

# A Survey of Racialism in Christian Sacred Tradition

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**The compilation begins on page 3. The discussion of race begins on page 10.**

The below description enumerates and explains some of the choices made as to inclusion, highlighting, expanse, and formatting.

This survey is not organized by chronology, or in fact necessarily by relevance, but by an organic process of accumulating sources, in whatever order I happened to read them. Sources range from the very early Church, including the 1st century, primarily to the 16th century; at the end I have included some very recent writings (from the 20th century) to demonstrate how the views of the cited authors have carried forth into the modern age.

While I approach this from a Catholic perspective, the majority of works cited are authored by Church Fathers, and the even larger majority (with the exception of only 6 works) predate the Reformation.

In some places I have continued the citation of a writing through a different source; I don't always remember why, but in some cases it's because I moved to a more comprehensive and inclusive source to survey a work in its whole, after finding valuable citations in various parts of it. I have tried to keep formatting consistent (such as the primary usage of "x", with 'x' being secondary), but some or very many instances may escape my view. Most formatting choices I have made only for clarity, which I feel to be necessary in a work of this length which is not in any kind of academic or book-based form, so as to avoid lengthening its run any further (as I suppose I'm doing here) by inserting page breaks for chapters or authors.

I have cited all sources by their direct link, so that nobody has any need to click on a random hyperlink.

I doubt very much that this survey will or can be comprehensive, as I am in the process of finding more resources as I write this. However, I have done my best to make it as close to comprehensive as it reasonably can be by only the manhours of one person.

Some writings are less racially charged, and others more. There are writings are often about the unity of all races (in their calling to follow Christ) but yet distinguish by race. Some of these make very clear distinctions even between what we can now understand and define as *ethnicity* (a select stock of descent; Irish versus Breton), *nation* (a body of members derived from the same ethnicity), *country* (a collection of members either of closely related ethnicities or of one ethnicity), and *race* (a broad grouping categorized by a general descent, especially as defined by continental region). Saint Isidore of Seville

goes so far as to include the prohibition of miscegenation under the natural rights of nations.

There are however very many explicitly racial writings, some of which are racially discriminatory (distinguishing between and making distinct the lines and rights of races or ethnicities) and in many cases racist (assigning value to races or ethnicities). To clarify the use of liberal-appearing terminology, I am not giving a condemnation.

For example, Saint Augustine describes black complexion as ugly, and Saint Peter of Alexandria seems to believe that blackness of skin necessarily represents reprobation – at the very least symbolically. While I can't in good faith argue exactly the same, the connection between blackness of skin and sinfulness (especially through the Curse of Ham) is present throughout. In many passages I have *also* bolded places which discuss a kind of natural inferiority conferred by birth or lineage (though not always defining this by racial lines), such as Saint Thomas' defence of natural slavery. Many authors describe certain races or ethnicities as inherently barbarous or wicked.

I have used bolding to indicate the important sections of texts I have also underlined certain bolded sections, and by this I mean to indicate important words or phrases. I have in a very few places bolded, underlined, and italicized portions of a text so as to indicate (without disrupting the flow of the text) that a word or phrase holds a supreme importance in the survey's purview.

I felt that this survey should begin with an examination of Galatians 3:28 (*There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.*), and the context in which the Church Fathers viewed this verse. I've begun with a short collection of excerpts which deal with temporal inequality, and the way it relates to this verse. Or rather, the way in which it doesn't. Though this passage is typically not framed in racial terms by the Fathers (because *Jew* and *Greek* to them represent the Jewish race, and then every other race on Earth) it is often – and in fact typically – framed by the difference between sex. In a Patristic and otherwise Tradition-based view, this passage speaks about the opening of salvation to all kinds of people, and with absolutely no attempt to dismiss temporal inequality, nor to bring forth temporal equality.

Saint Augustine does additionally frame this as regards to class, however, Saint Chrysostom by rank, and Saint Hilary by race.

I have tried to keep commentary to a minimum, inserting it only where I feel it is absolutely necessary to prevent low IQ cherry picking, and adding footnotes which I feel may help illuminate some kind of context.

## Saint Augustine, On the Holy Trinity (417)

Who is there, then, who will hold women to be alien from this fellowship, whereas they are fellow-heirs of grace with us; and whereas in another place the same apostle says, "For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; for as many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ: there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus?" **Pray, have faithful women then lost their bodily sex? But because they are there renewed after the image of God, where there is no sex; man is there made after the image of God, where there is no sex, that is, in the spirit of his mind.** Why, then, is the man on that account not bound to cover his head, because he is the image and glory of God, while the woman is bound to do so, because she is the glory of the man; as though the woman were not renewed in the spirit of her mind, which spirit is renewed to the knowledge of God after the image of Him who created him? **But because she differs from the man in bodily sex, it was possible rightly to represent under her bodily covering that part of the reason which is diverted to the government of temporal things;** so that the image of God may remain on that side of the mind of man on which it cleaves to the beholding or the consulting of the eternal reasons of things; and this, it is clear, not men only, but also women have.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf103.iv.i.xiv.vii.html>

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## Saint Augustine, On the Work of Monks (401)

With which sleight these persons deceive ignorant people, with which cunning craftiness and machinations of the enemy both they themselves are whirled round, and in their whirling essay to make the minds of the weak which cohere unto them so (in a manner) to spin round with them, that they also may not know where they are. For they have heard or read that which is written, "Whosoever of you have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ: where is no Jew nor Greek; no bond nor free; no male nor female." **And they do not understand that it is in reference to concupiscence of carnal sex that this is said, because in the inner man, wherein we are renewed in newness of our mind, no sex of this kind exists.** Then let them not deny themselves to be men, just because in respect of their masculine sex they work not. For wedded Christians also who do this work, are of course not Christians on the score of that which they have in common with the rest who are not Christians and with the very cattle. For that is one thing that is either to infirmity conceded or to mortal propagation paid as a debt, but another that which for the laying hold of incorrupt and eternal life is by faithful profession signified. That then which concerning not veiling of the head is enjoined to men, in the body indeed it is set forth in a figure, but that it is enacted in the mind, wherein is the image and glory of God, the words themselves do indicate: "A man indeed," it saith, "ought not to veil his head,

forsomuch as he is the image and glory of God." For where this image is, he doth himself declare, where he saith, "Lie not one to another; but stripping off the old man with his deeds, put ye on the new, which is renewed to the acknowledging of God, according to the image of Him who created him." Who can doubt that this renewing takes place in the mind? But and if any doubt, let him hear a more open sentence. For, giving the same admonition, he thus saith in another place: "As is the truth in Jesus, that ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, him which is corrupt according to the lust of deception; but be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, him which after God is created." What then? Have women not this renewal of mind in which is the image of God? Who would say this? But in the sex of their body they do not signify this; therefore they are bidden to be veiled. The part, namely, which they signify in the very fact of their being women, is that which may be called the concupiscential part, over which the mind bears rule, itself also subjected to its God, when life is most rightly and orderly conducted. **What, therefore, in a single individual human being is the mind and the concupiscence, (that ruling, this ruled; that lord, this subject,) the same in two human beings, man and woman, is in regard of the sex of the body exhibited in a figure.** Of which sacred import the Apostle speaks when he says, that the man ought not to be veiled, the women ought. For the mind doth the more gloriously advance to higher things, the more diligently the concupiscence is curbed from lower things; until the whole man together with even this now mortal and frail body in the last resurrection be clothed with incorruption and immortality, and death be swallowed up in victory.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf103.v.vii.xli.html>

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## Saint Augustine, Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount (393)

**For in that eternal kingdom to which He has vouchsafed to call His disciples, to whom He also gives the name of brothers, there are no temporal relationships of this sort.** For "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female;" "but Christ is all, and in all." And the Lord Himself says: "For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." Hence it is necessary that whoever wishes here and now to aim after the life of that kingdom, should hate not the persons themselves, but those temporal relationships by which this life of ours, which is transitory and is comprised in being born and dying, is upheld; because he who does not hate them, does not yet love that life where there is no condition of being born and dying, which unites parties in earthly wedlock.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf106.v.ii.xv.html>

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## Saint Augustine, Tractates on the Gospel According to Saint John (419)

But although in this life, because of the common faith itself, all who believe in one are one according to the words of the apostle, "For ye are all one in Christ Jesus;" even thus we are one, not in order to our believing, but because we do believe. What, then, is meant by the words, "That they all may be one, that the world may believe"? This, doubtless, that the "all" are themselves the believing world. **For those who shall be one are not of one class,** and the world that is thereafter to believe on this very ground that these shall be one, of another; since it is perfectly certain that He says, "That they all may be one," of those of whom He had said before, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for those also who shall believe on me through their word," immediately adding as He does, "That they all may be one." And this "all," what is it but the world; not certainly that which is hostile, but that which is believing? For you see here that He who had said, "I pray not for the world," now prayeth for the world that it may believe. For there is a world whereof it is written, "That we might not be condemned with this world." For that world He prayeth not, for He is fully aware to what it is predestinated. And there is a world whereof it is written, "For the Son of man came not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved;" and hence the apostle also says, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." For this world it is that He prayeth, in saying, "That the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." For through this faith the world is reconciled unto God when it believes in the Christ whom God has sent. How, then, are we to understand Him when He says, "That they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me," **but just in this way, that He did not assign the cause of the world believing to the fact that those others are one, as if it believed on the ground that it saw them to be one; for the world itself here consisteth of all who by their own believing become one;** but in His prayer He said, "That the world may believe," just as in His prayer He also said, "That they all may be one;" and still further in the same prayer, "That they also may be one in us." For the words, "they all may be one," are equivalent to "the world may believe," since it is by believing that they become one, perfectly one; that is, those who, although one by nature, had ceased to be so by their mutual dissensions.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf107.iii.cxi.html>

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## Saint John Chrysostom, Homilies on Saint Ignatius and Saint Babylas (Between 362-407)

**But here, since the contest is wholly concerning the soul, the lists are open to each sex, for each kind the theatre is arranged. Neither do men alone disrobe, in order that the women may not take refuge in the weakness of their nature,** and seem to have a plausible excuse, nor have women only quitted themselves like men, lest the race of men be put to shame; but on this side and on that many are proclaimed conquerors, and are crowned, in

order that thou mayest learn by means of the exploits themselves that in Christ Jesus neither male nor female, neither sex, nor weakness of body, nor age, nor any such thing could be a hindrance to those who run in the course of religion; if there be a noble readiness, and an eager mind, and a fear of God, fervent and kindling, be established in our souls. **On this account both maidens and women, and men, both young and old, and slaves, and freemen, and every rank, and every age, and each sex,** disrobe for those contests, and in no respect suffer harm, since they have brought a noble purpose to these wrestlings.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf109.vii.iii.html>

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### Saint John Chrysostom, Homilies on Matthew (Between 386-392)

**It were meet indeed that ye had within you the wall to part you from the women;** but since ye are not so minded, our fathers thought it necessary by these boards to wall you off; since I hear from the elder ones, that of old there were not so much as these partitions; "For in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female." And in the apostle's time also both men and women were together. Because the men were men, and the women women, but now altogether the contrary; the women have urged themselves into the manners of courtezans, but the men are in no better state than frantic horses.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf110.iii.LXX.html>

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### Saint John Chrysostom, A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (Between 386-407)

"And it shall come to pass, every one who shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. Every one," he says: though he be priest (but he does not yet reveal the meaning), though bond, though free. For there is no male nor female in Christ Jesus, no bond, no free. (Gal. iii. 28.) **Well may it be so, for all these are but shadow. For if in king's palaces there is no high-born nor low-born, but each appears according to his deeds; and in art, each is shown by his works;** much more in that school of wisdom (φιλοσοφία). "Every one who shall invoke." Invoke: not any how, for it is written, "Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord:" but with (διαθέσεως) inward earnest affection, with a life more than commonly good, with the confidence which is meet. Thus far, however, he makes the discourse light, by introducing that which relates to faith, and that terrible which relates to the punishment. For in the invocation is the salvation.

## Saint Jerome, Apology Against Rufinus (402)

You might justly be staggered, if I had not, after what goes before, said “We may begin to be what it is promised that we shall be in heaven.” **When I say, “We shall begin to be on earth,” I do not take away the difference of sex; I only take away lust,** and sexual intercourse, as the Apostle does when he says, “The time is short; it remaineth therefore that those who have wives be as though they had none;” and as the Lord implied when, in reply to the question of which of the seven brothers the woman would be the wife, he answered: “Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God; for in the resurrection they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage: but they shall be as the angels of God.” And, indeed, when chastity is observed between man and woman, it begins to be true that there is neither male nor female; but, though living in the body, they are being changed into angels, among whom there is neither male nor female. The same is said by the same Apostle in another place: “As many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”

## Saint Gregory of Nyssa, On the Making of Man (Between 372-395)

6. However, let us pass by our argument upon this point: let us turn our inquiry to the question before us,—how it is that while the Deity is in bliss, and humanity is in misery, the latter is yet in Scripture called “like” the former?

