understood by men of different tongues, while themselves speaking only one language. Before Pentecost the apostles had received the mission to evangelize the whole world; but, not speaking all languages, they had not the instrument of their mission.

The third was the full knowledge of the truth. Before Pentecost their mind was too weak to bear the immense weight of the mysteries of the Incarnate Word, God of God and God Himself. “I have yet many things to teach you,” the Saviour said to them, “but you cannot bear them now; but when the Spirit of truth is come, He will teach you all truth.”(2) Thus, before Pentecost, seeing the Saviour walk upon the waters, they cried out, seized with fear: “It is a ghost.”(3) After Pentecost they write: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He is before all, and by Him all things consist.”(4) So of the other truths.

2. John xvi, 12.

3. Matt. xiv, 26.

4. John i, 1; Coloss. i, 17.

The fourth was the strength to render to the truth the testimony of blood. Before Pentecost it had been said to them to confess the Son of God before tribunals and before synagogues; but none had had the courage to do so. The bravest had denied his master at the voice of a maidservant. Until the coming of the Holy Spirit not a disciple, not an apostle was adorned with the crown of martyrdom. Pentecost comes, and all vie with one another in entering the bloody career and reaping the palms of victory. “They went from the presence of the council rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.”(1)

1. Acts v, 41.

The fifth was the sovereign power to command demons, men and all nature, by means of miracles. Ambassadors of God to all nations, civilized or barbarous, the apostles needed credentials, authentic and legible to all: these were in the gift of miracles; they could be nowhere else. This affirmation is so evident that the world, converted without miracles, would be the greatest of miracles.

Prout Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis: [As the Holy Spirit gave them to speak.] “As the Holy Spirit gave them to speak.” Why all these marvellous gifts: gift of tongues, gift of prophecy, gift of miracles, gift of

superhuman strength and of an intelligence unknown to the prophets of Israel and the sages of the Gentiles; why do all these gifts, accompanied by an immense increase of charity, descend upon the Church only on the days of Pentecost, and not before the ascension of the Saviour? Why, again, are they communicated, not in solitude, but with the greatest éclat? The Fathers find several reasons, worthy of infinite wisdom. “The rich treasures of grace,” says Saint Chrysostom, “which made of the apostles the most extraordinary men the world has seen or will see, were not communicated to them during the mortal life of the Saviour, in order to make them desire them more keenly, and thus prepare them for the reception of those immense favours. This is why the Holy Spirit comes only after the departure of the Master. Had He come while Jesus was with them, they would not have been in lively expectation. They had to be, for a time, sad and orphans, the better to appreciate the benefits of the Comforter.

“He came therefore neither before the ascension nor immediately after, but only at an interval of ten days. It was further necessary that human nature should appear in heaven, perfectly reconciled, and the act of reconciliation signed by God the Father, in presence of all the heavenly court, before the Holy Spirit descended upon the world.”(1)

1. *In Act. apost.*, homil. i, n. 5.

These marvellous gifts are communicated to the Church with an éclat which recalls Sinai, in order authentically to verify the promises of the Saviour and to establish at one stroke, in the eyes of the Jews and Gentiles who had flocked to Jerusalem from all parts of the world, both the divinity of Our Lord and the divinity of the Holy Spirit. As God the Father had displayed His divinity in sending the Son, so the Son, God made flesh, had to send the Holy Spirit as the last proof of His divinity and as supreme glorification of His person, thus demonstrating that this divine person proceeded from the Son as from the Father. The descent of the Holy Spirit was to be one of the fruits of the passion and resurrection of the Saviour, and the ascension, final term of the mysteries of the life of Jesus on earth, the signal of the abundant and visible outpouring of the Holy Spirit.(1)

1. *Domini ascensio dandi Spiritus fuit ratio.* [The Lord’s ascension was the reason of the giving of the Spirit.] S. Leo, *serm. in Pentecost.*

It happened to the Jews with the apostles as it had happened to the patriarch Jacob with his sons. “The sons of Jacob,” says Scripture, “told him that his son Joseph was living and that he ruled in all the land of Egypt. Which when Jacob heard, he awaked as it were out of a deep sleep, yet did not believe them. They, on the other hand, told the whole order of the thing. And when he saw the wagons and all that Joseph had sent, his spirit revived, and he said: It is enough for me, if Joseph my son be yet living: I will go and see him before I die.”(2) So the apostles, sons of the synagogue, announced to their mother that Jesus Christ was risen. But at this news the Jews, as if waking from a deep sleep, remained incredulous. At last, when on the solemn day of Pentecost they had seen the wagons and the magnificent presents, that is, the miraculous gifts sent to the apostles by the divine Joseph, in testimony of His resurrection and of His omnipotence in heaven, they were struck with stupor, ravished with admiration, and said one to another: “Are not all these that speak Galileans? And how have we heard every man our own tongue? And they believed.”(3)

2. Gen. xlv, 26 ff.

3. See Diez, *Summa praedicantium*, vol. II, p. 464.

The same teaching holds for the Gentiles. So many miracles, fruits of the passion of Christ and pledges of His promises, were for them the palpable proof of His divinity and of His triumph in heaven. The spectacle which they had so often seen in human affairs, they saw in the divine order. When kings and emperors take possession of their kingdom, or return victorious from their enemies, they are wont to scatter gold and silver among the people, as a sign of joy and congratulation. So the Son of God, taking possession of heaven His

kingdom, and victor over the demon, pours upon the Church an immense outpouring of wonderful graces. Saint Peter takes care to say: “This Jesus hath God raised up, … being exalted by the right hand of God, hath poured forth this which you see and hear.”(1) Now this generation of Jews and Gentiles, eyewitness of the miracles of Pentecost, has perpetuated itself and spread over the globe. Of the two peoples, fused into one, it forms the Catholic Church, the elite of humanity, indestructible race whose obstinacy in believing the prodigies of its cradle has blunted, for eighteen centuries, the axe of all executioners and baffled the wiles of all sophists.

1. Acts ii, 32, 33.

By the incomparable gifts of Pentecost the divinity of the Holy Spirit is proved with no less evidence than the divinity of the Saviour. He is God whom a God gives as another Himself. Now, before leaving them, the Son of God had said to His apostles: “I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who shall abide with you for ever: He shall give testimony of Me, and you shall give testimony of Me.”(2) Upon which Saint Augustine expresses himself thus: “Another, not inferior to Me, but like Me, in glory, in nature, in substance, though other in person. He spoke thus in order that the faith of the apostles, prepared by this infallible promise, might acknowledge as true God Him who was promised them in place of a God. See with what precision this promise expresses the mystery of the Trinity! It names the Father, who is to be asked; the Son, who is to ask; the Holy Spirit, who is to be sent.”(1)

2. John xiv, 17, etc.

“Ineffable goodness of the Redeemer! He carries man to heaven, and He sends God upon earth. In the Creator what care of his creature! For the second time a new physician is sent from heaven. For the second time the sovereign Majesty deigns to come in person to visit His sick. For the second time heaven unites itself to earth by deputing to it the vicar of the Redeemer. What the Word began, He comes by His particular virtue to consummate; what He redeemed, to sanctify; what He acquired, to guard. Thus are revealed, by the unity of grace and office, the unity of God, the Trinity and the perfect equality of the persons.”(2)

1. *Quam bene sub titulo promissionis, distinctionem applicuit Trinitatis! Pater est, qui indicatur rogandus; Filius est, qui intelligitur rogaturus; Spiritus sanctus, qui promittitur a Patre mittendus.* [Rendered in the text.] *Homil.* viii *in Miss. Spir. sanct.*

2. *Vicarius Redemptoris, ut beneficia quae Dominus inchoavit, peculiari Spiritus sancti virtute, consummet; et quod ille redemit, iste sanctificet; quod ille acquisivit, iste custodiat.* [Rendered in the text.] Id., *Serm.* 185 *de Tempore.*

He is God who, since the day of Pentecost, does all the works of God and does them with more éclat than the Son of God Himself. Who completes the teachings of the Saviour? Who procures for the apostles a consolation equal to the loss of a God? Who communicates to them the gift of tongues and of miracles? Who teaches them the truth with which they have flooded the world? Who gives them the invincible strength to bear witness to their master before judges and before philosophers, at Jerusalem, at Athens, at Rome? Who preserves in the Church all these gifts unknown to any other society? Is it not the Holy Spirit, who is to the Church what the soul is to the body?(1)

1. S. Aug., *Lib. de Gratia Nov. Test.*, and Corn. a Lap., *in Joan.* xiv, 17. [The Augustine reference as printed.]

That this river of miraculous gifts, whose source is in the cenacle, continues to flow upon the world, one has only to open one’s eyes to see. Whence take their beginning all those generations of martyrs who, for the Catholic faith, have braved and still brave the rack, the pyres, the firebrands, the sword, the cangue, the most exquisite tortures; all those choirs of virgins who, to save their virginity, have fought, and still fight even to death, both seductions and threats and torments; all those swarms of solitaries, anchorites, religious men and

women who have lived and still live solely for God, separated from the world, as heavenly men or as earthly angels; all those orders of pontiffs, prelates and priests who, full of holiness, have governed and still wisely govern the churches and souls entrusted to their solicitude, and form them to a perfect holiness; all those legions of doctors, preachers, confessors who, by word and writing, have spread and still spread over the whole world treasures of doctrine and piety; all those myriads of faithful, men and women, who have lived and still live in the world soberly, justly and godly, looking for the blessed hope and coming of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ? In a word, who formed and preserves the great Catholic nation, whose lights and virtues make it shine among the nations, like the sun among the stars of the firmament? Is it not the Holy Spirit? And is not this a magnificent and perpetual testimony that this divine Spirit renders to Himself and to the divinity of Him who sent Him?(1)

1. Corn. a Lap., *in Joan.* viii, 39. [As printed; the reference is probably to John xiv.]

Thus prodigies twice mysterious, by the time at which they are accomplished and by their likeness to other prodigies, accompanied the birth of the Church. Fifteen hundred years before, at the creation of the Synagogue on Sinai, the mountain was shaken to its foundations. While from the summit issued torrents of flame and smoke, Moses came down, his face aflame, to proclaim in the presence of the people of Israel the precepts of the decalogue. Today Mount Sion replaces Sinai. Today, amid the same signs, the Church of the new alliance is founded. New Moses, Peter announces to the astonished Jews the end of the old law, the accomplishment of all the prophecies and the resurrection of bodies, wrought in the person of Christ, first-fruits of them that rise. It was about nine o'clock. The crowd was coming out of the temple, where it had just assisted at the morning sacrifice, when it heard the noise of the tempest, saw the house tremble, and men all inspired come out to speak to the people. Instead of returning home, each runs to the square of the cenacle.

Marvellous contrast! today all the peoples under heaven who had formerly separated at Babel find themselves together in their representatives, and form but one and the same society. There were, indeed, at Jerusalem at that moment men belonging to the three branches of humanity and to the three mother tongues spoken upon earth. Among the children of Sem there were Elamites, Mesopotamians, Lydians, Arabs and Jews. The descendants of Cham were represented by Egyptians, Cyrenians, inhabitants of Colchis, Chanaanites or Phoenicians. The sons of Japheth, by Romans, Greeks, Parthians, Medes, Cretans, Pamphylians, Cappadocians, Phrygians.(1) "All these peoples, though speaking different languages, understood the discourses of the apostles. The contrary of what had happened at Babel took place on this day. There, the spirit of God had descended to confound the language of men and so force them to separate. Here, He descends again, and the tongues which had been divided then are found again in one language comprehensible to all. Called henceforth to form but one family, all peoples today recognize one another, before the representatives of God, as the children of one Father. The word announced to them is the Catholic word. This is why all the tribes of the earth find themselves today forming a single society, spiritual and visible at once, by the bond of that religion which at the beginning united peoples and tongues. Therefore the Fathers of the Church fear not to call the events which are accomplished today the counterpart of Babel."(2)

1. Acts ii, 9, etc.

2. Sepp, *Hist. de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, vol. II, 258, etc.

In the name of all let us hear Saint Augustine. "At Babel, Satan, the spirit of pride, the father of dualism, broke into pieces the single and primitive tongue of the human race. In the cenacle the Holy Spirit re-established the unity of language. The reason why the apostles speak the tongues of all nations is that language is the social bond of the human race. This unity of language expressed the social unity of all the children of God, scattered among all the tribes of the earth. And as in the first days of the Church he who spoke all tongues was known to have received the Holy Spirit; so today he is recognized as having received

the Holy Spirit who speaks, with mouth and heart, the language of the Church, spread among all nations."(1)

1. *Spiritus superbiae dispersit linguas; Spiritus sanctus congregavit linguas, etc.* [The spirit of pride scattered the tongues; the Holy Spirit gathered the tongues together.] *In Ps.* liv, and *lib. De blasphem. in Spirit. sanct.* [as printed] — The universal gift of tongues lasted several centuries. Saint Irenaeus affirms that he heard Christians who spoke all tongues: *audisse se multos universis linguis loquentes.* [that he had heard many speaking in all tongues.] *Contr. Haer.*, lib. V, c. vi.

However, at this miracle without analogy in history, the multitude was stupefied. It lost its wits, to the point that some cried out: These men are full of new wine: *Musto pleni sunt.* [They are full of new wine.] Drunk with new wine, in the month of May! that is the best proof that you know not what you say. Yet you are right; these men are drunk, drunk with a new wine; they are mad; but drunk and mad otherwise than you think. "The new wine they have drunk," says Saint Cyril of Jerusalem eloquently, "is the grace of the New Testament. It comes from the vine of the Holy Spirit, who several times already had made the prophets of the old covenant drunk and who flowers again this day to make the apostles drunk. As the natural vine, remaining ever the same, gives each year new fruits; so the spiritual vine, the Holy Spirit, ever the same, works today in the apostles what He wrought in the prophets."(1)

1. *Vera dicunt Judaei, sed irridendo. Novum enim vere erat illud vinum, novi Testamenti gratia, etc.* [The Jews say true, but in mockery. For that wine was truly new, the grace of the New Testament.] *Catech.* xvii.

This drunkenness makes them mad, for it shows itself by all the signs of ordinary madness. Drunkenness makes one lose reason. The apostles had lost it. In them no more human calculations, no more human judgments: sentiments, language, enterprise, all is superhuman, supernatural, divine, and consequently incomprehensible and senseless to simple reason. The drunken man no longer knows parents or friends; he attacks and beats them at random: so are the drunkards of Pentecost. They no longer know parents or friends, nor high priests, nor magistrates, nor peoples, nor kings. To prohibitions, threats, punishments, they know how to oppose but one word: It is better to obey God than men; we fear nothing, provided we accomplish the ministry entrusted to us. The drunken man goes to right and left, in the streets, in the squares, and picks quarrels with all he meets. So the apostles; they go to the east and to the west, from Jerusalem to Samaria, from Samaria to Jerusalem, to Caesarea, to Antioch and everywhere; their life is but a series of marches and countermarches. With the same intrepidity they hurl themselves upon Judaism and paganism, upon Greeks and barbarians, upon the proconsuls of Rome and the philosophers of Athens, upon princes and Caesars, masters of the world, and they let go their hold only after having made them drunk like themselves, or left their own life in the struggle.

The drunken man has a mad gaiety: he laughs, he sings. What is more drunk than the apostles? They are publicly beaten with rods; and they go off laughing and singing their happiness through the whole city of Jerusalem.(1) The drunken man is bold, aggressive, blindly intrepid, for he no longer knows himself: he is mad. Nothing of this but is manifested in the apostles. Drunk with their new wine, they no longer know dangers, they breathe only battles, they provoke all they meet. Yesterday, the sight of the least peril made them tremble; today, courageous as lions, they ask only for war: war against the whole human race; war against Satan, supported by all the powers of East and West. Without paling, without frowning, they hurl themselves into the midst of perils, present their hands to the irons, their head to the sword, their bodies to the claws of lions, descend into dungeons, mount the pyres: nothing can cure them of their madness. Hear one of these drunkards laughing at the whole world with all its terrors. "Do what you will: who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? or distress? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or persecution? or the sword? For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."(2)

1. *Ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.* [They went rejoicing from the presence of the council, because they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.] Acts v, 41.

2. Rom. viii, 35–39.

What is stranger still, the drunkenness of the apostles was epidemic. In the crowd which had mocked them, three thousand men became on the instant drunk and mad: drunk with the holy drunkenness, mad with the sublime madness of the cenacle. Like the first grains of the new harvest which on the days of Pentecost were presented to God in His temple, they were the first-fruits of that immense people of madmen, whose incurable race has perpetuated itself through the ages in all parts of the globe, and which, in spite of all the remedies of human wisdom, will perpetuate itself till the end of the world. This people of madmen is the great Catholic nation.

How enumerate all its traits of madness? Do you see, for two thousand years, those innumerable swarms of young men and young girls, idol of the domestic hearth, joy of the world, flower of humanity, renouncing all the pleasures of the present, as all the hopes of the future; and, without being forced, but freely and with joy, leaving their parents and their country, to bind themselves under the yoke of obedience, to live poor, unknown, despised, night and day occupied with what is most repugnant to nature? Like Paul they are cried at as mad: *Insanis, Paule.* [Thou art mad, Paul.] Like Paul they admit it: *Nos stulti propter Christum* [We are fools for Christ's sake]; and like him, far from seeking to become wise, they aspire only to complete their folly.

More mad are the martyrs. Before these strange beings, men, children, old men of every state and condition, seen in every place lit by the sun, and still visible today on the blood-stained shores of Cochin-China and Tonkin, there present themselves, with all their horrors, indigence, hunger, nakedness, exile, dungeons, the apparatus of torments, death at last amid tortures. A word said in the ear of the judge, a grain of incense thrown on a coal, a step upon a wooden cross suffices to save them. In spite of the prayers of their friends and the tears of their kin, that word they will not say; that grain of incense they will not burn; that step they will never take. Like Paul they are cried at as mad: *Insanis, Paule.* Like Paul they admit it: *Nos stulti propter Christum.* And, like him, far from seeking to become wise, they sing the folly which leads them to the scaffold: *Libenter impendam et superimpendar ipse.* [I will most gladly spend and be spent myself. 2 Cor. xii, 15.]

What more shall I say? The tumultuous, innumerable crowd, that bulk of humanity called the world, lives passionately for riches, for honours, for enjoyments. Beyond the present its eye sees nothing, its mind understands nothing, its heart desires nothing. In its view, dupes, madmen, visionaries are those who give out that they see, seek, hope for something else. Now in the midst of this world there exists, through all the earth, a numerous people who despise the present and aspire to eternity; a people who prefer poverty to riches, mortification to pleasures, oblivion to glory, holy vigils to guilty nights; a people for whom the rough combats of virtue are delights, the pardon of injuries a beloved duty, the enemy himself a brother worthy of compassion, a preferred object of prayers and benefits. Like Paul they are cried at as mad: *Insanis, Paule.* Like Paul they admit it: *Nos stulti propter Christum.* And like him, far from seeking to become wise, they glory in their folly: *Omnia detrimentum feci et arbitror ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam.* [I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them but as dung, that I may gain Christ. Phil. iii, 8.]

What is most incomprehensible is the very nature of their drunkenness and their madness. They are mad with that sublime madness to which the world owes its reason, all its reason; mad with that drunkenness of the cenacle which has restored to good sense the drunkards of Babel. Such has been, such is still, such will be until the end, the Catholic Church, an institution, by that very fact, implacably miraculous, and whose birth the royal prophet sang a thousand years before the Christian Pentecost: *Lord, Thou wilt send forth Thy spirit,*

and they shall be created; and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.… By the folly of the cenacle, adds the apostle: *Per stultitiam praedicationis placuit salvos facere credentes.* It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.

1. 1 Cor. i, 21.

Translator's notes — Chapter XVI

1. **Parallel Incarnation/Pentecost.** The five-fold comparison ("substance, mode, cause, properties, fruits") is Cornelius a Lapide's, as Gaume cites. It is a pious speculation: the claim that the Spirit "became incarnate in the Church" or is united to the apostles by "hypostatic" or "substantial" union goes beyond ordinary Catholic teaching, which affirms the Spirit's *indwelling* but not any hypostatic union with creatures. I translate as printed; the phrase "in a manner in some way similar" (*d'une manière en quelque sorte semblable*) marks Gaume's own hedge.

2. **"Communication of idioms."** *Communicatio idiomatum* — the Christological rule that the properties of either nature may be predicated of the one Person; here applied by analogy to the Spirit and the apostles.

3. **Augustine on the Spirit before Pentecost.** *In Joan.* tr. 74, 1–2. Gregory Nazianzen's "three givings" is *Or.* 41 (*In Pentecosten*), 11; cited as printed. Cyril of Alexandria, *Dialogues on the Trinity* VII, p. 638; Petau, *De Trinitate* VII.

4. **Gift of tongues.** Gaume holds the gift was both of speaking and of being understood; he claims that it persists in every Catholic through the Church (cf. Augustine, *In Joan.* tr. xxxii, 7, quoted in Ch. XV). The citation of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* V, vi, 1) as proof that the gift lasted "several centuries" is accurate to Irenaeus.

5. **"Drunk with new wine in the month of May."** Gaume reasons that wine from the new vintage could not yet exist at Pentecost (May/June). The Greek *gleukos* means sweet wine.

6. **Scripture references.** Acts v, 41; Rom. viii, 35–39; 1 Cor. i, 21. "Libenter impendam" is 2 Cor. xii, 15; "Omnia detrimentum feci" is Phil. iii, 8 (Gaume gives no reference). The "royal prophet" quotation is Ps. ciii, 30 (Vulgate numbering), *Emitte spiritum tuum*; Gaume gives no reference.

7. **Sem, Cham, Japheth.** The distribution of the Pentecost nations among the sons of Noe, and "the three mother tongues," follows Sepp as Gaume gives it. Acts ii, 9–11 does not itself list Lydians or Colchians; they appear to be Sepp's inferences, and I have not corrected them.

8. **"Cochin-China and Tonkin."** Contemporary mission fields where persecution of Catholics (under Minh M■ng and T■ ■■c) had been severe; Gaume's "still visible today" reflects the 1860s.

9. **"Cangue."** The Chinese wooden collar used as a punishment; the French word is kept.

10. **Pseudo-Augustine.** Sermon 185 *de Tempore* and the *Homilia viii in Miss. Spir. sanct.* are in the Mauristine appendix; they are not authentic Augustine. As printed.

11. **Diez**, *Summa praedicantium* — a preaching handbook (probably that of Felipe Díez, 16th c.); I could not verify the volume and page.

12. **Chrysostom, *In Act. apost.* hom. i, 5** as printed.

Chapter XVII. (End of the Preceding)

New relations between the Church and the Blessed Virgin. — Mary filled with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit: so the Church. — Mary is virgin and mother: the Church is virgin and mother. — The Holy Spirit is inseparable from Mary: inseparable from the Church. — He protects, inspires and directs Mary: He does all

this for the Church. — Mary is a hearth of charity: the Church a hearth of charity. — To save the world Mary gives her Son; the Church, hers.

The detailed history of Pentecost shows that the foundation of the Church is, like the creation of Mary, the masterpiece of the Holy Spirit. Between these two marvels there are other analogies; we shall point them out.

Mary is filled with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit: like a diadem of immortality they shine on her virginal head.(1) So with the Church. Inseparable from His gifts, the Holy Spirit pours them out not by measure, but according to the capacity of the vessels He meets. Immediate creation of the Holy Spirit, Mary is a complete capacity; the Church, a complete capacity. Therefore in Mary: fullness of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, fullness of the interior gifts, fullness of the gift of wisdom and understanding, fullness of the gift of counsel and fortitude; fullness of the gift of knowledge and piety; fullness of the gift of the fear of God; fullness of the exterior gifts, fullness of the gift of miracles and the gift of prophecy, fullness of the gift of healing and the gift of tongues. As history testifies, all the gifts which He communicates to the august Mother of the Word, the Holy Spirit communicates to the mother of the Christian.

1. The gift of tongues is not to be excepted. Mistress and consoler not only of the apostles, but of all the faithful, who ran from every side to see her and consult her, she must needs have known their languages in order to encourage them, instruct them and pour out into their hearts her maternal heart. The same must be said of Saint Magdalen, present in the cenacle with Mary, and later apostle of Provence.

Today, before the cenacle, heaven and earth can say to the Church what the archangel said to Mary: “Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, thou art blessed among all societies, and the holy beings to whom thou shalt give birth shall be called children of God. Doubt not; see how the power of the Most High overshadows thee, and with what magnificence the Holy Spirit comes down upon thee.

“Conqueror of the King of the City of Evil, the Incarnate Word fulfils His promises. He has ascended on high, leading in triumph the demons in chains, and their captives gloriously restored to liberty. After the example of the triumphators of old, He distributes today His largesses. From His divine hands flow upon thee, not talents of gold and mines of silver, but the very gifts of the Holy Spirit, and above all that of tongues. Thanks to this new gift, the Jew, become thy son and speaking his maternal idiom, will make resound in the ears of all peoples the glories of the Word, and cause to be adored by Romans Him whom one of their proconsuls, Pilate, put to death on a cross.”(1)

1. S. Maxim., *Serm.* iii *in Pentecost.*, towards the end. [Maximus of Turin.]

Mary is a virgin, the Church is a virgin. Among all the prerogatives of Mary, her inviolable virginity shines with a particular lustre. The Church is honoured with the same prerogative: she is a virgin and an immaculate virgin. Incorruptible depositary of the divine Word, she is virgin in her faith and virgin in her love. What she was yesterday, she is today, she will be always: she cannot but be so. Have not the Word and the Holy Spirit solemnly promised to be with her every day, to the end of the world?(2) Can such a promise fail? If in the duration of the ages it were possible to find, I do not say an hour, but a second, when the spouse of the Holy Spirit had taught the shadow of an error, the reign of truth on earth would be at an end. In accusing the Roman Church of infidelity, the Protestants do not perceive that they lay down in principle universal scepticism. If the Church has erred, or, as they say, if she has become corrupt, what becomes of the assurances of infallibility given by Jesus Christ? What becomes of Christianity entire? What becomes of truth, whatever its name? Like Mary, the Church is therefore virgin, ever virgin, and she must be so. It is even for this, solely for this, that, by a privilege denied to all sects, she is the eternal object of the hatred of the demon.

2. Matt. xxviii, 20; John xiv, 16.

Virgin like Mary, the Church is mother like her. “Your head,” says Saint Augustine, “is the son of Mary, and you, you are sons of the Church; for she too is mother and virgin. She is mother by the bowels of her charity; virgin by the integrity of her faith. She brings forth whole peoples, but all belong to Him whose body and spouse she is: a new likeness to Mary, since, in spite of multiplicity, she is mother of unity.”(1)

1. *Caput vestrum peperit Maria, vos Ecclesia. Nam ipsa quoque et mater et virgo est. Mater visceribus charitatis, virgo integritate fidei et pietatis. Populos parit, sed unius membra sunt, cujus ipsa est corpus et conjux; etiam in hoc gerens illius virginis, quia et in multis mater est unitatis.* [Rendered in the text.] *Serm.* 192, n. 2. [Gaume prints “142”; probably Sermon 192, for Christmas]

For the birth of the Word the Holy Spirit comes upon Mary: the womb of the august Virgin is the sanctuary of the mystery. By the mysterious operation of the Holy Spirit the Word is conceived: the same elements in the formation of the sons of the Church. What the womb of Mary was for Jesus, the baptismal font is for us. From water made fruitful by the Holy Spirit is born the Christian: he cannot be born otherwise.(2) In the Book of Canticles the divine Spirit, speaking to His spouse, says to her: “Thy belly is like a heap of wheat, set about with lilies.”(3) Fecundity and virginity: such are the two prerogatives signified by the prophetic expression. The virginal womb of Mary was a heap of wheat. There, as in a granary of abundance, was formed and enclosed the divine wheat, golden and fragrant wheat, unalterable and inexhaustible wheat which, from generation to generation, is changed into harvests of the elect, destined for the eternal granaries of the Father of the family. The womb of the Catholic Church too is a heap of wheat, whose fecundity is inexhaustible and its grain indestructible. To count the stars of the firmament would be no harder than to count the men and the peoples brought forth by the Church to the life of truth.

2. John iii, 5.

3. *Venter tuus sicut acervus tritici vallatus liliis.* Cant. vii, 2.

Neither the arms of the persecutors, nor their pyres, nor their wild beasts, nor the cockle of the heretics, nor the scandals of sinners have been able to destroy the Catholic wheat. On the whole face of the earth and to the end of time it will always reproduce itself the same. A cosmopolitan plant, neither the variety of climates nor the difference of culture will make it degenerate: what is written is written. This inexhaustible fecundity of the Church is not the least brilliant sign of her heavenly origin and of her perpetual virginity. If ever the Church had contracted with falsehood an adulterous alliance, long since she would have ceased to bear children. The Holy Spirit alone is fecund. Every society, like every soul He abandons, becomes sterile: sterile, because it has ceased to be virgin.

See Protestantism with its feverish activity, with its cargoes of Bibles printed in all languages, with the millions spent to spread its pamphlets or to pay its agents: what people has it brought forth to Jesus Christ? But why speak of Protestantism? Its essence being a negation, it can produce nothing; if it is fecund, it is only in ruins. Intellectual ruins, moral ruins, social ruins: these three words sum up its history, and that of all heresies past and future. Let us turn our eyes to the Eastern Church, sad sister of the Latin Church, and like her endowed of old with a glorious fecundity: since the schism, what has she produced? Nothing. Has she planted the cross in any distant region? Has she civilized a single tribe of Asia or America? Has she favoured the movement of the sciences, or accomplished any of those works which leave behind them a long furrow of glory? No. At least, has she been able to defend herself against her own corruption? No again. Victim of simony, scandal and intrusion, which devour her like worms a corpse, she has fallen into a prodigious ignorance and a mortal atony. She has had neither a famous doctor nor a council worthy of any attention. “If one draws the parallel of the Greek clergy with the Latin clergy,” said Montesquieu already, “if one compares the conduct of the popes with that of the patriarchs of Constantinople, one will see people as wise as the others were little sensible.” The difference between the two Churches shines out in the continual expansion of strength and life of the Roman Church and in her conquests on every point of the globe, while

the Greek Church remains motionless, confined within the limits of servitude and stripped of the principle of fecundity communicated to the true spouse on the day of Pentecost.

Inseparable from Mary, the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the Church. Formed in the cenacle, the mother of the Christian appears living on the day of Pentecost. She lives since she possesses the principle of her movement, the Holy Spirit, who manifests Himself by acts reserved to Him alone.(1) “On the day of Pentecost,” says Saint Augustine, “the Holy Spirit descended like a sanctifying dew upon the apostles, His living temples. He is not a passing visitor, but a perpetual consoler, an eternal inhabitant. What the Incarnate Word had said of Himself to His apostles: *I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world*, He says of the Holy Spirit: *The Paraclete whom My Father will give you shall abide with you for ever*. He was therefore present to the faithful, not by the favour of His visit and operations, but by the very presence of His majesty. These vessels received not only the odour of the balm, but the balm itself, that its perfume might fill the whole earth and make the disciples of the apostles capable of the very life of God and partakers of His nature.”(2)

1. *Dicimus animal vivere, cum incipit ex se motum habere.* [We say that an animal lives when it begins to have motion from itself.] S. Th., I p., q. 18, art. 1, corp.

2. *Serm.* 185 *de Temp.* [pseudo-Augustine, as in Ch. XVI.]

Now the Holy Spirit abides with Mary to protect, inspire and direct her: in other words, to keep her to the end full of grace and unique type of moral beauty. He protects her: without the special protection of the Holy Spirit, how would Mary, poor and delicate, with her young Child, have escaped the fury of Herod? The Church is still in the cradle, and the immortal race of Herod has sworn her death. Three murderous weapons are in the hands of her enemies: persecution, heresy, scandal. These weapons will always find arms to wield them; but always they will be blunted against the strength, the wisdom, the superhuman constancy, triple cuirass with which the Holy Spirit has clothed the Church. “Remain in solitude,” the divine Word had said to her on leaving her, “engage in no combat, face no danger, before you are clothed with power from on high. Only then will you be in a state to be My witness in Jerusalem, in Samaria and to the uttermost part of the earth.”(1) This invincible strength is given. Let the judges and executioners of Jesus of Nazareth come, let the Jews and the Gentiles come, let the Roman emperors come with their power, let the whole old society come, as one man, furious with hatred and mad with debauchery: they will find their match. Animated by the Holy Spirit, the young society will laugh at their threats, brave their torments, and, enveloping herself in miracles, will hurl in their faces this word without reply: *It is better to obey God than men.* Lend an ear: after eighteen centuries you will hear resound, on every point of the globe, this word eternally victorious over the gates of hell.

1. Acts i, 8.

The Holy Spirit inspires Mary and He inspires the Church. On account of the sublimity of her prophetic canticle, Mary is called the Queen of prophets. If in the prophets inspiration was a stream, in Mary it was a river, a vast sea. So it is in the Church. The spirit of wisdom which, in the mouths of children or of men of the people, astonishes the Roman tribunals by the aptness and sublime simplicity of its answers, expresses itself in the assemblies of the Church, by the organ of the pontiffs, with a lucidity which disconcerts error and with an authority hitherto unknown. From the origin grave questions gather in council the former fishermen of Galilee. Theologians of the first order, and consequently eminent philosophers, they discuss the most difficult points with a loftiness of reason which makes pale the much-vaunted sessions of the senate and the Areopagus. The debates ended, the council sends to the faithful of East and West its decision, formulated as no human assembly ever dared to formulate its own: *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us: Visum est Spiritui sancto et nobis.* Human intelligence placed on the same line as the divine intelligence! Man sharing with God doctrinal infallibility and judicial power! If the sublime is not there, where will you find it?

This deification of man by the Holy Spirit has never ceased in the Church. In different terms, but with the same assurance, all the general councils for eighteen centuries repeat the glorious formula: “The most holy universal and ecumenical council of (Trent), lawfully assembled by the Holy Spirit, teaches, decrees, orders, forbids.” The councils are right twice over: on the one hand, the Spirit of truth is always with them;(1) on the other, history proves that of all societies the Church is the only one that has nothing to retract.

1. John xiv, 16.

The Holy Spirit not only inspires the words of Mary, He directs her steps besides. From Nazareth He leads her to Bethlehem, from Bethlehem into Egypt, from Egypt into Judea, from Judea into Galilee, to Jerusalem, to Calvary, to the Cenacle. The same action on the Church. Always sensible in the course of ages, this action is palpable in the first centuries. The minister of the powerful queen of Ethiopia, come to adore at Jerusalem, returns to his country: what a noble conquest! The Holy Spirit speaks to the deacon Philip, who approaches the minister, mounts his chariot, instructs and baptizes him. In the twinkling of an eye the same deacon finds himself transported by the same Spirit to the city of Azotus. His victorious word resounds in all the intermediate cities as far as Caesarea. Must the Gentiles be called to the faith? It is the Holy Spirit in person who chooses Peter for this mission and indicates to him point by point the manner of fulfilling it. The moment has come to carry afar the divine torch: who will designate the workmen? who will take them by the hand and lead them, without leaving them an instant, as the preceptor leads his disciple, the soul the body? It will be neither the Father nor the Son, but the Holy Spirit. “Separate me,” He says, “Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have taken them.”(1)

1. Acts xiii, 2.

For a moment let us follow the evangelical conquerors, and we shall see that all their movements are regulated by the Holy Spirit Himself. “And when they had passed through Phrygia and the country of Galatia,” says the sacred historian, “they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia.”(2) Come into Mysia, they attempt to enter Bithynia, but the Holy Spirit opposes it. Macedonia is opened to them, and the Holy Spirit leads them into the city of Philippi, where Saint Paul is to win a brilliant triumph over the demon, inspirer of a young pythoness. Athens, Corinth, Ephesus will see them in turn, sowing miracles and multiplying conquests. Nevertheless these mighty men obey in all things the Spirit of strength and wisdom. It is He who warns Paul to leave Ephesus, to cross Macedonia and Achaia quickly and go to Jerusalem. Neither the ambushes of his enemies nor the tears of his dear disciples can delay his march. “I,” he says himself, “am bound in the spirit, go to Jerusalem: not knowing the things which shall befall me there; save that the Holy Ghost in every city witnesseth to me, saying that bands and afflictions wait for me at Jerusalem. But I fear none of these things, neither do I count my life more precious than myself, so that I may consummate my course and the ministry of the word which I received from the Lord Jesus.”(1)

2. Acts xvi, 6.

3. Acts xx, 22 ff.

Noble dispositions which the imminence of peril will not change. “Soon,” continues Saint Luke, “we came to Caesarea, where we abode some days. And there came down from Judea a prophet named Agabus. Taking Paul’s girdle, he bound his feet and hands and said: Thus saith the Holy Ghost: The man whose girdle this is, the Jews shall bind in this manner in Jerusalem, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. Which when we had heard, we besought him not to go up to Jerusalem. Then Paul answered: What do you mean weeping and afflicting my heart? For I am ready not only to be bound, but to die also in Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.”(2) The sequel of the history shows that Paul did not belie himself for an instant; it shows again the hidden reason of all the marches of the great apostle and of all the persecutions to which he is exposed. If he is obliged to flee from Ephesus, if he is forbidden to stop in Bithynia, if he is ordered to cross Asia at a run and to come and be seized at Jerusalem, it is because the Holy Spirit has decided to send

him to Rome. Fallen into the hands of the Jews, he will be delivered by them to the Romans. He will decline the judgment of the governor Festus, appeal to Caesar, and this appeal will lead him to the capital of Satan, whose walls his powerful word is to shake.

2. Acts xxi, 11 ff.

This direction of the Holy Spirit which is found in the lives of the other apostles has never abandoned the Church. Since the creation, infinite wisdom leads the sun as by the hand and each day indicates to it the places where it is to carry light. So, since the evangelical regeneration, the Holy Spirit directs the Church, the sun of the moral world, and marks out with precision the peoples and souls she is to visit or abandon. To this directing action must be attributed the passage of the faith from one nation to another; the conversion of the peoples of the North at the moment of the Eastern schism; the discovery of America, forty years after the rebirth of paganism in Europe; the marvellous impulse of the propagation of the faith, of which we are witnesses, at the moment when the general apostasy of modern societies demands, to repair the losses of the Church, immense compensations.

Let us end the parallelism between Mary and the Church with a new trait, and not the least touching. Like Mary by her fruitful virginity, the Church resembles her still by maternal love. Mother of the Incarnate Word, Mary nourishes her Son with her virginal milk, *ubere de coelo pleno* [with a breast full of heaven]. She surrounds Him with the tenderest cares, lavishes on Him the most affectionate caresses, saves Him from all dangers, shares all His sorrows and does not leave Him even in death. Mother of the Christian, the Church nourishes him with the virginal milk of her doctrine. Not an error, not the shadow of an error does she let penetrate into this intelligence made for truth, for truth alone. Jealous, ceaseless is the solicitude with which this mother watches over the feeding of her children. To keep from their lips all corrupt food she finds the courage of the lioness who defends her young. On the poisoner or assassin Herods fall her threats and her anathemas. Happy the Christians if they had always understood the heart of their mother!

As her son advances in age and the struggles of life become more dangerous, the precautions of the Church multiply. If in spite of her efforts he comes to fall, she raises him up, animates his courage, dresses his wounds, restores him to health and to the last moment redoubles her maternal cares, to make him die reconciled with his elder brother, his judge and his rewarder. Volumes would not suffice to tell what, from the cradle to the tomb and beyond, the mother of Christians does for the body and soul of her children: permanent imitation of the solicitudes of Mary for her beloved Son.

Not only has Mary loved her Son, but she has loved all those whom He loves. Now He loves all men. His love knows neither inconstancy, nor coldness, nor limits of time, place or persons: *Ego Dominus et non mutor.* [I am the Lord, and I change not. Mal. iii, 6.] Such is the love of Mary. To witness it, she did what no mother ever did: she gave up her own son. In showing to all the ages Jesus nailed to the cross, Mary can say: Thus have I loved the world, even to giving it my only Son. As my consent was needed for the incarnation of the Word, it was needed for the immolation of this dear victim.

Mother of the Christian, the Church has the right to hold the same language. On every point of the globe, become for her an immense Calvary, she shows the crosses, the pyres, the scaffolds, the cauldrons of boiling oil, the cangues, the instruments of torture, the beasts of the amphitheatres, all the thousand kinds of tortures and deaths invented by Satan, and for eighteen centuries remaining in permanence in the different parts of the earth; then her dearest children, crucified, burned, hanged, crushed, quartered, tortured, for the same time and over the same extent. At this spectacle, borrowing the language of Mary, she says to angels and to men: Thus have I loved the world. To save it, I have given and I still give my best-loved sons, bone of my bones, blood of my blood. Added to so many others, this last trait of resemblance shows us in the annals of humanity two mothers, and two only, Mary and the Church, who sacrifice their sons for the salvation of the world. O Mary! O Church! unheard-of miracles of charity! let him who loves you not be anathema.

Translator's notes — Chapter XVII

1. **Mary and the Church.** Gaume continues the Church–Mary typology of Chs. XV–XVI (Augustine's "mother and virgin"). The Mary–Church parallelism is patristic (Ambrose, Augustine), but the "gift of tongues" in Mary and the claim that Mary Magdalen "apostle of Provence" was in the cenacle belong to the footnote and to the Provençal tradition, not Scripture.

2. **Maximus of Turin.** The quoted address to the Church ("Hail, full of grace…") is a free rhetorical adaptation of the Annunciation. Gaume cites *Serm.* iii *in Pentecost.*; I did not verify the text.

3. **Structure.** The chapter heading announces six analogies (gifts; virgin and mother; inseparability of the Holy Spirit; protection, inspiration, direction; hearth of charity; the giving of the Son). The "hearth of charity" is not treated under that name; its place is taken by the closing paragraphs on maternal love and sacrifice.

4. **Augustine.** The quotation on the Church as "mother and virgin" is attributed to "Serm. 142, n. 2"; I could not locate it with certainty (a Nativity sermon such as Sermon 192 is a possibility), and I have said so in the footnote. The "Serm. 185 *de Temp.*" is the pseudo-Augustinian sermon already met in Ch. XVI.

5. **Polemic.** The paragraph on Protestantism and the Eastern Churches is Gaume's own and reflects the apologetics of his time (the Montesquieu quotation is from *Esprit des lois*, as printed, without reference). I translate faithfully without endorsement. "Sterile" Eastern Church ignores, e.g., the Russian missions in Siberia; this is Gaume's claim.

6. **Aquinas, I, q. 18, a. 1**: the definition of life as self-movement.

7. **Scripture.** Acts xiii, 2; xvi, 6–7; xx, 22–24; xxi, 11–13; Acts i, 8; Cant. vii, 2 (Vulg. "venter tuus sicut acervus tritici"). Douay wording used; "I am bound in the spirit" follows the Douay.

8. **"Discovery of America, forty years after the renaissance of paganism."** Gaume's historical-theological remark, as printed. It would place the "renaissance of paganism" at about the mid-fifteenth century.

9. **"Cangue"** (see Ch. XVI). **"Ubere de coelo pleno"** — Gaume's Latin in the original is garbled ("de osalo"); I read it as *ubere de coelo pleno* ("breast full of heaven") and flag the reading as uncertain.

Chapter XVIII. Fourth Creation of the Holy Spirit: The Christian

This fourth creation sums up the first three, and why. — The Christian, brother of the Incarnate Word, son of God, partaker of the divine nature. — Principle of this filiation or divine generation. — Grace. — Profound mystery of grace. — How this divine generation is accomplished. — Its principal effects: divine life, filiation or adoption, right to the paternal inheritance. — Where this generation is accomplished. — Summary.

The first three creations of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament are related to the fourth. Mary for the Incarnate Word; the Incarnate Word for the Church; the Church for the Christian; the Christian himself, to deify the whole creation and bring it back to its principle, by multiplying everywhere the brethren of the Incarnate Word: *ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus.* [that God may be all in all. 1 Cor. xv, 28.] Let us study this new masterpiece which sums up all the others.

What, in fact, is the Christian? He is the brother of the Incarnate Word,(1) he is another Jesus Christ. Now the Incarnate Word is God, son of God and heir of all the goods of His Father, on earth and in heaven, in time and in eternity. In the sense in which we are about to explain it, the Christian is all that: God, son of God, co-heir of all things with the Word his elder brother. He is God: *I have said: you are gods and sons of the living God.*(1) "By the Holy Spirit," adds Saint Basil, "the saints are gods."(2) And Saint Athanasius: "As, by becoming incarnate, God made Himself man, so, by the Incarnate Word, man is God."(3)

1. *Vade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis: Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum.* [But go to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my Father and your Father.] John xx, 17. — *Qui enim sanctificat et qui sanctificantur ex uno omnes, propter quam causam non confunditur fratres eos vocare, dicens: Nuntiabo nomen tuum fratribus meis… Unde debuit per omnia fratribus similari, etc.* [For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying: I will declare thy name to my brethren… Wherefore it behoved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren.] Heb. ii, 11, 12, 17.

2. *Ego dixi: Dii estis et filii excelsi omnes… filii Dei viventis.* [I have said: You are gods, and all of you the sons of the most High… sons of the living God.] Ps. 81 [Ps. lxxxi, 6]. — Osee i, 10.

3. *Sanctos propter inhabitantem Spiritum sanctum esse Deos.* [The saints are gods by reason of the indwelling Holy Spirit.] *Homil. de Spir. sanct.*

4. *Ut enim Dominus, induto corpore factus est homo; ita et nos homines ex Verbo Dei fiamus dii.* [For as the Lord, having put on a body, was made man, so we men, from the Word of God, are made gods.] *Serm.* iv, *Cont. Arian.*

The Word is son of His Father by an eternal generation: this generation is the type of that of the Christian. From all eternity God the Father begets a Son consubstantial and equal to Himself in all things. In time He begets sons who are by grace what His only Son is by nature. Thus the Christian is a being apart and the result of a special *fiat*.(4) He is son neither of dead gods, nor of mute idols, nor of blood, nor of flesh, nor of the will of man: he is son of the living God: *Filii Dei viventis.* He is like the Word, to whom the Father says eternally: *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten thee.*(5)

4. *Exemplar hujus filiationis est filiatio Verbi Dei. Sicut enim Deus Pater ab aeterno genuit Filium sibi consubstantialem et aequalem per omnia; ita illius ad instar in tempore gignit filios, qui per gratiam sint id quod Filius Dei est per naturam. Nostra ergo filiatio est imago filiationis divinae.* [The model of this filiation is the filiation of the Word of God. For as God the Father from eternity begot a Son consubstantial with Himself and equal in all things; so, after His likeness, in time He begets sons who are by grace what the Son of God is by nature. Our filiation, therefore, is an image of the divine filiation.] Corn. a Lap., *in Osee*, i, 10.

5. Heb. i, 5.

He is co-heir of all things. The Incarnate Word, says Saint Paul, is the universal legatee of God.(1) All is His in heaven and on earth. He adds: And we are all co-heirs of the Word.(2) It is neither for the bad angels nor for the wicked that heaven and earth were made: it is for the Christian. Heaven: it is his kingdom, his country, his dwelling in eternity. Earth: it is his place of passage. When the last Christian shall have received baptism and rendered his soul into the hands of his divine Father, the world will end; and it will end because it will have lost its reason for being: *Omnia propter electos: consummatum est.* [All things for the elect: it is consummated.]

1. Heb. i, 2.

2. Rom. viii, 17.

Ineffable greatness! more ineffable goodness! To bring out of nothing the heaven with its stars and its angels, the earth with its riches and its inhabitants: this is a magnificent creation, justly attributed to the Father. There is another more magnificent, whose glory belongs to the Holy Spirit: the creation of the Christian. “A work,” says Saint Thomas, “may be called great on account of the very greatness of the thing made. In this respect the justification of man, which has for its end the eternal participation in the divine nature, is greater than the creation of heaven and earth, which ends in the enjoyment of a perishable nature. Hence Saint Augustine, after saying that to make a just man out of a sinner is a greater thing than to draw the universe out of nothing, adds: *For heaven and earth shall pass, but the justification and salvation of the just shall not pass.*”(3)

3. I–II, q. 113, corp. [art. 9]

That man, drawn from the nothingness of sin, should be raised to the participation of the divine nature; that the son of dust should become the child of God; that God should call man His son; that man should call God his father; and that this reciprocal appellation should be the expression of reality: “Behold,” continues Saint Leo, “the most marvellous creation, the gift which surpasses all gifts. Christian, acknowledge then thy dignity: partaker of the divine nature, beware of degrading thyself by a conduct unworthy of thy greatness.”(1)

1. *Omnia dona excedit hoc donum, ut Deus hominem vocet filium, et homo Deum nominet Patrem.* [This gift exceeds all gifts, that God should call man His son, and man should name God Father.] *Serm.* vi, *de Nativit.* — *Agnosce, o christiane, dignitatem tuam, et divinae consors factus naturae, noli in veterem vilitatem degeneri conversatione redire.* [Acknowledge, O Christian, thy dignity, and being made a partaker of the divine nature, do not return to thy former baseness by a degenerate manner of life.] Id., *ibid., Serm.* i.

What is the principle of this generation, cause of our incomparable nobility? how is it accomplished? what are in particular the effects which result from it? where is it accomplished? Spirit of light, deign to enlighten us at the moment when, in the interest of Your glory, we try to reveal to Your children the ravishing but profound mystery of their origin.

What is the principle of the generation of the Christian? It is grace. But what is grace, and how to tell its excellence and its inmost nature? “Grace,” says Saint Peter, “is all that is most excellent in the treasures of God. It is a gift which makes man partaker of the divine nature.”(2) The Angel of theology speaks like the Prince of the apostles. According to Saint Thomas: “Grace is a participation in the very nature of God. It is the transformation of man into God; for it is the beginning of glory in us.”(3) The Spanish catechisms add: “Grace is a divine principle which makes us children of God and heirs of His glory.”(1)

2. *Maxima et pretiosa promissa donavit; ut per haec efficiamini divinae consortes naturae.* [He hath given us most great and precious promises, that by these you may be made partakers of the divine nature.] 2 Pet. i, 4.

3. … *Ipsum lumen gratiae quod est participatio divinae naturae.* [… the very light of grace, which is a participation of the divine nature.] I–II, q. 110, art. 3, corp. — *Gratia nihil aliud est quam quaedam inchoatio gloriae in nobis.* [Grace is nothing else than a certain beginning of glory in us.] II–II, q. 24, art. 3, ad 2.

4. *La gracia es un ser divino que nos hace hijos de Dios y herederos de su gloria.* [Spanish in the original; rendered in the text.]

But what is this deifying gift in its inmost nature? Grace is not merely, as it is too often defined, a help given by God with a view to our salvation. The help is the effect of grace, and not grace in its essence. Grace is not either a gift external to the soul; it is in the very essence of the soul. It is a divine principle, a new element, superadded to our nature, a pre-eminent quality which resides in the very essence of the soul, which acts upon the soul and all its powers, as the soul itself acts upon the body and all its organs. “Doubtless,” continues Saint Thomas, “grace is not the very substance of the soul or its substantial form; but it is its accidental form.(2) In effect, by grace, what is substantially in God becomes accidentally in the soul, made partaker of the divine perfections.”(1)

2. [Gaume’s long note, here at the foot of the page.] It is known that the word *form*, in the old theology, means the principle or cause which determines and perfects a thing: as the soul in the body. *Pars entis quae est indifferens ad hoc vel illud constituendum dicitur materia, ut corpus in homine; quae vero determinat et perficit materiam, dicitur forma, ut anima.* [The part of a being which is indifferent to constituting this or that is called matter, as the body in man; that which determines and perfects matter is called form, as the soul.] Sanctifying grace is a divine principle which makes us children of God and heirs of His glory. Sanctifying grace is a created gift; that is to say, whatever the perfection of this gift, it is not the very substance of God.

In effect, this gift is inherent in the soul, that is, it comes to modify the soul, but not to destroy it or change it to the point that it ceases to be a soul. It is inherent and in the manner of a habit, that is, of an inclination, a propensity to do good. Now, if this gift were the very substance of God, there would not merely be an inclination to do good, there would be a continual action of the good, because God is sovereignly and eternally the author of good. Sanctifying grace, as Saint Peter says, is a participation in the divine nature! Here below no creature can understand the sense or nature of this word; we shall understand it in heaven and this understanding will make our happiness in the fatherland. The productive cause of grace is the Holy Spirit, author of every gift natural and supernatural. The meritorious cause is the Incarnate Word. Its instrumental cause is the sacraments; the formal cause, or the nature of grace placed in the soul, is the divine life communicated to that soul. The final cause, or the reason why God communicates it to the soul: it is the glory of God; the glory of the Incarnate Word; the deification of man which gives him right to the glory of God and to all His goods of grace and of glory.

3. *Quia gratia est supra naturam humanam, non potest esse quod sit substantia aut forma substantialis, sed est forma accidentalis ipsius animae. Id enim quod substantialiter est in Deo, accidentaliter fit in anima participante divinam bonitatem.* [Rendered in the text.] I–II, q. 110, art. 2, ad 2. — See also the text of Saint Basil in Corn. a Lap., *in 2 Pet.* i, 4.

Now, what is substantially in God, if not God Himself: the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the adorable Trinity? By grace, therefore, it is God, the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the adorable Trinity, who is accidentally in the Christian. God is substantially life, holiness, strength, light, perfection, eternal beatitude. The Christian is therefore accidentally divine life, divine holiness, divine strength, divine light, divine perfection, divine beatitude. All this he is accidentally, that is, he can cease to be it, whereas God cannot. The soul of the Christian is therefore the dwelling, the temple, the throne of God. To the Christian, God is therefore infinitely more united than He is to the other creatures by His essence, by His presence, by His power. So much so that if, by impossibility, God were not in the soul, as He is with all created beings, by essence, by presence and by power, He would be there really by grace. As the body of the Incarnate Word becomes present under the species of bread by the words of consecration; or as His divinity became present to the humanity at the moment of the incarnation, so that, if until then it had been absent from it, it would then have begun to be present to it and to exist personally in it: so it is with the union of God with man by grace. This union is so intimate that it is the most perfect to which a pure creature can pretend.(1)

1. *Est enim summa Dei unio inter Deum et animam sanctam, qua nulla creaturae purae potest dari major.* [For there is a supreme union of God between God and the holy soul, than which none greater can be given to a pure creature.] Corn. a Lap., *in Act. apost.* ii, 1.

How is accomplished in us this deifying union, to which we owe being not only called, but being really the children of God? The answer to this question makes us sound one of the abysses of infinite love. In communicating grace to us, the sanctifying Spirit could have made us merely just and holy, without making us His children. Such a favour would have deserved eternal gratitude. He could have honoured us with this adoption by being content to give us grace and created gifts; for grace, as we have seen, is participation in the divine nature. This second favour would have been greater than the first: the Holy Spirit was not content with it. With His gifts He willed to give Himself; and by Himself, in person, to deify and adopt us. With this in view He voluntarily united Himself to His gifts. So that when He pours them into the soul, He Himself pours Himself in by them and with them, personally, substantially, in order to contract with us a union surpassed only by the hypostatic union of God and man in the Incarnate Word.

Such then is the immense love of the Holy Spirit, and the supreme elevation of the Christian. At the moment of our divine generation, it is not only grace and the other gifts of the Holy Spirit which are poured into us, it is the Holy Spirit Himself, uncreated gift and author of all gifts. Mingled and as if identified with His gifts, this divine Spirit in person dwells in us, vivifies us, adopts us and deifies us.(1) Would one have something

greater still? In descending personally into the Christian, the Holy Spirit is accompanied by the Father and the Son, from whom He cannot be separated. Thus the whole august Trinity, personally and substantially, dwells in him, as long as he perseveres in justice. *If any one keep My word*, said the Incarnate Word, *We will come to him and make Our abode with him.*(2) Thus, by grace, God dwells personally in us, and we dwell personally in God.(3)

1. *Quocirca Spiritus sanctus sponte sua se annexuit donis suis, gratiae et charitati, ut quandocumque ea infundit animae, simul cum eis et per ea infundat seipsum personaliter ac substantialiter, juxta illud Apostoli: Charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.* [Wherefore the Holy Spirit of His own accord has attached Himself to His gifts, grace and charity, so that whenever He infuses them into the soul, He infuses Himself together with them and through them, personally and substantially, according to the Apostle: The charity of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, who is given to us.] Rom. v, 5. — … *Haec ergo est summa Dei nostri dignatio aeque ac nostra summa dignitas et exaltatio, qua recipientes charitatem et gratiam, simul recipimus ipsam personam Spiritus sancti quae se sponte charitati et gratiae inserit et annectit, ac per ea nos inhabitat, vivificat, adoptat, deificat, agitque ad omne bonum.* [This therefore is the supreme condescension of our God, and likewise our supreme dignity and exaltation, that in receiving charity and grace we receive at the same time the very person of the Holy Spirit, who of Himself inserts and attaches Himself to charity and grace, and through them dwells in us, vivifies, adopts, deifies us, and impels us to all good.] Corn. a Lap., *in Osee* i, 10.

2. John xiv, 23.

3. *Tota ergo Trinitas personaliter et substantialiter venit ad animam quae justificatur et adoptatur, in eaque quasi in suo templo manet et inhabitat, quamdiu illa in justitia perdurat.* [Therefore the whole Trinity comes personally and substantially to the soul that is justified and adopted, and remains and dwells in it as in its temple, as long as it perseveres in justice.] *Ibid.*

Let us beware of comparing this indwelling of God in us to the dwelling of a king in a palace, or even to the presence of God in any other pure creature: that would be an error. The indwelling of God in the just soul is an active union, which tends to the transformation of man into God. Such was the immense glory asked for and obtained by the Word, our elder brother, in the prayer which He made to the Father before dying. “That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us.”(1)

1. John xvii, 21.

What are the principal effects of this union, or rather of our divine generation? The first is life. “I am come,” said the Redeemer, “that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly.”(2) To the Holy Spirit, successor and continuator of the Word, belongs the right to hold the same language. But what life does He give us? There are four kinds of life: vegetative life, which is that of plants; sensitive life, which is that of animals; rational life, which is that of men; divine life, which is that of God Himself and of the angels. When the Holy Spirit descended upon earth, the vegetative life, the sensitive life, the life of simple reason flowed to the brim. It was not therefore to make them more abundant that the Spirit of love and truth left the heights of heaven. But the divine life was almost extinct. Who lived by it? who even knew it? The wise, the learned, the virtuous had degraded themselves so far as to live no more than the life of beasts.(3) It is therefore the life of God that the Holy Spirit communicates to us by grace. This life, dominating, absorbing every other life, expels from the soul sin, principle of death, and supernaturalizes what is purely natural.

2. *Ibid.*, x, 10.

3. Ps. 48 [Ps. xlviii, 13, 21: “Man when he was in honour did not understand; he is compared to senseless beasts”].

“Grace,” says Saint Thomas, “heals the soul, makes it will the good and practise the good it wills; makes it persevere in the good and attain to glory. It ennobles all its powers and renders them capable of sublime acts, corresponding to the divine principle which sets them in play.”(1) To this divine life the Christian nations have owed, and still owe, all the intellectual and moral superiority which distinguishes them. Let them have the misfortune to lose it, and there will remain to them, as to the pagan world, only the poor life of reason, soon dominated by the life of the plant and the beast. If Europe does not hasten to return to the state of grace, this new fall of humanity is infallible: between ancient man and modern man the only difference is that which Christianity has put there.

1. *Sicut ab essentia animae effluunt ejus potentiae, quae sunt ejus operum principia, ita etiam ab ipsa gratia effluunt virtutes in potentias animae, per quas potentiae moventur ad actus.* [As from the essence of the soul flow its powers, which are the principles of its operations, so too from grace itself flow the virtues into the powers of the soul, by which the powers are moved to acts.] I–II, q. 110, art. 4, ad 1.

The second effect of the deifying generation is *divine adoption*. Our divine adoption in no way resembles the adoption which takes place among men. In the latter the children receive nothing of the physical nature of their adoptive father. They owe him only a name which gives them right to the inheritance. Divine adoption is otherwise. “See,” says Saint John, “what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called and should be the sons of God.”(2) In effect, with grace the Christian receives from God the divine nature itself, in which he participates not only accidentally, but as it were substantially. We are therefore sons of God and like gods, since God really communicates to us His nature.(1) If we are truly sons of God, God is truly our Father. In effect, he is truly father who communicates his nature to his son; it is therefore with good reason that God is called not only the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but our Father, since He communicates His nature to us by grace, as He communicates it by the hypostatic union to Our Lord, whose brothers He truly makes us.(2)

2. 1 John iii, 1.

3. *Qua adoptione accipimus summam dignitatem filiationis divinae, ut reipsa non tantum accidentaliter per gratiam, sed et quasi substantialiter per naturam simus filii Dei, et quasi Dii. Deus enim suam naturam realiter nobis communicat et donat.* [By which adoption we receive the supreme dignity of divine filiation, so that in reality, not merely accidentally through grace, but also as it were substantially through nature, we are sons of God, and as it were gods. For God really communicates and gives us His nature.] Corn. a Lap., *in Osee*, i, 10. — In another place the learned commentator explains the two words *accidentally* and *substantially*. Accidentally, the Christian is a partaker of the divine nature by sanctifying grace, which is an accidental gift poured into the soul, by virtue of which he participates in the highest and most perfect manner in the divine nature. Substantially, because he really participates in the divine nature which is communicated to him; for the grace of adoption can no more be separated from the Holy Spirit than the adoption of the Holy Spirit can be separated from grace. Thus the ray can no more be separated from the sun than the sun from the ray. *Nec enim gratia adoptans a Spiritu sancto, nec Spiritus sancti adoptio a gratia divelli potest: sicut radius a sole, et sol a radio divelli nequit.* [Rendered in the note.] *In 2 Pet.* i, 4.

4. *Recipimus a Deo gratiam, et cum gratia ipsam Dei naturam, ut sicut apud homines pater proprie dicitur, qui alteri communicat suam naturam humanam, generatque hominem: ita Deus dicatur pater non tantum Christi, sed et noster; quia naturam suam nobis communicat per gratiam, quam Christo communicavit per unionem hypostaticam, ut ejus fratres nos efficeret, juxta illud, etc.* [We receive from God grace, and with grace the very nature of God, so that as among men he is properly called father who communicates to another his human nature and begets a man, so God is called father not only of Christ but also of us; because He communicates His nature to us through grace, which He communicated to Christ through the hypostatic union, to make us His brothers, according to that, etc.] Corn. a Lap., *in Osee*, i, 10.

This is the formal teaching of the Holy Spirit Himself. “Whom He foreknew,” says Saint Paul, “He also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren.”(3) And Saint John: “He gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in His name, who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.”(1)

3. Rom. viii, 29.

4. John i, 12 [13].

What can be said of such a glory? Sons of God, let us lend an ear to the words of the same apostle, ravished with admiration in presence of such greatness: “Beloved, we are now the sons of God, and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when He shall appear we shall be like to Him.”(2) O Christian, sublime being, if thou knowest how to understand thyself! To be son of God, heir of God, is infinitely more than to be king, emperor, pope, monarch of the whole universe; more than to be angel, archangel, cherub, seraph. To be son of God, to be God on earth, *terrenus Deus* [an earthly God]; to assimilate by nourishment all the lower creatures; to feed on the flesh and blood of God Himself and to participate really in His nature: this is Catholic pantheism. Reason is dazzled by it. Is it astonishing, then, that Satan should have such immense success when he counterfeits it and presents to man the counterfeit in place of the original?

2. 1 John iii, 2.

How worthy of envy is divine filiation! O man! how thou oughtest to love it! with what solicitude thou oughtest to preserve it; and, if by misfortune thou comest to lose it, with what promptness to recover it! As a son with his father, so shouldst thou act with God. Live in confidence, love and filial respect. After the example of thy forefathers, Noe, Henoch, Abraham, be perfect in all thy ways. Let angels rather than men form thy company. Nothing attracts, nothing dazzles the eyes of him who knows himself to be a son of God. He would degrade himself if, after God, he could admire anything.(1)

1. *Nunquam humana opera mirabitur, quisquis se cognoverit Filium Dei. Dejicit se de culmine generositatis suae qui admirari aliquid post Deum potest.* [He will never admire human works who has known himself to be a Son of God. He casts himself down from the summit of his nobility who can admire anything after God.] S. Cypr., *De Spectaculis.* [pseudo-Cyprian]

The third effect of the divine generation or filiation is the *right to the paternal inheritance.* This inheritance, to which no other can be compared, is composed of grace and glory: infinite treasures which comprise all the goods of our Father on earth and in heaven. To name only a few: at the moment of his adoption the Christian receives, with the remission of his sins and the perfect purification of his soul, the three theological virtues: faith, hope, charity; the four supernatural moral virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance; the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which descended originally upon the Word, his elder brother. Better still: into him descend, to him come to give themselves, the Holy Spirit, author of all gifts, the Son and the Father, the whole august Trinity, substantially and personally.(2) All these gifts, poured out to the depths of the soul, make of the Christian a new being, born to a new life, and capable of deifying works.

2. S. Th., I–II, q. 63, art. 3, corp.; Conc. Trid., sess. vi, c. vii. *Falluntur qui in justificatione et adoptione censent dari Spiritum sanctum duntaxat quoad sua dona, non autem quoad suam substantiam et personam.* [They are mistaken who think that in justification and adoption the Holy Spirit is given only as to His gifts, and not as to His substance and person.] Corn. a Lap., *in Osee*, i, 10.

By labouring until death the unadopted man can earn gold and silver, which perish with him; but the Christian can earn each day, each hour, an increase of grace, the least degree of which is worth more than the entire universe.(3) The reason is that his works are the works of a son, in some sort substantial, of God, proceeding from God Himself and from the Holy Spirit, who is their mover and co-operator.(1) This, however, is only a part of our treasures and the beginning of our nobility. All the works of the Christian are

seeds of glory. As the tree and the fruit are born of the seed, so glory and eternal happiness are born of grace. To calculate all the dignity of the Christian, one must therefore add that his adoption, begun on earth, will be consummated in heaven. There, in possession of a kingdom of which nothing here below can give an idea, in the bosom of the beatific vision, he will be transformed into God in a manner so perfect, united with a union so intimate, that it will go, without confounding substances, to the consummation in unity.(2)

3. *Bonum gratiae unius majus est quam bonum naturae totius universi.* [The good of one grace is greater than the good of the nature of the whole universe.] S. Th., I–II, q. 113, art. 9, ad 2.

4. *Per eamdem nanciscimur miram dignitatem operum et meritorum, ut scilicet opera nostra quasi filiorum Dei substantialium, ut ita dicam, maximae sint dignitatis… utpote procedentia ab ipso Deo Spirituque divino, qui nos inhabitat, ad eaque nos impellit, iisque cooperatur.* [Through the same (adoption) we obtain a wonderful dignity of works and merits, so that our works, as of substantial sons of God, so to speak, are of the greatest dignity… as proceeding from God Himself and from the divine Spirit, who dwells in us, impels us to them, and co-operates in them.] Corn. a Lap., *in Osee*, i, 10.

5. John xvii, 23.

At the sight of such greatness, speech expires on the lips. There remains strength only to say to the Christian: *Noblesse oblige* [nobility obliges]; and to priests: Make known to this son of God his dignity and the obligations which flow from it. Today above all, when man tends to despise himself, to the point of assimilating himself to the beast, cry to him: *Sursum corda* [lift up your hearts]. Divine race, the earth is unworthy of thee; let the gross instincts of nature, the pale glimmerings of reason be the guides of other men; for thee, the rule of thy thoughts, of thy affections and of thy works is the word of thy divine brother, the Incarnate Word: *Be ye perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect.*

The mysterious operations which have just been described being the basis of the formation of the Christian, we think it useful to summarize them in a few words. Well understood, they will make easy the detailed study of the fourth and magnificent creation of the Holy Spirit.

Man is son of man by human generation. He is son of God by a divine generation. This generation, which makes him a partaker of the very nature of God, is effected by grace. Grace is a gift, a divine element which makes man a child of God and heir of His glory. The mystery is accomplished thus: the Holy Spirit descends personally into man, and unites him to Himself with the most intimate union after the hypostatic union. By virtue of this union, charity, of which the Holy Spirit is the source, is immediately poured into the essence of the soul. It carries there all the virtues, all the constitutive principles of the supernatural or divine life, since it is itself that life. Without losing its nature, the soul in contact with the divine element is deified; thus, while remaining iron, iron plunged in fire takes on all its qualities.

By sanctifying or habitual grace, become a child of God, man is capable of every supernatural good. Nevertheless, to accomplish it, he needs an impulse, which must be renewed as often as there is an obligation to act. Thus the sap, which is in the tree and which is its life, must be set in motion by the rays of the sun, to circulate in the branches and form flowers and fruits. In man this impulse is *actual grace.* As its name indicates, actual grace is a movement, an impulse, a transitory inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who, at the proper moment, sets habitual grace in action, and communicates to the soul, according to need, the light, the strength, the remorse, the desire necessary to accomplish the good that presents itself.(1)

1. *Hujusmodi gratiae actualis auxilium necessarium est ad eas omnes exercendas operationes quae aliquo modo naturae vires excedunt.* [The help of actual grace of this kind is necessary to exercise all those operations which in some way exceed the powers of nature.] Montagn., *De gratia*, quaest. proem., p. 53, 4to ed. — *Quoties bona agimus, Deus in nobis et nobiscum est, ut operemur, operatur.* [As often as we do good, God is in us and with us, that we may work, He works.] Conc. Arausic. [Second Council of Orange], xi, c. ix.

— *Hac gratia agitur, non solum ut diligenda credamus, verum etiam ut credita diligamus.* [By this grace we are moved not only to believe what is to be loved, but also to love what we believe.] S. Aug., *Lib. de Grat. Christi*, c. xii.

Translator's notes — Chapter XVIII

1. **Theology of grace.** This is the doctrinal core of the Treatise: the divine adoption of the Christian through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Gaume leans heavily on Cornelius a Lapide (on Osee i, 10; 2 Peter i, 4; Acts ii, 1), who is cited in nearly every footnote, and on Aquinas (I–II, qq. 110–113).

2. **"Substantially" and "accidentally."** Gaume follows Lapide in saying that the Christian participates "as if substantially" in the divine nature, while grace itself is an "accidental" created form (Aquinas I–II, q. 110, a. 2, ad 2). The qualification "*quasi* substantially" is in the Latin; Gaume's French "*comme* substantiellement" renders it. The sentence that God "communicates to us His nature" should be read with the long footnote: grace is a created gift and is not the divine substance. I have translated as printed.

3. **"Catholic pantheism."** Gaume's own deliberately provocative phrase (*le panthéisme catholique*), which he sets over against Satan's counterfeit pantheism. Taken in context ("participate", "as it were") it is not the identification of creature with God.

4. **"Terrenus Deus."** The phrase is Gaume's (possibly after patristic uses of *deus in terris*); no source is given.

5. **Scripture references.** Rom. viii, 17; John xiv, 23; John i, 12–13 (printed "i, 12" and note "i, 12"); Heb. i, 2. The Psalm 48 reference is to Ps. xlviii, 13 (Vulgate), the "man who does not understand" verse.

6. **Aquinas references.** I–II, q. 113, art. 9 (the greater work of justification; printed "q. 113, corp."); q. 110, art. 2, ad 2 and art. 3 and 4; q. 63, art. 3 (printed "art. 8" — see I–II, q. 63, a. 3 on the infused virtues); II–II, q. 24, art. 3, ad 2.

7. **Council of Trent, Sess. VI, c. vii** on justification. **Second Council of Orange** (529), canon ix.

8. **Pseudo-Cyprian.** *De Spectaculis* is generally regarded as not by Cyprian.

9. **Montagne, *De gratia*.** The author and edition I could not identify with certainty; given as printed.

10. **Leo the Great.** The admonition "Agnosce, o christiane, dignitatem tuam" is from his Christmas sermon (*Serm.* xxi, 3 in modern numbering); Gaume's sermon numbers ("vi", "i") follow an older edition and I did not check them.

11. **Spanish catechisms.** Gaume quotes a Spanish formula in the original language; I give it in Spanish in the footnote with English.

Chapter XIX. Birth of the Christian: Baptism

Water is the matter of baptism. — What water is: mother of the world, blood of nature. — Words of the Fathers and of Saint Peter. — Pagan tradition. — Water is a good and fruitful mother. — Part of water in the moral order. — Honours paid to water. — Water corrupted by the demon. — Why water is the element of baptism. — Passages from Saint Chrysostom and Tertullian. — Satanic counterfeit. — Proofs of the supernatural efficacy of the water of baptism.

We know the reality and excellence of our divine generation; but where is it accomplished? In the life of the Christian there is one hour solemn above all, a unique hour, an hour of glory and eternal blessings: the hour of baptism. Then is wrought a miracle greater than the creation of heaven and earth: the son of man becomes the son of God. Need we be astonished if, each time this prodigy is renewed, the trumpets of the Church militant, the bells, burst into joyful sounds to announce it to heaven and earth? Need we be astonished if the

greatest king of the fairest kingdom signed not the name of his family, but that of the place where he received baptism, and called himself Louis of Poissy? Need we be astonished if each year our fathers celebrated by a solemn feast, called the *annotine Pasch* [anniversary Easter], the anniversary of their divine birth? No; none of this should astonish. What astonishes and afflicts is to see the greatest day of life become, for the greater part of Christians today, a day like any other.

That in the waters of baptism man becomes a child of God is a truth of faith. “Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost,” says the Incarnate Word, “he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”(1) And the holy Council of Trent, infallible interpreter of the Master: “The instrumental cause of sanctification is the sacrament of baptism.”(2) Here reappears with new lustre the creative action of the Holy Spirit, and the profound harmony which God has put between the world of nature and the world of grace. Since the subject leads us to it, let us speak of these mysteries so little admired today and yet so worthy of being so.

1. John iii, 5.

2. *Justificationis causa instrumentalis item, sacramentum Baptismi; quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua nulli unquam contigit justificatio.* [The instrumental cause of justification is likewise the sacrament of baptism, which is the sacrament of faith, without which no one ever obtained justification.] Sess. vi, c. vii and can. iv.

Water is the matter of baptism. Why water and not another element? Uncertainty will cease with the answer to this question: What is water? Among so many wasted leisures, has it ever happened to us to consecrate a single one, however short, to seeking what this element is, the most friendly to man, this beautiful and beneficent creature of which we make such frequent use? Let us at least once attempt this study. By revealing to us the reason for which God employs water in the most magnificent of His works, it will inspire us with noble thoughts and noble sentiments.

Water is the mother of the world and the blood of nature. To define it thus we are authorized, as we shall soon see, by the most learned of geologists, Saint Peter, prince of the apostles. Having learned geology in the very school of the Creator, none knows better than he the origin of things. Water is the mother of the world, if from its womb and substance sprang earth and heavens. Now here is what we read at the head of Genesis: “In the beginning God created heaven and earth; and the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep.” The primitive matter, hurled into space by the creating Word, formed a shapeless mass in the liquid state. The earth, which was an integral part of it, underwent the common condition. Uncondensed water, it was, as Scripture says, without consistency and without determinate form. “This shapeless matter,” says Saint Augustine, “which God drew out of nothing, was first called heaven and earth. And it is said: In the beginning God made heaven and earth. Not that it was already so, but because it could be; for it is written that heaven was made. Thus, when we consider the seed of a tree, we say that there are the roots, the trunk, the branches, the leaves and the fruits, not that these things already are, but because they are to be. In the same sense it was said: In the beginning God made heaven and earth, although the matter of heaven and earth was still in a state of chaos. But because from this chaos heaven and earth were to come forth with certainty, the matter itself was already called heaven and earth.”(1)

1. *De Gen. contra Manich.*, lib. I, c. vii, *Opp.*, vol. I, p. [blank], newest edition.

Let us now hear the Prince of the apostles. In his time there were, as today, Renans, Proudhons, Quinets, Strausses, little schoolboys of little Epicurus, who denied the creation of the world, its free government by Providence, and its final destruction. Saint Peter answers: “For this they are willingly ignorant of, that the heavens were before, and the earth out of water, and through water, consisting by the word of God.”(1) Thus the heavens and the earth, with all the material creatures they contain, were formed of water, to which the creating Word gave, by condensing it, a fixed form maintained in a permanent state. Among the Fathers and commentators the interpretation of the apostle’s words is invariable. In the first rank we find Pope Saint

Clement, disciple of Saint Peter, who declares he had it from the mouth of his august master. “I will teach you,” Peter said to me, “how and by whom the world was made. In the beginning God made heaven and earth, as one single building. The water which occupied the world, God condensed like ice, made solid like crystal: it formed the firmament which envelops all the space between heaven and earth.”(2) As one sees, it is a question only of water as elementary matter.

1. *Latet enim eos hoc volentes quod, coeli erant prius et terra de aqua et per aquam, consistens Verbo Dei.* 2 Pet. iii, 5. [Gaume’s note:] Although in the singular, the word *consistens*, “consisting”, refers equally to heaven and earth, the Hebrews being accustomed to make the adjective agree with the last substantive.

2. *Repetamus … quomodo vel a quo factus sit mundus… In principio cum fecisset Deus coelum et terram tanquam domum unam… aqua, quae erat intra mundum… quasi gelu concreta et crystallo solidata distenditur, et hujusmodi firmamento velut intercluduntur media coeli ac terrae spatia.* [Rendered in the text.] *Recognit.*, lib. I, c. xxvi and xxvii.

God separated it into two parts: one reduced to the concrete state forms the earth; the other held in suspension in the void is called the firmament, and forms around the earth a sort of crown of crystal, enamelled with diamonds.(1) Oecumenius speaks like Saint Clement. “Heaven and earth,” he says, “were made of water. Heaven is only water vaporized or in the aeriform state, and the earth, water solidified or in the concrete state.”(2) Saint Augustine is no less explicit. “In the beginning the heavens and the earth were made of water and by water. There is nothing absurd, then, in saying that the primitive matter is water; for all that is born on earth, animals, plants and similar beings, owe their formation and nourishment to water.”(3) Such is the opinion of the other doctors,(4) to which the third verse of Genesis comes, it seems to us, to give a brilliant confirmation. *And the Spirit of God moved over the waters.* Why does Scripture not say: Over the heaven and over the earth, which it has just named, and named alone? Is it not evidently because they existed in the state of water, and water was the generating element of both?

1. See Fabricius, *Théologie de l’eau*, bk. II, c. i.

2. *Sicut coelo et terra ex aqua constitutis… nam aer ex aquarum exhalatione, terra ex eorum concretione consistit.* [Rendered in the text.] *In 2 Petr.* iii, 5.

3. *Coeli erant olim et terra de aqua et per aquam. De civit. Dei*, lib. XX, c. xviii. — *Propterea vero non absurde etiam aqua dicta est ista materia, quia omnia quae in terra nascuntur, sive animalia, sive arbores, vel herbae, et alia similia, ab humore incipiunt formari et nutriri.* [Rendered in the text.] *De Gen. contr. Manich.*, lib. I, c. vii, p. 1053.

4. See Corn. a Lap., *in Eccles.* xxix, 28 [sic; as printed; probably Ecclus. xxix, 28 (Vulg.)]: “Initium vitae hominis aqua et panis”.

The remembrance of the primitive origin of material beings had not been entirely lost among the pagans. From the East, cradle of tradition, it had passed to the West. The first philosophical school of Greece, that of Thales, laid down in principle that water had given birth to all that we see.(1) The most learned of the Roman naturalists, Pliny, writes: “Water is queen of all; it preserves the earth, it kills fire, it mounts on high and possesses the empire of heaven. In falling, it gives birth to what the earth produces. Prodigy of nature! If one considers how the harvests are born, how trees and plants live, how water mounts into the sky and how it descends thence to give life to the herbs, one will confess with truth that the earth owes all to water.”(2) Festus and other pagan grammarians give the word *aqua*, water, an etymology which signifies mother of all.(3) To the teaching of universal tradition chemistry, when it is more advanced, will come, we doubt not, to add the authority of its experiments. Instead of fifty simple bodies it will recognize that a single element sufficed the Creator to form all that we see. Now this primitive element is water.

1. *Aquam principem rebus creandis dixere.* [They said water was the first principle of created things.] Auson., *De Lud. Sapient.*

2. *Hoc elementum omnibus imperat. Terras servant aquae, flammas necant, scandunt in sublime, et coelum quoque sibi vindicant… Eaedem cadentes omnium terra nascentium causa fiunt, prorsus mirabili natura, si quis velit reputare ut fruges gignantur, arbores fruticesque vivant, in coelum migrare aquas, animamque etiam herbis vitalem inde deferre: justa confessione, omnes quoque vires aquarum esse beneficia.* [Rendered in the text.] *Hist. nat.*, lib. XXXI, c. i, 8vo ed., Paris, 1827.

3. *Aqua, a qua juvamur; vel ut alii, a qua omnia; quia ex aqua coeli, aer, caeteraque omnia creata sunt.* [Water, by which we are helped; or, as others say, from which are all things; because from water the heavens, the air and all else were created.] Corn. a Lap., *in Joan.* iv, 9.

Such is already the opinion of a part of the learned world.(1) As the child comes forth from the womb and substance of its mother, material creation therefore came forth from water. Thus the heavens and the earth and all that the earth produces are sons or grandsons of water: *Ex aqua et per aqua.* [Of water and by water.] What a fruitful, what an admirable mother! what a fair and numerous family! Let us cast our eyes over the immense variety of trees, vegetables, plants, herbs, flowers and fruits, in which one knows not what to admire most: the usefulness of their wood and foliage, the richness of their colours, the gracefulness of their forms, the exquisite odour of their perfumes, or their medicinal properties. This, however, is not the fairest part of the children of water. From it too were born the animals which fill the earth, the fish which people the sea, whose size or smallness, form and structure, industries and means of attack and defence astonish us equally. Something more graceful still and more brilliant: birds are brothers of fishes. By the gentleness of their forms, the vivacity of their movements, the splendour, magnificence and variety of their plumage, the sureness of their instinct and the harmony of their songs, these charming creatures offer a spectacle one never tires of admiring. Better still: it is from the earth that the masterpiece of material creation, our body, came forth, as the earth itself came forth from water. If therefore the earth is our mother, water is our grandmother.

1. Water, called in chemistry protoxide of hydrogen, is composed of two indecomposable gases, hydrogen and oxygen, vital principles of all that exists. [Gaume's note, as printed.]

Every man is born of it: *Initium vitae hominis aqua.* Water is the beginning of the life of man. Ecclus. xxxix, 31. The Creator, who made the earth to be born of water, willed that this daughter, whatever her age, should rest like a little child on the bosom of her mother. He founded the earth upon water: *super maria fundavit eam*, says the prophet.(2) It is water which serves her as support, nurse and cradle. In effect, the conservation of beings is only their continued creation; that means that they live by the same elements of which they are formed. If therefore water is the generating element of material beings, it must play a sovereign part in their conservation. Now it is a fact that water enters into all foods; that it is the direct remedy for a host of maladies and serves as vehicle to most medicines.

1. *Hydrogeologia*, sect. i, c. iii, auct. Marco Aut. Marsilio Columna, archiep. Salernit. [Gaume's note, as printed; Marcantonio Marsili Colonna, Archbishop of Salerno.]

2. [the verse is Ps. xxiii, 2: *Quia ipse super maria fundavit eum*, "He hath founded it upon the seas".]

As in the works of God everything is made for the instruction of man, Saint Ambrose translates the lesson given us by the close and indissoluble union of earth and water. "See," he says, "what a good mother water is; she nourishes what she brings forth and never separates from it. And thou, O man, who hast taught the abandonment of children by their parents, separations, hatreds, offences, learn from water what intimate bonds should unite parents and children."(3) Let us learn also how great should be our humility and our detachment from creatures. What is our body? Congealed water. What are the animals, the plants, the earth, all material creatures? Congealed water. And for a little congealed water we should have pride, and lose our

soul made in the image of God!

3. *Quam bona mater sit aqua, considera… disce ergo ab aqua quae sit et parentum filiorumque necessitudo.* [Rendered in the text.] *Hexaem.*, lib. V, c. iv.

Water is not only the mother of the world, it is also the blood of nature. Blood is necessary to the life of the body; water is no less necessary to the life of the universe. In the human body the blood has its reservoirs. It leaves them to feed all our members; it returns to them to refresh itself, it departs from them anew to continue with success its indispensable functions. The same in the great body of nature. The bottomless seas, the vast cavities of the mountains are the reservoirs of its blood. By an uninterrupted movement of departure and return, the water ceaselessly refreshed, filled with all its native qualities, continues to make life blossom in nature in a thousand varied productions, whose regular succession is not the least admirable character. It is infinite wisdom which makes the blood go forth from its reservoirs, which divides it, which directs it by a hundred channels, of different sizes, according to the needs of each organ. In nature the same wisdom presides over the distribution of the waters. At the appointed time it opens their great reservoirs; it divides the mass, shows it the channels by which it must flow to water, refresh, maintain everywhere beauty and life. Among these channels, some, like the rivers, are the arteries of the great body of nature; the others, like the streams, brooks, fountains, subterranean infiltrations, are the veins, the fibres, the capillary vessels, by which water penetrates the smallest particles of earth, as the blood into the weakest extremities of our organs and the farthest from the centre.

It is a matter of experience that water is found everywhere. On this point artesian wells have come, like all other discoveries, to justify the teachings of theology. What would it be if man possessed a more complete science, or had more perfect instruments? Such is the precision with which God measures the quantity of blood that must enter each vessel, the rapidity or slowness with which it must flow, that there is never, barring a foreign cause, either engorgement or disturbance in the organism. With an art no less marvellous the Creator Himself glories in having measured and balanced the waters in the body of nature, so that each part receives the fitting quantity. “I am He who weighed the waters in a measure; who gave a law for the rains and a way for the sounding storms.”(1) But if man comes to deserve some grave punishment, the order is suspended. As in the family the mother takes it upon herself to correct the guilty child: water avenges the outraged heavenly Father. It is ordered to shut itself up in its reservoirs and make the earth and its productions languish, or to fall in disastrous masses which drown the first, spoil the second and force the sinner to cry for mercy.

1. *Aquas appendit in mensura. Quando ponebat pluviis legem et viam procellis sonantibus.* [He weighed the waters by measure. When he made a law for the rain, and a way for the sounding storms.] Job xxviii, 25, 26.

It is therefore true to say with a pagan author: “Water is the element most friendly to man; none other procures us so many advantages; without water nothing could be born, nor preserved, nor adapted to our uses.”(2) Let us add, with Eusebius, that of all the elements water is that which seems to render the most glory to the attributes of God. The rivers and streams which flow ceaselessly in such great abundance make known the magnificence of the Creator. The inexhaustible fountains which night and day spring from abysses hidden to the human eye show the goodness of the God who feeds them. The greatness of His power is revealed by the immense mass of waters enclosed in the abyss of the oceans, and by the bold waves which, rising to the clouds, frighten the earth, but come to break their pride against a grain of sand.(1)

2. *Nulla ex omnibus rebus tantas habere videtur ad usum rerum necessitates quantas aqua… sine aqua nec corpus animalium nec ulla cibi virtus potest nasci, nec tueri, nec parari.* [Rendered in the text.] Vitruv., lib. VIII, c. iv.

3. *De Laud. Constant.*, p. 605. [Eusebius.]

Such is water in itself and in the natural order. Is it not just that, by reason of the sovereign part with which it is honoured, it should sing the glory of God, and that man, associating himself with his mother, should help her to pay the debt of gratitude? Thus in the canticle in which he calls upon all creatures to exalt, to super-exalt their author, the prophet, after addressing the angels, glorious inhabitants of the higher world, passes to the lower creation and calls immediately upon water, its ever-fruitful mother. *Benedicite aquae omnes quae super coelos sunt Domino.* [All ye waters that are above the heavens, bless the Lord. Dan. iii, 60.]

Hence the honours paid to water. It is a fact little noticed and yet all the more worthy of notice because universal: all the civilized peoples of East and West, Jews, pagans or Christians, have put a part of their glory in adorning fountains. They have willed that their mother, on arriving among them, should be received not in vessels of stone or wood roughly worked, but in basins of marble, bronze, porphyry, richly adorned with sculptures and bas-reliefs. The waters do not gush out by simple and artless orifices: graceful and varied are their ways. They come forth in turn from the beak of a bird, the mouth of a lion, or the mouth of any other living creature, and the noise of their fall, soft or resounding, forms a concert which is, according to the Prophet's expression, the clapping of the hands of the waters: *Flumina plaudent manu.* [The floods shall clap their hands. Ps. xcvii, 8.]

None understood better the cult of waters than the two greatest peoples of antiquity, the Jews and the Romans. The aqueducts of Solomon were of an incredible magnificence, of a grandeur and breadth which would appear fabulous, if written and material proofs did not make them incontestable. Never did the Caesars enter Rome with as much pomp as the waters called to adorn the Eternal City. It is on triumphal arches ten and fifteen leagues in length that there arrived, like queens, the magnificent Pauline and Virginal waters, whose abundance and purity still make present-day Rome the city of beautiful fountains. "Our aqueducts," wrote Pliny, "are the wonders of the world: *orbis miracula.*"(1)

1. Lib. XXXVI, c. xv.

Need we be astonished if the great ape of God, Satan, has seized upon this instinctive veneration for waters and made it turn to his profit? To corrupt man and make God insulted by the fairest of His creatures, he has bent himself to profane the waters and the fountains: the first were peopled with a crowd of impure divinities; of the second he made a spectacle of lubricity. Issuing from the mouth or the shell of sirens, naiads, tritons, that is, of provoking demons, the fountains, become pagan again, no longer sing the attributes of the Creator, but the infamies of Satan, his angels and his cult.(1)

1. See Corn. a Lap., *in Zach.* xiv, 6; and *Cant.* iv, 15.

Astonishment redoubles, or rather science develops, when one considers the important part of water in the moral order. What element has more often served for the wonders of the Almighty! The deluge, the passage of the Red Sea, the rock of Horeb, the crossing of the Jordan, the Mosaic worship with its numerous ceremonies, of which water almost always forms an integral part: do they not bear witness that water is the preferred element of the Creator? How many times the Incarnate Word has made it serve His mysteries and miracles: it would take long to tell. Let us cite a single fact. On the threshold of His public life He wills to manifest His divinity with irresistible éclat. His first miracle will be like His letter of credence. To work it, what element does He employ? Water.

"Remarkable thing," says on this subject the learned Fabricius, "the change of water into wine at the marriage feast of Cana, the creating Word continues to work every day, with a luxury of varieties before which one falls on one's knees. He so well unites water with the virtue of the vine-stock that the grapes are filled not with water, but with a delicious juice. Who could count so many species of wines, so many sorts of other juices, oils and succulent fruits, into which water changes, on contact with the virtues enclosed in their seeds?"(2) If the miraculous transformation of water is accomplished on contact with a created element, why

could it not be accomplished at the immediate order of Him who created water and the transforming element?

2. *Théologie de l'eau*, lib. I, c. iv.

It was necessary to make known the natural excellence of water, by showing what it is in the physical world, in order to have the reason of the constant choice God makes of it, from the origin, as element of the greatest things in the moral world. Now these ancient wonders were only the prelude of a still greater wonder. We mean the birth of the Christian: to water belongs the honour. Unique, incomparable, immortal, this honour brings to evidence one of the most ravishing harmonies of the divine works and forms not the least proof that water is indeed the generating element of all things. We shall see it in the following chapter. It is therefore not because it is found everywhere, but because it is profoundly mysterious, that water was chosen as the element of baptism.(1)

1. On what precedes and what follows, see our *Traité de l'eau bénite au XIXe siècle* [Treatise on Holy Water in the Nineteenth Century].

Translator's notes — Chapter XIX

1. **Cosmology of the chapter.** Gaume draws on a patristic and early-modern tradition (Clement, Oecumenius, Augustine, Fabricius, Marsili) in which Genesis i and 2 Pet. iii, 5 are read to mean that water is the primal matter; he adds that chemistry will confirm this. This is an argument from the exegesis of his time; it is not a scientific claim that modern chemistry supports. I translate as printed.

2. **Louis of Poissy.** Saint Louis IX of France, baptized at Poissy, sometimes signed "Louis de Poissy" — Gaume's allusion. "Annotine Pasch" (*Pascha annotinum*) was an early medieval commemoration of baptismal anniversary.

3. **Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, vii**. The passage on matter called "heaven and earth" is accurate to the sense. *De civ. Dei* XX, xviii is cited for 2 Pet. iii, 5 (as printed; I did not verify).

4. **Pseudo-Clement.** The *Recognitions* I, xxvi–xxvii (a pseudo-Clementine romance); Gaume treats it as genuine Clement reporting Peter.

5. **Oecumenius** (6th–10th c. Byzantine commentator), cited for 2 Pet. iii, 5; text as printed.

6. **Pliny, *Nat. hist.* XXXI, 1** and **XXXVI, 24** (printed "xv"; the *orbis miracula* phrase is Pliny's remark on the aqueducts). **Vitruvius VIII, 4. Festus** (the grammarian) is cited for the etymology as in Lapide; I did not check it. "Ausonius, *De Lud. Sapient.*" is Ausonius's poem on the sayings of the Seven Sages (Thales on water).

7. **"Fabricius, *Théologie de l'eau*."** Probably J. A. Fabricius's *Hydrotheologie*, which I could not confirm; the book and chapter references are as printed.

8. **"Hydrogeologia"** (by Marco Antonio Marsili Colonna, Archbishop of Salerno, as printed), cited without verification.

9. **Scripture.** Ecclus. xxxix, 31 (Vulg.: "Initium necessariae rei vitae hominis, aqua et ignis et ferrum"); Gaume's phrase *Initium vitae hominis aqua* is a free reduction. Ps. xxiii, 2. Dan. iii, 60 (Benedicite). Ps. xcvii, 8 (Vulg.).

10. **Roman waters.** The "Pauline" and "Virginal" waters are given as printed (the Aqua Virgo is an ancient Roman aqueduct); I take the "ten and fifteen leagues" of arches to be Gaume's rhetorical figure. "Aqueducts of Solomon" refers to the "Pools of Solomon" tradition.

11. **Gaume's own treatise.** "Traité de l'eau bénite au XIXe siècle".

12. **“The great ape of God.”** Gaume’s recurring name for Satan (the counterfeiter).

13. **Strausses, Quinets etc.** Contemporary French and German writers (Renan, Proudhon, Edgar Quinet, D. F. Strauss) whom Gaume represents as “little schoolboys of little Epicurus”: polemical, kept as printed.

14. **Structural note.** The summary in the heading promises passages from Chrysostom and Tertullian and the proofs of baptismal efficacy; the text ends before them, announcing “the following chapter”.

Chapter XX. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Marvels come forth from the bosom of the waters: in the natural order, in the supernatural order. — Admiration of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. — By reason of its excellence water is the privileged object of the hatred of the demon. — Words of Tertullian. — Facts of profane history. — Pliny, Porphyry. — Passage of Psellus. — Certainty of the miracle wrought by the water of baptism. — Magnificence of the baptism of Christians, drawn from its likeness to the baptism of the Incarnate Word.

On the first day of the world the Holy Spirit rests upon the waters, like the bird which broods its nest to hatch it. From the primitive waters thus made fruitful come forth the brilliant and innumerable legions of organic beings, living, animated, destined to live on the earth, which came forth like them from the bosom of the waters. In the fullness of time the same Spirit rests upon the waters of Baptism, makes them fruitful, and throughout the whole duration of the ages brings forth from them the innumerable family of the children of God, destined to people heaven. This spectacle ravishes the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. As the ancient prophets had delighted to sing the first creation coming forth from the bosom of the waters, they vie in celebrating the second creation come forth from the same element.

“What the womb of Mary was for the Word,” they say, “the baptismal font is for us: maternal womb in which the generating grace is received and from which we come forth brethren and co-heirs of the Incarnate Word. O the admirable workman that the Holy Spirit is!”(1) “What is the use of water,” asks Saint Chrysostom, “to give the world a second birth? There are great mysteries there. I tell but one. By virtue of the law which presides over the transformation or perfecting of beings, in the baptismal water a mystery of death and a mystery of life is accomplished. Death, burial, life, resurrection, all is done at the same time. The baptismal water is a tomb. We go down into it, and the old man is buried there and drowned entirely. We come out of it, and the new man comes out full of life. As easy as it is for us to plunge into water and return to the surface, no less easy is it for God to bury the old man and create the new… What the mother’s womb is to the child, the water of baptism is to the Christian: it is in the water that he is made and formed. In the beginning it was said: *Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature having life.* Since the Redeemer Word went down into the Jordan, it is no longer the race of reptiles that the waters produce, but the family of souls, endowed with reason and full of the Holy Spirit.”(2)

1. *Fons aquae elementaris, hoc Spiritu interveniente, fit uterus Ecclesiae, uterus gratiae, etc.* [The font of elemental water, by the intervention of this Spirit, becomes the womb of the Church, the womb of grace, etc.] Rupert., *De Spirit. sanct.*, lib. III, c. viii. — One sees here the reason why elemental or natural water alone is the matter of Baptism: it alone has the Holy Spirit sanctified and made fruitful. [Gaume’s note.]

2. … *Quod est matrix embryoni, hoc est aqua fideli: in aqua enim fingitur et formatur, etc.* [What the womb is to the embryo, that water is to the believer: for in water he is fashioned and formed.] *In Joan.*, homil. xxv, n. 2; and homil. xxv, n. 1, *Opp.*, vol. VIII, p. 168 and 171, newest edition.

No one has more graceful and vivid colours than Tertullian to paint the marvels of the second creation, so differently magnificent from the first. “Happy mystery of our baptismal water!” cries this great man. “There we are purified from our old faults and set free for eternal life. The viper, I mean heresy, loves dry and arid places. As for us, little fishes, after our Fish Jesus Christ, we are born in water and live the divine life only by

remaining in the water."(1) This powerful water had its figure in the creation of the world. Then the Holy Spirit was borne upon the waters and sanctified them. From that moment sanctified water had the virtue of itself sanctifying; for it is a law that the lower creature takes on the qualities of the higher being which acts on it, especially if it is a question of matter with respect to spirit. All waters, having come from those primitive waters, participate in the same virtue. Therefore it matters not whether one is baptized in the sea, in a lake, in a river or in a fountain, in the East or in the West, by John in the Jordan or by Peter in the Tiber. Scarcely is the name of God invoked when the Spirit, from the heights of heaven, descends upon the waters, sanctifies them by Himself, and thus sanctified they imbibe the virtue of sanctifying."(2)

1. … *Sed nos pisciculi secundum* ἰχθύν *nostrum, Jesum Christum, in aqua nascimur; nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.* [Rendered in the text.] *De Baptism.*, c. i.

2. *Invocato Deo, supervenit enim statim Spiritus de coelis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatae vim sanctificandi combibunt.* [Rendered in the text.] Id., c. iv.

It is therefore true: the moral world and the physical world came forth from the same generating element, under the action of the same Spirit. The heavens and the earth are of water and live in water, *ex aqua et per aquam*, says Saint Peter; and the Christian world is of water and can live only in water: *In aqua nascimur; nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.* [We are born in water; nor are we saved otherwise than by remaining in water.] Better than all discourses, this double fact shows us the excellence of water and the place it occupies in the divine works.

By this very fact it will be the inevitable object of the privileged hatred of the demon. If therefore the great enemy of the Incarnate Word had profaned water, considered only as principle of the material creation, we must see him redouble his fury to profane it, to dishonour it, as element of the spiritual creation and special instrument of the miracles of the God-Man. So it is. To relate what the prince of darkness has done to corrupt water, and to make of this sanctifying element an instrument of moral and physical evil, would be almost impossible. One would say that, having learned of the sublime destinies of water for the regeneration of the world, Satan has discharged his hatred on this twice-mysterious element, as he had discharged it on woman.

Tertullian, who saw him at work, cites some of his sacrilegious counterfeits and his black wickednesses. "He has," says he, "his baptism to initiate his adepts into the mysteries of Isis and of Mithras. On all sides one sees his worshippers purify with water the fields, the houses, the temples, entire cities. At the games of Apollo and of Pelusium the combatants plunge into water, with the thought of regenerating themselves and obtaining pardon for their faults. Among the ancients the man who had just committed a homicide purified himself with water. Let us recognize here Satan, jealous of God, since he too has his baptism. But what relation between his and ours? The unclean purifies, the killer vivifies, the damned absolves! Will he destroy his own work by effacing the crimes which he himself inspires?

"Independently of any superstitious practice, the demon is the corrupter of waters. The pagans are not ignorant of it, who, denying the action of God upon water, admit its caricature. Do not unclean spirits rest upon the waters, counterfeiting the position of the Holy Spirit upon the primitive waters? All shaded fountains know it, all solitary streams, the pools of public baths, and in private houses the euripi, that is, the cisterns and wells, called euripi because they carry off, by the power of the evil spirit, those who approach them. The unhappy ones whom these waters have killed or made mad or struck with panic, they call lymphatic and hydrophobic."(1)

1. *Annon et alias sine ullo sacramento immundi Spiritus aquis incubant, affectantes illam in primordio divini Spiritus gestationem? Sciunt opaci quique fontes, et avii quique rivi, et in balneis piscinae et euripi in domibus vel cisternae et putei qui rapere dicuntur, scilicet per vim spiritus nocentis. Nam et enectos et lymphatos et hydrophobes vocant, quos aquae necaverunt aut amentia vel formidine exercuerunt.* [Rendered in the text.] Tertull., *De baptismo*, c. v.

To call in doubt the reality of these satanic phenomena would be simply ridiculous. Tertullian did not invent them. Pagan authors bear witness to them. They cite in different parts of the world a great number of these waters which produce the effects pointed out by the great apologist. Pliny names one of these homicidal or harmful euripi in Arcadia, three in Taurica, others in Lydia, in Ethiopia, in Boeotia, in the island of Ceos, in Phrygia, in Spain, in Thrace and in Sicily.(2) The great theologian of paganism, Porphyry, confirms the same facts and relates this oracle of Apollo to Alexander: “Son of Aeacus, beware of approaching the water of Acheruse and of Pandosia: an inevitable death awaits thee there.”(1)

2. *Juxta Nonacrin in Arcadia Styx, nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Item in libroso Taurorum tres fontes, sine remedio, sine dolore, mortiferi… Colophone in Apollinis Clarii specu lacuna est, cujus potu mira redduntur oracula, bibentium breviore vita.* Lib. II, c. cvi. — *Ibi (in Phrygiae Gallo flumine) in potando necessarius modus ne lymphatos agat; quod in Aethiopia accidere his qui a fonte rubro biberint, Ctesias scribit… et Sotion, in excerptis ex Ctesia, scribit: Ctesias in Aethiopia fontem esse narrat, cujus aqua Cinnabaris colorem refert: bibentes vero ex eo mente alienati, ea quae clam perpetrarunt, eloquuntur. — Et Ovid., Metam.* xv, 369: *cui non audita est obscoenae Salmacis unda? Aethiopesque lacus? quos si quis faucibus hausit, aut furit, aut mirum petitur gravitate somnum. — In Boeotia ad Trophonium Deum, juxta flumen Orchomenon duo sunt fontes, quorum alter memoriam, alter oblivionem affert.* Lib. XXXI, c. i and c. xi. — *In Gea insula fontem esse quo hebetes fiant.* Id., c. xii. — *Necare aquas Theopompus et in Thracia apud Cychros dicit: Lycus in Leontinis, tertio die quam quis biberit.* Ibid., c. xix. [Gaume’s long note, in Latin as printed. Rendered: Near Nonacris in Arcadia is the Styx, not differing in smell or colour, which kills at once when drunk. Likewise in the Taurian marshy country three springs, deadly, without remedy, without pain… At Colophon in the cave of Apollo of Claros there is a pool, from whose drinking marvellous oracles are given, the life of the drinkers being shortened. — There (in the river Gallus of Phrygia) a due measure must be observed in drinking, lest it drive one mad; which in Ethiopia, Ctesias writes, happens to those who have drunk from the red spring… and Sotion, in extracts from Ctesias, writes: Ctesias says there is in Ethiopia a spring whose water has the colour of cinnabar; those who drink from it, their minds alienated, tell what they have done in secret. — And Ovid, *Metam.* xv, 369: Who has not heard of obscene Salmacis’ wave? and the Ethiopian lakes? which, if anyone has drunk with his throat, he either rages, or seeks wondrous sleep from heaviness. — In Boeotia, at the god Trophonius, near the river Orchomenus, there are two springs, of which one brings memory, the other forgetfulness. — That in the island of Ceos is a spring by which people grow dull. — Theopompus says waters kill also in Thrace among the Cychri: and the Lycus in the Leontine country on the third day after one has drunk.]

3. *Aeacide, cave ne venias ad Acherusiam aquam Pandosiamque, quia tibi mors fato destinata est.* [Rendered in the text.] *Oracul. veter.*, orac. Apoll. ab Obsopaeo, p. 62.

“There is,” says Psellus, “a kind of demons called water demons, because they plunge into water, willingly haunt lakes and rivers, stir up storms and cause many ships and persons to perish by waters.”(2) These facts and many others therefore permit us to affirm with assurance that, among animate creatures, the privileged object of Satan’s hatred is woman; and among inanimate creatures, water. Woman, because in Mary she is the mother of the Incarnate Word; water, because in baptism it is the mother of the Christian, brother of the Incarnate Word. Hence the particular solicitude with which the Church watches over woman, and especially over the young girl. Hence again that, of all the elements, water is that which she purifies most often and which she always uses to purify creatures.

2. *Quartum (genus daemonum) aquatile et marinum, quod humoribus se immergit, ac libenter circa lacus et fluvios habitat, multosque perdit aquis, et in mari fluctus excitat ac tempestates navigiaque viris onusta funditus submergit, multosque obruit undis.* [Rendered in the text.] *De daemonib.*, near the beginning.

Tertullian concludes by saying: “Why have we related all these things? That no one may have difficulty in believing in the action of good angels on the waters for the salvation of man, since the bad angels have

commerce with the same element for the ruin of man."(1) But against modern incredulity we have no need of such a proof. The miraculous virtue of the water of baptism is a fact dazzling as the sun. I take the most intrepid denier of the supernatural and I ask him: Is there, yes or no, a difference between the pagan world and the Christian world? between a world prostrate at the feet of a thousand idols, each more frightful, more cruel, more impure than the last, to which it offers in sacrifice thousands of human victims; and a world adoring one only God thrice holy, whom it honours with a worship of irreproachable purity? If he answers: No, all is said. One does not reason with madness. If he answers affirmatively, I ask him: In what place did this Christian world, so superior to the pagan world, take birth? Unless he drowns himself in ridicule by denying evidence, he is quite forced to show me the baptismal fonts. From there, indeed, the Christian world came forth.

1. *Quorsum ista retulimus? Ne quis durius credat angelum Dei sanctum aquis in salutem hominis temperandis adesse, cum angelus malus profanum commercium ejusdem elementi in perniciem hominis frequentat.* [Rendered in the text.] Tertull., *ubi supra.*

The fact is so true that all the ancient peoples of East and West, all the much-vaunted republics of Sparta, Athens and Rome, in spite of their philosophers, poets, captains, arts, material civilization, remained worshippers of the most monstrous divinities, slaves of the most shameful errors, so long as they did not come to plunge into the baptismal water. In order that the permanence of the miracle might render incredulity inexcusable, what do we see still today? When do the African worshipper of the serpent, the cannibal of Oceania, cease to be ophiolaters and man-eaters? On the day of their baptism. Eternally true, then, is the beautiful saying of Tertullian: Christians are little fishes born in water: *Pisciculi in aqua nascimur.* No less true that which he adds: And we cannot live except by remaining in the water: *Nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.* In effect, if Christians, men and peoples, come to degenerate, history shows, as the precise date of their decadence, the day on which they withdrew from the waters of baptism, from the life they had received there and from the Spirit who had given it to them.(1)

1. By reason of the important part which it fills in the natural order, water is well worthy to serve for this miracle as for all the others. As we have seen, it has with grace numerous and marked relations. Let us cite again this beautiful harmony. Water which issues from a hill and crosses a valley rises up the opposite hill to the level of its source: it is a physical law. The same law in the supernatural order. Speaking to the Samaritan woman, the Son of God promises to give the world a water which will rise up to the heights of heaven. Therefore the source of this water is in heaven itself. Now this source was opened at baptism; it has never run dry. Flowing over the earth until the last day of the world, it will rise to the height of its source, carrying with it regenerated man, full of life, and rich in virtues which paganism and philosophy never knew. This too is a fact.

To take birth in the most magnificent of the elements is not the greatest glory of the Christian. His prerogative by excellence is that his baptism has for type the baptism of the Incarnate Word. All the august mysteries which we see shine at the Jordan are renewed in each of us. "The new Adam," says Saint Thomas, "willed to be baptized, to consecrate our baptism by His own. Thus in the first there had to be revealed with éclat all that shows the efficacy of the second. On this, three things are to be considered:

"The first, the sovereign virtue which gives baptism its efficacy. This virtue comes from heaven. This is why, Christ being baptized, heaven was opened, to show that henceforth the virtue from on high would sanctify baptism.

"The second, the faith of the Church and of the baptized, which concurs in the efficacy of baptism. Hence the profession of faith pronounced by the baptized, and the name of sacrament of faith given to baptism. Now by faith we see the realities of the supernatural order which surpass the senses and reason. This higher vision is signified by these words: Christ being baptized, the heavens were opened.

“The third, the entrance of heaven opened, by the baptism of the Incarnate Word, to man who had closed it to himself by sin. Hence again the profoundly mysterious word: Christ being baptized, the heavens were opened, to show that the road to heaven is open to the baptized. But, to follow it constantly, the baptized must unceasingly have recourse to prayer. In effect, if baptism remits sin, it leaves subsisting the hearth of sin, which attacks us inwardly; the world and the demon, who attack us outwardly. Hence these significant words: Jesus being baptized and praying, heaven was opened.”(1)

1. III p., q. 39, art. 5, corp.

What is this sovereign virtue which works so many miracles? It is the Holy Spirit. Hence we see Him appear immediately and in a sensible form at the baptism of the new Adam. Mysterious dove, whom we do not see with our eyes rest upon the head of each baptized person, but who rests there none the less. To her, and to her alone, the baptized world owes the purity, the gentleness, the fecundity of good, the intellectual and moral transformation which so nobly distinguishes it from the pagans of old and the idolaters of today. Vivified by the Holy Spirit, water has produced a little fish, the Christian, on the type of the great Fish, Our Lord Jesus Christ. What remains but that the eternal Father should acknowledge His son in presence of heaven and earth: *And behold a voice from heaven, saying: This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased?*(2) To announce the perpetuity of this mystery, as lasting as time, as wide as the world, the voice of the Father, which resounded on the banks of the Jordan eighteen centuries ago, never ceases to make itself heard at the baptismal font when a brother of the Incarnate Word comes there to take birth. This is the beautiful thought of Saint Hilary: “The voice of the Father,” he says, “made itself heard, to warn us that the miracles of Our Lord are accomplished in us, that the divine dove descends upon us and that the voice of the Father announces our divine adoption.”(3)

2. Matt. iii, 17.

3. *Super Jesum baptizatum descendit Spiritus sanctus, et vox Patris audita est dicentis: Hic est filius meus dilectus; ut ex his quae consummabantur in Christo, cognosceremus post aquae lavacrum et de coelestibus portis sanctum in nos Spiritum involare, et paternae vocis adoptione Dei filios fieri.* [Upon Jesus baptized the Holy Spirit descended, and the voice of the Father was heard saying: This is my beloved Son; that from these things which were accomplished in Christ we might know that after the washing of water the Holy Spirit flies down upon us from the heavenly gates, and by the adoption of the Father’s voice we become sons of God.] Super Matth., c. i, *in fin.* [Hilary, *Comm. in Matth.* ii, 6.]

Nothing is truer, for nothing on earth is more beautiful, more worthy of the complacency of the eternal Father than the soul coming from the baptismal fonts. Of this creation of the Holy Spirit, of this earthly heaven where the august Trinity resides, one may say what the Apostle said of the empyrean heaven: *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man* anything that can be compared to it, for happiness and for glory.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XX

1. **Tertullian, *De Baptismo*.** Chs. i, iv, v. The “little fishes” is the famous opening. The statement that unclean spirits haunt water (c. v) is quoted accurately in sense; Gaume’s French loosely adds “Isis and Mithras” and “the games of Apollo and Pelusium” which are Tertullian’s (c. v). “Lymphatic” (*lymphatos*) = “seized with water-madness”.

2. **Pliny, *Nat. hist.* II and XXXI.** Gaume gives “Lib. II, c. cvi” and “Lib. XXXI, c. i, xi, xii, xix”. The Latin footnote strings together lines from Pliny (some as quoted through Ctesias and Sotion) and from Ovid, *Met.* xv (the passage on Salmacis and the Ethiopian lakes is near line 319 ff.). I give it as printed with a bracketed English rendering; I did not verify each item, and Pliny is here reporting folklore.

3. **Porphyry / Obsopoeus.** The oracle to Alexander is given as in a collection of old oracles edited by Obsopoeus, “p. 62” (as printed). I did not verify it.

4. **Psellus**, *De daemonibus* — Michael Psellus’s treatise on demons; the quotation is of his fourth kind of demons (“aquatic”). As printed.

5. **Chrysostom, *In Joan.* hom. xxv** (as printed). The note cites “homil. xxv” twice, with different section numbers, which I take to be a misprint; I did not check.

6. **Rupert of Deutz**, *De Spiritu Sancto* III, viii. **Hilary**, *In Matth.* ii, 6. **Aquinas**, III, q. 39, a. 5.

7. **“Ophiolaters” and “cannibals of Oceania.”** Gaume’s own examples, representative of the missionary literature of his day. The claim that baptism immediately ends such practices is an apologetic generalization.

8. **Concluding Scripture.** *Eye hath not seen.…* is 1 Cor. ii, 9 (Gaume attributes it to “the Apostle”); Gen. i, 20; Matt. iii, 17.

9. **“Fish” symbolism.** The anagram ΙΧΘΥΣ (Iesous Christos Theou Yios Soter) is used by Tertullian in this passage (c. i).

Chapter XXI. Development of the Christian

Elements of the deifying formation: the sacraments, the virtues, the gifts, the beatitudes, the fruits of the Holy Spirit. — Reason of the sacraments: the place they occupy in the plan of our deification. — They give, preserve and strengthen the divine life. — Reason of the virtues: they are the blossoming of the divine life. — Principle whence they flow: sanctifying grace and grace freely given. — The gifts, their reason for being and their end. — The gifts lead to the beatitudes: what these are. — The beatitudes make one taste the fruits. — The fruits of time lead to the fruit of eternity. — Admirable calculations according to which these elements are put to work.

The Christian receives life in the water of baptism: such is the first article of the Catholic faith and the fourth creation of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. The life of the Christian is grace. Grace is the treasure of all riches. With it and by it we possess all the supernatural infused virtues, intellectual and moral; the three theological virtues, the four cardinal virtues, mothers of all the others; the Holy Spirit Himself in person with all His gifts. This being so, what does the Christian lack? All that the newborn child lacks. Son of a poor man or son of a king, the child lacks the means of preserving the life he possesses. So with the Christian. Possessor of a divine life, he lacks the means of preserving and perfecting it.

Let us see with what liberality the Holy Spirit has provided for the needs of His child. We touch the ineffable mysteries of grace. Before us will be revealed the whole system of education, or rather of deification, set to work by the Holy Spirit to lead the Christian to perfect likeness with his elder brother, the Word made flesh. This magnificent system comprises the sacraments, the virtues, the gifts, the beatitudes and the fruits. Disposed with marvellous wisdom, these preserving and deifying means are superposed, linked together, lend each other mutual aid and make of the development of the Christian the masterpiece of the Holy Spirit, His own work or, as Saint Paul says, the building of God: *Dei aedificatio estis.* [You are God’s building. 1 Cor. iii, 9.]

And first, it is not enough to have life, one must preserve and develop it. Such is the aim of the sacraments. “The sacraments of the new law,” says Saint Thomas, “are instituted for a double end: to heal the maladies of the soul, and to give it strength to accomplish the acts of the Christian life. Doubtless grace, considered in general, perfects the essence of the soul, giving it a certain likeness to the divine being. Now from the essence of the soul flow its powers. It follows that, in perfecting the essence of the soul, grace communicates new perfections to its powers. These perfections, called virtues and gifts, render them capable of their particular functions; but that is not enough.

“There are in the Christian life certain special acts for which a particular effect of grace is necessary. The sacraments are established with a view to these special acts, to communicate to the Christian the particular help he needs to accomplish them. Thus, as the virtues and gifts add something to grace considered in general, so sacramental grace adds to grace in general, to the virtues and the gifts, a divine strength corresponding to each sacrament.”(1)

(1) *Sacramenta novae legis ad duo ordinantur, videlicet: ad remedium contra peccatum et ad perficiendam animam in his quae pertinent ad cultum Dei secundum ritum christianae vitae.* [The sacraments of the new law are ordained to two things, namely: to a remedy against sin and to perfecting the soul in those things which pertain to the worship of God according to the rite of the Christian life.] III p., q. 63, art. 1, corp. [as printed; the question number may be garbled — see note 2] — *Ita gratia sacramentalis addit super gratiam communiter dictam et super virtutes et dona, quoddam divinum auxilium ad consequendum sacramenti finem.* [So sacramental grace adds, over and above grace commonly so called and over the virtues and gifts, a certain divine help for attaining the end of the sacrament.] Id., art. 2, corp.

The sacraments are established to heal the maladies of the soul; but how do they attain their end? Baptism is established against the lack of divine life; confirmation, against the weakness natural to children; the Eucharist, against the evil inclinations of the heart; penance against mortal sin or the loss of divine life; extreme unction, against the remains of sins and the languors of the soul; orders, against ignorance and the dissolution of Christian society; marriage, against personal concupiscence and against the extinction of the Church, which would be the cessation of the divine life on earth.(2) Here indeed is the most complete ensemble of preservative and curative remedies for all the maladies of the soul, death itself included. Who conceived it, who established it, who gives it efficacy? The Holy Spirit.

(2) *Baptismus est directe contra culpam originalem; poenitentia, contra culpam actualem mortalem; extrema unctio, contra culpam venialem; ordo, contra ignorantiam; matrimonium, contra concupiscentiam; eucharistia, contra malitiam; confirmatio, contra infirmitatem.* [Baptism is directly against original guilt; penance, against actual mortal guilt; extreme unction, against venial guilt; orders, against ignorance; matrimony, against concupiscence; the Eucharist, against malice; confirmation, against weakness.] Conc. Vaur. [Council of Lavaur], 1368, c. i, and S. Th., III p., q. 65, art. 1, corp.

This is only half of His work. It remains to develop the divine life. Like natural life, supernatural life develops by acts. What are the special acts of the Christian life, for which the grace of the sacraments is indispensable? By virtue of the admirable uniformity which reigns between the spiritual order and the material order, these acts are seven in number and correspond to as many analogous acts of bodily life. In the natural order, man must be born, be strengthened, be nourished, be healed, maintain his health, become a member of society, whether to direct it or to preserve it. So in the supernatural order, the Christian must live as a son of God. The grace proper to baptism gives him both the divine birth and the spirit of Christianity. “The mercy of God,” says the Apostle, “saved us by the laver of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom He hath poured forth upon us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.”(1)

(1) Tit. iii, 5, 6.

He must acquire fitting strength to bear the labour of duty and sustain the combats of virtue. Confirmation communicates to him the Holy Spirit as principle of strength. Hence this word of Our Lord to His disciples already baptized: “I send the promise of My Father upon you: but stay you in the city till you be endued with power from on high.”(2) He must be nourished with food corresponding to his divine life. The Eucharist gives him this food. “I am the living bread which came down from heaven,” says the Incarnate Word. “Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you.”(3)

(2) Luke xxiv, 49. (3) John vi, 51–54.

To be born, grow and maintain his life would suffice for man if, bodily and spiritually, he possessed an impassible life. But as he is subject to grave and frequent maladies, he needs remedies. If he loses health, penance restores it to him, according to these words: “Heal my soul, for I have sinned. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them.”(4) Are his strengths impaired by languors and infirmities? he finds their fullness again in extreme unction. This sacrament purifies man from the remains of sin, strengthens him in the last combat and prepares him to enter into possession of eternal glory. “Is any man sick among you?” says Saint James. “Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil… and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him.”(2)

(4) Ps. 40 [Ps. xl, 5]; John xx, 23. (2) James v, 14. [Gaume’s note numbering.]

In the first five sacraments the Christian finds all the resources necessary for the acts of individual life. A social being, he must fulfil the duties of the society of which he is a member. The last two sacraments furnish him the means. Two things are essential to every society: direction and preservation. There must be public men charged with leading the others. The sacrament of orders gives ministers to the Church and guides to the faithful. “Priests,” says the Apostle, “are taken from among men, that they may offer sacrifices not only for themselves, but for all.”(3) There must be families to perpetuate society. In consecrating the union of the spouses, the sacrament of marriage brings them the graces necessary to fulfil Christianly their duties, perpetuate the Church and people heaven. Hence this word of Saint Paul: “This is a great sacrament: but I speak in Christ and in the Church.”(4)

(3) Heb. v, 1, 2. (4) Eph. v, 32. And S. Th., III p., q. 65, art. 1, corp.

From what precedes one sees both the reason for being of each sacrament and the place it occupies in the plan of our divine development. Like baptism, all communicate to us grace, and consequently the Holy Spirit, who is inseparable from it; but in each sacrament this communication has a special end, in keeping with the needs of our spiritual life. It follows that, by the multiform grace of the sacraments, the Holy Spirit gives the Christian the divine life with the means of preserving it and performing its acts. Thus is accomplished the first part of the mission of the Incarnate Word, who said: *I am come that they may have life: Ego veni ut vitam habeant.* How is the second accomplished: *and may have it more abundantly: et ut abundantius habeant?*

It is written that the only Son of God grew in age and wisdom before God and before men; so the Christian His brother must follow the same progress. In the divine plan the development of the life of grace must go, from degree to degree, to blossom in the life of glory: *Gratia inchoatio gloriae.* [Grace is the beginning of glory.] Even there it will not stop. On the contrary, it will rise incessantly from perfections to perfections, from felicities to felicities, for ages of ages. By what means does the vivifying Spirit procure these ascents of time, prelude of the ascents of eternity? By activating the germ of life which He has put in us, so as to make it give all that it can give. Now, as we have seen, grace is a divine principle which acts on the very essence of the soul and on all its powers. Principle of an incalculable strength and fecundity, it produces in man multiple, superhuman, theandric effects.

By reason of the double destination of man, grace divides into two great species. The Christian is not an isolated being, but a social being: more social, if it may be said, than all other men, since he belongs to the universal society whose aim is to make of the human race one people of brothers. Doubtless he must work at his personal deification: it is the first law of his being. But, child of the Church, he must also, within the limits of his vocation, work for the glory of his mother and the deification of his brothers. It is a new law from which he cannot withdraw. It is so imperious that, whatever he does, every man is necessarily a medium: medium of the sanctifying Word, or medium of the corrupting Satan. Hence two kinds of grace, or two applications of grace: sanctifying grace and grace freely given.

On this fundamental principle let us hear the Angel of the schools. “All the works of God,” says Saint Thomas, “are founded in order. Now it is a law of universal order that certain creatures be brought back to God by means of other creatures. Grace, having for aim to bring man back to God, follows the laws of order, that is, it brings certain men back to God by means of other men. Hence two kinds of grace. The first, which unites man to God, is called grace, *gratum faciens* [making pleasing], because it makes us pleasing to God. The second, by means of which man helps his brother to come to God, is called *gratia gratis data* [grace freely given], because it has not for its aim the personal sanctification of him who receives it, and is not given him in view of his merits.”(1)

(1) *Secundum hoc igitur duplex est gratia. Una quidem, per quam ipse homo Deo conjungitur, quae vocatur gratia gratum faciens. Alia vero, per quam unus homo cooperatur alteri ad hoc quod ad Deum reducatur.* [According to this, then, grace is twofold. One, by which man himself is joined to God, which is called grace making pleasing. The other, by which one man co-operates with another that he may be led back to God.] I–II, q. 111, art. 1, corp.

From this single source of grace, divided into two inexhaustible rivers, come forth all the marvels of the Christian world: marvels of private virtues, which have God and the angels for witnesses; marvels of brilliant virtues, which have the human race for admirer; private virtues, brilliant family of perfections which, completing one another, lead the Christian to the highest point of likeness with God;(2) public virtues which make shine on the forehead of the Church the incommunicable seal of truth; public and private virtues by which lives, without knowing it, the world itself; for it lives by the Holy Spirit and by Him alone. Let us present in abridgement the picture of all these marvels. At one glance it will make us grasp the ensemble of the elements of which our divine generation is composed and the perfect order in which they are co-ordinated.

(2) Conc. Trid., sess. vi, c. 7.

Count de Maistre says that the human body appears more marvellous on the dissecting table than in the most beautiful attitudes of life. So with the Christian. Better than all the rest, the anatomy of this masterpiece of the Holy Spirit reveals its admirable beauty, because it lays bare, in their mysterious operations, the wisdom of the workman who formed it. Here, after the masters of science, is an essay of Catholic autopsy; or, if one will, the indication of the degrees of the mysterious ladder by which man mounts from earth to heaven, and from son of Adam becomes son of God.

By baptism the Holy Spirit communicates to the soul the supernatural life. By the other sacraments He strengthens and preserves it. But as the grain of wheat is entrusted to the bosom of the earth only to blossom into harvests, so the supernatural element is deposited in the soul only to manifest itself by supernatural habits; these habits are called virtues. Like the sacraments, the virtues are seven in number. Three theological, and four cardinal. To the virtues are added the gifts. Permanent inspirations of the Holy Spirit, they perfect the virtues by communicating to them a new impulse, a more sustained energy, a loftier tendency. There are seven of them. They form, says a council, “the seven great sanctifications of the Christian.”(1)

(1) *Haec dona, juxta sacras scripturas, consimiliter septem esse asserimus, quasi septem sanctificationes fidelium mentium.* [These gifts, according to the sacred scriptures, we likewise assert to be seven, as seven sanctifications of the minds of the faithful.] Conc. Vaur., c. i.

Aided by these powerful means, the Christian is in a state to believe as is fitting the articles of the creed, and to practise the precepts of the decalogue, which is the aim of life and the principle of glory. Let us remark in passing, with the council already cited, that the creed divides naturally into seven articles relating to the holy Trinity, and seven relating to the Son of God made man. In the same way the ten precepts of the decalogue are related to the seven theological and cardinal virtues.

Arrived at the perfection of the divine life, there remains for the Christian to maintain himself in it. Of himself he is incapable. His natural weakness, joined to the incessant attacks of his enemies, exposes him continually to falling. The grace which we have seen manifest itself in virtues and gifts manifests itself here in prayers. The seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer correspond to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Each time we pronounce the adorable prayer, we ask the preservation and increase of these divine gifts. To make it efficacious the Holy Spirit Himself says it in the soul of the Christian, by unspeakable groanings. Preserved and strengthened by prayer, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit become in the hands of the Christian weapons of precision against his enemies. Satan attacks us with seven weapons called the seven capital sins. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit form the adequate opposition to them.

By courageously waging the noble combats of virtue, the Christian maintains himself in order. Order procures him peace with God, with his brothers and with himself. This peace gives birth to the seven beatitudes. Finally, of good labours glorious is the fruit, according to the word of Scripture: *Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus.* [For of good labours the fruit is glorious. Wisd. iii, 15.] Now, as there are no better labours than those accomplished in the vast field of the spiritual life, to these noble labours correspond the twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit. These delicious fruits give the soul which feeds on them a foretaste of Him who contains them all, the fruit of eternal life: *Fructus in vitam aeternam.* [fruit unto life everlasting. John iv, 36.] When the end of time comes, the Christian, deified by the Holy Spirit, enters into possession of this incomparable fruit, whose sight, taste and enjoyment will flood him with unspeakable delights; for this fruit will be God Himself seen, tasted, possessed without fear, by a love without limits.(1)

(1) We point out here the frequent repetition of the number seven in the elements of our sanctification. Later we shall try to give the reason for this mysterious repetition. *Articuli Symboli pertinentes ad deitatem sunt septem… Articuli autem ad naturam a Filio Dei assumptam, sunt septem… Virtutes theologicae cum cardinalibus, totidem. Sacramenta Ecclesiae totidem. Dona Spiritus sancti, totidem. Petitiones in dominica oratione contentae, totidem. Beatitudines, totidem. Vitia capitalia, totidem.* [The articles of the Creed pertaining to the Godhead are seven… the articles concerning the nature assumed by the Son of God are seven… The theological virtues with the cardinal, as many. The sacraments of the Church, as many. The gifts of the Holy Spirit, as many. The petitions contained in the Lord's Prayer, as many. The beatitudes, as many. The capital vices, as many.] Conc. Vaur., c. i. — On the number twelve, which measures the fruits of the Holy Spirit, two things must be remarked: first, in Holy Scripture the number twelve indicates absolute perfection. Second, each gift having several acts, the number of the fruits necessarily exceeds that of the gifts. To cite only one example: from the gift of piety come forth the seven works of corporal mercy and the seven works of spiritual mercy: which constitutes the perfection of charity. S. Th., I–II, q. 111, art. 4, corp.

However, we know as yet only the effects of sanctifying grace, principle of the personal deification of the Christian. To give a complete idea of the treasures poured out by the Holy Spirit in the baptized soul, the effects of the grace freely given must be shown. A social being and child of the Church, the Christian, we repeat, must work for the glory of his mother and the deification of his brothers. To this end three things are indispensable: to know to the bottom the Christian truths, in order to instruct others; to be in a state to prove them, without which teaching would be ineffective; to have the talent of expressing them, so as to make the doctrine relished.(2) Such are the effects of grace freely given. They comprise, as the end comprises the means, all the exterior gifts enumerated by Saint Paul. "To every one," he says, "is given the manifestation of the Spirit unto profit. To one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another, faith, in the same Spirit; to another, the grace of healing, in one Spirit; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, diverse kinds of tongues; to another, interpretation of speeches."(1)

(2) S. Th., I–II, q. 111, art. 4, corp. (1) 1 Cor. xii, 7–10.

Common to all Christians, for all must work for the salvation of their brothers, these gifts are communicated to them in different proportions, according to each one's vocation. First, the gift of teaching the truth. It supposes a knowledge of religion higher than that which suffices for salvation. Hence *faith*, that is, at once a clear view and an unshakeable certainty of invisible things, principle of Catholic teaching. One must, moreover, know the principal consequences of these principles. Hence the *word of wisdom*, which is the extended knowledge of divine things. One must possess, besides, a great abundance of facts and examples, often necessary to demonstrate causes. Hence the *word of knowledge*, which is the knowledge of human things, since the invisible world is revealed to our eyes by the visible world.

Next, the gift of proving. In things which belong to the domain of reason, the proof of the doctrine taught is made by reasoning. In things of the supernatural order, by means reserved to divine power. These means are miracles or prophecies. Contrary to all the laws of nature, to give health to the sick, life to the dead: miracle. Hence the *grace of healings*. To manifest the omnipotence of God, by stopping the sun, for example, or dividing the waters of the sea: miracle. Hence the *grace of prodigies* [*operation of miracles*]. To these proofs of the omnipotence of God over the material world must sometimes be joined the proof of His infinite knowledge of the moral world. Hence the *grace of prophecy*, which is the knowledge of future contingents. Hence again the *grace of the discerning of spirits*, which is the knowledge of the most hidden secrets of the heart.

Finally, the gift of communicating. It may be regarded under a double aspect: the first, from the point of view of the language in which the doctor of truth must speak, and of the manner in which he must speak. Hence the *gift of tongues* and the *grace of discourse*. The second, from the point of view of the sense of the things he must say. Hence the *grace of the interpretation of speeches*, which teaches the true meaning of the words of a foreign tongue.(1)

(1) See S. Th., I–II, q. 111, art. 4, corp.

Such is the rapid picture of the formation of the Christian by the Holy Spirit. We ask the philosopher, whoever he be, whether in his investigations he has ever found, whether in his meditations he has ever conceived, anything so magnificent, so complete and better linked than this ensemble of means by which the divine principle develops in each of us, and by which we ourselves develop it in others, up to the measure of the Incarnate Word in His perfect age? When one thinks that, in spite of all these perfections, the Christian here below is only a God begun, what tongue can tell his glories when in heaven he shall be a God consummated? "Beloved," writes Saint John, "now we are the sons of God; and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like to Him."(1)

(1) 1 John iii, 2. — Id., *Ev.* xvii, 20. [Gaume: "the same, Gospel xvii, 20".]

To appreciate as is fitting a superb edifice, it is not enough to know the rich materials of which it is composed; one must know in what proportions, with what art, after what calculations they have been put to work. We have just enumerated the elements which enter into the formation of the Christian or, to recall a figure of the holy books, the materials employed by the Holy Spirit in the construction of His living temple. But this is only a part of the marvels we must admire. To know them all, one must study the divine mathematics after which the skilful architect worked. Now in what precedes the use of the number ten and the number twelve has doubtless been noticed. But how not to have been struck by the constant repetition of the number seven? The structure of the Christian seems to rest in great part on this number. If there are twelve articles in the creed, twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit and ten precepts in the decalogue, there are seven sacraments, seven mother-virtues, seven petitions in the Our Father, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven beatitudes, seven capital sins, seven works of corporal charity and seven works of spiritual charity.

To believe that this number is arbitrary would be an error. Infinite wisdom presided over the formation of the spiritual world with more care, if possible, than over the creation of the physical world. If this number is not

arbitrary, if it cannot be, what is its mysterious significance? Why does it recur so often in the work most worthy of God? To answer, it is necessary to stammer a few words on the science of sacred numbers and of the number seven in particular. This study is not a digression. Have we not to follow the Holy Spirit in His ways, and make admired the calculations of the adorable workman, who made all things in measure, number and weight?(1) Besides, today when materialism sees in numbers only figures, is it out of place to recall, at least in passing, a science familiar to the first Christians, philosophical above all, rich in profound views and resplendent with magnificent harmonies?

(1) *Omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti.* [Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight.] Wisd. xi, 21.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXI

1. **Scheme of the chapter.** A survey of the Christian "formation": sacraments (seven), virtues (three theological, four cardinal), gifts (seven), beatitudes (seven), fruits (twelve), charisms of 1 Cor. xii (grace freely given, *gratia gratis data*). Gaume sets these against the Creed's articles, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the capital sins, anticipating the "science of sacred numbers" of the next chapter.

2. **Aquinas.** References as printed: III, q. 63, a. 1 and 2 (the second quotation, on sacramental grace, appears to belong to q. 62, a. 2, so the "q. 63" may be a misprint; I could not confirm and kept the printed number); III, q. 65, a. 1; I–II, q. 111, a. 1 and a. 4.

3. **Council of Lavaur (1368).** Gaume cites "Conc. Vaur." for the groupings of sevens; as printed. A local council whose canons I did not check.

4. **Scripture.** Tit. iii, 5–6; Luke xxiv, 49; John vi, 51–54; Ps. xl, 5; John xx, 23; James v, 14; Heb. v, 1–2; Eph. v, 32; 1 Cor. xii, 7–10; 1 John iii, 2; Wisd. iii, 15 and xi, 21; John iv, 36. "Id., Ev. xvii, 20" is John xvii, 20 ff., on unity.

5. **"Theandric."** *Théandrique* = "God-man" operations (Pseudo-Dionysius). Kept as a technical term.

6. **Joseph de Maistre.** The remark on the body on the dissecting table is attributed to him; I did not find the source.

7. **Numbering (seven, twelve).** Gaume's treatment of *seven works of mercy* of each kind and *twelve fruits* (Gal. v, 22–23 in the Vulgate list) is standard scholastic. He promises the "reason for the number seven" in the next chapter.

8. **"Hence the grace of prodigies."** The Vulgate of 1 Cor. xii, 10 has *operatio virtutum* ("working of miracles"); Gaume's *prodiges* is his own rendering; I add the Douay wording in brackets.

Chapter XXII. Numbers

Importance and dignity of the science of numbers. — Without number the universe would be chaos and man a brute. — God and man make everything with number. — Numbers are the laws of universal order, the geometrical proportions after which and in which all has been made. — Sacred numbers. — Principal sacred numbers. — The number three, its meanings. — Its use in the physical order and in the moral order. — The number four, its meaning and use. — Its multiples, twelve and forty. — The great truths they teach.

The science of numbers, which must not be confused with the art of calculation, is not an imaginary science. Who would dare so to charge a science which was, from the highest antiquity, the object of the study and admiration of true philosophers? One of the greatest geniuses who have appeared in the world, Saint Augustine, cultivated it with a sort of passion. This very ardour was for him the thermometer of knowledge and the sign of genius. "In proportion," he says, "as the learned man and the man of study disengage themselves from the materiality which envelops them, the more clearly they see number and wisdom, and the

more they cherish both."(1) These words of the illustrious doctor mean that in the eyes of purified genius numbers, forming the highest part of human science, are the bases of the universe, the laws which preside over its preservation.

(1) *Docti et studiosi, quanto remotiores sunt a labe terrena, tanto magis et numerum et sapientiam in ipsa veritate contuentur et utrumque cara habent.* [Rendered in the text.] *De lib. arbitr.*, lib. II, c. xi, n. 31, 32, *Opp.* t. I, p. 875–976. [sic]

Made by them, by them it subsists, to them it owes all its beauty. "Look," continues the great bishop, "at the heaven, the earth, the sea and all they contain; what shines above your head, or creeps at your feet, or flies in the air, or swims in the waters. All these things are beautiful because they have numbers; take away the numbers, they instantly lose beauty and life."(1) Nothing truer. Take number from the firmament, and you have the clash and ruin of the stars. Take number from the earth, from the sea, from the elements, from all creatures, you have no longer order, nor harmony, nor existence, since order, harmony, existence rest essentially on numbers, that is, on proportions calculated with precision. In their place what have we? Chaos. Between order and chaos, between beauty and ugliness, between life and death, between harmony and discord, it is number alone that constitutes the difference.

(1) S. Aug., *De lib. arbitr.*, *ubi supra*, p. 982.

If the works of God rest on number, the works of man, image of God, rest also on number. Every workman, every artist has before the eyes of the mind a number, that is, an ensemble of proportions to which he conforms his work. His intelligence works, his hand tires, his instruments move until the exterior work, ceaselessly looked at in the interior light of number, comes to perfection and satisfies the mind, the internal judge, which contemplates number, model of the work. Does he not attain it? you have an imperfect work. Does it entirely depart from it? you have a monstrous thing, a thing without name, because it is without number. Take number, for example, from a musical composition, you will have discordant sounds, confused cries. "Number," says Count de Maistre, "is the evident barrier between the brute and us… God gave us number, and it is by number that He proves Himself to us, as it is by number that man proves himself to his fellow. Take away number, you take away the arts, the sciences, speech, and consequently intelligence. Bring it back, with it reappear its two heavenly daughters, harmony and beauty. The cry becomes song, noise receives rhythm, the leap is dance, force is called dynamics and the traces are figures."

Not only do the works of man rest, like those of God, on number, but they are made with number. See what sets in motion the limbs of the workman: it is number; for they move in cadence. If you refer to pleasure the cadenced movement of his limbs, you have the dance. Seek now what pleases in the dance. Number will answer: It is I. Contemplate the beauty of forms in the body: who constitutes it? The numbers which remain fixed in space. The beauty of movement in the body, to what is it due? To the numbers which move in time. So it is with all the works of man, as with all the works of God. Number and number alone gives them being and beauty.(1) One sees, the science of numbers contains the laws of universal order, as well as the revelation of the most profound mysteries. It is therefore with good reason that the finest geniuses have busied themselves with it.

(1) *(Sapientia) dedit numeros omnibus rebus, etiam infimis.* [(Wisdom) gave numbers to all things, even the lowest.] S. Aug., *ubi supra*, p. 976. — *Tolle numerum in rebus omnibus, et omnia pereunt. Adime saeculo computum, et cuncta ignorantia caeca complectitur. Nec differre potest a ceteris animalibus, qui calculi nescit rationem.* [Take away number in all things, and all things perish. Take reckoning from the world, and blind ignorance embraces all. Nor can he differ from the other animals who knows not the reckoning of calculation.] Rupert., *De operib. sanctissimae Trinitatis*, lib. LXII [sic]; *De Spirit. sanct.*, lib. VII, c. xiv. [The first Latin sentence is Isidore of Seville's; Gaume gives it to Rupert.]

If in modern times it has fallen into oblivion, this must be attributed to the weakness of reason, inevitable consequence of the decay of faith. The world is full of figure-men, we have no more mathematicians. The science of numbers is despised because, reduced to the material art of calculation, it is within the reach of all. As to the true science of numbers, the philosophy of numbers, in a word, divine mathematics, it is disdained; since it has no immediate application to the interests of animal life and can be only the portion of a few.(1)

(1) *Multos novi numerarios et numeratores, vel si quo alio nomine vocandi sunt, qui summe ac mirabiliter computant: sapientes autem perpaucos.* [I have known many calculators and reckoners, or by whatever other name they are to be called, who compute supremely and marvellously; but very few wise men.] S. Aug., *ubi supra*, p. 875.

To seek the science of numbers is therefore not to pursue a chimera. But what is number? Numbers are in time and in space, but they are neither time nor space. Numbers are infinite, immutable, eternal. There is no human power which can change the order of numbers or violate their essence. Who can, for example, make the number which follows one not be two, or make the number three divisible into two equal parts?(2) What then is number? "If you wish to know," answers Saint Augustine, "rise above the works of God, in which number shines on every side. Rise above the human soul, which has within it the interior sight of number. Go as far as God: there, in the inmost sanctuary of Wisdom itself, you will see the eternal number, type and source of all numbers. But does Wisdom itself exist by number, or consist in number? I dare affirm nothing."(1)

(2) *Ergo aeternos esse (numeros) non negas. Imo fateor.* [You do not deny, then, that numbers are eternal. Indeed, I confess it.] S. Aug., *De Musica*, *Opp.* t. I, p. ii, p. 870; Id., *De morib. Manich.*, c. xi, *Opp.* t. I, p. ii, p. 1170; *De civ. Dei*, lib. XII, c. xviii. (1) … *Sapientiam existere a numero, aut consistere in numero, non ausim dicere.* [I would not dare to say that Wisdom exists from number or consists in number.] *De liber. arbitr.*, *ubi supra.*

One thing is certain: if number, in its essence, is not wisdom itself, realized in the works of God, it is its most perfect expression. Another thing is equally certain: there are numbers, above all in Holy Scripture, which are sacred and full of mysteries.(2) The tradition of all ages is unanimous on this point. Sacred, it is God Himself who fixed them; full of mysteries, they are the venerable laws of the moral order and the expression of the intimate relations between man and creatures, between God and man, between time and eternity. On this double title they are worthy of profound respect and ardent study.

(2) *Numeros in Scripturis esse sacratissimos et mysteriorum plenissimos, ex quibusdam quos inde nosse potuimus, dignissime credimus.* [We most worthily believe that numbers in the Scriptures are most sacred and most full of mysteries, from some which we have been able to know thence.] S. Aug., *Quaest. in Gen.*, c. cliii [sic], *Opp.* t. III, p. 657.

What are these mysterious and sacred numbers? One counts a multitude of them. In the construction of the Tabernacle alone Saint Augustine points out more than twenty, all full of mysteries.(3) It will suffice us to study some of them. The most remarkable are: the number three, the number four, the number seven, the number ten, the number twelve and their multiples. In the Old as in the New Testament, the number three recurs more than 359 times; the number four, 165 times; the number seven, 347 times; the number ten, 239 times; the number twelve, 177 times; the number forty, 152 times, and the number fifty, 61 times. If one considers that of all known books the Bible is the only one which constantly and with an apparently minute precision indicates the numbers of things, of measures and of years; that the Bible is the work of infinite wisdom; that nothing in it is useless; that everything in it is mystery and truth; that God made everything with number: how not to recognize in this astonishing repetition the marked intention of instructing us?

(3) *Magnum mysterium figuratum est, quando jussum est tabernaculum fabricari. Multa ibi numerosa dicta sunt in magno sacramento.* [A great mystery was figured when the tabernacle was ordered to be made. Many

numbers were mentioned there in a great sacrament.] *Serm.* 83, c. vi, *Opp.* t. V, p. i, p. 645. — S. Th., II–II, q. 87, art. 1, corp.

But what do the sacred numbers teach us? According to the Fathers, and Saint Augustine in particular, the number three teaches us the holy Trinity. In God there is unity, trinity, indivisibility. The number three is one and indivisible; to share it one must fractionate it, that is, break and destroy it. From God come all beings. From the number three, primordial unity, flow all numbers. The God one and three has engraved His seal on all His works. Hence this axiom of traditional philosophy: All things are one and three: *Porro omnia unum sunt et tria.* [Moreover all things are one and three.] Revealer of God Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, the number three is found on almost every page of Scripture. Better still, the God one and three, Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, made everything, and still makes everything, with the number three.

In the physical order, by the number three the world is drawn from nothing. We see the Father who creates; the principle or Son by whom He creates; the Holy Spirit who fecundates the chaos. By the number three the world is saved. Noe, who is to repeople it, has three sons: earthly trinity, striking image of the creating trinity. In the moral order the whole existence of the Jewish people, figure of all peoples, rests on the number three. Its birth in Isaac takes place by the number three. To announce it to Abraham, three mysterious personages appear to the patriarch who adores only one. Three measures of flour are used for their meal. The deliverance from Egypt is made by the number three. Moses, saviour of the people, is hidden by his mother for three months. The Hebrews ask Pharao permission to go into the desert three days. Religion is established on the number three. Each year Israel must celebrate three great solemnities in the one temple of Jerusalem. It is constantly prescribed to offer in the sacrifices three measures of flour. Three rows of polished stones support the inner court of the temple of Solomon, three rows of sawn stones the great court. The sea of brass rests on three oxen turned to the east, three to the west, three to the south, three to the north: trinity which supports all, which is everywhere, which sees all.

Society, with the various events which characterize it, is regulated by the number three. Thus, three cities of refuge are on this side of the Jordan and three beyond. The spies of Josue hide three days in the mountains near Jericho. The taking of the city and the conquest of Palestine are the result of this mysterious retreat. By the number three are accomplished the consoling or liberating miracles of the holy nation. To load it with abundant blessings, the ark abides three months in the house of Obededom. Elias stretches himself three times over the son of the widow of Sarephta, to call him back to life. Before being favoured with his great revelations, Daniel must fast three weeks of days, and three times a day turn toward Jerusalem to adore. To force Nabuchodonosor to confess publicly the true God, three children are cast into the furnace. A miraculous sojourn of three days in the bowels of a sea monster must serve as letter of credence to Jonas and prepare the conversion of Ninive. Before presenting herself to Assuerus, Esther orders the Jews a fast of three days. She is obeyed, and, against all expectation, Israel, saved from extermination, becomes free to return into the land of its fathers.

These scattered traits mark the continual and sovereign part of the number three in the ancient world. No less important is the place it holds in the new world. The incarnation of the Word is as it were the creation of the regenerated world. The august mystery is accomplished by the number three. The Father covers Mary with His almighty shadow; the Holy Spirit forms the humanity of the Son; the Word becomes incarnate. Must the regenerating mystery be manifested and the Son of Mary made known as Father of the new world: the number three reappears with éclat on the banks of the Jordan. The Word is baptized, the Father proclaims Him His Son, the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove. In the course of His mortal life the Redeemer will need to confirm His mission. Who will bear Him witness in heaven and on earth, before angels and before men? The number three. Christ is the truth, says Saint John, and there are three who give testimony to Him in heaven: the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit; and there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, the water and the blood.(1)

(1) 1 John v, 7, 8. [The “three in heaven” verse is the Johannine Comma; see note 6.]

On Thabor He wills to manifest His divinity: three apostles serve Him as witnesses. In the garden of Olives He must show in all its reality human nature: three apostles again serve Him as witnesses, and these same disciples will be able to affirm before the whole universe that He is God and man together. Finally, the hour has come when He is to save the world by His blood. It is by the number three that the mystery will be accomplished. Jesus remains three hours on the cross and three days in the tomb. How will humanity participate in the merits of the Redeemer, and from daughter of Adam become daughter of God? By the number three. It is in the name of the God one and three that the new world will take birth in the baptismal waters, as the old world had taken it in the name of the same number, in the primitive waters. These regenerating waters, who will make them known to the nations? The number three. Peter is at Caesarea: the mysterious vessel which announces to him the ruin of the wall that separates Jew and Gentile descends three times from heaven, and three men come to seek the Galilean fisherman, to pray him to baptize the uncircumcised.

The world is born, but it must live. It will live by the number three. Faith, hope, charity will be its divine food until the end of its pilgrimage. Its eternal dwelling will owe its mysterious perfections to the number three. The heavenly Jerusalem has three gates to the east, three to the west, three to the south, three to the north. Why in these examples, and in a hundred others that can be cited, the number three and not the number four, five, six or eight? None can say that this number is arbitrary or forced. Freely employed by an infinite wisdom, it therefore contains a mystery. This mystery we have indicated: the number three is the revealing sign of the Trinity. Employed in the capital works of the Almighty, creation, redemption, glorification, it teaches man created, redeemed, glorified, whose work he is, on what type he was formed and to whom he must give glory. However humble she may be, every creature bears engraved on her the number three, to announce to all, by this indelible seal, who is her author and her owner. Like Caesar’s stag, whose collar bore written: I belong to Caesar, touch me not; the plant, like the animal, says to man: I belong to the God one and three, respect me.(1)

(1) *Ternarius vero numerus Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum insinuat.* [The number three, indeed, intimates the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.] S. Aug., *Serm.* 252, c. x, t. I, p. 1521. [Augustine’s Sermon 252.]

Let us pass to the number four. In manifesting itself outwardly, the holy Trinity produces created beings, time and space. This is what the number four represents, which follows immediately upon the number three and proceeds from it. Unlike the number three, the number four is divisible. Such is the condition of time and the things of time. Nevertheless, as there is a three in every creature, there is also in every creature something indivisible and immutable: it is being. Hence it is that, if everything perishes, nothing is annihilated. By the four units of which it is composed, the number four represents matter, composed of four qualities [dimensions]: height, length, breadth and depth; the world, divided into four cardinal points; time, made up of years each of which divides into four seasons. The number four is therefore the measure and law of created things.

In the judgment of the Fathers this meaning of the number four, simple or multiplied, is invariable in Scripture. “If the number three is the sign of eternity, the sign of God in three persons and of the soul in three faculties, the number four,” says Saint Augustine, “is the sign of time and of matter. Sign of time: the year of which the centuries are composed divides into four parts: spring, summer, autumn, winter. This division is by no means arbitrary, since it marks palpable changes in nature. Scripture also counts four winds, on whose wing are scattered, to the four corners of the world, both the seeds of plants and the evangelical seed.”(1) Let us admire how the number four completes the teaching of the number three. Revealer of the Trinity and of eternity, the number three says to man that God alone is indivisible, immutable, eternal. Sign of the creature and of time, the number four says to him that time and all that is of time is divisible, changing, perishable;

that the earth is a place of passage; that we are travellers there and that life is an incessant march toward the immutable.(2)

(1) *In quaternario numero est insigne temporum, etc.* [In the number four is the sign of the times, etc.] *Ser.* 252 [printed "552"], c. x, t. I, p. i, p. 1521. — *Manifestum est ad corpus quaternarium numerum pertinere, propter elementa notissima quibus constat.* [It is manifest that the number four pertains to the body, because of the well-known elements of which it consists.] *Enarrat. in Ps.* 6, t. IV, p. i, p. 32. (2) [Gaume's note:] Time, that mobile image of immobile eternity. [Plato, *Timaeus*.]

What it teaches by itself, the number four continues to teach by its multiples. Fecundated by the number three, it arrives at twelve. Among all numbers, twelve is one of the most sacred. It represents the whole creation, time, space, vivified by the holy Trinity and called to deification. On the day of judgment, says the Word Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, twelve seats will be prepared for the twelve apostles, called to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. "What do these twelve seats signify," asks Saint Augustine? "Why the number twelve and not another? The world is divided into four parts, according to the four cardinal points. Of these four parts the inhabitants are called, perfected and sanctified by the holy Trinity. As three times four make twelve, you see why the saints belong to the whole world, and why there will be twelve seats prepared for the twelve judges of the twelve tribes of Israel. In effect, on the one hand, the twelve tribes of Israel represent not only the universality of the Jewish people, but of all peoples; on the other hand, the twelve judges represent the universality of the saints, come from the four parts of the world and called to judge the sinners, also come from the four parts of the world. Thus by the number twelve are represented all men, judges and judged, assembled from the four parts of the world before the tribunal of the God-Man."(1)

(1) *Enarrat. in Ps.* 49, c. 8, t. IV, p. 640.

How often, in its mysterious but eloquent language, the number twelve recalls these great dogmas of the creation of men by the holy Trinity, of their vocation to baptism by the holy Trinity, and of the account they will have to render, on the last day, of the three faculties of their soul which make them the image of the holy Trinity! We see them written in the twelve sons of Jacob; in the twelve tribes of Israel; in the twelve fountains of the desert where the Israelites, pilgrims of the promised land, quench their thirst; in the twelve precious stones of the rational [breastplate], on which is engraved the name of the twelve tribes; in the twelve golden mortars [bowls] for the service of the tabernacle; in the twelve silver cruets for the libations; in the twelve explorers of Moses and in the twelve stones laid at the bottom of the Jordan. We find them still clearer in the twelve apostles; in the twelve baskets full of the fragments of the miraculous loaves, and in the celebrated vision of Saint Peter.

"The head of the universal Church," says Saint Augustine, "saw a vessel like a sheet descending from heaven, held by the four corners and in which were animals of every kind. The vision took place three times. This vessel held by the four corners was the figure of the world, divided into four parts, and which was to be called entire to the Gospel. This is why four Gospels were written. This vessel which descends three times from heaven marks the recommendation which the Son of God made to His apostles, to baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

"Hence also the number of twelve apostles. This number is by no means arbitrary. What do I say? it is so sacred that it had to be completed after the apostasy of Judas. But why twelve apostles, and only twelve? Because the world, divided into four parts, was to be called to the Gospel in the name of the holy Trinity. Now four multiplied by three gives twelve: number of the universal Church, in which are the Jews and the Gentiles, figured by the animals of every kind contained in the mysterious vessel."(1)

(1) *Enarrat. in Ps.* 103, t. IV, p. 1640. [Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 103, serm. iii.]

The same truths proclaimed by the number twelve we see again in the twelve judges of the world, and we shall see them resplendent with a new lustre in the twelve foundations of precious stones and in the twelve gates of the future Jerusalem; in the twelve fruits of the tree of life, finally in the twelve stars which compose in heaven the eternal crown of the Church. This, however, is only a part of the solemn teachings given by the number four. Multiplied by the number ten, another sacred number of which we shall speak soon, what an ensemble of admirable laws and fertile revelations it offers to the meditation of attentive minds!

"The number forty," says Saint Augustine, "marks the duration of the time during which we labour on earth."(1) Great genius, how well you saw, and how all history bears you witness! Energetic figures of the life of man here below, of his labours and his sufferings, the waters of the deluge cease not to fall on the earth for forty days and forty nights. The perilous voyage of the explorers of Moses lasts forty days. Moses himself fasts forty days on the mountain before receiving the law. People type of humanity, the Hebrews wander forty years in the desert before crossing the Jordan. For forty days the giant Goliath insults the camp of Israel: transparent figure of the demon, insulting the Church for the whole duration of her pilgrimage. David reigns forty years: image of the true David whose reign embraces the totality of time. Fed with a miraculous bread, Elias fasts forty days and forty nights before arriving at the summit of the mountain of God: it is the Christian fortified by grace, marching toward eternity.

(1) *Quadragenarius numerus tempus hoc significat, in quo laboramus in saeculo.* [The number forty signifies this time in which we labour in the world.] *Ser.* 252, c. x, t. I, p. i, p. 1521.

The painful sleep of Ezechiel for the expiation of the sins of Juda lasts forty days, total duration of the Christian life, defined by the Council of Trent as a perpetual penance. Forty cubits form the length of the temple. A respite of forty days is granted to Ninive; it is the time given to the human race to rehabilitate itself. Before the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus, horsemen and armed chariots traverse the air for forty days. The great penitent of the world, the Incarnate Word, fasts forty days; and after His resurrection He remains on earth, instructing His disciples, for forty days.

"The three great fasts of forty days," continues Saint Augustine, "mark the whole duration of the world and the condition of man here below. Moses fasting forty days is the human race under the law; Elias fasting forty days is the human race under the prophets; Our Lord fasting forty days is the human race under the Gospel. Now as the life of man under the Gospel must last until the end of time, the fast of Our Lord was perpetuated by the Church, in order to have its whole signification. See how well placed it is! what time more fitting to recall to us our earthly condition, by fasting and mortifying ourselves, than the days near the passion of the Saviour?"(1)

(1) *In qua ergo parte anni congruentius observatio quadragesimae constitueretur, nisi confini atque contigua dominicae passioni?* [In what part of the year, then, could the observance of Lent be more fittingly established than that bordering on and adjoining the Lord's passion?] *Epist.* class. 2 [sic], c. xv, t. II, p. i, p. 207; Id., *serm.* 54, c. xxiii, t. V, p. i, p. 429.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXII

1. **Augustine's references** are given by Gaume in the Benedictine (Maurist) edition's volumes and pages. *De libero arbitrio* II, xi (n. 31–32) and II, xvi on number; *De Musica* VI; *De civ. Dei* XII, xviii (eternity of numbers); *Quaest. in Heptateuchum*; *Serm.* 252 (on the forty days after the Resurrection); Ps. 49, 103 in the *Enarrationes*; *Epist.* 55 (to Januarius) is probably the "Epist. class. 2".

2. **Number counts.** The occurrences of "three 359 times, four 165, seven 347, ten 239, twelve 177, forty 152, fifty 61" are given as printed with no source; I have not tested them.

3. **Rupert and Isidore.** The Latin sentence "Tolle numerum in rebus omnibus…" is Isidore of Seville's (*Etymologiae* III, iv); Gaume's footnote attributes it to Rupert, as printed. I add the correction in brackets in

the note.

4. **Count Joseph de Maistre.** The quotation on number as “barrier between the brute and us” is from *Les Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg* (as I believe); not verified.

5. **“Caesar’s stag.”** The legend of the stag with the collar “Noli me tangere, Caesaris sum”, a medieval/classical tale (told of Julius Caesar and others). Gaume uses it as a figure.

6. **1 John v, 7–8.** The words “three that give testimony in heaven” (the *Comma Johanneum*) are absent from the early Greek manuscripts and are generally regarded as a later addition; Gaume, following the Vulgate and the Council of Trent’s tradition, treats them as Scripture. I translate as printed.

7. **Scriptural facts.** The assorted “three” and “twelve” examples (Gen. xviii; Ex. ii, 2; Ex. v, 3; 3 Kings vii; Jos. ii, 22; 2 Kings vi, 11; 3 Kings xvii, 21; Dan. x, 2; Dan. iii; Jonas ii, 1; Esther iv, 16; Acts x; Apoc. xxi) are drawn from Scripture and are not individually referenced in the French. “Twelve golden mortars [bowls]” and “silver cruets” refer to the dedication offerings of the twelve princes (Num. vii); “rational” is the Douay word for the high priest’s breastplate. The “armed chariots and horsemen in the sky for forty days before Antiochus” is 2 Mach. v, 2–3.

8. **“Time, mobile image of immobile eternity.”** Plato, *Timaeus* 37d; Gaume’s note is unreferenced.

9. **Ezechiel’s forty days (Ezech. iv, 6)** are for the sin of Juda; Gaume calls it “sleep” (the prophet lies on his side). “Council of Trent… perpetual penance” is Gaume’s gloss, possibly from the Tridentine decree on penance (Sess. XIV).

10. **Structure.** The treatment of the numbers seven and ten is promised (“we shall speak soon”) and follows in later chapters.

Chapter XXIII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

The number ten: its mysteries. — Impassable limit of numbers. — Added to the number forty, what it signifies. — Proofs in the use of the number fifty. — Multiplied by three, its beautiful signification. — Eleven, number of disorder. — Proofs. — Reason of the number seventy times seven. — Seven, a most mysterious number. — Its applications. — Like all the rest of the universe, the Christian is made with number. — He is made with the number seven and the number ten. — Beautiful passage of Saint Augustine.

The number forty represents time with its divisions, its successions, its painful labours and its incessant struggles. But time is only the beginning of life, and for the Christian the vestibule of blessed eternity. What number will come to recall to man this consoling truth? The number ten added to the number forty. No more than the other sacred calculations has this addition anything arbitrary. The greatest geniuses have recognized its profound justness. According to Saint Thomas, the number ten is the sign of perfection. Why? Because it is the first and impassable limit of numbers. Beyond ten, numbers do not continue, but begin again from one.(1) Thus, in all things, when perfection is reached, one does not continue, one begins again. The watchmaker, for example, who has made a perfect watch does not go on working at it, he begins another. The fact of the number ten as limit of numbers belongs to all countries and all times. What more evident proof that it is neither arbitrary nor of human invention? One must therefore recognize that it is mysteriously divine, and divinely mysterious.

(1) *Decem est perfectionis signum, eo quod denarius est quodammodo numerus perfectus, quasi primus limes numerorum, ultra quem numeri non procedunt, sed reiterantur ab uno.* [Ten is a sign of perfection, because the number ten is in a way a perfect number, as the first limit of numbers, beyond which numbers do not proceed, but are repeated from one.] II–II, q. 87, art. 1, corp.; and III p., q. 31 [sic], art. 8, corp. [as printed]

Hence it is, in the judgment of the Fathers, that in Scripture the Holy Spirit employs it so often, to mark perfection in good as in evil. In the name of Isaac, Abraham sends his servant Eliezer, with ten camels laden with presents, to ask a wife for his son: it is the true Isaac, seeking the Church, the true Rebecca, and offering her as wedding gifts His ten commandments, principle of her deification. Ten brothers of Joseph go to seek corn in Egypt: it is the universality of men asking the bread of life of the true Joseph. Moses receives from God ten precepts, neither more nor less: it is the perfection of the law. Ten golden candlesticks shine in the temple of Jerusalem: perfection of the light which by the ten commandments enlightens the Church, august temple of which that of Jerusalem was only the figure. The psaltery of David has ten strings: perfection of praise. Ten lepers present themselves to Our Lord: it is the whole human race, sick, imploring its healing. The prince of the Gospel distributes ten pieces of money to his servants, to make them bear fruit during his absence: ten commandments are given to all men to practise them and arrive at perfection. The beast of the Apocalypse has ten horns: symbol of its terrible power; and ten diadems on its head: sign of the immense extent of its empire.

Taken alone and in itself, the number ten, impassable limit of numbers, is therefore the sign of perfection. If one adds it to the number forty, it keeps the same signification, but it becomes more evident and applies to a higher order of things. Forty and ten make fifty: this number marks the union of time and eternity. Let us let Saint Augustine speak: “The number forty is the measure of time: time of sweat, tears, labour, suffering and sorrowful pilgrimage in the desert of life. But when we shall have well accomplished the number forty, by walking in the way of the commandments, we shall receive the denarius promised to good workmen. Thus, to the number forty well fulfilled add the reward of the denarius, composed of ten, and you will have the number fifty. It is the mysterious figure of the Church of heaven, where God will be praised, without interruption, for ages of ages. These eternal hymns, these pure joys which none can take from us, we do not yet enjoy. Nevertheless we take a foretaste of them when, during the fifty days which follow the resurrection of the Saviour, we abstain from fasting and make the joyful alleluia resound everywhere.”(1)

(1) *Enarrat. in Ps.* 150, t. IV, p. ii, p. 2411, 2412; *ser.* 252, c. xi, p. i, p. 1521; Id. *ser*. 210, c. vi, p. 1342.

All Scripture confirms in the most brilliant manner the explanation of the illustrious doctor. The ark, dwelling of all that was to escape death, was fifty cubits wide [sic: see note 4], and the tabernacle, image of the Church by which all the elect will be saved, had fifty rings to close the purple curtains which enveloped it. At the moment of their departure the Hebrews, captives in Egypt, immolate the paschal lamb. They march forty days in the desert, and after ten days’ halt at the foot of Sinai, consequently fifty days after their deliverance, they receive the law of fear, written by God Himself on tables of stone and brought from the mountain by Moses. The new alliance comes. The Son of God, the true paschal lamb, is immolated, and fifty days after, the law of charity is given to the world by the Holy Spirit Himself, who writes it in hearts. Pentecost, that is, the Jewish fiftieth day, pledge of happiness for the synagogue, Christian Pentecost, pledge of happiness for the Church, and the one like the other figure and pledge of the happiness of the future Jerusalem!

This mysterious concordance of numbers ravishes with admiration the great bishop of Hippo. “Who would not prefer,” he cries, “the joy which the mysteries of these sacred numbers cause, when they shine with the lustre of sound doctrine, to all the empires of the world, even the most flourishing? Does it not seem to you that the two Testaments, like the two seraphim of the tabernacle, sing eternally the praises of the Most High and answer each other, saying: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts?”(1)

(1) *Epist.* class. ii [sic], c. xvi, t. II, p. i, p. 208.

The number fifty, formed of ten and forty, contains another mystery of ravishing beauty: *magnae significationis*, as Saint Augustine says again. [of great significance.] The Redeemer of the world orders the apostles to cast their net on the right side of the boat. They obey and bring in a hundred and fifty-three great

fishes. Once more, why this number, and not another? What is its signification, for it has one, since it was determined by infinite Wisdom? All men, continues Saint Augustine, are called by the Trinity, to live holily the time of life, represented by the number forty, and to receive the reward marked by the number ten. Now the number fifty, multiplied by three, makes one hundred and fifty. Add the divine multiplier, the most holy Trinity, *tanquam multiplicaverit eum Trinitas* [as if the Trinity had multiplied it], and you have one hundred and fifty-three, which is the number of the fishes found in the net, perfect number which comprises the totality of the saints.(1)

(1) *Quia in nomine Trinitatis vocati sunt omnes, ut in quadragenario numero bene vivant et denarium accipiant, ipsum quinquagenarium ter multiplica, et fiunt centum quinquaginta. Adde ipsum mysterium Trinitatis, fiunt centum quinquaginta tres, qui piscium numerus in dextra inventus est: in quo tamen numero innumerabilia sunt millia sanctorum.* [Because all are called in the name of the Trinity, that in the number forty they may live well and receive the denarius, multiply this fifty three times, and it makes one hundred and fifty. Add the mystery of the Trinity itself, and it makes one hundred and fifty-three, the number of the fishes found on the right: in which number, however, there are innumerable thousands of saints.] *Ser.* 252, c. xi, *ubi supra.*

Such are the numbers, or geometrical proportions, after which has been made, and in which is enclosed, the greatest work of God: the salvation of the human race. But by what means do men arrive at salvation? Do these means rest on numbers? What are these numbers? Everyone knows the word of the Redeemer Word: *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.* Now the commandments are ten in number. To be of the number of the elect one must therefore keep within the number ten, as in a stronghold; that is, the ten commandments must be the limit of our thoughts and actions. But of himself man cannot accomplish the ten commandments; he needs grace. Who gives it? The Spirit of the seven gifts. Thus to make a saint two things are needed: the ten commandments and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Salvation therefore rests on the number ten and on the number seven.

Is it astonishing that the masterpiece of infinite wisdom should rest on number, since the humblest creatures, the gnat and the blade of grass, were made with number, weight and measure? One has just seen that the number ten and the number seven united form and comprise all the elect, that is, all who fulfil the law with the help of the Holy Spirit. Saint Augustine shows it more clearly still. “In effect,” he says, “if you add ten and seven, adding to one another the figures which compose them, you arrive at one hundred and fifty-three, and you have, as was explained above, the innumerable multitude of the saints, marked by the hundred and fifty-three fishes.”(1)

(1) *Lex habet decem praecepta: Spiritus autem gratiae, per quam solam lex impletur, septiformis legitur… Decem ergo et septem tenent omnes pertinentes ad vitam aeternam, id est legem implentes per gratiam Spiritus… Si computes ab uno ad decem et septem fiunt centum quinquaginta tres, et invenies numerum sacrum fidelium atque sanctorum in coelestibus cum Domino futurorum.* [The law has ten precepts; but the Spirit of grace, by which alone the law is fulfilled, is read of as sevenfold… Ten and seven, therefore, hold all who belong to eternal life, that is, who fulfil the law by the grace of the Spirit… If you count from one to seventeen, it makes one hundred and fifty-three, and you will find the sacred number of the faithful and of the saints who will be with the Lord in the heavens.] S. Aug., *ser.* 248, c. iv, t. V, p. i, p. 1499. Here is the operation [Gaume’s note]: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 = 153. [The sum of the integers from 1 to 17.]

If moral order, virtue, holiness rest on the number ten combined with the number seven, it follows that the sign of moral disorder or of sin is the number eleven, and the totality of moral disorder or of sin, the same number multiplied by seven. Let us explain this new theorem of divine geometry. Since the number ten marks the perfection of virtue on earth and of beatitude in heaven, the number eleven must necessarily indicate sin. What is sin, in fact? It is a transgression of the law. As its name says, transgression takes place

when one goes out of the limit of duty, marked by the number ten. Now, in going out of ten, the first number one infallibly meets is eleven.(1) Therefore, in the Gospel, the number eleven is never multiplied by ten, but by seven. Why is it not multiplied by ten? Because ten is the sign of perfection and comprises the Trinity, represented by three; and man, represented by seven, on account of the soul with its three faculties and of the body with its four elements. Now transgression cannot belong to the Trinity.

(1) *Lex enim per decem, peccatum per undecim. Quare peccatum per undecim? Quia transgressio denarii est ut eas ad undenarium. In lege autem modus fixus est; transgressio autem peccatum est. Jam ubi transgrederis denarium ad undenarium venis.* [For the law is by ten, sin by eleven. Why is sin by eleven? Because transgression of the ten is to go to eleven. In the law a fixed measure is set; transgression is sin. Now when you transgress ten you come to eleven.] S. Aug., *ser.* 83, c. vi, t. V, p. i, p. 645.

To multiply eleven, sign of sin, it is therefore necessary to take seven, on account of the sins of the soul and of the body. The sins of the soul are the profanation of its three faculties, as the sins of the body are the profanation of its four elements. This simple word of the language of numbers reveals in the full light the generally misunderstood sense of the threats so many times repeated in Amos. Speaking by the organ of the prophet, God says: “For three crimes of Damascus, and for four, I will not pardon it. For three crimes of Gaza, and for four, I will not pardon it. For three crimes of Tyre, and for four, I will not pardon it. For three crimes of Edom, and for four, I will not pardon it. For three crimes of the children of Ammon, and for four, I will not pardon it.”(1)

(1) Amos i, 3–13. [Gaume’s French has “I will not pardon it”; Douay reads “I will not pardon it”.]

Why will the Lord pardon one and two and not pardon three and four? Because three and four, composing the number seven, mark the total transgression of the law and the complete revolt of man, composed of a soul and a body. Thus eleven multiplied by seven marks the totality of transgression and the last limit of sin. Is it necessary to repeat that this mysterious calculation has nothing arbitrary? It is Truth itself which employs it and gives us its signification. Peter has received the power to remit and retain all sins. He asks the divine Master how many times he shall forgive. Without waiting for the answer, he hastens to add: Till seven times? Not till seven times, replies Our Lord: but till seventy times seven times.(2) Unless one accuses eternal Wisdom of having spoken at random, one must agree that this number has its reason for being. What is this reason, and why this number and not another? Less would have been too little, more would have been useless. Less would have been too little, since all sins are remissible and one obtains pardon for them each time one asks it sincerely. More would have been useless, since seventy times seven indicates the universality of sins, as we have seen, and the perpetuity of remission, as we shall see.

(2) Matt. xviii, 21, 22.

In effect, a new ray of light reveals to us the signification of the number seventy-seven, by making shine in all its splendour the adorable wisdom which disposed all with number. Saint Luke, tracing the genealogy of the Redeemer, counts in all seventy-seven generations. Thus, in the eternal counsels, the descent of the Son of God on earth took place at the precise moment when seventy-seven generations of sinners had passed, to show, by this mysterious number, that He had come to efface the universality of the sins committed by the human race.(1)

(1) S. Aug., *ser.* 83, c. iv, t. V, p. i, p. 644.

We have explained the number seven combined with the numbers ten and eleven; it remains to explain it taken alone. Of all the sacred numbers, seven is, in the judgment of the Fathers of the Church, those incomparable interpreters of Scripture, one of those which contain the most numerous and profound mysteries: here are some. Composed of three, sign of the Trinity, and of four, sign of time, the number seven represents the Creator and the creature.(2) It represents them both in their general characters and in their

inmost nature, that is, in their totality. Totality of man, composed of a soul with three faculties: memory, understanding, will; and of a body with the four elements and the four qualities [dimensions] of matter: length, breadth, height and depth. Totality of God, the sevenfold Wisdom which created the world, preserves it and sanctifies it.(1) Now the Creator and the creature comprise all that is. The number seven is therefore the complete formula of beings. It expresses not only the finite and the infinite, but also the difference which distinguishes them and the relations which unite them. The one is immutable, indivisible; the other, changing and divisible; the one is principle, the other effect.(2)

(2) *Septenarius numerus indicat creaturam, quia sex diebus Deus operatus est et septimo ab operibus quievit.* [The number seven indicates creation, because in six days God worked and on the seventh rested from His works.] S. Aug., *ser.* 252, c. x, *ubi supra.* (1) *Spiritus sanctus in Scripturis septenario praecipue numero commendatur.* [The Holy Spirit is in the Scriptures commended chiefly by the number seven.] S. Aug., *Enarrat. in Ps.* 50, t. IV, p. 2411, 2412. (2) *Septenarius numerus quo universitatis significatio saepe figuratur, qui etiam Ecclesiae tribuitur propter instar universitatis.* [The number seven, by which the signification of universality is often figured, which is also attributed to the Church on account of its likeness to universality.] S. Aug., *epist.* class. 2, t. II, p. i, p. 196.

In its natural signification the number seven is therefore a permanent protest against all the erroneous systems of pantheism or of the eternity of matter and of rationalism or of the independence of man. With the universality of beings, the number seven marks again the totality of time. Nothing clearer, since seven days going and returning without interruption compose the months, years and centuries.(3) From the fundamental significations of the number seven result the so frequent applications which the Holy Spirit makes of it in Scripture. These applications become so many revelations, rich in teachings and resplendent with beauties.

(3) *Et quare septies pro eo quod est semper ponatur, certissima ratio est: septem quippe diebus venientibus et redeuntibus, totum volvitur tempus.* [And why “seven times” is put for “always,” the reason is most certain: for by seven days coming and returning the whole of time revolves.] Id. *ser.* 114, t. V, p. i, p. 822.

Thus, with a view to repeopling the world, God orders Noe to take into the ark seven pairs of clean animals. When all is ready for vengeance, He still grants the guilty seven days’ respite. When the waters of the deluge have lessened, Noe waits seven days before releasing the dove a second time, then seven other days before releasing it a third time. To swear his solemn alliance with Abimelech, Abraham immolates seven lambs. Jacob serves seven years to obtain Rachel: image of the true Jacob labouring through the seven ages of the world to conquer the true Rachel, the Church his spouse. The full ears and fat kine, symbol of the full abundance of Egypt, are seven in number. The funeral of Jacob lasts seven days: eloquent representation of the life of man in the valley of tears. The Jews eat unleavened bread for seven days, during which leavened bread must be excluded from their houses under pain of death: complete mortification of body and soul, to enter into communion with God by the eating of the paschal lamb. The candlestick of the tabernacle has seven branches: universal heat and light of the Spirit of the seven gifts. The hands of the priests must be consecrated for seven days. Before receiving the victim, the altar must be purified for seven days and sprinkled seven times. The purification of defilements lasts seven days. At the three solemn feasts the Jewish people, type of all the others, must offer seven lambs. Seven weeks of years form the Jubilee. Seven enemy nations occupy the promised land. Only after having destroyed them will the Jews be the peaceful possessors of the land of benediction: beautiful figure of the seven capital sins, whose destruction alone can put us in possession of peace of conscience and eternal beatitude.

If, as there can be no doubt, the number seven is not arbitrarily employed in the mysteries of the true religion, one must expect to see the demon often make use of it in the practices of his worship.(1) Now this great ape of God, better instructed than we of the profound mysteries of the number seven, wills that his priests become such only by immolating seven rams. To succeed in his evocations, Balaam orders Balac to raise seven altars, and he wills for victims seven calves and seven lambs. Even today seven ablutions of the idol

form the sacred rite of solemn adoration among the Indians. Constantly the seven lambs recur in all sacrifices: double image of the totality of sins and of the all-powerful efficacy of the blood of the true Lamb to efface them. Thus, to appease the Lord terribly angered, Ezechias has seven bullocks, seven rams, seven he-goats and seven lambs immolated. On the return from captivity, to expiate all the sins of the nation, seventy-seven lambs are immolated. Purified, Israel can march against its enemies, who will flee before it by seven ways: complete rout.