**7. We must, then, examine the words carefully: for we find, if we do so, that that which was made “in the image” is one thing, and that which is now manifested in wretchedness is another.** “God created man,” it says; “in the image of God created He him.” There is an end of the creation of that which was made “in the image”: then it makes a resumption of the account of creation, and says, “male and female created He them.” I presume that every one knows that this is a departure from the Prototype: for “in Christ Jesus,” as the apostle says, “there is neither male nor female.” **Yet the phrase declares that man is thus divided.**

**8. Thus the creation of our nature is in a sense twofold: one made like to God, one divided according to this distinction:** for something like this the passage darkly conveys by its arrangement, where it first says, “God created man, in the image of God created He him,”

**and then, adding to what has been said, “male and female created He them,”—a thing which is alien from our conceptions of God.**

9. I think that by these words Holy Scripture conveys to us a great and lofty doctrine; and the doctrine is this. While two natures—the Divine and incorporeal nature, and the irrational life of brutes—are separated from each other as extremes, human nature is the mean between them: for in the compound nature of man we may behold a part of each of the natures I have mentioned,—**of the Divine, the rational and intelligent element, which does not admit the distinction of male and female; of the irrational, our bodily form and structure, divided into male and female: for each of these elements is certainly to be found in all that partakes of human life.** That the intellectual element, however, precedes the other, we learn as from one who gives in order an account of the making of man; **and we learn also that his community and kindred with the irrational is for man a provision for reproduction.** For he says first that “God created man in the image of God” (showing by these words, as the Apostle says, that in such a being there is no male or female): **then he adds the peculiar attributes of human nature, “male and female created He them.”**

10. What, then, do we learn from this? Let no one, I pray, be indignant if I bring from far an argument to bear upon the present subject. God is in His own nature all that which our mind can conceive of good;—rather, transcending all good that we can conceive or comprehend. He creates man for no other reason than that He is good; and being such, and having this as His reason for entering upon the creation of our nature, He would not exhibit the power of His goodness in an imperfect form, giving our nature some one of the things at His disposal, and grudging it a share in another: but the perfect form of goodness is here to be seen by His both bringing man into being from nothing, and fully supplying him with all good gifts: but since the list of individual good gifts is a long one, it is out of the question to apprehend it numerically. The language of Scripture therefore expresses it concisely by a comprehensive phrase, in saying that man was made “in the image of God”: for this is the same as to say that He made human nature participant in all good; for if the Deity is the fulness of good, and this is His image, then the image finds its resemblance to the Archetype in being filled with all good.

...

17. **Now just as any particular man is limited by his bodily dimensions, and the peculiar size which is conjoined with the superficies of his body is the measure of his separate existence,** so I think that the entire plenitude of humanity was included by the God of all, by His power of foreknowledge, as it were in one body, and that this is what the text teaches us which says, “God created man, in the image of God created He him.” For the image is not in part of our nature, nor is the grace in any one of the things found in that nature, but **this power extends equally to all the race:** and a sign of this is that mind is implanted alike in all: for all have the power of understanding and deliberating, and of all else whereby the Divine nature finds its image in that which was made according to it: the man that was manifested at the first creation of the world, and he that shall be after the consummation of all, are alike: **they equally bear in themselves the Divine image.**



Saint Hilary, De Trinitate  
(356)

These are not our own conjectures which we offer, nor do we falsely put together any of these things in order to deceive the ears of our hearers by perverting the meaning of words; but holding fast the form of sound teaching we know and preach the things which are true. For the Apostle shews that this unity of the faithful arises from the nature of the sacraments when he writes to the Galatians, *For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. That these are one amid so great diversities of race, condition, sex,—is it from an agreement of will or from the unity of the sacrament, since these have one baptism and have all put on one Christ?* What, therefore, will a concord of minds avail here when they are one in that they have put on one Christ through the nature of one baptism?

With the general idea of temporal inequality examined, we can move to race. I have chosen this writing to begin with, the reason for which I trust you will see. While the following commentary from Saint Bede can't be taken as wholly analogous to his views of race and miscegenation in the modern world as wholly and inherently sinful, he makes clear that the Old Testament covenants cannot be viewed without a lens of racial distinction and discrimination; and he clearly does not believe that these distinctions evaporate upon the institution of the New Testament, as we can see in the heavily racialized views of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*.

However this writing should sufficiently demonstrate the racial views I am referring to, which ought to be taken in light of the whole set of writings I've compiled.

I have refrained from using Biblical quotes to demonstrate the ends of this survey, as it would be too plainly obvious and reiterative as to be meaningless; not to mention, that it would be beating a dead horse. However I have used bolding to highlight sections of Scriptural quotes (in the writings of cited authors) where I feel that it is necessary. In these sections of Bede's writings I have not, so as to more easily preserve the distinction between what he is quoting and what he is writing – as opposed to manually going back over this section and finding the portion of each passage and italicizing, which I feel is unnecessary.

## Saint Bede, Commentary on Esdras and Nehemiah (During the years 725-731)

[Neh. 13:1-2] Now on that day the Book of Moses was read aloud in the hearing of the people, and there it was found written that the Ammonites and the Moabites should never be admitted into the assembly of God forever, because they did not meet the children of Israel with food and water and they hired Balaam to curse them, and so on. **It is known that the Moabites and the Ammonites, because they were born from incest, figuratively represent heretics, whose authors through their faulty understanding corrupt the teaching of the Fathers from which they themselves were instructed**, just as the daughters of Lot secretly and in darkness and illegitimately use the seed of their father; and for this reason the offspring of such ones (i.e. adherents of heresies) can never have any part in the Lord's Church.

...

[Neh. 13:23-25] Moreover, in those days I saw Jews who had married women from Ashdod, Ammon and Moab; and their children spoke partly in the language of Ashdod, and did not know how to speak the language of the Jews, and they spoke in the language of this or that people; and I rebuked them and called curses down on them; and I beat some of the men, and so on. **Today too in the Holy Church people marry foreign women whenever they contaminate their conscience with the delights of sins that properly pertain to the Gentiles**; and the children born from them do not know how to speak the language of the Jews when the works that have sprung forth from their sinful minds reveal that there is not a shred of devout

profession in them but resound with Gentile stupidity rather than ecclesiastical purity. For Azotus (Ashdod), which in Hebrew is called “Esdod”, is interpreted as “word of fire” and for this reason, according to the tropological sense, **the children born from the foreign women speak the language of Ashdod when works engendered through wantonness await the punishment of eternal burning.** Hence rightly the fathers of such ones were not only reproached and cursed by Nehemiah but some of them also beaten, because it is necessary that the erring should be more severely restrained by teachers of the truth so that they learn to be transferred by a favourable change from the word of chastising fire to the word of divine praise. But also when heretics pay attention to the studies of Gentile philosophy, dialectic and rhetoric more than to ecclesiastical simplicity one should not marvel if their hearers should speak the language of this or that people, paying lip service to Holy Scripture’s words but interpreting them with a misguided and Gentile understanding.

...

[Neh. 13:30-31] So I purified them from all the foreigners, and I appointed orders of priests and Levites, each in their own ministry, and for the offering of wood at designated times, and for the first-fruits. Remember me with favour. Oh my God. **It is in all respects an apt and appropriate end to the work of building the holy city and the temple of the Lord that when the citizens have been purified by God from all the filth of foreign pollution,** which is alien to God, the orders of the priests and the Levites should be duly preserved in their own ministry in order that the teachers of the Church who have been instructed according to rule may continually exhort the people now cleansed from all sin to remain henceforth in goodness and to grow. Among other things, the people offer wood to the Lord to feed the fire of the altar when they perform works of virtues that are assuredly worthy of divine consecration. For if wood did not sometimes symbolize something good the prophet would not say: Then shall all the wood of the forests rejoice in the presence of the Lord. Now the wood burns and is consumed in the altar of holocausts when in the hearts of the elect works of righteousness are perfected in the flame of love. Rightly, therefore, does the founder and dedicator of such a city, after the many labours of his devotion, commend himself to the memory of his Creator and provider of all good things. And you, highest father of lights, by whom every excellent thing is given and from whom every perfect gift descends, you who have given me, the humblest of your servants, both the love and the aid to consider the wonders of your law, **and have manifested to me, unworthy though I am, the grace not only to grasp the ancient offerings in the treasury of this prophetic book but also to discover new ones beneath the veil of the old and to bring them forth for the use of my fellow servants.** Remember me with favour, oh my God.

[https://archive.org/details/Translated-Texts-for-Historians/47\\_Bede.%20On%20Ezra%20and%20Nehemiah/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/Translated-Texts-for-Historians/47_Bede.%20On%20Ezra%20and%20Nehemiah/mode/2up)

Continued, from a different source.

[2:61–63] And of the descendants of the priests: the descendants of Habaiah, the descendants of Hakkoz, the descendants of Barzillai, a man who took a wife of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite and was called by their name. **These searched for the written record of their genealogy, but they could not find it and were excluded from the priesthood.** And

Athersata said to them that they should not eat of the most holy things, until there might arise a priest learned and perfect. **The descendants of the exiles act with the same precaution towards the priests as they are reported to have acted with towards the people.** For they took much trouble that it should become known without confusion who truly belonged to the people of Israel or to the priestly class, **and who were suspect, or were born from undoubtedly proselyte (i.e. foreign) stock.** And so they banished from the service of the altar the priests whom they suspected **until their origin could become more certainly known,** but nonetheless, they kept them with them in harmonious peace in the company of exiles.

**According to the mystical sense, however, the descendants of the priests who, coming up from the Babylonian captivity, look for the written record of their genealogies and, upon being unable to find it, are ejected from the priesthood, refers to when ministers of the altar themselves fall into such great crimes and such serious heresies that, although by repenting they can recover the salvation of their souls, they can no longer become worthy to be promoted to the sacerdotal grade which they have lost, or recover the job of preaching the Gospel or of administering the sacraments.** Although they may indeed hope for eternal life among the faithful, yet they will be unable to find the written record of their grade among the perfect priests, a level which they cannot Recover.

...

[9:1–2] After these things were accomplished, the leaders came to me and said, “The people of Israel and the priests and Levites have not kept themselves separate from the people of the lands and from their detestable practices, like those of the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians and Amorites. For they have taken some of their daughters for themselves and for their sons, and have mingled the holy seed with the people of the lands. And the hand of the leaders and officials has been the first in this crossing of boundaries.” **The crime of this transgression is also plainly described in the prophet Malachi and is denounced by prophetic authority. For when they had returned from captivity in Babylonia, not only the leaders and priests and Levites but also the remaining people cast aside their wives who were of the Israelite race,** who were exhausted and unable to work due to their poverty and the privations of too long a journey and the weakness of their sex, and so their bodies had become weak and unattractive; **and they joined in marriage with foreigners** either because they were flourishing in age, or were more beautiful because of the care they took of their bodies, or because they were the daughters of powerful and rich men. These Israelites, it should be understood, were not from among those who had come up with Ezra on that occasion but from those who had long since come up from captivity with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. For those who had come up with Ezra could not have come so rapidly to despise the teaching of such a great guide and leader that, having remained in their homeland for not even five months, they would have abandoned their own wives and accepted foreign ones; rather, those leaders must be understood to have been from the number of those who were anxious to condemn this crime by reporting to Ezra. Nor should one be surprised how it is the people of Israel along with the priests and Levites who are said to have committed this crime, when the earlier return consisted more of people from Judah and Benjamin than from the ten tribes who were called Israel. **“For it should be known that, when Israel (i.e. the ten tribes) was led into captivity, the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were without distinction also called by the former name ‘Israel’”.** In this verse, therefore,

**the people of Israel should not be interpreted as referring to the ten tribes (as opposed to Judah and Benjamin), but in a general way as referring to the people of God (as opposed to the people of the surrounding lands), who polluted the dignity of their heavenly name by associating with people of the lands.** For the same prophet Malachi, whom the Hebrews declare to be none other than Ezra, also mentions this transgression in the book of his prophecy as follows: Judah has sinned, and a detestable thing has been committed in Israel and in Jerusalem: for Judah has desecrated the holiness of the Lord which he loved, and has married the daughter of a foreign god....No one can doubt, in fact, that the foreign wives figuratively stand for the heresies and superstitious sects of philosophers, which, when they are recklessly admitted into the Church, often greatly contaminate the holy seed of catholic truth and pure action with their errors. But so long as Christians are not ashamed to mimic all the sins by which heathens are typically polluted, **it is as if they degenerate through foreign wives from the holy seed of God's word in which they were born**, as the apostle James says: Of his own will he has begotten us by the word of truth. And so long as they follow the allurements of erring men and display the sinful behaviour they have learnt from these for all to see, **they are like ones who create profane offspring from the daughters of foreigners.**

...