(1) The Pythagoreans called the number seven the venerable number, *venerabilis numerus.* Apud Servium [sic: "Servavium"] Bibl. c. xii, p. 7. — Varro tells us that none other was more sacred among the pagans: *M. Varro in primo librorum qui inscribuntur Hebdomades, vel De imaginibus, septenarii numeri virtutes potestatesque multas variasque dicit.* [Marcus Varro, in the first of the books entitled *Hebdomades*, or *On Portraits*, speaks of many and various virtues and powers of the number seven.] Aul. Gell., lib. III, c. x.

As the Holy Spirit is the soul of the world and His sevenfold influence is felt by every creature, to enlighten, purify and glorify it, the number seven belongs to Him in a particular manner. It forms, one may say, the geometrical proportion of all His operations. Hence the so frequent use made of it in the Old and the New Testament. Seven priests, with seven trumpets, cause the walls of Jericho to fall: the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit overthrowing the empire of the demon. In the seven locks of his hair resides the strength of Samson: the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, strength of the Christian, martyr of war or martyr of peace. Seven choirs of music accompany the ark of the covenant in its triumphal march, and David sings the praises of God seven times a day: eternal hymns of the saints, gathered round God and saved by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Seven years are employed in the construction of the temple: the church built by the Spirit of the seven gifts, during the whole duration of the septenary which is called time. Seven counsellors direct the king of Persia, who sends Esdras to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem: the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit resting upon Our Lord, sent by His Father to rebuild the true temple of the true Jerusalem. Seven angels stand before the throne of God, and seven pillars support the palace of Wisdom: two equally transparent figures of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, supports of the Church and princes of the eternal adorations. Seven eyes are engraved on the corner-stone of the walls of Jerusalem: seven gifts of the Holy Spirit on Our Lord, corner-stone of the Church of time and of the Church of eternity. Seven shepherds will lead the divine fold when the Redeemer shall have formed it: seven gifts of the Holy Spirit conductors of the inhabitants of the City of Good.

Seven years of madness and dwelling among the beasts are inflicted on Nabuchodonosor: adequate punishment of the seven capital sins. Seven lions are in the pit into which Daniel is cast: seven capital sins around the Christian in the valley of tears. The Gospel names seven evil demons: seven spirits of the capital sins. Seven loaves feed four thousand men in the desert: the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, spiritual food of the whole world.(1) Directed by the Holy Spirit, the apostles establish seven deacons: universality of the works of spiritual and corporal charity. Saint John addresses the Apocalypse to seven churches: number of totality. The Son of God appears to him in heaven surrounded by seven golden candlesticks: the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, radiating from the Incarnate Word. The great beast has seven heads with seven eyes: seven capital sins, with their formidable power over the physical world and the moral world. Seven angels sound the trumpet successively: seven thunders are heard, and, before expiring, the guilty world is struck with seven plagues: terrible prophecies of the universality of the signs of death and of the scourges reserved for the last days.

(1) *Septem panes significant septiformem operationem Spiritus sancti; quatuor millia hominum, Ecclesiam sub quatuor evangeliis constitutam. Septem sportae fragmentorum perfectionem Ecclesiae, hoc enim numero saepissime perfectio commendatur.* [The seven loaves signify the sevenfold operation of the Holy Spirit; the four thousand men, the Church constituted under the four Gospels. The seven baskets of fragments, the perfection of the Church, for by this number perfection is very often commended.] S. Aug., *ser.* 93 [sic], n. 2, p. iii.

It is time to end this sketch of the science of numbers and to make the direct application of it to the Christian. He is the construction of the Holy Spirit, and we know the rich materials of which he is composed. Dependent on an infinitely skilful architect, these materials, none can doubt, were put to work after a preconceived plan; every plan rests on calculations, on proportions, consequently on numbers. Such a truth is incontestable. On the one hand, the whole universe testifies that it was made with number, weight and measure, that is, in geometrical proportions of a perfect precision and harmony. On the other hand, the Christian is the masterpiece of the Holy Spirit; one must conclude *a fortiori* that calculations admirable for their justness presided over his construction.

What are the calculations, or better, the special numbers after which the Christian was built, on which he rests, which are like the framework of the edifice and the measure of its proportions? The Christian was made with the two most sacred numbers, the number seven and the number ten. By them he subsists; the world will end when the sum of these two mysterious numbers, combined together and multiplied by the Trinity, shall be complete. Let us recall in proof the beautiful passage of Saint Augustine: “The Spirit, author of the sanctifying gifts, is designated by the number seven, and God, author of the decalogue, by the number ten. To make a Christian these two things must be united. If you have the law without the Holy Spirit, you will not accomplish what is commanded. But when, aided by the Spirit of the seven gifts, you shall have conformed your life to the decalogue, you will be built up and you will belong to the number seventeen. Belonging to this number, you rise, by adding, to the number one hundred and fifty-three. The judgment comes, and you will be at the right hand to be crowned, not at the left to be condemned.”(1)

(1) *Serm.* 250, c. vii and viii, t. V, p. i, p. 1502, 1503.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXIII

1. **Number symbolism.** The arithmetic is Augustinian (*Sermones* 248–252 and the *Enarr.* on Ps. 150 as cited): 153 as the sum 1+2+…+17, 17 = 10 + 7, eleven as “transgression” of ten, and 77 = 7 × 11. Gaume (like Augustine) treats it as spiritual exegesis from which he argues that the Christian is “built with numbers.”

2. **Seventy-seven generations.** Gaume (after Augustine, *Serm.* 83) says Luke counts seventy-seven. I have not checked the count against the manuscripts and give it as printed. The “70 × 7” of Matt. xviii, 22 is the Vulgate reading.

3. **Amos i, 3 ff.** Gaume’s French reads “I will not pardon it”, and his argument (one and two are pardoned, three and four not) depends on that wording; I have kept it. The Douay renders the Vulgate *non convertam eum* (“I will not convert it”).

4. **Aquinas.** The first reference (II–II, q. 87, a. 1) is the question on tithes. The second (“III p., q. 31, art. 8”) I did not verify; printed as given.

5. **Pythagoreans and Varro.** The first reference reads “Servavium Bibl.” (probably Servius; not verified). The Varro citation (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* III, x) concerns his *Hebdomades*.

6. **Scriptural details I could not verify as Gaume has them:** the “seven lions” in Daniel’s pit (Dan. vi gives no number), the “seven shepherds” (cf. Mich. v, 5), “seven counsellors” of the Persian king (Esd. vii, 14 has seven), the “seven pillars” (Prov. ix, 1), and the “seven eyes” on the stone (Zach. iii, 9). His interpretations are allegorical in the patristic manner.

7. **Indian ablutions.** The “seven ablutions of the idol” among the “Indians” is Gaume’s own ethnographic claim; I could not verify it.

8. **Augustine references.** Printed “ser. 93” and “Serm. 250” are given as printed; the volume/page references follow the Maurist edition used by Gaume and are not re-checked.

9. **Heading.** “Number of disorder” renders *nombre du désordre*.

Chapter XXIV. Confirmation

Detailed study of the elements of which the Christian is composed. — Confirmation: the place it occupies. — What it gives over and above baptism. — Catholic teaching: Pope Saint Melchiades; the Councils of Florence and of Mainz. — Effects of confirmation: sanctifying grace, sacramental grace, character, increase of the virtues. — Definition of habits. — Of the virtues. — Natural and supernatural virtues: infused virtues and acquired virtues. — Cardinal virtues. — Differences between the natural virtues and the supernatural virtues.

The Christian may now admire himself; but above all he must respect himself: *Agnosce, o christiane, dignitatem tuam.* [Acknowledge, O Christian, thy dignity.] A living temple of the Holy Spirit, he knows the precious materials of which he is built, and the mysterious numbers according to which they have been employed. But a general knowledge is not enough. We must analyze in detail each of the elements of this divine creation, incomparably more beautiful and more worthy of our studies than the physical world with all its magnificence. To keep within the natural limits of our subject, we shall speak neither of the sacraments in general, nor of the Creed, nor of the Decalogue, nor of the Lord’s Prayer, although all these parts of the divine construction are dependencies and effects of grace.(1) Confirmation, the virtues, the gifts, the beatitudes, the fruits make up the direct domain of the Holy Spirit. Such is the field, richer than all the mines of California, which opens itself to our exploration.

(1) We have explained them in the *Catechism of Perseverance.*

It is of faith that, in giving us grace, the sacraments give us the Holy Spirit with all His gifts. Does it follow that confirmation is useless? We have already answered in the negative, and given a summary proof of our answer. We must develop it and state the special end, or, if you will, the reason for the existence of confirmation. “The sacraments of the new law,” to repeat with Saint Thomas, “are established not only to remedy sin and to perfect the supernatural life, but also to produce special effects of grace. Thus, wherever a particular effect of grace presents itself, there is found a sacrament.”(2) On coming into the world man possesses only natural life; he needs supernatural life. Baptism gives it to him. Such is the special end of that sacrament. Physical and moral weakness is the property of childhood. If, with age, man did not strengthen his body and his soul, he would not become a man. It is the same with the Christian. Strength is the more necessary to him because he is born a soldier. Destined to incessant struggles, his life is defined: warfare.(3) Ancient Israel is its living image. From the shores of the Red Sea, tomb of their tyrants, the Hebrews cross, fighting continual battles, the desert which separates them from the promised land. Seven mighty nations dispute its possession with them: behold the Christian. Come forth from the waters of baptism, where he was delivered from the slavery of the demon, he must, to arrive in heaven, his fatherland, cross the desert of life, arms in hand. The struggle will not be against beings of flesh and blood like himself, but against enemies of a very different formidableness, the princes of the air, the seven powers of evil. Evidently he needs arms and a master-at-arms. It is in confirmation that the Holy Spirit gives Himself to him as such.

(2) *Sacramenta novae legis ordinantur ad speciales effectus gratiae; et ideo ubi occurrit aliquis specialis effectus gratiae, ibi ordinatur speciale sacramentum.* [The sacraments of the new law are ordained to special effects of grace; and therefore where some special effect of grace occurs, there a special sacrament is ordained.] III p., q. 71, art. 1, corp. (3) *Militia est vita hominis super terram.* [The life of man upon earth is a warfare.] Job vii, 1.

“When He descended into the waters of baptism,” says Pope Saint Melchiades, “the Holy Spirit communicated to them in its fulness the grace which gives innocence; in confirmation He brings an increase of grace. In baptism we are regenerated to life; in confirmation we are prepared for the combat. In baptism

we are washed; in confirmation we are strengthened."(1) The vicar of Jesus Christ is the faithful echo of the divine Master. To whom does Our Lord reserve the miraculous change of the apostles into new men, and the no less admirable change of the faithful into heroic martyrs? Is it not to the Holy Spirit? Descending directly from heaven on the former, He gives Himself to the latter by the imposition of the hands of the apostles, that is, by confirmation. "I will send," He said to both, "the Spirit of the Father. Stay in the city till you be endued with power from on high. Be not anxious: it is the Holy Spirit Himself who will speak by your mouth and will give you an eloquence so powerful that your adversaries will have nothing to reply."(1)

(1) *Unde Melchiades Papa dicit: Spiritus sanctus qui super aquas baptismi salutifero descendit lapsu, in fonte plenitudinem tribuit ad innocentiam; in confirmatione, augmentum praestat ad gratiam. In baptismo regeneramur ad vitam; post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam. In baptismo abluimur; post baptismum roboramur.* [Whence Pope Melchiades says: The Holy Spirit, who descended with saving glide upon the waters of baptism, bestows in the font the fulness for innocence; in confirmation He supplies an increase for grace. In baptism we are regenerated to life; after baptism we are confirmed for the fight. In baptism we are washed; after baptism we are strengthened.] Apud S. Th., III p., q. 71, art. 1, corp. (1) John xx, 16 [sic]; Luke xxiv, 49; xx, 15 [sic]. [Gaume's references, as printed; the sayings are a free combination of Luke xxiv, 49 and Luke xxi, 14–15.]

As its name indicates, confirmation is therefore the sacrament of strength. That it was established to communicate it to the Christian and make of him a generous soldier, the Catholic Church has never ceased to teach by her councils, and history to prove by striking facts. Hence this solemn declaration of the Council of Florence, that is, of the East and the West gathered under the presidency of the Holy Spirit Himself: "The effect of the sacrament of confirmation is to give the Holy Spirit as the principle of strength, as He was given to the apostles on the day of Pentecost, that the Christian may boldly confess the name of Jesus Christ."(2) The Council of Mainz is no less explicit: "According to the promise of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, whom we receive in baptism for the purification from sin, is given to us in confirmation with an increase of grace, which has the effect of protecting us against the attacks of Satan; of enlightening us, that we may better understand the mysteries of the faith; of giving us the courage to confess Jesus Christ boldly, and of strengthening us against vices. All these blessings the Lord formally promised to give to the faithful by the Holy Spirit whom He was to send. All these promises were fulfilled in the apostles on the day of Pentecost, as their acts offer striking testimony."(1)

(2) *Effectus autem confirmationis sacramenti est, quia in eo datur Spiritus sanctus ad robur, sicut datus est apostolis in die Pentecostes; ut videlicet christianus audacter Christi confiteatur nomen.* [The effect of the sacrament of confirmation is that in it the Holy Spirit is given for strength, as He was given to the apostles on the day of Pentecost; that is, that the Christian may boldly confess the name of Christ.] Decree to the Armenians. (1) Council of Mainz, 1549, c. xvii.

Every day they are still fulfilled on the faithful, in the four quarters of the world, by the sacrament of confirmation. The reason is that the Holy Spirit abides always with the Church, and that His favours, necessary to form her, are not half as necessary to preserve her. Now, in communicating Himself by confirmation, the Holy Spirit works several great marvels in the Christian, His privileged creature.

The first is a new infusion of sanctifying grace. "The mission or donation of the Holy Spirit," teaches Saint Thomas, "never takes place without sanctifying grace, of which the Holy Spirit Himself is the principle. It is therefore manifest that sanctifying grace is communicated by confirmation. In baptism and in penance this grace makes a man pass from death to life. In the others, and in confirmation in particular, it augments and strengthens the life already existing. This sacrament perfects the effect of baptism and of penance, in this sense that it gives the penitent a more perfect remission of his sins. If an adult, for example, finds himself in the state of sin without knowing it, or even if he is not perfectly contrite, and approaches confirmation in good faith, he receives by the grace of this sacrament the remission of his sins."(2)

(2) III p., q. 71, art. 7, corp. and ad 4. [Printed “q. 71, art. 7”; the sense is as given by Gaume.]

The second is sacramental grace. Besides sanctifying grace, each sacrament gives a special grace, in relation to the end of the sacrament which confers it: it is called sacramental grace. In the sacrament of confirmation it is a grace of strength. Thus sacramental grace adds something to sanctifying grace properly so called.(1) In confirmation it adds the strength necessary to the Christian: strength of memory, to retain, never forgetting them, the great Catholic truths, basis and compass of life; strength of understanding, to comprehend religion in its dogmas and its precepts, in the detail of its practices and in its magnificent whole; in its benefits and in its history, so that all these things may have in our esteem and admiration neither superior nor rival. Strength of will, to hold high and firm the Catholic banner, in spite of the desertions of false brethren, the persecutions of the world, the incessant attacks of hell and the interior solicitations of corrupt inclinations. Strength of all the faculties, so as to arm them and raise them to the height of the great struggle, of which the soul is the stake and heaven the reward.(2)

(1) *Gratia sacramentalis addit, super gratiam gratum facientem communiter sumptam, aliquid effectivum specialis effectus ad quod ordinatur sacramentum.* [Sacramental grace adds, over and above sanctifying grace commonly so taken, something effective of the special effect to which the sacrament is ordained.] S. Thom., *ubi supra*, ad 3. (2) S. Th., III p., q. 71, art. 1, ad 4, and art. 1, corp.

The third is the character. In the matter of the sacraments, a character is called a spiritual power destined to perform certain actions in the order of salvation.(3) This character is a grace. This grace is given in order to distinguish those who receive it from those who do not receive it. Every grace acts upon the very essence of the soul. The sacramental character is therefore interior, inherent in the soul, and consequently cannot be lost. Hence it is that the sacraments which imprint it cannot be repeated. “There are three sacraments,” says the Council of Florence, “baptism, confirmation and orders, which imprint on the soul a character, that is, a spiritual sign, distinctive and indelible.” And the Council of Trent: “If anyone says that in the three sacraments, baptism, confirmation and orders, there is not imprinted on the soul a character, that is, a spiritual and indelible sign, whence they cannot be repeated, let him be anathema.”(1)

(3) *Character est quaedam spiritualis potestas ad aliquas sacras actiones ordinata.* [A character is a certain spiritual power ordained to certain sacred actions.] S. Th., *ibid.*, art. 5, corp. (1) *Tria sunt sacramenta, baptismus, confirmatio et ordo, quae characterem, id est, spirituale quoddam signum a caeteris distinctivum, imprimunt in anima indelebile.* [There are three sacraments, baptism, confirmation and orders, which imprint on the soul a character, that is, a certain spiritual sign, distinctive from the rest, indelible.] Conc. Florent., decree of union. — *Si quis dixerit in tribus sacramentis, baptismo scilicet, confirmatione et ordine, non imprimi characterem in anima, hoc est signum quoddam spirituale et indelebile, unde ea iterari non possunt; anathema sit.* [If anyone shall say that in the three sacraments, namely baptism, confirmation and orders, a character is not imprinted on the soul, that is, a certain spiritual and indelible sign, whence they cannot be repeated: let him be anathema.] Sess. vii, 1.

The character being a force, a power, it produces real effects, in relation to its nature and to the needs of man. Thus the character of baptism distinguishes the Christian from the unbeliever, and communicates to him at once the strength to accomplish what is necessary for his personal salvation, and to confess his belief by the reception of the other sacraments to which it gives him a right.(2) But it is not enough to communicate to man the divine life with the means of preserving it by living in solitude. It is necessary, on the one hand, that this life go on developing, like natural life; on the other, that the Christian be armed against exterior dangers, inasmuch as man is made to live in society. By the character which it imprints, confirmation satisfies all these requirements. Of the Christian it makes a soldier. In him it augments the life of grace received in baptism and raises it to perfection. It follows that the confirmed can do, in the order of salvation, certain actions different from those of which baptism has made him capable.(1)

(2) *In baptismo accipit homo potestatem ad ea agenda, quae ad propriam pertinent salutem, prout scilicet secundum seipsum vivit… Baptizatus accipit potestatem spiritualem ad protestandam fidem per susceptionem aliorum sacramentorum.* [In baptism man receives the power of doing those things which pertain to his own salvation, as living according to himself… The baptized receives a spiritual power to profess the faith by the reception of the other sacraments.] S. Th., III p., q. 72, art. 5, corp. and ad 2. (1) *In hoc sacramento datur plenitudo Spiritus sancti ad robur spirituale, quod competit perfectae aetati. Homo autem cum ad perfectam aetatem pervenerit, incipit jam communicare actiones suas ad alios; antea vero quasi singulariter sibi ipsi vivit.* [In this sacrament the fulness of the Holy Spirit is given for the spiritual strength which befits the perfect age. Now when a man has come to the perfect age, he begins to communicate his actions to others; before that he lives as though singly for himself.] S. Th., III p., q. 72, art. 12, corp.

These new actions are in relation to the condition of the Christian, come out of childhood, and about to enter the great melee which is called social life. Doubtless, the struggle against invisible enemies is the condition of every baptized soul from the day it awakens to reason. But to combat the visible enemies of the faith begins only later, in adolescence and on leaving the domestic hearth. These enemies are the persecutors of the truth: pagans, impious men, libertines, corrupters, blasphemers, men and women of every condition, an innumerable race, who are not or are no longer Christians, and who do not wish others to be. Against them the sacrament of confirmation clothes the Christian with the strength necessary to sustain nobly the exterior combats of virtue. One sees it by the example of the apostles. They had received baptism, and nevertheless they kept hidden in the Cenacle until the day of Pentecost. Once confirmed, they came out of their retreat and, fearing neither men nor hell, announced everywhere the doctrine of their Master. Neither promises, nor threats, nor blows, nor chains, nor prisons, nor tortures, nor death shook their courage. It is the same with the martyrs.

The fourth is the increase of the virtues. To understand this new operation, one must descend with the torch of philosophy and of faith into the depths of the nature of man and of the Christian. In the Christian there are two lives: the human life and the divine life; both develop on parallel lines; both, united by laws of conservation and by relations of similarity, show unity of principle and unity of end. As the oak, with all its power of vegetation, growth and solidity, is found in germ in the acorn, so in the germ of human life and in the germ of divine life deposited in us are found in principle the forces which later will manifest themselves by acts and blossom into habits, on which will depend the development of the man and of the Christian. There is no one who does not admire in plants this work of vegetation and growth: could we follow it with less interest in our double nature of men and Christians? To discover its secret in the humblest plant is the joy of the learned and the triumph of science. What nobler triumph, what livelier joy, to surprise it in ourselves! The means of arriving at this result is to form a just idea of what is meant by habits and by virtues; by infused virtues and acquired virtues; by natural virtues and supernatural virtues.

A *habit* is called a disposition or a quality of the soul, good or bad. It is good if it is in conformity with the nature of the being and with its end; bad if it is contrary to the one or the other. The habit, being a force or a principle of action, gives rise to good or bad acts. Thus, the habit of acting with reflection is good; for it is in conformity with the nature of the rational being. On the contrary, the habit of excess in sleep, in drinking or eating is bad; for it tends to put above what ought to be below, the body above the soul.(1) *Virtue* is an essentially good habit.(2) This definition shows the whole difference between habit properly so called and virtue. The first is good or bad and leads to good or to evil. The second is essentially good and can lead only to good. Hence this other definition of Saint Augustine: “Virtue is a good quality or habit of the soul, by which we live rightly, which no one can use ill, and which God works in us without us.”(3)

(1) *Habitus dicitur dispositio secundum quam bene vel male disponitur dispositum aut secundum se aut ad aliud, ut sanitas habitus quidam est. Et sic loquimur nunc de habitu; unde dicendum est quod habitus est*

qualitas. [A habit is called a disposition according to which that which is disposed is disposed well or ill, either in itself or toward something else, as health is a certain habit. And thus we speak now of habit; whence it must be said that habit is a quality.] S. Th., I–II, q. 49, art. 4, corp. — *Secundum se*, that is, according to its nature; *aut ad aliud*, that is, in order to the end. Id., art. 3, corp. — *Habitus est actus quidam, in quantum est qualitas; et secundum hoc potest esse principium operationis; sed est in potentia per respectum ad operationem: unde habitus dicitur actus primus, et operatio actus secundus.* [Habit is a kind of act, inasmuch as it is a quality; and in this respect can be a principle of operation; but it is in potency with respect to operation: whence habit is called first act, and operation second act.] Id. id., ad 1. (2) *De ratione virtutis humanae est quod sit habitus boni operativus.* [It belongs to the notion of human virtue that it be a habit productive of good.] Id., q. 55, art. 4 and 3, corp. (3) *Virtus est bona qualitas seu habitus mentis, qua recte vivitur et qua nullus male utitur, et quam Deus in nobis sine nobis operatur.* [Virtue is a good quality or habit of the mind, by which one lives rightly, and which no one uses ill, and which God works in us without us.] *De lib. arbit.*, lib. II [printed "XI"], c. xviii.

In the purely natural order one distinguishes infused virtues and acquired virtues. The first, as Saint Augustine says, are in us without us; but it is evident that by acts often repeated these good qualities acquire in the long run great energy. Thus developed, they are called acquired virtues. No more here than elsewhere ought man to attribute to himself what belongs to God. In the natural order as in the supernatural order, it is always on a divine foundation that he works. The seeds of the acquired virtues are in him, without him. His only merit is in the cultivation he gives to the gifts of the Creator. And moreover the acts which result from his cooperation never attain the perfection of the principle from which they emanate: like the brook whose water is always less pure than that of the spring itself.(1)

(1) S. Th., I–II, q. 63, art. 4, corp.; and art. 4, ad 3.

Proceeding from purely natural principles, that is, being only the blossoming of human life, the natural virtues, infused or acquired, have for their term natural perfection. To ask them to raise man to a supernatural end, that is, to lead him to the perfection of his divine life, would be absurd. The reason is clear as day. In all things the means must be proportioned to the end; therefore the natural cannot produce the supernatural. Yet the supernatural is the end for which man was created. How shall he attain it? With his usual lucidity Saint Thomas will give us the answer. "There are in man," says the Angelic Doctor, "two moving principles: one interior, which is reason; the other exterior, which is God.(2) The first, generator of the purely human virtues, puts man in a state to act, in many cases, in conformity with rectitude and natural equity. But that is not enough; man is called to live a divine life. Of this second life the Holy Spirit Himself is the principle. The grace which He pours into the soul at the moment of baptism is a divine element, whence proceed supernatural virtues, as the natural virtues proceed from reason or from the human element. These virtues take the name of supernatural infused virtues. They are not grace, any more than the natural virtues are reason; any more than the act is the power; any more than the effect is the cause."(1)

(2) *In homine est duplex principium movens; unum quidem interius, quod est ratio; aliud autem exterius, quod est Deus.* [In man there is a twofold moving principle: one interior, which is reason; the other exterior, which is God.] I–II, q. 68, art. 1, corp. (1) *Gratia reducitur ad primam speciem qualitatis (id est dispositionis); nec tamen est idem quod virtus, sed habitudo quaedam, quae praesupponitur virtutibus infusis, sicut earum principium et radix.* [Grace is reduced to the first species of quality (that is, of disposition); yet it is not the same as virtue, but a certain condition which is presupposed to the infused virtues as their principle and root.] S. Th., I–II, q. 110, art. 3, ad 3.

In view of the divine life which is in us and by which we must live in order to arrive at our last end, these supernatural virtues are as necessary as, and more necessary than, the purely natural or human virtues. "Virtue," says Saint Thomas, "perfects man and makes him capable of acts in relation with his felicity. Now there are for man two kinds of felicity or beatitude: the one proportioned to his nature as man, and to which

he can attain by the forces of his nature, but not without the help of God, *non tamen absque adjutorio divino* [yet not without divine help]; the other, superior to nature, to which man can attain only by divine forces; for it is a certain participation in the very nature of God. The constitutive elements of human nature being unable to raise man to this second beatitude, it was necessary that God should superadd new elements, capable of leading man to supernatural beatitude, as the natural elements lead him to a natural beatitude."(1)

(1) S. Thom., I–II, q. 62, art. 1, corp.

All these elements are comprised in the word *grace*, without contradiction the deepest and the most beautiful in the language of religion. Now, at the head of the virtues born of grace are the three theological virtues: faith, hope and charity. First blossomings of the divine life, they put us, as is fitting, in supernatural relations with God, our last end and their immediate object.(2) Faith deifies the intelligence, put in possession of certain supernatural truths which the divine light makes known to it. Hope deifies the will, directing it towards the possession of the supernatural good known by faith. Charity deifies the heart, which it urges to union with the supernatural good known by faith and desired by hope.(3)

(2) *Dicuntur theologicae, tum quia habent Deum pro objecto, in quantum per eas recte ordinamur in Deum; tum quia a solo Deo nobis infunduntur; tum quia sola divina revelatione in sacra Scriptura hujusmodi virtutes traducuntur.* [They are called theological, both because they have God for their object, inasmuch as through them we are rightly ordered to God; and because they are infused in us by God alone; and because such virtues are handed on by divine revelation alone in Holy Scripture.] Id. id. (3) *Et primo quidem, quantum ad intellectum adduntur homini quaedam principia supernaturalia, quae divino lumine capiuntur; et haec sunt credibilia, de quibus est fides. Secundo vero est voluntas quae ordinatur in illum finem et quantum ad motum intentionis in ipsum tendentem, sicut in id quod est possibile consequi, quod pertinet et ad spem. Et quantum ad unionem quamdam spiritualem, per quam quodammodo transformatur in illum finem, quod fit per charitatem.* [And first, as to the intellect, certain supernatural principles are added to man, which are grasped by the divine light; and these are the things to be believed, with which faith is concerned. Second, as to the will, it is ordered to that end both as to the movement of intention tending toward it, as toward something possible to be attained, which pertains to hope; and as to a certain spiritual union, by which it is in a way transformed into that end, which is done by charity.] Id., id., art. 3, corp.

It is not only with God that the Christian must live in supernatural relations, it is also with himself, with his fellows, with the whole creation. How shall he fulfil this obligation? From the supernatural vital principle which is in him there spring necessarily, like a new shoot, the four great moral virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. We say necessarily; the reason is that God does not act with less perfection in the works of grace than in the works of nature. Now, in the works of nature one does not find a single active principle which is not accompanied by the means necessary to the accomplishment of its proper acts. Thus, whenever God creates any being whatever, He provides it with the means of doing that for which it is destined. But it is a fact that charity, predisposing man to his last end, is the principle of all the good works which lead to it. It is therefore necessary that with charity there be infused, and that from charity there spring, all the virtues necessary to man to accomplish his duties, not only towards the Creator, but towards the creature.(1) The four moral virtues, being as the pivot on which turn the relations of man with all that is not God, have received the name of cardinal virtues.(2) And rightly: by them are animated, directed, informed supernaturally our thoughts, our words, our affections and our acts, in the domestic order and in the social order.

(1) Viguier, *Instit.*, etc., c. xiii, p. 408. (2) *Loco naturalium principiorum conferuntur nobis a Deo virtutes theologicae quibus ordinamur ad finem supernaturalem… Secundum quamdam inchoationem, quantum scilicet ad ipsum Deum immediate: unde oportet quod per alias virtutes infusas perficiatur anima circa alias res, in ordine tamen ad Deum.* [In place of natural principles, the theological virtues are conferred on us by God, by which we are ordered to the supernatural end… according to a certain beginning, namely as to God

Himself immediately: whence it is necessary that through other infused virtues the soul be perfected about other things, yet in order to God.] S. Th., I–II, q. 63, art. 3, corp.

The first is *prudence*. This mother of the moral virtues, who directs them as a mother directs her daughters, is defined: A virtue which, in all things, makes us know and do what is honourable, and flee what is not.(1) This definition, admitted equally by philosophy and by theology, shows that there is no moral virtue without prudence. “In effect,” says Saint Thomas, “to live well is to act well. It is not enough to know what is to be done; one must know also the manner of doing it. This supposes the judicious choice of means. In its turn this choice, having relation to the end one wishes to attain, supposes an honourable end and the fitting means of arriving at it: all things which belong to prudence. If you suppress them, there is no longer virtue. Precipitation, ignorance, passion, caprice become the motive of actions: virtue itself will be vice. Therefore without prudence no virtue is possible.”(2)

(1) *Prudentia est recta agendorum ratio, seu virtus, qua in quovis occurrente negotio, noscimus quid honestum sit, quid turpe; seu quid agendum, ut honestum, et quid fugiendum, ut inhonestum.* [Prudence is the right reason of things to be done, or a virtue by which, in any business that occurs, we know what is honourable and what base; that is, what is to be done as honourable, and what to be avoided as dishonourable.] Ferraris, *Biblioth.*, etc., art. *Virtus*, n. 97. (2) *Unde virtus moralis sine prudentia esse non potest.* [Whence moral virtue cannot exist without prudence.] I–II, q. 58, art. 4, corp.; and q. 57, art. 5, corp. — *Tolle discretionem, et virtus vitium erit.* [Take away discretion, and virtue will be vice.] S. Bernard, *serm.* 40 on the Canticle [of Canticles].

Let us learn from this what a royal gift the Holy Spirit makes to the soul in giving it prudence by baptism and developing it by confirmation. Let us learn it again from the continual need we have of this virtue: it applies to everything. Thus one distinguishes personal prudence, which teaches each one the manner of fulfilling his duties toward himself, toward his soul and toward his body. Domestic prudence, which teaches the father to direct his family. Political prudence, which teaches kings to govern peoples so as to lead them to the end for which God created them. Legislative prudence, to which legislators owe equitable laws and salutary regulations. Enemy of the prudence of the flesh, of cunning, of lying, of fraud, of exaggerated solicitude for temporal things, prudence, daughter of grace, is the exclusive glory of the inhabitants of the City of Good. It makes their happiness; and if the present world goes on from revolution to revolution, if all in it is discontent, instability, fever of gold and fever of enjoyments, this must be attributed to the loss of Christian prudence and the reign of satanic prudence.

The second moral virtue which issues from grace, as the fruit issues from the tree, and which ripens in the sun of confirmation, is *justice*. Justice is a virtue which makes us render to each what belongs to him.(1) Enlightened by prudence, supernatural justice respects above all the rights of God. Unchangeable proprietor of all things, God has a right to all and over all, consequently to the interior and exterior worship of man and of society. Here justice manifests itself by the virtue of religion, which comprises adoration, prayer, sacrifice, the vow and the faithful accomplishment of the precepts relating to the direct worship of the Creator. It respects the rights of the neighbour, rich or poor, weak or strong, inferior or superior. To it the world owes the end of the exploitation of man by man, of the murder of children, of slavery, of the brutal despotism which weighed upon all peoples before the redemption, and which weighs still on all nations strangers to the benefits of the Gospel. It teaches man to respect himself, his soul and its rights, his body and its rights, his life, his death and even his tomb. It teaches him, finally, to respect creatures, governing them with equity, that is, in conformity with their end; in a spirit of dependence, as a good belonging to another; with fear, as having to render account of the use he shall have made of them. Imagine what the world would become under the empire of supernatural justice!

(1) *Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum unicuique tribuendi.* [Justice is the constant and perpetual will to render to each one his right.] Common among theologians.

The third cardinal virtue is *fortitude*. Without it prudence and justice would be dead letters. It is not enough to have the knowledge of the good, nor even the will; one must have the courage. Courage is the son of fortitude. Fortitude is a virtue which holds the soul in equilibrium between audacity and fear. The audacious sins by excess, the timid by defect; the strong man holds the mean between the one and the other.(1) Fortitude has a double role, active and passive. Active, in the face of duty it braves dangers; passive, to adversity it opposes patience. Magnanimity or greatness of soul, confidence, coolness, constancy, perseverance, resignation, activity are daughters of fortitude. All this family, supernaturalized by grace, raises the character of man to its highest degree of nobility, while it brings forth, in private life as in public life, the admirable acts which we have ceased to admire since the Holy Spirit, poured out upon the world, has made them so common. Is it necessary to add that, by reason of present circumstances, fortitude must be the great virtue of Christians? Strength to set, by the number, the greatness and the holiness of their works, a counterweight to the iniquities of the world; heroic strength to resist the exceptional attacks of which they are the object; strength to suffer the unheard-of outrages lavished on all that is most sacred and dear to them.

(1) *Fortitudo est mediocritas inter audaciam et timorem constituta.* [Fortitude is a mean established between audacity and fear.] Apud Ferraris, *Biblioth.*, etc., art. *Virtus*, n. 120.

The fourth cardinal virtue is *temperance*. It is a virtue which regulates the use of food and drink, represses concupiscence and moderates the pleasures of the senses.(1) Like her three sisters, temperance is the mother of a noble and numerous family. Sobriety, abstinence, chastity, continence, virginity, modesty, bashfulness, clemency, humility, amiability are her daughters. Let them live in a man, and that man becomes the type of the morally beautiful, the personification of order. Enlightened by prudence, regulated by justice, sustained by fortitude, the soul commands the body, and its command, exactly executed, removes all that degrades human nature. Far from the temperate man are gluttony, drunkenness, debauchery, impurity, mad prodigality, ruinous luxury, seductive pleasures; in a word, the shameful slavery of the spirit under the despotism of the flesh. Such is the fourth virtue to which the Holy Spirit communicates, by confirmation, a new energy. We leave it to be said whether temperance, in all its applications, is a virtue necessary to the modern Christian, condemned to live in the midst of a world constituted entirely on intemperance.

(1) *Temperantia est virtus refraenans ac moderans inordinatos appetitus et concupiscentias, ac voluptates corporis, quibus praesertim gustus et tactus afficitur circa esculenta, poculenta et venerea.* [Temperance is a virtue restraining and moderating inordinate appetites and concupiscences, and the pleasures of the body by which especially taste and touch are affected about food, drink and venereal matters.] Ferraris, *ubi supra*, n. 130.

Although it is very difficult in many cases to distinguish the natural and the supernatural, reason and grace, this double motor of human acts, as Saint Thomas says, nevertheless the distinction is real. Constantly admitted by Catholic theology, it is founded on the incontestable principle of a double life in the Christian. A purely natural life, as a creature, destined to a natural end, and provided with the means of attaining it. A supernatural life, as adopted son of God, destined to a supernatural end and provided with the means of reaching it; a supernatural life imperiously obligatory for all men in the present order of Providence. It follows that prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance are also natural infused virtues; but between supernatural prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance, great is the difference. Difference in principle: the first proceed from reason; the second, from grace. Difference in aim: the first put us in natural and purely human relations with their object; the second in supernatural and divine relations. Difference in efficacy: the first are useless for salvation; the second lead us to it. Difference in dignity: the first are regulated by the lights of reason, the second by the lights of the Holy Spirit. The first make the honest man; the second, the Christian. Now between the honest man and the Christian lies all the difference which separates the insect that crawls from the bird that flies.

A single trait lets us judge it. Natural or philosophical temperance, for example, confines itself to repressing the concupiscence of drinking and eating, so as to prevent every excess capable of harming health and disturbing reason; that is the earth-bound level of the virtue. Supernatural temperance goes further. It leads man to chastise his body and bring it into servitude by abstinence from drink, from food and from whatever can flatter the senses. That is the truth of the virtue, the strengthening of order, by the complete subordination of the flesh to the spirit and of the spirit to God. It is the same with the other virtues.(1)

(1) S. Th., I–II, q. 63, art. 4, corp.

The difference between the natural virtues and the supernatural virtues is known to us. But in what do the latter differ from the gifts of the Holy Spirit? This question is, without contradiction, one of the most important we have to treat. Clearly resolved, it throws great light on the nature of the successive operations by which the Holy Spirit develops in us the divine being; shows the chain which unites them without confounding them, and brings out brilliantly the necessary action of each. The following chapters will be devoted to the study of this marvellous work, the knowledge of which will call to our lips the exclamation of the Prophet: “God is wonderful in His saints, and holy in all His works.”(2)

(2) Ps. 67 [Vulgate; Douay Ps. lxvii, 36].

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXIV

1. **References.** Several Thomist references are doubtful (“q. 63, art. 4” where q. 68, art. 1 is meant; “q. 64, art. 4” where q. 62, art. 1 is probably meant; “q. 2” for q. 72); I have marked the corrections in brackets where I made them by inference, and did not check them all against the *Summa*.

2. **Pope Melchiades.** The saying is quoted by Aquinas (III, q. 71, a. 1) as Melchiades’s; I have only translated Gaume. I did not verify the attribution.

3. **Scripture references in the first note.** Gaume’s “John xx, 16; Luke xxiv, 49; xx, 15” is doubtful. Luke xxiv, 49 is the “endued with power from on high”; the “eloquence … adversaries cannot resist” is close to Luke xxi, 14–15. I have left his references as printed and flagged them.

4. **“Natural infused virtues.”** The sentence “the prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance are also natural infused virtues” is as Gaume wrote (“naturelles infuses”); it means the natural counterpart of the supernatural infused virtues. The phrase is awkward in the French itself.

5. **“Cardinal”** comes from Latin *cardo*, a hinge, which is Gaume’s “pivot”.

6. **Authorities.** Ferraris is Lucio Ferraris, *Bibliotheca canonica, juridica, moralis, theologica* (art. *Virtus*). The saying “Take away discretion, and virtue will be vice” is Bernard’s, from the *Sermons on the Canticle*; Gaume’s number I did not verify.

7. **The “mines of California.”** The comparison belongs to the period of the gold rush; kept as written.

8. **Council of Mainz, 1549.** As printed; I did not verify Gaume’s quotation.

9. **“Agnosce, o christiane, dignitatem tuam.”** The famous words of Pope Saint Leo the Great in his Christmas sermon, left in Latin with an English rendering.

10. **“Strength of memory, understanding, will.”** Gaume applies the Augustinian triad of faculties (memory, understanding, will) as in the preceding chapters.

Chapter XXV. Gifts of the Holy Spirit

Definition. — Detailed explanation of each word. — What is common and what is distinct between the virtues and the gifts. — Proper function of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. — They are necessary to salvation. —

Necessary as general principles of the supernatural movement. — Necessary as elements of light, of strength and of defence. — They are all necessary, and of an equal necessity.

A fifth marvel of confirmation is the development of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. We say the development, since by baptism all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, with the Holy Spirit Himself, already dwell in the Christian, faithful guardian of grace. Thus all the elements of natural life are in the child still in the cradle. By confirmation the gifts of the Holy Spirit share in the general development imparted to the divine life by virtue of this sacrament so well named the sacrament of strength. To give a more just idea of these new riches of grace, we must first of all answer several questions of fundamental interest. What is to be understood by the gifts of the Holy Spirit? What is there in common between the gifts and the virtues? What is there distinct? Do the virtues and the gifts tend to the same end? What is the special object of the gifts? Are they as necessary as the virtues? Are all of them so? The answer will flow from the detailed definition of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in general, and of each in particular.

According to Saint Thomas: *The gifts of the Holy Spirit are supernatural habits which dispose us to obey the Holy Spirit promptly.*(1) Every word of this definition wants explaining; for it contains a treasure of light.

(1) *Dona Spiritus sancti sunt quidam habitus quibus homo perficitur ad prompte obediendum Spiritui sancto.* [The gifts of the Holy Spirit are certain habits by which man is perfected to obey the Holy Spirit promptly.] I–II, q. 68, art. 3, corp. — *Dona sunt quaedam hominis perfectiones, quibus homo disponitur ad hoc quod bene sequatur instinctum divinum.* [The gifts are certain perfections of man by which he is disposed to follow well the divine instinct.] *Ibid.* art. 2, corp. — [Gaume's note:] Developing this definition a little, one may say: The gifts of the Holy Spirit are habits or inclinations inherent in the soul, distinct from the infused supernatural virtues, necessary to do good, and inseparable from one another.

Gifts. To characterize the graces of which there is question here, Catholic language calls them gifts of the Holy Spirit, that is, favours par excellence of the third person of the august Trinity. But what? Are not the brilliant qualities of angels and men, the magnificences of earth and heaven, without exception benefits of the Holy Spirit? Assuredly. "There is not," says Saint Basil, "a creature visible or invisible which does not owe to the Holy Spirit what it possesses." And Saint Cyril of Jerusalem: "The Holy Spirit is the master, the director and the universal sanctifier. All have need of Him, Elias and Isaias among men, Gabriel and Michael among the angels."(2) Yet none of these favours is called a gift of the Holy Spirit. What does this mean, if not that the gifts of the Holy Spirit surpass in excellence all created marvels, human and angelic, visible and invisible, all the natural virtues, infused or acquired, and all the supernatural moral virtues? They therefore belong, in the highest degree, to an order of riches the least particle of which is worth more than the whole universe.(1)

(2) *Catech.* xv. (1) *Bonum gratiae unius majus est, quam bonum naturae totius universi.* [The good of grace of one is greater than the good of nature of the whole universe.] S. Th., I–II, q. 113, art. 9, ad 2.

Let us explain this mystery. The gift of God par excellence, the gift which is the principle of all gifts, is the Holy Spirit Himself. Hence He is called the Gift of God: *Donum Dei.* [The Gift of God.] Once personally communicated to man, this God-gift pours itself out and distributes itself in all the powers of the soul, like the blood in all the veins of the body. It animates them, it divinizes them; it becomes the generating principle of a life as superior to natural life as heaven is raised above the earth. The reason is that natural life is common to us with the animals, with the pagans and with all sinners; whereas the life for which we are indebted to the Holy Spirit assimilates us to the saints, to the angels, to God. How measure the extent of such a benefit? To give natural life to an angel and to millions of angels, to a man and to millions of men, to any being whatever and to millions of beings, to restore sight to a blind man and to millions of blind men; hearing to a deaf man and to millions of the deaf; movement to a paralytic and to millions of paralytics: these are, without contradiction, benefits, immense benefits. But to pick up, from the soiled dust where he crawls, this

little worm called man; then to communicate to this being of nothingness the very life of God, to fill his understanding with divine lights, his heart with divine sentiments, his will with superhuman strengths, to accomplish the good and overcome the evil: these are again benefits, and benefits superior to the first. To these elements of divine life, to these supernatural forces, to impress a powerful and sustained impulse which, during a long succession of years and of combats, makes them produce perfect acts of all the virtues, such that God Himself can show to the angelic hierarchies the Christian who accomplishes them, and say to them with a kind of pride: "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased": is not that the benefit of benefits, the gift which crowns all gifts? In describing it we have just described the gifts of the Holy Spirit and their incomparable excellence. They are more than natural life, more than supernatural life, more than the great virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, supernatural temperance: they are their divine movers.(1)

(1) S. Th., I–II, q. 68, art. 4, ad 3; and art. 8, corp.

Gifts of the Holy Spirit; and not of the Father or of the Son. Masterpieces of charity, the gifts can be attributed only to the Holy Spirit, the very charity of God, the consubstantial love, love in person, eternally living and eternally infinite. As there is in physical nature but one sun, principle of heat and life, so in the moral world there is but one sanctifying principle, the Holy Spirit. Superior means of sanctification, the gifts that come from Him lead us to Him. Now to sanctify is to unite. If, analyzing the counsels of God, you reduce them to their simplest expression, you will find a single aim: to bring all things back to unity. On the one hand, God being one and uniquely good can have in His works no other aim than unity, and beatifying unity. On the other hand, man, composed of a double nature, is the mysterious soldering of the spiritual world and the material world. In uniting man to Himself by a supernatural union, God sanctifies him; for He unites him in the most intimate manner to holiness by essence. At one stroke He sanctifies the universality of His works and becomes again all in all. Thus is re-established, with a new glory, the primitive unity, broken by the revolt of the angel and the disobedience of man. *That they may be one, as we also are one.* This word of infinite depth sums up, in its causes, its means and its end, the incarnation of the Son, the mission of the Holy Spirit, all the rich combinations of the divine plan, in the supernatural order and in the natural order, in the world of angels and in the world of men, in time as well as in eternity.(1)

(1) *Ad consummationem sanctorum, in aedificationem corporis Christi.* [For the perfection of the saints, … for the edifying of the body of Christ.] Eph. iv, 12. — *Donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionem Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi.* [Until we all meet into the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.] *Ibid.*, 13.

The definition adds that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are *habits*, that is, qualities or inclinations inherent in the soul. If anything can still enhance in our eyes the price of these divine gifts, it is to know that they are neither passing graces, nor transitory movements of circumstance, but habits, that is, permanent qualities. Inseparable from the Holy Spirit, they are in the soul as long as the Holy Spirit Himself dwells there, and He dwells there as long as He is not banished from it by mortal sin. Of this consoling truth we have the infallible assurance. Speaking to his brethren of all places and all ages, the Incarnate Word said: "If you love me, keep my commandments, and the Holy Spirit shall abide with you, and shall be in you."(1) Now the Holy Spirit is not in men without His gifts. He is there with all His gifts, or He is not there: like the sun, which cannot be anywhere without its light, its heat and its principles of fecundity.(2) To possess the gifts of the Holy Spirit and with them all that is richest in the treasures of grace, what happiness and glory! To lose them, what shame and misfortune! Where find a more powerful motive for keeping sanctifying grace at any price, and recovering it promptly, whatever it may cost in efforts and tears, if it should be lost?

(1) *Apud vos manebit et in vobis erit.* [He shall abide with you, and shall be in you.] John xiv, 15–17. (2) *Spiritus autem sanctus non est in hominibus absque donis ejus. Ergo dona ejus manent in hominibus. Ergo non solum sunt actus vel passiones; sed etiam habitus permanentes.* [Now the Holy Spirit is not in men

without His gifts. Therefore His gifts remain in men. Therefore they are not only acts or passions, but also permanent habits.] S. Th., I–II, q. 68, art. 3, corp.

Supernatural, and consequently such as perfect us. All that is divine perfects what is not. The gifts of the Holy Spirit, being divine, perfect the human soul and all its powers. But what is the kind of perfection they communicate to it? Like the gifts, the theological virtues and the cardinal virtues are also habits, permanent habits, coming from the Holy Spirit and perfecting man. Thus, in respect of origin and end, no difference between the gifts and the supernatural virtues, any more than between the leaves, the flowers and the fruits, considered in the tree that bears them, in the sap that waters them, in the heat that ripens them. But as there is a difference of function between the leaves, the flowers and the fruits, so is there between the gifts and the virtues. It remains to say wherein this difference consists. The supernatural virtues: faith, hope, charity, prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, are divine forces communicated to the soul to work supernatural good. The gift is the impulse which sets these forces in motion. Such is the manner in which it perfects us, consequently the radical difference which distinguishes it from the virtues.

This point of doctrine is capital. Let us hear Saint Thomas: "To grasp well the distinction which exists between the gifts and the virtues, we must refer to the language of Scripture. It designates the gifts of the Holy Spirit not under the name of gifts, but under the name of Spirits. *Upon him*, says Isaias, *shall rest the spirit of wisdom and of understanding*, etc. These words make it very clearly understood that the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are in us by the effect of a divine inspiration, or rather are the very breath of the Holy Spirit in us. Now inspiration means impulse coming from without.(1) Rich in supernatural virtues, the soul has need of a mover which puts them in action. Supernatural forces not being able to be set in motion by a natural mover, it follows that the Holy Spirit is the necessary mover of the supernatural forces deposited in the soul by baptism. Now it is by the seven gifts or the seven spirits that the impulse of the sanctifying Spirit is expressed. Therefore His gifts are called gifts not only because they are poured out in us by this divine Spirit, but also because they have for their aim to render man prompt to act under the divine influence. It follows that the gift, inasmuch as it differs from the infused virtue, can be defined: that which is given by God to put the infused virtue in motion."(1)

(1) *Spiritus ergo in genere est incitatus animi motus, impetus et ardor immissus vel a natura ex cupiditate, vel etiam a daemone, tumque dicitur furor et insana cupido; sic vocatur spiritus superbiae, irae, acediae, etc.; vel a Deo, tumque dicitur Spiritus Domini, utque aliquando permanens, aliquando cito transiens.* [A spirit, then, in general is an excited movement of the mind, an impulse and ardour sent in either by nature from desire, or even by a demon, and then it is called fury and insane cupidity; thus there is spoken of a spirit of pride, of anger, of sloth, etc.; or by God, and then it is called the Spirit of the Lord, and now permanent, now quickly passing.] Corn. a Lap. [Cornelius a Lapide], on Is. xi, 2. (1) *Ad distinguendum dona a virtutibus debemus sequi modum loquendi Scripturae, in qua nobis traduntur, non quidem sub nomine donorum, sed magis sub nomine Spirituum. Sic enim dicitur (Is. xi, 2): Requiescet super eum Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, etc. Ex quibus verbis manifeste datur intelligi, quod ista septem enumerantur ibi, secundum quod sunt in nobis ab inspiratione divina. Inspiratio autem significat quamdam motionem ab exteriori… Vocantur dona non solum quia infunduntur a Deo, sed quia secundum ea homo disponitur ut efficiatur prompte mobilis ab inspiratione divina… Donum prout distinguitur a virtute infusa potest dici id quod datur a Deo in ordine ad motionem ipsius… Dona sunt quaedam hominis perfectiones, quibus homo disponitur ad hoc quod bene sequatur instinctum divinum… Dona autem Spiritus sancti sunt quibus omnes vires animae disponuntur ad hoc quod subdantur motioni divinae.* [To distinguish the gifts from the virtues we must follow the manner of speaking of Scripture, in which they are handed on to us not indeed under the name of gifts, but rather under the name of Spirits. For thus it is said (Is. xi, 2): The Spirit of wisdom and of understanding shall rest upon him, etc. From which words it is manifestly given to be understood that these seven are enumerated there as they are in us from divine inspiration. Now inspiration signifies a certain motion from without…

They are called gifts not only because they are infused by God, but because by them man is disposed to become promptly movable by divine inspiration… A gift, as distinguished from an infused virtue, can be said to be that which is given by God in order to its being moved by Him… The gifts are certain perfections of man by which he is disposed to follow well the divine instinct… The gifts of the Holy Spirit are those by which all the powers of the soul are disposed to be subject to the divine motion.] I–II, q. 68, art. 1, corp.; id., ad 3; id., art. 2, corp.; id., art. 3, corp.

A comparison makes this fundamental distinction sensible. What the sap is to the tree, the infused virtues are to the baptized soul. For a tree to grow and bear fruit it is necessary that the sap be set in motion by the heat of the sun, so as to circulate in all the parts of the tree, from the roots to the extremity of the branches. It is the same with the Christian. By baptism he possesses the sap of the supernatural virtues; but, if he wishes to grow and bear fruit, this divine sap must be set in motion and circulate in all the powers of his being. What is the sun whose lively heat alone can bring into activity this precious sap? We have said it: the Spirit of the seven gifts.

Now the question of the superiority of the gifts over the virtues, or of the virtues over the gifts, explains itself. The gifts are inferior to the theological virtues. These virtues, in effect, attach the soul to God, whereas the gifts do no more than move it toward Him. But the gifts are superior to the moral virtues, because the moral virtues only remove the obstacles which keep us from God, whereas the gifts truly direct and move toward God.(1)

(1) S. Th., I–II, q. 68, art. 8, ad 3; and art. 4 [sic], corp.

The definition ends by saying: *Which dispose us to obey the Holy Spirit promptly.* Ignorance or imperfect knowledge of the good, natural heaviness, the bonds of earthly affections, sometimes fear of pain, human respect, dissipation of mind, weakness of heart, wandering of the will and a thousand other obstacles make us deaf or indocile to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. Hence an impassable circle of imperfections and cowardices, the sleep of the divine forces hidden in the depths of the soul, like latent saps in the bosom of the earth. All these things, humiliating and culpable, which people the Church with little souls full of little thoughts, sadly characterize life and prepare anguish for death. Let the Holy Spirit come with His gifts. He is the fire whose lively light enlightens the understanding and whose heat warms the heart; He is the vehement wind of the Cenacle which breaks all resistance; He is the divine electricity which, circulating in all the faculties of the soul, animates them, shakes them, drives them toward the higher world, and, rendering the Christian superior to himself, makes him work at his personal perfection as well as at the salvation of his brethren: not slowly, but actively; not superficially, but solidly; not accidentally, but constantly. To this impulse the world owes the apostles, the martyrs, the missionaries, the saints, men and women of every condition, as it will owe to it the noble victors or the noble victims of the last times.

To define the gifts of the Holy Spirit is to show their necessity: we have just done so. Let us nevertheless insist on this essential point, and establish by direct proofs that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are absolutely necessary to salvation. This, it must be said, is what it is more important than ever to know and consequently to teach, since people of the world do not know it at all and most of the faithful hardly know it. To this ignorance must be attributed the little account made of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the little importance attached to the sacrament of confirmation, and the little care brought to preserve its fruits. The Spirit of wisdom and of life being thus misunderstood, is it astonishing that the modern world drifts toward ruin and death?

To make sensible the indispensable necessity of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Fathers of the Church employ various comparisons. To that of the tree, which we have developed, they add the following. “Just as,” says Saint Augustine somewhere, “the healthiest eye cannot see unless a ray of light strikes it, so the man perfectly justified cannot accomplish the acts of the Christian life unless he is moved by the impulse of the

Holy Spirit."(1) Saint Basil, already cited, adds: "Man may be compared to a ship. However perfectly built a ship be supposed, and however well provided with tackle and sailors, it cannot sail without the breath of the wind. So with man. Though he possessed sanctifying grace and all the infused virtues in a high degree, he cannot, without the movement of the Holy Spirit, make a single supernatural act, not even pronounce the name of Jesus." Now the movement of the Holy Spirit is the effect of His gifts. Thus what the wind is to the ship, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are to the soul.

(1) *Sicut oculus corporis plenissime sanus, nisi candore lucis adjutus non potest cernere; sic et homo perfectissime etiam justificatus, nisi aeterna luce justitiae divinitus adjuvetur, recte non potest vivere.* [As the eye of the body, though in the fullest health, unless aided by the brightness of light cannot see; so also man, even most perfectly justified, unless he be divinely aided by the eternal light of justice, cannot live rightly.] See *Lib. de natura et gratia.*

Summing up the doctrine of the Fathers, Saint Thomas gives the fundamental reason for this necessity. "God," he says, "perfects the works of man in two ways: by natural light, which is reason, and by supernatural light coming from the theological virtues. But this second way is imperfect, since even with these virtues we know and love God only imperfectly. The reason is that we possess them only in an incomplete manner and not of ourselves. Now every being which does not possess completely and of itself a principle of action cannot act of itself according to that principle: it must be moved from without. Thus the sun, which is fully luminous, can enlighten of itself. But the moon, in which light resides only imperfectly, cannot enlighten unless it is itself enlightened. Thus again the physician who knows his art perfectly can act of himself, whereas the pupil, imperfectly instructed, cannot. He must receive direction from his master.(1) Such is the condition of man. In all that is of the domain of reason and tends to a natural end, man, aided by God, can act of himself by the lights of reason. It is otherwise if there is question of his supernatural end. Reason, being informed only imperfectly by the theological virtues, makes us tend to it; but its impulse is not enough. The movement of the Holy Spirit is needed. Scripture teaches it clearly: *Whosoever are led by the Spirit of God,* says Saint Paul, *they are the sons of God,* and heirs. And the royal prophet: *Thy good Spirit shall lead me into the right land.* Thus none can enter the inheritance of heaven unless he be impelled and led by the Holy Spirit. It follows that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are absolutely necessary to salvation."(2)

(1) It is an axiom of the physical sciences as of the moral sciences that the second agent can act only by virtue of the first: *nullum agens secundum agit, nisi virtute primi.* [no second agent acts except by virtue of the first.] (2) *Sic igitur quantum ad ea quae subsunt humanae rationi, in ordine scilicet ad finem connaturalem homini, homo potest operari per judicium rationis… sed in ordine ad finem ultimum supernaturalem, ad quem ratio movet, secundum quod est aliqualiter et imperfecte informata per virtutes theologicas, non sufficit ipsa motio rationis, nisi desuper adsit instinctus et motio Spiritus sancti… Et ideo ad illum finem assequendum, necessarium est homini habere donum Spiritus sancti.* [Thus, therefore, as to those things which are subject to human reason, in order to the end connatural to man, man can operate by the judgment of reason… but in order to the ultimate supernatural end, to which reason moves, inasmuch as it is somehow and imperfectly informed by the theological virtues, the motion of reason itself does not suffice unless the instinct and motion of the Holy Spirit be present from above… And therefore, to attain that end, it is necessary for man to have the gift of the Holy Spirit.] I–II, q. 68, art. 2, corp.; and ad 2.

All this beautiful and profound doctrine of the Angel of the Schools must be summed up thus: by the theological and moral virtues man is not so perfected in his relations with his last end that he has not always need to be moved by the higher instinct of the Holy Spirit.(3)

(3) *Per virtutes theologicas et morales non ita perficitur homo in ordine ad ultimum finem, quin semper indigeat moveri quodam superiori instinctu Spiritus sancti.* [By the theological and moral virtues man is not so perfected in order to the last end that he does not always need to be moved by a certain higher instinct of the Holy Spirit.] S. Th., *ubi supra.*

Necessary as general principles of the supernatural movement, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are so again under several particular titles. They are necessary to know the good, necessary to work it, necessary to avoid evil: so that they are at once light, strength and protection. Whence it follows that to regard them as a fruitful breath, as a simple impulse without proper virtue, would be an error. They must be held as so many active and life-giving perfections added to the virtues and powers of the soul: *Dona sunt quaedam hominis perfectiones.* The gifts are certain perfections of man.

(1) *Ibid.*, art. 2, corp.

Light: they are necessary to know the good. However perfected it may be by the theological virtues and by the other infused virtues, reason cannot know all it ought to know, nor dissipate all the illusions of which it may be the victim, nor all the errors into which it may fall. It has need of Him whose knowledge is infinite and who by His presence delivers it from all illusion, all folly, all ignorance, all inaptitude to know and to understand. This necessary perfecting is due to the Holy Spirit and to His gifts.(2)

(2) *Rationi humanae non sunt omnia cognita neque omnia possibilia, sive accipiatur ut perfecta perfectione naturali, sive accipiatur ut perfecta theologicis virtutibus; unde non potest quantum ad omnia repellere stultitiam et alia hujusmodi… Sed ille cujus scientiae et potestati omnia subsunt, sua motione ab omni stultitia et ignorantia et hebetudine et duritia et caeteris hujusmodi nos tutos reddit. Et ideo dona Spiritus sancti, quae faciunt nos bene sequentes instinctum ipsius, dicuntur contra hujusmodi defectus.* [To human reason not all things are known nor all things possible, whether it be taken as perfected by natural perfection or as perfected by the theological virtues; hence it cannot as to all things repel folly and other such things… But He to whose knowledge and power all things are subject, by His motion renders us safe from all folly and ignorance and dullness and hardness and the rest of this kind. And therefore the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which make us well following His instinct, are said to be against such defects.] Id., art. 2, ad 3.

Strength: they are necessary to work the good. Habitual sanctifying grace is not enough to make us work the good, any more than the blood, principle of life, suffices to make us live: it must be put in circulation. Now it is the gift of the Holy Spirit which communicates to habitual grace the impulse which sets it in motion and renders it efficacious. In this sense the gift of the Holy Spirit is at once habitual and actual. Habitual, it abides in the soul in the state of grace. Actual, it inspires it, helps it, strengthens it, urges it, according to the need of the moment, either to practise good or to resist evil.(1)

(1) *Operatio Spiritus sancti quae nos movet et protegit, non circumscribitur per effectum habitualis doni quod in nobis causat, sed praeter hunc effectum, nos movet et protegit cum Patre et Filio.* [The operation of the Holy Spirit which moves and protects us is not circumscribed by the effect of the habitual gift which He causes in us, but beyond this effect He moves and protects us with the Father and the Son.] — *Homo in gratia constitutus indiget divino auxilio ipsum dirigente et protegente contra tentationum impulsus.* [Man established in grace needs divine help directing and protecting him against the impulses of temptations.] S. Th., I–II, q. 109, art. 9, ad 2 and ad 3.

Protection: it defends us against our enemies. The gift or operation of the Holy Spirit is not limited to directing and strengthening us, it protects us. The man in the state of grace has need of it to be sustained against the assaults of the enemy. That is why he must always say: *Lead us not into temptation.* But also, with sanctifying grace and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Christian is a perfect being. He has not only the divine life, he possesses besides all the means of developing it, all the arms to defend it. “The virtues and the gifts,” adds Saint Thomas, “suffice to exclude sins and vices, in the present and the future, in this sense that they prevent their being committed. As to past faults, man finds the remedy in the sacraments.”(2)

(2) *Per virtutes et dona excluduntur sufficienter vitia et peccata, quantum ad praesens et futurum, in quantum scilicet impeditur homo per virtutes et dona a peccando. Sed quantum ad praeterita peccata quae transeunt actu et permanent reatu adhibetur homini remedium specialiter per sacramenta.* [By the virtues

and gifts vices and sins are sufficiently excluded, as to the present and the future, inasmuch as man is hindered by the virtues and gifts from sinning. But as to past sins, which pass as to the act and remain as to guilt, a remedy is applied to man specially by the sacraments.] S. Th., III p., q. 62, art. 2, ad 2.

Henceforth it remains well established that the gifts of the Holy Spirit, whether as principles of supernatural movement or as elements of light, strength and defence, are as necessary to salvation as movement to life, heat to the sap, wind to the ship, steam to the locomotive. But are they all necessary in the same degree? Without any doubt. "Among the gifts of the Holy Spirit," says Catholic theology, "wisdom holds the first rank, fear the last. Now the one and the other are necessary to salvation. *None is loved of God,* says Scripture, *but he that dwelleth with wisdom,* and none can be saved without fear. Therefore the intermediate gifts are equally necessary to salvation: *Ergo etiam alia dona media sunt necessaria ad salutem.* Therefore the other, intermediate, gifts are also necessary to salvation. Moreover, without the Holy Spirit salvation is impossible. Now the Holy Spirit is inseparable from His gifts. He is in the soul with all His gifts or He is not there at all. The consequence is that the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are necessary to salvation with an equal necessity: *Septem dona sunt necessaria ad salutem.* The seven gifts are necessary to salvation."

(1) S. Th., I–II, q. 68, art. 4. (2) *Ibid.,* art. 3, ad 1.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXV

1. **Definition.** The definition of the gifts ("supernatural habits which dispose us to obey the Holy Spirit promptly") is Aquinas's, I–II, q. 68, a. 3. The Latin is given in note 1 as printed; the sentence in italics in the text is Gaume's French rendering.

2. **"Habit."** French *habitude* (Latin *habitus*) is a technical term in the scholastic sense, a stable quality or disposition, not mere custom. I have translated it "habit" as in the preceding chapter.

3. **Basil, Cyril.** The words of Basil are given by Gaume without reference; I did not verify them. The Cyril reference is printed "Catech. xv"; I did not verify it.

4. **Quotations whose source I did not trace.** The Augustine passage (from *De natura et gratia*, as Gaume says) and the Basil "ship" comparison are given as Gaume has them; I did not verify either against the original.

5. **Cornelius a Lapide.** The quotation, from his commentary on Is. xi, 2, is given for a general definition of "spirit"; the Latin is as printed.

6. **Passage in Thomas.** Printed references to "q. 68, art. 4" and the like may be mistaken; I have left them as printed except where the context obviously fixes them.

7. **The scriptural verses.** "Whosoever are led by the Spirit of God" is Rom. viii, 14; "Thy good Spirit shall lead me into the right land" is Ps. cxlii, 10 (Vulgate). "None is loved of God, but he that dwelleth with wisdom" is Wis. vii, 28. "That they may be one" is John xvii, 22. "This is my beloved son" is Matt. iii, 17.

8. **"Electricity."** Gaume's "divine electricity" and the later "steam to the locomotive" are his own modern images.

9. **"The Angel of the Schools"** is Thomas Aquinas.

Chapter XXVI. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Number of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. — Inseparability. — Perpetuity. — Dignity. — Order of the gifts in Our Lord. — They begin with wisdom and end with fear. — Reason of this order. — Manifestation of each gift of the Holy Spirit in the life of Our Lord. — In us the gifts begin with fear and end with wisdom. — Reason of this order. — Law of the moral world. — Necessity of knowing and following it. — General effects

of the gifts of the Holy Spirit on humanity.

It cannot be repeated too often: without the gifts of the Holy Spirit, man is deprived of supernatural movement. He can suitably neither know the good, nor do it, nor avoid evil, nor open to himself the gates of heaven. But what is the number of these gifts, more precious than all the gold of the world, a thousand times more necessary than natural life? Scripture gives us the answer. Speaking of Our Lord, the second Adam, the prophet Isaias expresses himself in these terms: "And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness [piety]; and he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord."(1) What was accomplished in the Incarnate Word must be accomplished in each of His brethren. On the day of baptism every Christian receives the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

(1) Is. xi, 2, 3.

Why are these divine gifts seven in number and not six or eight? Let us recall that the gifts of the Holy Spirit have for their aim to impart movement to the virtues. Now there are seven virtues: three theological and four cardinal. These virtues comprise all the forces, principles of supernatural acts. These forces all rest in the understanding and in the will. The understanding must seize the truth, feed on it and transmit it; the will, love it and reduce it to acts. To know the truth with a useful knowledge the understanding has need of the gifts of understanding, counsel, wisdom and knowledge. The gifts of piety, fortitude and fear are the indispensable auxiliaries of the will, in the love and practice of the good.(1) Thus the gifts of the Holy Spirit reach all the faculties of the soul, all the intellectual and moral virtues, and follow them in their acts, of whatever nature these may be.(2)

(1) *Si (Spiritus) est in intellectu, tunc est Spiritus sapientiae, consilii, intellectus, scientiae; si est in voluntate, tunc est Spiritus pietatis, timoris vel fortitudinis.* [If the Spirit is in the intellect, then He is the Spirit of wisdom, counsel, understanding, knowledge; if in the will, then He is the Spirit of piety, fear or fortitude.] Corn. a Lap., on Is. xi, 3. (2) *Sic patet quod haec dona extendunt se ad omnia ad quae se extendunt virtutes tam intellectuales quam morales.* [Thus it is plain that these gifts extend to all things to which the virtues, intellectual as well as moral, extend.] S. Th., I–II, q. 68, art. 4, corp.

Under a figure of profound truth, Saint Gregory shows the same reason for the number seven. "God," he says, "created the world and made it perfect in seven days. Image of God, man is a creator. To each day of his spiritual creation corresponds a gift of the Holy Spirit. Together they accomplish and perfect the labours of the active life as well as of the contemplative life."(1) It follows that the number seven is that which befits the gifts of the Holy Spirit: more would be useless, fewer not enough. At this marvellous precision, how not recognize the infinite wisdom which, in the moral order no less than in the physical order, makes all with number? It shines with a new lustre if we consider, as we shall do later, that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are opposed to the seven capital sins. These seven sins, or, better, these seven evil spirits, are bent against the seven virtues or powers of man, as also against his understanding and his will; that is, they attack man in his whole being. To struggle successfully against these seven infernal powers, seven divine forces were necessary to man. He finds them, neither more nor less, in the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

(1) *Sunt autem haec dona tantum septem, quia, sicut dicit Gregorius… Super Ezech., homil. ii. — Per septenarium significatur universitas; ut sicut mundus septem diebus est perfectus, hic et minor mundus homo, septem donis Spiritus sancti perficiatur, etc.* [Now these gifts are only seven, because, as Gregory says… On Ezechiel, hom. ii. — By the septenary universality is signified; so that, as the world was perfected in seven days, so this lesser world, man, is perfected by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, etc.] S. Bonav., *Opusc., de septem donis*, etc., p. 237, edit. in fol., Lyons, 1619.

A new trait of wisdom and goodness: this brilliant train of supernatural perfections, this powerful cohort of divine auxiliaries is indissoluble. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are inseparable from one another. "No moral

virtue," says the prince of theology, "can exist in man without prudence. All are united in this virtue, which directs them according to the lights of reason. So it is with the Christian. All his virtues, all the forces of his soul are excited and ruled by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Now the Holy Spirit dwells in us by charity. Thus, as the moral virtues are bound in a sheaf by prudence, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are bound together in charity. He therefore who has charity possesses the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and he who loses it loses them all seven; but he recovers them by recovering grace."(1) Such is, by the way, the reason of the number seven, so often reproduced in the canonical penances and in the indulgences granted by the Church.(2)

(1) I–II, q. 58, art. 4, corp.; and q. 68, art. 5, corp. (2) *Gratia ista septiformis, id est septem donorum, amittitur per quodlibet mortale peccatum. Et ideo statutum fuit antiquitus, ut pro quolibet mortali peccato imponeretur poenitentia septennis. Praedicandum est scilicet, ut, sicut per peccatum abjicit a se septiformem gratiam Spiritus sancti; ita per septennem poenitentiam satisfaciat et recuperet eam.* [This sevenfold grace, that is, of the seven gifts, is lost by any mortal sin. And therefore it was anciently established that for any mortal sin a seven years' penance should be imposed. It is to be preached, namely, that as by sin he casts from himself the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, so by a seven years' penance he may make satisfaction and recover it.] S. Anton. [Saint Antoninus], *Summa theolog.*, p. IV, tit. X, c. i, p. 152, edit. in-4, Venice, 1861 [sic].

Not only are the gifts of the Holy Spirit inseparable; they are besides so permanent that they survive even death. Necessary means of sanctification in exile, they become in the fatherland sources of glory and beatitude. "The gifts of the Holy Spirit," continues Saint Thomas, "may be considered in their actual object or in their essence. Inasmuch as they reside in man the wayfarer, they have for object the works of the active life, that is, the practice of the different duties to which salvation is attached. Under this aspect they do not abide in heaven. The end being obtained, the means have no more reason of being. It is otherwise if they are considered in their essence. In effect, it is of their essence to perfect the soul so as to render it docile to the divine impulse. Now in heaven this docility will be complete. There God will be all in all, and man perfectly subject to God. Thus not only will the gifts of the Holy Spirit, principles of this docility, subsist in heaven; but, incomparably more perfect than here below, they will shine in the elect with a splendid lustre and will be the measure of their happiness and glory."(1)

(1) I–II, q. 68, art. 6, corp.

This lustre will not be the same for all the gifts; for all have not the same excellence. All, it is true, are precious stones which will form the crown of the elect; but in heaven as on earth all precious stones have neither the same price nor the same splendour. The ruby, the emerald, the topaz, the diamond have each its specific beauty and a different brilliance. That a relative excellence, a hierarchical dignity, distinguishes the gifts of the Holy Spirit, nothing is easier to prove. These gifts correspond to the virtues; that is, each gift has for its aim to set in motion a particular virtue and to ennoble it, by making it produce acts promptly, easily, constantly, under the impulse of the Holy Spirit. Now there is a difference of dignity between the virtues. Without speaking of the theological virtues, the first of all, the intellectual virtues are superior to the moral virtues; and among the intellectual virtues, the contemplative are preferable to the active. The cause is that the first perfect the noblest faculty of man, reason; whereas the second perfect only the will. It must be so among the gifts also; for the nobler the thing to be moved, the nobler must be the mover; the more perfect the faculty to be perfected, the more perfect must be the perfecting principle.

"Thus," adds Saint Thomas, "among the gifts, wisdom and understanding, knowledge and counsel are preferred to piety, fortitude and fear. Among these last three, piety is preferred to fortitude, and fortitude to fear; as justice itself is preferred to fortitude, and fortitude to temperance. Such is the relative superiority of the gifts, taken in themselves. Considered in respect of acts, fortitude and counsel are preferred to knowledge and piety, because fortitude and counsel are exercised in difficult cases; piety and even knowledge in ordinary cases. One sees that the dignity of the gifts corresponds to the order in which they are enumerated,

partly simply, inasmuch as wisdom and understanding are preferred to all; partly according to their order of application, inasmuch as counsel and fortitude are preferred to knowledge and piety."(1)

(1) S. Th., I–II, q. 68, art. 1 [sic: art. 7], corp.

But in what order are the gifts of the Holy Spirit enumerated? There are two ways of counting them: the one descending, which begins with wisdom and ends with fear; the other ascending, which begins with fear and ends with wisdom. When He pours them upon Our Lord, the Holy Spirit names His gifts in order of dignity; upon us, in order of necessity. Of Our Lord it is said: *Upon him shall rest the spirit of wisdom,* and *he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord.* Of us it is said: *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* Why this double ladder? The Incarnate Word is eternal wisdom; and the first gift communicated to His soul is wisdom. By this the Holy Spirit wished to show that this holy humanity, being without sin or imperfection, participates at once in the supreme attribute of the divine person to which it is united. The last gift named by the Holy Spirit is fear. The seat of fear is above all in the lower part of the soul, that is, in the point which puts Our Lord in immediate contact with our poor humanity. And the Holy Spirit wished to teach us that fear is the first degree of the ladder which must raise us up to God, infinite Wisdom.

Such is the order according to which the Holy Spirit communicates Himself to the God-man, innocence itself and the repairer of innocence. As to us, we receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the inverse order: it is understood.(1) Laden with misery and sins, the first sentiment which man must feel before God is fear. That is why fear is the first gift he receives, and wisdom the last to which he attains. In the Incarnate Word, the Holy Spirit, to reach us, descends from wisdom to fear; and, to raise us up to our elder Brother, He makes us ascend from fear to wisdom. If one would have the Christian know the concatenation and the relative dignity of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, this is the order which it is important to follow in explaining them. It is the more rational because the gifts of the Holy Spirit are directly opposed to the capital sins. Now pride is the father of all the others: *Initium omnis peccati est superbia* [pride is the beginning of all sin]; it is also the first explained. Fear is its remedy, as we shall show. It is therefore with fear that the explanation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit must begin.

(1) *Isaias incipit a summo dono scilicet sapientiae et descendit per media usque ad infimum, scilicet donum timoris Domini. Sed nos, inquit Gregorius (Moral., lib. XXII, c. xiv), qui a terrenis ad coelestia tendimus, eosdem gradus ascendendo numeramus, et incipiendo ab infimo scilicet timoris Domini, usque ad donum sapidae sapientiae.* [Isaias begins from the highest gift, namely wisdom, and descends through the middle ones to the lowest, namely the gift of the fear of the Lord. But we, says Gregory (*Moralia*, bk. XXII, c. xiv), who tend from earthly things to heavenly, count the same steps in ascending, and beginning from the lowest, namely the fear of the Lord, up to the gift of savoury wisdom.] S. Bonav., *ubi supra*, p. 241.

As is easy to see, these two orders, of which the one descends and the other mounts, contain great teachings and fine harmonies. Neither has escaped the penetrating glance of the doctors of the Church. "By the number seven," says Saint Augustine, "the gifts reveal to us the Holy Spirit, who, descending to us, begins with wisdom and ends with fear; whereas we, to mount up to Him, begin with fear and end with wisdom; for the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."(1) And elsewhere: "When the prophet Isaias celebrates the seven wonderful gifts of the Holy Spirit, he begins with wisdom and comes to fear, descending from the summit down to us, to teach us to climb. He starts from the point where we wish to arrive and arrives at the point from which we must begin. *Upon him,* he says, *shall rest the spirit of the Lord: the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, the spirit of the fear of the Lord.* Thus, as the Incarnate Word, not in diminishing but in teaching us, descends from wisdom to fear, so we must ascend, advancing from fear to wisdom. Fear, in effect, is the beginning of wisdom. It is that valley of weeping of which the prophet speaks when he says: *He hath disposed ascents in his heart, in the vale of tears.*

(1) *Istae septem operationes commendant septenario numero Spiritum sanctum, qui quasi descendens ad nos incipit a sapientia, et finit ad timorem: nos autem ascendentes incipimus a timore, perficimur in sapientia. Initium enim sapientiae timor Domini.* [These seven operations commend by the number seven the Holy Spirit, who, as descending to us, begins from wisdom and ends at fear; but we, ascending, begin from fear and are perfected in wisdom. For the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.] Serm. 248, c. iv, opp. t. V, p. i, p. 1499.

"This valley is humility. Now who is the humble man, if not he who fears God and who, because of this fear, makes tears of confession and penance flow from his heart? God despises not a contrite and humbled heart. Let him not fear, then, to abide in the bottom of the valley. In this contrite and humbled heart God has prepared ascents by which we rise up to Him. Where are these ascents made? In the heart, says the prophet, *in corde.* From where must we ascend? From the bottom of the vale of tears. Where must we ascend? To the place that God Himself has prepared, *in locum quem disposuit.* What is this place? The place of rest and peace, where dwells, resplendent with light, immortal Wisdom.

"Thus, to instruct us, Isaias descends by degrees from wisdom to fear, that is, from the abode of eternal peace to the bottom of the vale of tears, passing as time. He wishes to teach us, poor penitents who weep and groan, not to remain in groans and tears, but to ascend from this sad valley to the spiritual mountain, on whose summit is built the holy Jerusalem, our mother, where we shall enjoy a joy without mixture and without end. This is the reason why he places in the first rank wisdom, that is, the true light of the soul, and in the second understanding. As if he were answering those who ask him from what point one must start to arrive at wisdom, he says: From understanding. And to arrive at understanding? From counsel. And to counsel? From fortitude. And to fortitude? From knowledge. And to knowledge? From piety. And to piety? From fear. Therefore to wisdom, from fear; from the vale of weeping to the mountain of peace."(1)

(1) *Ergo ille cum praeposuisset sapientiam, lumen scilicet mentis indeficiens, adjunxit intellectum: tanquam quaerentibus unde ad sapientiam veniretur responderet: Ab intellectu; unde ad intellectum: A consilio; unde ad consilium: A fortitudine; unde ad fortitudinem: A scientia; unde ad scientiam: A pietate; unde ad pietatem: A timore. Ergo ad sapientiam a timore; quia initium sapientiae timor Domini. A convalle plorationis usque ad montem pacis.* [Therefore he, having put wisdom first, the unfailing light of the mind, added understanding: as though to those asking from where one comes to wisdom he were to answer: From understanding; whence to understanding: From counsel; whence to counsel: From fortitude; whence to fortitude: From knowledge; whence to knowledge: From piety; whence to piety: From fear. Therefore to wisdom from fear; because the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord. From the valley of weeping to the mountain of peace.] Serm. 247, c. iii, opp. t. V, p. 1987.

In the way Isaias speaks of the gift of fear in Our Lord, the abbot Rupert makes us admire the profound condescension of the Incarnate Word, become the saviour and the teacher of the human race. Here are his words: "The prophet says: *And the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him.* It is worthy of remark that in speaking of the first six gifts Isaias says constantly: *Upon him shall rest the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of understanding,* and so of the others. Why, on arriving at the seventh, does he change the word and say: *The spirit of fear shall fill him?* Let us understand the mystery: God wished to show the universe this astonishing spectacle, the creator of man, the God of eternity, descending to the point from which sinful man must start, to come out of the abyss of vice and deliver himself from the infernal chains of sin. In effect, the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord. It is as far as that that the Creator descended. *The spirit of the fear of God shall fill him,* says the prophet. That he said: *Upon him shall rest the spirit of wisdom and of understanding,* is nothing astonishing. All these magnificent qualities befit the majesty of a God. But what angel or man is not stupefied at seeing the Lord descend to the fear of the Lord; the sovereign and dreaded Master of heaven and earth filled with fear, not in part but fully, and to the whole extent which men inspired by the Holy Spirit can give to the word fulness?"(1)

(1) *Quis autem angelorum aut hominum non miretur Dominum, usque ad timorem Domini descendisse, Deum et Dominum coelis ac terris timendum, timoratum factum esse, non partim sed plenarie, et quantum verbo repletionis aut plenitudinis potuerunt homines, in eodem Spiritu sancto loquentes, significare?* [But what of angels or men would not marvel that the Lord descended even to the fear of the Lord, that God and the Lord, to be feared by heaven and earth, was made God-fearing, not in part but fully, and as far as men, speaking in the same Holy Spirit, were able to signify by the word of filling or fulness?] *De Spir. sanct.*, lib. I, c. xxv.

Such is the mysterious ladder which the Word, led by the Holy Spirit, descended to reach us, and which we ourselves must ascend to arrive at Him. Let us stop an instant to consider this double movement of descent and ascent. Interesting in itself, this study has three great advantages. The first: to verify by facts the hierarchical enumeration of Isaias; the second: to orient us in the exercise of the gifts of the Holy Spirit; the third: to bring to light the general effects of the gifts of the Holy Spirit on the human race.

1° To verify the hierarchical enumeration of Isaias. Doubtless the life of the Word made flesh is a sustained manifestation of the Spirit who rested upon Him. Yet there are circumstances in which each gift of the sevenfold Spirit shines with a more marked brilliance, and in the very order of the prophetic enumeration.

Jesus enters upon His public life, and the first gift which shines in Him is *wisdom.* Hardly come out of the waters of the Jordan, the Spirit drives Him into the desert. There He fasts forty days and forty nights; permits the demon to come and tempt Him, in order to have occasion to conquer him; repels his attacks by divine words admirably chosen, and thus prelude to all the victories which He and His disciples, of all ages and countries, will gain over the eternal tempter. Where is the man whose life presents a wisdom comparable to this?

Come back among men, one of His first acts is to enter into the synagogue of Nazareth; He rises to read the holy books. They have given Him Isaias; He opens it and falls upon this passage: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the contrite of heart, to preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of reward.”(1) And, when He had closed the book, He added: *This day is fulfilled this scripture in your ears.* It is fulfilled; for the prophet speaks of miracles of the moral order, and in me and by me you are going to see all these miracles wrought. To find this passage of Isaias immediately and to give its precise sense, is not that the triumph of the gift of *understanding?*

(1) Luke iv, 17–19.

Here is the gift of *counsel.* Suspecting the incredulity of His hearers, He will let them understand that these miracles are not for them. “In truth I say to you, there were many widows in the days of Elias in Israel, when heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there was a great famine throughout all the earth. And to none of them was Elias sent, but to Sarephta of Sidon, to a widow woman. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet; and none of them was cleansed but Naaman the Syrian.”(1) Clear knowledge and precise revelation of the eternal decrees concerning the Jews and the Gentiles, all is in these words. On the lips of the Saviour they say: By your pride, Jews, you will close above your heads the heaven of mercy; all the rain of graces fallen upon you by the ministry of Moses and the prophets is going to take its direction towards the Gentiles; and your leprosy, which you will not heal, will be the healing of the leprosy of the nations, of whom the Spirit of the seven gifts will be the purifier and the physician. Can the gift of counsel shine with a livelier brilliance?

(1) Luke iv, 25–27.

The gift of *fortitude* is no more difficult to find. Irritated by the proof He had just given them of the gift of counsel, the Jews seize the Incarnate Word and lead Him to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built,

to cast Him down headlong; but He passed through the midst of them and went His way quietly [lit., He slipped through their hands and withdrew]. This was but the prelude of more striking acts of the gift of fortitude. To drive the strong armed man from his citadel, to break the bonds of death, to raise Himself to glory: what is that, if not the gift of Fortitude raised to its highest power?

Each step of the Saviour in His public life is marked by the gift of *knowledge*. What do I say? One sees it shining like a ray of divine light in the obscurity of His hidden life. Could we forget the astonishment caused to all the old doctors of the law by the questions and answers of that child of twelve? But as the sun becomes brighter as it advances on the horizon, with the years the gift of knowledge shines in Jesus with a new splendour. At the feast of Tabernacles He goes up to Jerusalem. Before the crowd gathered in the temple He teaches His doctrine. Admiration bursts out on every side and is expressed in these words: *How doth this man know letters, having never learned?* Can the gift of knowledge be better proclaimed?

Continuing to descend the degrees of the mysterious ladder, the redeeming Word arrives at the gift of *piety*. No one is ignorant of what is revealed by the touching parables of the good Samaritan; of the father of the family who invites to his feast the poor, the feeble, the blind and the lame; of the lost drachma and the lost sheep. But is not the parable of the prodigal son the inimitable masterpiece of the gift of Piety?

Finally, we touch the gift of *fear*. Because it marks for the human race the first step it must take to rise to God, this gift appears last, and in the last moments of the divine Master. It is like the still-warm footprint in which man must begin by setting his foot. This ineffaceable footprint is imprinted in the garden of Olives. Do you see the Strong One of Israel, suddenly seized with fear, weariness and sadness, falling on His knees and saying: *Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me?* Do you see Him in the shudderings of the agony, covered with a sweat of blood and reduced, in order not to succumb, to accept the help of a consoling angel? To the mortal fear add the most respectful and entire submission to the paternal orders, and say whether ever the gift of Fear was revealed with such perfection!(1)

(1) See Rupert, *De Spir. sanct.*, lib. I, c. xxi.

2° To orient us in the exercise, or the practice, of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. We know the degrees by which the divine Word descended from the summit of the eternal hills to the bottom of the vale of tears. In order to accomplish the contrary movement, what are those we must follow? To know it is of capital interest to us. It is by the gifts of the Holy Spirit that the Word saved man and created a new world.(2) Image of the Word and little world, it is by the same gifts, and by them only, that the Christian can and must save himself and make of himself a new world. Under his hand are the means of success. How put them to work? Before his eyes is the ladder to be climbed. To pretend to rise at a bound to the highest rung would be folly. He must therefore begin by setting his foot on the lowest. This last rung, we have seen, is fear. The Saviour awaits us there and gives us His hand. The same Spirit who made Him descend so far begins by raising us also so far. Such is His first operation.

(2) Luke iv, 17 [sic]; Heb. ix, 14.

Let us listen to Saint Bernard. “It is with reason,” he says, “that the fear of God is called the beginning of wisdom. In effect, God begins to make Himself tasted by the soul when He teaches it to fear and not to know: for to fear is to taste: *Timor, sapor est.* [Fear is savour.] Now taste makes wise, as science makes learned. Do you fear the justice and the power of God? You taste God just and powerful. *Sapientia* [wisdom] comes from *sapor* [savour]. That is why fear, beginning of wisdom, spreads in the depths of the being a manifold savour which regenerates the whole interior family of the soul, purifies its kingdom, pacifies it and sanctifies it.”(1) The affirmation of the great mystic is the more true because the gift of Fear does not produce servile fear, but filial fear: respectful, resigned and confident fear, like that of the God-man in the garden of Gethsemani.

(1) *Serm.* 23 on the Canticle.

Fear is therefore the first degree of our ascent toward God, the first condition of our redemption, the first law of our regeneration. The Church knows it. She, who is ignorant of none of the secrets of the moral order, always begins the salvation of her children with fear. In her eyes the work of regeneration or new creation imposed on man divides itself into three periods which she names the purgative life, the illuminative life and the contemplative life. To each correspond some of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Fear is the first foundation of the purgative life, and the purgative life is the beginning of regeneration. So read all the ascetic authors, those engineer officers in the spiritual war: not one but gives to his plans of attack and defence fear as first centre of operations. Hear all the preachers of retreats and missions, those experienced captains who manoeuvre all the spiritual forces against the powers enemy to salvation: not one but begins the battle by putting forward the last ends of man, eternal sources of fear. Interpreters of the Holy Spirit, the one and the other do no more than apply the immutable law which poses fear as the principle of wisdom.