[10:16–17] And they sat down on the first day of the tenth month to investigate the matter, and they finished dealing with all the men who had married foreign wives by the first day of the first month. Observe that the number three is very often used in mystical figures. It was said above that in three days all the descendants of the exiles should come to Jerusalem, and now it is said that in three months (namely the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months) they are purified from the foreign wives. For there are three virtues without which we cannot arrive at life – faith, hope, and love; and coming into the world in the third era, the Lord brought us the grace of the Gospel. For the first era came with the patriarchs before the Law, the second with the prophets under the Law; in the third, he himself came with grace because, redeeming us through his passion, he arose from the dead on the third day. Because through his grace we are both joined in the fellowship of the Holy Church and are cleansed from the crime of our sins, it is fitting that the descendants of the exiles not only met in Jerusalem for three days to be corrected from their errors but also completed the task of being purified in three months. **But according to the literal meaning, it was appropriate enough and beneficial that the heads of the families and the Levites should take pains to ensure that all who had been stained by profane marriage were dealt with (i.e. were cleansed from such wickedness)** before the beginning of the first month so that they might be pure when they entered that very first month in which Passover was to be held, pure when they carried out the Paschal celebration, and pure when they ended the year which they began pure. It is appropriate that we too do the same every year on the first Sunday of Lent, so that as the celebration of the Lord's resurrection approaches we may cleanse ourselves from all iniquity of the flesh and spirit so that we ourselves too might be able to share in his resurrection.

[10:18] **And among the descendants of the priests who had married foreign wives there were found: of the sons of Jeshua son of Jozadak, and his brothers, Maaseiah and Eliezer and Jarib and Gedaliah. The Hebrews relate to this passage the words of the prophet Zechariah:** And the Lord showed me Jeshua (Jesus) the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan was standing at his right side to accuse Him; and a little further

on: And Jeshua was dressed in filthy clothes, and he stood before the angel; and the angel responded and said to those who were standing before him, saying, 'Take away his filthy clothes'. **And he said to him, "See, I have taken away your sin, and have put new garments on you"**. Then he said, 'Put a clean cidaris on his head'. **It is appropriate that they say, Satan was standing at his right side and on his left to accuse him, for the accusation was true because he too had taken a foreign wife as had the others.** Now the words Jeshua was dressed in filthy clothes can be interpreted in three ways: **they were filthy either because of illicit marriage, or because of the sins of the people, or because of the impurity of the captivity.** The angel before whom Jeshua was standing commanded the rest of the angels on the Lord's behalf to take away his filthy clothes about which we have spoken, and when they had fulfilled this command by doing so, the same angel speaks to Jeshua again, saying: **See, I have taken away your sin, that is to say, his filthy garments, and I have put new garments on you, which means "I have joined you to an Israelite wife"**. And concerning what follows, Put a clean cidaris on his head, "many people call this a 'mitre', intending by it that the dignity of the priesthood be understood, because once the filth of his sins has been washed away, he must keep the priesthood pure". But one should observe that **Ezra does not write that Jeshua himself had married a foreign woman but says that some of his sons and brothers had been defiled by this sin**, although the fault of sons reflects upon the father and he cannot be completely righteous who has neglected to correct wrongdoers when given the opportunity. Thus some say that the aforesaid prophecy about Jeshua should be related not to the son of Jozadak but to the Lord Saviour, who although he is the radiance of the glory and the figure of the substance of God, took on filthy clothes as the occasion demanded through compassion for our weakness, as Isaiah says: But he was wounded for our iniquities and was weakened for our sins. Satan was standing at his right side to accuse him, seeking always to go against his right side and the virtues, as the sacred history of the Gospel relates; and the Apostle says: he is in all things just as we are, except without sin. His filthy clothes are removed and he puts on fresh ones when he has washed us from our sins with his own blood, in order that what the Apostle says should happen: For all of you who were baptized in Christ have clothed yourselves in Christ. Or he had filthy clothes in his passion and received new garments in his resurrection so that we can truly say about him that although we once knew Christ according to the flesh, we now do so no longer. He received a cidaris on his head as well because he has been found worthy to hold the eternal priesthood, in keeping with the psalmist's saying: You are a priest forever. But the fact that Ezra says the brothers of Jeshua son of Jozadak also had married foreign wives properly applies, however, not to his brothers in the flesh but to his kindred after the customary manner of Holy Scripture. For his actual brothers were no longer living or able to devote themselves to pleasure, since one hundred or more years had passed from the time when Cyrus began to rule and sent back Zerubbabel and Jeshua with the migration from Judah and Babylon to rebuild the house of the Lord in Jerusalem. It goes on:  
[10:19] And they gave their hands [in pledge] to put away their wives, and to offer a ram from the flock for their sin, and so on until the list of penitents ends and it says: **All these had married foreign wives, and there were among them women who had borne children. First they put away the unlawful wives and only then do they offer a ram on their own behalf so that, cleansed from the crime, they might approach the altar in a state of purity.** For it is difficult for a person's offering to be acceptable to God if he does not first strive to abandon the

misdeed for which he offers it, as Isaiah says: Cease to act perversely, learn to do well.

...

He increased the riches of the temple with gold and silver and precious vessels which either the people of Israel or rulers of the Persians had sent there through him, because by bringing those who believe in him from both peoples (i.e. Jews and Gentiles) into the Church, he does not cease to adorn and glorify her always through the splendour of their faith and good works. He appointed leaders and guardians for all the people beyond the river who knew and taught God's Law because in the Holy Church, which not only has been cleansed in the river of sacred baptism but also by the sincerity of its faith has transcended the Babylonian river (that is, the turmoil of this changing world), he placed apostles, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. **He purified the descendants of the exiles from their foreign wives because he forbade that those who by professing the faith had renounced the world should be enslaved any more to the enticements of the world. He also cast out the children of these mothers from the assembly of the returned exiles in case by chance when they grew up they might follow the perfidy of their mothers rather than the faith of their fathers,** because he taught that even those of our works that seem good to men are spurious if they are mixed with carnal pleasures or originate from the contagion of human favour, and so are not worthy of the fellowship of those who, completely renouncing the world with their whole mind, move on to the things of heaven and who rejoice not to be weakened by temporal enticements but on the contrary to be made stronger through adversities and to be prepared by them for their heavenly rest.

...

[Neh. 7:1–2] Now after the wall was built, and I had set in place the doors and appointed the gatekeepers and the singers and the Levites, I commanded Hanani my brother, and so on until it says, "The gates of Jerusalem are not to be opened until the sun is hot". **In the spiritual sense too, whenever the walls of the Church have been built by gathering new nations to the faith or by setting straight those who have erred, immediately the doors of regular discipline must be set in place so that the ancient enemy, who prowls around like a roaring lion, might not in any place be able to invade the fold of the faithful.** Gatekeepers, singers, and Levites must be appointed to guard these same doors; it is clear that the character of all these accords with holy teachers. For the gatekeepers are those who have received the keys to the kingdom of heaven so that they might receive those who are worthy and humble but prevent the proud and the impure from entry into the heavenly city by saying: You have no part or lot in this business, for your heart is not right before God.

...

[Neh. 7:3] **'And I appointed guards from among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, each in his own turn and each opposite his own house'**. Guardians of souls must not be appointed from recent converts or from the common crowd but from those who, freed by the grace of God from the battle with the vices, have already trained themselves to keep their mind in Jerusalem (that is, in the 'vision of serene peace') and who can say with the Apostle: But our dwelling is in heaven. About these people it is well said that he appointed each in his own turn, namely so that when their course has been completed and they have been removed from this light, others may straightaway be chosen in their place to rule over the faithful; and that there may at no time be a shortage of those who make an effort to keep watch on behalf of the peace of the Holy

Church because of night-time fears, since the truth of prophetic word, in which it is said to the same Church. In the place of your fathers, sons are born to you, runs continuously to the end of the age. **It is also well added, and each opposite his own house. For the guardianship of the Holy Church is duly achieved only if everyone shows concern for all the faithful but makes a particularly diligent effort to take care of those over whom he has been put in charge by God's authority.**

[https://dn790005.ca.archive.org/0/items/Translated-Texts-for-Historians/47\\_Bede.%20On%20Ezra%20and%20Nehemiah.pdf](https://dn790005.ca.archive.org/0/items/Translated-Texts-for-Historians/47_Bede.%20On%20Ezra%20and%20Nehemiah.pdf)

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## Saint Bede, Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation (731)

### Preface

*To the most glorious king Ceolwulf. Bede, the servant of Christ and Priest.*

I formerly, at your request, most readily sent to you the Ecclesiastical History of the **English Nation**, which I had lately published, for you to read and judge; and I now send it again to be transcribed, and more fully studied at your leisure. And I rejoice greatly at the sincerity and zeal, with which you not only diligently give ear to hear the words of Holy Scripture, **but also industriously take care to become acquainted with the actions and sayings of former men of renown, especially of our own nation.** For if history relates good things of good men, the attentive hearer is excited to imitate that which is good; or if it recounts evil things of wicked persons, none the less the conscientious and devout hearer or reader, shunning that which is hurtful and wrong, is the more earnestly fired to perform those things which he knows to be good, and worthy of the service of God. **And as you have carefully marked this, you are desirous that the said history should be more fully made known to yourself, and to those over whom the Divine Authority has appointed you governor,** from your great regard to the common good. But to the end that I may remove all occasion of doubting what I have written, both from yourself and other readers or hearers of this history, I will take care briefly to show you from what authors I chiefly learned the same.

Chap. XII. **How the Britons, being ravaged by the Scots and Picts, sought succour from the Romans,** who coming a second time, built a wall across the island; but when this was broken down at once by the aforesaid enemies, they were reduced to greater distress than before.



From that time, the British part of Britain, destitute of armed soldiers, of all military stores, and of the whole flower of its active youth, who had been led away by the rashness of the tyrants never to return, was wholly exposed to rapine, the people being altogether ignorant of the use of weapons. **Whereupon they suffered many years from the sudden invasions of two very savage nations from beyond the sea, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north. We call these nations from beyond the sea, not on account of their being seated out of Britain, but because they were separated from that part of it which was possessed by the Britons,** two broad and long inlets of the sea lying between them, one of which runs into the interior of Britain, from the Eastern Sea, and the other from the Western, though they do not reach so far as to touch one another. The eastern has in the midst of it the city Giudi. On the Western Sea, that is, on its right shore, stands the city of Alcluith, which in their language signifies the Rock Cluith, for it is close by the river of that name.

On account of **the attacks of these nations**, the Britons sent messengers to Rome with letters piteously praying for succour, and promising perpetual subjection, provided that the impending enemy should be driven away. An armed legion was immediately sent them, which, arriving in the island, and engaging the enemy, slew a great multitude of them, drove the rest out of the territories of their allies, and having in the meanwhile delivered them from their worst distress, advised them to build a wall between the two seas across the island, that it might secure them by keeping off the enemy. So they returned home with great triumph. But the islanders building the wall which they had been told to raise, not of stone, since they had no workmen capable of such a work, but of sods, made it of no use. Nevertheless, they carried it for many miles between the two bays or inlets of the sea of which we have spoken; to the end that where the protection of the water was wanting, they might use the rampart to defend their borders from the irruptions of the enemies. Of the work there erected, that is, of a rampart of great breadth and height, there are evident remains to be seen at this day. It begins at about two miles' distance from the monastery of Aebbercurnig, west of it, at a place called in the Pictish language Peanfahel, but in the English tongue, Penneltun, and running westward, ends near the city of Alcluith.

But the former enemies, when they perceived that the Roman soldiers were gone, immediately coming by sea, broke into the borders, trampled and overran all places, and like men mowing ripe corn, bore down all before them. **Hereupon messengers were again sent to Rome miserably imploring aid, lest their wretched country should be utterly blotted out, and the name of a Roman province, so long renowned among them, overthrown by the cruelties of foreign races,** might become utterly contemptible. A legion was accordingly sent again, and, arriving unexpectedly in autumn, made great slaughter of the enemy, obliging all those that could escape, to flee beyond the sea; whereas before, they were wont yearly to carry off their booty without any opposition. Then the Romans declared to the Britons, that they could not for the future undertake such troublesome expeditions for their sake, and advised them rather to take up arms and make an effort to engage their enemies, who could not prove too powerful for them, unless they themselves were enervated by cowardice. Moreover, thinking that it might be some help to the allies, whom they were forced to abandon, they constructed a strong stone wall from sea to sea, in a straight line between the towns that had been there built for fear of the enemy, where Severus also had formerly built a rampart. This famous wall, which

is still to be seen, was raised at public and private expense, the Britons also lending their assistance. It is eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height, in a straight line from east to west, as is still evident to beholders. This being presently finished, they gave the dispirited people good advice, and showed them how to furnish themselves with arms. Besides, they built towers to command a view of the sea, at intervals, on the southern coast, where their ships lay, because there also **the invasions of the barbarians were apprehended**, and so took leave of their allies, never to return again.

After their **departure to their own country, the Scots and Picts**, understanding that they had refused to return, at once came back, and growing more confident than they had been before, occupied all the northern and farthest part of the island, driving out the natives, as far as the wall. Hereupon a timorous guard was placed upon the fortification, where, dazed with fear, they became ever more dispirited day by day. On the other side, the enemy constantly attacked them with barbed weapons, by which the cowardly defenders were dragged in piteous fashion from the wall, and dashed against the ground. At last, the Britons, forsaking their cities and wall, took to flight and were scattered. The enemy pursued, and forthwith followed a massacre more grievous than ever before; **for the wretched natives were torn in pieces** by their enemies, as lambs are torn by wild beasts. Thus, being expelled from their dwellings and lands, they saved themselves from the immediate danger of starvation by robbing and plundering one another, adding to the calamities inflicted by the enemy their own domestic broils, till the whole country was left destitute of food except such as could be procured in the chase.

Chap. XIV. How the Britons, compelled by the great famine, **drove the barbarians out of their territories**; and soon after there ensued, along with abundance of corn, decay of morals, pestilence, and the downfall of the nation.

In the meantime, the aforesaid famine distressing the Britons more and more, **and leaving to posterity** a lasting memory of its mischievous effects, obliged many of them to submit themselves to the depredators; though others still held out, putting their trust in God, when human help failed. These continually made raids from the mountains, caves, and woods, and, at length, began to inflict severe losses on their enemies, who had been for so many years plundering the country. **The bold Irish robbers thereupon returned home**, intending to come again before long. **The Picts then settled down in the farthest part of the island and afterwards remained there, but they did not fail to plunder and harass the Britons from time to time.**

Now, **when the ravages of the enemy** at length abated, the island began to abound with such plenty of grain as had never been known in any age before; along with plenty, evil living increased, and this was immediately attended by the taint of all manner of crime; in particular, cruelty, hatred of truth, and love of falsehood; insomuch, that if any one among them

happened to be milder than the rest, and more inclined to truth, all the rest abhorred and persecuted him unrestrainedly, as if he had been the enemy of Britain. Nor were the laity only guilty of these things, but even our Lord's own flock, with its shepherds, casting off the easy yoke of Christ, gave themselves up to drunkenness, enmity, quarrels, strife, envy, and other such sins. In the meantime, on a sudden, **a grievous plague fell upon that corrupt generation**, which soon destroyed such numbers of them, that the living scarcely availed to bury the dead: yet, those that survived, could not be recalled from the spiritual death, which they had incurred through their sins, either by the death of their friends, or the fear of death. Whereupon, not long after, a more severe vengeance for their fearful crimes fell upon **the sinful nation**. They held a council to determine what was to be done, and where they should seek help to prevent or repel **the cruel and frequent incursions of the northern nations; and in concert with their King Vortigern, it was unanimously decided to call the Saxons** to their aid from beyond the sea, which, as the event plainly showed, was brought about by the Lord's will, that evil might fall upon them for their wicked deeds.

Chap. XV. How the Angles, **being invited into Britain, at first drove off the enemy;** but not long after, making a league with them, turned their weapons against their allies.

In the year of our Lord 449, Marcian, the forty-sixth from Augustus, being made emperor with Valentinian, ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three ships of war and had a place in which to settle assigned to them by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, on the pretext of fighting in defence of their country, whilst their real intentions were to conquer it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and the Saxons obtained the victory. When the news of their success and of the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, reached their own home, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a greater number of men, and these, being added to the former army, made up an invincible force. The newcomers received of the Britons a place to inhabit among them, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay. **Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, including those in the province of the West-Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Angulus, and which is said, from that time, to have remained desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, the Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of**

**the Angles.** The first commanders are said to have been the two brothers Hengist and Horsa. Of these Horsa was afterwards slain in battle by the Britons, and a monument, bearing his name, is still in existence in the eastern parts of Kent. They were the sons of Victgilsus, whose father was Vitta, son of Vecta, son of Woden; **from whose stock the royal race of many provinces trace their descent.** In a short time, **swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and the foreigners began to increase so much, that they became a source of terror to the natives themselves who had invited them.** Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by force of arms, they began to turn their weapons against their allies. At first, they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions; and, seeking an occasion of quarrel, protested, that unless more plentiful supplies were brought them, they would break the league, and ravage all the island; nor were they backward in putting their threats into execution. **In short, the fire kindled by the hands of the pagans, proved God's just vengeance for the crimes of the people; not unlike that which, being of old lighted by the Chaldeans, consumed the walls and all the buildings of Jerusalem.** For here, too, through the agency of the pitiless conqueror, yet by the disposal of the just Judge, it ravaged all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and overran the whole face of the doomed island. Public as well as private buildings were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; no respect was shown for office, the prelates with the people were destroyed with fire and sword; nor were there any left to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remnant, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy, to undergo for the sake of food perpetual servitude, if they were not killed upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, remaining in their own country, led a miserable life of terror and anxiety of mind among the mountains, woods and crags.

Chap. XVI. How the Britons obtained their first victory over the Angles, under the command of Ambrosius, a Roman.

When the army of the enemy, **having destroyed and dispersed the natives,** had returned home to their own settlements, the Britons began by degrees to take heart, and gather strength, sallying out of the lurking places where they had concealed themselves, and with one accord imploring the Divine help, that they might not utterly be destroyed. They had at that time for their leader, Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of worth, who alone, by chance, of the Roman nation had survived the storm, in which his parents, **who were of the royal race,** had perished. Under him the Britons revived, and offering battle to the victors, by the help of God, gained the victory. From that day, **sometimes the natives, and sometimes their enemies,** prevailed, till the year of the siege of Badon-hill, when they made no small slaughter of those enemies, about forty-four years after their arrival in England. But of this hereafter.

Chap. XXII. **How the Britons, being for a time at rest from foreign invasions,** wore themselves out by civil wars, and at the same time gave themselves up to more heinous crimes.

In the meantime, in Britain, **there was some respite from foreign, but not from civil war.** The cities destroyed by the enemy and abandoned remained in ruins; **and the natives, who had escaped the enemy, now fought against each other.** Nevertheless, the kings, priests, private men, and the nobility, still remembering the late calamities and slaughters, in some measure kept within bounds; but when these died, and another generation succeeded, which knew nothing of those times, and was only acquainted with the existing peaceable state of things, all the bonds of truth and justice were so entirely broken, that there was not only no trace of them remaining, but only very few persons seemed to retain any memory of them at all. To other crimes beyond description, which **their own historian, Gildas,** mournfully relates, they added this—that they never preached the faith **to the Saxons, or English, who dwelt amongst them.** Nevertheless, the goodness of God did not forsake his people, whom he foreknew, **but sent to the aforesaid nation much more worthy heralds of the truth, to bring it to the faith.**

Chap. XXV. How Augustine, coming into Britain, first preached in the Isle of Thanet to the King of Kent, and having obtained licence from him, went into Kent, in order to preach therein. [597 A.D.]

Augustine, thus strengthened by the encouragement of the blessed Father Gregory, returned to the work of the Word of God, with the servants of Christ who were with him, and arrived in Britain. The powerful Ethelbert was at that time king of Kent; he had extended his dominions as far as the boundary formed by the great river Humber, **by which the Southern Saxons are divided from the Northern.** On the east of Kent is the large Isle of Thanet, containing, according to the English way of reckoning, 600 families, divided from the mainland by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs in breadth, and which can be crossed only in two places; for at both ends it runs into the sea. On this island landed the servant of the Lord, Augustine, and his companions, being, as is reported, nearly forty men. They had obtained, by order of the blessed Pope Gregory, interpreters of **the nation of the Franks,** and sending to Ethelbert, signified that they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured to those that hearkened to it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end, with the living and true God. The king hearing this, gave orders that they should stay in the island where they had landed, and be furnished with necessaries, till he should consider what to do with them. For he had before heard of the Christian religion, having

a Christian wife of the **royal family of the Franks**, called Bertha; whom he had received from her parents, upon condition that she should be permitted to preserve inviolate the rites of her religion with the Bishop Liudhard, who was sent with her to support her in the faith. Some days after, the king came into the island, and sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to come and hold a conference with him. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, by so coming, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him. But they came endued with Divine, not with magic power, bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board; and chanting litanies, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom and for whom they had come. When they had sat down, in obedience to the king's commands, and preached to him and his attendants there present the Word of life, the king answered thus: "Your words and promises are fair, but because they are new to us, and of uncertain import, I cannot consent to them so far as to forsake that which I have so long observed with **the whole English nation**. But because you are come from far as strangers into my kingdom, and, as I conceive, are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true, and most beneficial, we desire not to harm you, but will give you favourable entertainment, and take care to supply you with all things necessary to your sustenance; nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion." Accordingly he gave them an abode in the city of Canterbury, which was the metropolis of all his dominions, and, as he had promised, besides supplying them with sustenance, did not refuse them liberty to preach. It is told that, as they drew near to the city, after their manner, with the holy cross, and the image of our sovereign Lord and King, Jesus Christ, they sang in concert this litany: "We beseech thee, O Lord, for Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Hallelujah."

Chap. XXXIV. How Ethelfrid, king of the Northumbrians, **having vanquished the nations of the Scots, expelled them from the territories of the English.** [603 A.D.]

At this time, the brave and ambitious king, Ethelfrid, governed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and **ravaged the Britons more than all the chiefs of the English**, insomuch that he might be compared to Saul of old, king of the Israelites, save only in this, that he was ignorant of Divine religion. For he conquered more territories from the Britons than any other chieftain or king, either subduing the inhabitants and making them tributary, or **driving them out and planting the English in their places**. To him might justly be applied the saying of the patriarch blessing his son in the person of Saul, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." Hereupon, Aedan, **king of the Scots that dwell in Britain**, being alarmed by his success, came against him with a great and mighty army, but was defeated and fled with a few followers; for almost all his army was cut to

pieces at a famous place, called Degsastan, that is, Degsa Stone. In which battle also Theodbald, brother to Ethelfrid, was killed, with almost all the forces he commanded. This war Ethelfrid brought to an end in the year of our Lord 603, the eleventh of his own reign, which lasted twenty-four years, and the first year of the reign of Phocas, who then was at the head of the Roman empire. **From that time, no king of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war on the English to this day.**

Chap. I. Of the death of the blessed Pope Gregory. [604 A.D.]

At this time, that is, in the year of our Lord 605, the blessed Pope Gregory, after having most gloriously governed the Roman Apostolic see thirteen years, six months, and ten days, died, and was translated to an eternal abode in the kingdom of Heaven. Of whom, seeing that by his zeal he converted our nation, the English, from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ, it behoves us to discourse more at large in our Ecclesiastical History, for we may rightly say, we must call him our apostle; because, as soon as he began to wield the pontifical power over all the world, and was placed over the Churches long before converted to the true faith, **he made our nation, till then enslaved to idols, the Church of Christ**, so that concerning him we may use those words of the Apostle; "if he be not an apostle to others, yet doubtless he is to us; for the seal of his apostleship are we in the Lord."

**He was by nation a Roman, son of Gordianus, tracing his descent from ancestors that were not only noble, but religious. Moreover Felix, once bishop of the same Apostolic see, a man of great honour in Christ and in the Church, was his forefather. Nor did he show his nobility in religion by less strength of devotion than his parents and kindred.** But that nobility of this world which was seen in him, by the help of the Divine Grace, he used only to gain the glory of eternal dignity; for soon quitting his secular habit, he entered a monastery, wherein he began to live with so much grace of perfection that (as he was wont afterwards with tears to testify) his mind was above all transitory things; that he rose superior to all that is subject to change; that he used to think of nothing but what was heavenly; that, whilst detained by the body, he broke through the bonds of the flesh by contemplation; and that he even loved death, which is a penalty to almost all men, as the entrance into life, and the reward of his labours. This he used to say of himself, not to boast of his progress in virtue, but rather to bewail the falling off which he imagined he had sustained through his pastoral charge. Indeed, once in a private conversation with his deacon, Peter, after having enumerated the former virtues of his soul, he added sorrowfully, "But now, on account of the pastoral charge, it is entangled with the affairs of laymen, and, after so fair an appearance of inward peace, is defiled with the dust of earthly action. And having wasted itself on outward things, by turning aside to the affairs of many men, even when it desires the inward things, it returns to them undoubtedly impaired. I therefore consider what I endure, I consider what I have lost, and when I behold what I have thrown away, that which I bear appears the more grievous."

...