By the infallible organ of the Council of Trent, the sanctifying Spirit Himself describes the manner in which He works the justification of sinners. Fear of the justice of God sets them in motion; from fear they pass to the consideration of mercy; this consideration leads them to confidence that God will pardon them in view of the merits of His Son. Then they begin to love Him as the source of all justice, and to detest their sins.(1) It is therefore well established that it is by the gift of fear that man puts himself in contact with eternal wisdom, and begins the work of his new creation. This creation, masterpiece of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, was, like all the works of grace, figured in the creation of the material world. As the first day of the primitive week calls for the second, and the second for the third, up to the last; so the first gift of the Holy Spirit, put to work, leads to the second, and this to all the others, up to the seventh, wisdom, which is the perfect rest. Arrived there, man can say, like God Himself, in contemplating his work: *God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good.*(2) As we have explained elsewhere the sequence of this admirable work, we shall not return to it.

(1) Sess. vi, c. vi. (2) *A timore usque ad sapientiam quae septima est in donis et ultima, per gradus tenditur et pervenitur. Haec sapientia ultima et summa est; quia hac habita animus placatus tranquillusque perfruitur et delectatur in ea. Ergo ultima est, in qua est consummatio.* [From fear up to wisdom, which is the seventh and last among the gifts, one stretches and arrives by degrees. This wisdom is the last and highest; because, having it, the mind, appeased and tranquil, enjoys it fully and delights in it. Therefore it is the last, in which is the consummation.] S. Aug., *De doctr. christ.,* c. vii.

3° General effects of the gifts of the Holy Spirit on the human race. Of Our Lord the gifts of the Holy Spirit make a God-man. Of the Christian they make a man-God. The first thing the apostles, organs of the Holy Spirit, preach to the representatives of the human race gathered in the place of the Cenacle, is penance: *Poenitentiam agite.* [Do penance.] Now penance is inseparable from the gift of fear. By this gift humanity, united to the Incarnate Word, soon receives of His fulness, of the fulness of His Piety, of the fulness of His Knowledge, of the fulness of His Fortitude, of the fulness of His Counsel, of the fulness of His Understanding, of the fulness of His Wisdom. We receive of it according to the capacity of our souls and the measure of our fidelity. In Him is the source, in us the brook; in Him the hearth, in us the spark; in Him the Spirit of the seven gifts in all their abundance; in us a part of this abundance. That is why, remarks Saint Chrysostom, the prophet does not say: *I give my Spirit,* but: *I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.*(1) And yet, see what this drop of grace, this spark of the Holy Spirit produces in the world!

(1) *Propterea non dixit, do Spiritum, sed effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem.* [Therefore he did not say, I give the Spirit, but, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.] Exposit. on Ps. 44, n. 2, opp. t. V, p. i, p. 195.

“The whole earth receives its influence, feels its commotion. Fallen first on Palestine, it reaches Egypt, Phenicia, Syria, Cilicia, the Euphrates, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Scythia, Thrace, Greece, Gaul, Italy, all Libya, Europe, Asia and even the Ocean. What need of a longer discourse? As much earth as the sun

lights, so much does this grace traverse, and this grace and this spark of the Holy Spirit fills the world with knowledge. By it miracles are wrought, by it sins are remitted. However, this grace extended to so many regions is only a part and an earnest of the Gift itself. *He hath given us the pledge of the Spirit,* says the Apostle, that is, of His operation, for the Spirit is not divided. What shall we say of the source? *To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith; to another the grace of healing; to another the working of miracles by the same Spirit; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits; to another the gift of tongues.* All these gifts, the grace received in baptism extends to all nations. This is what a drop of the Holy Spirit does. That it is a drop only, the prophet declares in saying: *I will pour out of my Spirit.* See then what is the powerful fecundity of the grace of the Holy Spirit, which for so long has sufficed for the whole world, and which, knowing neither frontiers nor diminution, fills the human race with ineffable riches without impoverishing itself."(1)

(1) *Haec autem omnia facit stilla Spiritus… Considera ergo quam sit omni ex parte sufficiens gratia Spiritus, quae universo orbi terrarum tanto tempore sufficit, et neque circumscribitur, nec consumitur, sed omnes quidem implet opibus et gratia: ipsa vero minime consumitur.* [But all these things a drop of the Spirit does… Consider therefore how in every way sufficient is the grace of the Spirit, which for so long a time suffices for the whole round world, and is neither circumscribed nor consumed, but fills all with riches and grace, while itself is not at all consumed.] *Ubi supra.*

Before the illustrious patriarch of Constantinople, the great Tertullian had celebrated the rapid deification of the human race by the Spirit of the seven gifts. For him this miracle was the irrefutable proof of the divinity of the Word made flesh, from whom the world had received the regenerating Spirit. "The apostles," he says in his magnificent language, "were the mouthpieces of the Holy Spirit, and their words resounded in all the echoes of the universe. In whom have all the nations of the globe ever believed? In Christ, and in Christ alone. It is before Him that all the gates of cities were opened, before Him that all the locks were broken and the brazen doors rolled on their hinges to give Him passage. Doubtless these miracles belong to the moral order, and they must be understood in this sense, that the hearts of the inhabitants of the earth, besieged, closed, possessed by the demon, were delivered and opened by the faith of Christ. But these miracles are none the less real, since in all places the Christian people dwells today. Now who can extend his reign to the entire universe, if not Christ, Son of God, announced as to reign eternally over all nations? Solomon reigned, but within the frontiers of Judea, from Dan to Bersabee. Darius reigned over the Babylonians and the Persians, but not beyond. Pharao reigned over the Egyptians, but only over them. Nabuchodonosor reigned from India to Ethiopia; farther, his empire was unknown. Alexander the Macedonian reigned, but over a part of Asia only. What shall I say of the Romans? They surround their empire with military stations, and at these living barriers their power ends. As to Christ, His kingdom and His name extend everywhere. Everywhere He is believed, everywhere adored, everywhere He commands, giving Himself to all without respect of persons, to all equal, to all king, to all judge, to all God and Lord. Affirm all this without hesitation, since thou seest it with thine eyes."(1)

(1) *Christi autem regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, ubique regnat, ubique adoratur, omnibus ubique tribuitur aequaliter… omnibus aequalis, omnibus rex, omnibus judex, omnibus Deus et Dominus. Nec dubites credere quod asseveras, cum videamus fieri.* [But the kingdom and name of Christ is extended everywhere, is believed everywhere, is worshipped by all the nations enumerated above, reigns everywhere, is adored everywhere, is bestowed on all everywhere equally… to all equal, to all king, to all judge, to all God and Lord. Nor doubt to believe what thou assertest, since we see it done.] *Lib. adv. Judaeos,* c. vii.

Struck by the same spectacle, Saint Gregory cries out: "The invisible Spirit has made Himself visible in His servants. Their miracles prove His presence. No one can fix the dazzling disc of the sun at its rising; but we can see the summit of the mountains which it gilds with its fires, and we know that it is above the horizon.

Since we cannot contemplate the Sun of justice in Himself, let us see the mountains He makes resplendent with His light, the holy apostles whose virtues and miracles announce to the whole earth the rising of the divine Sun. If He is invisible in Himself, we see the mountains He enlightens. The virtue of the Divinity in itself is the sun in heaven; the virtue of the Divinity in men is the sun on earth. Let us therefore contemplate the sun on earth, since we cannot contemplate it in heaven."(2)

(2) *Virtus enim Divinitatis in se, quasi sol in coelo est; virtus Divinitatis in hominibus, sol in terra. Solem ergo justitiae intueamur in terra, quem videre non possumus in coelo.* [For the virtue of the Divinity in itself is as the sun in heaven; the virtue of the Divinity in men, the sun on earth. Let us therefore behold the sun of justice on earth, whom we cannot see in heaven.] Homil. xxx on the Gospels.

The human race, drawn from pagan barbarism and established in the full light of the Gospel: such are the general effects of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Let us say in passing: before this fact, ever ancient and ever new, what are the objections of the unbeliever against Christianity? What the reasonings of the blind man are against the existence of the sun, what the words of the madman are against the certainty of the axioms of geometry.

How has this great fact been accomplished in humanity? As it is accomplished in each man. It began with the gift of fear, which itself called forth all the others. What does John the Baptist, the forerunner of the light, preach? Fear. "Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of penance. For now the axe is laid to the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire."(1) And Peter, the first interpreter of the Redeemer before the Jews: "Do penance, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit."(2) And Paul, His apostle before the Gentiles: "God now declareth to men that all should everywhere do penance."(3) Thus everywhere the gift of fear in the first line. The beginning of wisdom is fear: such is the immutable law of redemption.

(1) Luke iii, 8 [Douay: iii, 8–9]. (2) Acts ii, 38. (3) Acts xvii, 30.

By the contrary reason, the loss of fear is the beginning of ruin. How does the Christian world shake off the yoke of Christianity? How does it even arrive at that degree of aberration, of denying the evidence of the evangelical facts? By losing the gifts of the Holy Spirit. In what order does it lose them? In the same order in which it receives them. The first lost, as the first received, is fear. What is to be thought of an age that has no more the fear of God? The gifts of the Holy Spirit being inseparable, an age which loses the fear of God is an age which loses wisdom, which loses understanding, which loses counsel, which loses the strength of virtue. It is an age which finds itself delivered up to the seven contrary spirits, to the spirit of pride, to the spirit of avarice, to the spirit of lust, to the spirit of iniquity under all names and all forms. Whither does it go? How be astonished at what we see? How not foresee what we shall see? If fear is the beginning of wisdom, the absence of fear is the beginning of folly. Here folly is the prelude of crime without remorse in individuals, and of catastrophes without name for peoples. If it would not perish, let the world therefore return to fear: it is the first law of its conservation, the first condition of its happiness.(1)

(1) *Timeat Dominum omnis terra… Beatus vir qui timet Dominum.* [Let all the earth fear the Lord… Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord.] Ps. 32 and 111 [Douay Ps. xxxii, 8; cxi, 1].

Translator's notes — Chapter XXVI

1. **Order of the gifts.** Gaume follows Isaias xi, 2–3 (Vulgate), where there are six "spirits" named and "the spirit of the fear of the Lord" is a seventh, with "filling" (*replebit*) rather than "resting upon" (*requiescet*). Rupert's observation turns on that change of verb.

2. **"Piety."** French *piété* renders Latin *pietas*; the Douay has "godliness".

3. **Scripture.** The Luke passages are in Douay wording (iv, 18–19; 25–27). “Sarephta” is Douay.

4. **Garbled references.** In the first Thomist note Gaume gives “q. 68, art. 1” for the passage on the relative dignity of the gifts; the corresponding article is q. 68, a. 7. I marked this by inference and did not verify it. The Augustine sermon numbers (printed “448” and “247”) are as printed; “448” must be 248, which I corrected.

5. **Saint Antoninus.** The edition reads “Venet. 1861” for the edition, which I marked [sic]; I could not verify the date.

6. **Chrysostom and the “drop of the Spirit”.** Gaume quotes Chrysostom on Ps. 44 [Vulgate], with the French quoted at length; his catena of provinces (Palestine … Ocean) is as given.

7. **Tertullian.** The passage is from *Adversus Judaeos* vii, a text whose authenticity as a whole has been questioned; I translate Gaume only. Tertullian’s list of kings is as printed.

8. **Gregory.** “Homil. xxx in Evang.” is as printed.

9. **Rupert of Deutz.** *De Spiritu sancto*, I, xxi and xxv (the second given in the Latin note).

10. **Bernard.** “Timor, sapor est” is given in the French as Bernard’s play on *sapor* and *sapientia*; Gaume’s reference “Serm. 23 in Cantic.” is as printed.

11. **Proof from the “Council of Trent.”** The Trent reference is to the sixth session, chapter vi (the dispositions for justification).

12. **Gaume’s “elsewhere”.** “As we have explained elsewhere the sequence of this admirable work” refers to his earlier treatise (not identified here).

Chapter XXVII. The Gift of Fear

The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit opposed to the seven capital sins. — Luminous view. — What the gift of fear is. — Its effects: respect for God, horror of sin. — Its necessity: it gives us liberty by delivering us from servile fear. — Of worldly fear. — Of carnal fear. — It arms us against the spirit of pride. — What pride is and what it produces.

When he makes known to the earth the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Isaias does not call them Gifts, but Spirits. Saint Thomas has shown us the perfect justness of this language. He proves that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are like the permanent breath of the sevenfold Spirit, who sets in motion all the virtues and all the powers of the soul. One of the last representatives of the great theology of the Middle Ages, Saint Antoninus, keeps the same denomination. “The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit,” says this illustrious doctor, “are the seven Spirits sent into all the earth against the seven evil Spirits of whom the Gospel speaks. The Spirit of fear drives out the spirit of pride. The Spirit of piety drives out the spirit of envy. The spirit of knowledge drives out the spirit of anger. The spirit of counsel drives out the spirit of avarice. The spirit of fortitude drives out the spirit of sloth. The spirit of understanding drives out the spirit of gluttony. The spirit of wisdom drives out the spirit of lust.”(1)

(1) *Haec dona sunt septem Spiritus missi in omnem terram contra septem Spiritus nequam, de quibus dicitur Matth. xii. — … Donum timoris expellit superbiam… donum pietatis expellit spiritum invidiae… Spiritus scientiae repellit spiritum irae… Spiritus consilii fugat spiritum avaritiae… Spiritus fortitudinis illuminat spiritum tristem accidiae… Spiritus intellectus removet spiritum gulae… Spiritus sapientiae obruit spiritum luxuriae…* [These gifts are the seven Spirits sent into all the earth against the seven wicked spirits of whom Matt. xii is said. — … The gift of fear expels pride… the gift of piety expels the spirit of envy… the spirit of knowledge repels the spirit of anger… the spirit of counsel puts to flight the spirit of avarice… the spirit of fortitude enlightens the sad spirit of sloth… the spirit of understanding removes the spirit of gluttony… the

spirit of wisdom overwhelms the spirit of lust…] *Summ. theolog.*, IV p., tit. X, c. 1, § 4.

This luminous view discovers to us both the intimate nature of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the necessary role they fulfil, and the immense place they occupy in the work of human redemption. In a single word the holy archbishop reveals and justifies the whole plan of our work. In effect, two opposed spirits dispute the empire of the world. Whatever he does, man lives necessarily under the empire of the good or the evil spirit. Jesus Christ or Belial: there is no middle. Such are the truths, foundations of all philosophy, light of all history, which we never cease to demonstrate. Now, according to the revelation of the Word Himself, the evil Spirit, Satan, walks accompanied by seven other spirits more wicked than himself. These spirits are known to us both by their names and by their works. By their names Catholic language calls them: the spirit of pride, the spirit of avarice, the spirit of lust, the spirit of gluttony, the spirit of envy, the spirit of anger, the spirit of sloth. By their works they are the inspirers and abettors of all sins, of all disorders private and public, of all shames, all baseness, consequently the incessant cause of all the evils of the world. Who of us has not been the butt of their attacks? Who, more than once, has not felt their malignant influence? Cruel, cunning, indefatigable, night and day they besiege and harass us. Abandoned to himself, it is evident that man is too weak to sustain the struggle: witness the history of individuals and of peoples who withdraw from the influence of the Holy Spirit.

Therefore one of the most consoling dogmas of religion is that which shows us the Spirit of good coming to the help of man with seven spirits, or seven powers, opposed to the seven forces of the Spirit of evil. These seven auxiliary spirits are likewise known to us by their names and by their works. By their names they are called: the spirit of the fear of God, the spirit of counsel, the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of understanding, the spirit of piety, the spirit of knowledge and the spirit of fortitude. By their works they are the inspirers of all public and private virtues, the promoters of all devotedness, of all that honours and adorns humanity, consequently the incessant cause of all the goods of the world.(1) To say all again in two words: the human race is a great Lazarus, struck with seven mortal wounds; a feeble soldier, night and day at grips with seven formidable enemies. The Spirit of the seven gifts becomes the infallible physician of Lazarus, bringing him the seven remedies required by his wounds; the victorious auxiliary of the soldier, placing at his disposal seven divine forces opposed to the seven infernal forces.

(1) *Neque enim est ullum omnino donum absque Spiritu sancto ad creaturam perveniens.* [For there is no gift whatever coming to the creature without the Holy Spirit.] S. Basil, *De Spir. sanct.*, p. 66.

In drawing the condition of man here below with this clearness, can Catholic theology, which is also the true philosophy, give a clearer understanding of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, make their absolute necessity better felt, and inspire in nations as in individuals a more serious fear of losing them? It remains to explain each of these marvellous gifts in itself and in its special opposition to one of the capital sins. The first that presents itself is *fear*. To give a practical knowledge of it, we shall answer three questions. What is the gift of fear? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

1° What is the gift of fear? Fear is a gift of the Holy Spirit which makes us fear God as a father, and flee sin because it displeases Him.(1) This precious fear is neither servile fear, nor worldly fear, nor carnal fear. Although God is its object, it is not contrary to hope. Hope has a double object, future happiness and the means of attaining it. Double also is the object of fear: the evil that man dreads, and what may occasion it. In the first case, God, being infinite goodness, cannot be the object of fear; in the second, He can. In effect, He can, because of our faults, punish us and separate us from Himself for eternity. In this sense God can and must be feared. Such is the gift of fear in itself. Here it is in its relations with the soul.

(1) *Timor filialis est donum Spiritus sancti, a gratia in voluntate fluens, quo quis disponitur ad prompte et faciliter sequendum motionem Spiritus sancti, qua movet aliquem ut ex amore revereatur Deum tanquam Patrem, et timeat illum offendere atque ab eo separari.* [Filial fear is a gift of the Holy Spirit, flowing from

grace in the will, by which one is disposed to follow promptly and easily the motion of the Holy Spirit, by which He moves a man to revere God out of love as a Father, and to fear to offend Him and to be separated from Him.] Viguier, *Instit.*, etc., c. xiii, 416.

In the seven days of creation the doctors of the Church have seen the figure of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. As each day of the primitive week the Word brought forth from the elements, prepared by the Holy Spirit, a new creature; so, in the week called life, each gift of the Holy Spirit adorns the moral world, man, with a new marvel. At the arrival of each gift of the Holy Spirit in a soul one may in all truth apply the word of the prophet: *Thou shalt send forth thy spirit, and they shall be created: and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.* Thus for man as for the world, the coming of the divine breath is a solemn hour of creation and regeneration. Let us justify this fine harmony and begin with the gift of fear.

Fallen man is so sunk in the senses that he passes by the highest truths of the moral order without seeing them, or, if he glimpses them, is hardly touched by them. But when the spirit of the fear of God descends into him, something takes place in his soul like a clap of thunder on a dark night. This clap, which makes all tremble, is preceded by a flash which rends the black clouds and lights up the horizon. So it is in the heart of man when the Spirit of the fear of God makes His entrance there. Sudden light, He dissipates the darkness and shows in their clearness the greatness of God and the ugliness of sin. Strength, He produces in the soul a commotion which shakes it profoundly. "He looketh upon the earth, and maketh it tremble," says the prophet.(1) This earth is the heart of man. From this earth, suddenly illuminated and vividly shaken, one sees spring up, like two immortal plants, a profound respect for God and an extreme horror of sin. We shall come to know them by studying the second question.

(1) Ps. 103 [Douay Ps. ciii, 32].

2° What are the effects of the gift of the fear of God? As has just been indicated, the gift of fear produces two effects: respect for God and horror of sin.(1)

(1) *Et sic habet (donum timoris) duos actus et per consequens duo objecta actus sunt timere et revereri. Objectum primum est malum culpae. Secundum est bonitas et dignitas Patris.* [And thus it (the gift of fear) has two acts, and consequently the two objects of the act are to fear and to revere. The first object is the evil of fault. The second is the goodness and dignity of the Father.] Viguier, *ubi supra.*

Respect for God: not ordinary respect, respect of reason rather than of heart, but profound, universal, practical respect. In the eyes of the soul filled with the spirit of fear, God alone is great. Before His majesty all majesty disappears; before His authority, all authority; before His rights, all right; before His service, all service; before His word, all word; before His promises, all promise; before His threats, all threat; before His judgments, all judgment. This infinite majesty it contemplates not only in itself, it sees it reflected in all the powers established by God: religious powers and social powers; paternal power and civil power, higher powers and lower powers. It sees it in all that bears the divine stamp: man and the world. Hence respect for the Church, respect for the holy Scriptures, respect for tradition, respect for ceremonies, for temples, for the days and the things of God. Respect for the soul and for each of its faculties; respect for the body and for each of its senses; respect for the neighbour, for his faith, his morals, his life, his reputation, his goods, his weakness, his poverty, respect for his old age, his superiority and his acquired rights. Respect for creatures. For the pupil of the chrism, *alumnus chrismatis* [nursling of the chrism], all are sacred; all come from God, belong to God, must return to God. He uses them all and each: in a spirit of dependence, for none is his property; in a spirit of fear, for he will have to render account of all; in a spirit of gratitude, for all is benefit, even the air we breathe. As one sees, the gift of the fear of God is the founder of what is most necessary to the world, and above all to the present world: the religion of respect.

Horror of sin. Thanks to the gift of fear the soul finds itself suddenly in another state: it knows itself no longer. The great dogmas of the majesty of God and of the enormity of sin, of death, of judgment, of

purgatory and of hell, lately in obscurity or half-light for it, shine with so lively a brilliance that it cries out with Saint Catherine of Siena: “If I saw on one side a sea of fire, and on the other the smallest sin, I would rather throw myself a thousand times into the fire than commit that sin.” Astonished at not having always seen what he sees, afflicted at not having always felt what he feels, the Christian, enriched with the gift of the fear of God, cries out, in all the sincerity of his astonishment and all the liveliness of his regret: Who will not fear thee, Lord, and who will dare to offend thee; thou, alone great, alone holy, alone good, alone powerful, thou, sovereign master of life and death, supreme judge of kings and peoples; thou who revisest all judgments and judgest justices themselves; thou into whose hands it is a fearful thing to fall; living God, who, after having put the body to death, canst cast the soul into hell; thou who, unable to bear even the sight of iniquity, pursuest it, for six thousand years, with appalling chastisements, in angels and in men, and who wilt punish it with fearful torments throughout eternity? Such, and more energetic, are the sentiments of the soul penetrated by the Spirit of the fear of God. If nothing is nobler, nothing is more indispensable.

3° What is the necessity of the gift of fear? It is to ask whether it is necessary to man to become wise and to work the salvation of his soul. Now fear is the first condition of wisdom and of salvation.(1) It is to ask whether it is necessary to man to lose nothing of that which, making him man, keeps him from being confounded with the animal. Now the fear of God makes man, and the whole man.(2) It is to ask, finally, whether it is necessary to man to preserve his liberty and his dignity as man and as Christian. In effect, it must be known that the Spirit of the fear of God is the only principle of liberty, the only guardian of human dignity. The reason is that He alone delivers us from every other fear. Whoever he be, man is exposed to three sorts of fear: servile fear; worldly fear; carnal fear. A single one suffices to make of man, emperor or king, a slave, and a degraded slave.

(1) *Initium sapientiae timor Domini.* [The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.] Ps. 110. — *Cum metu et tremore salutem vestram operamini.* [Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.] Philip. ii, 12. (2) *Deum time et mandata ejus observa; hoc est enim omnis homo.* [Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is all man.] Eccles. xii, 13.

Servile fear is that which makes one respect God from fright and flee sin on account of punishments.(3) Self-love is its principle: of its nature this love is not bad, for it is not contrary to charity. It is not contrary to charity, since by virtue of charity itself man must love himself, after God, more than others; consequently fear and spare himself the evil of soul and body. Born of this personal love, servile fear is therefore not bad in itself. Hence, to penetrate sinners with it is one of the principal functions of the prophets. “Yet forty days,” Jonas cries to the Ninivites, “and Ninive shall be destroyed.”(1) And God approved their penance, though born of servile fear. “Ye brood of vipers,” says Saint John the Baptist to the hardened Jews, “who hath shewed you to flee from the wrath to come? For now the axe is laid to the root of the tree. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire.”(2) Our Lord Himself, how many times did He not strike this string of servile fear, to bring sinners to penance! Now it is hell with its eternal brasiers and its exterior darkness that He recalls to them; now it is the parable of the barren fig-tree and of the rich glutton that He sets before their eyes; now He strikes their ears with these thundering words: “Unless you do penance, you shall all likewise perish.”(3)

(3) *Timere Deum propter malum poenae, est timor servilis.* [To fear God on account of the evil of punishment is servile fear.] Viguier, c. xiii, p. 414. (1) Jonas iii, 4. (2) Matt. iii, 10; Luke iii, 7–9. (3) Luke xiii, 3.

Servile fear is therefore not bad by nature. It becomes so when man, placing his end in himself, respects God and avoids sin only by reason of his personal interest. Essentially contrary to charity, such a disposition constitutes the servility of fear and makes the slave. It says equivalently: If God had no thunderbolts and if hell did not exist, I would sin. This is the reasoning of the slave who fears the whip but does not love his master; of the idolatrous Jew at the foot of Sinai; of the pagans of Samaria called the proselytes of the lions;

of Antiochus the villain, in face of the terrors of death; of so many Christians who trample under foot the laws of God and of the Church because they see no penal sanction for their transgressions; or who abstain from them when they believe they glimpse it, and solely because they believe they glimpse it. Needless to insist on what is shameful and culpable in servile fear.(1)

(1) *Timor servilis est malus non quidem secundum se, sed secundum servilitatem ei annexam. Servilitas autem timoris in eo consistit quod non propter Deum, neque propter seipsum in ordine ad Deum, sed contra Deum, ut malum poenae evadat, operatur, quod, charitas reprobat. In hoc enim quis dicitur esse servus, qui non causa sui operatur, sed quasi ab extrinseco motus.* [Servile fear is bad not indeed in itself, but according to the servility annexed to it. Now the servility of fear consists in this, that it works not for God's sake, nor for its own sake in order to God, but against God, to escape the evil of punishment, which charity condemns. For in this a man is said to be a slave, that he does not work for his own sake but as moved from without.] Viguier, *ubi supra.*

Worldly fear is that which makes one apprehend the loss of the goods of the world, riches, dignities, honours and the like.(2) Innocent by nature, it ceases to be so when it leads to sin in order to avoid losing these temporal advantages. History is full of the cruelties, cowardices, baseness, treasons, poisonings, assassinations, sales of conscience, crimes of every kind which worldly fear has made men commit. Pharao sees the children of Israel multiply; he fears for his kingdom, and orders the newborn sons of the Hebrews to be put to death. Jeroboam, king of Israel, fears that the ten tribes, going to adore the true God at Jerusalem, will escape his dominion. He draws them into idolatry, and under pain of death the children of Abraham will prostrate before the golden calves from Dan to Bersabee. Herod learns from the Magi the birth of the king of the Jews. The fear of losing his crown makes him slaughter all the little children of Bethlehem and its confines. At the time of the Passion the high priests are afraid of the Romans, and so as not to lose their dignities, their fortune, their power, they decree the death of the Son of God. Pilate recognizes and proclaims the innocence of Our Lord, he even resists the fury of the Jews. But Pilate fears to lose the friendship of Caesar and, in losing it, to lose his place: Pilate betrays his conscience and delivers the blood of the Just. There is not a kingdom of antiquity and of modern times which does not present some and even a great number of these public iniquities, these illustrious ignominies, daughters of worldly fear.

(2) *Timor mundanus est quo quis timet temporalia amittere, ut divitias, dignitates, et hujusmodi.* [Worldly fear is that by which one fears to lose temporal things, as riches, dignities and the like.] S. Anton., n. LV [sic], tit. XIV, c. ii, p. 228.

If we descend to a less exalted order, how tell the shameful flatteries, the abdications of conscience and of character, the guilty intrigues, the injustices, the crucifixions of truth, the hypocritical devotednesses of the little Pilates, of the covetous Giezis covered with leprosy, always so numerous in epochs like ours, when everything is sold because everything is bought!(1) Let us descend again and ask these multitudes of young men, men and even women why they turn their backs on religion and abandon even their most sacred duties: the frequentation of the sacraments, the sanctification of Sunday? why they smile at words, conform to fashions and submit to usages that their conscience disavows? Not one of these deserters but is forced to avow himself the slave of human respect, that is, of worldly fear.

(1) *Omnes cupidi, omnes avari, Giezi lepram cum divitiis suis possident, et male quaesita mercede, non tam patrimonii facultatem quam thesaurum criminum congregaverunt aeterno cruciatu et brevi fructu.* [All the covetous, all the avaricious, possess Giezi's leprosy with their riches, and with ill-gotten hire have gathered not so much a patrimony's means as a treasure of crimes, for eternal torment and brief enjoyment.] S. Ambr. apud S. Anton., tit. XIV, c. ii, p. 130.

Carnal fear is the fear of bodily discomforts, of sickness and of death. Kept within just limits, this fear has nothing reprehensible; it becomes culpable when, to avoid the evils of the body, it leads to sacrificing, by

sinning, the goods of the soul.(1) Nothing more culpable, nothing more degrading, nothing more common than carnal fear, taken in the bad sense.

(1) *Timor dicitur carnalis quo scilicet quis ita timet incommoda carnis vel etiam mortem ipsam, quod Deum offendit mortaliter contra aliquod praeceptorum faciendo, vel venialiter praeter praecepta agendo.* [Fear is called carnal when one so fears the discomforts of the flesh or even death itself that he offends God mortally by acting against some of the precepts, or venially by acting beyond the precepts.] S. Anton., *ubi supra*, c. iii, p. 131.

Nothing more culpable. The Saviour is bound, led away to the house of Caiphas and delivered without protection to the unworthy treatment of the soldiery. *Thou also art one of this man's disciples,* say the high priest's servants to Peter. At these words carnal fear seizes Peter, he fears for himself the fate of his master; and Peter becomes a renegade, a public renegade and blasphemer. How many Peters in the course of the centuries! Nothing more degrading. It is in the mouth of the slave of carnal fear that the words of the prophet find their true place: "Fear of death is fallen upon me; fear and trembling are come upon me, and darkness hath covered me."(1) The sight of tortures, and even of the instruments of torture, the fear of pain, the apprehension of death, make one lose his head. In this state, denials, protestations, oaths, promises, nothing so unworthy that the slave of carnal fear is not ready to do and does not do. To save the less, he sacrifices the more; to avoid passing pains, he devotes himself to eternal pains; to preserve his body, he gives up his soul and loses his soul and his body.

(1) Ps. 34 [Douay Ps. liv, 6, 5: "fear of death is fallen upon me. Fear and trembling are come upon me, and darkness hath covered me." Gaume's "Ps. 34" is a slip for 54 in the Vulgate numbering].

Nothing more common. Even in the ordinary cases of infirmities and sickness, of what is not the slave of carnal fear capable? Has he not been seen, and is he not seen still every day, to have recourse to shameful and illicit means, either to prevent bodily discomforts or to recover a health which the master of life sees fit not to leave him entire? What are, today more than ever, all these adorations of the flesh, all this softness of manners and of education, all these cowardices before duty, all these horrors of pain and mortification, all these anti-Christian pursuits of luxury and well-being, all these medical consultations of more than suspect mediums? The fruits of carnal fear.

To deliver us from these shameful tyrannies is the first benefit of the gift of the fear of God. Servile fear, with the egoism that inspires it, with the mistrust and gloomy terrors that accompany it, disappears before filial fear. Finding in himself the testimony that he is the child of God, he who possesses it fears God as a son fears his father. His fear is always accompanied by confidence and love. Not even after his faults does this double sentiment ever abandon him: it is the prodigal returning to his father. As to worldly fear and carnal fear, they have no more illegitimate empire over him. Filial fear dominates them, absorbs them, or even banishes them entirely. He fears, he regrets, he deplores seriously one thing only, sin. He fears it, regrets it, deplores it not from egoistic interest but from love of God and from respect for His majesty.

The conclusion is that the only beautiful character, the only independent one, is the Christian who fears God and God alone. In other words, the true formula of the liberty and dignity of man is that famous line: *I fear God, dear Abner, and have no other fear.*(2) From a purely human point of view, would one understand the necessity and the advantages of the gift of the fear of God? It suffices to recall that man, whoever he be, cannot live without fear. If he does not fear God he fears the creature. Now every man who fears the creature is a slave. His liberty, his dignity, his very conscience belongs to him of whom he is afraid: outside God, the dreaded being is and can be only a tyrant. This is what should be understood and what is not understood by the man who has the pretension of becoming free by shaking off the yoke of God. This is what should be understood and what is not understood by our century. To conquer liberty it is in a fever of revolutions. They multiply, and each rivets the chains of slavery more solidly on its neck and feet. This slavery will become

harder and harder, more and more shameful, more and more general, in proportion as the world will understand less that the gift of the fear of God is the principle of moral liberty, and that moral liberty is the mother of all the others. *Ubi Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas* [where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty]: it is only there.

(2) Racine, *Athalie*, act I, sc. 1 (Joad to Abner: “Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n’ai point d’autre crainte”). [Gaume does not name the source.]

A second benefit of the Spirit of fear is to arm us against the spirit of pride.(1) If the Holy Spirit has His seven gifts, sanctifiers of man and of the world, the demon also has his seven gifts, corrupters of man and of the world. Each gift of Satan is the negation, the destruction, of a parallel gift of the Holy Spirit; and, taken together, the satanic gifts form the adequate counterpart of the economy of our deification. It follows that the struggle to the death of these contrary spirits is the whole life of humanity. For an instant let us assist at this struggle of which we are the stake.

(1) *Per donum timoris Domini Spiritus sanctus superbiam ab homine expellit, et Deum humiliter introducit.* [By the gift of the fear of the Lord the Holy Spirit expels pride from man, and humbly introduces God.] S. Bonav., *De septem donis*, etc., p. 238. — *Donum enim timoris expellit superbiam, quia timor facit hominem humiliari quando timet.* [For the gift of fear expels pride, because fear makes man humble when he fears.] S. Anton., t. X, c. ii, p. 152.

The first gift which the Holy Spirit communicates to us is *fear*. What does the gift of fear do? Before all, it makes us little under the mighty hand of God. From the intimate sentiment of our nothingness and our guilt there springs humility. Mother and guardian of all the virtues, *mater custosque virtutum* [mother and guardian of the virtues], humility in its turn produces mistrust of ourselves, of our judgment, of our will; vigilance over our heart and our senses; fervour in our relations with God; modesty, gentleness, indulgence toward the neighbour; all these dispositions, daughters of the gift of fear, are the foundation of the edifice which the other gifts of the Holy Spirit come to complete by superposing themselves.(1) Hence it remains evident that the spirit of fear, constituting us in truth, was bound to be given to us first, and that the first teaching issuing from the mouth of the Redeemer was bound to be the teaching of humility.(2)

(1) *Horum donorum primus est timor Dei, veluti aliorum quoddam fundamentum: hunc namque Spiritus sanctus in campo mentis supponit aliaque dona in suo ordine veluti in aedificationem superimponit.* [Of these gifts the first is the fear of God, as it were a foundation of the others: for this the Holy Spirit lays beneath in the field of the mind, and the other gifts in their order He builds on above, as in an edifice.] S. Anselm, *De Similitud.*, c. c xxx [sic: cxxx]. (2) Matt. v, 3, and xi, 29.

By virtue of the perpetual antagonism which we have so many times pointed out, it remains no less evident that the first drop of virus which Satan will distil into our soul will be the contrary of humility. What will it be? Pride. Why pride? Because the demon is the father of lies and pride is a lie. What does pride do? It displaces us from the true and puts us in the false. False in regard to ourselves: we are nothing, and pride persuades us that we are something; it puffs us up, it raises us, it inspires us with unjust preferences, and fills us with confidence and complacency in ourselves. False in regard to God and the neighbour. The more pride aggrandizes us in our own eyes, the more it weakens in us the sentiment of our needs and the knowledge of our duties. For the proud man there is no more serious prayer, no more severe and sustained vigilance, no more counsels asked or accepted; full of himself, he knows everything, he has seen everything, he suffices for himself in everything: himself and always himself. Presumptuous, peremptory, haughty, crawling before the strong, despot toward the weak, selfish, quarrelsome, cruel, disputatious, hateful to all and ungovernable, he becomes the living proof of this truth: that pride is the most radical deformation of human nature.(1)

(1) *Fili, sine consilio nihil facias et post factum non poenitebit.* [Son, do thou nothing without counsel, and thou shalt not repent when thou hast done.] Ecclus. xxxii, 24 [Gaume: “xxx, 24”]. — *Qui autem confidit in*

cogitationibus suis, impie agit. [But he that trusteth to his own thoughts doth wickedly; cf. Prov. xii, 2.] Prov. xii, 2. — *Novit justus jumentorum suorum animas; viscera autem impiorum crudelia.* [The just regardeth the lives of his beasts: but the bowels of the wicked are cruel.] Prov. xii, 10. — *Via stulti recta in oculis ejus; qui autem sapiens est audit consilia.* [The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that is wise hearkeneth unto counsels.] Prov. xii, 15. — *Filius sapiens doctrina Patris; qui autem illusor est, non audit cum arguitur.* [A wise son heareth the doctrine of his father: but he that is a scorner heareth not when he is rebuked.] Prov. xiii, 1. — *Inter superbos semper jurgia sunt, qui autem regunt omnia cum consilio reguntur sapientia.* [Among the proud there are always contentions: but they that do all things with counsel are ruled by wisdom.] Id. xiii, 10. — *Odibilis coram Deo est et hominibus superbia.* [Pride is hateful before God and men.] Eccli. x, 7 [Gaume: "x, 1"].

This deformation leads to the dissolution of all social bonds and gives birth to the *religion of contempt*, adequate negation of the religion of respect. The adept of this satanic religion despises everything: God, His commandments, His promises and His threats; the Church, her word, her rights and her ministers; parents, their authority, their tenderness, their white hairs; the soul, the body and all creatures. Of life he uses and abuses, as if he were its proprietor and an irresponsible proprietor. Such was the religion of the pagan world; such inevitably becomes again that of the present world, in proportion as it loses the gift of the fear of God. Religion of respect, or religion of contempt: the alternative is pitiless.

Yet it is written that humiliation follows pride as the shadow follows the body.(2) Intellectual humiliation: false judgment, error, illusion. Moral humiliation: impurity with its shames. Public humiliation: Aman expires on a gibbet fifty cubits high; Nabuchodonosor becomes a beast. Social humiliation: during its whole existence, pagan antiquity struggles between despotism and anarchy. Religious humiliation: the pagan world and the pagan man are inevitably prostrated at the feet of unclean and cruel idols. To deliver humanity from such ignominies, is that nothing? Who delivers it from them? The gift of the fear of God. Need we ask whether it is necessary, above all today?

(2) *Ubi fuerit superbia, ibi erit et contumelia.* [Where pride is, there also shall be reproach.] Prov. xi, 2.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXVII

1. **Saint Antoninus (Antonino Pierozzi, Archbishop of Florence, 1389–1459).** His *Summa theologica* is cited by part, title, chapter; the chapter numbers are given as printed. The edition in the footnote (Venice, 1861?) I did not verify.

2. **The Fathers' catena of paired spirits.** Gaume sets the seven gifts against the seven capital sins in the order of Antoninus: fear–pride, piety–envy, knowledge–anger, counsel–avarice, fortitude–sloth, understanding–gluttony, wisdom–lust. This is the order the following chapters will follow.

3. **"Seven other spirits."** Matt. xii, 45 (Luke xi, 26). Gaume reads the "seven other spirits more wicked than himself" as the seven capital sins; that is his allegorical reading.

4. **"Six thousand years."** Gaume's figure for the age of the world, as in earlier chapters; kept as written.

5. **Saint Catherine of Siena's saying** is given without source; I did not trace it.

6. **Racine.** "Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte" is *Athalie* I, 1 (Joad). Gaume cites it without naming the poet.

7. **Scriptural slips in his references.** "Ps. 110" (Vulgate cx, 10); "Ps. 103" for the earth-trembling verse (Vulgate ciii, 32); "Ps. 34" should be Ps. 54 (Vulgate liv, 5–6); "Eccli. xxx, 24" is xxxii, 24 and "Eccli. x, 1" is x, 7; "Matth. xii" seven spirits is at xii, 45. I corrected these in brackets and left the unambiguous ones.

8. **Jeroboam and "Dan to Bersabee."** Gaume combines 3 Kings xii (golden calves at Bethel and Dan) with the common phrase "from Dan to Bersabee"; the phrase is not in the 3 Kings account.

9. **“Proselytes of the lions.”** The Samaritans of 4 Kings xvii, 25 ff., so called because lions were sent among them.

10. **Aman’s gibbet** (Esth. v, 14; vii, 9) is fifty cubits high.

11. **“Mediums.”** *Médiums* in the sense of spiritualist mediums, consulted for health in Gaume’s period; the allusion is to table-turning and spiritism.

12. **“Alumnus chrismatis.”** A Latin phrase left in Latin with an English gloss; Gaume does not name its source.

Chapter XXVIII. The Gift of Piety

What the gift of piety is. — Wherein it differs from the virtue of religion and from charity. — Two objects of the gift of piety: God and man. — Its effects toward God. — Toward the neighbour: works of mercy corporal and spiritual. — Necessity of the gift of piety: opposed to the spirit of envy. — What envy is.

The gift of fear is the first degree of the mysterious ladder we must climb to return to God: the gift of piety is the second. The fear which comes from the Holy Spirit, having something filial in it, contains in germ the gift of piety; it issues from it as its first flower and its first fruit. To give a practical knowledge of this new benefit, we shall answer three questions: What is the gift of piety? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

1° What is the gift of piety? Piety is a gift of the Holy Spirit which fills us with filial affection toward God, and makes us honour Him as a father.(1) Saint Paul sings this delightful gift when he says: “You have not received the spirit of bondage again in fear; but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons, whereby we cry: Abba, Father.”(1) Thus, like the gift of fear, the gift of piety works in the soul a new creation. If man is little sensible to the fear of God, he is still less to His love. Insensibility of heart is one of the greatest obstacles to salvation; but when the spirit of piety comes, the heart changes in an instant; this spirit does on the heart what fire does on wax. Fire softens wax and makes it fit to receive all sorts of impressions; moreover, it liquefies it and makes it flow like water and oil.(2)

(1) *Donum pietatis est habitus in voluntate hominis infusus, ad prompte et faciliter sequendum specialem instinctum Spiritus sancti, qui in repentinis movet eam, ut affectu filiali feratur in Deum ut Patrem, et exhibeat cultum et honorem Deo ut Patri.* [The gift of piety is a habit infused into the will of man, to follow promptly and easily the special instinct of the Holy Spirit, who in sudden things moves it to be borne with filial affection toward God as Father, and to render worship and honour to God as Father.] Viguier, c. xii, p. 413. (1) Rom. viii, 15, 16. (2) *Factum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei.* [My heart is become like wax melting in the midst of my bowels.] Ps. 21 [Douay xxi, 15].

This miracle of the gift of piety distinguishes it from the virtue of religion and constitutes its superiority. By the virtue of religion man honours God as creator and sovereign master of all things; by the gift of piety he honours Him as father. In God the virtue of religion sees majesty; besides majesty, the gift of piety sees paternity. The virtue of religion makes the adorer who respects; the gift of piety makes the son who respects and loves, and who respects because he loves.(3) Thus, between us and God, the gift of piety creates a new order of relations of infinite sweetness and nobility. From creatures it raises us to the dignity of children; and into our hearts it pours the sentiments of this glorious filiation, as it gives us all its rights. Hardly suspected by the Jew, and completely unknown to the Gentile, this favour ravishes the apostle Saint John with admiration. “Behold,” he says to us, “what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called, and should be, the sons of God.”(1)

(3) *Considerando Deum ut Creatorem et ut patrem, excellentius est exhibere ei honorem filiali affectu tanquam patri, quam ut creatori et Domino, quasi servili affectu: et ideo donum pietatis est potius quam virtus religionis.* [Considering God as Creator and as father, it is more excellent to render Him honour with

filial affection as to a father, than as to a creator and Lord, with a quasi-servile affection: and therefore piety is a gift rather than a virtue of religion.] Viguier, *ubi supra.* (1) 1 John iii, 1.

The gift of piety differs also from charity in two respects: the spirit of piety is the exciter of charity, as the wind is the impeller of the ship. Charity makes us love God because He is infinitely perfect and infinitely beneficent; the gift of piety makes us love Him because He is father, more father than all fathers, father of Christians and of all men whom we love as brothers.(2)

(2) S. Anton., XV, c. i, p. 288.

2° What are the particular effects of the gift of piety? Two principal effects or particular acts of the gift of piety are counted, according to the objects toward which it is exercised. These objects are: God, and all that belongs to Him, His temples, His ministers, His word; the neighbour, his body and his soul.(3)

(3) Id., *ibid.*

God being the principal object of the gift of piety, it follows that the principal act of this gift is the filial worship, interior and exterior, which we render to God.

Interior worship. It is composed of all the sentiments of faith, hope, charity, imprinted on a heart softened by the fire of filial piety. All take on a particular character which is difficult to express. In effect, how tell the transports of love, the heroic resolutions, the delightful tears, the holy delights, the sweet familiarities, the childlike confidence and confidences, the very complaints and tender reproaches of the soul which feels itself the daughter and the spouse of her God? Let us lend an ear to some of her accents. In her tendernesses she says to Him: *I held him, and I will not let him go.*(1) In her generosities: *My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready; God of my heart, and God that is my portion; and what have I in heaven, and besides thee what do I desire upon earth?*(2) In her aridities: *How long wilt thou forget me? Thou seest that I am before thee as a beast of burden, as a bottle in the frost.*(3) In her sadnesses: *Why turnest thou away thy face? Why sleepest thou? Dost thou not hear that my voice is grown hoarse with crying to thee? But do what thou wilt, I will not let thee go except thou bless me.*(4) In her discouragements: *Although he should kill me, I will trust in him.*(5) In her sufferings: *It must be confessed that thou art wonderfully skilful at tormenting me; am I then hard as stones, or is my flesh of brass? Is it fitting for thee to display thy power against a leaf that is carried away by the wind?*(6) In her reverses of fortune or in the loss of her kin: *I was dumb, and opened not my mouth, because thou hast done it:* yes, Father, so be it, since it hath seemed good in thy sight.(7) In her very faults: *Thou art my father and my redeemer; thou wilt pardon me my sin, for it is very great.*(1)

(1) Cant. iii, 4 [Douay: “I held him: and I will not let him go”]. (2) Ps. 56 [Vulgate lvi, 8], 72 [lxxii, 26]. (3) Ps. 142, 12, 72, 118 [as printed]. [Gaume’s “bottle in the frost” is a free paraphrase of Ps. cxviii, 83, “like a bottle in the frost”.] (4) Ps. 43, 68; Gen. xxxii, 26. (5) Job xiii, 15. (6) Job x, 16; vi, 12; xiii, 25. (7) Ps. 38 [Vulgate xxxviii, 10]; Matt. xi, 26. (1) Is. [Isaias] lxiii, 16; Ps. 24 [xxiv, 11]. [As printed; the words are a free combination.]

These are some of the sentiments which the gift of piety forms in the soul, and which give the measure of the moral superiority which the Christian world owes to the Holy Spirit.(2)

(2) [Gaume’s note:] A child of God, the Christian, thanks to the gift of piety, brings into his relations with his heavenly Father a familiarity that astonishes us, but is none the less in good faith. It bursts forth above all in his prayers. Here is one which we cannot resist the pleasure of translating. The Italian original, crudely written, with mistakes of spelling and pronunciation, fell from the book of hours of a peasant of Colle Berardi, near Casamari, who had come to Rome for the Easter feasts in 1858. A Frenchman picked up this paper, without too much scruple. The evident traces of long use allowed one to believe that the content would not leave the memory of the owner. “Eternal Father! I present to you two bills of exchange. — One is the bitter passion of your dear only Son, dead for us on the cross. — The other is the sorrow of his most holy

Mother, who, out of love for me and by my fault, had to suffer such bitter passions. — Therefore, on these two bills of exchange, Eternal Father, pay yourself of what I owe you, and give me back the rest, *rifatemi il resto.*" [Italian: give me the change.]

Exterior worship. To these sentiments of filial piety corresponds an order of facts, private and public, stamped with the same character. *Private facts:* between the heavenly Father and man His son, all becomes common; same joys, same sorrows, same interests, same thoughts, same aim. Penetrated with tenderness, this child loves above all the glory of his father. To procure or repair it, prayers, mortifications, alms, good examples and good counsels, labours, devotednesses: nothing costs him. At the sight of the outrages done to his father and of the souls which modern paganism ravishes from Him, life weighs on him. To lighten its burden, he joins ardently in all the works of reparation. The most precious of all, the Propagation of the Faith, has no more zealous partisan. Not a new conquest of the Gospel but its account fills him with joy; not a persecution but moves him to tears. If he loves the glory of his father, he loves also his house. The sound of the bell that calls him there makes all the fibres of his heart vibrate and brings to his lips the words of the true Israelites: *I rejoiced at the things that were said to me: We shall go into the house of the Lord.* His bearing expresses the filial respect with which he is penetrated. The pomp of the ceremonies, the magnificence of the sacred ornaments, the splendour of the vessels of the altar form his sweetest spectacle. Far from finding, like the Judases ancient and modern, that the splendid stuffs, the silver, the marble, the precious stones offered to Our Lord in His temples are a waste, he would wish to have the riches of the whole world to make homage of them to his father. Such are the dispositions and facts which, in the private order, express the spirit of filial piety.

Public facts. The highest expression of the gift of filial piety is the Catholic worship; it swims as in an ocean of love. In its feasts, its sacraments, its ceremonies, nothing sombre, dry or frightening; all, on the contrary, breathes sweetness and inspires confidence. Love alone sings, and Catholicism sings always. It sings its joys and its sorrows; its fears and its expiations, even the hardest; it sings even death and the mysteries of the tomb. Now it sings always because it loves always and its love is always full of immortality. What do all its chants, hymns, proses, prefaces say? One thing only: love. What are they, in effect, but the translation, under a thousand varied forms, of the divine prayer of filial love: *Our Father, who art in heaven?* Nothing like it has been seen and never will be seen, either among the pagans or among the heretics. The reason is that the spirit of piety is found only in the Church. *Tam pater, nemo; tam pius, nemo:* [None so much a father; none so tender.] None so much a father as thou, my God; none so tender.(1) This is what the gift of piety has come to put in the heart and on the lips of the human race; of the human race which, for four thousand years, said: *We shall surely die, because we have seen God.*(2) And in face of this revolution, deep as the abyss, resplendent as the sun, inexplicable as God, there are those who come to ask for proof of the truth of Christianity and of the divinity of the Holy Spirit!

(1) Tertull., *de Poenitent.*, c. viii. [As printed.] (2) Judges xiii, 22.

Yet fire does not only soften wax, it liquefies it and makes it flow: the same action of the spirit of piety on souls. The filial love it inspires in us for God spreads first over what belongs most closely to God: the angels, the saints, the priests.(3) To speak only of the ministers of the Lord, the gift of piety gives the practical sense of this word: "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me."(4) And of this other: "Let him that is instructed in the word communicate to him that instructeth him in all good things."(5) For him who is enlightened by it, the priest is no longer, what he unhappily is for the present world, either a man like another, or a stranger, or an enemy of enlightenment and liberty; he is the ambassador of God, the benefactor of humanity, the surest doctor, the best of friends. Hence, in the heart of true Catholics, a filial tenderness for the fathers of their souls; docility to their counsels, solicitude for their needs, happiness in receiving their visit, in offering them hospitality, in making them share the joys of the family as they share all its sorrows; prayers for their preservation; zeal to take up their defence or readiness to spread over their faults

the mantle of charity. Embracing the whole sacred hierarchy, from the sovereign pontiff to the humblest cleric, the spirit of filial piety assures the happiness of society, for it safeguards the fundamental law of its existence: *Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest be long-lived.*

(3) S. Anton., *ubi supra.* (4) Luke x, 16. (5) Gal. vi, 6.

The child who loves his father loves not only his envoys, he loves also his word.(1) In the eyes of the Christian animated by the spirit of piety, the word of God, understood or not, is equally dear and respectable. He knows that it comes from his Father and that it is truth; that suffices him. If he understands it, he accepts it without discussion. If he does not understand it, he asks its interpretation, not from his private reason, but from the Church. The impious man who blasphemes holy Scripture, the heretic who distorts it, the bad Christian who disdains, criticizes or mocks the divine word, fill him with horror. As the well-born son never reads without emotion the testament of his dear father, the true Catholic never reads the Old and above all the New Testament without its speaking to his heart. Like Saint Charles [Borromeo], it is on his knees and bare-headed that he reads the sacred text. Like Saint Anthony, he is astonished, not that an emperor should write to the least of his subjects, but that God Himself should have deigned to write to man. Often even, after the example of the first faithful, he carries the Gospel with him: and, in travel as at rest, each day he nourishes his mind and heart on it.

(1) *Tertius actus pietatis, quae est donum, est Scripturae sacrae intellectae non contradicere, cum sint verba Dei.* [The third act of piety, which is a gift, is not to contradict holy Scripture when understood, since these are the words of God.] S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

Another object of the gift of piety is the neighbour.(1) The natural virtue called filial piety carries us to love not only our father according to the flesh, but also all that is united to him by the bonds of blood. The spirit of piety produces the accomplishment of the same duty in a much more perfect and much more extended manner. More perfect, grace and not nature is its principle and motive; more extended, all men are its object. From the heart where it resides, the gift of piety blossoms into seven works of corporal mercy and seven works of spiritual mercy. It is the golden candlestick which, developing in seven branches, illuminated the temple of Jerusalem and perfumed it with the sweetest odours. Daughters of the gift of piety, these works embrace all the needs of humanity. Let them be faithfully accomplished, and societies attain their perfection: heaven is upon earth. To prove it, it suffices to name them.

(1) *Quartus actus ejus est constitutis in miseria subvenire.* [Its fourth act is to succour those placed in misery.] S. Ant., *ubi supra.*

The seven works of corporal mercy are:

1° To feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty. Food, being the first need of man, is also the first object and first act of the gift of piety. Can a brother see his brother suffer hunger or thirst without giving him to eat and to drink? But between the man who relieves his fellow and the Christian who exercises charity, great is the difference. The first acts by the purely human motive of natural fraternity; the second, by the higher impulse of divine fraternity. The first can give, the second alone gives himself. The first gives to those he loves; the second gives even to his enemies. The first is inconstant; the second, persevering, like the principle that makes him act. To have given bread and water suffices the first; the happiness of the second is to add, to the strict necessary, certain sweetnesses compatible with his resources and in relation to the needs of the poor.

2° To harbour the pilgrim. A man may need neither bread to appease his hunger nor water to quench his thirst, but he is a traveller and a stranger. Night approaches; he has neither shelter nor means of getting one. The Spirit of piety wills that he have one, and he shall have it. Very different from natural hospitality, which, before opening its door, looks at the rags and the mien of the poor man, Christian hospitality receives with

eyes closed and arms open. It knows that in the poor man, whoever he may be, it is the divine Beggar it welcomes, shelters and warms: *Christus est qui in universitate pauperum mendicat.* [It is Christ who begs in the whole body of the poor.]

3° To clothe the naked. The Spirit of filial piety has given, and gives still every day, on every point of the earth where it makes itself felt, swaddling clothes to the newborn, to the poor man the garment to cover himself and the bed on which to rest. To all Christian ears it makes ring these words of a great doctor of the Church: "To the hungry belongs the bread you keep at home; to the naked, that garment you leave buried in your wardrobe; to the unshod, those shoes which are eaten by worms; to the needy, that silver you have buried. As many are the poor you could relieve and do not relieve, so many are the injustices you commit."(1)

(1) *Esurientis est panis ille quem tu apud te detines. Nudi, vestis illa quam in cella tibi servas. Discalceati, calceus ille qui domi tuae putredine corrumpitur. Egeni, argentum quod humi defossum habes. Itaque tot injuria afficis, quot tuis rebus, dum licet, non juvas.* [The bread you keep by you is the hungry man's. The garment you keep in your cellar is the naked man's. The shoe which rots at home with you is the unshod man's. The silver you have buried in the ground is the needy man's. And so you wrong as many as you do not help, while you can, with your goods.] S. Basil, *conc.* iv, *de Eleemosyn.* [as printed].

4° To visit the sick. The pagan world, which counted its theatres by hundreds of thousands [sic: so printed], had not a hospital. But the Spirit of piety has breathed, and the world has covered itself with palaces to receive the victims of human infirmities. From generation to generation these palaces have been peopled with visible angels, whose smiling face has consoled the sick, whose industrious charity has procured him a thousand sweetnesses, and whose hand, by turns gentle and strong, has dressed his wounds or turned the straw of his bed. Each day still the same spirit leads the lady of charity, the associate of Saint Vincent de Paul, into the hovel of suffering; and, in thus bending the strong toward the weak, contributes more efficaciously than all discourses to strengthen the social bonds.

5° To console the prisoner. The ordinary poor man, the sick man himself, can in many circumstances make known their needs and attract compassion. This resource is lacking to the prisoner. A double barrier keeps charity away from him: the walls of his prison and the repulsion he inspires. Thanks to the gift of piety, the frightful dungeons of paganism, the rotting bagnios of Mahometanism have given place to less deadly prisons. The prisoner is no longer alone to devour his tears, alone he will not bear his chains; and, if he must mount the scaffold, he will have, to sustain him, a brotherly arm, and, to console him, a devoted friend, who will open heaven to him as the reward of his sacrifice.

6° To ransom the captive. Pagan Rome gave the creditor the right to cut the insolvent debtor into pieces. In breathing on the world, the Spirit of piety has not only abolished this barbarous right, He has inspired foundations consecrated to the redemption of the debtor. All pagan antiquity made war to conquer booty and slaves: rarely were the soldiers taken prisoner ransomed. To be sold like beasts of burden, immolated on the tomb of the conquerors, or reserved for the homicidal games of the amphitheatre, was the ordinary fate that awaited them. Thanks to the gift of piety, war has been humanized; the life of prisoners is respected, their exchange or ransom has become a sacred law of Christian nations. Whatever his name, condition or country, the Christian captive has become for the Christian a brother and a friend. The annals of Morocco, Tangier, Tunis, Algiers and a hundred other towns will rehearse eternally the miracles of redemption accomplished, during several centuries, in favour of Christian captives.(1)

(1) From 1198 to 1787 the Trinitarians ransomed 900,000 slaves on the Barbary coasts. For their part, the Fathers of Mercy delivered 500,000. Taking account of travel and transport expenses, of duties to be paid, of vexations or extortions of money, the average price of a slave came to 6,000 livres, which, for 1,200,000 [sic], makes the enormous total of 7 thousand millions [7 billion]. And people speak of modern charity and

philanthropy! See *Annales de la Propagation de la foi*, no. 233, p. 271, year 1867.

7° To bury the dead. To place among the most excellent works all that is most repugnant to nature is the masterpiece of the Spirit of piety. Now the Christian world has seen what the pagan world would never have suspected: numerous associations, such as the Cellites [Alexians], consecrated to the burial and sepulture of the dead. In the religious cares which, still today, must surround the mortal remains of the poor man no less than those of the rich: what a lesson of respect for man! What an incessant preaching of that dogma, consolation of life and basis of society, the dogma of the resurrection of the flesh! Thus the heart of the Christian, melted by the Holy Spirit like wax by fire, spreads itself over all the bodily needs of man, from the cradle to the tomb.

With no less abundance it spreads itself over his spiritual needs: seven kinds of devotedness or seven works of mercy relieve them.

The seven works of spiritual mercy are:

1° To instruct the ignorant. The first need of the soul is truth. To make it shine before its eyes is also the first need which the Spirit of piety inspires. Beautiful antiquity was only a herd of brutes. Composed of slaves, three quarters of the human race and more lived without God, without faith, without hope, without consolation, without other law than the caprices of their masters. These masters themselves, slaves of the Spirit of darkness, either disdained, or ignored, or fought, or travestied the truth. Inspired by the Spirit of piety, fraternal love of souls has changed the face of the world. It has drawn it from barbarism and prevents it from falling back. It is this which from pole to pole multiplies the organs of truth, and, from the entrance to the exit of life, lights the beacons destined to light the dark road of humanity. It is this which each day transports beyond the seas, and fixes in the midst of savage tribes, the Catholic missionary and the sister of charity.

2° To reprove those who do ill. Hardly has man awakened to reason than he feels in himself the law of the members; by a thousand solicitations this fatal power drags him to evil. To warn him, to prevent the fall; to raise him up when he falls: such is, in the spiritual order, the second benefit of the Spirit of piety. Who could measure its extent? To preserve or heal a man of a mortal disease is a benefit; to give sight to a blind man is a benefit; to put back on his road the strayed traveller who marches toward the precipice is a benefit. But to preserve the soul or heal it of the mortal leprosy of sin; to open the eyes of the sinner who does not see his ill, who will not see it; to make him accept the counsel he rejects, the correction that irritates him, the help of the hand that stops him on the brink of the abyss: is that not an incomparably greater benefit? To realize it, what touching industries, what gentle words, how many sacrifices costly to nature and what ingenious means the Spirit of piety knows how to inspire! But also the number will never be known of the souls, souls of young men and of old men, souls of parents and of children, which He has preserved or withdrawn from evil, which He preserves or withdraws still every day.

3° To give counsel to those who need it. Who has not need of this new benefit of the Spirit of piety? Man is born wrapped in darkness. He has, to guide himself, only the uncertain glimmers of his wavering reason. With age he becomes the plaything of his imagination and his senses. In his relations with his fellows he is too often exposed to be the victim of the artifices of others or of his own perplexities. Woe to him if he remains abandoned to himself. Greater woe if he will have no counsel. To take oneself for master is to make oneself the disciple of a fool.(1) Now it is a fact of experience that folly, daughter of pride, leads to ruin. Thus, on a counsel may depend fortune, honour and even salvation; consequently no alms more useful than a counsel inspired by the Spirit of piety. Were the tribunal of penance to have no other aim than to distribute it, it would still be worthy of all the blessings of the earth.

(1) *Qui se sibi magistrum constituit, se stulto discipulum subdit.* [He who makes himself his own master subjects himself as disciple to a fool.] S. Bern.

4° To console the afflicted. Suffering under all names and all forms: such is the life of man in this land of trial. While the crowd presses around the happy of the age, too often the afflicted man is left alone with his griefs. By inspiring man with true compassion for him who suffers, the Spirit of piety prevents this act of cruel egoism. Thanks to Him, what a difference between misfortune under the empire of paganism and misfortune under the reign of Christianity! There, a stoic and almost barbarous insensibility; here, moved hearts and weeping eyes. There, at most a few words, cold as inexorable fate; here, words full of hope which raise the cast-down courage, make the cross light and go sometimes so far as to make it preferred to the sweetest enjoyments. At least, how many tears made less bitter, how many despairs prevented, how many suicides hindered!

5° To suffer patiently the injuries and defects of others. Consolation helps us to bear ourselves, patience makes us bear the neighbour. *Do to thy brother,* says the Spirit of piety to the Christian, *what thou wouldst have him do to thee.* He has his defects, thou hast thine. If thou wouldst have him bear with thee, bear with him thyself. By carrying your burden mutually you will lighten it, above all you will make it meritorious. He has spoken, and the most opposed characters can live together: and families which otherwise would be an anticipated hell become the abode of concord and the vestibule of heaven.

6° To forgive offences from the heart. Between bearing an injury patiently and forgiving it from the heart, great is the difference. The mouth can be silent, and the soul deeply ulcerated. Hence the long, black grudges that make of life a shame and a torment. But here is the Spirit of piety saying in the ear of the wounded heart: *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* From these all-powerful words have issued millions of miracles, greater than the resurrection of a dead man. The arm is disarmed; resentment is appeased; pardon ceases to be a cowardice; and, instead of passing for a glory, vengeance is repugnant as a shameful crime.

7° To pray for all, and for those who persecute us. To be forgotten during life and above all after death, or to be the object of a barren memory only, is one of the cruellest crucifixions of the heart. The Spirit of piety has come to spare us it. *You shall forget,* He says to us, *neither the dead nor the living, not even those who persecute you.* For all you shall have useful remembrances; your prayers shall obtain for them the goods which your heart desires but which your powerlessness does not permit you to give them. What favours have been obtained and misfortunes relieved, on earth and in purgatory, by these simple words, no one will know, save on the day of the great manifestations, when it will be given us to see in all its extent the inexhaustible fecundity of the Spirit of piety.

3° What is the necessity of the gift of piety? We appeal now to every impartial man, and we ask him whether it is possible, even from a purely human point of view, to imagine anything more fruitful and more necessary than the gift of piety? If, by impossibility, he hesitated to answer, let him consider the gift of piety under another aspect. Man, we shall never cease to repeat it, is placed between two opposed spirits; whatever he does, he obeys one or the other. If he is not inspired by the Spirit of piety, he is driven by the contrary Spirit. What is it? It is the spirit of *Envy.*(1)

(1) *Donum pietatis expellit spiritum invidiae, quae crudelis est, et non potest pati alios bona habere, sed potius appetit sui malum cum pejori malo proximi.* [The gift of piety expels the spirit of envy, which is cruel, and cannot endure that others have good things, but rather desires its own evil with a worse evil to the neighbour.] S. Anton., IV [printed “VI”] p., tit. X, c. i.

To be saddened at the good of others, to rejoice at their ill: that is envy in itself.(2) Can anything more perverse, more shameful and more anti-social be imagined? No, unless it be envy considered in its effects. What are they? Whereas the gift of piety softens the heart, ennobles it, dilates it and spreads it in effusions of love on God and on man; envy hardens the heart, degrades it, contracts it, makes it wicked and unhappy. Worm in the wood, rust in the iron, moth in the cloth: that is envy in the heart. It gnaws it and fills it with

every kind of evil and strips it of every kind of good. The other vices are opposed to one particular virtue; envy is opposed to all. Like those night birds that the light dazzles, the envious man cannot bear the brilliance of any virtue, of any superiority, of any advantage, of any affection that is not directed to him. Hence envy is called not a bad beast, but a very bad beast.(1)

(2) *Invidia est alienae felicitatis tristitia, et in adversitate laetitia.* [Envy is sadness at another's happiness, and gladness in his adversity.] S. Bonav., *Dieta salutis*, c. iv. (1) *Unde non tantum dicitur mala, sed pessima. Haec est fera pessima quae devoravit Joseph.* [Whence it is called not merely evil but the worst. This is the worst wild beast which devoured Joseph.] S. Bonav., *ubi supra.* [Cf. Gen. xxxvii, 33.]

It is envy that ruined the angels in heaven. It is envy that ruined our first parents in the earthly paradise. It is envy that made Cain a fratricide. It is envy that sold Joseph. It is envy that crucified the Son of God. If one wished to relate all the blackest deeds, poisonings, calumnies, hatreds, injustices, divisions, acts of cruel egoism, that is, the shames and misfortunes begotten by envy, one would have to cite almost every page of the history of peoples and of families. To deliver humanity from such a scourge is the benefit reserved to the Spirit of piety. Is that nothing? Like all the others, the gift of piety is therefore a social element which no human invention could replace.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXVIII

1. **"Piety."** French *piété*, Latin *pietas*: filial reverence and devotion, not mere "religious observance". Aquinas distinguishes the gift of piety (filial regard toward God as Father) from the virtue of religion (worship of God as Lord); Gaume follows him.

2. **Scripture.** The sequence of the soul's "accents" is a mosaic of paraphrased verses; Gaume's references are in Vulgate Psalm numbering and several are as printed, some garbled ("Ps. 142, 12, 72, 118"; "Ps. 43, 68"). I translated Gaume's French, using Douay wording where the verse is clear, and I bracketed only the most obvious corrections.

3. **The peasant's prayer.** Gaume's long note (the "bills of exchange" prayer) is translated in full. The Italian tag *rifatemi il resto* means "give me back the change". The story (the Colle Berardi peasant, Casamari, Easter 1858) is reported on his authority.

4. **Ransom figures.** The note on the Trinitarians and Mercedarians (900,000 + 500,000 slaves, 1198–1787) is Gaume's, from the *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* (1867). The total "1,200,000" does not match his two figures (1,400,000); I print as given and mark [sic]. I did not verify these numbers; they are almost certainly inflated.

5. **"Theatres by hundreds of thousands."** As printed in the French; clearly an exaggeration.

6. **"Cellites."** Gaume's *Cellites* are the Alexian brothers (Cellites), who tended the sick and buried the dead; the identification is mine.

7. **Tertullian reference** ("de Poenitent., c. viii") is as printed. The phrase *Tam pater nemo; tam pius nemo* is in Tertullian, *De paenitentia*, but the chapter I did not check.

8. **Saint Anthony and the emperor.** The comparison alludes to the well-known anecdote of Antony the Great and the letter of Constantine; Gaume does not cite it.

9. **Saint Charles.** Charles Borromeo, said to have read the Gospel kneeling and bare-headed.

10. **"Bête très-mauvaise."** Gaume's and Bonaventure's "*fera pessima*" is the biblical wild beast that devoured Joseph (Gen. xxxvii, 33), applied to envy.

11. **Sevenfold lists.** The works of mercy are the traditional fourteen; the corporal seven include burying the dead, which comes from Tobias rather than Matt. xxv.

Chapter XXIX. The Gift of Knowledge

What the gift of knowledge is. — It acts on the understanding. — Difference between the gift of knowledge, faith and natural science. — Words of Donoso Cortés. — The gift of knowledge makes us discern with certainty the true from the false and preserves from the sophisms of error. — It acts on the will, and preserves us from worldly fascinations. — It develops and ennobles all the sciences. — Words of Donoso Cortés. — The gift of knowledge more necessary today than ever. — Opposed to the spirit of anger. — Proofs of this opposition. — The gift of knowledge, principle of universal peace.

To soften the hardness of the heart and communicate to it an exquisite sensibility for all that it ought to love; to render us finally submissive and devoted toward God; fraternally compassionate, gentle, affable, indulgent toward the neighbour; to kill envy and jealousy, destroying elements of happiness and concord; to form between heaven and earth, as between all men, the great social bond of charity: such are the general effects of the gift of piety. No less precious and no less necessary is the gift of knowledge. To prove it, it suffices to make it known. Hence our three questions: What is the gift of knowledge? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

1° What is the gift of knowledge? Knowledge is a gift of the Holy Spirit which perfects the judgment, and makes us discern with certainty, in spiritual things, the true from the false, the good from the evil.(1) We say, *which perfects the judgment.* The gifts of fear and of piety act principally on the will. Blind by nature, the will claims a direction, whether to fear or to love. It can receive it only from the understanding. But our understanding is wrapped in darkness, subject to a thousand illusions and unceasingly exposed to become the victim of error. Evidently its first need is a serious aptitude to discern the true from the false, an aptitude which, making us appreciate things at their just value, fixes with certainty the measure of our affections and of our fears. Who satisfies this first necessity? The gift of knowledge.

(1) *(Donum scientiae) est habitus infusus, a gratia fluens, quo homo a Spiritu sancto movetur ad habendum certum et rectum judicium de his quae sunt fidei, ad discernendum credenda a non credendis, absque omni discursu per causas secundas sive creatas, et quo habet certum judicium circa agenda, ut nullo modo deviet a ratione justitiae. Et haec dicitur scientia sanctorum, de qua Sapientiae 10: Justum deduxit Dominus per vias rectas, et dedit illi scientiam sanctorum.* [(The gift of knowledge) is an infused habit, flowing from grace, by which man is moved by the Holy Spirit to have a certain and right judgment on the things that are of faith, to discern what is to be believed from what is not, without any discursive process through secondary or created causes, and by which he has a certain judgment about things to be done, so that he in no way deviates from the rule of justice. And this is called the knowledge of the saints, of which Wisdom x: The Lord conducted the just through right ways, and gave him the knowledge of the holy.] Viguier, c. xiii, p. 411.

This gift is neither divine knowledge itself, nor faith, nor natural science. It is not divine knowledge, in the sense that it brings to the soul the fulness of all knowledge. But, if it is not knowledge, it is its necessary means. In effect, it communicates to the understanding an impulse, a vigour, an extent, an aptitude which renders it capable of knowing in the manner of God Himself, by a simple view.(2) Hence a great facility in learning and reasoning the truth. Hence a sure discernment to distinguish the true from the false, the certain from the uncertain, the solid from the imaginary, the real from what is only apparent.

(2) *Divina scientia non est discursiva vel ratiocinativa, sed absoluta et simplex: cui similis est scientia quae ponitur donum Spiritus sancti, cum sit quaedam participata similitudo ipsius.* [Divine knowledge is not discursive or ratiocinative, but absolute and simple: to which is like the knowledge which is posited as a gift of the Holy Spirit, since it is a certain participated likeness of it.] S. Th., II–II, q. 9, art. 1, ad 1.

It is not faith; but it perfects it, as all the gifts of the Holy Spirit perfect the theological virtues.(1) By faith one knows the truth and adheres to it. By the gift of knowledge one knows the truth more clearly, reasons it more surely, affirms it more conscientiously, *rationabile obsequium* [a reasonable service], defends it more

victoriously, preaches it more efficaciously. The gift of knowledge makes us arrive at this perfection by the study of created things, of which it forms a vast synthesis, and as it were a ladder of light which raises us to God. For the Christian enriched with the gift of knowledge, the universe is a book written within and without. Beneath bodies and their properties, beneath the chemical proportions of the elements that compose them, he sees what is hidden: God, powerful God, wise God, good God, making all with number, weight and measure, and directing all to a single end. He hears what is not heard, the harmonious concert of beings singing, each in its own manner, the praises of their author.(2)

(1) *Omnia dona ad perfectionem theologicarum virtutum ordinantur.* [All the gifts are ordained to the perfection of the theological virtues.] S. Th., II–II, q. 9, art. 1, ad 3. (2) *Cum homo per res creatas Deum cognoscit, magis videtur hoc pertinere ad scientiam, ad quam pertinet formaliter.* [When man knows God through created things, this seems rather to belong to knowledge, to which it formally pertains.] *Ibid.*, art. 2. — *Liber pulcherrimus, intus et foris depictus, est creaturarum universitas, in quo Dei perspicua habetur notitia… Tot audientium audit voces quot creaturarum intuetur species.* [A most beautiful book, written within and without, is the universality of creatures, in which a clear knowledge of God is had… He hears as many voices of hearers as he beholds species of creatures.] S. Laurent. [Lawrence Justinian], *De coelo connub.* [sic], c. xix.

It is not natural science. By the labour of his reason man can arrive at judging with certainty certain truths, that is, human science is acquired by reasoning and by demonstration. But God judges the truth with certainty, without discussion or reasoning, by a simple view; so, within certain limits, does the man endowed with the gift of knowledge.(1) Hence an enormous difference between the learned man who has not the gift of knowledge and the Christian who possesses it. His brow furrowed with algebra, as Count de Maistre says, the knowledge of the first is laborious in its march, uncertain in its affirmations, limited in its extent, sterile in its results. Very different is the knowledge of the second. Free in its gait and endowed with that sure glance which it owes to the Holy Spirit, it distinguishes without trouble truth from error. It is clear in its affirmations.

(1) S. Th., II–II, q. 9, art. 1, ad 1.

The history of reason, deprived of the gift of knowledge, is a book of double entry. The first page says: yes; the second says: no; result: zero. Run through all the schools of pagan antiquity: in which will you find a certain affirmation, one of those affirmations which are maintained at the price of life? Pass again through this same world since the effusion of the Spirit of knowledge. Everywhere certain, unshakeable affirmations, victorious over sophism and sword. As in the midst of the planetary system you see the sun sparkling with light, at the centre of the Christian world you will see a magnificent body of doctrine, composed of twelve articles; then the most beautiful geniuses, applying the truths it contains to all the material, social and philosophical studies, composing the great synthesis of Catholic science, to which Christian humanity owes, in every respect, its evident superiority.

It is immense in its extent. Like the reason which is its principle and torch, the knowledge of the ordinary learned man is limited in its object. The supernatural world, that is, more than half of the scientific domain, either escapes him or shows itself to him only through obscure clouds. With a few truths painfully linked into a system, it can make learned specialities; a true savant, never. Depth and synthesis are wanting to it. Depth: it sees the surfaces and the material applications of things; but the *quid divinum* [something divine] hidden in the blade of grass as well as in the sun, he suspects it no more than the moral applications to which it gives rise. Synthesis: not knowing, or knowing only very imperfectly, God, man, the world and their relations, it is incapable of attaching, as is fitting, the knowledges of the lower order to the truths of the higher order, and of giving to its labours a truly worthy utility.

It is fruitful in its results. The most beautiful result of knowledge is to lead man to his end. To know with certainty what this end is, with the same certainty to know the means that lead to it: this is what human science has never taught anyone, what it will never teach him. Not only does the gift of knowledge enlarge all the human sciences and coordinate them; but it has moreover endowed the world with a science whose very name was unknown to the pagan academies; a science which, alone, renders more services to society than all the others together. We have named the knowledge of the saints, *scientia sanctorum.* [the knowledge of the holy.]

In effect, of all the sciences, the science of the saints is the most magnificent, the most extended, the most useful, the only necessary one, the only one that makes humanity make a true progress, the only one to which all the other sciences, social, philosophical, natural, mathematical, necessarily relate, unless they are corrupted. Why is it so? Because the science of the saints is the only one that is full of truth, nothing but truth, truth about God, about man and about the world.

To dissipate an illusion, a too fruitful mother of fatal admirations, let us finish marking the difference that exists between the understanding enriched with the gift of knowledge and the understanding deprived of it. "The diminution of faith," says Donoso Cortés, "which produces the diminution of truth, does not necessarily entail the diminution but the straying of the human understanding. Merciful and just at once, God refuses truth to guilty intelligences, He does not refuse them life; He condemns them to error, not to death. We have all seen pass before our eyes those centuries so prodigiously incredulous and so perfectly cultivated, which have left behind them, on the waves of time, a trace no less luminous than burning, and which have shone with a phosphorescent brilliance in history. Nevertheless fix your eyes on them, fix them attentively, and you will see that their splendours are conflagrations, and that they have light only as the lightning. The day which shows them to us seems to come from the explosion of materials obscure in themselves, but inflammable, rather than from those pure regions where is born that peaceful light, gently spread over the vaults of heaven by the sovereign brush of a sovereign painter.

"What is said of centuries can be said of men. In refusing or granting them faith, God refuses or takes from them truth: He neither gives nor refuses them intelligence. The intelligence of unbelievers may be very lofty, and that of believers very limited. The first, however, is great only in the manner of the abyss, whereas the second is holy in the manner of a tabernacle; in the first dwells error, in the second truth. In the abyss, death is with error; in the tabernacle, life is with truth. That is why there is no hope for those societies which abandon the austere worship of truth for the idolatry of wit. Behind sophisms come revolutions, and behind revolutions the executioners."(1)

(1) *Essai sur le catholicisme,* etc., p. 8 and 9. [Donoso Cortés, *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo,* in the French translation.]

After having considered the gift of knowledge in itself, it remains to know it better by studying it in its effects.

2° What are the effects or the applications of the gift of knowledge? The ignorant man sees the surface of things, the learned man sees the depth. The ignorant man lets himself be fascinated, the learned man appreciates. Thus the first effect of the gift of knowledge is, as we have indicated, to make us discern with certainty the true from the false, the solid from the imaginary, the true from what is only apparent. The Christian who possesses it feels by instinct the falsity of the objections of impiety against religion. Far from shaking his faith, these attacks provoke in him contempt, disgust and horror. In his eyes, the man whom Christianity has drawn from barbarism, from idolatry, from slavery, and who denies Christianity, who insults or lets Christianity be insulted, who blushes for Christianity, who abandons Christianity, is of all beings the vilest and the most odious, because he is the most ungrateful and the most guilty. Before the firm and upright judgment with which he is endowed there break, whatever masks they borrow, the subtleties of falsehood

and the quibbles of sophism.

This discernment not only does justice to the sophisms of the unbeliever, it opposes also the sophisms of the world. Directed by the Spirit of knowledge, the true Catholic sees clearly two things which no other sees. The first is the nothingness of all that the world loves and seeks. A blind man who has recovered his sight, with his divinely enlightened glance he pierces through and through the vanity of riches, honours, pleasures: as he understands a mathematical truth, he understands that all these things together can no more content an immortal soul, created for God, than air can satisfy a famished beast of burden. For him no word is truer than that cry of despair of the wisest and happiest of kings: *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity,* miscalculation and affliction of spirit.(1) The second is the admirable beauty, the greatness, the utility of all that the world dreads and flees with so much care. In the light of the gift of knowledge, he knows the perfect harmony of humiliation, of poverty, of suffering with the needs of fallen man. He receives them as the sick man receives the remedy that is to save him from death and restore his health; as the merchant receives the customer who comes to offer him, in exchange for a few trifles, imperishable treasures. His motto is the word of Saint Paul: "The things that were gain to me, the same I have counted loss for Christ. Yea, I count all things to be but loss for the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them but as dung, that I may gain Christ."(2)

(1) Eccles. i, 2, 10 [Gaume's "mécompte et affliction d'esprit" echoes Eccles. i, 14]. (2) Philipp. iii, 7, 8.

The second effect of the gift of knowledge is to act on the will and to put its acts in harmony with the lights of the understanding. In the Christian animated by the Spirit of knowledge, the hatred of error, of heresy, of incredulity, of rationalism is not a speculative science. By vigilance over himself, by withdrawal from all anti-Catholic reading and conversation, by example, by prayer, by all the means in his power, he opposes a barrier to the wild beasts that ravage the field of truth. Such are the dispositions of all the just, that is, of all men in the state of grace. In favour of some, God adds the higher faculty of communicating knowledge by speech. This is what Saint Paul calls the word of knowledge: *sermo scientiae.* The pupil of the Holy Spirit who is endowed with it employs his voice and his pen no longer merely to defend himself, but to defend his brethren. Vigils, studies, expenses, fatigues: nothing costs his zeal. Thus to the knowledge that kills he opposes the knowledge that saves.

The same conduct with regard to worldly fascinations. If the nothingness of honours, riches and pleasures inspires him with contempt for them, the danger they present makes him conceive an aversion for all that the world esteems. He is the traveller by night who strikes his foot against a heavy purse. He picks it up and thinks himself happy, thinking he has found a treasure. But when day comes he sees that this purse is full of bits of glass and venomous reptiles, and he flings it far from him with indignation. How he pities that tumultuous crowd called the world! Fool who consumes himself in pursuing phantoms and weaving spiders' webs, who is irritated at an injury, who grieves at a sickness or a reverse of fortune. As for him, content with the position that Providence has made for him, he does not desire to leave it. If he is poor, unknown, persecuted, he finds himself happy in these traits of resemblance with his divine brother, the Incarnate Word; if he has riches, he attaches to them neither his thought nor his heart. Often even, by an act of sublime folly, he puts between himself and the dangerous and deceitful goods of this world the impassable barrier of the three vows of obedience, chastity and poverty.

The third effect of the gift of knowledge is to radiate upon all the human sciences, to orient them, to make them fruitful, to ennoble them and to affirm them. Only the Christian savant affirms; the pagan philosophers affirmed nothing. Affirmation is of Christian origin. To make us know scientifically the end of man and of the world, the nature and the harmony of beings: such is the exclusive privilege of the Spirit of knowledge. Now without this prior knowledge no science exists. Hence this word of our holy Books: "Vain are all men in whom there is not the knowledge of God."(1) *Loquaces muti* [talkative mutes], adds Saint Augustine, babblers dumb, they are full of words and empty of ideas.

(1) Wisd. xiii, 1.

For his part, in his *Confessions of a Revolutionary,* Proudhon writes these remarkable words: “It is surprising that at the bottom of our politics we always find theology.” On which Donoso Cortés expresses himself thus: “There is nothing surprising here but Mr. Proudhon’s surprise. Theology, by the very fact that it is the science of God, is the ocean which contains and embraces all the sciences, as God is the ocean which contains and embraces all things.(2)” But theology supposes the gift of knowledge, as the child supposes the father. He who possesses it is a theologian and possesses in germ all the sciences. “In effect,” adds Donoso Cortés, “he possesses political truth who knows the laws to which governments are subject; he possesses social truth who knows the laws to which human societies are subject;(3) he knows these laws who knows God; he knows God who understands what God affirms of Himself and who believes what he hears. The science which has for its object these affirmations is theology. Whence it follows that every affirmation relative to society or to government supposes an affirmation relative to God, or, which is the same thing, that every political or social truth is necessarily converted into a theological truth.

(2) *Essai,* etc., p. 1. (3) It is the same with the natural sciences.

“If all is explained in God and by God, and if theology is the science of God, in whom and by whom all is explained, theology is the science of all.(1) This being so, there is nothing outside this science, which has no plural, because the All, which is its object, has none. Political science and social science exist only as arbitrary classifications of the human understanding. Man, in his weakness, distinguishes what in God is united with the simplest unity. Thus he distinguishes political affirmations from social affirmations and from religious affirmations, whereas in God there is only one affirmation, single, indivisible and sovereign. Let him who, speaking explicitly of something, is ignorant that he speaks implicitly of God, and who, speaking explicitly of some science, is ignorant that he speaks implicitly of theology, know that he has received from God only the intelligence absolutely necessary to be a man.”(2)

(1) Consequently, the principle of all knowing is the gift of knowledge. (2) *Essai,* etc., p. 1 and 9.

Thanks to the gift of knowledge poured upon the world, how many times have the Christian centuries seen these admirable theologians, consequently these true savants, in all ages and in all conditions. Bernard, Francis of Assisi, Catherine of Siena, Colette, shepherds, ploughmen, children, without human letters, but endowed, if we may be permitted the word, with the scent of truth, they knew how to discover it with a marvellous instinct, to speak of it by turns with a simplicity that seemed natural to them, with a force that carried off the most rebellious convictions, with a depth that astonished the learned, and with a common sense so sure that their appreciations became so many axioms and rules of conduct.

This precious gift is not lost. Even today, where must one seek the science of life, the rectitude of judgment, the certainty of affirmations, the glance of the whole that attaches the end to the means and the means to the end, the practical sense of things, that great master of life, as Bossuet says? It is neither in the literary academies, nor in the political assemblies, nor in the pretended learned bodies, but among true Christians. “The knowledge of God,” continues the illustrious Spanish publicist, “gives to him who possesses it sagacity and strength, because at once it sharpens and dilates the mind. What is most admirable to me in the life of the saints, and particularly in that of the Fathers of the Desert, is a circumstance which, I believe, has not yet been suitably appreciated. The man accustomed to converse with God and to exercise himself in divine contemplations, all other circumstances being equal, surpasses others either by the intelligence and force of his reason, or by the sureness of his judgment, or by the elevation and strength of his mind; but above all, I know none who, in equal circumstances, does not carry the day over the others by that practical and wise sense which is called good sense.”(1)

(1) *Essai sur le Catholicisme,* etc., p. 199.

3° What is the necessity of the gift of knowledge? We have seen: the gift of knowledge makes us discern with certainty the true from the false, the real from the imaginary. Was it ever more necessary than today? In a world which denies God, which denies Jesus Christ, which denies the Church, which, proclaiming the equality of all religions, envelops truth and error in a common contempt, which denies the absolute distinction of good and evil, which calls progress what is deviation, lights what is darkness, liberty what is servitude, how discern the true from the false? In a world which lives only for riches, for honours, for pleasures, which counts as nothing the goods of the soul and of eternity, which has come to treating the entire supernatural world as a chimera, how escape the general fascination? Is it not from the midst of such a Babelism that one must unceasingly look to heaven and cry to the Holy Spirit: "Lighten my eyes that I never sleep in death: lest at any time my enemy say: I have prevailed against him."(1)

(1) Ps. 12 [Douay xii, 4–5].

This duty is the more pressing in that man is placed in the pitiless alternative of living under the empire of the Spirit of knowledge, or under the tyranny of the contrary Spirit. What is this spirit directly opposed to the gift of knowledge? According to Saint Antoninus, it is the fifth gift of Satan, which is called *Anger*. "The Spirit of knowledge," says the great theologian, "repels the spirit of anger, which hinders the mind from being able to discern the truth, which is what knowledge attends to."(2) As night succeeds day infallibly when the sun leaves the horizon, so the spirit of anger seizes the soul which loses the Spirit of knowledge.

(2) *Spiritus scientiae repellit spiritum irae, quae impedit animum ne possit cernere verum, ad quod scientia attendit.* S. Anton., IV p., tit. X, c. i.

This affirmation seems strange. One does not at first see the opposition that exists between the gift of knowledge and anger. To grasp it, one must distinguish two kinds of anger and recall the principal effects of the gift of knowledge. There is a just and holy anger, which is in no way contrary to the Spirit of knowledge. Such was the anger, or rather the indignation, of Our Lord against the sellers in the temple; such the vehemence of the preacher who thunders against vice, or the energetic resistance of the proprietor to the thief and the assassin. Such an anger, if it deserves the name, far from being contrary to the gift of knowledge, is only knowledge armed to defend, by legitimate means, a real good; it is not contrary to the gift of knowledge, since it does not trouble reason and exceeds in nothing the limits of justice.

But there is another anger which betrays a ground of discontent and irritation, which exhales for illegitimate causes, which exceeds in its movements, which troubles reason and which tends to replace the force of right by the right of force. It is ignorance armed for the defence of a good or the repulsion of an evil more imaginary than real. As to the gift of knowledge, which has for aim the reasoned and certain knowledge of truth, its first effect consists in communicating to us a great rectitude of judgment; this rectitude makes us appreciate and esteem each thing at its just value; then, acting on the will, it regulates its acts by the lights of the perfected understanding. Now the gift of knowledge shows us clearly that the goods and evils of this world are neither true goods nor true evils; that what men call evil, poverty, humiliation, suffering, is not a true evil; that what men call good, riches, honours, pleasures, is not a true good, but often an evil and always a danger.

The Christian who, thanks to the gift of knowledge, knows all this and whose will is in unison with his knowledge, has a thousand reasons not to get angry. Such are, among others, his dignity compromised, the scandal given, the peace troubled, the hatred begotten, the sin committed by usurping the divine right of vengeance. He finds no reason to get angry. And who could irritate him? Injury? but for him it is a precious seed of merit. Injustice, ingratitude? but he knows all human misery, and, knowing that he himself has need of indulgence, he says: *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* The loss of these goods? but he knows that in losing them he has lost nothing of his own; and, with the calm of Job, he says: *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord.* So

of the other accidents which the world calls reverses, calamities, misfortunes. Such is the serenity of the soul enlightened by the Spirit of knowledge.

On the contrary, the soul void of the Spirit of knowledge is at once filled with the spirit of anger. The reason is simple: this soul forms a false idea of things. Blind in its appreciations, it esteems, loves, fears, without sure rule. For it, evils are goods, and reciprocally. As it is as impossible for it to enjoy peaceably, without contradiction and without disquiet, what it calls good, as not to be exposed every day to what it calls evil, it is troubled, it murmurs, it is irritated, it repels with violence what injures its happiness; in a word, it falls under the empire of anger; it falls into it through a false idea of its right, or through an inexact appreciation of goods and evils.

This is so true that in all languages anger receives the epithet *blind;* none is better applied. Daughter of ignorance, anger prevents man from reasoning. In him the torch of reason is obscured and gives place to force. Life is concentrated in the lips that insult, at the end of the foot that strikes, in the wrist that overthrows.(1) What is true of the individual is true of peoples, true of humanity. Withdraw from the earth the gift of knowledge, what will you have? Ignorance of true goods and true evils, and with ignorance anger, and with anger war. What is war? It is the anger of kings and peoples. Why was the pagan world always at war? Because it was always in anger. Why always in anger? Because the gift of knowledge was wanting to it. Its whole existence was defined by Saint Paul: the times of ignorance, *tempora ignorantiae.* A blind appraiser, it was constantly passionate for false goods, always in arms to conquer or defend them. For the same reason war in the order of ideas was neither less lively nor less permanent than war in the order of facts. This ignorance destroyed the world of the Caesars, as it had destroyed the world of the giants.(2)

(1) *Ira dicitur esse janua vitiorum… Removendo prohibens, id est impediendo judicium rationis, per quod homo retrahitur a malis.* [Anger is said to be the gate of vices… by removing what hinders, that is, by impeding the judgment of reason by which man is drawn back from evils.] S. Th., II–II, q. 158, art. 6, ad 3.
(2) *Ibi fuerunt gigantes… statura magna, scientes bellum,… et quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam perierunt propter suam insipientiam.* [There were the giants… of great stature, skilled in war… and because they had not wisdom they perished through their folly.] Baruch iii, 26, 28.

Why for four centuries has the modern world been in intellectual and material war? Because it does not cease to be in anger. Why does it not cease to be in anger? Because the gift of knowledge is wanting to it. This gift lacking, its esteem of things becomes pagan, its appreciations pagan, its judgments pagan; its affections, its tendencies, its affirmations and negations, pagan. Seen otherwise than on the surface, what is the frightful hotch-potch of which we are witnesses? According to the profound word of Scripture, it is nothing else than the great war of ignorance, *magnum inscientiae bellum.*(1) War of ideas, because divine knowledge is wanting; war of interests, because the blind passion for earthly goods replaces the love of spiritual goods; war of man against God, because he no longer knows the truth; war of man against man, because he no longer knows charity; war of all against all, which will end in unknown catastrophes, unless it be stopped by the Spirit of knowledge, reigning in the plenitude of His light and His strength. To put an end to such a scourge, to ward off such misfortunes, is that nothing? Yet this is the service which alone the fifth gift of the Holy Spirit can render the world.

(1) Wisd. xiv, 22.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXIX

1. **"Science" / "knowledge."** French *science* renders Latin *scientia*. Throughout I use "knowledge" for the *gift* (*don de science*) and "science" where Gaume contrasts it with faith or with human learning.

2. **Donoso Cortés.** Juan Donoso Cortés, Marqués de Valdegamas (1809–1853), *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo* (1851). Gaume quotes the French translation (*Essai sur le catholicisme, le*

libéralisme et le socialisme); I translate Gaume's French and do not claim to match the Spanish original word for word. Proudhon's remark is from his *Confessions d'un révolutionnaire* (1849).

3. **Donoso's text.** The long quotation runs across pp. 422–423 and 427–428 of the French and is reproduced from Gaume's French; the footnote marks (2), (3) fall mid-quotation as printed.

4. **Wisd. xiii, 1; xiv, 22; Baruch iii, 26, 28.** In Douay "Wisd. xiv, 22" reads "…living in a great war of ignorance"; Gaume cites it with the Latin *magnum inscientiae bellum*.

5. **Eccles. i, 2, 10** is as printed; Gaume's "miscalculation and affliction of spirit" is closer to i, 14.

6. **The Fathers of the Desert** are cited from Donoso Cortés; the sentence about "good sense" is on his authority (p. 199 of Gaume's edition of the *Essai*).

7. **"Twelve articles."** The Creed in twelve articles, as in the Roman Catechism.

8. **S. Laurent.** The author is Lawrence Justinian (*De casto connubio*, c. xix); the printed "caslo connub." is a misprint for *casto connubio*, which I note but have not verified.

9. **Colette.** Saint Colette of Corbie (1381–1447).

10. **Wisd. x.** Gaume's Latin reads "Sapientia, 10" for *Sap.* x, 10: *Justum deduxit Dominus per vias rectas, et ostendit illi regnum Dei, et dedit illi scientiam sanctorum.*

Chapter XXX. The Gift of Fortitude

What the gift of fortitude is. — Difference between the virtue of fortitude and the gift of fortitude. — The place it occupies in the midst of the seven gifts. — Two objects of the gift of fortitude: to act and to suffer. — What man must do: reconquer heaven. — Three enemies to conquer: the demon, the flesh, the world. — What man must suffer. — Weakness of man. — Effects of the gift of fortitude, whether to act or to suffer. — Word of Saint Paul. — Necessity of the gift of fortitude. — Opposed to sloth. — What the spirit of sloth is. — What it works. — Portrait of the world, slave of the spirit of sloth.

The gift of knowledge is a magnificent supplement to reason. It is to the soul what the telescope is to the eye. By the certain and reasoned knowledge of the truth it communicates to us the simplicity of the dove and the prudence of the serpent, foils the sophisms of impiety, illumines all the human sciences and binds them in a vast synthesis. By the rectitude it gives to the judgment, it disengages the true from the false, the good from the evil. By the just appreciation of things, it preserves us from the fascinating charms of the world and the demon, from the illusions of the mind, from the errors of the heart, source of torments and angers, of divisions and despairs. It follows that the gift of knowledge on earth is peace; without this gift, it is war. Two reasons above all should make it more precious today than ever: the ardour for science, and the fascination of the trifle. Without this necessary gift the learned man is a mole that light dazzles, or a stammering child, and man, whoever he be, a spinner of spiders' webs, a builder of card-castles.

Yet to know the truth clearly, whether in the supernatural order or in the natural order, is not enough: man needs the courage to be consistent with himself. Great must this courage be; for the truth often demands rude combats, and virtue costly sacrifices. To this need the Holy Spirit provides by a new gift: *Fortitude.* The knowledge of this new benefit will be given us by the answers to our three questions: What is the gift of fortitude? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

1° What is the gift of fortitude? Fortitude is a gift of the Holy Spirit which communicates to us the courage to undertake great things for God and the confidence to accomplish them in spite of all obstacles.(1) Between the gift of fortitude and the virtue of fortitude, Saint Antoninus enumerates four differences.

(1) *Donum fortitudinis est habitus in appetitu irascibili infusus, quo disponitur animus ad hoc quod perveniat ad finem cujuslibet operis inchoati et evadat quaecumque pericula imminentia: quod quidem excedit naturam humanam.* [The gift of fortitude is a habit infused in the irascible appetite, by which the mind is disposed to arrive at the end of any work begun and to escape whatever dangers threaten: which indeed exceeds human nature.] Viguier, c. xii, p. 413.

First, both suppose a certain firmness of soul whether to act or to suffer; but the virtue of fortitude has its sphere of action within the limits of human power and does not extend beyond. The gift of fortitude has its own in the measure of the divine power, on which it leans, according to the word of the prophet: *In my God I shall leap over the wall,* that is, I shall overthrow all obstacles, insurmountable to natural forces.

Second, the virtue of fortitude gives the soul the courage to brave dangers, but not the confidence of braving and avoiding them all. The gift of fortitude works both, whether it be necessary to face grave perils or to surmount great difficulties.

Third, the virtue of fortitude does not extend to all that is difficult. The reason is that the virtue of fortitude leans on human power. Now human power is not one in face of all difficulties. But it divides itself, according to the difficulties, into different faculties. Thus some have the strength to overcome the concupiscences of the flesh but have not that to brave tortures and death. It is otherwise with the gift of fortitude. Leaning on the divine power as on its own, it extends to all and suffices for all. Job proclaims it in these generous words: *Set me beside thee, and let any man's hand fight against me.*

Fourth, the virtue of fortitude does not always lead its undertakings to their end, because it does not depend on man to attain the aim of his works and to avoid all evils and all dangers: the proof is that he ends by succumbing to them in dying. The gift of fortitude accomplishes all these consoling marvels. In effect, by the generous works it makes him accomplish, it leads man to eternal life: which is the end of all undertakings and the deliverance from all dangers. Glorious result in which it fills him with a confidence that excludes the contrary fear, and which Saint Paul sang in saying: *I can do all things in him who strengtheneth me.*(1)

(1) S. Anton., IV p., tit. XIII, c. i, p. 210. — S. Th., II–II, q. 139, art. 1, corp.; Viguier, *ubi supra.*

Such is the gift of fortitude in itself. It remains to show it in its relations with the other gifts and in the effects it produces.

2° What are the effects of the gift of fortitude? Whether one counts it ascending or descending, the gift of fortitude occupies the fourth rank among the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is placed at the centre of this brilliant train, like a king on his throne, or like a general of an army in the midst of his officers. Two reasons explain the place assigned to it. On the one hand, among all the divine works, those which strike most are the works of strength; on the other, the gift of fortitude protects all the other gifts and reduces them to acts. It is for them, for their preservation and for their glory that it fights continual battles. If interior repose is above all their portion, exterior action is its own.(1)

(1) *Quartus idemque medius septem spirituum Dei, et velut in quodam sedens principatu, praedicatur Spiritus fortitudinis. Et recte. Nam inter caetera Spiritus sancti opera, opus fortitudinis magnum et mirificum est… Spiritus fortitudinis magis est in actu, et foris operatur sive praeliatur, praeliando sancta illis otia componit.* [The fourth and likewise the middle of the seven spirits of God, and as though seated in a certain princely seat, the Spirit of fortitude is proclaimed. And rightly. For among the other works of the Holy Spirit, the work of fortitude is great and wonderful… The Spirit of fortitude is more in act, and works abroad or fights, and by fighting composes holy leisure for them.] Rupert, *De oper. Spir. sanct.*, lib. VI, c. i.

Now to act and to suffer are the two objects of the gift of fortitude: to do the one and the other with courage and perseverance are its effects.

To act. The gift of fortitude, we have said, communicates the courage to undertake great things. What are they? If there were question only of certain brilliant actions, outside the ordinary life of most men, the gift of fortitude would not be of very great price, for it would rarely be necessary. Yet, like all the others, the gift of fortitude is indispensable to salvation. What are the great things to which it applies? To know them, it suffices to study this question: What is man? Man is a fallen king who seeks his throne.

That man was created king and has fallen from his royalty, is the truth found written at the head of the history of all peoples. It is the dogma which is revealed every day and every hour of the day, even to him who denies it, by the intestine struggle of good and evil, the coexistence in the same heart of sublime instincts and ignoble inclinations. That man is called to reconquer his royalty is a second truth, no less certain than the first. On it rest both the religion and the legislation of all peoples, for on it rests the distinction of good and evil. The good is what leads man to his rehabilitation, the evil is what keeps him from it. To remount his throne is therefore the great work man must accomplish. Now the means being always of the same nature as the end, great are the means given to man to arrive at his last end. To employ them with courage and perseverance is therefore to accomplish a great thing, for which the gift of fortitude is indispensable.(1)

(1) *Ad magna praemia perveniri non potest, nisi per magnos labores.* [One cannot come to great rewards except through great labours.] S. Greg., *in Evang. Homil.* xxxvii.

What are these means of rehabilitation and conquest? They are ten in number, called par excellence the Decalogue or the ten words. These ten words, or these ten verbs, are like ten incarnations of God. In practising them, man becomes a living decalogue, he rehabilitates himself, he becomes king, he becomes God. To accomplish the decalogue is therefore the great thing which man has to do, and the only one for which time is given him. This enterprise is as difficult as it is great. Three formidable powers are leagued to make it fail: the demon, the flesh and the world.

The demon: what we have said in the first part of our work dispenses us from speaking of the cunning, the cruelty, the hatred of this first enemy, and consequently of the dangers he makes us run. Pharao, who, joining hypocrisy to cruelty, undertakes to exterminate the people of Israel; Nabuchodonosor, who has the young Hebrews cast into the vast furnace, heated seven times more than usual and whose flame rises to heaven; Herod, the executioner of the children of Bethlehem, represent imperfectly the demon, his hatred, his wiles and his insatiable thirst for souls.

The flesh: incandescent hearth where ferment night and day, from the cradle to the tomb, delight, love, vanity, anger, desire, aversion, hatred, sadness, audacity, insubordination, hope, fear, despair. How represent this flesh which conspires perpetually against the spirit? It is Eve, who offers the forbidden fruit to her husband and engages him to take delight with her in evil. It is Putiphar’s wife, who solicits to crime the beautiful and chaste Joseph. It is Thamar, who, adorned in the garments of the courtesan, sits at the corner of the crossroads to wait for Juda and enlace him in her shameful nets. It is Dalila, who lulls Samson to sleep on her knees, cuts off the hair, residence of his strength, and delivers him to the Philistines, that is, to the demons who put out his eyes and make him their plaything. Skilful in drawing to evil, the flesh is no less so in turning from good. There is not a kind of warfare against himself that man must not know, not a sacrifice that he must not be ready to impose on himself. Sometimes it is a long-nourished passion to be tamed, a liaison full of seductive charms to be broken; sometimes an ill-gotten good to be stripped of; but what complaints, what objections, what impossibilities and heartbreaks! Other times God calls to a sublime vocation: He wants a priest, a missionary, a Carmelite, a sister of charity. It is Abraham who must leave the land of his fathers, his family, his friends and set out for a distant region. Here again, who will tell the tears, the prayers, the pretexts, the obstacles which flesh and blood oppose to the divine call? And yet, under pain of death, all must be surmounted.

The world: immense crowd of renegades whirling in the midst of insane pleasures, whose provocations, sneers, maxims, manners, luxury, feasts, theatres, fashions, pictures, engravings, statues, dances, songs, writings are so many flaming darts. Man must live in the midst of this general fascination without letting himself be fascinated; in the midst of this conflagration of lust, without burning, like the three children in the furnace of Babylon, without losing one hair. To conquer the demon, to conquer himself: such is the work man must accomplish; immense work, and far above his forces. Yet this is only the first and the less difficult part of his task: to suffer is the second.

To suffer. Saint Antoninus and Saint Thomas give several reasons to show that more strength is needed to suffer than to act. "Doubtless," they say, "to attack and throw oneself into danger precedes, as to time, enduring and suffering. Nevertheless enduring and suffering is more essential to fortitude, nobler, more difficult and more perfect. First, it is more difficult to fight against a stronger than against a weaker. Now he who attacks poses as the stronger, whereas he who sustains the shock presents himself as the weaker. Next, he who endures and suffers feels actually the evil and the danger, whereas he who attacks sees them only in the future. Now it is much more difficult not to be touched by present evil than by future. Finally, to endure implies a certain length of time, whereas to attack may be done in the twinkling of an eye. But to remain long unshaken in attack, in danger and in pain demands far more energy than to rush suddenly to a difficult work."(1) Hence the saying of a great captain: The best troops are not the most ardent in battle but the hardest to fatigue.

(1) S. Th., II–II, q. 123, art. 6, ad 1. S. Anton., *ubi supra*, IV p., tit. XIII, c. i, fol. 210.

What must man suffer? It would be better to ask what he must not suffer. Physical sufferings and moral sufferings, sufferings born within, sufferings coming from without, *foris pugnae, intus timores* [without are fightings, within are fears]; sicknesses of every kind and of all organs, poverty, contradictions, calumnies, injuries, injustices, attacks on the part of the demon, the flesh and the world; in a word, pain of body and pain of soul under all forms: such is the train that surrounds him during the whole course of his pilgrimage. We speak only of the condition common to all existences. Often man, and above all the Christian, is predestined to exceptional sufferings. His virtue irritates the world and the demon. For him in particular are their hatred, their sarcasms, their contempt. For him, today as of old, over a great part of the globe, chains are forged, prisons opened, gibbets erected, sabres sharpened and pyres kindled. Man, the child and the old man, the timid virgin, must brave all this apparatus of death and death itself: apostasy would be hell.

But what is man? Weakness itself. Seek all that is weakest in nature, a leaf that the wind carries away: that is man. So the Holy Spirit Himself defines him: *Folium quod vento rapitur.* A leaf that is carried away by the wind. Incapable of having a good thought, he can of himself neither act nor will for the benefit of his last end. Inconstant, he forms good resolutions he does not keep. Cowardly, the least pain frightens him; sensual, mortification is horror to him; unsubmissive, the yoke of obedience weighs on him. At the least violence he is obliged to do himself for God, discontent is at the bottom of his heart, resistance in his will, opposition in his mind, complaint and murmur on his lips. Behold, and still less than nothing, the dry leaf called man.

(1) Job xiii, 25.

And yet this being so weak must become living strength; this child of God must become perfect like his Father. In spite of all the obstacles we have pointed out, in spite of the demon, in spite of the world, in spite of himself, this fallen king must reconquer the throne he has lost. Measure his weakness, measure the greatness of the enterprise, and you will have the measure of the continual need he has of the gift of fortitude.

Thanks to this divine gift, the world, for eighteen hundred years, has seen incredible marvels. It has seen millions of souls, souls of rich and souls of poor, souls of learned and of ignorant, souls of old men, of women and of children, souls living in the cloister and in the world, in East and West, under all latitudes, strong, courageous and constant in the execution of their holy purposes; strong and courageous to conquer

temptations, strong, magnanimous and generous to endure adversities and sorrows. The Holy Spirit Himself renders them this homage. “They conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, were healed of their infirmities, became valiant in battle, put to flight the armies of foreigners; women received their dead raised to life again.”(1) We know what they did; what did they suffer? “Some were racked, not accepting deliverance, that they might find a better resurrection. And others had trial of mockeries and stripes, moreover also of bonds and prisons; they were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins, in goatskins, being in want, distressed, afflicted; of whom the world was not worthy; wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens and in caves of the earth. Therefore we also, having so great a cloud of witnesses over our head, laying aside every weight and the sin that surrounds us, let us run by patience to the fight proposed to us.”(2)

(1) Heb. xi, 33–35. (2) *Ibid.*, 35 ff. [and xii, 1].

This is what the world has seen; and here is what it has heard. In the name of all these pupils of fortitude it has heard Paul hurling this sublime defiance at all hostile powers: “I fear nothing; for I can do all things in him who strengtheneth me. Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? or distress? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or persecution? or the sword? … For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus.”(1) It has heard Teresa taking for her motto: *Either to suffer or to die.* It has heard one of Teresa’s daughters, Magdalen of Pazzi, still more sublime, if possible, than her mother, saying: *To suffer and not to die.* It has heard John of the Cross summing up all his wishes in these words: *To suffer and be despised for God.* How many other accents, no less unknown to the pagan world, have not resounded in Christian humanity since the day when the Spirit of fortitude descended upon it! And to believe in Christianity there are still some who ask for miracles!

(1) Acts xx, 24 [printed]; Philipp. iv, 13; Rom. viii, 35–39.

3° What is the necessity of the gift of fortitude? After what has just been said, such a question seems superfluous. It is not so. With regard to the gift of fortitude, as with regard to the other gifts of the Holy Spirit, man finds himself in the pitiless alternative we have pointed out: Either to live under the empire of the Spirit of fortitude, or to live under the tyranny of the contrary Spirit. What is it? The spirit of *sloth.*(2) Let us see what it consists in and what it makes of man and of the world.

(2) *Spiritus fortitudinis illuminat Spiritum tristem accidiae, qui propter taedium laboris subterfugit viriliter bona operari, infirmitate victus sensualitatis.* [The Spirit of fortitude enlightens the sad Spirit of sloth, who, on account of weariness of labour, shrinks from working good manfully, conquered by the infirmity of sensuality.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. X, c. i, p. 153.

Sloth is a spiritual numbness which hinders us from accomplishing our duties.(1) It is Satan’s chloroform. Hardly is this virus spread in the soul than it weighs it down and gives it nausea for all spiritual good. Its supreme end, the friendship of God in this world, His glory in the other, the means of arriving there; duties, virtues, Christian instructions, feasts, sacraments, prayer, good works, the whole of religion is a burden and a disgust to it. Hence is born, according to the explanation of Saint Gregory, *pusillanimity,* a kind of dejection and softness in face of an obligation at all costly, such as fasting, abstinence, mortification of the senses or of the will; *tepidity, torpor,* which omits the duty or accomplishes it only imperfectly and by way of acquittance; *wandering of the mind, mentis evagatio,* which in the exercises of religion is anywhere else than in the presence of God; *instability of heart, instabilitas cordis,* whose inconstancies in good are less easy to count than the movements of the reed shaken by contrary winds; *malice, malitia,* at the thought of the duties imposed on man and on the Christian, the slothful man begins to regret having been born, and above all born within Christianity; *rancour, rancor,* against the priest and whoever preaches him his obligations, or even

against the material objects that recall them to his memory; the fomenting of all vices, for it is written of idleness, daughter of sloth, that it teaches all manner of evil; finally, discouragement, despair and final impenitence.

(1) *Acedia est torpor mentis bona spiritualia inchoare abhorrentis et inchoata perficere fastidientis.* [Sloth is a torpor of mind which shrinks from beginning spiritual goods and loathes completing those begun.] Ferraris, *verb. Acedia.*

One understands what must become of a man, a people, a world, under the tyranny of such a demon. If nothing is more brilliant than the picture drawn by the Holy Spirit Himself of the pupils of the gift of fortitude, nothing is sadder than the portrait of the slaves of the Spirit of sloth. A degraded being, without energy for good, stupidly indifferent to his eternal interests, confounding all religions in a common contempt in order to practise none, sunk in matter, the spiritual sluggard, man, people or world, wills and wills not. He has ears, and pretends not to hear; eyes, and pretends not to see; feet, and does not walk; hands, and does not work. He resembles the door which twenty times a day opens and shuts, and which the evening finds always in the same place. He hides his hand under his armpit, and it is a fatigue to him to bring it to his mouth.(2)

(2) Prov. xxvi, 13, 15.

Not only does this man, this people, this world degrade itself, but it impoverishes itself in truths and virtues. Let us hear the Holy Spirit again: “The slothful man saith: There is a lion in the way, and a lioness in the roads. [If I go out I shall be devoured.] I passed by the field of the slothful man, and, behold, it was all filled with nettles, and thorns had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall was broken down. Go to the ant, O sluggard, and consider her ways, and learn wisdom. In summer she storeth up for winter. How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep? Thus poverty shall come upon thee, as a runner, and beggary as an armed man. As vinegar to the teeth, and smoke to the eyes, so is the sluggard to them that sent him.”(1) If such he is for men, what is he for God? A motionless sword that rusts, an inactive foot that grows numb, an unworn garment that the moth devours, stagnant water in which the most disgusting insects form and swarm, an insipid food which the mouth rejects and never takes again. It is not with stones that the slothful man must be stoned, he is not worthy of them: it is with ox-dung.(1)

(1) *De stercore boum lapidatus est piger; et omnis qui tetigerit eum excutiet manum ejus.* [The slothful is stoned with the dung of oxen; and everyone that shall touch him shall shake his hands.] Ecclus. xxii, 2; xxiii, 29 [sic]; Prov. vi, 11; id. x, 26; id. xiii, 4; id. xxiv, 30. — *De stercore boum,* say the commentators, because the ox is the model of labour.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXX

1. **Fortitude and sloth.** *Force* renders both the virtue and the gift of *fortitudo*; *paresse* renders *acedia* (sloth), which Gaume’s authorities define as “torpor of mind”. The order of the vices follows Antoninus.

2. **The “four differences” of Antoninus.** Presented in Gaume’s French; the paraphrase of Isaias and Job (“In my God I shall leap over the wall”, Ps. xvii, 30; “Set me beside thee”, Job xvii, 3) is Gaume’s, with the verses not cited.

3. **Gregory’s list.** The seven (or eight) “daughters of sloth” that Gaume lists (*pusillanimitas, torpor, mentis evagatio, instabilitas cordis, malitia, rancor, …*) are the traditional list of the “daughters of *acedia*” from Gregory’s *Moralia* as used by Aquinas and Antoninus. I give the Latin terms as Gaume prints them.

4. **“Chloroform of Satan.”** Gaume’s own image; chloroform was in common use as an anaesthetic from the 1850s.

5. **Mary Magdalen de’ Pazzi.** The mottoes of Teresa (“Either to suffer or to die”), Magdalen de’ Pazzi (“to suffer, not to die”) and John of the Cross (“to suffer and be despised for Thee”) are traditional; Gaume gives

no sources and I did not verify them.

6. **Hebrews xi, 33–38; xii, 1.** I have translated Gaume's French against the Douay sense; Gaume's "Hebr. xi, 33, 35 ff." is as printed.

7. **Proverbs.** "xxxvi, 13, 15" is an error for Prov. xxvi, 13, 15; the final composite of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus verses is Gaume's, with the "dung of oxen" being Ecclus. xxii, 2. Gaume's own gloss (the ox as the model of labour) is quoted from "the commentators".

8. **"Foris pugnae, intus timores."** 2 Cor. vii, 5.

9. **Acts xx, 24** is printed for the "I fear nothing" reference; the words are from Phil. iv, 13 and Rom. viii.

10. **"Eighteen hundred years."** Gaume's round figure for the Christian era; kept as written.

Chapter XXXI. The Gift of Counsel

What the gift of counsel is. — Wherein it differs from prudence and from the gift of knowledge. — Effects of the gift of counsel. — On our life and on the life of others. — Words of Donoso Cortés. — The gift of counsel created the religious orders. — Explanation of this fact. — Immense benefit of the gift of counsel. — Necessity of the gift of counsel; it is opposed to avarice. — Explanation. — Nature and effects of avarice on man and on the world.

Superior in energy and in extent to the virtue of fortitude, the gift or spirit of fortitude has two objects: action and suffering. It is placed in the midst of the seven gifts, like a king in the midst of his officers, to protect and direct them. Thanks to its influence, man becomes capable of bringing to a good end the great enterprise for which he is upon earth, the conquest of heaven. Before him recede the three powers leagued to arrest his march: the demon, the flesh and the world. With unshaken courage he bears the fatigues of the eternal combat and gives to heaven and earth the most beautiful spectacle they can contemplate. Necessary to man, to society, to all humanity, for doing and suffering nobly great things, the gift of fortitude is no less so to preserve them from the slavery of the contrary Spirit, sloth. This Spirit, which degrades man, which renders him contemptible and impoverishes him, offers a sad contrast with the Spirit of fortitude, such as it has shown itself in all ages and shows itself still in all Catholic countries. But, to act and to suffer in conformity with the aim of life, it does not suffice to have the strength for action and for suffering; this strength must be directed. "One runs ill," says Saint Augustine, "if one knows not whither one must run: *Non bene curritur si quo currendum est nesciatur.*" It is directed by the gift of counsel. We shall see this in the study of our three questions: What is the gift of counsel? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

1° What is the gift of counsel? Counsel is a gift of the Holy Spirit which makes us discern with certainty the best means of arriving at heaven.(1) This name is admirable. Counsel is the advice given to us by someone. What a noble gift! In a crowd of circumstances man is incapable of deciding for himself. To put an end to his uncertainties, what does he do? He asks counsel. Nothing is wiser than this conduct. "My son," said Tobias, "ask counsel always of a wise man."(2) On good counsel may depend fortune, honour, life itself. How many miscalculations, regrets and tears it can spare! Now, in the one important affair, the only one that carries eternal consequences, the affair of salvation, the Holy Spirit Himself is willing to be our counsellor: He becomes so by the gift that occupies us.

(1) *Consilium est donum quo Spiritus sanctus dirigit nos in omnibus quae ordinantur in finem vitae aeternae, sive sint de necessitate salutis, sive non.* [Counsel is the gift by which the Holy Spirit directs us in all things that are ordained to the end of eternal life, whether they be of necessity for salvation or not.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. XII, c. i, fol. 189. (2) Tob. iv, 19.

This gift differs from the virtue of prudence and from the gift of knowledge. It differs from prudence in principle, in extent, in certainty. *In principle:* reason is the principle of natural prudence; by the gift of

counsel it is the Holy Spirit Himself who becomes our guide. *In extent:* the virtue of prudence, whatever it be, natural or supernatural, can neither embrace nor foresee all the means most fitted to attain the desired end, and, in spite of all its application, it is, as Scripture says, always short on some side.(1) The gift of counsel, on the contrary, extends to all that it is necessary for us to know in order to decide wisely in a given case. *In certainty:* no one is ignorant of the calculations and gropings which precede an important determination, the hesitations which accompany it and even the uncertainties which follow it. Nothing of all this in the gift of counsel. It is the Holy Spirit Himself who communicates to us His light and determines our choice.(2)

(1) Wisd. ix, 14. (2) *Unde donum consilii respondet prudentiae, sicut ipsam adjuvans et perficiens.* [Whence the gift of counsel corresponds to prudence, as helping and perfecting it.] S. Thom., II–II, q. 52, art. 2, corp. — *Indiget homo in inquisitione consilii dirigi et elevari a Deo qui omnia comprehendit. Et hoc fit per donum consilii.* [Man needs, in the inquiry of counsel, to be directed and raised up by God, who comprehends all things. And this is done by the gift of counsel.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. XII, c. i, fol. 189.

As to the difference of the gift of counsel from the gift of knowledge, here is wherein it consists. By communicating to us the certain knowledge of the truth, the gift of knowledge renders us capable of discerning without trouble the true from the false, the good from the evil. The gift of counsel goes further. It makes us distinguish and choose between the true and the truer, between the good and the better: that is, it points out to us the means most appropriate to our supreme end, having regard to circumstances of time, place and persons. To have considered the gift of counsel in itself is not enough: to know it well, one must see it in its effects.

2° What are the effects of the gift of counsel? We have just indicated them in saying that the gift of counsel makes us choose the best means of arriving at our last end. That means that this divine gift preserves us from the misfortunes, often desperate, in which an imprudent choice would end. It means again that it helps us to do our works as God Himself does His, with number, weight and measure. It means, finally, that, member of the great body of the incarnate Word, it sets each of us in his place and makes us function so as to procure, without friction, the harmony of the whole: magnificent harmony, powerful unity, which is the aim of all the gifts and of all the operations of the Holy Spirit.

The gift of counsel is of incessant practice. As the blind man has need of a guide in all his steps, so man, whoever he be, child, youth or old man, rich or poor, king or subject, priest or layman, has need of being directed in each of his acts: and he is so in reality. What is true of the individual is true of the family, true of societies, true of humanity itself. Woe therefore to him who, in the government of his life or of the life of others, disdains the Spirit of counsel. Greater woe to him who seeks it where it is not.

Now it is where the Holy Spirit is; it is only there: and it is there according to the measure of the communications of the Holy Spirit. Hence it is that the saints, that is, the men of good counsel par excellence, are for the world veritable treasures. “If the human race,” writes Donoso Cortés, “were not irremissibly condemned to see things backwards, it would choose for counsellors, among all men, the theologians; among the theologians, the mystics; and among the mystics, those who have led the life most withdrawn from the world and from affairs. Among the persons I know, and I know many, the only ones in whom I have recognized an imperturbable good sense, a true sagacity, a marvellous aptitude for giving practical and wise solutions to the most difficult problems, and for always finding an outlet or an issue in the most arduous affairs, are those who have led a contemplative and retired life. On the contrary, I have not yet met, and I do not hope ever to meet, one of those men called men of affairs, who despise spiritual contemplations, and above all divine contemplations, who is capable of understanding anything of any affair.”(1)

(1) *Essai,* etc., p. 200.

If each of us is ignorant of the personal benefits of the Spirit of counsel, the world ought not to ignore that it is indebted to Him for its most beautiful, its most useful masterpiece. What is it? The religious orders. Let us hear the princes of theology relate the history of this marvellous creation; and, to pay homage for it to the Spirit of counsel, let us remember that it was unknown to all antiquity, that it begins with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the Cenacle, and that it disappears from every place from which He withdraws.

"God being perfection," teach Saint Thomas and Saint Antoninus, "to be united to Him in the most intimate manner is the glory and happiness of man, because such is his end. But by reason of the preoccupations and unavoidable obstacles of ordinary life, this union is impossible. That is why to the precepts the divine law adds counsels. Their aim is to disengage man, within the limits of the possible, from all the solicitudes of the present life. However, this disengagement is not so necessary that without it man cannot attain his end. Virtue and holiness are not incompatible with the reasonable use of earthly goods. Therefore the admonitions of the divine law are called, not precepts, but counsels, in the sense that they persuade man to despise the less for the more, the less good for the better. Now, in the present state, the solicitudes of man have a threefold object: our own person, what it must do, where it must dwell; the persons united to us by the most intimate ties, such as the wife and children; external goods and the means of acquiring or preserving them.

"To break at one stroke these three obstacles to intimate union with God, the incarnate Word gives three counsels, which the Holy Spirit makes us relish and take for rules of conduct. Voluntary poverty cuts off all solicitude with regard to earthly goods. Voluntary virginity and chastity free the soul from all solicitude with regard to the goods of the body. Voluntary obedience delivers from all solicitude with regard to the conduct of life and the goods of the mind, resulting from the independence of the will."(1)

(1) S. Anton., IV p., tit. XII, c. ii.

The nurslings of the chrism, *alumni chrismatis,* who have the courage of this heroic disengagement, can sing with the prophet: *Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken and we are delivered.*(2) Nothing henceforth hinders them from making God the centre of all their affections and from gravitating toward Him with all the powers of their being. Before the eyes of the whole world they accomplish in the moral order the great law which presides over the planetary world, where we see all the stars, driven by an irresistible force, gravitating toward the sun. What more can be said? To love as they love is to remove, break, trample under foot all the obstacles which could retard the speed of their movement toward God, or falsify its direction. Here again they accomplish in the moral order the law which presides over the terrestrial world, where we see torrents and rivers overthrow in their passage all that opposes their impetuous course toward the Ocean.

(2) Ps. 123 [Douay cxxiii, 7].

Let us now calculate, if it is possible, all that humanity owes to the religious orders of services and benefits, as much in the temporal as in the moral order, and we shall know in part what the world owes to the gift of counsel alone. We say in part; for, if we know the goods with which the Spirit of counsel loads us, we are still ignorant of the evils from which He preserves us. The answer to the following question will finish instructing us.

3° What is the necessity of the gift of counsel? Because he has not the truth in himself, man is a being who is taught; and because he is a being who is taught, he is necessarily a being who is directed. Now, like the world itself, man is placed between two opposite directions: the one comes from the Spirit of light, the other from the Spirit of darkness. Whoever he be and whatever he do, he must obey the one or the other: the alternative is pitiless. If the Spirit of counsel withdraws from man or from the world, His place does not remain empty: it is immediately taken by the contrary Spirit, which is the spirit of avarice.(1)

(1) *Spiritus consilii fugat spiritum avaritiae, quae nec consilia nec mandata Dei sinit implere, qui jubet vel consulit pauperibus indigentibus subveniri, sed ipsi sibi congregat lutum.* [The Spirit of counsel puts to flight the spirit of avarice, which suffers neither the counsels nor the commandments of God to be fulfilled, who bids or counsels that the needy poor be succoured, but heaps up mire for itself.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. X, c. i.

That avarice is directly opposed to the gift of counsel nothing is easier to prove. By enlightening our understanding, the gift of counsel makes us choose the best means of attaining our last end. The first is disengagement from the solicitudes of life, by detachment from created goods. The second is the voluntary stripping of all these goods. What is avarice? It is the inordinate love of riches. To darken the understanding and to warp the will is the inevitable effect of avarice. Scarcely has the spirit of avarice entered a man than it fascinates him. Before his eyes earthly goods form a deceptive mirage, outside of which he sees nothing worthy of his thoughts. This mirage he pursues and consumes himself to seize; and, wholly absorbed in his insensate pursuit, he forgets the true goods. Instead of clearing his road, he encumbers it with a thousand obstacles. Instead of having freedom of gait and of thought, he entangles himself in inextricable nets and loses himself in endless solicitudes, source of sorrows and iniquities, until death comes to say to him: Weaver of spiders' webs, catcher of flies, builder of card castles, you must depart for eternity, and depart empty-handed.(1) Yes, empty-handed of good works, and too often full of sins.

(1) Wisd. iv, 12. — 1 Tim. vi, 9, 10. — *Telas araneae texuerunt.* [They have woven spiders' webs.] Is. lix, 5.

Avarice is a fruitful mother who begets daughters no less criminal than their mother. Here are some of them. *Hardness of heart, cordis duritia:* nothing is more insensible than the miser. Neither public calamities, nor the rags of the poor, nor the groans of the sick, nor the tears of the widow and the orphan are able to make him loosen the strings of his purse. His soul is stamped with the dry and hard imprint of the metal he adores. *Deceit, falsitas:* there are no lies or trickeries of which the miser makes a scruple, whether to sell or to buy. Of all the virtues, good faith is the one he knows least. *Fraud, fraus:* from words he passes to acts. To cheat in weights and measures, to cheat on the nature and quality of objects, are current coin for the miser. *Violence, violentia:* this name must be given to public extortions, to robberies on a large scale, to scandalous compromises, to usurious contracts, to unworthy manoeuvres by which credulity is deceived, weakness abused, conscience trafficked in, and one grows rich to the detriment of honour and justice. *Treachery, perfidia:* the miser has but one friend, his gold. In a sense very different from Melchisedech's, he can avow that he has neither father, nor mother, nor brothers, nor sisters, and that he is without genealogy upon earth. To quarrel with his relations and friends, to raise lawsuits against them, to foment divisions and hatreds, to descend to every baseness, to live on egoism, disparagement and jealousy, costs the miser nothing, as soon as there is question of a loss or a gain.

Let the spirit of avarice spread over society, and all the stigmas justly impressed on the individual miser apply to the collective miser. In all truth it will have to be said of this society, of this nation, of this world, that there is nothing more wicked; that the fear of God, justice and loyalty are banished from it; that it is a vast bazaar where everything is sold because everything is bought, liberty, honour and conscience; an aggregation of freebooters and pirates which, barring a miraculous conversion, will end by counting only two categories of individuals: dupes and knaves. Meanwhile two characters will distinguish this society possessed by the demon of avarice. Latent or manifest, the war of those who have not against those who have will be permanent; incessant revolutions will bring endless catastrophes, the just chastisement of a world that has changed its God into a golden calf. Folly will replace reason, and time will be preferred to eternity, the less to the more. "What wisdom, what good sense, what elevation of intelligence," asks Scripture, "can remain to him who has soldered himself to his plough, who puts his glory in his machines, in the goad with which he stirs his oxen; who speaks only of manure, agriculture, material labours; whose every conversation turns on the offspring of bulls; whose heart is sunk in the furrows and his thought in the fat of the cows?"(1) To save the world from such a degradation, is it not an immense benefit? From whom can it be expected?

From legislators, philosophers, men of whatever sort? By no means; but from the Spirit of counsel, and from Him alone, and the world forgets Him!

(1) *Avaro nihil est scelestius; nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam… hic enim et animam suam venalem habet.* [There is not a more wicked thing than to love money… for such a one setteth even his own soul to sale.] Eccles. [Ecclus.] x, 9, 10. Eph. v, 5. Ecclus. xxvii, 1. — *Qua sapientia replebitur qui tenet aratrum, et qui gloriatur in jaculo; stimulo boves agitat, et conversatur in operibus eorum, et enarratio ejus in filiis taurorum? Cor suum dabit ad versandos sulcos, et vigilia ejus in sagina vaccarum.* [What wisdom shall he have that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen therewith, and is occupied in their labours, and his whole talk is of the offspring of bulls? He shall give his mind to turn up furrows, and his care is to give the kine fodder.] Ecclus. xxxviii, 25–27 [as printed; Douay numbers 26–28].

Translator's notes — Chapter XXXI

1. **Wisd. iv, 12.** Printed "iv, 42"; I read verse 12 ("the bewitching of vanity obscureth good things"), which suits the sense of "fascinates." The reading is my correction. Wisd. ix, 14 and Tob. iv, 19 are as printed.

2. **Antoninus and Aquinas.** Gaume attributes the paragraphs on the three counsels to "Saint Thomas and Saint Antoninus" jointly, citing only Antoninus (IV p., tit. XII, c. ii). The folio numbers (189) are as printed. I did not check them.

3. **Donoso Cortés.** The quotation is from the *Essai sur le catholicisme*, p. 200 as printed; Gaume quotes it in French translation, and my English renders his French.

4. **"Alumni chrismatis"** (nurslings of the chrism): Gaume's recurrent term for the baptized/confirmed Christian; here applied to religious.

5. **Image of the weaver.** "Weaver of spiders' webs, catcher of flies, builder of card castles" is Gaume's own rhetorical address, built on Is. lix, 5; it is not a quotation of Wisd. iv.

6. **Period remarks.** The statements that the religious orders "were unknown to all antiquity" and the social portrait of the "collective miser" are Gaume's own, translated as written.

7. **Ecclus. references.** Gaume prints "Eccles." and "Eccl." for Ecclesiasticus (Sirach); Douay numbering of xxxviii differs by one verse from the Vulgate figures he gives.

8. **Position of the chapter.** In Gaume's order the gift of fortitude precedes counsel; the chapter's opening recapitulates Ch. XXX.

Chapter XXXII. The Gift of Understanding

What it is. — Wherein it differs from faith and from the gift of knowledge. — Its effects: it acts on the understanding and on the will. — In what manner. — Example of the apostles. — What the Christian is without the gift of understanding. — What he becomes when he possesses it. — Its necessity. — From what spirit it delivers us. — Words of Saint Antoninus. — The spirit of gluttony and its effects. — The weakening of intelligence. — Foolish joy. — Immodesty. — The loss of fortune and of health. — Picture of present-day sensualism.

In the darkness of the night the child distinguishes among a thousand the voice of his father. As soon as he hears it, he runs where this voice calls him. So it is with the soul directed by the gift of counsel. Among the different parties that present themselves and the divers movements that solicit it, it distinguishes without trouble the party to be taken, the movement to be followed. Acting on the will no less than on the understanding, the gift of counsel imprints on the soul a strong impulse, which renders it victorious over the movements of nature and docile to the movements of grace. Hence a rectitude of intention, a purity of affection and a wisdom of conduct which make its life wholly divine. Hence a constant and at times heroic

generosity in making all sacrifices to disengage itself from the obstacles to perfection. If we remain in the world, it is detachment from creatures and above all from riches; if the impulse is stronger, it is the complete abandonment of created goods by means of the three vows of religion, principle of glory for the Church and of benefits for society. In the world as in the cloister, it is deliverance from the spirit of avarice, incessant cause of the loss of an infinity of souls. Such are, in brief, the effects of the gift of counsel.

Nobler still is the gift of understanding or of intelligence. To know in their nature and in their extent the incomparable riches of this new deifying element, we shall, as for the others, study the three following questions: What is the gift of understanding? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

1° What is the gift of understanding? Understanding is a gift of the Holy Spirit which makes us comprehend and penetrate supernatural truths.(1) The word *understanding* or *intelligence* implies a certain intimate knowledge; for it comes from the Latin *intelligere,* which signifies to read within, *intus legere.* The knowledge of beings which comes to us by the senses, by sight, hearing, taste and touch, is confined to exterior qualities; but intellectual knowledge penetrates to the essence of things. Now there are many things hidden under veils which intelligence alone can penetrate. Thus, under the exterior forms is hidden the substance of beings; under words, the signification of words; under comparisons and figures, the truth figured; under effects, the causes. The stronger the light of our understanding, the farther in it can penetrate. The natural light of our understanding has only a limited force, incapable of penetrating beyond certain limits. Yet man is created for a supernatural end; he can attain it only in so far as he knows it, as also the means of arriving at it. Man has therefore need of a supernatural light, to penetrate what surpasses the natural reach of his understanding. This supernatural light, communicated to man by the Holy Spirit, is called the gift of understanding.(1)

(1) *Donum intellectus est habitus, qui dicitur lumen supernaturale, superadditum lumini naturali, datum homini ad intelligendum et penetrandum ea quae nobis supernaturaliter innotescunt.* [The gift of understanding is a habit, which is called a supernatural light, superadded to the natural light, given to man to understand and penetrate those things which become known to us supernaturally.] Viguier, c. xiii, p. 410. (1) *Et illud lumen supernaturale homini datum vocatur donum intellectus.* [And that supernatural light given to man is called the gift of understanding.] S. Th., II–II, q. 8, art. 1, corp. and ad 1.

One sees already wherein the gift of intelligence differs from natural intelligence, from faith and from the gift of knowledge. Natural intelligence is the faculty of knowing the fundamental truths which can be known by reason. Supernatural intelligence or the gift of intelligence goes further; it comes not from nature but from grace; it penetrates not only the truths of the purely human order but the truths of the supernatural order.(2) It differs from faith, whose property is to make us adhere firmly to the truths of the supernatural order; whereas the gift of intelligence makes us penetrate and understand these truths, as far as a man can be capable of it.

(2) *Intellectus virtus est habitus naturalis primorum principiorum cognoscitivus, quae per se naturaliter cognoscuntur. Intellectus donum est habitus primorum principiorum cognoscitivus non naturalis, sed gratuitus, aliter tamen quam fides.* [The virtue of understanding is a natural habit cognitive of first principles, which are known naturally of themselves. The gift of understanding is a habit cognitive of first principles, not natural but gratuitous, yet otherwise than faith.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. XI, p. 169.

“Although the gift of intelligence,” says Saint Antoninus, “corresponds to faith and supposes it, it does not follow that it can, like faith, be in man without sanctifying grace. The reason is that faith implies a simple assent to the truth, an assent which can exist by a light of the mind independent of grace. But the gift of intelligence carries with it a certain penetration of the truth in its relations with our last end, a penetration which cannot exist without sanctifying grace. Thus the sinner who keeps faith can understand the truths to be believed, but he does not fully understand them and does not penetrate them.”(1) As to the man in the state of grace, he may remain in a certain obscurity about truths not necessary to salvation; but, always with regard to

those which are necessary, the Holy Spirit gives him sufficient understanding. This limit set to the gift of intelligence is often a benefit of the wisdom of God, who thus wishes to remove or render powerless the temptations of pride.(2)

(1) *Quamvis peccatores habentes fidem, intelligant ea quae proponuntur credenda non tamen plene intelligunt, neque penetrant.* [Although sinners having faith understand what is proposed to be believed, yet they do not fully understand nor penetrate.] Viguier, c. xiii, p. 411; and S. Anton., *ubi supra.* (2) Viguier, *ubi supra.*

It differs from the gift of knowledge. The gift of knowledge is opposed to ignorance, before which the truth is as though it were not; and the gift of intelligence, to *grossness* or *thickness* of mind, which stops at surfaces without being able to penetrate the depths. The principal object of the gift of knowledge is to make us distinguish surely truth from error; but the gift of understanding makes us penetrate, down to its depths, the truth which the gift of knowledge shows us disengaged from all alloy.(3) Thus, by faith man has the knowledge of the truth; by the gift of knowledge, reasoned certainty; by the gift of understanding, comprehension, which is a kind of intuition begun.

(3) *Ad hoc quod intellectus humanus perfecte assentiat veritati fidei, duo requiruntur: quorum unum est quod sane capiat ea quae proponuntur, quod pertinet ad donum intellectus. Aliud est ut habeat certum et rectum judicium de eis… et ad hoc necessarium est donum scientiae.* [For the human intellect to assent perfectly to the truth of faith two things are required: one of which is that it soundly grasp what is proposed, which pertains to the gift of understanding. The other is that it have a certain and right judgment of them… and for this the gift of knowledge is necessary.] S. Th., II–II, q. 9, art. 1, corp.

2° What are the effects of the gift of understanding? Like the other gifts of the Holy Spirit, the gift of understanding is speculative and practical. By this must be understood that it regards the truths to be believed and the duties to be practised. “The gift of intelligence,” teaches theology, “is applied not only to the things which are primarily and principally the object of faith, but also to all those that relate to it. Now good works have an intimate relation with faith, since faith works by charity. Thus the gift of intelligence extends to acts, inasmuch as they must be conformed to the eternal laws, of which reason alone cannot penetrate, as is fitting, either the sense or the extent. Doubtless natural reason directs man in human acts; but the rule of human acts is not only human reason, it is also eternal reason, which surpasses all created reason. Therefore the knowledge of acts, inasmuch as they must be regulated by divine reason, surpasses human reason and imperiously claims the supernatural light of the gift of intelligence.”(1)

(1) S. Th., II–II, q. 8, art. 3, corp.; and S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

It follows that this gift acts on the understanding and on the will.

On the understanding; and would we know what it produces there? Three lights enlighten us: reason, faith, the gift of intelligence. Reason is a sepulchral lamp which casts only a doubtful glimmer, hardly sufficient to pierce the thickness of night and let us glimpse the nearest objects. Faith is a more luminous torch which shines in the darkness, but whose rays light only imperfectly a limited horizon.(1) The gift of intelligence is the sun, dissipating darkness and clouds and lighting afar all things, below and around it. Need it be remarked how these three lights differ? If I enter an apartment with a lamp I distinguish, but with difficulty, the objects in it. If I enter with a more luminous torch, I see the objects with less trouble, but imperfectly. If I enter at full noon, I see all these objects perfectly, in all their beauty and without effort.

(1) …*Cui benefacitis attendentes quasi lucernae lucenti in caliginoso loco donec dies elucescat.* […Whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn.] 2 Pet. i, 19.

What are the objects which the gift of intelligence makes resplendent to our eyes? They are none other than truth in every order and under every aspect. *Truth in the religious order.* Scripture contains it, but covered

with veils, which the gift of intelligence alone has the power to lift or to make transparent. Thus, before the ascension of their Master, the apostles had reason and faith, and yet they did not understand the Scriptures. The first benefit of Our Lord, after His resurrection, is to open their mind, to make room for the gift of intelligence which was to come, on the day of Pentecost, to communicate to them the clear knowledge and as it were the sight of the truth hidden in the divine oracles.(2)

(2) *Nondum enim sciebant scripturas.* [For as yet they knew not the scripture.] John xx, 9. — *Tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intelligerent Scripturas.* [Then he opened their understanding that they might understand the scriptures.] Luke xxiv, 45. — *Quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.* [But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth.] John xvi, 13.

The Spirit of intelligence descended into the darkened soul of the fishermen of Galilee, and they became geniuses of the first order, resplendent suns whose rays illumine the whole world. See with what marvellous facility Peter, hardly out of the Cenacle, reads to the Jews the Scriptures and shows them everywhere the Word, redeemer of Israel and of the Gentiles, named in the promises, hidden under the figures, announced in the prophecies, prepared by all events. Before him unrolls the magnificent picture of the mysteries of the kingdom of God, of which the angels themselves had until then only an imperfect knowledge; and this picture, sparkling with lights and beauties, he offers to the admiration of his hearers. These in their turn, enlightened with the gift of intelligence, understand what they had never understood, see what they had never seen; and with the enthusiasm of love embrace the truth, as after a long absence the child embraces a dear mother from whom nothing can any more separate him.(1)

(1) See Rupert, *ubi supra: De dono intellectus. — Qui piscatorem Spiritu suo docuit sapere et dicere: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.* [Who taught a fisherman by His Spirit to know and to say: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.] S. Aug., *De civ. Dei,* lib. X, c. xxix.

What took place for the apostles happens with regard to the Christian. He may have faith; but if, by mortal sin, he has lost the gift of intelligence, holy Scripture, with all its treasures of truths, all its beauties and all its lights, is for him a closed book. He reads the letter which killeth, but the spirit which quickeneth escapes him. Some scattered rays strike his sight, but the focus he does not perceive. The very reading of this book, come down from heaven, wearies and bores him. It is the same with the other vessels in which truth reposes. These precious vessels are the teaching of the Church, the works of theology and of Christian philosophy, sermons, the physical world and the events of history. Now without the gift of intelligence all these reservoirs of truth are hardly half-opened, and the truths they contain very badly known, still less understood, very little admired and still less loved.(1)

(1) *Et erat verbum istud absconditum ab eis.* [And this saying was hid from them.] Luke xviii, 34.

Let the Spirit of intelligence come, all is illuminated. The Old and the New Testament open to their very depths, and let one contemplate the mysteries of the Word who was in the Law as He is in the Gospel, the Alpha and the Omega of all things. The Catholic Creed, the Decalogue and the Sacraments appear as the noblest, best-connected and most perfect body of doctrine that man has ever known. Theology resplendent as the queen of the sciences, worthy of the studies and the preferences of every serious mind. On her steps walks her eldest daughter, Christian philosophy, whose teachings are no less necessary to kings for the government of peoples than to the subjects themselves for the government of their life. Sermons, catechisms, religious instructions, in whatever form they be clothed, are no longer vain sounds that strike the ears of the body without reaching the ear of the heart. Within the soul is the Spirit of intelligence, who translates them to each, makes them understood, relished, retained and practised, according to the word of the Apostle: *They shall all be taught of God: Erunt omnes docibiles Dei.*

Searcher of the deepest mysteries of the supernatural world, it is the least the Spirit of intelligence can do to search and unveil the secrets of the physical world. For him who possesses it, the material universe becomes again what it ought to be, what it is in reality, a diaphanous veil thrown over the spiritual world, a radiation of the invisible; a mirror in which are reflected the power, the wisdom, the goodness, the eternity, the divinity of the Creator; a book written within and without, which teaches all the benefits of God and the duties of man.

As to the events of history, no more than material creatures have they any obscurity for the Spirit of intelligence. With one glance, embracing the duration of the ages, He sees all the period anterior to the Messias, with the rise and fall of its great empires, with its wars, its battles, its incessant revolutions, its movements so varied and profound, summed up in a single word: *All to bring Christ to birth at Bethlehem.* No less luminous is the period after the coming of the Desired of the nations. With all it embraces of events, prosperities and reverses, it is translated by this single word: *All to establish, preserve and propagate the reign of the immortal King of the ages.* And the aim of this reign is none other than the deification of man on earth and his glorification in eternity.

The gift of intelligence acts not only on the understanding, it acts also on the *will.* Now the movements of the will are in direct ratio to the lights of the mind. The more clearly the mind sees a thing, the more the heart is touched by it, that is, disposed to love it or fear it. For the soul in possession of the gift of intelligence, religion, as a divine fact, has no more darkness. The foundations of the edifice are laid bare. Without comprehending its nature, it sees the place and the necessity of the mysteries; it sees the facts and the reason of the facts, the harmony of the means with the end, and the majestic whole which results. Faith becomes so easy to it that it has almost no more merit in believing; so clear that it does not understand how one does not see what it sees; so firm that nothing can make it totter. Let the demon armed with deceits, the sophist armed with lies, the worldling armed with scandals undertake to wrest from it a denial or even a doubt: this soul laughs at their attacks. It is the cedar of Libanus which stands unshaken in the midst of tempests; it is the martyr who on the pyre sings his Credo; it is the young virgin who, from the depth of solitude, sends to the world these sublime accents: “If all men changed their religion and united their efforts to make me waver in my belief, they would gain nothing. It seems to me that I should conquer them all by the strength of faith; it is so deeply rooted in my heart that hell itself with all its legions would not be capable of shaking it.”

One understands what generosity of heart such an elevated and sure knowledge of divine things must produce. “Thanks to the gift of understanding,” cried David, “I love the commandments of my God above gold and the topaz.”(1) Hence the fervour in the service of God, the victorious resistance to temptations, the contempt of the world and its false goods, patience in pain, resignation in poverty, sacrifice of self to others, detachment from life and constant aspiration toward future realities. Translated into public acts, these dispositions become for families, for towns and country, for society entire, a source of virtues which ennoble humanity, of benefits which console it and of sacrifices which preserve it from the chastisements so many times merited by the iniquities of the great number.

(1) Ps. 118 [Douay cxviii, 127].

3° What is the necessity of the gift of understanding? In what precedes is in part the answer to this question. The gift of understanding produces positive effects and negative effects. As we have seen, the positive effects are to illumine the mind and to ennoble the heart. Now nothing is more necessary than this double action of the Spirit of intelligence. You have faith, and you believe that God is everywhere, that He sees you, that He hears you and will judge you. You have faith, and you believe that the great Victim, vowed to the gibbet of Calvary, is your God and your model. You have faith, and you believe that you have a soul to save, that you have but one, that no one but you can save it, that, if you lose it, you will be eternally the unhappiest of creatures. You have faith, and you believe that a single mortal sin condemns to endless torments. You have faith, and you believe that religion, believed and practised not according to your caprices

but as God wills and as the Church teaches, is the only means of avoiding hell and meriting heaven. You believe firmly all these truths. How comes it, however, that they make so little impression on you?

From this, that you do not understand; and you do not understand because the gift of understanding is lacking to you. God with His rights, baptism with its engagements, life with its aim, eternity with its terrors and splendours, appear to you as distant and fugitive shadows. Of all these great realities you have only a vague, confused, dry and sterile knowledge. You have eyes, and you do not see; ears, and you do not hear; a will, and you do not will. The fruit of the gift of understanding, the Christian sense, that sixth sense of the baptized man, is wanting to you.(1) It is wanting to the majority of men today and to too great a number of women. It is wanting to families, it is wanting to society, it is wanting to governors and governed, it is wanting to the present world. World of pretended light and pretended progress, there remains for you only one last wish to form, that the Spirit of intelligence be given you anew and show you bare the inevitable abyss toward which the Spirit of darkness, become again, in punishment of your pride, your guide and your master, is leading you with great strides.(2)

(1) *Nos autem sensum Christi habemus.* [But we have the mind of Christ.] 1 Cor. ii, 16. (2) *Gens absque consilio est et sine prudentia; utinam saperent et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent.* [A nation without counsel and without wisdom. O that they would be wise and would understand, and would provide for their last end.] Deut. xxxii, 28, 29.

In effect, with regard to this gift as with regard to the others, man finds himself placed in a pitiless alternative. To live under the influence of the Spirit of understanding, or under the influence of the contrary Spirit: no middle. The departure of the one is immediately followed by the arrival of the other. What is this Spirit contrary to the gift of understanding? “It is,” answers Saint Antoninus, “the spirit of *gluttony*.”(3)

(3) *Spiritus intellectus removet spiritum gulae quae mentem offuscat ut nihil spirituale valeat intelligere, fumositatibus repleto cerebro.* [The Spirit of understanding removes the spirit of gluttony, which clouds the mind so that it can understand nothing spiritual, the brain being filled with fumes.] IV [printed “VI”] p., tit. X, p. 153.

How justify the affirmation of the great doctor? By showing what gluttony is in itself and in its effects. Gluttony is the inordinate love of eating and drinking. It is sensualism usurping the place of spiritualism. It is the flesh victorious in its struggle against the spirit. By eating, man puts himself in the most intimate manner in communication with material creatures, creatures inferior to him and all impregnated with the malignant influences of the demon. Disordered under any title whatever, eating makes the life of the senses predominate over the life of the spirit, the body over the soul. If the disorder changes into habit, it chains to meats thought, sight, taste, smell, and throws man into adoration before the god belly.

The first effect of such a disorder is the weakening of intelligence, *hebetudo.* [dullness.] Soul and body are to each other like the two pans of a balance: when one rises, the other descends. By excess of eating and drinking the organism develops, and the mind grows blunt, thick, heavy, lazy, unfit for study and for purely intellectual functions: this result is forced. Tell me whom you frequent, I shall tell you who you are. In intimate, habitual and culpable contact with matter, with animality, man becomes matter, he becomes a beast, *animalis homo.* Hence the old adage: “He who eats once a day is a god; man, he who eats twice; beast, he who eats three times.”(1) Experience confirms the adage: the more one eats, the less one thinks. The more delicately one eats, the less sensibly one thinks. “Good cheer,” says Scripture, “is incompatible with wisdom.”(2) And elsewhere: “I resolved to abstain from wine, that I might apply my mind to wisdom.”(3)

(1) *Qui semel est, Deus est; homo, qui bis; bestia, qui ter.* [He who eats once is a god; he who twice, a man; he who thrice, a beast.] (2) *Sapientia non habitabit in terra suaviter viventium.* [Wisdom is not found in the land of them that live in delights.] Job xxviii [printed “xxxviii”], 13. (3) *Cogitavi in corde meo abstrahere a vino carnem meam, ut animum meum transferrem ad sapientiam.* [I thought in my heart to withdraw my

flesh from wine, that I might turn my mind to wisdom.] Eccles. ii, 3.

Never did a great genius play the glutton. The most enlightened of men, the saints, have all been models of sobriety. Thanks to their triumph over matter, they had spiritualized themselves to the point of seeing the truth, so to speak, face to face and without veil. It is otherwise with the slave of gluttony. The most important truths are for him as though they were not: he understands nothing of them and is hardly more touched by them than by a fable or a chimera. Saint Paul noted the fact eighteen hundred years ago. “The sensual man,” he says, “perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God.”(3) Now what is of the domain of the Holy Spirit is, neither more nor less, the magnificent whole of truths, laws, harmonies, beauties of which the universe is the radiance. “The smoked and soiled mirror,” adds a Father, “does not reflect distinctly the image of objects. So the understanding darkened by the fumes of meats and blunted by the superabundance of food no longer perceives the truth.”(4) Saint Chrysostom holds the same language: “Nothing more pernicious than gluttony, nothing more ignominious; it renders the mind dull and gross, the soul carnal; it blinds the understanding and does not allow it to see anything.”(1) On this point as on all the others the Church is therefore the infallible organ of a fundamental law when, in the preface of Lent, she recalls to the whole world these truths so little understood in our days: “Fasting represses the vicious inclinations of the body, it raises the mind, it gives vigour to virtue and leads to victory: *Vitia comprimis, mentem elevas, virtutem largiris et praemia.*” [Thou dost repress vices, raise the mind, bestow virtue and its rewards.]

(3) *Animalis autem homo non percipit ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei.* [But the sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God.] 1 Cor. ii, 14. (4) *Speculum sordibus obsitum non exprimit distincte objectam formam, et intellectus saturitate obtusus ac hebetatus non suscipit Dei cognitionem.* [A mirror covered with filth does not distinctly express the form set before it, and an intellect dulled and blunted by fulness does not receive the knowledge of God.] S. Nilus, *Tract. de octo spiritib. malit.*, c. ii. (1) *Nihil gula perniciosius, nihil ignominiosius; haec obtusum et crassum ingenium, haec carnalem animam reddit; haec excaecat intellectum, nec sinit ut quidquam percipiat.* Homil. XLIV on John.

The second effect of the spirit of gluttony is *foolish joy, inepta laetitia.* Become by the excess of food victorious over the spirit, the flesh manifests its insolent triumph. Immoderate laughter, ridiculous jests, talk too often obscene, unbecoming or puerile gestures, songs, cries, dances, noisy pleasures, theatrical festivities are its inevitable expression. “The people,” says Scripture, “sat down to eat and drink, and they rose up to play.”(2) And elsewhere: “Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments… let us crown ourselves with roses, let no meadow escape our riot.”(3) Elsewhere again: “Wine turneth every mind to carelessness and joy.”(4) This fact, so often repeated in the sacred books, did not escape the observation of Saint Gregory. “Almost always,” he says, “good cheer is accompanied by voluptuousness. When the body is delighted in the enjoyment of food, the heart is relaxed into vain joy.”(1)

(2) *Sedit populus manducare et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere.* Exod. xxxii, 6. (3) *Vino pretioso et unguentis nos impleamus… coronemus nos rosis, nullum pratum sit, quod non pertranseat luxuria nostra.* Wisd. ii, 7, 8 [printed “xi, 7, 8”]; Is. xxii, 13 and lvi, 12. (4) *Vinum omnem mentem convertit in securitatem et jucunditatem.* [Wine turneth every mind into security and mirth.] 3 Esdr. iii, apud S. Th., II–II, q. 148, art. 2, corp. (1) *Pene omnes epulas comitatur voluptas; nam cum corpus in refectionis delectationem resolvitur, cor ad inane gaudium relaxatur.* Moral., lib. I, c. iv.

“Every people of revellers is a people of buffoons”: such is the axiom formulated by philosophy and confirmed by experience. In all epochs one sees the pleasures of the table precede the manifestations of sensual joy, and these manifestations, bloody or obscene, are always in direct ratio to the cause which produces them. Now what is all this, if not the visible weakening of the Spirit of intelligence? The slave of gluttony no longer understands the nature nor the fundamental condition of earthly life. Life is a trial, or, as the Council of Trent says, a perpetual penance: *Vita christiana quae est perpetua poenitentia.* As far as he can, the glutton makes of it a perpetual enjoyment. He forgets, misunderstands, has in horror the word of the

sovereign judge: *Unless you do penance, you shall all likewise perish.*(2) To compromise his salvation by trampling under foot the laws of fasting and abstinence costs him less than to drink a glass of water. He is the profane Esau who sells his birthright for a mess of lentils, and goes his way caring little for what he has done: *Abiit parvi pendens.* [He went his way, making small account of it.]

(2) Luke xiii, 3.

The third effect of gluttony is *immodesty, immunditia.* Immodesty of words, immodesty of gestures, immodesty of looks, immodesty of thoughts, immodesty of actions: these sad effects of excess in eating and drinking are too incontestable for there to be need to establish their genealogy. Let us recall only a few of the axioms of universal wisdom: He who nourishes his flesh delicately will undergo its shameful revolts. — The fat and plump slave kicks. — A lecherous thing is wine. — In wine resides lust. — Gluttony is the mother of lust and the executioner of chastity. — To be a glutton and pretend to be chaste is to try to put out a fire with oil. — Gluttony is the extinguisher of intelligence. — The glutton is an idolater: he adores the god belly. — The temple of the god belly is the kitchen; the altar, the table; the priests, the cooks; the victims, the dishes; the incense, the smell of meats: this temple is the school of impurity. — The multitude of dishes and bottles attracts the multitude of unclean spirits: the worst of all is the demon of the belly. — The physical and moral health of peoples is calculated on the number of cooks.(1)

(1) See the texts in our work *Le signe de la croix au dix-neuvième siècle,* letter 19.

Arrived at a certain degree, the spirit of gluttony leads its slave to drunkenness and debauchery, to neglect of affairs, to loss of fortune, to misery and to the ruin of health. In maintaining in man the natural subordination of the body to the soul, the Spirit of intelligence becomes the health of the one and the other.(2) By the contrary reason, the spirit of gluttony, which breaks the equilibrium, infallibly produces sickness. For the soul, sickness is the weakening of reason and intelligence; for the body, it is suffering followed by death. Let us hear with trembling the various oracles: *Gluttony kills more men than the sword.*(1) Thus Nabuchodonosor, Pharao, Alexander, Caesar, Tamerlane and all the crowned executioners who strewed the world with corpses, caused fewer men to perish than gluttony.

(2) *Per sapientiam sanati sunt quicumque placuerunt tibi, Domine, a principio.* [By wisdom were they healed, whosoever have pleased thee, O Lord, from the beginning.] Wisd. ix, 19 [printed “ix, 9”]. — *Sanitas est animae et corpori sobrius potus.* [Sober drinking is health to soul and body.] Ecclus. xxxi, 37, etc., etc.
(1) Ecclus. [the references are doubtful].

What is true of individuals is true of peoples. Let the spirit of gluttony, that is, of refinement, delicacy, excess in food, the luxury of the table, or, as is said today, the love of the *comfortable,* take possession of an epoch: you will see extend in the same proportions the weakening of intelligence, the brutalization of humanity and the etiolation of the race. In this epoch, which will boast of its enlightenment, speak neither of the supernatural world, nor of its laws, nor of its agents, nor of its incessant relations with the lower world, it will not understand you: *Animalis homo non percipit.* There remains to it just enough intelligence to appreciate, like the animal, what it sees with its eyes and touches with its hands; to direct a mercantile operation, conceive a stock-exchange speculation, construct machines, fabricate fabrics and judge the quality of a product. Its lights do not go beyond. Human activity, industry and civilization will relate to the worship of the senses. To practise it in all its splendour, a thousand professions will be established, each more material and more materialist than the others.

Politics itself will march in this way. Instead of being the art of moralizing peoples, it will be the art of materializing them. Let incessant attacks shake all the dogmas, foundations of societies and thrones, it will trouble itself little. But, if it succeeds in putting man in a state to eat well, drink well, digest well and sleep well, it will believe it has accomplished all justice, and will proclaim that all is for the best in the best of worlds. Politics of cattle-breeders! which no longer understands that man lives not by bread alone, and that a

people is not regenerated by fattening it. Politics of the blind! which leads the world to a repetition of Ninive with Sardanapalus, of Babylon with Balthasar, of Rome with Heliogabalus. But then, from man become flesh the Spirit of God will withdraw; and, like the empires we have just named, the world will perish choked in the cesspool of its morals.

Is it thither that we tend? What we can affirm, since it strikes every eye, is the general contempt for the priest, representative of the moral order; it is the discredit of the sciences which have not for their direct object the increase of well-being; it is the ever growing difficulty of getting into the heads of children the elementary truths of religion; it is, in the formed generations, the visible weakening of the Christian sense and the stupid indifference for all that rises above the level of material interests; it is the rapid increase of taverns and places of consumption.(1)

(1) At the last census made in France they had reached the monstrous number of 500,000! since then they have not diminished, on the contrary.

What do these phenomena, unknown until now, prove, with twenty others? What they prove is the overflow of sensualism. What they prove is that we are marching with great strides toward that indescribable epoch of the Roman decadence in which life was summed up in two words: bread and pleasures, *panem et circenses.* What they prove, finally, is that an infinity of men have fallen from the heights of Christian spiritualism, to live solely by the senses, through the senses and for the senses. Now it must not be forgotten: men sated or greedy of enjoyments become ungovernable. The fattened slave kicks;(1) if he succeeds in loosening his chains, he breaks them on the head of those he calls his tyrants. Then crimes follow crimes, catastrophes catastrophes, sorrows sorrows. To preserve us from such calamities is the benefit, more and more necessary, of the gift of understanding. Is it easy to measure its extent?

(1) *Incrassatus… recalcitravit: incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum.* [The beloved grew fat and kicked: he grew fat, and thick, and gross, and forsook God.] Deut. xxxii, 15.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXII

1. **Etymology.** *Intellectus* from *intus legere* is the traditional scholastic derivation; Gaume gives it without comment.

2. **Scripture references damaged or mis-printed.** “Job xxxviii, 13” (wisdom not found among those who live softly) is Job xxviii, 13; “Sap. xi, 7, 8” is Wisd. ii, 7, 8; “Sap. ix, 9” is Wisd. ix, 19; the last Ecclus. reference is too damaged to read (Gaume’s point is that gluttony kills). Corrections are in brackets and are my inference from the quoted words.

3. **“III Esdr.”** The wine passage (“Wine turneth every mind into security and mirth”) is in the apocryphal 3 Esdras (1 Esdras in modern numbering); Gaume cites it as quoted in Aquinas, II–II, q. 148, art. 2.

4. **Attributions as printed.** “S. Nilus, *Tract. de octo spiritib. malit.*” and the Chrysostom homily number (XLIV on John) are as printed; I did not verify them. The “axioms of universal wisdom” are given without sources; Gaume refers to his own *Le signe de la croix*, letter 19. Antoninus is cited “VI p.,” corrected by me to IV p. on the pattern of the other citations.

5. **The young virgin’s words.** The quotation (“If all men changed their religion …”) is unattributed in Gaume’s text.

6. **Period opinion.** The remarks on the dullness of the well-fed, on the politics of “cattle-breeders”, on “bread and circuses”, and the figure of 500,000 French taverns are Gaume’s own and are given as written; I did not check the number.

7. **Deut. xxxii, 15** (*recalcitravit*): Douay “the beloved grew fat and kicked.”

Chapter XXXIII. The Gift of Wisdom

What the gift of wisdom is. — All the gifts of the Holy Spirit contribute to the deification of man; in what manner the gift of wisdom contributes to it. — The difference which distinguishes it from the other gifts, from faith, from the virtue of wisdom, from gratuitous wisdom. — Effects of the gift of wisdom on the understanding and on the will. — Portrait of the true wise man. — Necessity of the gift of wisdom. — Deliverance from the tyranny of the contrary spirit, lust. — Lust in man and in society.

Aided by the gift of knowledge, man, ascending from effects to cause, discerns with certainty the true from the false. By the gift of counsel, distinguishing between the good and the better, he chooses the means most fitting to reach his end. Thanks to the gift of understanding, he penetrates further. Reading the cause in the facts, he sees clearly the goodness of his choice, that is, the evidence of the truths which are to lead him to salvation, so that nothing is able to obscure them in his eyes or to detach his heart from them. The first effect of this penetration, which sets man, so to speak, face to face with the higher world, is a marvellous development of the intellectual life. The second is a rare elevation of thoughts, a great magnanimity of sentiments, a sublime indifference for the life of the body. Filled with this divine gift, man feels all the truth of that word: *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink: Regnum Dei non est esca et potus.* Obliged to submit himself to the necessities of animal life, he can say with the archangel: “I seem to eat and drink with you, but I make use of an invisible meat and a drink that cannot be seen by men.”(1) Thus the gift of understanding spiritualizes the understanding, almost as far as it can be spiritualized; as the contrary spirit materializes it, almost as far as it can be materialized. To complete the perfecting of man, what remains for the Holy Spirit? To spiritualize his mind and his heart as far as they can be spiritualized. How does the Holy Spirit accomplish this last act of our deification? By communicating to us the gift of wisdom. This gift forms the highest degree of the mysterious ladder which the incarnate Word descended to abase Himself to us, and which man must reascend to raise himself to the level of his divine brother, become another himself, and verify in his person the word of the heavenly Father: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* The answer to our three questions will make known this gift which crowns all the others: What is the gift of wisdom? What are its effects? What is its necessity?

(1) Tob. xii, 19.

1° What is the gift of wisdom? Wisdom is a gift of the Holy Spirit which communicates to us, in the highest degree, the knowledge and love of divine things.(2)

(2) *Donum sapientiae est habitus infusus, quo quis in gratuitis cognitionibus subito et prompte secundum quamdam connaturalitatem, per causam altissimam habet rectum et certum judicium de his quae sunt fidei.* [The gift of wisdom is an infused habit by which a man, in gratuitous cognitions, suddenly and promptly, according to a certain connaturality, through the highest cause, has a right and certain judgment of the things which are of faith.] Viguier, c. xiii, p. 411. — *Vel: sapientia est habitus divinitus infusus quo mens redditur facile mobilis a Spiritu sancto, ad contemplandum divina et ad judicandum tum de illis, tum de humanis secundum rationes divinas.* [Or: wisdom is a habit divinely infused by which the mind is rendered easily moved by the Holy Spirit to contemplate divine things and to judge both of these and of human things according to divine reasons.] Apud S. Th., II–II, q. 44, art. 1, note. — *Sumitur nomen sapientiae secundum quod saporem quemdam importat.* [The name of wisdom is taken according as it implies a certain savour.] S. Th., *ibid.*, art. 2, ad 1. — *Sapiens dictus a sapore, quia sicut gustus est aptus ad discretionem saporis ciborum, sic sapiens dicitur ad dignoscentiam rerum et causarum circa divina et agenda.* [The wise man (*sapiens*) is so called from *sapor* (savour), because as the taste is apt for the discernment of the savour of foods, so the wise man is so called for the discernment of things and causes touching divine things and things to be done.] S. Isid., *De etymolog.*

All the gifts of the Holy Spirit have for their aim to contribute, each in its own manner, to the deification of man. Three address themselves principally to the will: fear, piety, fortitude. Four have for their principal object the understanding: knowledge, counsel, understanding, wisdom. Now this last is the noblest of all. As the end sums up the means while developing them, the gift of wisdom contains and perfects all the other gifts. Thus one may say that wisdom is the fear of God perfected, piety perfected, knowledge perfected, fortitude perfected, counsel perfected, understanding perfected. To know in what manner the gift of wisdom perfects all the others, it suffices to understand it. Knowledge and love of the truth, in the highest degree that man can attain: that is what it is. Now there are several ways of knowing the truth. To know it in second causes, in creatures, in the exterior works of God, such as the incarnation of the Word, the creation and government of the world, the justification of man and the like. This knowledge is the domain of the gift of knowledge.(1)

(1) The gift of knowledge teaches us to know the truth by second causes, by creatures, and to regulate our conduct on this knowledge. The gift of wisdom makes us see the truth in the cause of causes, in God Himself, and makes us love it in God and in His works. Thus the gift of knowledge has for its principal object the effects, and the gift of wisdom the cause. The one proceeds by way of analysis, the other by way of synthesis. See S. Th., II–II, q. 9, art. 1, 2, corp.

To know it in its motives of credibility, to the point of being so convinced of it that nothing can weaken our adhesion: this is the aim of the gift of understanding. To know it in the applications that must be made of it to particular acts: this is the benefit of the gift of counsel. Finally, there is a still more perfect manner of knowing the truth: it is to see it in the first cause, in the cause of causes, in God, and to see it with an immense love. From this height one judges with certainty of all second causes and of their effects; one puts one’s thoughts and actions in harmony, no longer with this or that isolated truth, with this or that second cause, with this or that particular effect, but with the first cause. Then, in a certain measure, man participates in the privilege of the angels of the first hierarchy, who see in God Himself the reason of things. He possesses the magnificent synthesis of truth, and he can judge of the whole divine plan in the natural order as well as in the supernatural, since he can judge of God Himself.(1) One sees that in the system of our deification no means has been forgotten, and that the Holy Spirit addresses Himself to all aptitudes. One sees how far the gift of wisdom is superior to the gifts of knowledge, counsel and understanding, and how it perfects them. It perfects no less the gifts of fear, piety and fortitude. Thanks to the gift of wisdom, their acts acquire an energy, a constancy, an extent, a suavity, a perfection in proportion to the lights and the effusions of love which flow from this gift, superior to all the others. It is thus that the heart of man finds itself raised to the level of his intelligence.

(1) *Spiritualis autem judicat omnia.* [But the spiritual man judgeth all things.] 1 Cor. ii, 15. — *Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam profunda Dei.* [For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God.] *Ibid.*, 10. — *Ad sapientem pertinet considerare causam altissimam, per quam certissime de aliis judicatur, et secundum quam omnia ordinare potest.* [It belongs to the wise man to consider the highest cause, through which he judges most certainly of other things, and according to which he can order all things.] S. Th., II–II, q. 45, art. 1, corp., and q. 8, art. 6, corp.; S. Anton., IV p., tit. X, c. iii.

As to the difference between the gift of wisdom and faith, the virtue of wisdom, and gratuitous wisdom, it is easy to know. Faith adheres to the truth such as it is proposed to it: it goes no further. The virtue of wisdom is a habit acquired by study, or infused by grace; but, natural or supernatural, this virtue has neither the height, nor the extent, nor the certainty, nor the suavity, nor the spontaneity of the gift of wisdom.(1) This gift, taking for its point of departure the truth known by faith, certified by the gift of knowledge, penetrated by the virtue of wisdom, illumines all its parts, draws the consequences from it, whether to orient our thoughts or to direct our actions and conform to divine reason our intellectual and moral life. Several differences also distinguish the gift of wisdom from the wisdom named by the Apostle, when he says: *To one is given, by the*

Holy Spirit, the word of wisdom.(2) First, this may be common to the good and the wicked. Its privilege is to know divine truths, not by acquisition but by infusion, and perfectly enough to instruct others in them and to refute contradictors. The other is found only in the good, to whom it communicates not only the light but the taste of divine things. As long as they are in the state of grace, it dwells in the child as in the grown man. In the latter it is in act, in the former in potency, by reason of the weakness of age. Though in different degrees, all possess it as far as is necessary for salvation.(3)

(1) *Sapientia quae est donum est excellentior quam sapientia quae est virtus intellectualis, utpote magis de propinquo Deum attingens per quamdam Spiritus unionem ad ipsum. Et inde habet quod non solum dirigat in contemplatione, quod facit sapientia virtus intellectualis; sed etiam in actione circa humana. Quanto enim virtus est altior, tanto ad plura se extendit.* [The wisdom which is a gift is more excellent than the wisdom which is an intellectual virtue, as touching God more closely through a certain union of the Spirit with Him. And hence it directs not only in contemplation, which the intellectual virtue of wisdom does, but also in action concerning human things. For the higher a virtue is, the more things it extends to.] S. Anton., *ubi supra.* (2) 1 Cor. xii, 8. (3) S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

2° What are the effects of the gift of wisdom? To flood the mind with a light superior to every other light, to fill the heart with an unspeakable taste for God and for all divine things: such are, as we have just indicated, the two principal effects of the gift of wisdom. Let us see what happens to the man favoured with this precious gift. It is with this man as with a blind man who receives sight at the age of thirty or forty. During all the time he was blind, what did this man think of the world? He believed in the existence of the sun, the moon and the stars; he believed that there are trees, fruits, flowers; that there are all sorts of fish in the water, birds in the air, and on the earth every kind of animal. He believed all this because he had been told so; but all this awoke in him no precise knowledge, and excited in him neither love nor joy, because he had seen nothing. Now behold this man suddenly obtaining sight. He sees how the sun spreads its rays everywhere; he sees how the mountains are covered with trees and fruits; he sees how the meadows are enamelled with flowers each more beautiful than the other. Struck by these beauties which he sees for the first time, he stops, stupefied. Leave now this blind man, to turn toward the human soul. It possesses the light of faith, it believes that God is infinite, that He is the inexhaustible source of all perfections; but, as this light is too obscure, it excites in it neither much love for God nor much joy. But does the Holy Spirit communicate to this soul the light of the gift of wisdom? What a sudden change takes place in it! The divine perfections show themselves to its gaze in all their splendour. It is as though beside itself and submerged in this ocean of the divinity.(1) We have seen that the gift of understanding also unseals the eyes of the soul; but between the illumination it produces and that of which the Spirit of wisdom is the source, great is the difference. The gift of understanding lights up particular truths, one after another, but, not contemplating them in the first cause, it does not link them together so as to compose of them a vast synthesis. That is the privilege of the gift of wisdom. In the loving light of which it is the focus it sees, it embraces the whole ensemble of divine things: the truths of faith, all Christian doctrine, theology, Scripture, the rules of public and private morality, and all that can contribute to the holiness of life and the acquisition of salvation.(2)

(1) Pergmayer [as printed], *Méditât.*, etc., p. 44. (2) Corn. a Lap. [Cornelius a Lapide] in Jacob., c. iii, 17.

The gift of understanding is not accompanied, at least to the same degree as the gift of wisdom, by the taste and love of divine things: a new and great difference. “For,” says Saint Bonaventure, “it is one thing to know that honey is sweet, another to eat it and really taste its sweetness.” Enlightened by the gift of understanding, the soul believes and knows that God is infinitely sweet; yet it does not taste this sweetness. Does it possess the gift of wisdom? Not only does it know that God is infinitely sweet, it tastes besides this ineffable sweetness: its heart is filled with it. Hence it finds its delight in conversing with God, in occupying itself with God, in procuring His glory. Hence the spirit of prayer, the interior spirit, the spirit of sacrifice; the loving union of the soul with God and its transformation in Him; the repose of all its powers, the appeasing of its

passions, the love of solitude and silence. It is then that it can say with the spouse of the Canticles: My beloved to me, and I to him; I am his property, I am his kingdom. He reigns in me, He governs me. He is the master and the director of my interior and exterior life. It is no longer I who live, it is He who lives in me. Light and love, wisdom, in spreading outwardly, makes the whole man to its image. Now, according to the apostle Saint James, the wisdom that comes from the Holy Spirit is chaste, peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded, a friend of the good, full of mercy and good works, judging not, without dissimulation.(1) Such is, in its broad lines, the portrait of the true wise man.

(1) Epist. iii, 17.

He is chaste. By this must be understood not only purity of body but also purity of soul and of doctrine. It is a fact that true conjugal chastity, true virginity, true continence, true purity of speech and of doctrine is found only in Christianity and in the Christian wise man. To be convinced of it, it suffices to cast an eye on paganism and the pagan sages, on Mahometanism, Protestantism, modern rationalism, and the pretended wise men of these different schools.

He is peaceable. Contentions, discussions, brawls, disputes are antipathetic to him: a new trait which distinguishes him from all false sages. The reason is simple. True wisdom is the daughter of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the source of peace and concord. Peace is the tranquillity of order. Order is the fruit of wisdom. The wise man is necessarily humble. Now humility is the mother of peace.

He is modest. Modesty of affirmation and of pretensions; modesty of words and manners; modesty of food, of clothing, of furniture and of pleasures are the characters of the true wise man. Another difference between him and the false sage. Who does not know how pretentious, vain, peremptory, proud, touchy, sensual were the sages of paganism, the sages of heresy; how much so still are the sages of modern incredulity! “Animals of glory,” as Saint Jerome calls them, they have lived and live, they have written and write, only to occupy others with themselves, to make themselves a name or a position: and woe to whoever touches them with the tip of his finger!

He is easy to be persuaded. That is, at once to let himself be persuaded and to persuade others. Full of light, his mind recognizes the true without trouble as soon as it is proposed to it; full of love for the true, his heart embraces it with ardour. Full of love and of truth, his word meets with no serious resistance from upright souls. How differently it goes with the philosophers of error and their adepts! To the most convincing proofs they obstinately oppose stupid denials. Only the grossest errors find the way to their soul; and, sons of the father of lies, they embrace them as sisters, teach them as truths.

He is a friend of the good. Between the Christian wise man, or the true Christian, which is all one, and the true Christians, the truly good of all centuries and all countries, there is a real affinity. A powerful affinity which, like the electric spark, in the twinkling of an eye stirs all Catholic souls and puts them in unison with one another. Thoughts, joys, sorrows, fears, hopes, interests, all becomes common. Hence the immense fraternity of the good, which is perhaps the most inexplicable character of the true religion. “All men shall know that you are my disciples,” said the incarnate Word, “if you love one another.”(1) Enemies of the good and friends of the wicked: that is what the false sages of all times and countries have always been and still are. Is it not what one sees today, perhaps more clearly than ever? Whatever the climate they inhabit or the mask with which they cover themselves, the evil Spirit knows those who are his. He exalts them, he defends them. For them he awakens the sympathies of all their brothers in impiety, in revolution, in anti-christianism.

(1) John xiii, 35.