To his works of piety and righteousness this also may be added, that he saved our nation, by the preachers he sent hither, from the teeth of the old enemy, and made it partaker of eternal liberty. Rejoicing in the faith and salvation of our race, and worthily commending it with praise, he says, in his exposition of the blessed Job, **“Behold, the tongue of Britain, which only knew how to utter barbarous cries, has long since begun to raise the Hebrew Hallelujah to the praise of God!** Behold, the once swelling ocean now serves prostrate at the feet of the saints; and its wild upheavals, which earthly princes could not subdue with the sword, are now, through the fear of God, bound by the lips of priests with words alone; and the heathen that stood not in awe of troops of warriors, now believes and fears the tongues of the humble! For he has received a message from on high and mighty works are revealed; the strength of the knowledge of God is given him, and restrained by the fear of the Lord, he dreads to do evil, and with all his heart desires to attain to everlasting grace.” In which words the blessed Gregory shows us this also, that St. Augustine and his companions brought the English to receive the truth, not only by the preaching of words, but also by showing forth heavenly signs.

...

Nor must we pass by in silence the story of the blessed Gregory, handed down to us by the tradition of our ancestors, **which explains his earnest care for the salvation of our nation.** It is said that one day, when some merchants had lately arrived at Rome, many things were exposed for sale in the market place, and much people resorted thither to buy: Gregory himself went with the rest, **and saw among other wares some boys put up for sale, of fair complexion, with pleasing countenances, and very beautiful hair.** When he beheld them, he asked, it is said, from what region or country they were brought? and was told, from the island of Britain, and that the inhabitants were like that in appearance. He again inquired whether those islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of paganism, and was informed that they were pagans. Then fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, **“Alas! what pity,” said he, “that the author of darkness should own men of such fair countenances; and that with such grace of outward form, their minds should be void of inward grace.”** He therefore again asked, **what was the name of that nation? and was answered, that they were called Angles. “Right,” said he, “for they have an angelic face, and it is meet that such should be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven.** What is the name of the province from which they are brought?” It was replied, that the natives of that province were called Deiri. “Truly are they *De ira*,” said he, “saved from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the king of that province called?” They told him his name was Aelli; and he, playing upon the name, said, “Allelujah, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts.”

Chap. II. How Augustine admonished the bishops of the Britons on behalf of Catholic peace, and to that end wrought a heavenly miracle in their presence; and of the vengeance that pursued them for their contempt. [*Circ.* 603 A.D.]



In the meantime, Augustine, with the help of King Ethelbert, drew together to a conference the bishops and doctors of the nearest province of the Britons, at a place which is to this day called, in the English language, Augustine's Ác, that is, Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons; and began by brotherly admonitions to persuade them to preserve Catholic peace with him, and undertake the common labour of preaching the Gospel to the heathen for the Lord's sake. For they did not keep Easter Sunday at the proper time, but from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon; which computation is contained in a cycle of eighty-four years. Besides, they did many other things which were opposed to the unity of the church. When, after a long disputation, they did not comply with the entreaties, exhortations, or rebukes of Augustine and his companions, but preferred their own traditions before all the Churches which are united in Christ throughout the world, the holy father, Augustine, put an end to this troublesome and tedious contention, saying, "Let us entreat God, who maketh men to be of one mind in His Father's house, to vouchsafe, by signs from Heaven, to declare to us which tradition is to be followed; and by what path we are to strive to enter His kingdom. Let some sick man be brought, and let the faith and practice of him, by whose prayers he shall be healed, be looked upon as hallowed in God's sight and such as should be adopted by all." His adversaries unwillingly consenting, **a blind man of the English race was brought**, who having been presented to the British bishops, found no benefit or healing from their ministry; at length, Augustine, compelled by strict necessity, bowed his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying that He would restore his lost sight to the blind man, and by the bodily enlightenment of one kindle the grace of spiritual light in the hearts of many of the faithful. Immediately the blind man received sight, and Augustine was proclaimed by all to be a true herald of the light from Heaven. The Britons then confessed that they perceived that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine taught; **but that they could not depart from their ancient customs without the consent and sanction of their people**. They therefore desired that a second time a synod might be appointed, at which more of their number should be present.

...

They did as he directed; and it happened, that as they approached, Augustine was sitting on a chair. When they perceived it, they were angry, and charging him with pride, set themselves to contradict all he said. He said to them, "**Many things ye do which are contrary to our custom, or rather the custom of the universal Church, and yet, if you will comply with me in these three matters, to wit, to keep Easter at the due time; to fulfil the ministry of Baptism, by which we are born again to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church; and to join with us in preaching the Word of God to the English nation, we will gladly suffer all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs.**" They answered that they would do none of those things, nor receive him as their archbishop; for they said among themselves, "if he would not rise up to us now, how much more will he despise us, as of no account, if we begin to be under his subjection?" Then the man of God, Augustine, is said to have threatened them, that if they would not accept peace with their brethren, they should have war from their enemies; and, if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer at their hands the vengeance of death. All which, through the dispensation of the Divine judgement, fell out exactly as he had predicted.

Chap. XI. How Pope Boniface advised the king's consort to use her best endeavours for his salvation. [*Circ.*625 A.D.]

The same pope also wrote to King Edwin's consort, Ethelberg, to this effect:

THE COPY OF THE LETTER OF THE MOST BLESSED AND APOSTOLIC BONIFACE, POPE OF THE CITY OF ROME, TO ETHELBERG, KING EDWIN'S QUEEN.

*"To the illustrious lady his daughter, Queen Ethelberg, Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God.* The goodness of our Redeemer has in His abundant Providence offered the means of salvation to the human race, which He rescued, by the shedding of His precious Blood, from the bonds of captivity to the Devil; **to the end that, when He had made known His name in divers ways to the nations,** they might acknowledge their Creator by embracing the mystery of the Christian faith. And this the mystical purification of your regeneration plainly shows to have been bestowed upon the mind of your Highness by God's gift. Our heart, therefore, has greatly rejoiced in the benefit bestowed by the bounty of the Lord, for that He has vouchsafed, in your confession, to kindle a spark of the orthodox religion, by which He might the more easily inflame with the love of Himself the understanding, not only of your illustrious consort, **but also of all the nation that is subject to you.**

Chap. I. How when Deusdedit died, Wighard was sent to Rome to receive the episcopate; but he dying there, Theodore was ordained archbishop, and sent into Britain with the Abbot Hadrian. [664-669 A.D.]

In the above-mentioned year of the aforesaid eclipse and of the pestilence which followed it immediately, in which also Bishop Colman, being overcome by the united effort of the Catholics, returned home, Deusdedit, the sixth bishop of the church of Canterbury, died on the 14th of July. Earconbert, also, king of Kent, departed this life the same month and day; leaving his kingdom to his son Egbert, who held it for nine years. The see then became vacant for no small time, until, the priest Wighard, a man of great learning in the teaching of the Church, **of the English race,** was sent to Rome by King Egbert and Oswy, king of the Northumbrians, as was briefly mentioned in the foregoing book, with a request that he might be ordained Archbishop of the Church of England; and at the same time presents were sent to the Apostolic pope, and many vessels of gold and silver. Arriving at Rome, where Vitalian presided at that time over the Apostolic see, and having made known to the aforesaid Apostolic pope the occasion of his journey, he was not long after carried off, with almost all his companions who had come with him, by a pestilence which fell upon them.

But the Apostolic pope having consulted about that matter, made diligent inquiry for some one to send to be archbishop of the English Churches. There was then in the monastery of Niridanum, which is not far from Naples in Campania, an abbot called Hadrian, **by nation an African**, well versed in Holy Scripture, trained in monastic and ecclesiastical teaching, and excellently skilled both in the Greek and Latin tongues. The pope, sending for him, commanded him to accept the bishopric and go to Britain. He answered, that he was unworthy of so great a dignity, but said that he could name another, whose learning and age were fitter for the episcopal office. He proposed to the pope a certain monk named Andrew, belonging to a neighbouring nunnery and he was by all that knew him judged worthy of a bishopric; but the weight of bodily infirmity prevented him from becoming a bishop. Then again Hadrian was urged to accept the episcopate; but he desired a respite, to see whether in time he could find another to be ordained bishop.

There was at that time in Rome, a monk, called Theodore, known to Hadrian, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, a man instructed in secular and Divine writings, as also in Greek and Latin; of high character and venerable age, being sixty-six years old. Hadrian proposed him to the pope to be ordained bishop, and prevailed; but upon the condition that he should himself conduct him into Britain, because he had already travelled through Gaul twice upon different occasions, and was, therefore, better acquainted with the way, and was, moreover, sufficiently provided with men of his own; as also, to the end that, being his fellow labourer in teaching, he might take special care that Theodore should not, **according to the custom of the Greeks**, introduce any thing contrary to the truth of the faith into the Church where he presided. Theodore, being ordained subdeacon, waited four months for his hair to grow, that it might be shorn into the shape of a crown; for he had before the tonsure of St. Paul, the Apostle, **after the manner of the eastern people**. He was ordained by Pope Vitalian, in the year of our Lord 668, on Sunday, the 26th of March, and on the 27th of May was sent with Hadrian to Britain.

They proceeded together by sea to Marseilles, and thence by land to Arles, and having there delivered to John, archbishop of that city, Pope Vitalian's letters of recommendation, were by him detained till Ebroin, the king's mayor of the palace, gave them leave to go where they pleased. Having received the same, Theodore went to Agilbert, bishop of Paris, of whom we have spoken above, and was by him kindly received, and long entertained. But Hadrian went first to Emme, Bishop of the Senones, and then to Faro, bishop of the Meldi, and lived in comfort with them a considerable time; for the approach of winter had obliged them to rest wherever they could. King Egbert, being informed by sure messengers that the bishop they had asked of the Roman prelate was in the **kingdom of the Franks**, sent thither his reeve, Raedfrid, to conduct him. He, having arrived there, with Ebroin's leave took Theodore and conveyed him to the port called Quentavic; where, falling sick, he stayed some time, and as soon as he began to recover, sailed over into Britain. **But Ebroin detained Hadrian, suspecting that he went on some mission from the Emperor to the kings of Britain**, to the prejudice of the kingdom of which he at that time had the chief charge; however, when he found that in truth he had never had any such commission, he discharged him, and permitted him to follow Theodore. As soon as he came to him, Theodore gave him the monastery of the blessed Peter the Apostle, where the archbishops of Canterbury are wont to be buried, as I have said before; for at his departure,

the Apostolic lord had enjoined upon Theodore that he should provide for him in his province, and give him a suitable place to live in with his followers.

Chap. XV. How King Caedwalla, king of the Gewissae, having slain Ethelwalch, wasted that Province with cruel slaughter and devastation. [685 A.D.]

In the meantime, Caedwalla, a young man of great vigour, **of the royal race of the Gewissae**, an exile from his country, came with an army, slew Ethelwalch, and wasted that province with cruel slaughter and devastation; but he was soon expelled by Berthun and Andhun, the king's ealdormen, who held in succession the government of the province. The first of them was afterwards killed by the same Caedwalla, when he was king of the Gewissae, and the province was reduced to more grievous slavery: **Ini, likewise, who reigned after Caedwalla, oppressed that country with the like servitude for many years; for which reason, during all that time, they could have no bishop of their own; but their first bishop, Wilfrid, having been recalled home, they were subject to the bishop of the Gewissae, that is, the West Saxons, who were in the city of Venta.**

Chap. XVI. How the Isle of Wight received Christian inhabitants, and two royal youths of that island were killed immediately after Baptism. [686 A.D.]

After Caedwalla had obtained possession of the kingdom of the Gewissae, he took also the Isle of Wight, which till then was entirely given over to idolatry, and by merciless slaughter **endeavoured to destroy all the inhabitants thereof, and to place in their stead people from his own province**; binding himself by a vow, though it is said that he was not yet regenerated in Christ, to give the fourth part of the land and of the spoil to the Lord, if he took the island. He fulfilled this vow by giving the same for the service of the Lord to Bishop Wilfrid, **who happened at the time to have come thither from his own people.** The measure of that island, according to the computation of the English, is of twelve hundred families, wherefore an estate of three hundred families was given to the Bishop. The part which he received, he committed to one of his clerks called Bernwin, who was his sister's son, assigning to him a priest, whose name was Hiddila, to administer the Word and laver of life to all that would be saved.

Here I think it ought not to be omitted that, as the first fruits of those of that island who believed and were saved, two royal boys, brothers to Arwald, king of the island, were crowned with the special grace of God. For when the enemy approached, they made their escape out of the island, and crossed over into the neighbouring **province of the Jutes**. Coming to the place called At the Stone, they thought to be concealed from the victorious king, but they were betrayed and ordered to be killed. This being made known to a certain abbot and priest, whose name was Cynibert, who had a monastery not far from there, at a place called Hreutford, that is, the Ford of Reeds, he came to the king, who then lay in concealment in those parts to be cured of the wounds which he had received whilst he was fighting in the Isle of Wight, and begged of him, that if the boys must needs be killed, he might be allowed first to instruct them in the mysteries of the Christian faith. The king consented, and the bishop having taught them the Word of truth, and cleansed them in the font of salvation, assured to them their entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. Then the executioner came, and they joyfully underwent the temporal death, through which they did not doubt they were to pass to the life of the soul, which is everlasting. Thus, after this manner, when all the provinces of Britain had received the faith of Christ, the Isle of Wight also received the same; **yet because it was suffering under the affliction of foreign subjection, no man there received the office or see of a bishop, before Daniel, who is now bishop of the West Saxons.**

The island is situated opposite the **borders of the South Saxons and the Gewissae**, being separated from it by a sea, three miles wide, which is called Solvente. In this sea, the two tides of the ocean, which break upon Britain all round its coasts from the boundless northern ocean, daily meet in conflict beyond the mouth of the river Homelea, which runs into the aforesaid sea, through the **lands of the Jutes, belonging to the country of the Gewissae**; and after this struggle of the tides, they fall back and return into the ocean whence they come.