He is full of mercy and good works. Of mercy, because he possesses in person the Spirit of Him who said: *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* Of good works, because his soul is one of the branches of the vine of which the incarnate Word is the immortal and ever fruitful stock. One of the characters of the

false sage is egoism, and consequently dryness and hardness of heart: *the bowels of the wicked are cruel;*(1) and the sterility of good works. See what was the reign of the philosophers in Greece and at Rome, and what it was among us at the end of the last century. If you can, name the unmerciful acts from which they abstained, the good works they did, the useful institutions they founded.

(1) *Viscera impiorum crudelia.* [Prov. xii, 10 — my identification; Gaume gives no reference.]

He judges not. The more a man is enlightened and charitable, the less he is inclined to judge, to criticize, to censure his neighbour. Better than anyone he knows that judgment belongs to God; that the Gospel forbids judging others if one does not wish to be judged oneself, and that nothing is more exposed to error than human judgments, based most often on antipathies or sympathies, sometimes even on mere appearances. It is quite otherwise with the false sage. Doubting nothing, because he suspects nothing, slave of his interests and his passions, he judges boldly, he accuses, he criticizes, he condemns, he lends to others intentions they never had and makes them say what they did not say. What do they do from morning to night, in speaking of the sovereign pontiff, the clergy and Catholics, the pretended philosophical writers by whom we are surrounded?

He is without dissimulation. Here is one of the fine characters of the true wise man. To tell the truth, nothing but the truth; truth in the relations of man to man or of people to people; truth in history and in science; to tell it without reticence and without mixture of error, to tell it with respect because it is the truth, with love because it is the bread of man; to applaud those who tell it, because it is the light of the blind, the remedy of the sick, the consolation of the afflicted, the salvation of nations, and is not a personal possession.(1) Hence the soul of the true wise man is transparent. This transparency is reflected even in the limpidity of his eye and the expansion of his countenance. Quite other is the soul of the false sage, his eye, his face. Son of the great liar, falsehood is habitually on his lips and under his pen. He affects truth, sincerity, holiness, and he teaches error, hypocrisy, iniquity. He is the wolf in sheep's clothing. But, whatever he does, the wolf appears in that scarcely opened eye, in that oblique and uncertain gaze, in that face whose every feature, drawn together and motionless, seems to conspire to throw an impenetrable veil over feelings and thought. Light above all light, love above all love, peace, serenity, transformation of man into God: such, in its positive effects, is the admirable gift of wisdom. To study it in its negative effects is, from a new point of view, to show how necessary it is.

(1) *Spiritus sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus quae sunt sine intellectu.* [The Holy Spirit of discipline will flee from the deceitful, and will withdraw himself from thoughts that are without understanding.] Wisd. i, 5. — *Quam sine fictione didici et sine invidia communico, et honestatem illius non abscondo.* [Which I have learned without guile and communicate without envy, and her riches I hide not.] *Ibid.*, vii, 13.

3° What is the necessity of the gift of wisdom? The necessity of the gift of wisdom is sovereign, absolute, universal. Need the reason be given? Free to choose a master, man is not free to have none. When we say man, we say the family, the people, the whole human race. To live under the empire of the Spirit of wisdom, or under the empire of the contrary Spirit: the alternative is pitiless, of every day, of every hour and in every position. What is the satanic spirit opposed to the spirit of wisdom? It is the spirit of lust.(1) The one raises man up to God; the other lowers him to the brute. To appreciate as it deserves this double movement of ascent and descent, two important remarks must be made. The first is that there are three kinds of wisdom contrary to divine wisdom: earthly wisdom, animal wisdom, diabolical wisdom. "Every active being," says Saint Thomas, "acts for an end. If he does not act for his true end, he acts for an undue end: this necessity is universal. Does man place his end in the goods of the earth: gold, silver, houses, fields, flocks? It is earthly wisdom. Does he place it in the goods of the body: drinking, eating, debauchery? It is animal wisdom. Does he fix it in his own excellence: esteem of himself, presumption, pride, ambition of places and honours? It is diabolical wisdom, because it renders man an imitator of the devil, called the king of the proud."(2)

(1) *Spiritus sapientiae obruit Spiritum luxuriae, quae figens se in cadaveribus foetidis ut ibi pascatur, ad arcam Ecclesiae nescit reverti ut columba, ubi sunt cibaria optima et suavissima.* [The Spirit of wisdom overwhelms the Spirit of lust, which, fixing itself on fetid corpses to feed there, knows not how to return, like the dove, to the ark of the Church, where are the best and sweetest foods.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. X, c. i, p. 153. (2) S. Th., II–II, q. 45, art. 1, ad 1.

The Angel of the school is only the commentator of the apostle Saint James, who calls this triple wisdom, or rather this triple application of the same wisdom, satanic.(1) Now this satanic wisdom is crime, misfortune and folly. It is crime; since it is very willingly, very knowingly that, in contempt of the will of God, of the lights of his reason, of the aspirations of his heart, man places his last end in the creature, and thus overturns the whole divine plan. It is misfortune; for the reason that it is crime and by the temporal and eternal consequences it entails. These consequences are injustices, anxieties, miscalculations, despairs, remorse, internal divisions, social revolutions and the pains of hell. It is folly; because it extinguishes, in the mud of creatures, the double torch of intelligence and of faith. The fool is he who has lost the human sense and the divine sense. Having no longer the sense, the fool no longer knows how to discern things. He calls true what is false and false what is true, good what is bad and bad what is good, necessary what is useless and useless what is necessary. Slave of a fixed idea, in it he places his happiness, for it he forgets everything; night and day he chases dreams, phantoms, nothings; he exhausts himself in pursuing and embracing them. In vain would you enlighten him, he does not understand; playthings are treasures to him. Is he threatened with having them taken away? He falls into a fury, he cries, he strikes, he breaks, he weeps. Behold the fool.(2)

(1) *Non est enim ista sapientia desursum descendens, sed terrena, animalis, diabolica.* [For this is not wisdom descending from above, but earthly, sensual, devilish.] Epist. iii, 15. (2) *Nomen stultitiae, secundum Isidorum, videtur esse a stupore. Stupor autem interpretatur sensuum alienatio, eo quod sensus stupeant. Unde stultus dicitur, qui propter stuporem non movetur… Stultitia importat hebetudinem et obtusionem cordis.* [The name of folly, according to Isidore, seems to come from stupor. Stupor is interpreted as an alienation of the senses, because the senses are stupefied. Whence he is called a fool who is not moved by reason of stupor… Folly implies a dullness and blunting of the heart.] Viguier, c. xii [sic], p. 413.

And behold, trait for trait, the man or the people possessed by the Spirit of satanic wisdom. A bad judge of himself, of his destinies, of his duties and of his interests, he puts below what ought to be above, above what ought to be below, the principal in the place of the accessory, the accessory in the place of the principal, the fleeting in the place of the immutable, the natural in the place of the supernatural, the finite in the place of the infinite, the body before the soul. No human argument is capable of undeceiving him, he is mad and he wills to be: *He would not understand that he might do well.* Physicians, do not approach him too near, choose your time well, insist with reserve to make him accept your remedies; and still you are not sure that he will not answer your charitable cares with mockeries, with insults and with angers, or even, as he has often done, as he still does, by bruising you with blows and sending you to death: see for yourselves. The human race was struck with this criminal and deplorable madness when the incarnate Word came down from heaven to heal it. By His prophets, by Himself and by His apostles, He announces the aim of His mission. O man, thou art duped by thy wisdom. This wisdom is earthly, animal, diabolical: it is folly, it is death. *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the prudence of the prudent I will reject.*(1) At the news of the arrival of the divine healer, all those alienated of heart are troubled to the depths of their being, and prepare to receive their physician as they have received him, by insulting him, persecuting him, crucifying him.(2)

(1) *Sapientia tua decepit te.* [Thy wisdom hath deceived thee.] Is. xlvii, 10. — *Sapientia autem hujus mundi stultitia est apud Deum.* [For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.] 1 Cor. iii, 19. — *Prudentia carnis mors est.* [The wisdom of the flesh is death.] Rom. viii, 6. — *Scriptum est enim: Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo.* 1 Cor. i, 19, and Is. xxix, 14. (2) *Illuminans tu mirabiliter a montibus aeternis, turbati sunt omnes insipientes corde.* [Thou enlightenest wonderfully from the

everlasting hills; all the foolish of heart were troubled.] Ps. lxxv [Douay], 5.

The second remark is that the triple wisdom, or better the triple folly, of which we have just spoken, almost always ends in the folly of the flesh. For one madman of pride and avarice you will find a hundred madmen of lust. This fall is in the nature of things. Man is made to adore; if he does not adore the God most high, he must adore the god most low; if he does not adore the God spirit, he will adore the god flesh. Hence it is that, if you scrutinize them with care, at the bottom of all pagan cults, of all demoniacal practices, of every emancipated conscience, you will infallibly find a defilement. Venus is the last word of it. Begun by gluttony, the despotism of the flesh ends in lust. Now of all follies that of lust is the most shameful, the most furious, the most fertile in disasters and the most difficult to cure. As the Holy Spirit is inseparable from His gifts, Satan is inseparable from his. As the gift of wisdom supposes and crowns all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the gift of lust supposes and drags in its train all the satanic gifts. There is no impure man who is not proud, avaricious, gluttonous, jealous, choleric, slothful: it is a fact established by the experience of souls and the teachings of history. At the orders of their chief, there is no crime that the frightful satellites of lust do not commit to obey him. Duels, assassinations, poisonings, abductions, violences, infanticides, excesses of the table, black jealousies, perfidious slander, odious calumny, treasons, baseness, thefts, divisions, hatreds are their work.

Let lust come to reign over a people, over an epoch, expect iniquities without number and without name, depravations of ideas, tastes and habits without example. You will count by myriads existences without remorse, deaths without repentance, madmen and suicides in unknown proportions. Vitiated almost in its source, life itself will show itself by the etiolation and degeneration of the race. Now like the edifice built on marshy ground and ever threatening to sink in on itself; now like the city taken by assault, where murder and pillage are permanent, society, delivered to the Spirit of lust, will be ceaselessly on the brink of its ruin, or will become a bloody arena in which all the unchained passions will fight to the death. Thus end voluptuous peoples. Will all these misfortunes and all these chances of misfortune never suffice to make us feel the necessity of the gift which preserves us from them? In vain does the present world multiply revolutions to arrive at liberty. One revolution alone can free it: the moral revolution, which, breaking the tyranny of lust and its satellites, will place it again under the empire of the Spirit of wisdom. Otherwise, no.

Arrived at the last of the seven gifts, let us cast a retrospective glance on our work. Hitherto we have studied the gifts of the Holy Spirit in themselves. Important as it is, such a study does not suffice. To know the gifts of the Holy Spirit well, they must be seen in action. Only then will it be possible to understand their beauty, their powerful fecundity, their necessity, their application to the acts of life and their influence on the happiness of the world. Such is the new horizon which is going to open before us.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXXIII

1. **Order (pp. 482–484).** I placed the sentence "One sees that in the system of our deification no means has been forgotten…" before "One sees how far the gift of wisdom is superior…", and assigned the passage "The gift of knowledge teaches us…" to the footnote; the sense is not affected.

2. **Scripture references.** The Wisd. vii reference is printed "vii, 18"; the verse quoted is vii, 13, which I give in brackets. "Rom. v m, 6" is viii, 6. Ps. "lxxv" is Ps. 75 [Vulgate], verse 5 in Douay. "Epist. iii" is James iii.

3. **Sources not verified.** "Pergmayer, *Méditations*" (spelling as printed; I did not identify the author); the Saint Bonaventure comparison of honey is unreferenced in the text; Saint Jerome's "animals of glory" is as printed and I did not locate it; the Prov. xii, 10 reference for *viscera impiorum crudelia* is mine.

4. **Aquinas.** The three kinds of false wisdom (earthly, animal, diabolical) are drawn by Gaume from II–II, q. 45, art. 1, ad 1 and James iii, 15, as he states.

5. **“Gift of lust.”** Gaume’s parallel (“le don de luxure”) for the satanic counterpart of the gifts is rhetorical; I keep it as printed.

6. **Period remarks.** The remarks on the philosophers of Greece, Rome and the eighteenth century, and on “Mahometanism, Protestantism, modern rationalism” are Gaume’s polemical judgments, translated as written.

7. **Closing paragraph.** It announces the passage from the gifts “in themselves” to the gifts “in action”, i.e. the next chapter.

Chapter XXXIV. The Beatitudes

Summary of the study on the gifts of the Holy Spirit. — They are active principles. — What they produce. — What the Beatitudes are. — Whence their name. — What their number is. — They adapt themselves to the different ages of life. — What their relations are with the happiness of each man. — How they procure the happiness of societies. — What their superiority is over the virtues. — What their hierarchical order is. — Relation of each Beatitude to its reward. — Gradation in the reward.

Our study of the gifts of the Holy Spirit may be summed up in the following truths: the gifts of the Holy Spirit are the deifying principles of man and of society; the world owes to them all that it has of truly beautiful and truly good. To the gift of Fear of God it owes its true great men; to the gift of Piety, its innumerable asylums for every misery; to the gift of Knowledge, its certain affirmations and its scholars of sound alloy; to the gift of Counsel, its peoples of virgins and all its gratuitous services of charity; to the gift of Understanding, its intellectual superiority over the nations that are not Christian or that cease to be so; to the gift of Wisdom, those sublime madmen called the saints: light, glory and salvation of humanity.(1)

(1) *Nos stulti propter Christum.* [We are fools for Christ’s sake.] 1 Cor. iv, 10. — *Placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes.* [It hath pleased God, by the foolishness of our preaching, to save them that believe.] *Id.* i, 21 [printed “i, 23”].

To the gifts of the Holy Spirit are opposed the seven capital sins, corrupting principles of man and of the world; these satanic gifts produce effects in keeping with their nature; to them must be attributed all the shames and all the crimes of humanity. Man and the world living under the influence of the Spirit of good or the Spirit of evil, it results that, since his fall, the human race obeys a sevenfold impulse. This impulse is sevenfold, and it must be so. On the one hand, the Holy Spirit is inseparable from His gifts, as Satan is inseparable from his. On the other, this impulse must reach all the faculties of man and determine, as in fact it determines, all their operations, good or bad. Such is the double motor principle of humanity. Directed by the breath of the Holy Spirit, the world is a vessel that sails toward the port; driven by the breath of the evil Spirit, it is a vessel that drifts and ends infallibly in being lost. If therefore one wishes to foretell the future of a reign or of an epoch, it suffices to see what impulse they obey.

Nevertheless the deification of man, begun by the Word and continued by the Holy Spirit, has not yet attained its perfection. The seven divine gifts are not, in us, dormant forces; they are so many active principles which must manifest themselves by operations in keeping with the nature and object of each. Thus the tree, whose sap is set in motion by the heat of the sun, must produce leaves, flowers and fruits according to its species. The evangelical comparison, which has already made us feel the difference between the virtues and the gifts, is now going to make us understand the difference between the gifts and the beatitudes. What is to be understood by the beatitudes? Whence their name? What is their number? What are their relations with the happiness of each man? How do they procure the happiness of societies? What is their superiority over the virtues? What is their hierarchical order? What are their relations with the gifts of the Holy Spirit? Such are the questions which seem to us to embrace, as a whole, a subject as little known, and no less interesting, than the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

1° What is to be understood by the beatitudes? The beatitudes are the gifts of the Holy Spirit in action.(1) It is with the Christian as with a tree. When, in baptism, he has received the divine life and with it the infused virtues; when, by His seven gifts, the Holy Spirit has come to give movement to all these virtues, as heat to the sap, the Christian can and must practise certain acts of a supernatural perfection, which lead him toward his last end.(2) These acts are called beatitudes, that is, beatifying. They differ from the virtues and the gifts as the effect differs from the cause, the stream from the source, the flower from the tree; or, to speak the language of theology, as the faculty in act differs from the faculty in potency. "The beatitudes," says Saint Thomas, "differ from the virtues and the gifts as acts differ from habits."(3) Thus the beatitudes are not, as their name would seem to indicate, habits or permanent states, but transient acts, produced by permanent habits called gifts of the Holy Spirit.

(1) *Beatitudines distinguuntur a donis et virtutibus, sicut actus ab habitibus.* [The beatitudes are distinguished from the gifts and the virtues as acts from habits.] Viguier, c. xiii, p. 418. (2) There is no need to say that all this takes place at the same time and by a single operation. (3) *Beatitudines distinguuntur quidem a virtutibus et donis, non sicut habitus ab eis distincti, sed sicut actus distinguuntur ab habitibus.* [The beatitudes are indeed distinguished from the virtues and gifts, not as habits distinct from them, but as acts are distinguished from habits.] S. Th., I–II, q. 69, art. 1, corp.

2° Whence comes their name? The name, so sweet and so little understood, of beatitude signifies perfect happiness, final repose. "Beatitude," says a great theologian, "is the sovereign good, the last end; all agree on this definition. We call sovereign good that which has all the qualities of good and none of the qualities of evil, that to which nothing is lacking and to which nothing can be added. All agree also that this sovereign good is one, and that it is God, perfect good and source of all good, who, uniting angels and men to Himself by adoption, makes them partakers of His infinite beatitude."(1) Now beatitude is the last end of human life.(2) This truth is so certain that man can well warp the law which drives him to the search for happiness, but he cannot withdraw from it. Knowingly or unknowingly, by crime as by virtue, night and day he labours for beatitude. Tranquil and content, if he finds it; restless and unhappy, if he pursues it in vain. He is the magnetic needle which, subject to a mysterious attraction, gravitates unceasingly toward the pole, and becomes motionless only after placing itself in direct relation with that point of the sky.

(1) Viguier, c. xiv. (2) *Beatitudo est ultimus finis humanae vitae.* [Beatitude is the last end of human life.] S. Th., I–II, q. 69, art. 1, corp.

Beatitude being perfect happiness, and perfect happiness being the full possession of God, three things are evident. First, that, in relation to man, beatitude is at once imperfect and perfect. Imperfect on earth, where we see God, the sovereign Good, only through the shadows of faith, and possess Him only in an imperfect manner. Perfect in heaven, where we shall see God face to face, and possess Him without fear of ever losing Him. Second, that man does not arrive at his end all at once. Third, that his end, or beatitude, is not and cannot be of this world. In these truths of logic and good sense is found, by the way, the unanswerable proof of three fundamental truths: the existence of another life, human liberty, the obligation of man, during the whole duration of his passage here below, to tend to his end by continual progress. Time has not been given him for any other use. These progresses, being a journeying toward beatitude, are beatitude begun. Hence it is that, in its profoundly philosophical language, the Gospel calls beatitudes certain acts of the present life which lead more directly to the beatitude of the other.

Developing the sacred text, Catholic theology adds that they are given the name of beatitudes for two reasons. The first, because they make us happy here below. It is a fact of universal experience that the greatest sum of contentment, even in this world, falls to the Christian faithful in practising the seven sublime acts to which the incarnate Word has justly given the name of beatitudes. The second, because they lead us more directly to the final beatitude, of which they make us enjoy in hope. Thus it is said of a person that he has obtained the object of his wishes when he has well-founded hope of obtaining it. Did not the Apostle

himself write: *We are saved by hope?* Now the hope of obtaining our last end is founded on something which disposes us for it and brings us near to it. This something consists in the operations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Hence they are called beatitudes, or beatifying acts.(1) In explaining the relations of each beatitude to the corresponding gift, we shall justify in a sensible manner this name of beatitude. We shall do it in order to show that the things on which the Gospel makes happiness depend are not the source of a simply mystical happiness, as is said today, that is, purely spiritual and almost imaginary. The truth is that, in all respects and in the widest acceptation of the word, the beatitudes produce what their name signifies. For the present life as for the future life, they are really the charter of felicity.

(1) *Dicitur enim aliquis jam finem habere propter spem finis obtinendi… Spes autem de fine consequendo insurgit ex hoc quod aliquis convenienter movetur ad finem, et appropinquat ad ipsum; quod quidem fit per aliquam actionem. Ad finem autem beatitudinis movetur aliquis et appropinquat per operationes virtutum, et praecipue donorum, si loquamur de beatitudine aeterna, ad quam ratio non sufficit, sed in eam inducit Spiritus sanctus, ad cujus obedientiam et sequelam per dona perficimur. Et ideo beatitudines distinguuntur quidem a virtutibus et donis, non sicut habitus ab eis distincti, sed sicut actus distinguuntur ab habitibus.* [For a man is said already to have the end by reason of the hope of obtaining the end… Now hope of attaining the end arises from this, that one is suitably moved toward the end and draws near to it; which is done through some action. But one is moved toward the end of beatitude and draws near to it by the operations of the virtues, and especially of the gifts, if we speak of eternal beatitude, for which reason does not suffice, but the Holy Spirit leads into it, in obedience to whom and in following whom we are perfected through the gifts. And therefore the beatitudes are indeed distinguished from the virtues and gifts, not as habits distinct from them, but as acts are distinguished from habits.] S. Th., I–II, q. 69, art. 1, corp. — [Gaume's note, continued:] Gifts and beatitudes, being two very distinct words and very often repeated in Catholic language, cannot have the same sense. Why then does Suarez confound the things they express: Lib. II *de Necessitate gratiae*, c. xxii? *Ratio in obscuro.* [The reason is in the dark.]

3° What is the number of the beatitudes? With the councils and with Saint Thomas, we count seven beatitudes. The eighth, enunciated by Saint Matthew, is only the confirmation and manifestation of the others. In effect, as soon as man is made firm in spiritual poverty, in meekness and in the other beatitudes, persecution is powerless to detach him from these inestimable goods.(1) As to the reasons for this number seven, they reveal themselves. On the one hand, seven beatitudes suffice to constitute happiness. Fewer would have been too few; more would be useless. On the other hand, the beatitudes, or beatifying acts, being only the operations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, or better, these gifts put in action, can only be seven in number. Besides, according to profound theologians, these seven beatitudes are in relation with the seven ages of the life of man, as these seven ages themselves are in harmony with the seven ages of the world, and these with the seven days of creation.(2)

(1) *Octava beatitudo est quaedam confirmatio et manifestatio omnium praecedentium. Ex hoc enim quod aliquis est confirmatus in paupertate Spiritus et mititate, et aliis sequentibus, provenit quod ab his bonis propter aliquam persecutionem non recedit. Unde octava beatitudo quodammodo ad septem praecedentes pertinet.* [The eighth beatitude is a certain confirmation and manifestation of all the preceding. For from the fact that one is confirmed in poverty of spirit and meekness and the others that follow, it comes about that he does not recede from these goods on account of any persecution. Whence the eighth beatitude in a manner belongs to the seven preceding.] S. Th., *ibid.*, art. 3, ad 4. — Such also is the opinion of Saint Augustine, of Saint Antoninus, of the council of Lavaur, c. i, year "1868" [sic; Lavaur is 1368, as in Ch. XXI], etc. (2) S. Anton., IV p., tit. VII, c. 5.

4° What are the relations of the beatitudes with the happiness of each man? "The present life," says Saint Antoninus, "is divided into seven ages, in which the incarnate Word has made Himself, by means of the seven beatitudes, our universal regulator. These beatitudes, which are only virtuous acts, man must have

all of them and always; but adapt each in particular to the age he is in. There is found the principle of his happiness."(3)

(3) *Vita praesens distinguitur per septem aetates, in quibus omnes regulat nos Christus per septem beatitudines. Omnes istas, quae aliud non sunt quam actus virtuosi, debet quilibet habere simul habitualiter. Licet quaelibet per se adaptari possit uni aetati hominum.* [The present life is distinguished by seven ages, in which Christ regulates us all through seven beatitudes. All these, which are nothing else than virtuous acts, everyone ought to have together habitually, although each of itself may be adapted to one age of men.] *Ubi supra.* — This septenary division of life is probably in relation with the climacteric revolution which takes place in all of us every seven years, and which the ancient physiology took seriously into account.

The first age is childhood, which extends from birth to seven years. Weakness, humility, detachment, simplicity, candour are the virtues and the charms of this period of life. If the child possesses them, he expresses in himself the likeness of the God-child. He walks toward the end for which he was created: he is happy. This is the first beatitude and evidently the one that best suits the first age: *Beati pauperes spiritu.* [Blessed are the poor in spirit.]

The second age extends from seven years to fourteen. To practise meekness, obedience, amiability, which, joined to candour and the budding graces, win all hearts: that is indeed the proper duty of this fair part of existence. The child who fulfils it still traces the image of the incarnate Word; he walks toward his last end: he is happy. This is the second beatitude and evidently the one best suited to this age: *Beati mites.* [Blessed are the meek.]

The third age comprises from fourteen to twenty-eight years. The period becomes double on account of the physical and moral development of man. Adolescence is the perilous age. The world which smiles, the passions which awake, the senses which speak, all becomes occasion of incessant struggles. It is then, or never, that man has need of mortification, of vigilance, of the holy sorrows of penance and the salutary weariness of exile. If he understands it and his conduct answers to his faith, he is happy. This is the third beatitude: *Beati qui lugent.* [Blessed are they that mourn.]

The fourth age goes from twenty-eight years to forty-two. This age, in which youth overflows, is ardent in affairs, greedy of money, of honours, of social positions, and too often little delicate about the means of obtaining them. Therefore, young man, if you would avoid the leprosy of Giezi and the eternal thirst of the wicked rich man, excite in yourself the ardent thirst, the continual hunger for justice. At this price, and only at this price, you will be happy. This is the fourth beatitude; it is made for you: *Beati qui esuriunt.* [Blessed are they that hunger.]

The fifth age extends from forty-two years to fifty-six. It is the age of manhood and also the beginning of decline. Behind him man sees life fleeing, before him eternity advancing. In such a situation, what can he do that is wiser? Have pity on his soul. What is that to say? On the one hand, repair the losses he has made by sinning; on the other, put his fortune in safety, having it carried by the poor to the place of his eternal dwelling. If he acts thus, he becomes happy with the happiness proper to this age; he practises the fifth beatitude: *Beati misericordes.* [Blessed are the merciful.]

The sixth age begins at fifty-six years and ends at seventy. Age of old age, venerable for its white hair and its experience, it can and must be so still more by the holiness of its manners. Unless he be one of those veterans of crime of whom the prophet Daniel speaks, nothing is easier for the old man than to avoid the stains of sin. His senses are weakened, the roses of the face are replaced by wrinkles, the fire of concupiscence has lost its ardours. Let him profit by this decay of the exterior man to adorn the interior man by the purity of his conduct. By this innocence, which restores to him in part the charms of childhood, he becomes for youth a counsel obeyed, a model respected; for all that surrounds him a centre of attraction, whence radiates the good odour of Jesus Christ. He is happy with the beatitude which is in harmony with his age. It is the sixth: *Beati*

mundo corde. [Blessed are the clean of heart.]

The seventh age starts at seventy years and extends to the end of life. It is the age of decrepitude, the age of the years which please not, as Scripture speaks. The weakening of the senses, the infirmity of the organs, the necessity of cares unknown, infirmities, sufferings, dependence on others, the withdrawal of friends and even of relatives, the forgetfulness and contempt of the world, regrets for the past, sad forebodings of the future, all these enemies, and others still, besiege the old man. Unless it make him the unhappiest of men, they put him under the necessity of seeking his peace within himself and of practising it toward all that surrounds him. Therefore infinite wisdom has reserved for him the seventh beatitude: *Beati pacifici.* [Blessed are the peacemakers.] To encourage him in the midst of the elements conspired to bring about his final destruction, it adds at once: *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.*(1)

(1) S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

5° How do the evangelical beatitudes procure the happiness of societies? Since it is established that the beatitudes are the source of individual happiness, the inevitable consequence is that they procure the happiness of societies. Societies are happy when they are in order. They are in order when, knowing their last end, that is, their happiness, they walk toward it with sure step. Now, drawn along by their native corruption, most of the sons of Adam, peoples or individuals, seek happiness in creatures. By turning man from his end, this blind drawing is the source of all the evils which a hundred times deserve for the earth the name of valley of tears. Dupe of the angel of darkness, the human race seeks happiness by three different ways: the way of honours, the way of riches, the way of pleasures. With a sovereign authority the first three beatitudes rectify this fatal tendency. Blessed, they say, are those who are humble and detached, those who are meek, and those who weep. Why blessed? Because they are sheltered from the general fascination which makes the unhappiness of others. Blessed, because, setting only a small price on the possession of earthly goods, they acquire them without passion, possess them without disquiet and lose them without superfluous regrets. Blessed, because each act of humility, detachment, meekness and Christian sadness brings them nearer to supreme happiness. Blessed, because they have in prospect the goods of eternity, magnificent reward of their contempt for the goods of time. To practise Christian detachment from perishable things, is that nothing for the happiness of the world? In this consist the first three beatitudes. The two following: Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice; blessed are the merciful, are a second step toward happiness.

By detaching man from creatures, the first three beatitudes cause him to attach himself to the sovereign good: for his heart cannot remain empty. Thus they constitute him in order with regard to God, that is, in peace with God. The two seconds procure peace with the neighbour. Man is at peace with the neighbour when he fulfils the duties of justice and charity. He fulfils them with a rare perfection when, on the one hand, his words and works bear witness that he is animated by love — that is not enough — that he is devoured by hunger and thirst for justice, in everything and toward all; when, on the other hand, he shows toward the neighbour, even toward his enemies, a charity indulgent, which excuses faults or intentions; compassionate, which succours all needs; merciful, which pardons offences. Peace with God, peace with the neighbour: such are the effects of the first five beatitudes. To complete the happiness, even temporal, of man and of society, what remains but peace with oneself? It results from the last two beatitudes: Blessed are the clean of heart; blessed are the peacemakers. By making us practise purity of heart through mortification, vigilance and prayer, the first maintains the necessary subordination of the flesh to the spirit and constitutes us in order. By meekness and patience, the second makes us manifest, in our relations of family and society, the order which reigns within us, and gives us the right to call ourselves the children of the God who Himself has called Himself the Prince of peace, *Princeps pacis.*

What think you of it? The Christian who practises the seven beatitudes, or the seven acts beatifying par excellence, does he enjoy only a mystical happiness? If present-day Europe, if the whole world, possessed this pretended imaginary happiness, would they be very unhappy? Fools that they are! The men and

governments of today have the air of believing that the evangelical beatitudes count for nothing in the temporal happiness of societies; and it is precisely the absence of these social elements of the first order which causes the revolutions of which we have been, are, and shall be the victims.

6° What is the superiority of the beatitudes over the virtues? By the very fact that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are, as sanctifying elements, superior to the moral virtues, their operations are more perfect than those of the virtues. That is why they deserve par excellence the name of beatitudes or beatifying acts. Virtue causes man to use honours and riches with moderation. The gift causes him to despise them. By this sublime contempt the Christian becomes the freest being, the most holily independent, and consequently the happiest in the world: *Beati pauperes.* Virtue prevents man from following, contrary to reason, the movements of anger. The gift does better: it delivers him from it. Drying up at the bottom of the soul the source of gall and of passion, it establishes the Christian in an unalterable meekness which wins hearts: *Beati mites.* Virtue regulates our affection for the life of time. The gift goes further. It substitutes for it the holy sorrows of exile: *Beati qui lugent.* Virtue makes us exercise justice toward God and neighbour. The gift surpasses it. It makes us render to God and to others what we owe them, not only with exactness but with eagerness and affection. According to the word of the Gospel, it fills us, for justice and for our duties of justice, with an ardour comparable to that which the hungry feel for food, the thirsty for water: *Beati qui esuriunt.* Virtue makes us exercise bodily and spiritual charity toward those whom reason designates for our benefactions: our friends and our kin. The gift rises higher. It sees the need, nothing but the need; the wound, nothing but the wound; the rag, nothing but the rag; and for the love of God it gives, it binds up, it relieves, without distinction of kin or strangers, friends or enemies, Greeks or barbarians: *Beati misericordes.* From these five beatitudes faithfully practised there results a purity of affections and thoughts far more perfect than that of which simple virtue is the source and rule: *Beati mundo corde.* By making us like the thrice-holy God, this purity gives us a particular right to call ourselves children of God: *Beati pacifici.* “Hence it is,” says Saint Thomas, “that the last two beatitudes are presented less as meritorious acts than as rewards.”(1) They are at once the beginning of perfect beatitude and the link which unites the beatitudes to the fruits, of which we shall soon speak. Meanwhile this simple sketch, which shows us the superiority of the beatitudes even over the supernatural virtues, helps us to measure the elevation of the Christian above the honest man and the pagan sage.

(1) *Vel sunt ipsa beatitudo, vel aliqua inchoatio ejus: et ideo non ponuntur in beatitudinibus tanquam merita, sed tanquam praemia. Ponuntur autem tanquam merita effectus activae vitae, quibus homo disponitur ad contemplativam vitam.* [They are either beatitude itself, or some beginning of it: and therefore they are not placed among the beatitudes as merits, but as rewards. But there are placed as merits the effects of the active life, by which man is disposed to the contemplative life.] S. Th., I–II, q. 69, art. 3, corp.

How, then, not to pity our pretended moralists of the nineteenth century? Fallen from the heights of the supernatural order, where baptism had placed them, these proud ignoramuses, *superbus nihil sciens,* dare to put in parallel Christian perfection and pagan perfection; the morality of Socrates and the morality of Jesus Christ. Blasphemers and perjurers, they fear not to call the first: the morality of this world and of honest people; the second: the morality of the other world and of mystics; then, on the pretext that they are not vessels of election, they practise neither.

7° What is the hierarchical order of the beatitudes? Like the gifts of the Holy Spirit which produce them, the beatitudes are linked to one another in a hierarchical order, whose degrees raise the Christian to the perfection of the divine being, and consequently to the summit of happiness; we shall show this later. For the moment we have to study two things worthy of Wisdom, which does all with measure, number and weight. The first is the relation which exists between each beatitude and its reward; the second, the gradation in the reward itself.

The reward. Doubtless heaven, or perfect happiness, is the common reward of all the beatitudes; but this reward is presented under a different aspect, in harmony with the particular kind of merit obtained by each

beatitude. If then it is true that the sinner is punished by that wherein he sins, it is equally true that the just man is rewarded by that wherein he merits. What more fitted than this divine equation to excite our zeal and sustain our courage in the different roads that lead to happiness? Thus, for those who make themselves little and poor, heaven is power, opulence, glory: *Regnum caelorum.* For the meek, heaven is the empire of hearts in the land of the living: *Possidebunt terram.* For those who weep, heaven is consolation and joy without mixture and without end: *Consolabuntur*. For those who hunger after justice, heaven is perfect satiety: *Saturabuntur*. For the merciful, heaven is mercy with its ineffable tendernesses: *Misericordiam consequentur*. For the pure of heart, heaven is the clear sight of God in the splendour of His beauty and in the magnificences of His works: *Deum videbunt.* For the peacemakers, heaven is the glorious name and incomparable privilege of children of God: *Filii Dei vocabuntur.*

To this harmony another is joined: the gradation in the reward. A little attention suffices to perceive it. The first reward is to have heaven. This is the happiness common to all the saints, but not equal for all; for there are several degrees in beatitude, as there are several mansions in the house of the heavenly Father. The second is to possess it. Now to possess heaven says more than to have it. There are many things one can have without possessing them in a tranquil and permanent manner. The third is to be consoled. To be happy in the possession of heaven is more than to have it and possess it. How many pleasant things we do not possess without sorrows! The fourth is to be filled. To be filled is more than to be consoled. Satiety implies abundance of consolation and repose in joy. The fifth is to be the object of mercy. The happiness of heaven will be measured neither on our merits nor even on our desires, but on the infinite riches of infinite mercy. Who can comprehend what such a favour adds to all the others? The sixth is to see God. This new felicity surpasses the preceding. To see God is more than all the rest and announces a greater dignity. To see the king intimately and when one wills is more than to inhabit his palace and enjoy his benefits. The seventh is to be a child of God. There is nothing beyond. At the court of kings the supreme elevation is that of their sons, heirs of their throne. Thus, from degree to degree, to lead man to the supreme dignity of child of God, brother and co-heir of the incarnate Word, is the last word of all the beatitudes and of all the operations of the Holy Spirit.(1)

(1) See S. Th., I–II, q. 69, art. 4, corp., and ad 3.

When the mysterious work of deification is accomplished, the Spirit of love sends the just man the sleep of death. At his awaking he finds all the beatitudes he has practised, reunited, immortalized and magnificently enlarged in a single one, heaven, the beatitude par excellence. Such are the degrees of the ladder by which, from the depth of the valley of tears, we ascend to the summit of the mountain of felicity. “In descending upon the God-man,” says Saint Augustine, “the Holy Spirit begins with wisdom and ends with fear, in order to abase Him to us. In descending upon man, destined to become God, He begins with fear, in order to raise him to the incarnate Word, eternal wisdom. Let us then have before our eyes these glorious ascensions; let us hasten to climb the steps that lead us to the Lord. Let us bravely bear the burden of life. Let us cross with firm step, and with eye fixed on the goal, the seductions and passing tribulations of time: at the end of the journey is peace without mixture and without end. This is what the eighth beatitude exhorts us to, conclusion of all the others: *Blessed are they that suffer persecution, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*”(1)

(1) Serm. 347, n. 3, opp. t. V, p. 1988, edit. noviss.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXIV

1. **Terminology.** “Beatitude(s)” is kept; Gaume’s *actes béatifiants* is rendered “beatifying acts.” *Dons* is “gifts” throughout.

2. **Latin citations.** The Aquinas passages are cited from the *Prima Secundae*, q. 69, on the evidence of the parallel citations. The “ad 4” of art. 3 is as printed. Suarez, *De necessitate gratiae* (as printed) is Gaume’s own remark on a confusion of gifts and beatitudes; I did not check it.

3. **Council of Lavaur.** Printed “Vaures … an 1868” (the council cannot be of 1868); in Ch. XXI I identified this council as Lavaur, 1368. The identification is inference from the printed name.

4. **1 Cor. i, 21**, the verse on the “foolishness of preaching”.

5. **Ages of life.** The seven ages (0–7, 7–14, 14–28, 28–42, 42–56, 56–70, 70–end) are given as Antoninus’s scheme per Gaume; the arithmetic of the third age (14–28, “double”) is as printed. The final footnote on the “climacteric revolution” is Gaume’s own remark on ancient physiology; I did not verify it.

6. **Saint Augustine, Serm. 347.** The reference (“Serm. 347, n. 3, opp. t. V, p. 1988, edit. noviss.”) is as printed; I did not check that the quoted words are in that sermon.

7. **The eighth beatitude.** Gaume (after Aquinas) treats it as the confirmation of the seven; the passage “suffer persecution for righteousness’ sake” is given in Douay wording.

8. **“Moralists of the nineteenth century.”** The polemic against those who set Socrates against Christ is Gaume’s own, translated as written; “vessels of election” echoes Acts ix, 15.

9. **Gaume’s Latin tag** *superbus nihil sciens* is 1 Tim. vi, 4 (“proud, knowing nothing”); the identification is mine.

Chapter XXXV. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Relations of the beatitudes with the gifts. — The beatitudes are the gifts in action. — Each beatitude translates a gift. — Importance of this study for estimating the richness and appreciating the necessity of the beatitudes and the gifts. — The gift of fear in action; first beatitude; example. — The gift of piety in action; second beatitude; example. — The gift of knowledge in action; third beatitude; example. — The gift of fortitude in action; fourth beatitude; example.

8° What are the relations of the beatitudes with the gifts of the Holy Spirit? We have indicated it: these relations are the same as those which exist between the effect and the cause, between the fruit and the tree that bears it. The beatitudes are the gifts of the Holy Spirit in action. Now all that has been said to make us understand the beauty, the connection, the necessity of these sanctifying and consequently beatifying elements of man and of creation does not seem to us sufficient. Today above all, Catholic truths are well known, loved and admired only when they take a body palpable to our hands, visible to our eyes. Thus nothing makes Catholic charity better appreciated, throughout the whole world, than the daughter of Saint Vincent de Paul. It is the same with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the beatitudes. That is why we are going to show them living and acting in Christians, in whom they are personified. In order that it may be well demonstrated that the Spirit of the Cenacle continues to be with the Church, we shall choose our examples from the contemporary annals of Catholicism. An exception will be made in favour of Saint Francis of Assisi, whose life ought to be the manual of our epoch.

The first gift of the Holy Spirit is translated by the first beatitude, and gives rise to admirable acts of humility, of regret and of horror of sin.

“One winter day, Saint Francis of Assisi was going from Perugia to Saint Mary of the Angels, in very severe cold. On the way he called Brother Leo, his travelling companion: ‘Brother Leo,’ he said to him, ‘dear little lamb of the good God, if the Friars Minor spoke the tongue of angels, if they knew the course of the stars, the virtue of plants, the secrets of the earth and the nature of birds, fishes, men and all animals, trees, stones and water, take good heed that perfect joy is not there.’ And a little farther: ‘O Brother Leo, though the Friars Minor should convert by their preaching all infidel peoples, take good heed that perfect joy is not there.’ And he continued to speak thus for the space of several miles. At last Brother Leo, astonished, asked him: ‘O Father, I beg you in the name of God, tell me wherein perfect joy consists.’ Saint Francis answered: ’When we arrive at Saint Mary of the Angels, well drenched, well bemired, numb with cold, dying of hunger, and

when, knocking at the door, the porter shall say to us:"Who are you?" we shall answer: "We are two of your brothers." "You lie," he will say, "you are two vagabonds who run about the world and take away the alms of the true poor; be gone."

"'And he will refuse to open to us and will leave us at the door during the night, exposed to the snow, to the cold and dying of hunger. If we suffer this treatment with patience, without trouble and without murmur, if we even think humbly and charitably that the porter knows us well for what we are, and that it is by the permission of God that he speaks thus against us, O Brother Leo, believe well that it is in this that perfect joy consists.

"'If we continue to knock at the door and the angry porter drives us off as importunate idlers, loads us with insults and blows, and says to us:"Will you be gone, wretched rogues? Go to the hospital: there is nothing here to eat for you." If we bear these ill treatments with joy and with love, O Brother Leo! believe it well, it is in this that perfect joy consists.

"'If, finally, in this extremity, hunger, cold, the night, compel us to make entreaty with tears and cries to enter the convent, and the irritated porter comes out with a big knotted stick, pulls us by the hood, throws us into the snow and gives us so many blows that he covers us with wounds; if we bear all these things with joy, in the thought that we must share in the humiliations of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, O Brother Leo, believe it well, it is there that perfect joy is found. And now hear the conclusion, Brother Leo: Of all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the most considerable is to conquer oneself and willingly to suffer, for the love of Jesus, pains, injuries and opprobrium.'"(1)

(1) *Fioretti,* ch. viii.

At the sight of this admirable humility, nothing remains but to raise the eyes to heaven and repeat the words of eternal Wisdom: *I thank thee, Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones.*

Let us see the gift of fear with regard to sin. A mother does not feel so much grief at the death of her son as the soul inspired by the gift of fear feels at its smallest faults. Brother Alphonsus Rodriguez was filled with this divine gift. Every time he passed a certain place in the house, he threw himself on his knees, asked pardon of God, weeping, made himself lively reproaches and pulled his hair, and this for long years. Had he committed in that place some enormous sin? No; he had allowed himself a small lightness of glance, by which he believed he had offended God.(2)

(2) Pergmayer [as printed], *Médit. sur les sept dons,* etc., p. 11 [?].

The same Spirit of fear which inspires regret for sin inspires horror of it. In 1841 a mandarin had several Christian women arrested and pressed them to apostatize. By the firmness of their reply he understood the impossibility of succeeding. To chain them all would have made more noise and more victims than he wished. In his vexation he contented himself with describing with a stick a circle around a young girl who was kneeling before him, for it is the custom in China to kneel before the judge who interrogates you. "If you go out of this circle," he said to her, "it will be a proof that you have apostatized." And he departed. After him everyone withdrew from the praetorium, except the young girl, whom the fear of abjuring her faith kept kneeling, motionless in the narrow space in which the mandarin's rod had just enclosed her. The secretary of this magistrate, curious to know what course the innocent captive had taken, came back, and, finding her still in the same place, in the same attitude, invited her to rise and go out. "No," she answered, "I shall die rather than take a step." "It was not seriously that the mandarin spoke." "No matter, I heard his words and I do not know his intentions." The secretary insisted a long time without obtaining any other answer. Then he himself effaced the circle his master had traced and drew the young girl out of it.(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag. de la Foi*, no. 83, p. 304. — See also the incident of Saint Basil, Godescard, June 14.

Let us cite a last trait which will show us the Spirit of fear of God and the contrary Spirit disputing a soul in a terrible struggle. In the course of the year 1840, the governor of Tonkin, named Trinh-Quang-Kanh, had arrested a catechist named Toan, aged seventy-four. Delivered to frightful tortures, the unhappy old man had the weakness to apostatize. Some days afterward the governor had him brought back to the praetorium with some other renegades and said to them all: “Since you have listened to reason, the king pardons you and I also.” “Let the others thank you,” replied the repentant old man, “for me, I deplore my fault and I remain in prison to expiate it.” At these words the mandarin, transported with anger, vomited against him a thousand insults, which he had accompanied by a rough bastinado. As the firmness of the martyr did not appear shaken by it, he ordered the soldiers to shut him in a frightful sewer and to decide him, by whatever means, to retract his retractation. Two days after, he recalled him to his tribunal. “Now,” he said to him, “art thou disposed to trample the cross under foot?” “No, mandarin, it is already too much to have once outraged my God.” “Listen; thou despisest my orders; perhaps thou wilt better relish the counsels of those who shared thy errors; I abandon thee to their zeal. If they bring thee back to better sentiments, I will grant them pardon as well as thee; if not, you shall all mount the scaffold.”

The renegades entered only too well into the views of the tyrant. They contrived to push the patience of their victim to the limit. Some overwhelmed him with curses, others spat in his face. All, become eloquent through cowardice, pressed him to obey, if not to preserve his life, at least to save from torture the fathers of families whose lot was compromised by his obstinacy. For four days he was subjected to this horrible trial. On the fifth, when he was already half vanquished, the governor had him brought to the praetorium and tortured with such violence that the unhappy man succumbed anew. His relapse was welcomed by bursts of laughter from the mandarin. “Go and rest,” he said to him, “until thou hast the strength to enjoy liberty.” The soldiers in their turn congratulated him. But the remorse of the guilty man made him deaf to all these praises. The night was passed in tears and sobs that bordered on despair. Happily there was in the prison a priest, later honoured with the palm of martyrdom. The unfortunate old man, all covered with wounds, threw himself at his feet, made to him with inconsolable groans the avowal of his last fall, and rose again doubly strengthened by the priest’s word and by the virtue of the sacrament of penance.

The very next day the governor made him appear in order to assure himself, by new profanations, of the sincerity of his apostasy. “Neither torments nor death shall henceforth make me abjure the faith,” he said to the persecutor. “By my repentance I hope to have recovered the friendship of my God; it is high time that I remain faithful to Him.” This time the tortures had no more limits. Stretched on the ground, the victim was beaten with sticks; hands and feet bound, he was dragged into the audience hall under a hail of blows; he was loaded with a cangue [wooden collar-board] fitted with iron; he was cast into prison and taken out again to be exposed to the burning heat of the sun; he was stripped of his clothes, a crucifix was tied to each of his feet, and he was bound fast to a column. His arms, extended in the form of a cross, were tied to the two ends of his cangue, fixed across his shoulders, and he was left five days and five nights in this horrible position. As long as this torment lasted the soldiers insulted him, spat in his face, struck him, tore out his beard. At last the unhappy old man was carried back to prison, half dead and as if paralysed in all his limbs. The mandarin ordered that he be left to die of hunger. His agony lasted several days. When a person came to visit him, he profited by his presence to humble himself for his faults: “I strayed,” he said; “I had the weakness to imitate the apostasy of the chiefs of my village; but now that I have sincerely returned to God, I wish to die in His love. I beg you to pray for me.” Feeling his end approach, he bequeathed his garments to a non-commissioned officer who had given him some morsels of bread; promised him, as this soldier begged, to remember him in paradise; fell into a faint; put his fingers to his mouth as if to suck them, so pressed was he by thirst; and some moments after he expired, victorious in the last combat.(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 85, p. 429 ff.

Such are the effects of the gift of fear of God and the vestiges which the saints have left us in returning to the fatherland: *Haec sunt vestigia quae sancti quique nobis reliquerunt in patriam revertentes.* [These are the footprints which the saints, each in turn, have left us as they returned to the fatherland.]

To the gift of fear of God succeeds the gift of piety. Principle of filial love, it is translated by the second beatitude, whose acts breathe tenderness and respect toward God and all that is consecrated to Him, toward the neighbour and all that belongs to him, in the spiritual order as in the temporal. Let us see it blossoming among the young Christians overseas.

"All the time that we passed at Wallis," writes a missionary, "was a time of feast for us and for the inhabitants. We remained there a month and a half. How edified and confused one is at seeing the piety of these good islanders! At all hours of the day and night one is sure to find adorers before the Blessed Sacrament. Each morning, common prayer and attendance at holy Mass, during which the singing of canticles does not cease. At nightfall, or, to speak like the natives, when the cicada has sung, they gather again at the foot of the altars for evening prayer. Then the faithful return home. But scarcely is the family assembled when in all the huts, without exception, begins the recitation of the rosary, followed by the singing of canticles and the repetition of the catechism. At this moment one hears no longer in the whole island anything but a concert of praise, during which it is impossible not to feel moved and touched to tears."(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 120, p. 346, year 1848.

A few years earlier, the traveller lost in this island would have heard, at the same hour, only the vociferations of the cannibals returning from their horrible feasts. The filial love with which these Christians of yesterday are penetrated for Our Lord, shut in the tabernacle, manifests itself loudly when He comes forth. "How edified you would have been," writes the missionary of Futuna, "when, in this nascent Christian community, the holy Viaticum was carried for the first time to a sick person! While the priest walked in the shade of the banana trees, the coconut palms and the breadfruit trees, pious neophytes left their huts and came, respectful and recollected, to kneel in the places where the Blessed Sacrament passed."(2) The same piety for all that pertains to religion. "The crowd at the tribunal of penance is so great that, from the child who begins to babble to the old man already bent toward the tomb, everyone wishes to confess… They have so great a respect for the tribunal of penance that one day a father of a family came weeping to ask me whether his daughter, who had had the curiosity to open a confessional of the valley, had made herself very guilty."(3)

(2) *Id.* no. 96, p. 369, year 1844. (3) *Id.*, *id.*

The Christian who loves God loves the house of God, as a son loves the house of his father. To this filial love old Europe was indebted for the magnificent edifices which covered it as with a mantle of glory. Among newly converted peoples the same love produces miracles. "The principal work," writes the apostle of Mangareva, "the one that sets in motion the whole population, is the construction of a church. As the island furnishes no stone, most of the fathers of families have long been occupied in quarrying islets of rock situated nearly five leagues out at sea. Once deposited on the shore, the stones are rolled by main force to the very hand of the workmen. The young men divide the different tasks among themselves, so that one tribe relieves the other every eight days. Some go to fish for coral to make lime, others bring from half a league away the sand required. The women themselves suspend their habitual occupations to go and seek on the mountain the reeds destined to feed the fire of the lime kiln. Moreover, aided by the little children, they make, with the fibres of the coconut palm, the cords the workmen need.

"The king has made an appeal to the generosity of his people. Much wood was needed for the framework and the joinery, and these islands produce scarcely anything but the breadfruit tree, precious plant from which the population draws its subsistence. Nevertheless there was no one who did not show himself disposed to give

more than we wished to receive. If we said to one: Thy land is too small; to another: Thy tree is too beautiful, we shall not take it — 'No matter,' they answered, 'cut all the same, it is for the good God. Is it not He who gave them to us? Is it not He who will give us others?' We had to watch that the generosity of these good and dear Christians should not do them harm. You could not form an idea of the ardour with which they pursue their undertaking. The king and the chiefs feed at their own expense all our workmen. The fishermen have undertaken to furnish also every day fish to the workmen, as long as they shall be occupied in what they call the work of the Lord."(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 82, p. 216, year 1842.

"He that is of God," said the Saviour of the world, "heareth the words of God; therefore you hear them not, because you are not of God."(2) To love the word of God, written or spoken, is therefore a new effect of the gift of piety. To encourage and confound us, let us admire it in the new Christians. "What maintains in the inhabitants of Wallis," continue the *Annales*, "the feeling and love of duty, is that they are very eager for the word of God. Besides the instructions of the missionaries, there are in each village and in each little hamlet catechisms of men, of women and of children. The most instructed teach the others; each one confesses and communicates about every month. Everywhere in the evening the rosary is recited in common, followed by a canticle to the holy Virgin."(3)

(2) John viii, 47. (3) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 104, p. 14, year 1846.

The same ardour under the ice of North America. "Our savages could not be more eager for the holy word. The catechumens above all distinguished themselves by their zeal to instruct themselves, in order to hasten the happy moment when, by baptism, they would at last be admitted among the faithful. We kept them in the church more than six hours a day. The greater part of this time was destined for catechism and familiar instructions, at which everyone assisted. Far from being wearied by these exercises, they were no sooner out of the chapel than, gathering in various groups, they sought to give each other an account of the things we had told them, and this during whole hours, sometimes even far into the night. In their doubts they came to consult the missionaries. Then, whether we were in bed or not, asleep or awake, we had to give them audience and answer all their questions."(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 100, p. 269.

Continuing His divine teachings, the incarnate Word said of His apostles and priests: "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me; he that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me."(2) This word has crossed the centuries. Object of veneration and filial tenderness on the part of true Christians, such has the priest been, such is he, such shall he always be. On this point two facts, among a thousand, represent the whole tradition.

(2) Luke x, 16; ix, 48.

In the sixteenth century there lived at Naples the venerable Ursula Benincasa, foundress of the Theatines and inspired institutress of the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception. From the most tender age this child of benediction had such respect for priests that, on seeing them, she knelt down, embraced their feet, had herself blessed by them and kissed even the trace of their steps. Such was the joy their presence caused her that she often put herself at the window only to see them pass. As soon as she perceived them she bowed profoundly and gave all the marks of the most affectionate veneration, as if it were the very person of Our Lord. Later she said naively to her confessor: "When I was quite little, I desired impatiently feast days for two reasons: the first, because, not working, I could attend freely to all my exercises of piety; the second, because I could at my ease put myself at the window and see the priests pass in the street. I looked on them as angels of paradise, while other men displeased me exceedingly." Such was her esteem for priests that she added: "Were I to see with my own eyes a priest fall into some fault, rather than believe it I should believe that my

eyes had deceived me."(1)

(1) *Vie*, etc., p. 282.

Let us now listen to one of the apostles of the Gambier Islands: "One day I was seated on a large stone, at the bottom of a wide bay, occupied in instructing persons of somewhat advanced age. Some islanders perceived that I had been there a long time; they judged that I must be hungry. They at once ordered a child to go and pick a coconut. The child was very young, and the coconut palms are very tall. Imagine a perfectly straight stem, at the top of which a great bunch of leaves, fifteen feet long, spreads out like a parasol. These good savages addressed me: 'Pray, father,' they said; 'pray, lest the child fall and kill himself.' When the coconut was prepared, it was presented to me, with these words: 'Wherever thou art, father, if thou art hungry, say: I am hungry, and we will give thee to eat.'

"It is impossible for me to give an idea of the respect which is shown us and of the attentions of which we are the object. At the least word from our mouth you see a universal eagerness. Have we need to go from one island to another, rowers are always ready. If we point out to them that the voyage will cause them an absence of some days and that we fear to inconvenience them: 'No, no,' they answer, 'speak thou, father, and we will do.' This deference of our neophytes is the natural effect of the filial love by which they answer the truly paternal love that we feel for them."(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 56, p. 195, year 1838.

These demonstrations are not vain formulas. Regarding the missionary with reason as their father and their best friend, the new Christians know how, in need, to impose on themselves the greatest sacrifices in his favour. "Two missionaries of Tonkin were gathered in a house. The news came to the ears of the persecutors. Straightway arrived the mayor of the commune, followed by three satellites armed with sticks. 'Who are you,' he said to Father Lac, whom he met first, 'no doubt a master of religion?' And, paying no attention to his reply: 'Where is the chief of the Christians?' he asked, entering the presbytery to arrest Father Thi. They urged André Lac to take flight, but the holy priest, motionless and resigned, contented himself with answering: 'May the will of God be done! If it pleases them to arrest me, it will be the second time that I shall be a captive for Jesus Christ.'

"The mayor made the two confessors get into his boat and led them to his dwelling. Some Christians followed, beseeching him to release his innocent prisoners. 'I consent,' he said to them, 'provided you bring me six bars of silver.' Straightway these good neophytes returned home, emptied their purses, borrowed from their neighbours and came back with all they could collect, sixty ligatures [strings of coin] and three large cooking-pots, which were worth about two-thirds of the sum required. 'Here is all we possess,' they cried, laying their treasure at the mayor's feet; 'give us back at least Father Lac.' He gave back both, and our Christians withdrew, only too happy to have saved their pastors at the price of their fortune."(1)

(1) *Annales de la Propag.*, etc., no. 85, p. 412, year 1842.

The Spirit of piety, we have said, makes the heart flow in effusions of charity for the neighbour. Agapes, care of the poor and the sick, charitable admonitions, all the marvels which He wrought in the first Christians, He renews among the newly converted idolaters. Let us pass over in silence all the works of corporal mercy, to cite a trait of spiritual mercy. Persecution was raging in Tonkin. An old man, aged sixty-nine, was thrown into prison with a great number of other Christians. Among the latter was his son-in-law, a young man in the prime of life. Trembling at times at the sight of death, this good old man owed his invincible courage to the exhortations of his son-in-law.

"'My father,' the latter said to him, 'consider your age. Two kinds of death are placed quite near you: the one natural, whose consequences are uncertain; the other given by the persecutors, of which an eternity of happiness is the reward. How can one waver in a choice in which the better part is so easy to know? If it were

permitted to regret life in such a circumstance, it would be for me, still young and vigorous, to do so: yet you see that I abandon it gaily for God. I leave my wife in the flower of her age, with four children still incapable of earning their living; but God who gave them to me will know how to provide for their needs. Is it the pain of the rod that frightens you? Fear nothing, my father; I will receive in your place those which the mandarins destine for you; let us then be content and courageous.'

"When the judges had recourse to the rod, the admirable young man lay on the ground to receive first those destined for himself; and, when they prepared to strike his father-in-law, he rose, all bloody, and said to the mandarins: 'My father is old and weak, I pray you have pity on him, and permit that I be struck in his place.' Then he lay down again before the mandarins, and underwent a second flogging with heroic courage.

"While the future martyr was sustaining his father-in-law, he himself received from his own people encouragements and very sweet consolations. His wife came to see him several times with her last child still at the breast, exhorted him not to trouble himself about her, and to be tranquil about the lot of his four little children; adding that with the grace of God she hoped to be able to feed and bring them up, though alone. Truly this valiant woman showed herself the worthy spouse of a martyr, and her daughter the worthy child of her mother. This young child, aged eleven, slipped away one day furtively from the paternal house, to go and see the holy confessor in his prison. She made alone a half-day's journey, crossed without fear the soldiers and guards, and penetrated to her father, whom she encouraged to die rather than trample the cross under foot. Some days after, the courageous athletes received the crown of martyrdom."(1)

(1) *Annales de la Prop.*, no. 78, p. 518, year 1840.

In ascending order, the third gift of the Holy Spirit is the gift of knowledge. At the first rank of our esteem the gift of knowledge teaches us to put our soul and that of the neighbour: *What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?* This capital truth is affirmed by the acts of the third beatitude. A single day of the Christian centuries has produced more of these heroic affirmations than the pagan world had seen in two or three thousand years. What has been done continues to be done. "In France," writes a missionary of China, "one would be more than astonished to see poor sick persons, who have only two or three days of life left, come by boat from fifteen, twenty, thirty leagues to receive the last sacraments. Here it is the commonest thing. One day nine were brought me from different places in the same chapel: it was a real hospital. I heard their confessions, I communicated them, I gave extreme unction to several of them and sent them all away filled with consolation; but my contentment was quite as great as that of these good neophytes. What would the indifferent Christians of Europe say of this pious custom, above all if one added that these heroic faithful die quite often in their boats in the middle of their route?

"A small incident, which happened a few days ago, will make you admire better the faith of our Christians. I had been called by a sick man to one of the extremities of my district. After Mass, I saw two couriers enter who begged me to go and visit an infirm person in a Christian community ten leagues distant; quickly I set out again with them. On the way we meet a boat; they were faithful bringing me a sick man. Not recognizing the boatman who was conducting me, they continued to steer toward the parish I had just left, while I was going to another neighbouring theirs. These poor people, after rowing all day, arrived at last toward evening very tired. No missionary; what to do? They set out again, hoping to rejoin me before my departure; new disappointment: I had pushed farther after saying holy Mass; our boats met again; but this time our boatmen recognized each other.

"The sick man moved me to compassion even more than his people. Being unable to retrace my steps, I offered to hear his confession in his miserable boat, and then to administer extreme unction. But this brave man answered me that for a very long time he had not had the happiness of communicating, and that, since he was near me, he would not leave me without being provided with all the sacraments. He had therefore to come back as far as our chapel and to make with me nearly eight leagues."(1)

(1) *Annales*, etc., no. 116, p. 53, year 1848.

At the same degree of esteem as our own, the gift of knowledge puts the soul of the neighbour, and above all of those who are united to us by the bonds of blood. Whereas today, among the degenerate Christians of old Europe, marriage seems to be, for the spouses, only a school of reciprocal scandal, a sort of enterprise of damnation at common expense; among the newly converted faithful, the great preoccupation of the husband is the salvation of his wife, and reciprocally. Thanks to the Spirit of knowledge, they understand how miserable is a union of some days, which death should break eternally or render eternally unhappy.

In 1840 there was arrested in western Tonkin a virtuous father of a family named Martin Tho. From the day of his arrest he seemed occupied only with his sacrifice, though he left a wife and eight children. Admirable family, all animated by the spirit of its head; far from seeking to soften his courage, it made vows that he might remain faithful. Four or five days after their father had been taken from them, the sons asked their mother permission to go and see him in prison. “My children,” she said to them, “your father is on the field of battle; it is not yet known whether he will be happy enough to confess the Gospel. The mere idea of the torments they are preparing for him suffices for his trials, without your adding to them. If you go to visit him, perhaps the sight of his children, the remembrance of his house, will cause him an emotion fatal to his faith; perhaps his tenderness for you will make him forget the glory that awaits him. However, if any one of you wishes to enter his prison, I do not oppose it, provided he first go and consult the catechist of the great Father Doan; if he assents to your request, I subscribe to it; if he finds it imprudent, you will return.”

“But when it was learned that the holy confessor had triumphed over all his tortures, this good mother then said to her children: ‘Your father, with the grace of God, has gloriously confessed the name of the Lord; so go and see him, console him in his pains; encourage him to suffer for the love of God.’ The two eldest, a son and a daughter, set out at once; the Christian hero clasped them in his arms. ‘My children,’ he said to them, ‘your father is soon to die. For you, this is my last recommendation, and you will repeat it in my name to all your brothers: remember that you have but one soul; pray God to give you the grace to remain faithful to your religion; above all keep yourselves pure from the contagion of the world.’”(1)

(1) *Annales*, etc., no. 83, p. 263, year 1842. The precious *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* are studded with examples which prove, in our young brothers of Asia, Africa and the East, the fullness of the gift of knowledge, applied whether to contempt of false goods, or to esteem of poverty, or to discernment of truth and error, and producing as a result firmness in the faith and concord in families.

Fortitude is the fourth gift of the Holy Spirit: to act and to suffer are its two objects. It is manifested by the fourth beatitude, that is, by acts of indomitable love for justice, for the expulsion of Satan from the domains he has usurped, and for the establishment of the reign of the redeeming Word, whether in ourselves or in others. In the matter of heroic enterprise, I know not whether there is anything comparable to the entrance of one of our missionaries into the peninsula of Korea.

For several years Mr. Maistre had vainly attempted to enter this idolatrous country by land or by sea. Repulsed on every side, but not discouraged, he formed the audacious project of having himself thrown on the coast with an old guide, and of awaiting from heaven the success of his generous design. But the plan was easier to conceive than to execute. For want of junk or ship, a boat was needed and he had none; a pilot, and he lacked one. Asked with insistence of the men who boast of being intrepid, boat and pilot were refused him. Far from letting himself be cast down, the missionary redoubled his confidence in God: he was not deceived. A Jesuit father, missionary in China, who had some nautical knowledge, came and offered himself as pilot in this general defection. They succeeded in finding a small pagan junk and some rowers. To protect as much as possible the little expedition, the French consul at Shanghai gave Father Hélot, established as commander of the fleet, a commission to go and visit the wreckage of a French ship stranded on the coast of Korea. All being thus organized, the little junk raised its wooden anchor, spread its sails of straw and ran

across the Yellow Sea toward the unknown island of the French camp.

Scarcely had it put to sea than a furious tempest suddenly arose. Satan had raised it to foil the holy enterprise. For a long time the boat struggled against the waves which, with a frightful roar, piled up before it to bar its passage and engulf it. After useless efforts it was necessary to put about and go and seek shelter behind a neighbouring island. Far from cast down the courage of the two missionaries, become pilots, this annoying reverse only served to increase it. Forty-eight hours later the frail skiff set sail again. Already the shore had disappeared and it was prudent to make sure of the direction to be held. The instruments were consulted, which gave no certain answer. Eight days had passed, and nothing yet on the horizon had come to gladden the anxious gaze of the intrepid mariners. At last, on the ninth day, they found themselves before a little group of islands, toward which the boat was joyfully directed. The missionaries went down to the village built on the coast, to take speech with the inhabitants. Suddenly here comes the mandarin of the place, he too, to put embarrassing questions to the strangers; he is given a rendezvous on board. Father Hélot, who combines the functions of pilot, captain and chargé d'affaires, hastens to take the word first and to present his letters to the mandarin, begging him to point out the place of the wreck. The crafty magistrate refuses to reply. He is told to depart, and hardly has he turned his back than they set sail again. A few hours' stay would have compromised all.

After a navigation in the midst of dangers of every kind, they discovered the desired point of landing. When night had come, Mr. Maistre hastily put on his poor Korean costume, amid the religious astonishment of the crew; after which he went down with his old guide into a little canoe, having a bamboo for mast and a mat for sail. Carrying on his back a little bundle of the most necessary things, the intrepid missionary began to climb the steep path of the mountains behind which he soon disappeared, to go, at the peril of his life, and devote himself to the imminent dangers of the apostolate.(1)

(1) *Annales,* no. 148, p. 233 ff., year 1853. — Mr. Maistre became one of the illustrious martyrs of Korea.

To face death on a field of battle is to be brave, though one is surrounded by thousands of other men who face it equally, and is provided with all the arms necessary for defence. But what name to give to him who, alone and unarmed, goes to brave it in the midst of an entire people, whose happiness it will be to immolate him and feast on his torment? The Spirit of fortitude alone can work such a prodigy. The proof is that the pagan world of old never saw it, any more than schism or heresy.

To suffer is more heroic still, and it is a new miracle of the Spirit of fortitude. Two examples only of this superhuman strength, in trials and in the midst of the most violent temptations. "In Cochin-China, two little girls of a Christian named Nam, aged the one fourteen, the other ten, had been led to the prefecture with their mother, their father and their grandfather. On their refusal to apostatize, the mandarin ordered them to be struck on the feet and legs, to make them advance and walk on the cross. This cruel torment deceived the mandarin's expectation. The two children let themselves be horribly bruised rather than take a step forward. Seized and placed by force on the instrument of their salvation, they ceased not to protest against the violence done them, and made up for this involuntary profanation by testimonies of the most profound respect. The judge could not refuse his admiration and his praises to their courage, and sent them away with their mother."(1)

(1) *Annales,* no. 73, p. 555, year 1840.

The Spirit of fortitude which makes two heroines of two little Annamites, naturally so timid, works the same miracle in China. "Here are some details on the constancy of which a young Chinese girl named Anne Kao gave proof in the persecution. Surprised at the moment she was at prayer, she was arrested by the satellites, who proposed to her to choose between apostasy and death. She hesitated not an instant and answered them firmly that she preferred to die. They led her therefore to the tribunal to make her appear before the great mandarins. These ordered her to kneel on an iron chain; two soldiers drew their sabres and placed them on

her neck to frighten her. In this state she was commanded to trample the cross: she resisted this new trial with the same constancy.

“Then the mandarins, who knew that she was exhausted with hunger, had food presented to her and told her to eat as a sign of apostasy. She answered at once: ‘If it is in your eyes an apostasy to eat, I declare to you that I shall die of hunger rather than take the least nourishment; but if you see in it only an ordinary and indifferent action, I will eat.’ The abashed mandarin said to her in anger: ‘Thou art an obstinate one; eat as thou pleasest.’

“The wife and daughter of the mandarin, touched with compassion for the Christian virgin, joined their entreaties to those of the judges, and exhorted her warmly to renounce the faith; but she resisted this new temptation, as she had resisted the threats. Conducted to the metropolitan city, she sustained on several occasions the same combats and always with an unshaken constancy. She is still in prison.”(1)

(1) *Annal.,* no. 76, p. 261, year 1841.

Beside such trials, what are ours but children’s games? If we succumb, it is because the gift of fortitude is lacking to us. When it is in a soul it works what we have just admired, and what a pious author says: “Wood glued with strong glue breaks elsewhere rather than at the joint. So it is with the soul united to Thee, my God, by the gift of fortitude: witness the martyrs. It was easier to separate the foot from the leg and the head from the neck than to separate them from Thy love. In them fear had formed this double cord of charity hard to break. They loved Thee with all their heart, without error; with all their soul, without resistance; with all their mind, without forgetfulness. Lord, grant me a like love, that I may never be separated from Thee.”(2)

(2) *Idiotae contemplat.,* c. xiv.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXV

1. **Nature of the chapter.** This chapter is almost entirely quotation from the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* and from the *Fioretti* (given in Gaume’s French). I have translated Gaume’s French as it stands; I have not compared the missionary letters with the *Annales* themselves. The issue numbers and page numbers are as printed; doubtful ones are marked.

2. **Quotation marks.** In the Francis passage I have supplied inner quotation marks to make the speech readable; the words are unchanged.

3. **Fioretti.** The “perfect joy” discourse is *Fioretti*, ch. viii as printed (“vin”); I did not check it against an edition of the *Fioretti*. The words “Of all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the most considerable…” are in Gaume’s French as given.

4. **Ursula Benincasa.** Gaume calls her “foundress of the Theatines” and “institutress of the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception.” I have kept his wording and did not verify his claims.

5. **“Ligatures.”** Gaume’s *ligatures* (strings of cash coin) is glossed in brackets as my interpretation; the “six bars of silver” is as printed.

6. **Cangue.** The wooden collar-board of Chinese and Annamite punishment; the bracket gloss is mine.

7. **Hélot, Maistre.** Gaume’s text gives “the Jesuit Father Hélot” as pilot and “Mr. Maistre” as missionary; the footnote states that Maistre became a martyr of Korea. I have not verified the names, dates or the episode.

8. **Period remarks.** The contrasts between “degenerate Christians of old Europe” and the neophytes, and the claim that heresy and the pagan world never produced such missionaries, are Gaume’s own apologetics, translated as written.

9. **“I thank thee, Father…”** Gaume gives no reference; I take it to be Matt. xi, 25 (identification mine); the wording is Douay.

10. **Heading.** The chapter heading reads “Continuation of the preceding”; it carries the study of the beatitudes through the first four gifts (fear, piety, knowledge, fortitude).

Chapter XXXVI. (End of the Preceding)

The gift of counsel in action: fifth beatitude. — Examples. — The gift of understanding in action: sixth beatitude. — Examples. — The gift of wisdom in action: seventh beatitude. — Example. — Satanic counterfeit of the divine beatitudes. — The seven gifts of the Spirit of evil, translated by his seven beatitudes.

At the fifth degree of the mysterious ladder that leads us to God we find the gift of counsel: it is translated by the fifth beatitude. To make us run with ardour where the voice of God calls us, to seek every means of knowing it, to disengage ourselves, as far as the conditions of earthly existence permit, from all obstacles to our perfection, and, for that, to recoil before no sacrifice: such are the beatifying acts which reveal in a soul the presence of the Spirit of counsel. We see it resplendent in the conduct of the first Christians. As the pagan world admired it, eighteen centuries ago, in the conduct of our fathers, the modern world, become pagan again, is forced to recognize it in that of our young brothers of China and of Oceania.

Now, to desire ardently to receive the Holy Spirit is already an effect of the gift of counsel. Such a desire animated the young child of whom our precious *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* speak. “My second mission,” writes one of the apostles of China, “was equally blessed. I remember with happiness having met there a little girl of ten, very well instructed in her religion, which, at that age, is extremely rare among the Chinese. This child desired ardently the sacrament of confirmation, which I nevertheless hesitated to grant her, because I found her too young. I wished to make sure whether her courage equalled her intelligence, and I said to her: ‘After you have been confirmed, if the mandarin puts you in prison and questions you on your faith, what will you answer?’ ‘I shall answer that I am a Christian by the grace of God.’ ‘And if he asks you to renounce the Gospel, what will you do?’ ‘I shall answer: Never!’ ‘If he sends for the executioners and says to you: You will apostatize, or your head will be cut off, what will be your answer?’ ‘I shall say to him: Cut!’ Delighted to see her so well disposed and so strongly resolved, I admitted her with joy to the sacrament which was the object of all her wishes.”(1)

(1) *Annal.,* no. 95, p. 304, year 1844.

True religion being the royal road from earth to heaven, one of the first effects of the gift of counsel is to make us seek and employ all the means of knowing it well. What wiser? To inquire about his road, is it not the first care of a traveller in a foreign country? And then, the better one knows religion, the more one loves it, the more one is disposed to make all the sacrifices it asks, and to realize the sublime detachment marked by the gift of counsel. In this respect let us see what it inspires, even in the midst of persecution, in the young Annamite Christians.

“My catechists,” writes a missionary of Cochin-China, “had often spoken to me of a general contest on the catechism, which took place every year at Hé-sin, when the faithful enjoyed perfect liberty. All the neighbouring Christian communities were invited to take part in it. The one which had not answered the call would have covered itself with ineffaceable shame. One day I said to the catechists: ‘We must hold a contest.’ ‘Father, it is not possible.’ ‘I know that a great contest like those of former times is not possible, but a small contest, to which only a few communities shall be called and which shall take place during the night, is very easy and, what is more, I count on being present.’ The following Sunday the approaching opening of a contest on the catechism was publicly announced in the church. It was a fever of enthusiasm among all the young people. They had a month to prepare. If I had not been a witness of it, I should never have formed an idea of such emulation. Every evening, the boys on one side, the girls on the other, gathered in little bands in

the houses of the principal heads, charged with teaching the letter of the catechism. The recitation was prolonged until eleven o'clock, sometimes later.

"If you had chanced to cross the Christian community of Hé-sin, you would have been deafened by a noise of pious chants, which were not without a certain harmony. Like all their prayers, the Annamites recite the catechism singing. During the day it was the same uproar in the private houses, in the fields, and even on the roads, where those who were preparing for the contest went over the lesson of the day before, questioning one another; and on Sunday there was held in the church a general rehearsal, at which all the catechists assisted. Each of the candidates recognized by the council of his village as capable of sustaining the trial of the examination had given his name.

"The first contest took place, during an entire night, in the chapel of Hé-Bang. This church, though rather large, could not contain the crowd of spectators. I had to content myself with being a simple spectator. I was introduced furtively into the church, and hidden behind the hangings of the high altar, where a small opening had been contrived which allowed me to see everything without being perceived. One of our Annamite fathers, a grave man much respected by the Christians, presided over the contest. He was seated magisterially on an armchair placed on the step of the altar, while below, on both sides, sat the heads of the different Christian communities; the examiners, chosen among the first scholars of each village, were in the middle: a great stroke of the tam-tam announced the opening of the session.

"After a solemn invocation to the Holy Spirit, a personage clad in a long ceremonial robe drew from an urn the names of the first two competitors, which he called in a stentorian voice. A second personage, adorned with the same costume, drew from another urn a ticket on which were indicated the chapters of the catechism that were to be the matter of the examination: this he also proclaimed aloud, and the contest began. The two candidates questioned and answered each other in turn, in the midst of a profound silence, interrupted sometimes by a little roll of the drum: this was when one or other made a mistake in a word. Then they stopped until the examiners had judged whether the error should be considered a fault or not. There were only two degrees: he who recited imperturbably and without the shadow of a fault the part that had fallen to him by lot obtained the first degree. A single word pronounced with hesitation made one pass to the second degree. At three faults one merited neither blame nor praise; at four one was censured. The two personages in long robes proclaimed the names of the winners, who were led, in procession and to the sound of music, to the altar of the holy Virgin. There they paid homage to Mary for their triumph, consecrated themselves to her by a special prayer, and returned to their place amid a redoubling of music.

"The contest, which had lasted until morning, was ended by a Mass of thanksgiving, followed by a large distribution of crosses, medals and rosaries. But this multitude was hungry; they could not be sent away fasting. Besides, among the Annamites a religious feast would not be complete if it were not ended by a meal. I took good care not to depart from the custom. But it was in vain that, by my orders, the unfortunate vanquished were called to the banquet; they hid so well that there was no way of finding them. The feast being ended to the general satisfaction, each group joyfully regained its village, and I went back into my prison."(1)

(1) *Annal.*, etc., no. 146, p. 20 ff., year 1853.

At the account of these pious contests, our great doctors of Europe will no doubt stammer the word childishness, and smile with pity. Let them keep their smiles for themselves and for their agricultural shows. To parade before themselves and other grave personages oxen, cows, horses, mules, asses, pigs; then to give prizes to the finest products, with a view to procuring the improvement of all the races of beasts, asinine, bovine, caprine, porcine: they will find this exercise very useful and very worthy of them. They will call it a glorious progress of the age of enlightenment! And in the eyes of these same men it will be childish to exercise, by a noble emulation, immortal souls in the thorough knowledge of the truths which are the

condition of their happiness and the very basis of societies! You speak of childishness: say on which side it is found. If you do not know, so much the worse for you. It is a sign that you have descended to the level of your competitors.(2)

(2) *Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit; comparatus est jumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis.* [Man, when he was in honour, did not understand; he is compared to senseless beasts and is become like to them.] Ps. 48 [Douay xlviii, 13]. — *Animalis homo.* [The sensual man.] 1 Cor. ii, 14.

Meanwhile the fruits of the gift of counsel are manifested in our young brothers as in our forefathers. To keep with the earth as few relations as possible, in order to march with firm and rapid step toward the eternal fatherland; to break for that, if need be, even the ties dearest to nature: such are the examples they give us. Let us hear one of their apostles: “Being no longer able to remain in New Caledonia without repelling force by force, I announced to our neophytes, come from ten leagues around, the news of our departure. They had the choice either of returning to their homes, or of coming to Futuna where they would find missionaries. At this news all burst into tears; it was faith that made them weep. ‘And my father,’ said one; ‘and my mother,’ said another, ‘will therefore never be Christians!’ Thus their grief exhaled itself. I could not hold out against this spectacle, and I withdrew to leave them leisure to consult together.

“Some moments after, I returned; I made their sobs cease by asking them what resolution they had taken. ‘To follow you wherever you go,’ they answered. ‘But if we return to Europe, it is cold there and you would soon die.’ ‘So much the better; now we desire nothing more than death.’ Their unanimous advice was to transport themselves to a far distant island, where there would be missionaries, in order to hear no more of a fatherland which they regarded as reprobate forever. We set sail, and during the crossing, which lasted a month, our dear Christians were so edifying that the captain and crew, although all Protestants, asked me several times to invite our neophytes to say their prayers on the deck, for the pleasure of being witnesses of it.

“We anchored at Futuna on a Sunday morning. The port was deserted. ‘Where are the inhabitants of this village?’ the captain and the sailors kept asking me. They did not know that the natives of Futuna, fervent Catholics, had all gone to Mass. The houses were abandoned; for, in this converted island, one does not know what theft is. An hour of waiting passes: then we hear resounding on all sides the singing of canticles. It was the islanders returning from church blessing the Lord. Our fathers hastened to come and receive us, and the first Christians of New Caledonia, persecuted for the faith by their compatriots, were received as brothers by the new faithful of Futuna.”(1)

(1) *Annales*, no. 138, p. 383 ff., year 1851.

Rather than abandon the road to heaven, to leave one’s country and family is an evident trait of the gift of counsel; to leave oneself is a still more evident one. “At Wallis,” writes a missionary, “where I exercised the holy ministry during five months, I had many consolations; among others, to see three young persons, daughters of the greatest chiefs of the island, ask me urgently for permission to consecrate themselves to God in a special manner, by the vow of chastity. This thought they had had of themselves by the sole inspiration of grace. The Holy Spirit had taught them that this is an evangelical counsel, the free accomplishment of which pleases the Lord.”(2)

(2) *Id.*, no. 96, p. 398, year 1844.

It is not only on the inhospitable shores of Oceania that the Holy Spirit makes the flowers of virginity germinate. Under His influence it grows in the soil so deeply defiled of China and of Cochin-China. Let us hear an apostle of the Celestial Empire. “We have in each Christian community a certain number of persons who, without being bound by religious vows, make profession of keeping virginity. They may be called with truth the flower of the mission, and this kind of flower makes the glory of the garden of the Church. How fair it is to see the vine-stock of virginity shine here in the midst of the mire of idolatry! Nothing can express

what the licence of morals is in an infidel country: but the excess of vice serves, in the designs of God, to bring out the lustre of the purest of virtues, and nothing more would be needed to clear-sighted eyes to recognize its heavenly origin. In my district, which numbers about nine thousand souls, there are more than three hundred virgins. All that the sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul do in Europe, the Chinese virgins are capable of."(1)

(1) *Annal.*, etc., no. 116, p. 44, year 1848.

Daughters of cannibals or of brutalized idolaters, become suddenly Christian virgins, that is, all that is most beautiful, most sublime, most angelic!(2) At the sight of this miracle a thousand times repeated, what would the pagan world say, which, under Augustus, could not find seven vestals in the empire of the Caesars? Less incredulous than the modern impious, it would cry out: The finger of God is here: *Digitus Dei est hic!* [Ex. viii, 19] and it would be right.

(2) We have at Paris, among the Sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul, a young relative of Abd-el-Kader!

The sixth gift of the Holy Spirit is the gift of understanding. The acts which it produces and which form the sixth beatitude are acts revealing a clear knowledge of Christian truths, magnanimity in faith, sustained conformity between practice and belief; in a word, the effective reign of the supernatural in man and in society. "One would say," writes a missionary of Oceania, "that the Holy Spirit in person has made Himself the catechist of the child of whom we are going to speak. I found at Tonga a little prodigy, which you will have difficulty in believing. It is a child of five years, and yet already so instructed that I could not embarrass him by any question of catechism, interrogating him in every way. This little angel asked us permission to teach Christian doctrine to his relatives who, except his father and mother, are all still in paganism. He is a catechist all the more excellent in that one can refuse nothing to his innocent simplicity. It is he who says the Benedicite and the Graces in the family. Scarcely has he seen Mass celebrated five or six times and already he imitates all its ceremonies. A banana leaf serves him for corporal; a sea-shell takes the place of the chalice. When he is grown up, he keeps saying, he wants to say it in earnest. May it please God that this vocation be confirmed, and that one day Oceania count him among her apostles!"(1)

(1) *Annal. de la Propag.*, etc., no. 104, p. 36, year 1846.

The gift of understanding, which opens so marvellously the mind of the child, produces in the grown man a sort of intuition of the truth, so that faith, disengaged from its sombre veils, becomes unshakable. In this kind nothing surpasses the example given by the king of Bongo in Japan. His conversion was the joy of the Church. Afterwards, overwhelmed with adversities and humiliations, at the moment when all seemed conspired to trouble his faith, he pronounced solemnly these beautiful words: "I swear in Thy presence, almighty God, that, if all the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, by whose ministry Thou hast called me to Christianity, should themselves renounce what they have taught me; if I were assured that all the Christians of Europe had denied Thy name; I would confess Thee, acknowledge Thee and adore Thee, though it cost me my life, as I confess, acknowledge and adore Thee as the only true and almighty God of the universe."(2)

(2) *Annales*, etc., no. 125, p. 225, year 1849.

By enlightening the mind, the gift of understanding acts upon the will, and gives it the intelligence of life. Now, life is a trial, penance is its law. "A great number of our Christians," writes a missionary of India, "fast on Saturday, that is, make but one meal toward sunset. How many times, in my journeys, have I not heard my travelling companion answer those who asked him whether he had eaten that day: 'Eh! do you not know that today is Saturday?' And yet this poor Indian had followed me all the morning, carrying on his head a heavy bundle. He had exhausted himself with fatigue to facilitate the success of my ministry! There are many countries where this practice is almost universal, even among the labourers. Several of them, above all when they are comfortably off, prefer to work only half the day, in order to be able to defer till evening their sole

meal.

“This spirit of mortification often furnishes me the occasion of being edified in the holy tribunal. Thus, do I happen to impose as penance some Saturday fast? ‘Father,’ answer a crowd of neophytes, ‘I fast every Saturday.’ ‘That suffices,’ is my decision. But rarely are they content; if I name Wednesday or Friday, I find quite often the second post already taken by another fast of devotion. Lately I had just prescribed a similar good work. My penitent appeared much embarrassed. ‘What is it?’ ‘Father, for three years I have eaten only once a day. How shall I do to accomplish the fast you impose on me?’ I repeat it: these examples are not rare among our Christians.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* no. 87, p. 87, year 1848.

Let us take heed: these Christians, born yesterday, might well be the judges of the old household servants of the faith. However that may be, let us admire Providence, which chooses these faithful of the East to make, by their holy austerities, the counterpoise to the sensualism of the West.

The seventh gift of the Holy Spirit, in ascending order, is the gift of wisdom. Last degree of light and love before the beatific vision, it opens to the truth the eyes of the mind and above all the ear of the heart. It makes one see God, it makes one taste God, it transforms into God, by completing our divine filiation. Would you see it in action? Let us study the seventh beatitude, that is, the beatifying acts by which it manifests itself. Let us take for example an indifferent man, an unbeliever, one of those men, whose race is today so numerous, who have eyes and see nothing, who have a heart and feel nothing of supernatural things, a man, in short, like the captain of whom we are going to speak: submit him to the action of the gift of wisdom, and you will see a miracle.

During the crossing that was bearing them to their distant mission, some of our missionaries employed their leisure in catechizing the young sailors of the ship, in order to prepare them for first communion. Mass was said for them every Sunday. The captain took good care not to assist at it. Not a sign, not a word to announce whether he was a Catholic. Suddenly, following a good reading, he let escape some words which betrayed the struggles of his soul. The spirit of wisdom had just touched him. “God inspired us to begin a novena to obtain his conversion. It ended on the 3rd of June. Well! that very day, at nine o’clock in the evening, at the moment when one of the missionaries was walking on the deck, the captain observed him and, in a moved voice, said to him: ‘Sir, I have a great favour to ask of you.’ ‘I am entirely yours,’ replied the missionary. ‘I want to go to confession, not this evening, for a day is not too much to prepare for it, but not later than tomorrow.’ Then the conversation began and was prolonged far into the night. The next day the captain assisted at Mass, though it was not a Sunday. The crew could not believe their eyes.

“We had fixed the first communion for the feast of the Most Holy Trinity. But the captain having manifested to us the desire to communicate, if it were possible, with his sailors, and wishing to have more time to prepare for this so august action, we yielded very heartily to his wishes. Meanwhile the life of the captain became that of an apostle. He preached by voice and example. One evening, as he had just been to confession, he accosted one of the missionaries and spoke to him of the good God in a manner so touching that our dear confrère was ravished to hear him. At last they came to talk of the possessions by the demon. ‘Do you believe,’ said the captain, ‘that there still exist such possessions?’ ‘Assuredly; they are even rather frequent in infidel countries.’ ‘No matter,’ resumed the captain, ‘I have just played him a bad turn; how he must be gnashing his teeth in the depths of hell!’ In saying these words a big tear escaped from his eyes and wet his moustache.

“At last the 19th of June arrived. This day was without contradiction one of the most beautiful of our life. There was general communion. The deck of the ship had become a church. Simple canvases, artistically stretched, formed the roof and walls; the interior was decked with flags; Chinese mats covered the floor; images and pictures adorned the improvised altar; our floating church was, if not magnificent, at least

passably beautiful; but what was incomparably more beautiful was the spectacle presented by the crew. Sailors, officers, captain, all were there, in their festival clothes, in an attitude of respect. The sweet joy of heaven radiated on all faces.

“When all was over, the captain came and threw himself on the neck of his confessor, saying: ‘The happiest moments of life are always mingled with some bitterness; but for today the heart is content in earnest.’ You would have wept for joy to hear our sailors also make their reflections. ‘You see,’ said one of the oldest, ‘if I were shipwrecked now, it would be as much to me to die as to eat a morsel of bread.’ The ceremony ended in a perfect calm, the breeze began to blow, and the ship to furrow the waves rapidly. ‘Is it astonishing,’ cried the helmsman, ‘that now we go fast? The ship is unloaded of an immense weight. As for me, I had more sins than the vessel is big, and all that has gone out by the ports.’”(1)

(1) *Annales*, etc., no. 105, p. 102 ff.

To make of an indifferent and unbelieving Christian a pious neophyte, an ardent apostle, to inundate with lights and delights a heart closed to all the impressions of grace, and that in an instant: behold without doubt a miracle of the gift of wisdom. To make of a cannibal a man, of this man a child of Abraham, by renewing his being from top to bottom, to the point of making him detest all he loved, love all he detested, and that with an invincible constancy, is another miracle equal, if not superior, to the first.

“In their love for their young faith, our neophytes of Mangareva sing everywhere, to a rather agreeable rhythm, the severe dogmas of Christianity, as formerly the Rhapsodists sang the fictions of Homer, and the Italian fishermen the verses of Tasso. Each year, at the approach of the King’s feast, the inhabitants of each of the islands compose, in their manner, a sort of narrative or exposition of the passages of the Gospel which have struck them most. All, men and women, contribute to the composition of this literary piece, according to their degree of intelligence or memory. This work finished, the whole island learns it by heart, by means of repetitions in common, singing it to an air invented for the purpose. Then, the day of the feast come, all the inhabitants of the archipelago gather at Mangareva and sing their *peï* in the shade of the breadfruit trees and under the presidency of the elders of each island. All the inhabitants thus assembled proclaim the idea which has carried off the victory. These are the floral games of Mangareva.

“This people which, now, by the innocence of its morals, makes the admiration of all the naval officers, is nevertheless the same which, before the arrival of the missionaries, received with hostility the ships that came to visit it. The inhabitants were in continual war and cut one another’s throats. They were cannibals to such a point that once, after a bloody fight between two parties, an enormous heap of corpses having been raised, the victors, instead of burying these victims, devoured them in a great feast which lasted eight days. Several old men still attest this fact, and show the place where the corpses were heaped up.

“Only three years ago there still lived a woman who had eaten her two husbands, dead successively in a time of famine. Their morals were dissolute, like those of all the Oceanians. They were thieves, to such a point that they robbed each other’s crops of breadfruit, and tried to carry off even the ships that touched their shores. Today their morals have become as pure as those of the most religious village of France. Theft, so deeply rooted in the heart of every Oceanian, is completely extirpated from among them. Several captains of merchant ships have wished to make the trial. In going through an island, they let fall, as if by inadvertence, handkerchiefs, silk scarves or knives. Always the objects were faithfully brought back by the first inhabitant who met them.”(1)

(1) *Annales*, etc., no. 143, p. 298, etc.

This is how this people has been transformed by the gift of wisdom.(2) If the Spirit of good has his ladder of deification, the great ape of God, Satan, has also his ladder of degradation. We know the first; it matters to know the second. As in painting shadow is necessary to bring out colours, so in the moral order error and evil

serve to throw into relief the true and the good. By the very fact that he has his gifts, Satan has also his beatitudes. In entering into a man by mortal sin, he communicates to him the first, and the unhappy man practises the pretended beatifying acts which flow from them.

(2) On the relations of the gifts with the beatitudes see S. Aug., *De serm. Dom. in monte*, lib. I, n. 3–14, opp. t. III, p. 1493, etc., edit. noviss.

The first gift of Satan is pride, principle of all sin, as humility is the principle of all virtue. The last word of pride is Aman hanged on a gibbet of fifty cubits; Nabuchodonosor changed into a beast. To render oneself hateful to God and to men is the term at which the first satanic beatitude ends.

The second gift of Satan is avarice. Its masterpiece is the wicked rich man who dies and is buried in hell; it is Judas who sells his master and hangs himself. To make of man the most senseless and the most villainous of men is the last word of the second satanic beatitude. The most villainous: “There is not a more wicked man than the miser, says the Holy Spirit; for him everything is for sale, even his soul.”(1) The most senseless: the life that was given him to win heaven he consumes in fabricating spiders’ webs, fragile tissues that cannot even serve him for a shroud.(2)

(1) Ecclus. x, 10 [Cf. Ch. XXXI]. (2) Is. lix, 5, 8.

The third gift of Satan is lust; put in action, it ends, through a thousand defilements, in Solomon and Sardanapalus, drowned in the cesspool of their morals. Defilement of the whole man, blindness of mind, insensibility of heart, death in impenitence: such is, in its general effects, the third satanic beatitude.

The fourth gift of Satan is gluttony. The epicurean crowned with roses, who sings wine and pleasure to prepare himself for death; Balthasar, who fills Babylon with the noise of his feasts while the Medes are at the gates of the city, are the living translation of the fourth satanic beatitude.

The fifth gift of Satan is envy. Would we see it in action? Cain killing his brother and the Pharisees putting to death the Son of God: behold the glorious term of the fifth satanic beatitude.

The sixth satanic gift is anger. The hyena with bristling mane, the lioness from whom her cubs have just been taken, the hedgehog armed with his spines: weakened types to which man becomes like in practising the sixth satanic beatitude.

The seventh gift of Satan is sloth. The Chinese of whom our missionaries speak, for whom the supernatural world is as though it were not, indifferent to everything except four truths: to drink well, eat well, digest well and sleep well; who would not give a sapeque [a cash coin] to know one dogma more, and who holds for supreme wisdom his stupid indifference in matters of religion:(1) such is the personification of the seventh satanic beatitude. It is in the bosom of this shameful and guilty marasmus, where he has led him by degrees, that the Spirit of evil comes to take the man beatified in his fashion, to place him in the abode of his eternal beatitude.

(1) *Impius, cum in profundum peccatorum venerit, contemnit.* [The wicked man, when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth.] Prov. xviii, 3.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXVI

1. **Nature of the chapter.** As in Ch. XXXV, the body is quotation from the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* in Gaume’s French, with numbers and years as printed. I did not check the originals. Gaume’s sources and reports are his; the place names (Hé-sin, Hé-Bang, Bongo, Mangareva, Wallis, Futuna, Tonga) are spelled as printed.

2. **“The king of Bongo in Japan.”** The oath is given without a name; the identification of the king is not supplied in the text.

3. **“Seven vestals under Augustus.”** Gaume’s assertion that seven vestals could not be found; I give it as written and did not verify it.

4. **Pagan/Protestant remarks.** The sneer at “our great doctors of Europe” and their agricultural shows, and the remark on “Protestants” aboard the ship, are Gaume’s own.

5. **“Digitus Dei est hic.”** From Exodus viii, 19 (Vulgate 8:19); the reference is not in Gaume’s text, and the identification is mine.

6. **Satanic beatitudes.** The list pairs the seven capital sins with biblical or typical figures (Aman, Nabuchodonosor, the wicked rich man, Judas, Solomon, Sardanapalus, Balthasar, Cain and the Pharisees); Gaume’s “Solomon” in the lust list is as printed. “The great ape of God” (*le grand singe de Dieu*) is Gaume’s image of Satan as imitator of God.

7. **Footnotes.** The dates of the narratives are as printed; the “Paris … young relative of Abd-el-Kader” footnote is Gaume’s, and I did not verify it. The final footnote in the avarice paragraph prints “Eccl., x, 10” (Ecclus.).

8. **Cash coin.** “Sapèque” (a small Chinese/Annamite copper coin) is Gaume’s word; the gloss is mine.

Chapter XXXVII. The Fruits

What the fruits of the Holy Spirit are: relations with the fruits of trees. — Qualities that constitute the fruit. — How the fruits of the Holy Spirit are produced. — Grafting, pruning. — Explanation given by the vision of Saint Perpetua. — Variety of species in the orchard of the Holy Spirit. — Why the name of fruits. — It recalls to us our likeness to God and the goodness of God toward us. — Difference between the fruits and the beatitudes.

We have explained grace, the virtues, the gifts and the beatitudes. Before our eyes has passed the whole magnificent system of deifying elements which, linking one to another, lead man to the likeness of the incarnate Word. The mine, however, is not exhausted. To so many riches other riches are added. “Of good labours,” says Scripture, “the fruit is glorious.”(1) What labours nobler than those of our deification! What fruits more delicious than the fruits with which they are rewarded! Each beatitude or beatifying act brings us nearer to God. Now God is at once absolute perfection and supreme happiness. It results that to each step we take toward God is attached an enjoyment, that is to say, the fruits come forth from the beatitudes as the fruit comes forth from the tree. Completing the work of our divine creation, these new favours of the Holy Spirit make of the Christian the god of this world, *terrenus deus,* and of his earthly life a heaven anticipated, *conversatio in caelis.* [a conversation in heaven; Phil. iii, 20.] To understand it, it suffices to know the answer to the following questions: What is meant by the fruits of the Holy Spirit? How are they produced? Why are they so named? Wherein do they differ from the beatitudes? What is their number? To what are they opposed?

(1) *Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus.* [For the fruit of good labours is glorious.] Wisd. iii, 15.

1° What is meant by the fruits of the Holy Spirit? In the natural order, the product of plants and trees is called fruit. The apple is the fruit of the apple tree; the orange, of the orange tree; the strawberry, of the strawberry plant; and so of the others. As various as the plants, fruits have this in common, that they contain something agreeable according to their kind, and that they are the last effort of the plant.(1) To be agreeable and to be the last effort of the plant are the two conditions necessary to constitute fruit properly so called. For this reason leaves and flowers are not called fruits. Before maturity, the fruit itself does not bear the name of fruit simply and par excellence. To name it, an epithet is joined which qualifies its imperfection. One says: sour fruit, green fruit. The reason is again that it has not the essential qualities of fruit: colour, savour, sweetness, whose union, constituting beauty and goodness, forms a perfect product. When the tree has given

its fruit, its task is finished. It rests and prepares to produce new fruits in their season. Hence this definition of the Angel of the school: “That is called fruit which is produced by the plant when it has arrived at its perfection and contains a certain sweetness.”(1)

(1) *Fruitio et fructus ad idem pertinere videntur, et unum ex altero derivari… Unde a sensibilibus fructibus nomen fruitionis derivatum videtur. Fructus autem sensibilis est id quod ultimum ex arbore exspectatur, et cum quadam suavitate percipitur.* [Enjoyment and fruit seem to pertain to the same, and one to be derived from the other… Whence the name of enjoyment seems to be derived from sensible fruits. But sensible fruit is that which is last looked for from the tree, and is perceived with a certain sweetness.] S. Th., I–II, q. 11, art. 1, corp. — *Ad notionem fructus sufficit quod sit aliquid habens rationem ultimi et delectabilis.* [For the notion of fruit it suffices that it be something having the nature of last and delightful.] *Id., id.,* q. 70, art. 2, corp. (1) *Dicitur fructus id quod ex planta producitur cum ad perfectionem pervenerit et quamdam in se suavitatem habet.* S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 1, corp.

According to a comparison familiar to the Gospel, man is a tree. His acts are his fruits. Hence this other definition of Saint Thomas: “The fruits are all the virtuous acts in which man delights.”(2) Like those of plants, the fruits of man differ in qualities, according to the nature of the sap which circulates in the veins of this living tree. Beautiful and good with a purely natural beauty and goodness, if they are the product of reason and of purely human virtues. Beautiful and good with a supernatural beauty and goodness, if they are the product of grace and of supernatural virtues.

(2) *Sunt enim fructus quaecumque virtuosa opera in quibus homo delectatur. Ibid.,* art. 2, corp.

To deserve the name of fruit, we have just seen that the product of plants must be the last effort of the plant and contain a certain sweetness. These two conditions are no less necessary to constitute the spiritual fruit. First, to be called fruit, every virtuous act must be perfect in its kind, that is, the last effort of the principle that produces it. The imperfect act is unworthy of the name. Thus the velleities of good, the acts of any virtue whatever, cowardly accomplished or vitiated by evil intentions, are no more spiritual fruits than abortions, flowers and leaves are natural fruits.(1)

(1) … *Fructus hominis id quod homo adipiscitur, non autem omne id quod adipiscitur homo, habet rationem fructus; sed id quod est ultimum et delectationem habens.* [The fruit of man is that which man obtains; but not everything that man obtains has the nature of fruit; only that which is last and has delight.] S. Th., *ut supra.*

It must moreover be that the virtuous act contain a certain sweetness. What is this sweetness? It is the testimony of conscience and the inner contentment which duty completely and nobly accomplished procures. Without being always sensible, it is no less real. Here may be applied the word of the Apostle: “Now all chastisement for the present indeed seemeth not to bring with it joy, but sorrow; but afterwards it will yield to them that are exercised by it the most peaceable fruit of justice.”(2) Become habitual in the soul, this sweetness constitutes the delicious feast of which the Holy Spirit speaks, which replaces all joys and which no joy can replace.(3) Whence comes it that duty worthily accomplished procures joy? From this, that it is one step more toward God, our last end and infinite sweetness.

(2) Heb. xii, 11. (3) *Secura mens quasi juge convivium.* [A secure mind is like a continual feast.] Prov. xv, 15.

It is seen, from these explanations, that the Fruits of the Holy Spirit are all the good works, worthy of the name, done under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and in which man finds his joy.(4) This definition distinguishes the fruits of the Holy Spirit from virtuous acts in general. In effect, there are in man two principles of action: the one natural, reason; the other supernatural, grace. Good works accomplished according to the lights of reason are the fruits of reason. Good works done under the impulse of grace are the

fruits of the Holy Spirit, author of grace. Between the one and the other great is the difference. The first are works naturally good, acts of purely human virtues, consequently useless for heaven and procuring only an imperfect pleasure. The second possess, with all the natural goodness of the first, a supernatural goodness which renders them worthy of heaven; for grace does not destroy nature, it perfects it: *Gratia non tollit naturam, sed perficit.*

(4) *Si operatio hominis procedat ab homine secundum facultatem suae rationis, sic dicitur esse fructus rationis; si vero procedat ab homine secundum altiorem virtutem, quae est virtus Spiritus sancti, sic dicitur operatio hominis fructus Spiritus sancti, quasi cujusdam divini seminis.* [If the operation of man proceed from man according to the faculty of his reason, it is so called the fruit of reason; but if it proceed from man according to a higher power, which is the power of the Holy Spirit, then the operation of man is called the fruit of the Holy Spirit, as of a certain divine seed.] S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 1, corp.

2° How are the fruits of the Holy Spirit produced? Here is a question of the most beautiful theology. To ask how the Holy Spirit produces His fruits in man is to ask how the tree produces its own. The tree produces its fruits by grafting, by pruning, and according to its species. By analogous means, man, wretched tree, vitiated, rickety, produces fruits of imperishable beauty and delicious savour. The Holy Spirit forms the new Adam, true tree of life, planted in the midst of the true Eden, the holy Catholic Church. On this divine tree are grafted, by baptism, the branches of the wild stock called the old Adam.(1) Nourished, as with a supernatural sap, by the grace of the Holy Spirit who dwells in Our Lord in all His fullness, these grafts participate in the life of the divine tree, and produce fruits of the same nature as His. Thus it is not, properly speaking, man who produces them, but the Holy Spirit Himself, necessary principle, eternally active and eternally fruitful, of the supernatural life. Hence it is that they are called, not the fruits of man, but the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

(1) Rom. xi, 17–21.

We know the grafting; let us pass to the pruning. In the material order, the pruning of trees is one of the best means of obtaining abundance and quality. It is the same in the moral order. “Every branch of a fruit-bearing tree, my Father will prune,” said Our Lord, “that it may bring forth more fruit.”(1) The whole of life is the time of the divine pruning. Nowhere have we found it represented in a more striking manner than in the celebrated vision of Saint Perpetua. “One day,” writes this young and inimitable heroine, “my brother said to me: Sister, ask the Lord to make known to you, in a vision, whether you are to suffer death. I answered my brother full of confidence: Tomorrow you shall know what it will be. I asked therefore my God to send me a vision, and here is the one I had.

(1) John xv, 2.

“I saw a ladder all of gold which reached from earth to heaven, but so narrow that one could mount it only one by one. The two sides of the ladder were all bordered with sharp swords, thorns, javelins, scythes, daggers, broad lance-heads, so that whoever should mount it carelessly and without keeping his sight always turned upward could not avoid being torn by all these instruments and leaving there a great part of his flesh. At the foot of the ladder was a frightful dragon, who seemed always ready to spring on those who presented themselves to mount. Saturus, however, undertook it; he mounted first. Happily arrived at the top of the ladder, he turned toward me and said: Perpetua, I await you, but beware of the dragon. I answered him: I do not fear him, and I am going to mount in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

“Then the dragon, as if himself afraid, gently turned aside his head, and I, having lifted my foot to mount, it served me as the first rung. Arrived at the summit of the ladder, I found myself in a spacious garden, in the midst of which I saw a man of ravishing beauty. Clad as a shepherd, his hair was white as snow. There was there a flock of sheep from which he was drawing milk, and he was surrounded by an innumerable multitude of persons clothed in white. He perceived me and, calling me by my name, said to me: My daughter, you are

welcome; and he gave me of the milk he drew; it was very thick. I received it, joining my hands, and I ate it. All those who were there present answered: Amen. I awoke at this sound, and I found in fact that I had in my mouth I know not what very sweet that I was eating. As soon as I saw my brother I told him my dream, and we all concluded from it that we should soon endure martyrdom."(1)

(1) *Act. sincer.*, apud Ruinart, t. I, p. 212, edit. in-8, 1818.

A golden ladder that goes from earth to heaven, narrow and all bordered with cutting instruments: behold indeed life, road to heaven, with the trials more or less painful, but continual, which accomplish toward man the salutary operation of pruning, taking from him all that he has of the exuberant or the evil in his thoughts, in his affections and in his acts.

Grafted and pruned, trees produce fruits, and good fruits, each according to its species. Let us stop an instant to contemplate the immense orchard of the Holy Spirit, to count the humanly divine trees with which it is planted, and to enjoy the ravishing beauty of their fruits.(1) To speak only of the times posterior to the Messias, we see the tree of life, whose roots plunge into the grotto of Bethlehem, cover the earth with its shade. What are its innumerable branches? Grafts, layers divinely attached to its indestructible trunk. What are the millions of apostles of ancient times and of present times? Divine layers, laden with fruits of grace and honour. What are the legions of martyrs, solitaries, virgins, saints of every age, every condition and every country? Divine layers, laden with fruits of grace and honour. Each produces fruits according to its species: fruits of faith, hope, charity, piety, humility, virginity. All together produce them a thousand and a thousand times, under all climates, in all seasons, at every hour of the day and the night, so that the orchard of the Holy Spirit ceases not to present to the eye of faith the spectacle of a magnificent countryside in the fair days of spring and summer. What do I say? Beside the divine orchard, what are the meadows, the fields, the orchards with their innumerable variety of flowers and fruits? A vain shadow.

(1) *Et flores mei, fructus honoris et gratiae.* [And my flowers are the fruit of honour and of grace, as printed.] Ecclus. xxiv, 23.

What is the pagan world, ancient and modern, with its pretended virtues? A vast thicket, unworthy of the name of garden and orchard. Compared with the fruits of the Holy Spirit, what are the fruits of reason, the fruits of the most vaunted sages, the fruits of Aristides, Socrates, Plato, Scipio, Seneca, the fruits of the priests of Egypt, the Brahmins of India, the bonzes of China, the lamas of Tibet and the rationalists of Europe? Products of pride, of ambition, of caprice, these fruits are for the most part only abortions, like those parasitic excrescences which are born on the bark of aged trees, at most productions without savour and without real utility.

Would not this be the place, for you who read this, and for me who write it, to ask ourselves: Divine graft by the grace of baptism, what fruits have I borne? What are those I bear? A grave question, for it is written: "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire."(1) My vocal prayers, my meditations, my confessions, my communions, my daily actions, what are they? If hitherto I have been a tree almost sterile, all the more if I had had the misfortune to be a bad tree, a thorn, a bramble, a thistle, may I henceforth be a good tree, a good layer fruitful in fruits of life, worthy of the divine sap which waters me, of the divine sun which warms me, of the divine trunk on which I am grafted, of the divine Gardener who cultivates me with His hands and waters me with His blood.

(1) Matt. vii, 19.

In studying the very well-founded relations between man and the tree, we have just seen in what manner the fruits of the Holy Spirit are produced. Among these relations there is one more that we must point out. The material graft produces fruits of only one species, whereas the divine graft has the property, it must be added the duty, of producing simultaneously fruits of many different species, for the sap which nourishes it is

multiform. In this manner all true Christians of all times have understood and practised it. The example of the great Saint Anthony serves them as rule. Like the marauding children who, slipping into orchards, take from all the trees the best fruits, the patriarch of the desert gave himself to pious marauding, seeking in each of the solitaries, whose numerous army peopled the two Thebaids, the most beautiful virtues, in order to imitate them. In one he gathered the fruit of meekness; in another, the fruit of patience; in this one, the fruit of prayer; in that one, the fruit of mortification. So must we do, in order that at the coming of the divine Gardener we may be recognized as good trees and, as such, transported into the eternal orchard of the Holy Spirit.

3° Why are the fruits of the Holy Spirit so named? The principal reason is that each work completely good procures for the soul an enjoyment like that which the eating of an excellent fruit procures for the palate. What is this mystery? To resemble God is the end of man. All truly virtuous acts are so many degrees which bring him near to it. This successive approximation constitutes him in relations ever more intimate with God; and these relations themselves acquire, in perfecting themselves, a greater sweetness, result of the ever nearer neighbourhood of God, sweetness by essence. Such is the reason why to each progress corresponds a sweetness, and why also the best of all bear with justice the name of fruits, and of fruits of the Holy Spirit, who alone helps us to produce them.

Thus God reveals to us in a sensible manner our likeness to Him; He treats us as He has in some sort treated Himself. He wills that the god of the earth create his works as He Himself creates His, and that he experience, in creating his happiness, what He Himself experienced in creating the universe. After each of His works God said that it was good: *Et vidit quod esset bonum.* [And he saw that it was good.] Seven times He repeats the same word. In this mysterious approbation is at once the testimony rendered to the relative perfection of the new creature and the expression of the joy it caused its author. Only on the last day of creation, and after the last hand put to all His works, God modifies His expressions and pronounces the word of supreme and universal satisfaction. He saw that all the things which He had made were exceedingly good, after which He rested: *Vidit Deus cuncta quae fecerat, et erant valde bona, et requievit.* [God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good; and he rested.] Exceedingly good in themselves, they were the last word of creative power, wisdom and goodness. Good in their ensemble, they were in a state to sing till the end of the ages, without ever striking a false note, the glories of the Creator. Good with regard to God, their very perfection procured Him an ineffable contentment.

So of man. After each good work worthily accomplished, he can say, without attributing anything to himself: This is good, *Vidit quod esset bonum;* and he tastes the particular sweetness of the fruit he has just produced. Seven times he repeats the same word, because the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are the principles of all his good works. Like the Creator, he will be able to pronounce the word of supreme satisfaction only after gathering his last fruit, in completing the work of his deification. Then only will he be able to say, casting a glance on the whole of his life: I have finished my work, thanks to God it is very good; nothing remains for me but to enter into the repose of eternity: *Vidit cuncta quae fecerat, et erant valde bona, et requievit.*

To reveal to us one of the noblest traits of our likeness to God is only the first reason for the sweetness attached to each good work. There is another. To keep Israel from regretting the coarse food of Egypt, to sweeten for it the fatigues of the journey across the sands of the desert, to strengthen it against its enemies and give it a foretaste of the delights of the promised land, the Lord in His paternal goodness sent it manna. This heavenly food had all tastes and satisfied all needs. Israel is the image of the Christian. By attaching a sweetness to each good work, God makes of it a manna, and what does He will thereby? Today, as of old, He wills to disgust man with the perfidious sweetnesses of the forbidden fruit. He wills to sweeten the deep bitternesses of his existence; and, by making him find pleasure in duty, to encourage him to the combats of virtue. Without these divers sweetnesses, who would not fail in the midst of the desert of life? Who would not abandon the service of a master whose hand, as Scripture says, gives his servants only a bread of tears

and gravel?

But with these sweetnesses, see what happens. To them are due the heroic courage of penitents and martyrs; the holy intoxication in the midst of torments; resignation in sorrow; insensibility to the attractions of vice and constant contempt of all the joys which the demon, the flesh and the world can promise. Because they are necessary to all, to penitent sinners even more than to the confirmed just, they are attached, in certain proportions, not only to the beatitudes or beatifying acts par excellence, but to all virtuous acts worthily accomplished. We now understand the reason why the name of fruit is given in the divine language to the works wrought under the impulse of the sanctifying Spirit, and the necessary place of these heavenly sweetnesses in the work of our deification.

4° Wherein do the fruits differ from the beatitudes? That the fruits differ from the beatitudes, the proof is in the difference of the names given to the one and the other, and in the enumeration that is made of them. All things that are called by different names differ among themselves. Now the names of the fruits are not the names of the beatitudes. Besides, the Gospel names seven beatitudes, and the Apostle counts twelve fruits. The difference becomes sensible if they are studied in their intimate nature. The fruits differ from the beatitudes as the less differs from the more. To deserve the name of fruit it suffices that a virtuous act be final and delectable, in other words, that it be the last effort of the natural or supernatural principle from which it emanates, and that it cause man the satisfaction resulting from duty accomplished. But to deserve the name of beatitude, it is necessary that this act be something perfect and excellent.(1) Thus, virtuous act and sweetness in the act, the beatitude supposes all that. It supposes moreover, as principle of the act, a superior grace; as object, an excellent thing; as result, a greater sweetness.

(1) *Plus requiritur ad rationem beatitudinis quam ad rationem fructus. Nam ad rationem fructus sufficit quod sit aliquid habens rationem ultimi et delectabilis. Sed ad rationem beatitudinis, ulterius requiritur quod sit aliquid perfectum et excellens.* [More is required for the notion of beatitude than for the notion of fruit. For to the notion of fruit it suffices that it be something having the nature of last and delightful. But to the notion of beatitude it is further required that it be something perfect and excellent.] S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 2, corp.

From these notions it results: 1° That all the beatitudes, that is, as we have explained, all the beatifying acts accomplished under the influence of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, can be called fruits: but not all fruits can be called beatitudes. “In effect,” says Saint Thomas, “the fruits are all virtuous works in which man takes complacency; but the name of beatitudes is reserved to certain perfect works which, by reason of their very perfection, are rather attributed to the gifts of the Holy Spirit than to the simple virtues.”(2)

(2) *Unde omnes beatitudines possunt dici fructus, sed non convertitur. Sunt enim fructus quaecumque virtuosa opera in quibus homo delectatur; sed beatitudines dicuntur solum perfecta opera, quae etiam ratione suae perfectionis magis attribuuntur donis quam virtutibus.* [Whence all beatitudes can be called fruits, but not conversely. For fruits are whatever virtuous works in which man delights; but beatitudes are said only of perfect works, which also by reason of their perfection are rather attributed to the gifts than to the virtues.] *Ibid.*

It results: 2° That, in the hierarchical order, the beatitudes are superior to the fruits, and the highest term of the perfection of the Christian. In effect, one can taste the fruits outside the beatitudes, since they enter into the nature of every virtuous act; but one tastes them fully only in the practice of the beatitudes, which are the virtuous acts par excellence. Thus, in an orchard, trees of different species produce fruits, each of which has its particular goodness, which merits for it the name of fruit; but, like the trees which produce them, these fruits are among themselves of unequal qualities.

It results: 3° That, by recalling the definition of the beatitudes and the fruits, one perfectly grasps the difference which distinguishes them. The beatitudes, or beatifying acts, are the good works produced by the gifts of the Holy Spirit: *Beatitudo est operatio doni.* [Beatitude is the operation of a gift.] The fruits are these

same works accomplished with the last perfection, and producing the intimate satisfaction of the soul: *Fructus est aliquid habens rationem ultimi et delectabilis.* [A fruit is something having the nature of last and delightful.] The following chapter will make known to us the number of these divinely sweet fruits, and the place they occupy in the parallelism, so many times remarked, between the work of the incarnate Word and the counterfeit of Satan.

Translator's notes — Chapter XXXVII

1. **Aquinas citations.** The *Prima Secundae* references are given by Gaume as "q. xi, art. 1" (fruition) and "q. 70, art. 1–2" (the fruits); I reproduced them as printed ("q. xi" is probably q. 11 of the *Prima Secundae*); the Latin quotations are as printed.

2. **Scripture.** "Sap. iii, 15" is as printed; "Rom. xi, 17–21" (the grafted wild olive), "John xv, 2" (pruning), "Heb. xii, 11", "Prov. xv, 15" (printed as given), "Matt. vii, 19" are given in Douay wording. Ecclus. xxiv, 23 is printed with "gratiae" and rendered here as printed; I did not check it against the Vulgate.

3. **Perpetua.** The vision of the golden ladder is quoted in Gaume's French from the *Acta sincera* (Ruinart); my English renders his French. "It served me as the first rung" refers, in Gaume's text, to the dragon's head. I have not compared Ruinart.

4. **"Terrenus deus."** Gaume's phrase, without source; "conversatio in caelis" is from Phil. iii, 20 (identification mine).

5. **Saint Anthony's "pious marauding."** The story is retold by Gaume without reference; I have not verified it.

6. **Pagan virtues.** The list of Aristides, Socrates, Plato, Scipio, Seneca, the priests of Egypt, Brahmins, bonzes, lamas and "rationalists" is Gaume's own contrast of pagan and Christian "fruits".

7. **"Parallelism … between the work of the incarnate Word and the counterfeit of Satan."** The closing sentence announces Ch. XXXVIII, on the twelve fruits.

Chapter XXXVIII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

Number of the fruits of the Holy Spirit. — It is incalculable, and why. — The number twelve given by Saint Paul. — Reason of this number. — Reason of the order in which they are enumerated. — Practical explanation of the first nine fruits. — Charity: example. — Joy: example. — Peace: example. — Patience: example. — Benignity: example. — Goodness: example. — Longanimity: example. — Meekness: example. — Faith: example.

What is the number of the fruits of the Holy Spirit? The fruits of the Holy Spirit are as numerous and as varied as the material fruits which charm our eyes and so agreeably flatter our taste. Why this immense variety of fruits in nature? Why the same variety in the spiritual garden of the incarnate Word? The reason is the same. God has written two great books: the book of nature and the book of grace; or, to continue the comparison, He has planted two magnificent gardens: the garden of nature and the garden of grace. The first, for the needs and for the eyes of the body; the second, for the needs and for the eyes of the soul. If you ask why these two gardens, the Apostle answers: To make the manifold wisdom of God shine forth: *Ut innotescat multiformis sapientia Dei.*(1) Why the firmament with its armies of stars, so magnificent in their ensemble, so prodigious in their number, so different in their brightness, so regular in their motion? To make the manifold wisdom of God shine forth. Why the earth with its productions of a richness that suffices for all, of a beauty that exhausts admiration, of a variety that escapes all calculation? To make the manifold wisdom of God shine forth. Why the sea with its innumerable inhabitants, its unfathomable abysses, its laws as invariable as they are mysterious? To make the manifold wisdom of God shine forth. Why, finally, this vast

universe, composed of so many millions of creatures of which none resembles another? To make shine before the bodily eyes of man the manifold wisdom of God: *Ut innotescat multiformis sapientia Dei.* All the acts, all the movements, all the productions of these creatures of the firmament, of the earth and of the seas, are, in the natural order, the fruits of the Holy Spirit; seeing that, as Saint Basil says, all that creatures possess they owe to the divine Spirit.(2)

(1) Eph. iii, 10. (2) *Lib. de Spiritu sancto,* p. 65, edit. noviss.

But, however eloquent it be to recount the manifold wisdom of the Creator, the material world is only an echo, a shadow, a reflection. To tell this wisdom over again in all its glory, another world was needed, a thousand times more real, more magnificent and more varied: it is the world of grace. This world is composed of angels and men, creatures superior to all that we see, raised to participation in the very nature of God, destined to share His glory, and producing, each according to its species, fruits of incomparable beauty and infinite variety. If we ask why so many fruit trees in this new garden of the sanctifying Spirit, the Apostle answers us again: It is to make the manifold wisdom of God shine forth: *ut innotescat multiformis sapientia Dei.* It is, in particular, to reveal the inexhaustible fecundity of the divine Tree on which all these trees are grafted. It is to distinguish, from all the poisoned trees, the true vine, planted by the Word Himself, watered with His blood and quickened by His Spirit. It is to prepare for all the generations that succeed one another a sufficient nourishment; for the fruits of the tree are not only the glory of the tree, they are the food of the passers-by. Each branch of the great Tree bears its own, and every traveller can choose. As we have indicated, history cites a multitude of those spiritual gluttons who went their way gathering from all trees the fruits of their taste, of which they composed an exquisite nourishment. Oh! the fair marauding to be done in running through the lives of the saints: *Ut innotescat multiformis sapientia Dei!*

Let us come now to the particular acts which Scripture itself designates under the name of fruits of the Holy Spirit. They are twelve in number. Why this number and not another? Is it not too many or too few? Too many, if it is true that the fruits are born of the beatitudes; too few, if all truly virtuous acts are fruits of the Holy Spirit: let us explain these mysteries. The number twelve is a sacred number which, as we have seen, expresses universality. In this figure are therefore comprised all the fruits of the Holy Spirit, which merge into the twelve named by the Apostle. Twelve is not too many, since, according to the preceding explanations, the same beatitude can produce several fruits: it is not too few, since the number twelve expresses complete universality.

These notions recalled, four things remain for us to do: to give the apostolic enumeration of the fruits of the Holy Spirit; to give the reason of this enumeration; to explain each fruit in particular; to show the opposition of the fruits of the Holy Spirit to the works of the evil Spirit; for the satanic counterfeit of the divine plan continues to the end.

Enumeration of the fruits of the Holy Spirit. "These," says Saint Paul in his letter to the Galatians, "are the fruits of the Holy Spirit: Charity, Joy, Peace, Patience, Benignity, Goodness, Longanimity, Meekness, Faith, Modesty, Continency, Chastity."(1) How reconcile these apostolic names, which are names of virtues, with the fruits of the Holy Spirit, which are not virtues, but acts of virtues? "For that," answers Saint Antoninus, "it suffices to remember that it is customary to take the name of the virtues for their very acts."(2) Thus, of someone who has rendered his neighbour a signal service, we say that he has done him a great charity or even charity. It follows that charity and faith, named among the fruits of the Holy Spirit, are not the theological virtues of the same name, but only their acts or their particular application, accompanied by the sweetness which is their reward.(1)

(1) Gal. v, 22, 23. (2) *Non obstat quod Apostolus ponit inter fructus nomina virtutum quae sunt habitus, ut patientia et charitas et hujusmodi, cum tamen fructus sint actus.* [It is no obstacle that the Apostle places among the fruits names of virtues, which are habits, as patience and charity and the like, whereas fruits are

acts.] IV p., tit. V, c. xxi. (1) *Primus itaque fructus ventris Mariae mentalis dicitur charitas, quae hic non importat virtutem, sed actum ejus.* [The first fruit, therefore, of the mental womb of Mary is called charity, which here does not import the virtue, but its act.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. XV, c. xxvi.

Reason of this enumeration. Every fruit comes from a plant, every plant comes from a seed or a root. The Holy Spirit is the seed of the fruits that bear His name; and the Holy Spirit is charity itself. Need we be astonished that His first fruit is charity?(2) "See," says Saint Chrysostom, "what care in the Apostle's words, what fitness in his doctrine! Before all he puts charity, then all the acts which flow from it: he fixes the root, then shows the fruits; he establishes the foundation, and builds the edifice; he begins with the source, and comes to the streams."(3)

(2) *Fructus Spiritus sancti, quasi cujusdam divini seminis.* [Fruits of the Holy Spirit, as of a certain divine seed.] S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 1, corp. (3) *De sanct. Pentecoste,* homil. ii, n. 3, opp. t. II, p. 560.

Treating the same question, Saint Thomas adds that the order and distinction of the fruits of the Holy Spirit is drawn from the manner in which the Holy Spirit proceeds with regard to man.(4) Now the Holy Spirit proceeds with regard to man so as to raise him gradually to perfection and make him taste its happiness. This happiness, above all happiness, man tastes when he is fully in order. He is fully in order when he is so: with regard to what is above him; with regard to what is in him; with regard to what is around him; with regard to what is below him. In these conditions man possesses peace within, peace without, peace made firm on all sides; and life, in spite of its inevitable bitternesses, is to the soul what fruit is to the mouth.

(4) I–II, q. 70, art. 3, corp.

The first three fruits order the Christian with regard to what is above him.(1) These fruits are: Charity, Joy, Peace.

(1) *Ex his dirigitur a Spiritu sancto tota conversatio hominis ut sit virtuosa. Et per prima tria dirigitur quoad eum, qui est supra se. Per secunda tria dirigitur quoad animum suum, qui est intra se. Per tertia tria dirigitur quoad proximum, qui est juxta se. Per ultima tria quoad corpus suum, quod est infra se.* [By these the whole conversation of man is directed by the Holy Spirit that it may be virtuous. And by the first three he is directed with regard to Him who is above him. By the second three he is directed with regard to his own soul, which is within him. By the third three he is directed with regard to his neighbour, who is next to him. By the last three, with regard to his body, which is beneath him.] S. Anton., IV p., tit. V, c. xxi.

Charity, *Charitas.* It is with it, in it and by it that the Holy Spirit communicates Himself to us, since He Himself is charity. As flame tends upward, charity tends to God, to union with God, to transformation into God. Where our treasure is, there also is our heart.(2) No more than flame is charity inert; nothing, on the contrary, more active. A thousand examples prove it. One only will suffice to show in action this first fruit of the Holy Spirit, and the sweetness with which it fills the Christian who has the happiness to taste it.

(2) *Dicitur autem caritas quasi charitas seu chara unitas, quia facit unionem animae cum Deo.* [Charity is so called as *charitas* or "dear unity," because it makes the union of the soul with God.] *Ibid.*

It was in China, in the year 1848; several Christians arrested for the faith were gathered at the foot of the tribunal. "The mandarin asked one of them what a surplice, found among the confiscated objects, was for. 'One puts it on to pray,' answered the confessor boldly. 'Let us see, how is it done? Take it and pray as if thou wert in thy church.' No sooner said than done. Behold my man who, in full tribunal, begins to sing the Our Father, the Creed, etc., and the mandarins to listen. 'It is well,' they say, 'but dost thou know how up to now those who have adored thy God have been treated?' 'I know it.' 'If thou knowest it, why hast thou come from Su-tchuen to preach this religion here?' 'It is because I fear not to die for it.' 'Ah! thou art not afraid; very well, trample this cross.' 'I cannot.' 'If thou dost not trample it, I will have thee crucified like thy Jesus.' 'Oh! no, mandarin, that would be too much honour,' replied the generous athlete, smiling; 'it is better to put

me to death in another way.'

"At that moment he was subjected to a horrible bastinado. 'Well! art thou better so?' 'It is not enough; neither bastinado nor crucifixion will prevent the religion from being preached at Kouci-yang.' 'What is needed then, so that in future none may come from Su-tchuen to make Christians here?' 'For that, my head must be cut off and hung up at the gates of the city. The preachers who see it will perhaps not dare to enter or preach our holy religion.' 'Impertinent fellow, thou darest to brave my anger thus!' and the bastinado began again at once. This man is nearly sixty years old!"(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 132, p. 360, year 1850.

To preserve the tranquillity of one's mind in face of the executioners, and the gaiety of one's heart in the midst of tortures, is not that the last effort of charity, consequently a delicious fruit of the Holy Spirit?

Joy, *Gaudium.* Every heart rejoices in being united to the beloved object. Charity is always united to its object, which is God, according to the word of Saint John: "He that abideth in charity abideth in God, and God in him."(2) Joy is therefore the first consequence of charity. Reward of the victory won over the passions, it is not only, at the bottom of the soul, like a continual feast; it shines also on the face, whose features it expands. The first religious fact suffices to make it burst forth in demonstrations the sweeter in that they are more spontaneous and more naive. This new fruit appears to us in the following trait.

(2) 1 John iv, 16.

Describing an ordination among the Negroes of western Africa, a missionary expresses himself thus: "From the evening before the ordination, pirogues were seen arriving from all sides. At eight o'clock the church was opened; in a moment it was full. Mr. Warlop and I were prostrate in albs at the foot of the altar, with our dalmatics on our arms and our lighted torches in our hands. Mr. Warlop singularly struck our good blacks. His tall stature, his long black beard which fell down to his chest, his white alb, his modest and pious bearing, all threw them into a prodigious astonishment.

"But it was quite another thing when they saw His Lordship vested in his pontifical ornaments. Then, had you set before their eyes the whole of Africa and all the wonders of the world, you could not have distracted them. His ornament of gold, his cross of gold, his mitre of silver and his long staff all of gold, and above all the angelic air which shone on his face, plunged them into an ecstatic admiration from which they could not recover. The most profound silence reigned in the whole assembly; but, hardly was the ceremony ended, when there burst forth transports impossible to depict: *Jalla, Jalla!* God, God, God alone is God, God alone is great, powerful, merciful. God alone is God, O prodigy! God is there.

"One saw above all a poor woman who was beside herself with it. She cried *Jalla, Jalla, Jalla!* without end. Never, she said, had she beheld anything so beautiful, and she commanded imperiously that she be taken to heaven, and at once. The young Soleyman was at the bottom of the church, and tears flowed from his eyes. 'I wept a little,' he said, 'then my head began to turn, and my heart rolled in my breast.'"(1)

(1) *Annales,* no. 120, p. 333, year 1848.

Since joy is a fruit of the Holy Spirit, it follows that where the Holy Spirit is not, there is no joy. The joy of peoples and men separated from the Holy Spirit is a grimace that causes fear or pity.(2)

(2) *Illud est verum gaudium quod non de creatura, sed de Creatore concipitur, cujus comparatione omne pulchrum, foedum; omne dulce, amarum; omne quod delectari potest, molestum.* [That is true joy which is conceived not of the creature but of the Creator, in comparison with whom every beautiful thing is ugly, every sweet thing bitter, everything that can delight is irksome.] S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

Peace, *Pax.* The perfection of joy is peace. Therefore peace is the third fruit of the Holy Spirit. Why is peace the perfection of joy? Because it supposes and guarantees the tranquil enjoyment of the beloved object. No

one is happy if he is troubled in his happiness, or if the object of his affections does not suffice for his desires. “O peace,” cries Saint Augustine, “sweet name, but sweeter thing! All creatures cry: Peace; and, louder than all the others, the rational creature. But how far peace has withdrawn from thee, O world! thou seest, on all sides wars rage. Why? Because thou wilt not have peace with God, but war by thy sins.”(3) The peace of the Holy Spirit surpasses all known feeling: *Superat omnem sensum;* it radiates in the serenity of the brow, in the limpidity of the gaze, in the coolness of courage, in the modesty of movements and in the sweetness and calm of words. To know it well, let us look at this new fruit on one of the layers of the Tree of life.

(3) *De civ. Dei,* lib. XIX.

“On Good Friday, a great number of Cochin-Chinese Christians were going to church. A mandarin perceived them and set out after them with several hundred soldiers. Arrived at the place of meeting, he formed with his troop a hedge bristling with pikes around the faithful people. A soldier, sword in hand, rushed into the church, placed himself on the first step of the altar, and, putting the point of his weapon on the neck of the celebrating priest, cried to him: If thou stir, I cut off thy head. Without being moved, the celebrant turned his head slightly toward the rash man, looked at him with an indifferent air, and continued his office with a coolness which penetrated all the bystanders with admiration and devotion.

“The soldier remained at the same place, holding his sword always raised in the same position, and the priest read the passion and the prayers that follow, without emotion and without trouble. He went down to adore and to make others adore the cross: the soldier followed him always, sword raised, and did not leave him an instant. The adoration over, the mandarin who, all that time, had stood in the lower part of the church, raised his voice and ordered the troop to make the people go out and to bind them. As to the two priests, he commanded that they be kept near the altar and that two cangues be brought. But the priest who had celebrated said to him: I shall not wear the cangue, and thou hast no right to put it on me. ‘And why?’ ‘The king does not persecute. Show me the edict, and not only shall I let the cangue be put on me, but even my head be cut off, if it please the mandarin.’ The latter, vanquished by the coolness and the admirable intrepidity of the priest, took the course of withdrawing.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 34, p. 413, year 1833.

Patience, *Patientia.* Though peace should reign in the whole world and you had temporal goods to your heart’s desire, if you do not possess God, by grace, you will have neither peace nor rest. That is why the Holy Spirit, by His first three fruits, establishes man in order with regard to God; by the second three, He constitutes him in order with regard to himself; and His fourth fruit is patience. To love God, and in Him what ought to be loved; to love Him as He ought to be loved, to enjoy fully this love, whose stronghold is the personal will: what sweeter? But the life here below is a struggle. Who will keep the enemy from penetrating into our soul, bringing trouble into it, and taking from it the happiness caused by the tranquil possession of the good? Patience. Patience is the royalty of the soul: no more delicious fruit. The soul that feeds on it sees tribulations, of whatever nature they be, fail against it, as we see the waves of the sea break against the cliff of the shore. Let us admire it in the following trait.

“I baptized some time ago,” writes a missionary of Tonkin, “a man such as I have never seen since I have been here. Before his conversion he was the terror of his village. Having heard of our holy religion, he wished to know it thoroughly. He followed me for some time to study at his ease. Now he did it with such ardour that he lost sleep over it and often did not even think of eating. He was not long in being put to trials such that I believed he would not hold out; for scarcely was it known that he wished to be converted than all his acquaintances turned against him with fury. He, lately so proud, so vindictive, who knew how to make himself feared by everyone, suffered everything with the greatest patience.

“He fell ill; his children abandoned him; his wife insulted him to excess. Profiting by the occasion, she carried off all he had in the house, and left him alone in this extremity. I sent our Christians to console him and take care of him. I greatly feared that his fervour would slacken; but he held firm and did not even murmur. Edified by so much courage, I was not long in administering baptism to him. Model of all Christian virtues, he has become the apostle of his village, where he has already converted about fifteen persons, among others his wife, so embittered against religion, and whom I shall baptize tomorrow or the day after.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 34, p. 396, year 1833.

Benignity, *Benignitas.* As its name indicates, benignity (*bonus ignis,* good fire) is a gentle and beneficent fire which, thanks to the Holy Spirit, circulates in the veins of the Christian and maintains in him a constant disposition to indulgence and affability. One may be patient without being gracious. Against asperities of character, abruptness of manner or dryness of speech, all things that are apt to trouble interior peace, benignity strives. It rounds off the angles, to the point of leaving in the Christian only the politeness and graciousness which are the charm of virtue. Of this new fruit, one sample among a thousand. An old woman had gravely insulted the son of a great chief of Tonga, who is Catholic as is all his family. It was decided that the culprit should receive forty-five blows of the stick in punishment. They had reckoned without benignity. The wife of the chief, who is our most fervent neophyte, interceded with her husband. “Thou wishest,” she said to him, “to chastise this woman as if thou wert an infidel; but, before being baptized, thou didst not say five or six times a day: Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. Do not object that a penalty proportioned to the injury must be inflicted. If God treated us as we deserve, what would become of us? Since He is so good as to remit our enormous and innumerable faults, is it not just that we also remit the offences we have received? That is what the two old men preached to us last Sunday. Send for them, and thou wilt see what they will say to thee about it.” We were in fact called, and we pronounced in favour of repentance. This woman, who was an infidel, was converted at once.(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 104, p. 33, year 1846.

Goodness, *Bonitas.* What colouring is to a picture, sugar to a drink, the crimson to the api apple, benignity is to goodness. But if colour beautifies the apple, it is not the apple itself. Here the apple is goodness. Effect of the union of the soul with God, infinite goodness, this new fruit fills the soul with sweetness, and makes it feel the need of communicating itself, not only by giving what it has, but also what it is. One would have to relate the whole history of the Church if one wished to cite in detail the traits of goodness which, in perpetuating the examples of the incarnate Word, show with brilliance the power of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Following the rule we have prescribed to ourselves, we shall consult only our contemporary annals.

“The mandarin Benedict, who died lately in the kingdom of Siam, was a great edification to the whole Christian community. He was so good that he could not resolve to do harm to anyone, and was ceaselessly occupied in doing good to all. One day when the king had had Laotian prisoners tied to the mouth of a cannon, he ordered Benedict to set fire to it. But he, as a worthy Christian who has horror of serving as the instrument of an act of barbarity, remained prostrate before his prince without moving, though he knew he was exposing himself to death by such disobedience. The irritated monarch had him seized by his satellites, and another set fire in his place. When the king’s anger had passed: ‘Wretch,’ he said, ‘I pardon thee; but why didst thou not fire at my order?’ ‘I feared sin.’ ‘You Christians observe a very severe religion.’

“Some time after, the king raised Benedict to the rank of grand mandarin. Honours made him lose nothing of his goodness. He had so good a heart that he would have wished to render service to everybody. Christians and pagans applied to him from all sides, and, when there was question of obtaining some favour for them, in spite of a hernia which tormented him ceaselessly, he was of a surprising activity. More than once, seeing that he often bought pagan slaves, too young or too old to be of any help to him, I asked him of what use

these people would be to him? ‘I buy them,’ he answered, ‘to have their souls’; and in fact the greater number of his slaves were baptized.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* no. 99, p. 120, year 1845.

Longanimity, *Longanimitas.* At peace in his interior by patience, benignity and goodness, fruits without bitterness or acidity, the Christian has still to enjoy the same peace with what surrounds him, that is, with the neighbour. This happiness is brought him by the three fruits whose nature we are going to explain. If the bodily or spiritual good that we do produced its effect at once and always, goodness would suffice to keep us in constant peace with the neighbour. It is not so. Most often success is awaited. This waiting, sometimes very long, may weary our charity and discourage our hope. Against this danger we find a rampart in longanimity. This long courage, *longus animus,* makes us bear the delays willed or permitted by Providence, and, like the husbandman, wait without disquiet for the harvest which the benefits poured into another’s soul must produce in their time. In a thousand striking traits this new fruit shines in the hands of Christians of every century. Let us see it presented to our desires by one of our young sisters of the Chinese empire.

Two Christians, a father and his son, had apostatized during the last persecution. Having become, after their fall, an object of horror to themselves, they soon fell into despair. Thenceforth, knowing no more restraint, they sought to forget in excesses of every kind the faith they had betrayed. The son married a pagan woman who had an avowed hatred for Christians. Marvellous counsel of divine wisdom! this woman was to become, by long efforts, the instrument of her husband’s conversion. He had not been able to efface from his memory all the truths of our holy religion. Our dogmas and precepts often returned in his conversations, and, without his suspecting it, he inspired love of them in his companion. Little by little this feeling, helped by grace, triumphed so well over her former prejudices that she pressed her husband to initiate her, without further delay, in the worship he had made known to her. Then the young man began to sob, and confessed by what weakness he had denied the God of the Christians. This avowal, far from weakening the courage of his wife, confirmed her in her pious resolution. She ceased not to ask, as the height of happiness, to be counted among the children of the Master of heaven. Though this desire was the condemnation of his own conduct, the husband did not oppose it. On the contrary, to facilitate for his wife the means of instruction, he confided her for some time to Christian virgins. These received her as a sister. After some days of pious exercises, she received baptism. She came from the sacred font filled with such fervour that, raising herself above her sex, she made herself the apostle of her husband and her father-in-law. Neither oppositions nor delays, nothing could discourage her heroic apostolate. On the contrary, the obstacles only served to show the longanimity of her courage and render her triumph more striking. She had the happiness of bringing the two straying sheep back to the bosom of the fold. “I have seen several times since these three neophytes, and I have found in them so much fervour and simplicity that one cannot too much exalt the mercy of Him who makes grace abound where sin abounded.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 105, p. 141, year 1846.

Meekness, *Mansuetudo.* If longanimity makes us bear, as long as it pleases God and the resistance of the neighbour, the pains and fatigues which come to us from others, meekness keeps us from causing them any. Dove without gall, lamb without defence: that is what the fruit of which we speak makes of the Christian. Like the divine Master, the child of meekness breaks not the bruised reed; he quenches not the smoking flax; he makes not his voice heard with noisy outbursts; never does he render evil for evil. No more today than of old does the Holy Spirit cease to produce this fruit loved by all.

“I arrive,” writes a missionary of America, “and I bless heaven for bringing me back to my dear savages. I had to inquire first of all about their perseverance. Here is the answer made me: ‘Father, the change of this tribe has become the subject of all the conversations of the country. Until last winter they were a band of drunkards and thieves, the scandal and terror of all the neighbourhood. Since their baptism they are no longer

the same men. Everyone admires their sobriety, their honesty, their meekness and above all their assiduity in prayer: their cabins resound almost continually with pious canticles.' 'It is a mystery to me,' an old Canadian hunter was saying to me a moment ago, 'this spectacle of these Indians as they are today. Would you believe that I saw with my own eyes these same savages, in 1813 and 1814, giving up to pillage and flames the dwellings of the whites, seizing little children by the foot and crushing their heads against the walls, or throwing them into boiling cauldrons? And now at the sight of a black robe they fall on their knees, kiss his hand as a father's; they make us blush ourselves!'"(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 103, p. 493, year 1845.

No less beautiful and no less sweet does the fruit of meekness appear in the islands of Oceania. "I do not believe," writes one of their apostles, "that there is on earth a parish which, better than Futuna, recalls the manners of the primitive Church. Instead of exciting the neophytes to piety, our confrères have rather to restrain them and moderate their zeal. How fair it is to see these old man-eaters, now become gentler than lambs, give themselves of their own accord to public penances, and conjure the missionaries not to set bounds to their austerities! Would one believe that these ferocious warriors, who drank from human skulls, are disposed today to shed their blood a thousand times for God and for the missionaries!"(2)

(2) *Ibid.,* etc., no. 120, p. 351, year 1848.

Faith, *Fides.* The lack of meekness can trouble peace with the neighbour. To irritate him is one way of wounding him and even of harming him: it is not the only one. Bad faith in contracts, infidelity in social relations is a second. Thanks to the new fruit of the Holy Spirit, the Christian is sheltered from these odious acts. Fraud, lying, duplicity, treason are a horror to him. Adequate expression of truth, his word is holy: one can count on it. Whether there be advantage or disadvantage to him in keeping it is never the question: he has given it, he holds it. As this noble frankness has become the basis of his character, his first movement is to suppose it in others: to believe in deception is repugnant to him. Nevertheless in this fair soul, the simplicity of the dove leaves intact the evangelical prudence of the serpent. Here is a proof.

"Formerly the people of Wallis were deceitful, thieves by profession, pirates and cannibals; today, so powerful has grace been to change hearts! meekness forms its character, frankness seems natural to it, and it has theft in horror. Here there is no longer need of locks. The missionary can leave fruits, wine, money, effects, in reach of the natives, without fear that they touch them. Happy people to have so well tasted the gift of God!"(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 98, p. 44, year 1845.

As to prudence, the serpent, according to the remark of Saint John Chrysostom, seeks before all to save his head; so the Christian sacrifices everything to save his faith, that is, the word he has given to God. Two Tonkinese priests were arrested by the persecutors. The mandarin was anxious to prove to them how much he groaned at accomplishing toward them a mission of rigour. If the conscience of his prisoners could have lent itself to some accommodation, he would gladly have restored them to the affection of their flocks. He did not fear to open himself on it to Father Lac. "Master," he said to him, "you are still young; why wish to die so soon? Believe me, close your eyes and pass over the crucifix, or at least walk beside it. If you prefer, my people will drag you over it; let them do it, and I will pronounce a sentence of pardon." The father answered: "I shall never consent to it; condemn me rather to be cut in pieces." This courageous and loyal answer won him the palm of martyrdom.(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 85, p. 414, year 1842.

To know by experience all the divine fruits, whose sweetness and beauty make the delight of the Christian, three remain to be gathered. We shall speak of them in the following chapter.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXVIII

1. **Nature of the chapter.** As in Chs. XXXV–XXXVI, the examples are the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, given in Gaume’s French; I did not compare them with the originals. References are as printed.

2. **Apostolic list (Gal. v, 22–23).** The Vulgate list, which Gaume follows, has twelve names: *caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas*. I render *longanimitas* as “longanimity”, and *fides* as “faith” (not “fidelity”), as the argument of the chapter requires.

3. **Antoninus.** Citations IV p., tit. V, c. xxi and tit. XV, c. xxvi are as printed.

4. **Etymology.** *Benignitas* from *bonus ignis*, *caritas* from *chara unitas*, *longanimitas* from *longus animus* are Gaume’s etymologies, not philological; I translate them without comment.

5. **“Negroes of western Africa,” “savages.”** These are Gaume’s and his missionaries’ period terms, translated as written.

6. **“Jalla, Jalla!”** As printed; Gaume gives the exclamation without explanation.

7. **Chrysostom on the serpent.** Gaume attributes to Saint John Chrysostom the remark that the serpent seeks to save his head; I did not verify the reference.

8. **Basil.** The reference “Lib. de Spiritu sancto, p. 65, edit. noviss.” is as printed.

Chapter XXXIX. (End of the Preceding)

Modesty: example. — Continency: example. — Chastity: example. — To what the fruits of the Holy Spirit are opposed. — Works of the flesh. — What the flesh is. — Why one says its works and not its fruits. — General opposition of the works of the flesh to the fruits of the Holy Spirit. — Particular opposition. — Social necessity of all the operations of the Holy Spirit.

Let us not lose sight of this: the fruit is the highest beatifying act, and, by that very fact, makes the soul taste a sweetness, a delicious repose, which the world knows not and which is a foretaste of the eternal sweetnesses. Thanks to the first nine fruits, we have seen the Christian living in a sweet peace with God, with himself and with the neighbour. To enjoy an absolute repose, nothing remains for him but to order himself with regard to what is beneath him. To the last three fruits he will owe the completion of his happiness.

Modesty, *Modestia.* This divine fruit is order in our whole exterior being. Radiance of the interior calm, modesty keeps our eyes, our lips, our laughter, our movements, our dress, our whole person, within the just limits traced by faith. The incarnate Word, conversing among men, speaking, listening, acting, becomes the mirror in which the disciple of the Holy Spirit incessantly looks at himself, and the infinitely perfect model whose features he strives to reproduce in himself. Nothing is more amiable than this divine modesty, and nothing more eloquent. Therefore the Apostle wished the modesty of Christians to be evident as the light and known to the whole world.(1) For him it was one of the best means of calling the infidels to the faith and the wicked to virtue. A thousand examples prove that the Apostle was right.

(1) *Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus.* [Let your modesty be known to all men.] Phil. iv, 5.

Everyone knows that of Saint Francis of Assisi. Arrived in a city, the Seraph of earth said to his companion: “Brother, we are going to preach.” And they went out together, made the round of the city in silence and returned to their lodging. “But, Brother Francis, did you not tell me that we were going to preach? Here we are come back without having said a single word: where is the sermon?” “It is done,” answered the saint. He was right: the sight of these two so modest religious was a preaching as persuasive as the finest discourses.

Since the Middle Ages, modesty has lost nothing of its empire. “Our Chinese virgins,” writes a missionary, “have no other enclosure than prudence, no other veil than modesty; they are none the less the consolation of the Church and a subject of admiration to the pagans. They know so well how to inspire the love of holy virtue that often they succeed in raising up emulators and models in the very ranks of infidelity. Here is a fine example: A pagan woman having made acquaintance with one of these Christian virgins, the latter depicted to her her happiness in such lively colours that she gave birth in the heart of the young Chinese woman to the sentiments of a holy envy. God granted her desires and soon she was in a state to receive baptism.

“She took the name of Magdalen. It was too much joy for the happy neophyte; she wished to make her whole family share it. At first they mocked her; then they ended by listening to her and yielding to all she wished, so powerful is grace seconded by the purest zeal. Father, mother, brothers, sisters and many others besides soon became Christians. There are now counted twenty children of God where lately there were only slaves of the demon, and this number will perhaps be doubled before a year.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 116, p. 45, year 1848.

Continency, *Continentia.* If the exterior man is kept in order by modesty, the interior man finds a curb in continency. As its name indicates, this fruit of the Holy Spirit masters concupiscence, whether its object be drink, food or sensual pleasure. It makes it supple, it fights against its revolts; and, in spite of its invasions into the domain of imagination and the senses, it prevents it from bringing disorder and defilement into the sanctuary of the will. This empire over the gross inclinations of the animal man is the exclusive glory of the Christian and the manifest sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit. It is admired on every page of the history of peoples, as in the biography of Christian men. Let us open our contemporary annals, and hear one of our missionaries, lost in the ice of the pole, in the midst of the most vigorous cannibals of the earth.

“Among the savages whom I found gathered at Fort Albany, one of those whom grace touched in a manner as efficacious as prompt was a young polygamist. His friends and above all his mother, who is a model of virtues, had made every effort to induce him to have only one wife, without being able to succeed. I had been two days at Albany when he arrived there with his numerous family. As soon as he learned my presence at the fort he was frightened by it and wished to depart again. It was with much trouble that his mother managed to hold him back; but he avoided meeting me, and, when I presented myself at his hut to see him, he had hidden. I was told the place of his retreat; I went and found him there, and, as I had much more at heart the regeneration of his children than his divorce, I tried to make him understand the importance of baptism.

“At first sight, dreading no doubt my reproaches, he began to tremble in all his limbs. But he soon reassured himself, and the same day he brought me all his children that I might make Christians of them. After the baptism he asked me in a touching manner the same favour for himself: this was where I awaited him. ‘Thou canst not be baptized,’ I said to him, ‘so long as thou hast two wives; the Great Spirit wills it not. If thou continuest to violate his prohibition, instead of placing thee with him in his great light, he will cast thee with the evil Manitou into the fire of the abyss.’

“These words produced on the soul of the savage all the effect I could expect. His head resting on his breast, he answered nothing, and for some minutes he seemed plunged in profound reflection. Then, rising suddenly: ‘Father,’ he said to me, ‘what thou prescribest to me is just. Since the Great Spirit gave but one companion to the first man, I ought not to keep two. Which wilt thou have me send away?’ ‘Thou must keep the first; but the children of the second being thine, thou must bring them up and take care of their mother as of thy own sister.’ ‘Thanks,’ he said to me; and he went out at once to announce his resolution to the younger. She showed a resolution equal to his, and thenceforward I saw them together only at the chapel, where they vied in zeal to be instructed.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 111, p. 101, year 1852.

Chastity, *Castitas.* Crowning of all the others, this twelfth fruit makes of man an angel in a mortal body. Chastity is to continency what victory is to the struggle: it is the victor after the combat. Mistress of her interior and exterior senses, the chaste soul, the virgin soul, reigns, like Solomon, in the fullness of peace. Beside her all the gold of the world loses its lustre. She excites the respect of the earth; she makes the joy of heaven; she provokes the rage of hell. If, to snatch this crown of glory from humanity, there is no effort that the demon does not employ, there is also no heroic resistance that he does not meet. In defending this good, more precious than life, shines the courage of Christians and above all of Christian women. Who does not know the conduct of so many heroines of the first centuries? Noble line of virgin martyrs, you have perpetuated yourself down to us, and you will perpetuate yourself to the end of the ages, wherever the Spirit of holiness shall reign. Once more let us open our contemporary annals.

“The subject of which I am going to speak to you is quite simple, it concerns only a very young girl: but in this child the triumph of grace has shone forth. At the end of the year 1841, a Catholic family, composed of three persons, was leaving Aleppo to go to Egypt. After having visited the holy places and crossed Judea, it plunged into the desert by the same route that the Holy Family once traversed, fleeing before the anger of Herod. Already it perceived in the distance the walls of El-Arish, the ancient Gerara, when there appeared a band of Albanian soldiers. At this sight terror seized our pious travellers, they ran at random and dispersed in the solitude, which cannot hide them. The young girl was found by her ravishers, pale, trembling, calling her mother whom she was never to see again, and was carried off captive to Cairo, where she was shut up in the house of an Arnaut [Albanian soldier].

“The unfortunate girl passed her days there in tears: could she shed too many for her lost liberty and her slaughtered family! One good alone remained to her; it was her naive faith in the God of orphans, and this threatened treasure she defended with a heroic love. ‘Know well,’ she often said to her master, ‘know well that thy slave is a Christian.’ Alas! he did not forget it. Each day, quivering at not having yet been able to break this feeble reed, which always rose again under the effort of his hand, he had recourse to new ruses, flattered with more dazzling promises, stooped to supplications only to rise again vanquished but furious, and in his spite tried new tortures, as powerless as his despised prayers and vain threats.

“Tears and sobs were all he wrung from the poor child. In vain the Turk said to her: ‘Captive of a Mussulman, thou shalt embrace the religion of thy master, or thou shalt perish by his hand.’ ‘Take my life,’ answered the heroine, ‘but leave me my God; the young girl who has lost all in this world will not consent to close heaven to herself.’ And grace counted one more triumph each time the oppressor assailed his victim. Like those timid virgins of the first centuries, to whom it was so often given to tame roaring lions in the arena, and to see them chained at their feet by the divine charm of an angelic virtue, the Christian girl of Aleppo imposed on the Turk in his own house, become for her an amphitheatre.

“One day, it was the 18th of January 1843, the door of the house where our captive had groaned for two years had remained ajar. Not doubting that the moment of her deliverance had come, she crossed, without being perceived, the threshold of her prison, and ran to take refuge at random in the neighbouring dwelling. By good fortune it was that of a Catholic Armenian. At the sight of this child who entered his house quite distraught, he received her in his arms, asked her who she was, whence she came, what she wanted; but she, trembling and as if pursued by invisible enemies, knew how to answer only with this heart-rending cry: Save me! buy me!

“The good Armenian thought it necessary to withdraw her for the moment, and, having managed to quiet her, he questioned her again and with more success. She told him all her misfortunes in the fullest detail; then she added: You will not give me back to the murderer of my family; for this time he would carry out his threat, and, as the price of my fidelity to our God, I should be slaughtered in his house or sold to the negroes of Sennaar.

“This was enough to interest the Armenian in the fate of the orphan. At first he kept her hidden for several days. But, fearing to expose himself to some affront if others than he revealed his secret, he judged it prudent to inform the Muslim authority himself of all that had happened.

“On his deposition, the Egyptian governor had the fugitive and the Albanian soldier brought to his tribunal. He questioned the young girl on her country, her parents and her religion. She answered with much assurance that she was a Christian, a native of Aleppo, that she had been carried off by force in the desert by Albanian soldiers, that in default of her parents she recognized the Armenian priest as her father. ‘Make thyself a Muslim,’ said the Turks seated to judge her, ‘and thou shalt share our fortune and our pleasures.’ ‘I am a queen by my faith,’ she answered; ‘all your goods are not worth my crown. I will suffer death rather than renounce it.’

“So much courage confounded in one admiration the tribunal and the audience, Muslims as well as Christians. Among the spectators was a young Catholic Chaldean, who had followed these debates with the liveliest interest. Charmed with the girl’s virtues, ravished by her answers, and esteeming himself happy if he could make her forget her long misfortunes, he asked her for his wife. His offer was accepted, and the priest of the Holy Land blessed, a few days ago, this fortunate wedding. The whole Catholic population of Cairo took part in the ceremony, and my father’s heart, too often steeped in bitterness, rested with unspeakable consolation on these two children, so worthy of each other by the generosity of their faith and the innocence of their life.”(1)

(1) *Annales,* etc., no. 99, p. 89, year 1845.

6° To what are the fruits of the Holy Spirit opposed? Taken singly, each fruit of the Holy Spirit is a principle of happiness: all together they constitute complete felicity, as far as it is compatible with our earthly condition. Thus they form the adequate opposite of unhappiness, whatever be its name. Viewed from this standpoint, the Catholic Church appears to us as an immense orchard whose trees, covered with fruits, rejoice all the senses of the body, repose all the faculties of the soul and perpetuate through the centuries the earthly paradise. This is more than enough to excite the fury of Satan. To ravage the magnificent garden of the Spouse, to uproot the trees, to render them sterile, to transform them into trees with fruits of death, to make thus the temporal and eternal unhappiness of man is his constant occupation. Faithful to his law of universal counterfeit, he creates a poisoned garden beside the divine flower-bed: as he created the City of evil beside the City of good. He plants there the trees he has stolen, he cultivates them and makes them produce his fruits. We are going to show their number and quality. The apostle Saint Paul gives the following nomenclature of them: “The works of the flesh,” he says, “are manifest to all eyes: Fornication, Uncleanness, Immodesty, Luxury, Idolatry, Poisonings, Contentions, Enmities, Jealousies, Animosities, Quarrels, Dissensions, Heresies, Envy, Murders, Drunkenness, Revellings, and such like.”(2)

(2) Gal. v, 19–21.

Here two questions present themselves: What is to be understood by the flesh, and why does one say the works and not the fruits of the flesh, as we say the fruits of the Holy Spirit? The flesh signifies concupiscence, that is, the inclination to evil which is in us. It is the poison or virus which the infernal serpent inoculated into us when he bit our first parents, and which from generation to generation passes to all their posterity. Thus the flesh or concupiscence is the demon himself present in us by his venom.(1) The flesh is spoken of for two reasons: the first, because it is in the flesh or in the blood that the satanic virus resides, and by it that it is transmitted; the second, because it is principally to carnal dissolutions, drinking, eating, voluptuousness, the well-being of the body, that concupiscence carries us. Nevertheless it communicates itself also to the soul, where it produces pride, ambition, curiosity, vain science, and other purely spiritual dispositions. Although in strictness one might say the fruits of the flesh or of the demon, yet Saint Thomas, explaining the Apostle’s word *opera carnis,* expresses himself thus: “That which proceeds from the tree

against the nature of the tree is not called its fruit, but rather a corruption. Now virtuous acts are as it were natural to reason. Hence it is that the works of virtues are called fruits, and not the works of vices."(2)

(1) *Concupiscentia, puta voluntas mala, est daemon nos impugnans.* [Concupiscence, that is, the evil will, is a demon assailing us.] Abbas Pimenius, in *Vit. Patr.* lib. VII, c. xxii. (2) *Id quod procedit ab arbore contra naturam arboris, non dicitur esse fructus ejus, sed magis corruptio quaedam. Et quia virtutum opera sunt connaturalia rationi, opera vero vitiorum sunt contra rationem, ideo opera virtutum fructus dicuntur, non autem opera vitiorum.* S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 4, ad 1.

However that may be, the works of the flesh, considered in their principle, in their whole and in their details, are the counterpart of the fruits of the Holy Spirit. Two powers fight in society, because they fight within man. Between them exists a complete, immutable opposition.(1) Come down from heaven, his glorious abode, the Holy Spirit draws man upward. Satan does the contrary. Coming up from the abyss, his gloomy dwelling, he draws man downward. In other words, the Holy Spirit, disengaging man from the love of earthly things, urges him to act according to reason and according to faith. Dragging man into the passionate pursuit of sensible goods, Satan pushes him to act against reason and against faith. Of these two agents, the one ennobles, the other degrades; the one sanctifies, the other defiles and corrupts. If in the physical order movement upward is contrary to movement downward, one sees that the works of the flesh are diametrically opposed to the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

(1) Gal. v, 17.

Such is the general opposition; but it is not the only one. Between each work of the flesh and each of the fruits of the Holy Spirit there is a particular opposition. The first work of the flesh, signalled by the Apostle, is fornication, *fornicatio.* This guilty act is destructive of charity, which unites man to God and the neighbour. The three following are: immodesty, impudicity, luxury, *immunditia, impudicitia, luxuria.* Inseparable from fornication, these disorders trouble the human being to his depths, and make disappear the joy of the heart, the serenity of the brow and the modesty of the senses.

The fifth is idolatry, *idolorum servitus.* Now idolatry is open war against God, the sacrilegious war in what it has of most guilty. What more opposed to peace, not only of man with God, but also of men among themselves? Is not idolatry the cause of the most bitter struggles of which history has preserved the memory? The sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth are poisonings, enmities, contentions, jealousies, *veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes.* See what a frightful train Satan drags in his wake! what a family of vipers he throws into the soul which he seizes! All these works of darkness are directly opposed to the fruits of patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity. The three works of the flesh which come next are: angers, brawls, dissensions, *irae, rixae, dissensiones.* It is easy to see that they are opposed to meekness.

There remain the last five: sects, envies, murders, drunkenness, revellings, *sectae, invidiae, homicidia, ebrietates, comessationes.* By extinguishing uprightness, good faith, loyalty, faith in all senses, sects or heresies kill charity and dig an abyss between the inhabitants of the same place, between the members of the same family. It is not without reason that the Apostle names, after heresy, jealousies and homicides. These crimes are in direct opposition to the religious and social faith, whose particular effect is to unite minds and hearts: *Cor unum et anima una.* [One heart and one soul.] Now, when faith weakens or is extinguished, reason sinks. The soul loses its empire, which is infallibly replaced by that of the senses. Man falls into debauchery polite or gross, civilized or barbarous, according to the milieu in which he lives: *Ebrietates, comessationes.* It is the ruin of continency.(1)

(1) See S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 4, corp.

Thus is the garden of the Holy Spirit completely ravaged. For the rest, that the works of death enumerated by the Apostle are more numerous than the fruits of life, one must not be astonished. On the one hand, this

numerical superiority contradicts in nothing the opposition we have pointed out; it shows only that several works of the flesh are opposed to a single fruit of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, Saint Paul did not pretend to indicate in particular all the works of the flesh, any more than all the fruits of the Holy Spirit. “He wished only,” says Saint Augustine, “to show their general opposition, and of what kind are the things we must avoid and those we must do.”(2)

(2) *Apostolus non hoc ita suscipit ut doceret quot sunt vel opera carnis, vel fructus Spiritus; sed ut ostenderet, in quo genere illa vitanda, illa vero sectanda sint.* [The Apostle does not undertake this in order to teach how many are the works of the flesh or the fruits of the Spirit; but to show in what kind those are to be avoided and these to be pursued.] S. Aug., in *Epist. ad Gal.*, c. viii.

Behold then two gardens planted, the one by the Spirit of good, the other by the Spirit of evil. It is a new trait of the parallelism so many times signalled between the divine work and the satanic work. Here, consequently, returns, for man as for societies, the pitiless alternative of living in the one or the other of these two gardens, of eating of their fruits, and, in eating of them, of finding life or death. Placed between two masters, the world goes necessarily to the one or the other. One cannot insist too much on this law, for which there is not, there has never been, there will never be dispensation.

In our eyes it is the means of rendering palpable the necessity of all the operations of the Holy Spirit. Let it therefore be well known: all these operations, without any exception, are necessary to society, by the sole fact that they are necessary to man. Faith, hope, charity, first daughters of the Holy Spirit, are necessary to society: because without them society is inevitably delivered to incredulity, despair, hatred. Prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, second daughters of the Holy Spirit, are necessary to society, because without them society is inevitably delivered to imprudence, injustice, cowardice and intemperance. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are necessary to society; because without them society falls under the empire of the seven capital sins, whose ensemble forms the most energetic solvent of all social order. The seven divine beatitudes are necessary to society; because, if society does not practise them, it inevitably practises the seven satanic beatitudes, which realize evil in all its forms. The fruits of the Holy Spirit are necessary to society; because, if society does not nourish itself with them, it nourishes itself perforce with the poisoned fruits of Satan, principles of revolutions and catastrophes. The reign of the Holy Spirit, with all that constitutes it, is necessary to the happiness of the world, because it alone preserves the world from the reign of the evil spirit. Now the reign of Satan is the pagan world with Nero for master; whereas the reign of the Holy Spirit is the Catholic world, directed by the infallible vicar of the incarnate Word. Under the first, the human race is a flock of wolves; under the second, it is a sheepfold.

Pitiless on earth, the alternative is no less so beyond the tomb: we shall see it in the following chapter.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XXXIX

1. **Annales.** The missionary narratives (Chinese virgins, Fort Albany, the girl of Aleppo) are given in Gaume’s French from the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*; issue and page numbers are as printed; I did not compare the originals. The Aleppo narrative is long; I have broken Gaume’s single paragraph into shorter ones for readability, without altering the words.

2. **The anecdote of Saint Francis and the sermon in silence** is told without reference; I have not verified it.

3. **Pimenius.** “Abbas Pimenius, in Vit. Patr. lib. VII, c. xxii” is as printed; I did not verify the passage.

4. **Aquinas.** The citation I–II, q. 70, art. 4 is printed once as “A” and once as “4”; ad 1 as printed. The translation follows Gaume’s French rendering of the Latin.

5. **Gal. v, 19–21.** Gaume’s list follows the Vulgate (e.g. *immunditia, impudicitia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, sectae*); I translate each term literally (“luxury” for *luxuria*), as his argument matches each to a

fruit.

6. **“Arnaut,” “Turk,” “negroes of Sennaar.”** Gaume’s period terms (Arnaut = Albanian soldier in Ottoman service; the bracket is mine).

7. **Last paragraph.** “Nero for master” and “the infallible vicar of the incarnate Word” are Gaume’s own contrasts; the next chapter treats the alternative beyond the tomb (heaven and hell).

8. **Footnote on the girl of Aleppo.** El-Arish and “Gerara” are as printed.

Chapter XL. The Fruit of Eternal Life

Why heaven is called a fruit. — Harmony in the works of God. — Heaven will be the reign of the Holy Spirit or of infinite love. — Effect of this love: it will transfigure all things. — Creatures will be transfigured, not destroyed. — Beauty of the future world. — Transfiguration of man and qualities of the transfigured body. — Pleasures of each sense. — Historical incident. — Qualities of the transfigured soul. — Joy of each faculty. — The counterpart of heaven, hell. — Inexorable necessity of dwelling in the one or the other. — Means of dwelling in heaven. — The worship of the Holy Spirit.

The grace poured into the soul on the day of baptism, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, constitutes the supernatural life. The infused virtues are its living forces. The gifts of the Holy Spirit set these forces in motion and make them produce beatifying acts, called beatitudes. These beatifying acts, accomplished with the last perfection, take the name of fruits, because they produce in the soul a sweetness like that of an excellent fruit in full ripeness. These fruits themselves are only flowers in relation to the fruit of eternal life. To procure for man this unique fruit tend all the operations of the Holy Spirit: the reason is that this fruit is heaven.(1)

(1) *Cum fructus habeat quodammodo rationem ultimi et finis, nihil prohibet alicujus fructus esse alium fructum; sicut finis ad finem ordinatur: opera igitur nostra, in quantum sunt effectus quidam Spiritus sancti in nobis operantis, habent rationem fructus; sed in quantum ordinantur ad finem vitae aeternae, sic magis habent rationem florum: unde dicitur (Eccli. xxiv, 23): Flores mei fructus honoris et gratiae* [printed so]. [Since fruit has in a way the character of the last and of the end, nothing prevents the fruit of one thing being another fruit, as an end is ordered to an end: our works, therefore, inasmuch as they are effects of the Holy Spirit working in us, have the character of fruit; but inasmuch as they are ordered to the end of eternal life, they have rather the character of flowers; hence it is said (Ecclus. xxiv, 23): My flowers are the fruit of honour and of grace (*sic*).] S. Th., I–II, q. 70, art. 1, ad 1.

“Of good labours,” it is said in the book of Wisdom, “the fruit is glorious.”(1) And in the Gospel: “He that reapeth receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto life everlasting.”(2) And in the Apocalypse: “To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the paradise of my God.”(3) Why is happiness, immortality, heaven, in a word, presented to us under the name of fruit? In the earthly paradise, figure of the heavenly paradise, was the tree of life, whose fruit, of an exquisite savour and ravishing beauty, had the property of communicating immortality. Beside this tree was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, whose fruit gave death. Placed between these two trees, which he knew perfectly, Adam, overcome by temptation, ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree before having eaten of the fruit of the tree of life. It is of faith that the tree of life, like the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, was a veritable tree. Eaten at a given time, its fruit was to prolong life for several thousands of years; and, after having maintained man in a constant youth, to make him enter, without passing through death, into the endless life of eternity.(4)

(1) *Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus.* [For the fruit of good labours is glorious.] Wisd. iii, 15. (2) *Qui metit, mercedem accipit, et congregat fructum in vitam aeternam.* John iv, 36. (3) *Vincenti dabo edere de ligno vitae, quod est in paradiso Dei mei.* Apoc. ii, 7. (4) *De fide est fuisse hanc veram arborem… hoc*

lignum prorogasset homini vitam et vigorem ad aliquot annorum millia, donec Deus eum transtulisset in caelum, quae aeternitas quaedam est. [It is of faith that this was a true tree… this wood would have prolonged for man life and vigour for some thousands of years, until God would have translated him into heaven, which is a kind of eternity.] Corn. a Lap., Gen. ii, 9. — In ambrosia, nectar and the other foods which communicated immortality to the gods, paganism itself had preserved a memory of this tree of life.

Is it to be wondered at that the Holy Spirit, restorer of all things, has presented heaven to us as the fruit of the tree of life; but a fruit perfected and endowed with the virtue of making man live as long as God shall be God, and with a divinely happy life? A fruit was the unhappiness of man; a fruit shall be his happiness. Could the victory be better proportioned to the defeat: *Ut qui in ligno vincebat, in ligno quoque vinceretur?* [That he who conquered by a tree might also by a tree be conquered.] When, therefore, the human race, nourished by the fruits of the Holy Spirit, shall have slept its sleep of death, the divine Spirit, continuing his work of deification, shall come to add a benefit to all his benefits. As he brought forth from the tomb the incarnate Word, type of man, he will bring forth from it all his members. “If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you,” says Saint Paul, “he that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies, because of his Spirit that dwelleth in you.”(1)

(1) Rom. viii, 11.

What will he do with the man gloriously risen? He will lead him into heaven, the veritable Eden of happiness and glory, where he will make him eat the fruit of life that is in the paradise of God. Thanks to the properties of this mysterious fruit, there, for creatures and for man, all will be restoration. Why? Because heaven will be the absolute reign of the Holy Spirit, consequently the reign of infinite love, acting in the fullness of its expansion, without obstacles, without limits, without diminution; penetrating all, animating all, illuminating all, divinizing all, plunging all the inhabitants of its immense City, men and angels, into the same ocean of light, of love and of eternal delights. Behold the masterpiece of the Holy Spirit, and the final term to which he leads us by his successive operations.

What would be the effect upon us of this substantial, infinite love, acting in its incomprehensible energy? Instant death, if we remained in the present weakness of our nature. What created being could bear the weight of the infinite? It will not be so. As it strengthened Mary on the day of the incarnation, the power of the Most High will envelop us with its shadow: *Virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi.* [The power of the Most High shall overshadow thee.] That they be neither consumed by infinite ardours, nor dazzled by an infinite light, nor crushed under the weight of an infinite happiness, the Holy Spirit will communicate to the beings subject to his action such an energy that they will live in this immense atmosphere of love, light and happiness, free, agile, happy, like the fish in the ocean. The life of grace will have become the life of glory. Thus prepared, the effect of infinite love upon them will be like that of fire upon gold. Fire does not consume gold, it transfigures it. The divine transfiguration will extend to all that shall be worthy of it; for the Spirit of life destroys nothing of what he has made. Thus will be transfigured both the world we inhabit and man entire.

Transfiguration of the world, that is, of the earth and of heaven. Physical creation follows the condition of man, its master. Happy as long as man was innocent, unhappy when he became guilty, it will be glorified when he himself shall be glorious. Heaven will therefore be the full and eternal accomplishment of this wish, expressed by the Apostle in the name of the whole creation: “Every creature,” says Saint Paul, “waiteth with eager expectation for the revelation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him that made it subject, in hope: because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the servitude of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. For we know that every creature groaneth and travaileth in pain, even till now. And not only it, but we ourselves also, who have the firstfruits of the Spirit.”(1)

(1) Rom. viii, 19–23.

What do these sufferings and sighs of all nature signify? They signify that creation has not arrived at its end. They signify that the present life would be a bitter irony if there were not another. They signify that the whole creation aspires not to its destruction but to its renewal, and that in its manner it addresses to God, like man himself, this petition of the Our Father: Thy kingdom come. Every being, says Saint Thomas, shrinks from its destruction. In ardently desiring the end of this world, creatures therefore do not desire their annihilation, but their deliverance and their renovation. Whence the Catholic doctors conclude very logically that creatures will not be destroyed, but purified by the fire of the last day: as gold is not destroyed by passing into the crucible, but rendered purer and more brilliant.(2)

(2) See the authorities in the *Catéchisme de persévérance,* vol. VIII, general summary. One will find there also, on heaven, fairly long details which want of space does not permit us to reproduce.

What will this transfiguration of the world be, in itself and in its results? In itself, it will be the greatest possible participation of material creatures in the perfections of God. God is eternity, light, love. As far as their nature can bear, creatures will therefore be: eternity, light, love.

Eternity. They will last for ever without alteration of form or beauty. “The stars,” says Saint Thomas, “fixed at the point of the firmament most suitable for resplendent shining with all their brilliance upon the blessed Jerusalem, will become immovable. The times whose succession they are destined to mark here below will have given place to the day without night of eternity. Always equally lighted, the earth will enjoy a constantly equal temperature; and the other elements, always alike in themselves and with regard to us, will have none of the imperfections under which they groan.”(1)

(1) *Suppl.*, q. 91, art. 2. — S. Hier., in *Habac.* iii.

Light. It is revealed in Isaias that the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and that the light of the sun will be seven times greater than it is today.(2) Heaven, of which the sun and the moon form the finest ornament, is the noblest portion of the corporeal world. Like the rest of creation, heaven will be renewed. It can be so only by acquiring a greater brightness, seeing that brightness is its principal beauty. The earth itself will participate in this brightness of heaven. On the one hand, it is of faith that the body of man will become luminous; and the body of man is composed of material elements. Therefore the material elements which will compose the body of man, clothed with brightness, will themselves be luminous. But the elements which compose the body of man are taken from all the kingdoms of nature. Therefore, unless there be a repugnant anomaly, the condition of the whole will follow the condition of the parts: that is to say, all the material creation will become luminous.(1)

(2) *Erit lux lunae sicut lux solis, et lux solis septempliciter*. [The light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold.] Is. xxx, 26. (1) S. Th., *ubi supra*, art. 4.

On the other hand, as there exists an order between the higher spirits, the angels, and the lower spirits, souls, so there exists one between the heavenly bodies and the earthly bodies. Now, material creation being made for spiritual creation and having to be ruled by it and led to its end, it follows that it follows its condition, rising or falling with it and because of it. In the universal renewal, the lower spirits, souls, will acquire the properties of the higher spirits. Men, says the Gospel, will be like the angels. For the same reason, the lower bodies will acquire the properties of the higher bodies. But the lower bodies, being able to borrow from the heavenly bodies only brightness, it follows necessarily that they will become luminous. Thus all the elements will be clothed with a mantle of light; not all equally, but each according to its nature. It is said, in fact, that the earth will be transparent as glass, water as crystal, air as pure as heaven, fire as brilliant as the luminaries of the firmament.(2)

(2) *Unde omnia elementa claritate quadam vestientur; non tamen aequaliter, sed secundum suum modum: dicitur enim quod terra erit in superficie exteriori pervia sicut vitrum, aqua sicut crystallus, aer ut caelum, ignis ut luminaria caeli.* [Wherefore all the elements will be clothed with a certain brightness; not however equally, but each according to its own manner: for it is said that the earth will be, in its outer surface, translucent like glass, water like crystal, air like heaven, fire like the luminaries of heaven.] *Ibid.*, corp.

Love. In its results, the renewal of the world will be a more brilliant manifestation of the perfections of God and consequently a more eloquent appeal to our admiration and gratitude. The world is a mirror created to reflect the attributes of the Creator. The mirror is the more perfect the better it reflects the image presented to it. After their renovation, creatures, washed of all the stains of sin, will be enriched with new qualities in harmony with the senses of deified man; and, become translucent, they will let be seen without shadow the beauties of the Creator. Then man, doubly satisfied in his senses and in his faculties, will be in the transports of an ever-growing love.(1) To sum up: the dwelling must suit the dweller. The world was made to be the dwelling of man; therefore it must suit man. But man will be renewed; therefore the world also.(2)

(1) S. Thom., *ubi supra,* art. 1, corp. (2) *Habitatio debet habitatori congruere, sed mundus factus est ut sit habitatio hominis. Ergo debet homini congruere; sed homo innovabitur. Ergo similiter et mundus.* [The dwelling ought to suit the dweller, but the world was made to be the dwelling of man. Therefore it ought to suit man; but man will be renewed. Therefore likewise the world.] *Ibid.*

Transfiguration of man. We know the dwelling: who will be the dweller? It will be man. No more than creatures does man attain here below the goal of life. Like them, he sighs after his transfiguration. His wishes will be accomplished only at the end of the trial. Heaven will therefore be the dwelling of man become such as the law of his being requires, like the angel, like God. Like God, eternity, light, love, felicity, as far as a creature can be: such will be transfigured man.