Chap. XXIV. How when King Penda was slain, **the province of the Mercians** received the faith of Christ, and Oswy gave possessions and territories to God, for building monasteries, as a thank offering for the victory obtained. [655 A.D.]

At this time, King Oswy was exposed to the cruel and intolerable invasions of Penda, king of the Mercians, whom we have so often mentioned, and who had slain his brother; at length, compelled by his necessity, he promised to give him countless gifts and royal marks of honour greater than can be believed, to purchase peace; provided that he would return home, and cease to waste and utterly destroy the provinces of his kingdom. **The pagan king refused to grant his request, for he had resolved to blot out and extirpate all his nation**, from the highest to the lowest; whereupon King Oswy had recourse to the protection of the Divine pity **for deliverance from his barbarous and pitiless foe, and binding himself by a vow, said, "If the pagan will not accept our gifts, let us offer them to Him that will, the Lord our God."** He then vowed, that if he should win the victory, he would dedicate his daughter to the Lord in

holy virginity, and give twelve pieces of land whereon to build monasteries. After this he gave battle with a very small army: indeed, it is reported that the pagans had thirty times the number of men; for they had thirty legions, drawn up under most noted commanders. King Oswy and his son Alchfrid met them with a very small army, as has been said, but trusting in Christ as their Leader; his other son, Egfrid, was then kept as a hostage at the court of Queen Cynwise, in the **province of the Mercians**. King Oswald's son Oidilwald, who ought to have supported them, was on the enemy's side, **and led them on to fight against his country and his uncle**; though, during the battle, he withdrew, and awaited the event in a place of safety. The engagement began, the pagans were put to flight or killed, the thirty royal commanders, who had come to Penda's assistance, were almost all of them slain; among whom was Ethelhere, brother and successor to Anna, **king of the East Angles**. He had been the occasion of the war, and was now killed, having lost his army and auxiliaries. The battle was fought near the river Winwaed, which then, owing to the great rains, was in flood, and had overflowed its banks, so that many more were drowned in the flight than destroyed in battle by the sword.

Then King Oswy, according to the vow he had made to the Lord, returned thanks to God for the victory granted him, and gave his daughter Elfled, who was scarce a year old, to be consecrated to Him in perpetual virginity; bestowing also twelve small estates of land, wherein the practice of earthly warfare should cease, and place and means should be afforded to devout and zealous monks to wage spiritual warfare, and pray for the eternal peace of his nation. Of these estates six were in the province of the Deiri, and the other six in that of the Bernicians. Each of the estates contained ten families, that is, a hundred and twenty in all. The aforesaid daughter of King Oswy, who was to be dedicated to God, entered the monastery called Heruteu, or, "The Island of the Hart," at that time ruled by the Abbess Hilda, who, two years after, having acquired an estate of ten families, at the place called Streanaeshalch, built a monastery there, in which the aforesaid king's daughter was first trained in the monastic life and afterwards became abbess; till, at the age of fifty-nine, the blessed virgin departed to be united to her Heavenly Bridegroom. In this monastery, she and her father, Oswy, her mother, Eanfled, her mother's father, Edwin, and many other noble persons, are buried in the church of the holy Apostle Peter. King Oswy concluded this war in the district of Loidis, in the thirteenth year of his reign, on the 15th of November, **to the great benefit of both nations; for he delivered his own people from the hostile depredations of the pagans, and, having made an end of their heathen chief, converted the Mercians** and the adjacent provinces to the grace of the Christian faith.

Diuma was made the first bishop of the Mercians, as also of Lindsey and the Midland Angles, as has been said above, and he died and was buried **among the Midland Angles**. **The second was Ceollach, who, giving up his episcopal office before his death, returned into Scotland. Both these bishops belonged to the nation of the Scots. The third was Trumhere, an Englishman, but educated and ordained by the Scots**. He was abbot of the monastery that is called Ingetlingum, and is the place where King Oswin was killed, as has been said above; **for Queen Eanfled, his kinswoman**, in expiation of his unjust death, begged of King Oswy that he would give Trumhere, the aforesaid servant of God, a place there to build a monastery, **because he also was kinsman to the slaughtered king**; in which monastery continual prayers should be offered up for the eternal welfare of the kings, both of him that was

murdered, and of him that commanded the murder. **The same King Oswy governed the Mercians, as also the people of the other southern provinces,** three years after he had slain King Penda; **and he likewise subdued the greater part of the Picts to the dominion of the English.**

**At this time he gave to the above-mentioned Peada, son to King Penda, because he was his kinsman, the kingdom of the Southern Mercians,** consisting, as is said, of 5,000 families, divided by the river Trent from the Northern Mercians, whose land contains 7,000 families; but Peada was foully slain in the following spring, by the treachery, as is said, of his wife, during the very time of the Easter festival. Three years after the death of King Penda, the Mercian chiefs, Immin, and Eafa, and Eadbert, rebelled against King Oswy, setting up for their king, Wulfhere, son to the said Penda, a youth whom they had kept concealed; **and expelling the ealdormen of the foreign king, they bravely recovered at once their liberty and their lands; and being thus free, together with their king,** they rejoiced to serve Christ the true King, for the sake of an everlasting kingdom in heaven. This king governed the Mercians seventeen years, and had for his first bishop Trumhere, above spoken of; the second was Jaruman; the third Ceadda; the fourth Wynfrid. All these, succeeding each other in order under King Wulfhere, discharged episcopal duties to the **Mercian nation.**

Chap. XXVI. Of the death of the Kings Egfrid and Hlothere. [684-685 A.D.]

In the year of our Lord 684, Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sending his general, Berct, with an army into Ireland, **miserably laid waste that unoffending nation, which had always been most friendly to the English;** insomuch that the invading force spared not even the churches or monasteries. But the islanders, while to the utmost of their power they repelled force with force, implored the assistance of the Divine mercy, and with constant imprecations invoked the vengeance of Heaven; and though such a curse cannot inherit the kingdom of God, yet it was believed, that those who were justly cursed on account of their impiety, soon suffered the penalty of their guilt at the avenging hand of God. For the very next year, when that same king had rashly led his army to **ravage the province of the Picts,** greatly against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert, of blessed memory, who had been lately ordained bishop, the enemy made a feigned retreat, and the king was drawn into a narrow pass among remote mountains, and slain, with the greater part of the forces he had led thither, on the 20th of May, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His friends, as has been said, advised him not to engage in this war; but since he had the year before refused to listen to the most reverend father, Egbert, **advising him not to attack the Scots, who were doing him no harm,** it was laid upon him as a punishment for his sin, that he should now not listen to those who would have prevented his death.

From that time the hopes and strength of the Anglian kingdom “began to ebb and fall away;” for the Picts recovered their own lands, which had been held by the English, and so did also the Scots that were in Britain; and some of the Britons regained their liberty, which they have now enjoyed for about forty-six years. Among the many English that then either fell by the sword, or were made slaves, or escaped by flight out of the country of the Picts, the most reverend man of God, Trumwine, who had been made bishop over them, withdrew with his people that were in the monastery of Aebbercurnig, in the **country of the English**, but close by the arm of the sea which is **the boundary between the lands of the English and the Picts**. Having commended his followers, wheresoever he could, to his friends in the monasteries, he chose his own place of abode in the monastery, which we have so often mentioned, of servants and handmaids of God, at Streanaeshalch; and there for many years, with a few of his own brethren, he led a life in all monastic austerity, not only to his own benefit, but to the benefit of many others, and dying there, he was buried in the church of the blessed Peter the Apostle, with the honour due to his life and rank. The royal virgin, Elfled, with her mother, Eanfled, whom we have mentioned before, then presided over that monastery; but when the bishop came thither, that devout teacher found in him the greatest help in governing, and comfort in her private life. Aldfrid succeeded Egfrid in the throne, being a man most learned in the Scriptures, said to be brother to Egfrid, and son to King Oswy; he nobly retrieved the ruined state of the kingdom, though within narrower bounds.

The same year, being the 685th from the Incarnation of our Lord, Hlothere, king of Kent, died on the 6th of February, when he had reigned twelve years after his brother Egbert, who had reigned nine years: **he was wounded in battle with the South Saxons, whom Edric, the son of Egbert, had raised against him**, and died whilst his wound was being dressed. After him, this same Edric reigned a year and a half. **On his death, kings of doubtful title, or of foreign origin**, for some time wasted the kingdom, **till the lawful king, Wictred, the son of Egbert, being settled in the throne, by his piety and zeal delivered his nation from foreign invasion.**

Chap. XV. **How divers churches of the Scots**, at the instance of Adamnan, adopted the Catholic Easter; and how the same wrote a book about the holy places. [703 A.D.]

At this time a great part of **the Scots in Ireland, and some also of the Britons in Britain**, by the grace of God, adopted the reasonable and ecclesiastical time of keeping Easter. For when Adamnan, priest and abbot of the monks that were in the island of Hii, was sent **by his nation** on a mission to Aldfrid, **king of the English**, he abode some time in that province, and saw the canonical rites of the Church. Moreover, he was earnestly admonished by many of the more learned sort, not to presume to live contrary to the universal custom of the Church, either in regard to the observance of Easter, or any other ordinances whatsoever, **with those few followers of his dwelling in the farthest corner of the world**. Wherefore he so changed



his mind, that he readily preferred **those things which he had seen and heard in the English churches, to the customs which he and his people** had hitherto followed. For he was a good and wise man, and excellently instructed in knowledge of the Scriptures. Returning home, he endeavoured to bring **his own people that were in Hii**, or that were subject to that monastery, into the way of truth, which he had embraced with all his heart; but he could not prevail. He sailed over into Ireland, **and preaching to those people**, and with sober words of exhortation making known to them the lawful time of Easter, he brought back many of them, and almost all that were free from the dominion of those of Hii, from the error of their fathers to the Catholic unity, and taught them to keep the lawful time of Easter.

...

This same man wrote a book concerning the holy places, of great profit to many readers; his authority was the teaching and dictation of Arculf, a bishop of Gaul, who had gone to Jerusalem for the sake of the holy places; and having wandered over all the Promised Land, travelled also to Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, and many islands in the sea, and returning home by ship, was cast upon the western coast of Britain by a great tempest. After many adventures he came to the aforesaid servant of Christ, Adamnan, and being found to be learned in the Scriptures, and acquainted with the holy places, was most gladly received by him and gladly heard, insomuch that whatsoever he said that he had seen worthy of remembrance in the holy places, Adamnan straightway set himself to commit to writing. Thus he composed a work, as I have said, profitable to many, and chiefly to those who, being far removed from those places where the patriarchs and Apostles lived, know no more of them than what they have learnt by reading. **Adamnan presented this book to King Aldfrid, and through his bounty it came to be read by lesser persons.** The writer thereof was also rewarded by him with many gifts and **sent back into his country.** I believe it will be of advantage to our readers if we collect some passages from his writings, and insert them in this our History.

Chap. VII. How Caedwalla, king of the West Saxons, went to Rome to be baptized; and his successor Ini, also devoutly journeyed to the same threshold of the holy Apostles.  
[688 A.D.]

In the third year of the reign of Aldfrid, Caedwalla, **king of the West Saxons, having most vigorously governed his nation for two years**, quitted his crown for the sake of the Lord and an everlasting kingdom, and went to Rome, being desirous to obtain the peculiar honour of being cleansed in the baptismal font at the threshold of the blessed Apostles, for he had learned that in Baptism alone the entrance into the heavenly life is opened to mankind; and he hoped at the same time, that being made clean by Baptism, he should soon be freed from the bonds of the flesh and pass to the eternal joys of Heaven; both which things, by the help of the Lord, came to pass according as he had conceived in his mind. For coming to Rome, at the time that Sergius was pope, he was baptized on the Holy Saturday before Easter Day, in the

year of our Lord 689, and being still in his white garments, he fell sick, and was set free from the bonds of the flesh on the 20th of April, and obtained an entrance into the kingdom of the blessed in Heaven. At his baptism, the aforesaid pope had given him the name of Peter, to the end, that he might be also united in name to the most blessed chief of the Apostles, [pg 313] to whose most holy body his pious love had led him from the utmost bounds of the earth. He was likewise buried in his church, and by the pope's command an epitaph was written on his tomb, wherein the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever, and the readers or hearers thereof might be stirred up to give themselves to religion by the example of what he had done.