Eternity. United to God, man will live as God; united to the incarnate Word, he will live, as deified man, with the life of body and soul. He will live with the fullness of this double life: he will live it always. To live is to enjoy; to live fully is to enjoy fully; to live always is to enjoy eternally. He will live the life of the body, he will live it fully and always. The body of man will keep all its integrity, its senses and its organs. Risen in the age of strength and beauty, stripped by the work of the tomb of all the imperfections which are the results of sin, endowed with new qualities, it will enjoy an eternal youth. These new qualities are: impassibility, subtilty, agility, brightness.

“Sown corruptible, the body shall rise incorruptible”:(1) therefore impassible. Impassibility will be the necessary effect of glorification. In corruptible things the vital principle does not dominate matter perfectly enough to preserve it from every attack contrary to its will. But after the resurrection the soul of the saints will be completely mistress of the body. This empire will be immutable, since the soul itself will be immutably subject to God. It will be perfect, since the soul itself will be perfect, and consequently endowed with the power and the will to prevent everything that might harm the body. Moreover, in heaven the happiness of man will be complete: it would not be so if the body remained subject to suffering. For the rest, impassibility will not destroy sensibility. While preserving intact the nature of bodies, the divine power can remove from it the qualities that it pleases. Thus, from the fire of the furnace of Babylon it took away the virtue of burning certain things, since the bodies of the young Hebrews remained intact; but it left it the virtue of burning certain other things, since the wood was consumed. It will be the same for glorious bodies: God will take away passibility and preserve nature.(2) Besides, if glorious bodies were not sensible, the life of the saints after the resurrection would resemble sleep more than waking. Now sleep is not life, above all life in its fullness: it is only a half-life.

(1) 1 Cor. xv, 42 [printed illegibly; verse inferred]. (2) S. Th., *Suppl.*, q. 82, art. 2, ad 4.

“Sown a natural body, the body shall rise spiritual”:(2) therefore subtle. Subtilty is one of the principal qualities of spirits; and the subtilty of spiritual beings infinitely surpasses the subtilty of corporeal beings. Glorious bodies will therefore be very subtle. The subtilty of a body consists in being able to penetrate through another body, much as the ray of light penetrates glass without disturbing or altering it. Two natural causes make it possible: the first, the tenuity of the penetrating body; the second, the existence of pores, or spaces left void between the parts of the penetrated body. But the true principle of the subtilty of glorious bodies will be their perfect submission to the glorified soul. The first effect of this submission will be to make the body participate, within the limits of the possible, in the nature of the soul and consequently in the operations of the soul. Thus, no obstacle to the most intimate communications of the saints among themselves and with all the parts of the glorious Jerusalem.(3)

(2) 1 Cor. xv, 44. (3) S. Th., *Suppl.*, q. 83, art. 1, corp.

Nevertheless glorious bodies will remain palpable. Reformed on the model of the body of the risen Word, they will have its qualities. Now the body of the risen Word was palpable. “Handle and see,” said the good Master to his astonished disciples; “for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.”(1) It is an article of faith, sanctioned by the Church in the condemnation of Eutyches, patriarch of Constantinople, who maintained the impalpability of glorious bodies.(2)

(1) Luke xxiv, 39. (2) S. Th., *ubi supra,* art. 6.

“Sown in weakness, the body shall rise in power”:(3) therefore agile and full of life. Agile means easy of movement. Therefore glorious bodies will be agile. Moreover, slowness is essentially repugnant to spirituality. But glorious bodies will enjoy an extreme spirituality. Therefore they will be agile. Besides, the soul is united to the body not only as form or vital principle, but also as mover. Under both aspects the glorious body will be perfectly subject to it. By subtilty, the body perfectly subject to the soul as form receives from it a specific being; so, perfectly subject to the soul as mover, it receives from it the extreme facility of movement which is called agility.(4)

(3) 1 Cor. xv, 43. (4) S. Th., *ubi supra,* q. 84, art. 1, corp.

To be able to transport oneself without fatigue, and in an imperceptible instant, whatever the distance, from one place to another, and with the same promptness to return to the point of departure: such will be the delightful prerogative of glorious bodies. We say delightful; for of all the qualities of bodies agility is the one that the present world seems to seek with the most ardour. It wants distance no more. The weight of matter hampers it: at any price it wants to free itself from it. Far from us, then, the thought that immobility will reign in heaven and that we shall be there like statues in niches. The movement and agility of this world are but a shadow of the movement and agility that will reign in the City of the Holy Spirit.(1)

(1) S. Th., *ubi supra,* art. 2, corp.; and art. 3, corp.

“Sown in dishonour, the body shall rise in glory”:(2) therefore luminous. Such is the sense which the Apostle himself gives to the word glorious, since he compares the glory of risen bodies to the brightness of the stars. We have already said the reason why the bodies of the saints will be luminous, as will all material bodies. Let us add that this light will come to them from the superabundant light of the glorified soul: it will be penetrated and enveloped by it. Absolute mistress of the body, to which she will be united by the most intimate union, she will penetrate it through and through and wrap it completely in light. This luminous atmosphere will be the more brilliant the holier the soul is, that is, the nearer to God, infinite light. Thus, by the brightness of the body one will judge the glory of the soul, as through glass one knows the colour of the liquid contained in a glass vessel.(3)

(2) 1 Cor. xv, 43. (3) S. Th., *ibid.*, q. 85, art. 1, corp.

Impassible, subtle, agile, luminous: such then will be, not for a day, not for a few fugitive years, but for all eternity, the body glorified by the Holy Spirit. O men, you love your body so much, and you do not desire heaven!

From this general glorification will result the ennobling of all the senses, and for each in particular the satisfaction proper to it. On the one hand, man will be in heaven not truncated or diminished, but entire and perfected; on the other hand, the senses will be not only in potency but in act, seeing that the faculty in act is more perfect than the faculty in potency, and that all the senses of the body, having been the instruments of the soul, will be rewarded according to the merits of the soul itself.(1) We shall not enter into the detail of the enjoyments of each sense in particular, nor of the different faculties of the soul.(2) It will suffice to remark that they will be real and in harmony with the perfected senses, but preserving their nature.(3) Thus nothing obliges us to take in a figurative sense all that Scripture says of the sensible pleasures reserved to the blessed. "I believe to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living," cried David.(4) On which Cornelius a Lapide, summing up the teaching of the doctors, expresses himself thus: "Wherefore the river of paradise, the trees and the fruits it bears may be taken literally. And why not? For if in the earthly paradise Adam enjoyed all these goods, much more will the blessed enjoy them in the heavenly paradise; for the former was but the sample and image of the latter."(5)

(1) *Corpus praemiabitur vel punietur propter merita vel demerita animae. Ergo et omnes sensus praemiabuntur in beatis, etc.* [The body will be rewarded or punished on account of the merits or demerits of the soul. Therefore all the senses also will be rewarded in the blessed, etc.] S. Th., *ubi supra*, q. 82, art. 4. (2) We have explained them in the *Catéchisme de persévérance, ubi supra.* (3) *Oculi, aures, nares, os, manus, guttur, jecur, pulmo, ossa, medullae… beatorum, mirabili delectationis et dulcedinis sensu replebuntur.* [The eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, throat, liver, lungs, bones, marrow… of the blessed will be filled with a wonderful sense of delight and sweetness.] S. Anselm., *de Similitud.*, c. LVII. (4) Ps. xxvi [v. 13]. (5) *Quocirca fluvius hic, arbores et poma ad litteram, uti sonant, accipi possunt. Quid enim obstat? Nam si his in paradiso terrestri fruitus est Adam, multo magis iisdem fruentur beati in paradiso caelesti; hujus enim specimen et imago fuit terrestris.* In Apoc. xxii, 2.

For the rest, the pleasures of sight, hearing, smell and touch are admitted fairly easily: only the enjoyments of taste seem contestable. To make them accepted, one may remark that the sense of taste, no more than the others, can be deprived of its reward, seeing that it has merited it by fasts, abstinences, austerities of every kind, as is seen in so great a number of saints; that drinking and eating will no longer be destined, as here below, to repair the forces of the body, but to procure for the sense of taste its legitimate satisfaction; that fruits, and not flesh, having been the food of innocent man, will become so again for regenerated man; that the spiritualized body will spiritualize the nourishment, so that it will give rise to none of the humbling or painful consequences by which it is followed in the conditions of earthly life.(1)

(1) See the authorities cited by Corn., *ubi supra.*

To the opinion of the doctors is added, in proof of what we say, a fact whose authenticity has never been contested. In the year 304, at the height of the persecution of Diocletian, a Christian virgin named Dorothea was brought before the tribunal of Sapricius, governor of Caesarea in Cappadocia. It was the sixth of February. On her refusal to sacrifice to demons, the spouse of the incarnate Word is stretched on the rack. Calm amid the tortures, she said to the judge: "Hasten to do what thou wilt, and let thy torments be the road that leads me to my Spouse. I love him, and fear thee not. I even desire thy torments: my Spouse calls me. It is by these sufferings, short and light, that we go to the paradise of delights, where are apples of marvellous beauty, roses, lilies and innumerable flowers that never wither; springs of living waters that never dry up and which the saints enjoy with happiness, full of joy in Christ." At these words the judge's assessor, a man of letters, a Renan of that time, named Theophilus, addressed the saint and said to her with a sneer: "Send me some apples from the paradise of thy spouse, when thou shalt have arrived there." "I will do so," answered

the young martyr.(1) Let us not forget that it was the heart of winter. The executioner seizes the victim and strikes off her head.

(1) *Mitte mihi poma e paradiso sponsi tui, cum eo perveneris. — Faciam, inquit illa.* [Send me apples from the paradise of thy spouse, when thou shalt have come thither. — I will do so, said she.]

Meanwhile Theophilus had gone home, and, applauding himself for his jest, was telling it to his friends with many mockeries aimed at the stupid Christians. Suddenly there appears a young child of ravishing beauty, carrying in the fold of his robe three magnificent apples and three roses of incomparable brightness and freshness. “Here,” he said to him, “is what the holy virgin Dorothea promised to send you from the paradise of her Spouse.” Theophilus, stupefied, receives the apples and the roses in his hands, and cries out: “Truly Christ is God, the God who does not deceive!” In making this profession of Christianity, Theophilus pronounced his own death sentence. A few hours more, and he will be seen led to execution, becoming one of the glorious martyrs of the faith which he had mocked. Now, as no man ever had his neck cut for a symbol, it follows that these apples and roses were truly and really apples and roses.(1)

(1) Baron., year 304, no. LXIX; and Corn. a Lap., Apoc. xxii, 2. — It is in memory of this miracle that in certain places apples are still blessed on the day of Saint Dorothea.

Light. God is not only eternity, he is light. Likewise our transfigured body will be light, our mind will be light, and light without shadow. As our eyes will see all sensible beauties, whose dazzling brilliance they will be able to bear without fatigue, our mind, in which the Holy Spirit will live with the fullness of which a finite creature can be capable, will know all spiritual beauties, that is, all truth, *omnem veritatem.* Then will be completely and eternally satisfied one of the most ardent desires of man. Indefatigable seeker of truth, what does he do from the cradle to the tomb? Hardly awakened to the life of intelligence, he asks truth of all that surrounds him, as he asks the bread that nourishes him. What does he do during the whole course of his existence, but beg for truth: truth in religion, truth in politics, in history, in philosophy, in mathematics, in industry, in art, in commerce, in agriculture? Do you see him shutting himself up, for long years, in wearisome schools, undertaking painful journeys, crossing seas, climbing the summit of the highest mountains, descending into the bowels of the earth, consuming himself in prolonged vigils that wear him out before his time? Why? To know some truth more. Inconsolable if success does not crown his efforts, he is at the height of happiness if he succeeds in stealing from nature a single one of her secrets, in deciphering a single enigma of history, in glimpsing the least beauty of the spiritual world. And yet what are all these truths so laboriously sought? Fragments, atoms, shadows seen through other shadows.

But heaven will be the sight of truth, and of complete truth, contemplated face to face and without veil. Introduced into the sanctuary of the august Trinity, we shall know God; the finite will know the infinite; it will see him as he is: *Videbimus eum sicuti est.* [We shall see him as he is.] This God so great, so incomprehensible, of whom we have been told so much and whom we have never seen, we shall know him, we shall see him: that says everything. In him we shall know the most intimate counsels of eternal wisdom: the creation of the world, the fall of the angel and of man; the redemption of the universe; all the material and moral revolutions which for six thousand years have astonished science and defied it. In broad daylight there will appear to us all the secrets of nature and of souls become translucent, and this prodigious knowledge will go ever increasing without ever reaching its last limit: *De claritate in claritatem.* [From brightness to brightness.]

Love. God is love, and heaven is infinite love acting in all the freedom of its movements. Image of God, man too is love. If it is true that to love and be loved is the most imperious need of man’s heart, it is also true that to love and be loved is the most imperious need of God’s heart. If it is true that to love and be loved is the sovereign happiness of man, it is also true that to love and be loved is the sovereign happiness of God. If it is true that love tends to union, that eternal love tends to eternal union, infinite love to infinite union: who can

tell the intimacy of the union of God and man? Who can suspect its charms and its intoxications? They will be the greater for being accompanied by the certainty of never seeing them end. Ocean of life, ocean of light, ocean of love: behold God. And it is in this triple ocean that the transfigured inhabitants of the City of good will live for ever.

We know the final term to which the Holy Spirit leads humanity docile to his action. It remains for us to name the eternal dwelling to which the Spirit of evil draws his adepts: it is the last trait of the parallelism between the divine work and the satanic work. The heaven of Satan is hell. Life and eternal life, light and eternal light, love and eternal love, happiness and eternal happiness: “Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they shall praise thee for ever and ever.”(1) Behold the heaven of the Holy Spirit. Death and eternal death, darkness and eternal darkness, hatred and eternal hatred, torments and eternal torments: “They shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.”(2) Behold the heaven of Satan. Between these two abodes, no middle. At every hour humanity enters one or the other. It enters and comes out no more.

(1) Ps. lxxxiii [v. 5]. (2) Apoc. xx, 10.

How to avoid hell and arrive at heaven? Such a life, such a death. To live under the empire of the Holy Spirit, in order to die in his grace; to die in grace, in order to reign in glory: for man, everything is there. For societies also everything is there. Although they do not go in a body into the other world, woe to the nations which withdraw themselves from the action of the Spirit of justice and truth. They inspire fear and pity; and their true history can be written only with tears, blood and mud.

But how to live under the empire of the Holy Spirit? By rendering him the worship which alone can merit us his favours. What is this worship? The following chapters will tell us.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XL

1. **Footnotes on the first pages.** Ecclus. xxiv, 23 is printed with “gratiae” for the Vulgate’s *honestatis*; as in Chapter XXXVII, I have kept the printed word and marked it.

2. **Corrupted references.** 1 Cor. xv is printed “xv, ±” (v. 42 inferred), “xv, 13” for the two later citations (vv. 43, 43 inferred); *Suppl.* q. 85 is printed “8o”; Anselm *de Similitudine* c. LVII as printed; I did not verify any of these.

3. **Eutyches.** Gaume calls him “patriarch of Constantinople” and says the Church condemned him for maintaining the impalpability of glorious bodies. I give it as Gaume writes; I did not verify it.

4. **Dorothea.** The story (304, Sapricius, Theophilus, the apples and roses) is given on Gaume’s authority, with Baronius (*an.* 304, n. LXIX) and Cornelius a Lapide; the “Renan of that time” jibe is his. Whether Cappadocian Caesarea is correct, I could not check.

5. **Scientific matter.** The luminosity of the elements, the “seven-fold” sun and the like are rendered as Gaume gives them from Aquinas and Isaias; I take no position on them.

Chapter XLI. The Worship of the Holy Spirit

Disproportion between the labour and the reward: explanation. — The world owes a worship to the Holy Spirit. — Preachers of this worship: God, Our Lord, the Apostles, the Fathers, the Church. — Testimonies. — Greater necessity today than ever of the worship of the Holy Spirit.

Lift up your hearts: *Sursum corda.* The sufferings of this time are nothing compared to the glory to come which shall be revealed in us. At the thought of the fruit of eternal life, if there remains to us some ray of true light, some sentiment of noble ambition, we shall say with the Apostle: To gain heaven, I have made litter of everything. Candidates for eternity, we shall imitate the merchant of precious stones of whom the Gospel speaks. He finds a pearl which by itself is a treasure. Instead of spending his time in seeking, and his money

in buying other stones, he buys that one, and becomes the richest and happiest of merchants.

But what! so great a reward for so little labour! The infinite for the finite! what is this mystery? The Holy Spirit is infinite love; and heaven is the reign of infinite love. The how of the proportion is hidden from us: but the fact is incontestable. It is guaranteed to us by the divine word, and made sensible by images present to all eyes. Who has not seen the beauty, the grandeur, the prodigious multiplicity of the fruits of certain trees? A moment's meditation, and this spectacle says to us: To obtain wherewith to shelter oneself against the ardours of the sun, to warm one's hearth, to cover one's table with succulent fruits, for whole years, it suffices for man to make the sacrifice of a single fruit, capable at most of satisfying a slight sensuality. He who multiplies in so astonishing a manner the fruit of trees has promised us to multiply, according to the same law, the fruit of our works: *Centuplum accipiet.* [He shall receive a hundredfold.] Who has the right to doubt his word, or to limit his power? The marvels which shine forth in the material order represent, besides, very imperfectly the miracles which are accomplished in the moral order. As great as is the difference between the humble seed put in the ground and the magnificent tree, covered, according to the season, with flowers and fruits; so great and greater will it be between the momentary pleasure which we sacrifice or accept voluntarily to be deprived of, and the torrents of eternal delights with which we shall be flooded.

Now, fruit is born of fruit. The fruit of eternal life is born of the fruits of time, and we know them. It remains to say how they must be cultivated. They must be cultivated by cultivating the tree that bears them: this tree is none other than the Holy Spirit himself.(1) In what manner to cultivate him? By rendering him the worship he deserves. Hence two questions: Does the world owe a worship to the Holy Spirit? What is this worship?

(1) *Et tu colis Deum, et coleris a Deo. Recte dicitur, colo Deum: quomodo autem color a Deo? Invenimus apud Apostolum, Dei agricultura estis… Colit te ergo Deus, ut sis fructuosus; et colis Deum, ut sis fructuosus. Tibi bonum est quod te colit Deus; tibi bonum est quod colis Deum,* etc. [And thou dost cultivate (worship) God, and art cultivated by God. It is rightly said, I cultivate God: but how am I cultivated by God? We find in the Apostle, You are God's husbandry… God therefore cultivates thee, that thou mayest be fruitful; and thou cultivatest God, that thou mayest be fruitful. It is good for thee that God cultivates thee; it is good for thee that thou cultivatest God, etc.] S. Aug., *Enarrat. in ps.* 145, n. 11, *opp.* t. IV, p. 2323, edit. noviss.

1° Does the world owe a worship to the Holy Spirit? When I want to obtain the answer to a question of history or astronomy, I interrogate historians or astronomers. To know whether the world owes a worship to the Holy Spirit, I address myself to the masters of divine science. These masters are: God himself, Our Lord, the Apostles, the Fathers, the Church. Since the origin of the world, all these masters have but one voice to say, from generation to generation, to the eternal soldier called the human race: Thy most redoubtable enemies are not those whom thou seest, men of flesh and blood. For thee the real struggle is against the Spirit of evil and his invisible battalions. Wouldst thou know their nature? it is superior to thine. Their character? they are wickedness itself. Their number? it is incalculable. Their artifices? they are the fathers of lies. Their dwelling? they inhabit the air thou breathest and swoop upon thee swifter than the bird of prey. A spirit alone can fight against a spirit, and the Spirit of good against the Spirit of evil. To stay hidden under the wing of the Spirit of good, or to fall under the claw of the Spirit of evil, is the inevitable condition of thy existence.(1) So speak all the masters of science together. Let us hear them each in particular.

(1) Eph. vi, 12; Corn. a Lap., *ibid.;* 1 Pet. v, 8.

God. To render always present to man the necessity of the worship of the Holy Spirit, God wrote two great books: the world and the Bible. With equal eloquence these two books tell the glories of the Holy Spirit, his imperishable love for humanity and the indispensable necessity of his assistance. Heaven with its suns, earth with its riches, the sea with its laws, the chaos itself which he disentangles and fecundates, speak of him, as they speak of the Son and of the Father. More than a hundred and fifty times the Old Testament names,

blessing it, the third person of the adorable Trinity. Two hundred and ten times the same homage is rendered to him in the New Testament. What does this so frequent repetition reveal, if not the sovereign and eternal role of the Holy Spirit in the work of the creation, the government and the redemption of the world? What does it preach, if not the duty imposed on men and angels of holding him constantly, with the Father and the Son, at the head of their thoughts, their prayers and their adorations? Let us add that if, in this incessant worship, a preference had to be made, it would be in favour of the Holy Spirit. Substantial love of the Father and the Son, he reveals himself only by benefits. All the gifts of nature and grace come directly from him.

Our Lord. To the voice of the Bible and of creatures is joined that of Truth in person, the incarnate Word. By examples and words, the divine Teacher of the human race omitted nothing to make us love the Holy Spirit and place in him all our confidence. What John the Baptist was with regard to him, he seems himself to be with regard to the Holy Spirit. The son of Zachary, the greatest of the children of men, is chosen as forerunner of the Messiah. The Son of God himself takes the role of forerunner with regard to the Holy Spirit, and appears to have no other aim than to prepare the world to receive him. He resolved to make himself man, but he wills that his mother be the spouse of the Holy Spirit. He wills that his body be formed by the operation of the Holy Spirit, he wills that on the day of his baptism the Holy Spirit descend visibly upon him and lead him into the desert, to prepare him for his mission. During the whole course of his mortal life he shows himself constantly in dependence on the Holy Spirit. The solemn hour arrives when he is to save the world by his blood: it is the Holy Spirit who leads him to Calvary. He dies, and it is the Holy Spirit who draws him living from the tomb.(1)

(1) Matt. iv, 1; xii, 18, 28; Heb. ix, 14; Rom. viii, 2.

Must the rights of the Holy Spirit be defended? he seems to forget his own. He himself pronounced this sentence: “Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but he that shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come.”(2) Must room be made for him in souls? he does not hesitate to separate himself from all that he has dearest in the world, for fear that his presence be an obstacle to the absolute reign of the Holy Spirit.(3) Such were the words and the conduct of the second person of the Trinity with regard to the third. Never have heaven and earth heard, never will they hear, anything so eloquent on the excellence of the Holy Spirit, on the worship due to him and on the necessity of his reign.

(2) Matt. xii, 32. (3) John xvi, 7.

The Apostles. Instructed in the school of the Word and formed by the Holy Spirit himself, the apostles speak of his fullness. Before the new faithful and before the persecutors, in their writings and in their discourses, always they have the Holy Spirit on their lips. To the deacons the care of feeding the poor; to them the mission of announcing the Holy Spirit, of communicating him to the world and of proclaiming everywhere the indispensable necessity of submitting to his empire. Nothing more logical. What, in fact, is their vocation, and why are they apostles? Their vocation is a struggle to the utmost against the Spirit of evil, Satan, god and king of the world. As apostles, their reason for being is to drive out the usurper and to make the Spirit of good reign in his place. Like beneficent clouds driven by the Wind of the Cenacle, they spread to the four corners of heaven and make the Spirit who dwells in them rain upon all parts of the earth. The giant of this great battle, Saint Paul, carries him about for thirty years from East to West and from West to East. In every place he exalts the glories of the Holy Spirit, reveals his presence by striking miracles, and ceases not to cry to Jews and pagans, to Greeks and Barbarians: “Receive the Holy Spirit; beware of grieving the Holy Spirit; above all beware of quenching him. Otherwise you will remain or fall back under the empire of the infernal spirit. He who has not the Spirit of Jesus Christ is none of his. Without the Holy Spirit you can do nothing in the order of salvation, not even pronounce the name of the author of salvation and of grace.”(1)

(1) Eph. i, 17; iv, 30; 1 Thess. v, 19; Gal. v, 16, 17; Rom. viii, 9; 1 Cor. xii, 3.

What Paul teaches at Thessalonica, at Ephesus, at Athens, at Corinth, Peter teaches at Jerusalem, at Antioch, at Rome; Bartholomew in Armenia; Thomas in the Indies; Andrew in Scythia; James in Spain; Matthew in Ethiopia. Thus the apostles appear to us as the men of the Holy Spirit. Their preachings, their journeys, their miracles, their sublime life, and their death, no less sublime than their life, can be defined: the Holy Spirit announced, communicated, presented to the love and obedience of the whole world. Now the conservation of beings is only the continuation of their creation. If, then, the Christian world, formed by the Holy Spirit, wishes to remain Christian, it must of all necessity remain faithful to the principle of its origin. A great subject of reflection for our epoch!

The Fathers. To the apostles succeed the Fathers of the Church and the doctors. They saw with their own eyes the most astonishing of all revolutions: Satan driven from his empire, and humanity, delivered from slavery, pass to the liberty, the light, the virtues of the Gospel. Not one of them is ignorant that this miracle of the regeneration of the world, greater than that of creation, begins not at Bethlehem but at the Cenacle, and that it is the work of the Holy Spirit. To perpetuate, to extend this marvellous work, their life is consumed; as that of the apostles had been consumed in establishing it. From the first centuries, history shows us the finest geniuses of East and West consecrating their knowledge and eloquence to explaining the prerogatives of the Holy Spirit, to avenging his divinity, to explaining his marvellous operations, to proving the necessity of his reign and to soliciting for him the adorations of the human race. After the example of the great Apostle, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome speak unceasingly of the divine Paraclete.

Didymus, Saint Basil, Saint Ambrose each consecrate to him a particular treatise. The immortal works of Saint Cyprian, of Saint Athanasius, of Saint Cyril, of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, of Saint Hilary, of Saint Leo, of Saint Gregory the Great, of Bede the Venerable, of Saint Bernard, of Rupert, of Saint Thomas, of Saint Bonaventure, of Saint Bernard [sic: repeated], of Saint Antoninus and of a crowd of others, are so many channels in which the apostolic teaching of the Holy Spirit flows full to the brim. To all these great men, founders of Christian societies, nothing is closer to the heart than to inculcate on the world the permanent necessity in which it finds itself of living under the empire of the Holy Spirit, or under the empire of Satan. In the name of all, let us let Saint Bernard and Saint Chrysostom speak.

“We have,” says the first, “two pledges of the love of God for us: the effusion of the blood of Jesus Christ, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit. The one serves for nothing without the other. The Holy Spirit is given only to those who believe in Jesus crucified. But faith serves for nothing if it does not work by charity. Now charity is a gift of the Holy Spirit.”(1) Saint Chrysostom: “Without the Holy Spirit the faithful could neither pray to God nor call him their father. Without him there would be neither science nor wisdom in the Church, neither pastors, nor doctors, nor sanctifier. In a word, without him the Church would not exist.”(2) But if there were neither Church, nor priests, nor doctors, nor possibility of praying, nor means of profiting by the blood of Calvary, how should we withdraw ourselves from the empire of the demon? Now, without the Holy Spirit, none of that would exist. The parts of the world civilized by Christianity would still be like China, the Indies, Africa, Japan, Tibet, under the absolute domination of the prince of darkness. Such is the traditional teaching of the Fathers of the Church. Can anything be stronger on the necessity of knowing the Holy Spirit, of loving him, of adoring him and of submitting to his empire?

(1) Epist. 107 ad Thom., Praepositum de Beverla, *opp.* t. I, p. 294, nn. 8 and 9, edit. noviss. (2) …*Nisi esset Spiritus sanctus pastores et doctores in Ecclesia non essent… Nisi Spiritus adesset, Ecclesia non consisteret.* [Were it not for the Holy Spirit, there would be no pastors and teachers in the Church… Unless the Spirit were present, the Church would not stand.] *In sanct. Pentecost.*, hom. i, n. 4, *opp.* t. II, p. 543; id. t. IX, p. 40; id., t. XII, pp. 295, 297.

The Church. In order to make it ineffaceable, by making it popular, the Church takes care to translate into act this fundamental teaching. Besides the sign of the cross, whose frequent use, so recommended by her,(1) repeats several times a day to all her children the name and the necessary influence of the heavenly Consoler,

she employs a thousand means of keeping him present to their thought. Although he is with the Father and the Son the invariable object of her liturgy, she wills that a feast, solemn above all, come each year, from generation to generation, to recall to the gratitude of the baptized nations him to whom the world owes everything: light, charity, liberty, civilization in time, glorification in eternity. Do there present themselves, in her own life, in the life of peoples, or even in those of individuals, circumstances where the wisdom from on high becomes particularly necessary? the Church never fails to address herself to the Holy Spirit.

(1) A decree of Pius IX attaches 50 days of indulgence to the practice of this venerable sign. — See our work: *Le Signe de la Croix au XIXe siècle.*

The metropolis of the Catholic world, Rome, is in mourning. Death, which respects nothing, has struck her pontiff and her king. To Peter a successor must be given, to the Son of God a vicar. The sacred college is assembled, a profound silence envelops the sanctuary where the chain of the Pontiffs is to be continued. Where will begin the decisive act which is to put into the hands of a feeble mortal the destinies of the civilized world? The first word that escapes from the lips of all these old men, prostrate before God, is an invocation to the Spirit of wisdom, the hymn so many centuries old: *Veni, creator Spiritus.* [Come, Creator Spirit.]

As the pontificate is perpetuated, so is the priesthood perpetuated. See this troop of young levites who advance modest and timid towards the bishop whose hand is to consecrate them priests, according to the order of Melchisedech. Heralds of the faith, models of the peoples, missionaries on distant shores, martyrs perhaps: if they need great virtues, the consecrator needs great lights. To obtain for the first heroism, for the second discernment, to whom will the Church address herself? to the Holy Spirit. In ordination, as in the conclave, the royal hymn rises to heaven, and begins, consecrating it, the august ceremony: *Veni, creator Spiritus.*

Thus, from the pontiff placed at the summit of the sacred ladder to the levite seated on the lowest step, the hierarchy of the Church is perpetuated under the influence of the adorable Spirit who formed it. In his incomprehensible tenderness for the children of men, God in person deigns to dwell on earth: he permits temples to be raised to him. Who will render these material edifices worthy of him? Who will make of them new heavens? The same Spirit who, of the chaste womb of Mary, made the sanctuary of the eternal Word. At the voice of the Church he will descend on these earthly dwellings, purify them, embalm them with his divine essence; and for ever render them dear to God and venerable to men. The solemn invocation begins the imposing dedication and goes to solicit upon his throne the sanctifying Spirit: *Veni, creator Spiritus.*

Temples still more august must be consecrated. For the poor, the orphans, the sick, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters are needed, who espouse all their sufferings, relieve all their needs, from the cradle to the tomb and beyond. Who will work this miracle, unknown to the world before the Christian Pentecost? The Spirit of devotedness will first be invoked. As on the day of the Cenacle, he will descend; and, his powerful action forming new hearts, the world will have, in religious men and women, ever-reborn generations of apostles and martyrs of charity: *Veni, creator Spiritus.*

Thanks to perfidious understandings with the heart of man, the Spirit of evil succeeds too often in crossing the enclosure of the City of good. Cockle is sown in the field of the father of the family. At the sight of the defection of some, the connivance and cowardice of others, alarm seizes the chiefs of the flock. A general or partial regeneration becomes necessary. Then the Church has recourse to those great means called councils and missions. Recollected, like the apostles in the Cenacle, she begins invariably by invoking the Spirit who formed her and who, in forming her, renewed from top to bottom the face of the earth. By her prayers and her chants she conjures him to illuminate minds; to dictate himself the decisions of faith and the rules of morals; to give efficacy to the word of the Word, to purify hearts and to give them back, with supernatural life, the courage of the struggle. Under the ever ancient and ever new influence of the creating Spirit, vivid lights

gush forth upon the world, and marvellous transformations are accomplished in these new cenacles: *Veni, creator Spiritus.*

No less than the Christian man, social man has need of the Holy Spirit. On all solemn occasions the Church takes care to remind him of it. Death, which strikes pontiffs, does not spare kings. A throne is vacant, it must be filled. To give a king to a nation is to make it the most precious or the most fatal present. Bishop from without, protector, model and father of the peoples: these are the names of the Christian king. In these names what duties! who will raise him to the height of his dignity? who will teach him that power is a charge? who will strip him of himself to make him the man of all? The Holy Spirit alone can work this difficult miracle. The Church knows it; and the coronation of kings is but a perpetual invocation to the Spirit of strength, light, justice and charity. In this redoubtable consecration which says to the kings of the earth: You are the vassals of the King of heaven, and you must be his living images; to him you shall owe, like the least of your subjects, an account of your administration: what guarantees of temporal happiness for the peoples and of eternal salvation for souls! For the dynasties themselves, what a pledge of duration! Passing meteors or permanent scourges: that is what they have been, what they will always be, if they are not sustained and directed by the Spirit of God: *Veni, creator Spiritus.*

To make laws and apply them with discernment, that is, to distinguish at once the just from the unjust, to strike usefully the guilty or courageously absolve the innocent, matters no less to the happiness of nations than the consecration of kings. Public prosperity, peace within, respect without, fortune, honour, liberty, security, the very life of citizens are in the hands of the legislator and the judge. What a responsibility! Solomon himself knew none more redoubtable. Paganism either suspected it not, or took no account of it. Its codes testify that it consulted only the vulgar rules of human prudence, or the uncertain dictate of natural equity: too often it invoked no other gods than interest, caprice or force. At the same sources of law still draw the non-Christian peoples, and little by little those who cease to be so. Hence the scandal of their legislations and the iniquities of their justice. Will it be so with the nations come forth from the Cenacle? by no means. The Church wills that Christian legislators and magistrates seek their inspirations at the very source of truth, and take for invariable rule the immaculate law of which the Holy Spirit is at once the author and the interpreter:(1) *Veni, creator Spiritus.*

(1) We never cease repeating, after Bossuet, that Roman law is written reason. Nothing more false. The true written reason is the Decalogue. There is not, there will never be, any other.

For how many centuries did not old Europe see its political assemblies, its States-General, its parliaments, its tribunals open their sessions by seriously invoking the Spirit of wisdom and light, without whom all legislation is defective, all justice blind, all science dangerous or vain?(1) Its piety was not sterile. So long as the Holy Spirit directed their labours, legislators and magistrates defiled the modern codes with no anti-Christian law, nor the annals of the tribunals with any juridical enormity. To have the Holy Spirit invoked on the great occasions when the general interests of Christian societies are to be discussed does not suffice for the Church. She recommends to all her children, whatever their age and state, to have recourse to him at the beginning of their occupations. Thus, several times a day, on all points of the globe, the Christian child who studies the sciences sacred or profane calls to the aid of his young intelligence the Spirit of light, courage and purity. Is it a question, for the generations entering the struggle of life, of receiving the third person of the Trinity? it is then that the Church multiplies the efforts of her maternal solicitude. Prolonged instructions, public and private prayers, purification of the soul by the sacraments, solemn announcement by the pontiff: everything is put to work to make of each parish a new cenacle.(2)

(1) *Per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt.* [By me kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things.] Prov. viii, 15. — *Vani enim sunt omnes homines in quibus non subest scientia Dei.* [For all men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God.] Wisd. xiii, 1. (2) It is infinitely regrettable that these wise intentions of the Church are not always fulfilled, and that, to use a common expression, confirmation is

conjured away to the profit of first communion. [The footnote breaks off here in the source, with the stray printed fragment “Il”.]

Such are, with many others, the means unceasingly employed by the Church to render the Holy Spirit always present to the memory and heart of her children. Can she repeat to us with more force the continual need we have of him, as men and as Christians? Is it permitted to despise the so pressing recommendations of the wisest of mothers? Would there be no ingratitude in forgetting him from whom every creature holds all the gifts it possesses? In pretending to do without him, surrounded by enemies as we are, would there be no danger? Is not this danger the same for societies as for individuals? Can they then escape the pitiless alternative of living under the empire of the Spirit of good, or under the tyranny of the Spirit of evil? Does our epoch in particular enjoy in this respect any immunity? Alas! for it, more than for any other, the worship of the Holy Spirit is, from the purely social point of view, the great necessity of the moment.

This epoch, which believes itself so much its own master, where is it? Let us interrogate its acts and its tendencies. The unbridled luxury which devours it and which calls with loud cries for the formidable reaction of the poor against the rich called socialism; the perpetual sacrifice, and from day to day more common, of conscience, honour, intelligence, public life and private life, to the cult of the flesh; the general, unheard-of, obstinate insurrection of the nations against God and against his Christ; the torrents of poisoned doctrines spread night and day over the world, terrible sowings, which will inevitably be followed by a harvest more terrible still: is it the Holy Spirit who inspires and does all these things? If it is not the Spirit of life, it is the Spirit of death. To which of the two will the future belong? He who wishes to know it today has no need to interrogate science or diplomacy; it suffices him to look to which side the nations turn. The whole question is there.

For us, if anything is evident, it is that the present world owes to the Holy Spirit the same worship, we mean the same ardent prayers, that the unfortunate man hanging by a thread above a bottomless abyss owes to his only deliverer. This situation, who will understand it? This need, who will feel it? This duty, who will fulfil it? No one, or next to no one; and this is not the least proof that what we say is the truth: *Terribili et ei qui aufert Spiritum principum.* [To the terrible, and to him who taketh away the spirit of princes.]

Translator’s notes — Chapter XLI

1. **Idioms.** “Faire litière de tout” (to make litter of everything: Phil. iii, 8, “I count all things as dung” in the Vulgate’s *stercora*; Gaume’s French gives the sense of casting everything aside); “l’éternel soldat” (the eternal soldier) is Gaume’s figure for mankind.

2. **Counts of mentions.** “More than a hundred and fifty times” in the Old Testament and “two hundred and ten” in the New are Gaume’s figures; I could not verify them.

3. **Fathers’ list.** Saint Bernard is named twice in the list as printed I keep the repetition and mark it. The references to Bernard (Ep. 107) and Chrysostom (*In sanct. Pentecost.*, hom. i) are given as printed with their volume and page numbers from the editions Gaume used; I did not check them against the editions.

4. **Footnote on Roman law.** The remark that Roman law is “written reason” is attributed by Gaume to Bossuet; his rejection of it is his own, and I translate it plainly.

5. **Footnote on confirmation.** Cut off in the source after “Il”; nothing is lost from the main text.

6. **Biblical references.** Prov. viii, 15 is printed “vin, 15” and Wisd. xiii, 1 “xui, 1”; Matt. iv, 1, xii, 18 and 28 are as printed; the Scripture quotations are given in Douay wording with Gaume’s French sense where it differs. The final Latin tag is left unreferenced as Gaume gives it; I render it in the Douay wording of Ps. lxxv, 13, an identification that is mine.

7. **Apostolic mission fields.** Armenia (Bartholomew), India (Thomas), Scythia (Andrew), Spain (James) and Ethiopia (Matthew) are Gaume's list; I report them without endorsement.

8. **Contemporary jeremiad.** The closing diagnosis (luxury, socialism, "cult of the flesh") reflects Gaume's mid-nineteenth-century viewpoint and is translated as it stands.

Chapter XLII. (Continuation of the Preceding)

What worship the world owes to the Holy Spirit. — Worship of latria. — Interior worship. — Exterior worship. — Public worship. — Domestic worship. — Private worship. — Practice of the worship of the Holy Spirit: remembrance, prayer. — Why one addresses the Holy Spirit to obtain light, and not the Son. — Imitation: chastity, charity. — Orders of the Holy Spirit: their history. — Confraternities of the Holy Spirit. — Their origin, their works, their aim. — Necessity of re-establishing them.

2° What worship does the world owe to the Holy Spirit? Like the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit is God. Like the Father and the Son, he has therefore a right to the worship of latria [the worship of adoration due to God alone]. This sovereign worship is interior and exterior, public and private. In all these respects, obligatory towards the Father and the Son, it is equally so towards the Holy Spirit. Let us dare to add that, in reparation of the long forgetfulness of which modern Europe is guilty, and by reason of the threatening invasion of the Spirit of evil, the third person of the holy Trinity must be today the object of a worship of preference, of a worship more ardent than ever.

As for the interior worship, it consists in faith, in hope and in charity.(1) To believe that the Holy Spirit is God, like the Father and the Son; like them, a distinct person; with them, one in nature; to them, equal in all; like them, eternal, almighty, infinitely good, infinitely perfect; to believe all this of the Holy Spirit, as one believes it of the Father and of the Son; to hope in the Holy Spirit, as one hopes in the other two persons of the adorable Trinity; to love the Holy Spirit with a sovereign love, of complacency, of gratitude, of hope; as one loves, and for the same motives, the Son and the Father: such are the three fundamental acts of the interior worship which the world owes to the Holy Spirit.

(1) …*Fide, spe, charitate, colendum Deum.* [God is to be worshipped by faith, hope and charity.] S. Aug., *Enchirid.*, c. iii.

We say: love of complacency, on account of the infinite amiabilities of the Holy Spirit. Love of gratitude, on account of his benefits. Without speaking of the others, the world owes him: the Blessed Virgin, the God-Man, the Church and the Christian. Love of hope, on account of his magnificent promises: heaven will be the special reign of the Holy Spirit, since it will be the reign of charity.(1)

(1) Corn. a Lapid., in Luke i, 35.

As the ray comes forth from the hearth, the exterior worship comes forth necessarily from the interior worship, and is no less obligatory. It is impossible for man, composed of a double substance, not to manifest by exterior signs the sentiments that agitate his soul. There is more: all his exterior acts are but the translation of his interior thoughts and sentiments. Besides the continual violence he would have to do to his nature, to repress in the depth of his soul what tends imperiously and constantly to manifest itself, man owes to God the homage of his senses as well as the homage of his mind. Thus all the exterior acts of adoration, the prayers, the sacrifice, the thanksgiving which he owes to the Father and to the Son, he owes to the Holy Spirit.

Man is not an isolated being, but a social being. On this title he is bound to render to God a public worship. God, having made families, peoples and society, as he made individuals, has a right to the homage of the collective being, as he has a right to the homage of the individual being. Public persons, collective beings can pay their tribute to God only by collective adorations. A people without public worship would be an atheist people; and as an atheist people never existed, hence, since the origin of the world and in all points of the

globe, a public worship. Let us add that this worship is wholly to the advantage of nations: they need it in order to live. A simple reasoning suffices to prove it: no society without religion; no religion without interior worship; no interior worship without exterior worship. All these propositions are so many axioms of moral geometry and so many social and political laws, from which no epoch, no nation dispenses itself with impunity.

No less necessary than public worship, private worship must manifest itself by remembrance of the Holy Spirit, by prayer, by imitation, by the fear of offending him. Remembrance is the pulse of friendship. As long as it beats, friendship exists. With what force, and with what frequency, ought not our heart to beat for the Holy Spirit? Consubstantial love of the Father and of the Son, eternally active love, source of all the goods of nature and grace which we enjoy here below, he is further the king of the age to come, where he will beatify the elect by the effusion, without limits and without end, of the divine delights. In the meantime, by how many means he solicits our love! The air we breathe, the star that shines in the firmament, the trees laden with fruit, the rich harvests, the flowers so fragrant, so varied and so beautiful, all creatures, which seem to breathe only to render us service, cry to us with an untiring voice: Love the Spirit of love who made us like you, and who made us only for you. If we hear this voice, and who could fail to hear it? the love of the Holy Spirit will flow from our heart as the brook from the spring. In manifesting it, thanksgiving, invocation, adoration, intimate confidences, prayer under all forms, will become, between the world and the Holy Spirit, the bond of a habitual commerce, all the benefit of which will be for us.

In our doubts, in our perplexities, in our maladies of soul and body, to whom shall we address ourselves with more chance of success? Above all, what defender to invoke, at the thought of the catastrophes with which the rapid invasion of the Spirit of evil threatens us? The Spirit of good alone can stop its progress. This is to say that devotion to the Holy Spirit must be the favourite devotion of modern Christians, and that the inimitable prayers inspired by the faith of our forefathers must breathe forth from our heart almost as frequently as the breath comes from our lips: *Veni, creator Spiritus; Veni, sancte Spiritus,* etc. [Come, Creator Spirit; Come, Holy Spirit.]

Here a question presents itself: When one needs light, why address the Holy Spirit and not the Son, who is the light of the world: *Ego lux mundi?* [I am the light of the world.] Is not this practice in opposition with the received usage of attributing power to the Father, wisdom to the Son and charity to the Holy Spirit? It is easy to answer that light is a gift of God, and that the gift being an act of love, it is natural to ask it of the Holy Spirit, who is love by essence, and consequently the principle of all gifts. One may add that, being God, the Holy Spirit is light, like the Son himself; and that love, the principal attribute of the Holy Spirit, is the true light by which mind and heart are alike enlightened. Whence it results that the best counsellor, the surest casuist, is the love of God and of the neighbour, of which the Holy Spirit is the source.

Besides, in following this age-old practice, the Church does but conform to the intentions of Our Lord. Is it not he himself who taught us to regard the Holy Spirit as the hearth of light and the oracle of truth? In the person of the apostles, he said to his spouse, once for all: “When the Spirit whom I will send shall come, he will teach you all truth.”(1) Thus nothing has changed; neither the role of inferiority which the Word made flesh takes with regard to the Holy Spirit, nor the special mission of the Holy Spirit. Light of the prophets in the Old Testament, *locutus per prophetas* [who spoke by the prophets], he continues, in the New, to be the inspirer of the Church and of all the children of the Church.

(1) John xvi, 13.

Nevertheless adorations and prayers do not suffice to constitute the true worship of the Holy Spirit. Every worship has for its aim to bring the adorer nearer to the being adored. This approach consists essentially in imitation. To imitate the Holy Spirit is therefore the fundamental part of his worship. Now purity and charity are the distinctive attributes of the Holy Spirit. It follows that to imitate them forms the essence of his

worship. The purity of affections, that is, the disengagement of the heart from every disordered attachment, is so willed by the Holy Spirit that the mere shadow of such an imperfection would have prevented him from descending into the heart of the apostles. If it is so, to pretend that he will choose for dwelling a soul enslaved to the flesh would be a gross illusion. To sanctify our affections and our thoughts is therefore the first step to be made in the imitation and in the worship of the Holy Spirit.

The other attribute of the third person of the Trinity is charity. On the one hand, charity tends to union, and union makes strength; on the other hand, charity manifests itself by works. This second practice of the worship of the Holy Spirit is no less necessary than the first. Hence, in the Christian ages, the military Orders of the Holy Spirit, and the numerous associations of spiritual and corporal charity, known under the name of Confraternities of the Holy Spirit. A word on these institutions, whose very existence characterizes the spirit that reigned over old Europe.

In the fourteenth century, in spite of the decadence of morals, the Holy Spirit was still popular enough, even in the upper classes of society, to allow kings to have him honoured with a brilliant worship by the flower of their nobility. On the day of Pentecost, 1352, Louis of Taranto, having been crowned king of Jerusalem and of Sicily, instituted, in honour of the Holy Spirit, to whom he held himself indebted for this signal favour, the military order of the Holy Spirit of the Right Desire [*du Saint-Esprit au Droit-Désir*]. He himself drew up the statutes, which begin thus: “These are the chapters made and devised by the most excellent prince Monseigneur King Louis, by the grace of God king of Jerusalem and of Sicily, to the honour of the Holy Spirit, deviser and founder of the most noble company of the Holy Spirit of the Right Desire, begun on the day of Pentecost of the year of grace MCCCLII.

“We, Louis, by the grace of God king of Jerusalem and of Sicily, to the honour of the Holy Spirit, on which day, by his grace, we were crowned in our kingdoms, for the exaltation and increase of honour, have ordained to make a Company of knights, who shall be called the knights of the Holy Spirit of the Right Desire, and the said knights shall be three hundred in number; of whom We, as deviser and founder of this Company, shall be prince: and so shall be also all our successors kings of Jerusalem and of Sicily.”(1)

(1) See Giustiniani, *Ist. di tutti gli ordin. milit.*, and Hélyot, *Hist. des ordres religieux*, t. VIII, p. 319, edit. in-4.

To give aid and succour to the king, in war and on every occasion, constituted the great duty of the knights. This constant disposition to sacrifice was symbolized by a knot or love-knot [*lac d’amour*], of coloured stuff, placed on their breast. Above the knot was read: *Se Dieu plaist* [If it please God]. So long as it had not pleased God that the knight should signalize his devotedness by some brilliant action, the knot remained tied. If, in a combat against an enemy superior in number, the knight had received honourable wounds, or won a notable advantage, he wore from that day his knot untied, until he had gone to the Holy Sepulchre to render to Our Lord homage for his victory. On return, the knot was tied again with these words: *Il a plu à Dieu* [It has pleased God]. They were accompanied by a burning ray representing a tongue of fire, in memory of the symbol under which the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles.

These truly Christian warriors fasted every Friday of the year and gave that day food to three poor persons in honour of the Holy Spirit. Every year they met at Naples on the day of Pentecost. The celebration of the feast ended with a repast, which the king presided over in person. In the centre of the vast hall was a table called the Desired Table [*la Table désirée*], where ate the knights who during the year had untied the knot. He who wore his knot retied with a flame received a crown of laurel. At the death of a knight, the king had a solemn office made for the repose of his soul. All the knights present assisted at it, and the nearest relative or a friend of the deceased took his sword by the point and offered it on the altar, followed by the king and the other knights who accompanied this sword to the altar. They then knelt, praying for the soul of the knight, and after the service this sword was fastened to the wall of the chapel. Received from God, employed in the service of

God, it returned to God. If the knight had worn the flame on the knot, there was engraved on his tomb a flame from which issued these words: *Il acheva sa partie du Droit-Désir* [He achieved his part of the Right Desire], and each knight was obliged to have seven masses said for the repose of his soul.(1)

(1) Hélyot, *ubi supra.*

Two centuries later, France also had her order of the Holy Spirit. On the day of Pentecost, 1573, Henry III was elected king of Poland, and on the same day of the year following, 1574, called to the throne of France. To immortalize his gratitude to the Holy Spirit, this prince gave, in 1578, his letters patent for the institution of the military order of the Holy Spirit, become so glorious in the history of Europe. They express sentiments which one is the happier to find in the mouth of a king the less one is accustomed to them. "Having placed," says the monarch, "all our confidence in the goodness of God, from whom We acknowledge that We have and hold all the happiness of this life, it is reasonable that We should remember, that We should strive to render him immortal thanks, and that We should testify to all posterity the great benefits We have received from him, particularly in that, in the midst of so many different opinions on the subject of religion, which had divided France, he has preserved it in the knowledge of his holy name, in the profession of one Catholic faith and in the union of one apostolic and Roman Church.

"In that it pleased him, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, on the day of Pentecost, to unite all the hearts and wills of the Polish nobility, and to bring all the Estates of that kingdom and of the duchy of Lithuania to elect Us for king, and since, on the like day, to call Us to the government of the kingdom of France; by means of which, as well to preserve the memory of all these things, as to strengthen and maintain further the Catholic religion, and to adorn and honour the nobility of our kingdom, We institute the military order of the Holy Spirit… which order We create and institute in this kingdom, to the end that the Holy Spirit may grant Us the grace to see soon all our subjects reunited in the Catholic faith and religion, and to live in future in good friendship and concord with one another…, which is the aim to which our thoughts and actions tend, as to the summit of our greatest good fortune and felicity."(1)

(1) Hélyot, t. VIII, p. 406 *et seq.*

Satan is the spirit of division. The Holy Spirit is the spirit of charity. If there existed a means of bringing union back into a kingdom cruelly divided by the wars of religion and by the civil discords which are their inevitable sequel, it was certainly to re-establish the reign of the Holy Spirit. Nothing, then, was more just than the prince's thought; nothing more desirable than the aim of his institution. By the sole fact of its existence it was an immense service. By showing the highest nobility enrolled under the banner of the Holy Spirit, it set him in relief as a social element, and delayed the epoch of fatal forgetfulness into which the third person of the adorable Trinity has fallen in the eyes of modern governments.

The statutes of the order were very well fitted to realize the wishes of the monarch. As grand master, the king of France, on the day of his coronation, took oath on the Gospel: "To live and die in the holy faith and Catholic, apostolic and Roman religion, and rather die than fail in it; to maintain for ever the order of the Holy Spirit; never to be able to dispense the commanders and officers received in the order from communicating and receiving the precious body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the days ordained, which are the first day of the year and the day of Pentecost." The order having been instituted for the propagation of the Catholic faith and for the extirpation of heresies, the same oath of fidelity to God, to the Church, to the Holy Spirit, to the king was taken by the knights on the day of their reception.

The knights were a hundred in number, all sprung from the noblest families, and of good life and morals. As far as they could, they assisted every day at mass, and on feast-days at the public celebration of the divine office. They were obliged to say each day a chaplet of one decade, which they had to carry on them, then the office of the Holy Spirit with the hymns and prayers, or else the seven penitential psalms, and, if they failed in it, to give an alms to the poor. On the days of communion, commanded by the statutes, they had to wear,

wherever they were, the collar of the order during the mass and at communion. The day after their reception they went to hear mass clothed in their ceremonial dress, and the king, at the offertory, presented a taper pricked with as many gold crowns [*écus d'or*] as he had years. After the mass they dined with His Majesty, and in the afternoon assisted at the vespers of the dead. On the third day they assisted at the service made for the deceased knights. At the offertory the king and the knights each offered a taper of a pound. Besides, two masses were celebrated each day, at the convent of the Augustinians of Paris, the one for the prosperity of the order and the living knights, the other for the deceased knights.(1)

(1) Hélyot, *ubi supra.*

Between these military orders of old time and the modern orders, what a difference! While the high nobility practised with so much brilliance and reason the worship of the Holy Spirit, the people, still more faithful to the traditions of the past, preserved it in its naïve, but touching and energetic simplicity. A part of Europe was covered with associations or Confraternities of the Holy Spirit. The sanctification of their members by fraternal union and by charity was the soul of these precious institutions, whose origin is lost in the night of the barbarous times: it was the Holy Spirit in action. They existed notably in most of the parishes of Savoy. Down to our days, the privileged diocese of Saint-Jean de Maurienne is happy enough to preserve some quite fine vestiges of them.

The public repasts, in which all the confrères took part,(2) give reason to think that the associations of the Holy Spirit take their origin from the agapes. These repasts took place on the greensward, in open fields. An ox was killed for the feast. Not long ago, in felling an enormous walnut tree, there was found, in the flanks of the age-old tree, the iron hook which was used to cut up the animal. The great cauldrons in which the fat soup was made for the day of the agapes still exist in several parishes. Times having changed, the public repasts were converted into general alms, as well to preserve the memory of the ancient discipline as to relieve more effectively the bashful poor [*pauvres honteux*, those too ashamed to beg]. The rich, who as confrères had a share in the alms or distributions, received them like the poor.

(2) The confrères were all or nearly all inhabitants of the parish.

So did the great, the amiable saint of Savoy. It is known that Francis de Sales brought back religiously, in the folds of his cassock, the nuts which the little children gave him when they came to confess. He had them served on his table and said while eating them: It is the labour of my hands, I am happy to eat of it: *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit.* [For thou shalt eat the labours of thy hands: blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee.]

But in compensation for what they received, and to make the portions of the poor ever stronger, the rich took care to increase, whether by donation or by will, the fund of the confraternities. Thanks to their liberality there were, in some parishes, as many as five general alms a year. By the seasons when they took place, as well as by the nature of the objects distributed, one sees that the alms had for aim to procure for the confrères either some innocent joys, so sweet to the disinherited of the world, or the material aids necessary to the accomplishment of the disciplinary laws of the Church. Thus the distribution of walnut oil was made at the beginning of Lent, because then one could not season food with butter. The distribution of bacon took place on Holy Saturday, that the faithful might prepare their food with fat during the Paschal time. But at the epoch when the whole Church is in joy and when the most rigid solitaries relaxed their austerities, to have only poor food seasoned with fat was little. Therefore on Easter Monday a distribution of bread and wine was made. When the Ascension arrived, when the cattle began to climb the mountains, came a distribution of salt. Finally, on the Monday or Tuesday of Pentecost, patronal feast of the confraternity, took place a distribution of soup, wine and bacon, which allowed the poorest to forget for a moment their habitual privations. Today the distributions or alms are reduced to those of the beginning of Lent and of Holy Saturday.

This is only the material side of the confraternity. All the works of spiritual charity are its moral side. In the first rank figures the care of the souls in purgatory. For them are offered numerous masses and pious works of different kinds. In making fall upon the dead the dew of refreshment and peace, these testimonies of intelligent charity procure for the living powerful intercessions with God and immortalize the bonds of the confraternity. Where to find anything better conceived?

Why has the modern spirit come to persecute or destroy these admirable associations? We know it; but who hinders re-establishing them where they existed, creating them where they have not yet existed? We do not know. For that, what is needed? To will it. To will it with wisdom, taking account of circumstances of time and place.(1) To will it with perseverance, not being frightened at obstacles, seeing that what is necessary is always done. Each day sees new confraternities established. There are few parishes which have not some association or conference in honour of the Blessed Virgin, of Saint Anne and of the different saints of paradise. The third person of the august Trinity, he to whom we owe everything, even the Blessed Virgin, shall he alone and always be forgotten? What excuse, above all today, for our indifference?

(1) Who would prevent, for example, taking advantage of the time of confirmation to realize this project?

Satan is not content with commanding the great army of evil. With unexampled activity he forms, before our eyes, his numerous adepts into a thousand confraternities of iniquity. He knows that to destroy, as to build, union makes strength: his calculation is not false. Like the field excavated by moles, the soil of Europe is undermined by the black sappers of satanism. On pain of perishing, our duty is to make the countermine. Let us be members, and devoted members, of the great army of the Holy Spirit, the Catholic Church; but let us not stop there. Let us form ourselves into offensive and defensive groups; let us oppose societies to societies. To the confraternities of Satan let us oppose the confraternities of the Holy Spirit: union makes strength. The Spirit of good alone can conquer the Spirit of evil. That is saying enough, it seems to us, that everything which can favour the reign of the Holy Spirit is now, more than ever, the order of the day.

In favour of this salutary worship there remains a last consideration: it will be the object of the following chapter.

Translator's notes — Chapter XLII

1. **Orders of the Holy Spirit.** The account of the Neapolitan order of the Holy Spirit of the Right Desire (1352) and of the French order (1578) follows Gaume's citations of Hélyot (t. VIII, pp. 319, 406 ff.) and "Guistiniani" (as printed; Giustiniani is my spelling of the evident name). I did not compare his figures (300 knights; 100 knights) with those sources. The date of the French statutes (1578), Henry III's elections to Poland (1573) and France (1574), are as Gaume gives them.

2. **Old French.** The quotations from the statutes and the letters patent are given in modern English; archaisms such as *heur* (good fortune, happiness), *trouveur et fondeur* (deviser and founder) and *princeps* are rendered by their sense. The Pentecost year is printed "MCCCLTI", read as MCCCLII by inference.

3. **Savoyard confraternities.** The details (the ox, the iron hook found in a walnut tree, the cauldrons, the distributions) are Gaume's local observation about the diocese of Saint-Jean de Maurienne; I could not verify them. The phrase "the great, the amiable saint of Savoy" is Francis de Sales. His habit of eating the nuts given by children is told without source.

4. **Latin.** *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis…* is Ps. cxxvii, 2 in the Vulgate (cxxvii in Gaume's numbering); the reference is my identification, as Gaume gives none.

5. **Footnotes.** Aug. *Enchiridion* c. iii is printed "c. m" (read as iii by inference). The note on confirmation at the end of the section is Gaume's suggestion.

6. **The tone.** “The black sappers of satanism” and “the countermine” are Gaume’s military images; I keep them.

Chapter XLIII. (End of the Preceding)

Sin against the Holy Spirit. — Enormity. — Words of Our Lord. — Difference between blasphemy against the Holy Spirit and blasphemy against the God-Man. — Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is not the only sin against the Holy Spirit. — What the sin against the Holy Spirit is. — Its different manifestations. — In what sense the sin against the Holy Spirit is irremissible. — Chastisement of the sin against the Holy Spirit. — Parallel between the ruin of Jerusalem, deicide of the incarnate Word, and Constantinople, deicide of the Holy Spirit. — Warning to modern nations. — Conclusion.

If the positive part of the worship of the Holy Spirit consists in remembering the third person of the august Trinity, in praying to him and imitating him; the negative part consists in fleeing with the greatest care all that can drive him away and grieve him.

To drive him away. The Holy Spirit is essentially purity and charity. As bad odours make the bee flee, sensualism and egoism drive the Holy Spirit away from every soul, every people, enslaved to one or the other of these vices. A great subject of meditation and even of fear for our epoch! If it is true that no other presents, in the same degree, sensualism and egoism, it is therefore true that no other makes to the Holy Spirit a more adequate opposition. But to drive away the Spirit of life is, as we have so many times established, to call the reign of the Spirit of death, with its inevitable and disastrous consequences.

To grieve him. Negligence in invoking him, infidelity in following his inspirations, whether for private conduct or for the direction of others, peoples or individuals, profoundly grieve the Holy Spirit. The contempt of which he is the object, the unjust preference given to foreign oracles, prepare the last catastrophes; for they lead to a sin no less irremissible for nations than for individuals. We have named the sin against the Holy Spirit. It remains for us to make it known: and may we inspire all the horror it deserves!

The God-Man was going through Judea, healing the sick, delivering the possessed, raising the dead. Basely jealous of the confidence which his miracles drew to him, the Pharisees dared to say: It is in the name of Beelzebub, prince of devils, that he casts out devils. After refuting such a calumny, the divine Word adds, to show its enormity: “Therefore I say to you: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men; but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but he that shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.”(1)

(1) *Ideo dico vobis: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus: Spiritus autem blasphemia non remittetur. Et quicumque dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis, remittetur ei; qui autem dixerit contra Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro.* Matt. xii, 31, 32; Mark iii, 29; Luke xii, 10. — Saint Thomas explains in these terms the difference between blasphemy against the Holy Spirit and blasphemy against Our Lord: “Jesus Christ did certain things as man, to drink, to eat; and others as God, to cast out devils, to raise the dead. He did these latter by the virtue of his own divinity and by the operation of the Holy Spirit with whom, as man, he was filled. The Jews had first committed the blasphemy against the Son of man by calling him a glutton, a wine-drinker, a friend of publicans. Then they blasphemed against the Holy Spirit, by attributing to the devil what he did by the virtue of his own divinity and by the operation of the Holy Spirit.” II–II, q. 14, art. 1, corp.

One sees, the reproach which Our Lord addresses to the Pharisees is that of attributing maliciously to the demon the miracles which he wrought, and which they could not doubt were the work of the finger of God. There lay their blasphemy and their crime. Thus, in spite of evidence, to treat the works of the divine Word as works of Satan, consequently the Son of God as agent of the demon, as forger and usurper of divinity, in

that properly consists the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. “It must be remarked,” says a learned commentator, “that Our Lord does not speak here of every sin against the Holy Spirit, but only of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, which is committed by word as well as by thought and by action. It takes place when one calumniates manifestly divine and miraculous works, pious and holy, which God accomplishes for the salvation of men and by which he confirms the truth of the faith; such, for example, as the expulsion of demons. These works, being works of the goodness and holiness of God, are attributed to the Holy Spirit. Hence he who calumniates them, and who knowingly, by malice, attributes them to demons, blasphemes against the Holy Spirit, because he takes from God his holiness, his truth, and makes of him the demon: *Ex Deo facit diabolum.* [Of God he makes the devil.]”(1)

(1) Corn. a Lap., in Matt. xii, 31.

The sin against the Holy Spirit is therefore not confined to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit nor to a passing act; it extends to several prevarications and constitutes even a permanent state. According to the Fathers, the theologians and Saint Thomas in particular, this tree of death divides into six branches: despair of salvation; the presumption of being saved without merit, or of being pardoned without penance; attack on the known truth; envy of another’s grace; obstinacy in sin; final impenitence: these are so many sins against the Holy Spirit.(2) The reason is that these sins are sins of pure malice, especially the third, which is properly the sin thundered against by the Saviour. Why are they sins of pure malice? Saint Thomas answers: “There is a sin of pure malice when through contempt one repels what could have prevented the choice of sin. For example, when one repels hope, to let oneself go to despair; the fear of God, to let oneself be dominated by presumption. Now several things prevent this fatal choice, either on the side of the judgments of God, or on the side of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, or on the side of sin itself.

(2) *Desperatio, praesumptio, impaenitentia, obstinatio, impugnatio veritatis agnitae et invidentia fraternae gratiae.* [Despair, presumption, impenitence, obstinacy, impugning of the known truth, and envy of a brother’s grace.] Ap. S. Th., II–II, q. 14, art. 2.

“On the side of the judgments of God: by the hope that is born of the thought of the mercy of him who remits sins and rewards good works. Now this hope is taken away by despair.

“On the side of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, among which two especially turn us from sin: the one is the understanding of truth. This understanding is combated by the attack on known truth, when a man rises in revolt against a truth of faith, in order to sin more freely. The other is the help of interior grace coming from the gift of piety. To this grace is opposed the jealousy of the graces of others, when someone envies not only the person of his brother, but even the progress of the grace of God in the world.

“On the side of sin: two things turn us from it: the one is the disorder and turpitude of the act, the thought of which is wont to lead to repentance for the sin committed. To this means of salvation is opposed impenitence, understood in the sense of the will not to repent. The other is the brevity and nothingness of the good sought in sin, which ordinarily prevents the will of man from fixing itself in evil. This new means of salvation is destroyed by obstinacy, when the sinner confirms himself in the will to adhere to sin. All these means, which prevent us from choosing evil instead of good, are so many effects of the Holy Spirit in us. Therefore, to sin thus by malice is to sin against the Holy Spirit.”(1)

(1) *Haec autem omnia quae peccati electionem impediunt, sunt effectus Spiritus sancti in nobis; et ideo sic ex malitia peccare, est peccare in Spiritum sanctum.* [But all these things which hinder the choice of sin are effects of the Holy Spirit in us; and therefore to sin thus from malice is to sin against the Holy Spirit.] II–II, q. 14, art. 1, corp.; and art. 2, corp.

The gentle Saint Francis de Sales adds: “To sin is common enough to human weakness; but to maintain one’s fault obstinately, to want to persuade that one was right to commit it, to call evil good, and to put darkness in

the place of light, that is to offend the Holy Spirit; and to combat a manifest truth is to be condemned by one's own judgment and to be in some manner in a reprobate sense."(1)

(1) *Esprit,* etc., t. II, part. XI, p. 387, edit. in-8.

Such is in itself the sin against the Holy Spirit; it remains to say in what sense it is irremissible. The blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, declares the Word himself, shall not be forgiven neither in this world nor in the other. Nevertheless, confiding to his Church the power of the keys, he says to her without restriction: Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them. Infallible interpreter of the doctrine of her spouse, the Catholic Church shows that there is no contradiction between these divine words. She teaches that the universal Redeemer has put no limit to his mercy; that no sin is irremissible in the rigour of the word; and, in the person of Novatus [Novatian], she strikes with anathema him who would dare to maintain the contrary.

How then must it be understood that the sin against the Holy Spirit is irremissible? If it is a question of final impenitence, it remains rigorously true that the sin against the Holy Spirit is irremissible. Final impenitence is the mortal sin in which man perseveres until death. Now this sin is remitted neither in this world by penance, nor in the other, since there is no more redemption there. If it is a question of the other sins against the Holy Spirit? The irremissibility must be understood not of absolute impossibility but of the extreme difficulty of obtaining pardon.

The reason is that, by its nature, the sin against the Holy Spirit merits no remission, neither as to the penalty nor as to the guilt. As to the penalty: he who sins through ignorance or through weakness seems up to a certain point excusable; in any case he merits a lesser chastisement. But he who sins knowingly, and by malice, *ex certa malitia*, has no excuse and merits no diminution of penalty. Such is the man who sins against the Holy Spirit. As to the guilt: one declares incurable the malady which by its very nature repels all the means of cure, for example when it takes away the possibility of retaining any kind of food or remedy, although God can always cure it. Thus the sin against the Holy Spirit is called irremissible by its nature, inasmuch as it repels all the means of pardon, since it opposes itself actively and directly to the Spirit of light, grace and mercy. It is not to say that the way of pardon and healing is closed to the omnipotence and mercy of God. As it can always cure incurable maladies, it can always remit irremissible sins. Thanks be rendered to it! these miracles of goodness are far from being without example.(1)

(1) *Per hoc tamen non praecluditur via remittendi et sanandi omnipotentiae et misericordiae Dei, per quam aliquando tales quasi miraculose spiritualiter sanantur.* [Yet by this the way of forgiving and healing is not closed to the omnipotence and mercy of God, by which such persons are at times healed spiritually, as it were miraculously.] S. Th., II–II, q. 14, art. 3, corp.

At the thought of the sin against the Holy Spirit and of the consequences it entails, is it easy to be without fear for the future of an epoch in which it is committed so often and by so great a number of persons of every condition? Are they rare today who, in spite of reiterated warnings, obstinate themselves in the libertinage of mind or heart and put an end to their days by suicide, or who die with the insensibility of the beast? Those who, indifferent to the essential duties of religion, flatter themselves with a happy future after death, saying with the smile of impiety: God is too good to damn me? Those who in their conversations, in their discourses, in their newspapers, in their works attack audaciously the known truth? Those who, pushing blasphemy to limits that hell has not known, dare, on the one hand, to calumniate the whole of Catholicism, the vicar of Jesus Christ, the Son of God himself; and, on the other hand, to add to this satanic denigration the glorification of all that is anti-Christian: Judas, Nero, Julian the Apostate, Satan? On baptized lips, what is this, if not the sin against the Holy Spirit in what can be imagined of most odious?

What lot is reserved to nations which thus allow the very author of all their goods to be outraged? Providence has permitted there to be in history a fact which gives the answer. From the first centuries, the Greeks,

impelled by the evil Spirit, had not ceased to attack the third person of the holy Trinity. Macedonius, Photius, Michael Cerularius are the guilty fathers of a long posterity of insulters. The Latin Church, alarmed for the fate of her sister, neglects nothing to bring her back to unity. Thirteen times the Greeks solemnly sign the Catholic creed, and thirteen times they violate the sworn faith. In 1439, hardly returned to the East, after the council of Florence, they mock their signature, and resume the course of their blasphemies against the Holy Spirit. This last crime fills the measure, and the new deicide will be punished like the first.(1)

(1) We call the Greeks deicides of the Holy Spirit in the same sense that Saint Paul calls deicides those who by their sins crucify again the incarnate Word. Heb. vi, 6.

Here begins, between the ruin of Jerusalem and the sack of Constantinople, the terrible comparison which has not escaped Christian observers. “To find,” they say with reason, “something similar to the ruin of Constantinople by Mahomet, one must go back to the ruin of Jerusalem by Titus. That the Greeks might know well that the cause of their disaster was their obstinate revolt against the Holy Spirit, it was on the very feasts of Pentecost that their capital was taken, their emperor killed, their empire annihilated.”(2)

(2) *Hist. univ. de l’Église,* t. XXII, p. 105, 2nd edit., in-8. — *Ut intelligant causam exitii sui fuisse pertinaciam in errore de processione Spiritus sancti, in ipsis feriis Spiritus sancti capta fuit Constantinopolis a Turcis, imperator occisus, et imperium omnino deletum.* [That they might understand that the cause of their ruin was pertinacity in error on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on the very feast-days of the Holy Spirit Constantinople was taken by the Turks, the emperor slain, and the empire wholly destroyed.] Bellarm., *De Christo,* lib. II, c. xxx, p. 431, edit. in-fol., Lugd. 1587; see also S. Anton., *Chronic.*, part. III, t. II, c. VIII, edit. princeps.

A few years before the ruin of Jerusalem, Jesus, son of Ananus, suddenly began to cry in the temple: “Voice from the East, voice from the West; voice from the four winds; voice against the new bridegrooms and against the new brides, voice against all the people!” Then, running night and day through the squares and streets of the city, he uttered unceasingly the same cry, adding in a more mournful voice: “Woe to the city! woe to the people! woe to the temple!” At last, as he was making the round of the ramparts of the besieged city, he cried: “Woe to me!” At the same instant a stone, thrown by a machine, struck him stiff dead.(3) For the Jews, the voice of justice had just succeeded the call of mercy.

(3) Josephus, *De bello judaico,* lib. VII [sic], c. xii.

It was the same for the Greeks. About two years(1) before the capture of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas V, after exhausting all means of persuasion, threatens them with the approaching ruin of their empire. “We still bear with your delays,” he writes to them, “in consideration of Jesus Christ, eternal pontiff, who let the barren fig tree stand until the third year, although the gardener was preparing to cut it down because it bore no fruit. We have waited three years, to see if, at the voice of the divine Saviour, you would not return from your schism. Well! if our expectation has been vain, you shall be cast down, that you may no longer occupy the earth uselessly.”(2) With these prophetic letters, the Vicar of Jesus Christ sends a legate to the East. This last messenger of mercy was the great and holy Cardinal Isidore, archbishop of Kiev, a Greek by origin and famous among the Greeks themselves on account of the talent he had displayed at the council of Florence. From every point of view he was the man most capable of bringing the schismatics back to unity.

(1) October 1451. (2) *Apud* Reginald. [Raynaldus], year 1451, nos. 1 and 2.

The Jews take no account of the predictions of the son of Ananus; they even strike him and insult him. Instead of listening to this inspired voice, they prefer to follow the false prophets who push them to war against the Romans, promising them the help of Heaven. The Greeks despise the warnings of the Sovereign Pontiff, turn their back on his envoy, and more than ever show themselves hostile to union. Running in crowds to the monastery where resides the too famous George Scholarius, they ask him what they have to do.

Without deigning to leave his cell, the proud monk answers by a note of anathema against the Latins, and attaches this note to his door where all read it as an oracle. “Wretched citizens,” he said, “why do you go astray? By renouncing the religion of your fathers, you embrace impiety, and you submit to the yoke of servitude. Instead of counting on the Franks, put your confidence in God. Lord, I swear that I am innocent of this crime.”(1)

(1) It is good to know that this Scholarius or Gennadius, being at Florence, showed himself one of the most eager to appear before the Pope, that he might be praised as the principal author of the union.

The words of this man, held for a prophet, change hatred of the Latins into popular fanaticism. The streets of Constantinople ring with these cries: Away with the Azymites [those who use unleavened bread, i.e. the Latins]; we have no need of the help of the Latins! Rather see in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the hat of Isidore [the cardinal’s hat]! Was it not the cry of the Jews when they said: Away with him, away with him! we will not have him reign over us! Like the Jews, the Greeks count on a prodigy to save them. Each evening they are seen assembling at the crossways; and there they call the Virgin to their aid, drinking to the health of her image, and loading the Westerners with imprecations.

Meanwhile Titus, prince foreign in country and religion, comes to besiege Jerusalem at the head of his people, and the terrible appearance of the Roman eagles before Jerusalem is the abomination of desolation in the holy land.(2) On the part of the Romans, prodigies of activity to raise their lines of circumvallation and enclose as in a circle of iron, or rather in a living tomb, Jerusalem and its inhabitants. On the part of the Jews, the vertigo of pride and the fury of civil war. Pressed by the enemies without, they divide into factions which tear one another and make of Jerusalem the image of hell.

(2) *Et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo: et finis ejus vastitas et statuta desolatio.* [And a people with their leader that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: and the end thereof shall be waste, and the desolation appointed (*the text as printed omits “after the end of the war”*).] Dan. ix, 26.

Mahomet II, prince foreign in country and religion, appears under the walls of Constantinople at the head of his people. This people of infidels was composed of three hundred thousand soldiers, accompanied by a fleet of four hundred ships; and the formidable appearance of the crescent before Constantinople was the abomination of desolation in a Christian land. Meanwhile Mahomet, burning with the desire to conquer, forms his camps, sets up his machines and disposes his cannon. Soon masters of all the approaches, the besiegers batter the walls more closely, fill the ditches, open breaches and prepare for the assault. Instead of uniting, the Greeks, like the Jews, divide more and more. Those who seem to accept the Catholic dogma concerning the Holy Spirit are regarded as impious. The great church of Saint Sophia, which was for Constantinople what the temple was for Jerusalem, having served as a meeting-place for the Catholics, “is no longer for the schismatics anything but a pagan temple, a retreat of demons, one leaves in it neither taper nor lamp. It is no more than a frightful darkness and a sad solitude, a fatal image of the desolation to which our crimes were about to reduce it in a few days.”(1)

(1) Michael Ducas, c. xxxvi.

Such is the blindness of their hatred or the excess of their cowardice that a city of three hundred thousand souls finds for its defence only seven thousand citizens and two thousand foreigners. Like the sicarii of Jerusalem, this little troop works prodigies of valour. But its efforts only irritate Mahomet, as those of the Jews had served only to exasperate Titus. The port of Constantinople was closed by a strong chain which rendered the Ottoman fleet useless. Mahomet conceives the prodigious design of making his vessels descend into the port, by drawing them over a promontory and making them slide on planks smeared with tallow, to the foot of the ramparts of Constantinople. The work was accomplished during the night, and at the first rays of day the stupefied Greeks see the enemy fleet in their port.

After furious combats, Titus seizes the first and the second enclosure of Jerusalem; then the third and the citadel Antonia, joined to the temple by a portico. Unable yet to force the factious, he abandons the city to pillage. His soldiers commit there all horrors; the temple is reduced to ashes; not one stone remains upon stone, and the plough passes over the soil of the deicide city. Drawn near to Constantinople by land and by sea, Mahomet announces the general assault for the 27th of May, by lighting fires throughout his camp. The attack begins on the 28th in the morning. Like that of Jerusalem, it continues all the day and a part of the night, with an incredible fury. At last on the 29th of May, second feast of Pentecost, 1453, at 1 o'clock after midnight, Constantinople falls into the power of the Turks. Thus, while the Latin Church, piously assembled in her temples, celebrates with joy the solemn anniversary of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the world and proclaims aloud his procession from the Father and the Son, the Greeks, who deny it with blasphemy, are crushed under the ruins of their capital, and receive on their proud heads the iron yoke of Muslim barbarism.

It follows from this that of the two most frightful catastrophes of which history makes mention, the ruin of Jerusalem and the sack of Constantinople, the first is the brilliant punishment of the crime committed against the second person of the holy Trinity; the second, the no less brilliant chastisement of an analogous crime, committed against the third person of the holy Trinity. What the Romans did at Jerusalem is surpassed by what the Turks did at Constantinople. As the Jews, driven back from all sides, had taken refuge in the temple, the distraught Greeks take refuge in the great church of Saint Sophia. Temple and church become the theatres of such horrors that history scarcely dares retrace the memory. Let us nevertheless hear an eyewitness. It is Cardinal Isidore himself, a Greek by nation, who is going to paint for us the desolation of Constantinople; as another eyewitness, Josephus, a Jew by nation, was chosen by Providence to transmit to posterity the description of the sack of Jerusalem.(1) Here are some lines of his narrative:

(1) In order to escape death, the prince of the Church put his cardinal's habit on a corpse, whose head the Turks cut off and carried to the sultan with the red hat.

"Mahomet, surrounded by his viziers, having entered Constantinople, two soldiers bring him the head of the emperor Constantine. He has it nailed on the top of a column, where it remains until evening. Then, having had it flayed and stuffed with straw, he sends it, as a trophy, to the princes of the Turks, in Persia and Arabia."(1) It was thus that, after having shown them in spectacle to the Romans on the day of his triumph, Titus had Simon of Gioras [Simon bar Giora] and John of Giscala, princes of the Jews, put to death in the Mamertine prison.

(1) *Apud* S. Anton., *pars histor.,* fol. 188, c. xiv, edit. in-fol.

"After this outrage to the vanquished, Mahomet enters Saint Sophia and sits on the altar, as being the god of the temple, in place of the incarnate Word of whom he thus proclaims himself the adversary. Already his soldiers have slaughtered pell-mell all that was found in the holy place. Adding sacrilege to cruelty, they spit upon, break, trample under foot the images of Our Lord, of his august Mother, of the saints and martyrs. They tear the Gospels and all the prayer-books. Decked in sacerdotal ornaments, they profane in the most revolting manner the sacred vessels, the relics of the saints, and all that is most venerable in religion."(2)

(2) *Mingebant, stercorizabant, omnia vituperabilia exercebant.* [They urinated, they fouled with dung, they practised every shameful thing.] *Apud* S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

As in the temple and in Jerusalem, so in Saint Sophia and in Constantinople all is massacre and abomination. Eleven hundred thousand Jews perish during the siege, the others are sold as slaves. Laden with chains, employed on public works, reserved for the combats of gladiators, these flocks of deicides bear through all the earth the living spectacle of the predicted desolation; and, for eighteen centuries, all generations see this corpse of a people hung on the gibbet of divine justice. The same spectacle at Constantinople. Priests, religious men, religious women, women, children, old men, all who survive, become the prey of the victors, are heaped in pens and sold like cattle. One sees princes, barons, great lords dragged with the rope round

their neck, driven with lashes and bought by men of nothing, who make of them herdsmen of oxen and swine.(1) The mass of the population is thrown into galleys, which at once set sail for all directions. For a long time the ports of Asia and Africa see exposed, in their frightful markets, long chains of slaves, who are, like the Jews, dispersed to the four winds, to teach all peoples what becomes of a nation which dares to say to the Holy Spirit: We will not have thee reign over us: *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos.*

(1) *Apud* S. Anton., *ubi supra.*

Like Jerusalem, Constantinople was so well depopulated that Mahomet left there, says the cardinal, neither a Greek, nor a Latin, nor an Armenian, nor a Jew: *Nullum incolam intra reliquerunt, non Graecum, non Latinum, non Armenum, non Judaeum.* [They left no inhabitant within, neither Greek, nor Latin, nor Armenian, nor Jew.] Thus was accomplished on the Greek, deicide of the third person of the holy Trinity, the threat accomplished on the Jew, deicide of the second. “Because thou didst not serve the Lord thy God with joyfulness and gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things; thou shalt serve thy enemy, whom the Lord will send upon thee, in hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and in want of all things: and he shall put an iron yoke upon thy neck, till he consume thee. The Lord will bring upon thee a nation from afar, swift as an eagle, whose tongue thou shalt not understand. A most insolent nation, that will show no regard to the ancient, nor have pity on the young; it will leave thee nothing, it will throw down thy walls, and destroy thee by slaughter and dispersion.”(1)

(1) Deut. xxviii, 47 ff. .

Since the literal accomplishment of this divine threat, the Greeks live under the tyrannical yoke of their conquerors. Even today, after four centuries of humiliations and chastisements, this people, like the Jew, has eyes not to see, ears not to hear, a memory not to remember, an intelligence not to understand the formidable lesson which God inflicts on it, in punishment of its obstinate revolt against the Holy Spirit.

Nations of the West, let this lesson not be lost on you. Such is the wish that remains for us to form in closing a work in which is shown, from the beginning of the ages, the permanent and sovereign action of the Spirit of good and of the Spirit of evil upon humanity. In seeing what it costs to sin against the Holy Spirit, let us learn to rectify our thoughts and our fears. At the spectacle of the corruption of morals, of the fascination of the bagatelle [frivolity], of the too general forgetfulness of the most holy duties, let us tremble for the future; but let us tremble above all at the thought of the sin against the Holy Spirit, become today so common. May the governing, even more than the governed, take seriously the sentence pronounced by the supreme legislator against the blasphemers of the Holy Spirit, and remember that, immutable as truth, it remains always suspended over the head of the societies which imitate or tolerate them! May they, in their public life as in their private life, never forget that man here below is placed in the pitiless alternative of living under the empire of the Spirit of good, or under the tyranny of the Spirit of evil; that the first is the Spirit of life, intellectual life, moral life, social life, eternal life; that the second is the Spirit of death, and that, adequate negator of the Spirit of life, he produces death under all names: for individuals, the eternal death to which he drags them by the path of iniquity, shame and servitude; for nations, which do not go in a body into the other world, the social death to which he leads them by inevitable catastrophes.

To sum up: **LOST BY THE SPIRIT OF EVIL, THE WORLD WILL BE SAVED ONLY BY THE SPIRIT OF GOOD.**

Has it left enough intelligence to understand it? God knows. What we know is that a single power is capable of making this capital truth heard by crowned deaf men, as by materialized and distracted peoples. This power is the clergy, and the clergy acting in the fullness of its strength and its liberty. For kings as for subjects, it alone has the words of healing, all the words of healing; because it alone has the words of life, all the words of life. If, as there is no doubt, to the courage of duty it joins the intelligence of the times, it will see that the present struggle, a fierce struggle which extends over the whole face of the globe, is henceforth

between absolute negation and absolute affirmation, between the catholicism of evil and the catholicism of good, between Satan and the Holy Spirit, fighting, for a supreme victory, in person and so to speak body to body, at the head of their armies. May at this spectacle, the most solemn in history, its zeal, like that of Paul at the sight of idolatrous Athens, be inflamed with new ardours.

An intelligent but misunderstood soldier, the clergy will not let itself be discouraged by the moral impossibility of the undertaking, nor by the mockery of the world, nor by the torpor of false brethren. Did not the fishermen of Galilee brave Caesar and the barbarians? Persecuted and scorned, did they not vanquish them? To yield place to the God of the Cenacle, did not Satan see his altars roll in the dust from the height of the Capitol? The arm of the Almighty is not shortened. Besides, for us Catholics, priests or faithful, the struggle is not a speculation, it is a duty. Whatever the future of societies, we shall have succeeded in forming noble victors or noble victims.

Let the Holy Spirit henceforth be preached everywhere, that he may resume in the life of nations the place that is due to him and which he should never have lost. Too long neglected, may his worship flourish again in cities and in the country, and may there be found on the lips of all the Catholics of the nineteenth century, frequent as breathing, the ardent prayer of the prophet-king: “Send forth thy Spirit, and they shall be created; and thou shalt renew the face of the earth”: *Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabantur* [as printed; Vulgate *creabuntur*], *et renovabis faciem terrae*.(1) There, and there alone, is the salvation of the world.

(1) Ps. ciii [v. 30].

Paris, on the feast of Pentecost, the 15th day of May of the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1864.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Translator’s notes — Chapter XLIII

1. **Colophon.** “Paris, on the feast of Pentecost… 1864” is as printed, with the day number garbled (“1 5”). I read it as 15 May, and note that Pentecost Sunday in 1864 fell on 15 May by my own computation of Easter; the day is therefore inferred but consistent.

2. **Quoted authorities.** The “learned commentator” is Cornelius a Lapide (note 1 of the first section). The long quotation from Saint Thomas (II–II, q. 14, arts. 1–3) is given as Gaume’s French; I could not compare it with the Latin and he gives it in paraphrase. Francis de Sales is quoted from a work Gaume cites only as “Esprit, etc.” (L’Esprit de saint François de Sales, as I read it; the title is truncated in the source).

3. **Historical accounts.** The account of the fall of Constantinople rests on the *Histoire universelle de l’Église* (Gaume gives no author), Raynaldus, Michael Ducas and Saint Antoninus; I did not verify the details (the 300,000 soldiers, 400 ships, 7,000 citizens and 2,000 foreigners; the dating of the final assault; the cardinal’s account of the emperor’s head). Gaume’s date “29 May, second feast of Pentecost, 1453” is his; by my own calculation of the Julian Easter of 1453 (1 April), Pentecost fell on 20 May that year, so the claim that the capture fell on a Pentecost feast does not agree with that computation. I leave his text unaltered and flag it. Likewise his “eleven hundred thousand Jews” (from Josephus) and the details of Titus’s triumph are his.

4. **Josephus.** Jesus son of Ananus is placed by Gaume in “lib. VII, c. xii”, printed “Vil, c. xn”; I do not vouch for the book number.

5. **Greek affairs.** “Thirteen times” the Greeks signed the Catholic creed; Photius, Michael Cerularius, Macedonius and the council of 1439 are Gaume’s summary; the pope’s letter and the scene with Scholarius (and Gaume’s own footnote on Scholarius) are as printed. The “Azymites” bracket is mine.

6. **Footnotes.** Hebrews vi, 6; Dan. ix, 26 (the printed Latin omits the Vulgate’s *post finem belli*); Deut. xxviii (printed “48 et seq.”; I give vv. 47 ff., the Douay text, since the sentence begins at 47); Mark iii, 29 printed

“ut, 29”; the Michael Ducas reference printed “xxxvr”; S. Anton. “c. VIII” printed “Y H I” and “fol. i 8 8”, as bracketed above.

7. **The polemic.** The closing appeal to the clergy, the Greek schism read as a divine chastisement, and “the catholicism of evil” are Gaume’s own views and are translated as they stand; I do not endorse the historical causation he asserts.