The epitaph was this:—

**“High estate, wealth, offspring, a mighty kingdom, triumphs, spoils, chieftains, strongholds, the camp, a home; whatsoever the valour of his sires, whatsoever himself had won, Caedwal, mighty in war, left for the love of God,** that, a pilgrim king, he might behold Peter and Peter's seat, receive at his font pure waters of life, and in bright draughts drink of the shining radiance whence a quickening glory streams through all the world. And even as he gained with eager soul the prize of the new life, he laid aside barbaric rage, and, changed in heart, he changed his name with joy. Sergius the Pope bade him be called Peter, himself his father, when he rose born anew from the font, and the grace of Christ, cleansing him, bore him forthwith clothed in white raiment to the heights of Heaven. O wondrous faith of the king, but greatest of all the mercy of Christ, into whose counsels none may enter! For he came in safety from the ends of the earth, **even from Britain**, through many a nation, over many a sea, by many a path, and **saw the city of Romulus** and looked upon Peter's sanctuary revered, bearing mystic gifts. He shall walk in white among the sheep of Christ in fellowship with them; for his body is in the tomb, but his soul on high. Thou mightest deem he did but change an earthly for a heavenly sceptre, whom thou seest attain to the kingdom of Christ.”

“Here was buried Caedwalla, **called also Peter, king of the Saxons**, on the twentieth day of April, in the second indiction, aged about thirty years, in the reign of our most pious lord, the Emperor Justinian, in the fourth year of his consulship, in the second year of the pontificate of our Apostolic lord, Pope Sergius.”

When Caedwalla went to Rome, **Ini succeeded to the kingdom, being of the blood royal;** and having reigned thirty-seven years over that nation, he in like manner left his kingdom and committed it to younger men, and went away to the threshold of the blessed Apostles, at the time when Gregory was pope, being desirous to spend some part of his pilgrimage upon earth in the neighbourhood of the holy places, that he might obtain to be more readily received into the fellowship of the saints in heaven. This same thing, about that time, **was wont to be done most zealously by many of the English nation, nobles and commons, laity and clergy, men and women.**

Chap. IX. How the holy man, Egbert, would have gone into Germany to preach, but could not; and how Wictbert went, but because he availed nothing, returned into Ireland, whence he came. [Circ. 688 A.D.]

At that time the venerable servant of Christ, and priest, Egbert, who is to be named with all honour, and who, as was said before, **lived as a stranger and pilgrim in Ireland to obtain hereafter a country in heaven**, purposed in his mind to profit many, taking upon him the work of an apostle, and, by preaching the Gospel, **to bring the Word of God to some of those nations that had not yet heard it; many of which tribes he knew to be in Germany, from whom the Angles or Saxons, who now inhabit Britain, are known to have derived their race and origin; for which reason they are still corruptly called "Garmans" by the neighbouring nation of the Britons. Such are the Frisians, the Rugini, the Danes, the Huns, the Old Saxons, and the Boructuari.** There are also in the same parts many other peoples still enslaved to pagan rites, to whom the aforesaid soldier of Christ determined to go, sailing round Britain, if haply he could deliver any of them from Satan, and bring them to Christ; or if this might not be, he was minded to go to Rome, to see and adore the thresholds of the holy Apostles and martyrs of Christ.

But a revelation from Heaven and the working of God prevented him from achieving either of these enterprises; for when he had made choice of most courageous companions, fit to preach the Word, inasmuch as they were renowned for their good deeds and their learning, and when all things necessary were provided for the voyage, there came to him on a certain day early in the morning one of the brethren, who had been a disciple of the priest, Boisil. beloved of God, and had ministered to him in Britain, when the said Boisil was provost of the monastery of Mailros, under the Abbot Eata, as has been said above. This brother told him a vision which he had seen that night. "When after matins," said he, "I had laid me down in my bed, and was fallen into a light slumber, Boisil, that was sometime my master and brought me up in all love, appeared to me, and asked, whether I knew him? I said, 'Yes, you are Boisil.' He answered, 'I am come to bring Egbert a message from our Lord and Saviour, which must nevertheless be delivered to him by you. Tell him, therefore, that he cannot perform the journey he has undertaken; for it is the will of God that he should rather go to teach the monasteries of Columba.'" **Now Columba was the first teacher of the Christian faith to the Picts beyond the mountains northward**, and the first founder of the monastery in the island of Hii, which was for a long time much honoured by **many tribes of the Scots and Picts.** The said Columba is now by some called Columcille, the name being compounded from "Columba" and "Cella." Egbert, having heard the words of the vision, charged the brother that had told it him, not to tell it to any other, lest haply it should be a lying vision. But when he considered the matter secretly with himself, he apprehended that it was true, yet would not desist from preparing for his voyage **which he purposed to make to teach those nations.**

...

But one of his companions, called Wictbert, notable for his contempt of the world and for his learning and knowledge, **for he had lived many years as a stranger and pilgrim in**

**Ireland**, leading a hermit's life in great perfection, took ship, and arriving in Frisland, preached the Word of salvation **for the space of two whole years to that nation and to its king, Rathbed; but reaped no fruit of all his great labour among his barbarous hearers.** Returning then to the chosen place of his pilgrimage, he gave himself up to the Lord in his wonted life of silence, and since he could not be profitable to strangers by teaching them the faith, **he took care to be the more profitable to his own people by the example of his virtue.**

Chap. XXIII. **Of the present state of the English nation, or of all Britain.** [725-731 A.D.]

**But in the province of the Northumbrians**, where King Ceolwulf reigns, four bishops now preside; Wilfrid in the church of York, Ethelwald in that of Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Hagustald, Pecthelm in that which is called the White House, which, as the number of the faithful has increased, has lately become an episcopal see, and has him for its first prelate. **The Pictish people also at this time are at peace with the English nation**, and rejoice in having their part in Catholic peace and truth with the universal Church. **The Scots that inhabit Britain, content with their own territories, devise no plots nor hostilities against the English nation. The Britons, though they, for the most part, as a nation hate and oppose the English nation**, and wrongfully, and from wicked lewdness, set themselves against the appointed Easter of the whole Catholic Church; yet, inasmuch as both Divine and human power withstand them, they can in neither purpose prevail as they desire; **for though in part they are their own masters, yet part of them are brought under subjection to the English.** In these favourable times of peace and calm, many of the Northumbrians, as well of the nobility as private persons, laying aside their weapons, and receiving the tonsure, desire rather both for themselves and their children to take upon them monastic vows, than to practise the pursuit of war. What will be the end hereof, the next age will see. **This is for the present the state of all Britain; about two hundred and eighty-five years after the coming of the English into Britain**, and in the 731st year of our Lord, in Whose kingdom that shall have no end let the earth rejoice; **and Britain being one with them in the joy of His faith, let the multitude of isles be glad**, and give thanks at the remembrance of His holiness.

<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/38326/38326-h/38326-h.html>

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Saint Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks  
(During the years about 575 to 594)

5. Noah had after the flood three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth. **From Japheth issued nations, and likewise from Ham and from Shem. And, as ancient history says, from these the human race was scattered under the whole heaven. The first-born of Ham was Cush. He was the first inventor of the whole art of magic and of idolatry, being instructed by the devil.** He was the first to set up an idol to be worshipped, at the instigation of the devil, and by his false power he showed to men stars and fire falling from heaven. He passed over to the Persians. The Persians called him Zoroaster, that is, living star. They were trained by him to worship fire, and they reverence as a god the man who was himself consumed by the divine fire.

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...

2. After this **the Vandals** left their own country and **burst into the Gauls** under king Gunderic. And when **the Gauls had been thoroughly laid waste** they made for the Spains. **The Suebi, that is, Alamanni, following them, seized Gallicia.** Not long after, a quarrel arose **between the two peoples, since they were neighbors.** And when they had gone armed to the battle, and were already at the point of fighting, the king of the Alemanni said: "Why are all the people involved in war? Let our people, I pray, not kill one another in battle, but let two of our warriors go to the field in arms and fight with one another. Then he whose champion wins shall hold the region without strife." To this all the people agreed, that the whole multitude might not rush on the edge of the sword. In these days king Gunderic had died and in his place Thrasamund held the kingdom. And in the conflict of the champions **the side of the Vandals was overcome,** and, his champion being slain, Thrasamund promised to depart, and so, when he had made the necessary preparations for the journey, he removed from the territories of Spain.

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...

3. ... But Huneric, after his great wickedness, was seized by the evil spirit, and he who had long battered on the blood of the saints now rent himself with his own teeth; in which torment he ended his unworthy life by a just death. He was succeeded by Childeric, on whose death Gelesimir obtained the throne. **This king was vanquished by the empire,** and ended his life and reign together. **So the kingdom of the Vandals fell.**

4. At that time the churches of God were assailed by many heresies, **and against most of them divine vengeance was shown forth. For Athanaric, king of the Goths,** began a great persecution, beheading many Christians after inflicting divers forms of suffering. For his shedding of the blood of the righteous this man who warred against the churches of God was by God's instant judgement dethroned, **and banished from his own country.** But let us now return to the previous subject.

5. Now there was a rumour **that the Huns intended to overrun Gaul.** At that time there lived in the town of Tongres Aravatus, a bishop of the most excellent holiness, who devoted himself to fasting and vigil, and often, bathed with a rain of tears, besought God's mercy that He **would not suffer this unbelieving race, ever unworthy of His grace, to penetrate into Gaul.** But feeling in his heart that his prayer had not been granted through the sins of the people, he formed the design of visiting Rome, that he might be strengthened by the miraculous power of the apostle, and thereby better deserve to obtain that for which he made humble supplication to God. He went therefore to the apostle's tomb, and besought the aid of his loving-kindness,

wearing himself out in such great abstinence and extremity of fasting, that he would remain two or three days without food or drink, nor for a moment intermit his prayers. And after he had continued for the space of many days in this mortification, he is said to have received from the blessed apostle the following reply: "Wherefore, most holy man, dost thou harass me? The Lord hath considered, and it is decreed that **the Huns shall enter Gaul**, which must be laid waste as by a mighty tempest. Now therefore hearken to my counsel; haste with speed, set in order thy house, prepare thy burial, provide a pure white shroud. For behold thou shalt depart from the body, nor shall thine eyes behold the evil to **be wrought in Gaul by this people**, as the Lord our God hath spoken." Having received this answer from the holy apostle, the bishop hastened his journey, and returned with all speed into Gaul. And coming to the city of Tongres, he quickly provided himself with all that was necessary for his burial. ...

6. Now **the Huns left Pannonia** and, as certain say, on the very watch-night of holy Easter arrived at the city of Metz, after devastating the country, and gave the city over to burning, slaying the people with the edge of the sword and killing the very priests of the Lord before the holy altars. ...

7. **And Attila king of the Huns** went forth from Metz and when he had crushed many **cities of the Gauls** he attacked Orleans and strove to take it by the mighty hammering of battering rams.

Now at that time the most blessed Annianus was bishop in the city just mentioned, a man of unequalled wisdom and praiseworthy holiness, whose miracles are faithfully remembered among us. And when the people, on being shut in, cried to their bishop, and asked what they were to do, trusting in God he advised all to prostrate themselves in prayer, and with tears to implore the ever present aid of God in their necessities. Then when they prayed as he had directed, the bishop said: "Look from the wall of the city to see whether God's mercy yet comes to your aid." For he hoped that by God's mercy Ætius was coming, to whom he had recourse before at Aries when he was anxious about the future. But when they looked from the wall, they saw no one. And he said: "Pray faithfully, for God will free you this day." When they had prayed he said: "Look again." And when they looked they saw no one to bring aid. He said to them a third time: "If you pray faithfully, God comes swiftly." And they besought God's mercy with weeping and loud cries. When this prayer also was finished they looked from the wall a third time at the old man's command, and saw afar off a cloud as it were arising from the earth. When they reported this the bishop said: "It is the aid of the Lord." Meanwhile, when the walls were now trembling from the hammering of the rams and were just about to fall, behold, Ætius came, and **Theodore, king of the Goths and Thorismodus his son hastened to the city with their armies, and drove the enemy forth and defeated him**. And so the city was freed by the intercession of the blessed bishop, and they put Attila to flight. And he went to the plain of Moirey and got ready for battle. And hearing this, they made manful preparations to meet him. **Ætius with the Goths and Franks fought against Attila**. And the latter saw that his army was being destroyed, and escaped by flight. And Theodore, king of the Goths, was slain in the battle. Now let no one doubt that **the army of Huns was put to flight** by the intercession of the bishop mentioned above. And so Ætius the patrician, along with Thorismodus, won the victory and **destroyed the enemy**. And when the battle was finished, Ætius said to Thorismodus: "Make haste and return swiftly to your native land, for fear you lose your father's kingdom because of your brother." The latter, on hearing this, departed speedily with the intention of anticipating his

brother, and seizing his father's throne first. At the same time Ætius **by a stratagem caused the king of the Franks to flee**. When they had gone, Ætius took the spoils of the battle and **returned victoriously to his country** with much booty. And Attila retreated with a few men. Not long after **Aquileia was captured by the Huns** and burned and altogether destroyed. Italy was overrun and plundered. Thorismodus, whom we have mentioned above, **overcame the Alans in battle**, and was himself defeated later on by his brothers<sup>1</sup>, after many quarrels and battles, and put to death.

(second source pages 44-45, first source pages 25-27)

...

And in the fourth book, when he tells of the killing of Victor, son of Maximus, the tyrant, he says: "At that time Carietto and Sirius who had been appointed in place of Nanninus, **were absent in the province of Germany with the army opposed to the Franks.**" And a little later when **the Franks had taken booty from Germany**, he added: "Arbogastes, wishing no further delay, warned Caesar that the punishment due **must be exacted from the Franks**, unless they speedily restored all the plunder they had taken the previous year when the legions were destroyed, and delivered up **the instigators** of the war to be punished for their treachery in breaking the peace." He related that this had been done under the leadership of dukes and says further: "A few days later he held a hasty conference with Marcomer and Sunno, princes of the Franks and required hostages of them as usual, and then retired to Treves to spend the winter." But when he calls them princes, we do not know whether they were kings or held in the place of kings. Still the same writer, when he told of the hard straits of the emperor Valentinian, added this: "While events of various sorts were taking place in the East throughout Thrace, the public order was disturbed in Gaul. Valentinian the emperor was shut up in Vienne in the palace, and reduced almost below the position of a private person, and the military command was given over **to the Frankish allies, and even the civil offices fell under the control of Arbogast's faction**, and no one of all the oath-bound soldiery<sup>2</sup> was found to dare to heed the familiar speech or obey the command of the emperor." Then he says: "In the same year Arbogast pursued **with heathenish hate the princes of the Franks**, Sunno and Marcomer, and hastened to Cologne in the depth of winter, since he knew that all the retreats of Francia could be safely penetrated and ravaged with fire when the woods, left bare and dry by the fall of the leaves, could not conceal men lying in ambush. And so he gathered an army and crossed the Rhine, and **devastated the country of the Brictori, near the bank, and also the district which the Chamavi inhabit, and no one met him anywhere, except that a few of the Ampsivarii and Chatti appeared** with Marcomer as duke on the ridges of distant hills." At another time this writer, no longer mentioning dukes and princes, openly asserts that **the Franks had a king**, and without mentioning his name he says: "Then the tyrant Eugenius undertook a military expedition, and hastened to the Rhine **to renew in the customary way the old alliances with the kings of the Alemanni and the Franks and to threaten the barbarian nations** at that time with a great army." So much the historian mentioned above wrote about **the Franks**.

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<sup>1</sup> I did not accentuate this part of the excerpt, because it refers to his actual brothers. The word here used in Gregory's original Latin is *fratribus*, per Ghent University's copy of a 1561 publication.

<sup>2</sup> Even after capitulating to treachery, these soldiers are viewed as distinct from the Gauls.

...

And while Constans was sending his troops forward, being still with his father, news came from Spain that Maximus, one of his clients, had been given imperial authority by Gerontius, and was **securing a following of the barbarians**. Alarmed at this, they sent Edobeccus forward to the **German tribes**, and Constans and Decimus Rusticus, now a prefect, — he had been master of the offices, — **hastened to the Gauls, with the intention of presently returning to Constantine with the Franks and Alamanni and all the soldiers**." Again, when he writes that Constantine was being besieged, he uses these words: "The fourth month of the siege of Constantine was scarcely yet under way, when news came suddenly from farther Gaul that Iovinus had assumed royal state, and **was threatening the besiegers with the Burgundians, Alamanni, Franks, Alans, and all his army**. So the attack on the walls was hastened, the city opened its gates, and Constantine surrendered.

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...

And when Asterius had been made a patrician by an imperial letter, he adds this: "At the same time Castinus, count of the body-guard, **undertook an expedition against the Franks and was sent into the Gauls**." This is what these have told **of the Franks**. And the historian Horosius says in the seventh book of his work: "**Stilico gathered the nations, crushed the Franks, crossed the Rhine, wandered through the Gauls, and made his way as far as the Pyrenees**."

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...

This is the evidence that the historians who have been named have left us **about the Franks**, and they have not mentioned kings. Many relate that they **came from Pannonia** and all dwelt at first on the bank of the Rhine, and then crossing the Rhine they passed into Thuringia, **and there among the villages and cities appointed long-haired kings over them from their first or, so to speak, noblest family**. This title Clovis' victories afterwards made a lasting one, as we shall see later on. We read in the *Fasti Consulares* that Theodomer, **king of the Franks**, son of Richimer, and Ascylla his mother, were once on a time slain by the sword. They say also that Chlogio, **a man of ability and high rank among his people, was king of the Franks then, and he dwelt at the stronghold of Dispargum which is within the borders of the Thuringians**. And in these parts, that is, towards the south, **the Romans dwelt as far as the Loire**.<sup>3</sup> **But beyond the Loire the Goths were in control the Burgundians also, who belonged to the sect of the Arians**, dwelt across the Rhone in the district which is adjacent to the city of Lyons.

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...

10. **Now this people seems to have always been addicted to heathen worship, and they did not know God, but made themselves** images of the woods and the waters, of birds and beasts, and of the other elements as well. **They were wont to worship** these as God and to offer sacrifice to them.

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<sup>3</sup> The Loire was conquered by Julius in 52 BC, and peopled and maintained by Augustus. The Romans are considered a distinct group even 400-some years later in the time of Theodomer, despite the occasional practice of Roman-Frank intermarriage in Gallia Celtica.



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...

12. Childeric was excessively wanton and **being king of the Franks he began to dishonor their daughters**. And they were angry with him on this account and took his kingdom from him. And when he learned that they wished also to kill him he hastened to Thuringia, leaving there a man who was dear to him to calm their furious tempers; he arranged also for a sign **when he should be able to return to his country**, that is, they divided a gold piece between them and Childeric took one half and his friend kept the other part, saying: "Whenever I send you this part and the joined parts make one coin, **then you shall return securely to your native place.**" Accordingly Childeric went off to Thuringia and remained in hiding with king Basinus and Basina his wife. **The Franks, after he was driven out, with one accord selected as king Egidius**, whom we have mentioned before as the commander of the troops sent by the republic. And when he was in the eighth year of his reign over them that faithful friend **secretly won the good will of the Franks** and sent messengers to Childeric with the part of the divided coin which he had kept, and Childeric learned by this sure sign that **he was wanted by the Franks, and returned from Thuringia at their request and was restored to his kingdom.**

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...

18. Now Childeric fought at Orleans and **Odoacer came with the Saxons to Angers. At that time a great plague destroyed the people**. Egidius died and left a son, Syagrius by name. On his death Odoacer received hostages from Angers and other places. **The Britanni were driven from Bourges by the Goths, and many were slain at the village of Déols. Count Paul with the Romans and Franks made war on the Goths and took booty**. When Odoacer came to Angers, king Childeric came on the following day, and slew count Paul, and took the city. In a great fire on that day the house of the bishop was burned.

19. **After this war was waged between the Saxons and the Romans; but the Saxons fled and left many of their people to be slain, the Romans pursuing. Their islands were captured and ravaged by the Franks, and many were slain.** In the ninth month of that year, there was an earthquake. Odoacer made an alliance with Childeric, **and they subdued the Alamanni, who had overrun part of Italy.**<sup>4</sup>

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...

And so they fought against each other and Siagrius, seeing his army crushed, turned his back and fled swiftly to king Alaric at Toulouse. And Clovis sent to Alaric to send him back, otherwise he was to know that Clovis would make war on him for his refusal. And Alaric was afraid that he would incur **the anger of the Franks** on account of Siagrius, **seeing it is the fashion of the Goths to be terrified**, and he surrendered him in chains to Clovis' Envoys.

(page 36-37)

...

32. At that time the brothers Gundobad and Godegisel were kings of the country about the Rhone and the Saone together with the province of Marseilles. **And they, as well as their people, belonged to the Arian sect**. And since they were fighting with each other, Godegisel,

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<sup>4</sup> The Alamanni had entered Italy in 271, while Odoacer and Childeric lived and died in the late 5th century; yet they are still seen as a distinct group.

hearing of the victories of King Clovis, sent an embassy to him secretly, saying: "If you will give me aid in attacking my brother, so that I may be able to kill him in battle or drive him from the country, I will pay you every year whatever tribute you yourself wish to impose." Clovis accepted this offer gladly, and promised aid whenever need should ask. And at a time agreed upon he marched his army against Gundobad. On hearing of this, Gundobad, who did not know of his brother's treachery, sent to him, saying : "**Come to my assistance, since the Franks are in motion against us and are coming to our country to take it. Therefore let us be united against a nation hostile to us,** lest because of division we suffer in turn what other peoples have suffered." And the other said: "I will come with my army, and will give you aid."  
(page 41-42)

...

**And these three, namely, Clovis against Gundobad and Godegisel, were marching their armies to the same point,** and they came with all their warlike equipment to the stronghold named Dijon. And they fought on the river Ouche, and Godegisel joined Clovis, **and both armies crushed the people of Gundobad.** And he perceived the treachery of his brother, whom he had not suspected, and turned his back and began to flee, hastening along the banks of the Rhone, and he came to the city of Avignon. And Godegisel having won the victory, promised to Clovis a part of his kingdom, and departed quietly and entered Vienne in triumph, as if he now held the whole kingdom. King Clovis increased his army further, and set off after Gundobad to drag him from his city and slay him. He heard it, and was terrified, and feared that sudden death would come to him. However he had with him Aridius, a man famed for energy and wisdom, and he sent for him and said: "Difficulties wall me in on every side, and I do not know what to do, **because these barbarians have come upon us to slay us and destroy the whole country.**" To this Aridius answered: "You must soften the fierceness of this man in order not to perish. Now if it is pleasing in your eyes, I will pretend to flee from you and to pass over to his side, and when I come to him, I shall prevent **his harming either you or this country.** Only be willing to do what he demands of you by my advice, until the Lord in his goodness deigns to make your cause successful." And Gundobad said: "I will do whatever you direct."

... The trumpet was sounded in the midst of the city, and the besiegers seized the gates, and opened them and entered at the same time, and when the people between these two battle lines were being slain by each army, Godegisel sought refuge in the church of the heretics, and was slain there along with the Arian bishop. **Finally the Franks who were with Godegisel gathered in a tower.** But Gundobad ordered that no harm should be done to a single one of them, but seized them and sent them in exile to king Alaric at Toulouse, **and he slew the Burgundian senators who had conspired with Godegisel. He restored to his own dominion all the region which is now called Burgundy. He established milder laws for the Burgundians lest they should oppress the Romans.**<sup>5</sup>

(page 42-44)

...

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<sup>5</sup> I have decided to include this entire passage, namely for what it *lacks*. In the entire passage, no distinction is made between the peoples led by Godegisel or Gundobad, save the Franks who allied with Godegisel. This is a unique instance in which no distinction is made in the *peoples'* background, because Godegisel and Gundobad are brothers; both Burgundians by race.

35. Now when Alaric, **king of the Goths, saw Clovis conquering nations steadily**, he sent envoys to him saying : "If my brother consents, it is the desire of my heart that with God's favor we have a meeting." Clovis did not spurn this proposal but went to meet him. They met in an island of the Loire which is near the village of Amboise in the territory of Tours, and they talked and ate and drank together, and plighted friendship and departed in peace. **Even at that time many in the Gauls desired greatly to have the Franks as masters.**

36. Whence it happened that Quintian, bishop of Rodez, **was driven from his city through ill-will on this account. For they said: "It is your desire that the rule of the Franks be extended over this land."** A few days later a quarrel arose between him and the citizens, and the Goths who dwelt in the city became suspicious when the citizens charged that he wished to submit himself to the control of the Franks; they took counsel and decided to slay him with the sword. When this was reported to the man of God he rose in the night and left the city of Rodez with his most faithful servants and went to Clermont. There he was received kindly by the holy bishop Eufrasius, who had succeeded Aprunculus of Dijon, and he kept Quintian with him, giving him houses as well as fields and vineyards, and saying: "The wealth of this church is enough to keep us both; only let the charity which the blessed apostle preaches endure among the bishops of God." Moreover the bishop of Lyons bestowed upon him some of the possessions of the church which he had in Auvergne. And the rest about the holy Quintian, both the plottings which he endured and the miracles which the Lord deigned to work through him, are written in the book of his life.

37. **Now Clovis the king said to his people: "I take it very-hard that these Arians hold part of the Gauls. Let us go with God's help and conquer them and bring the land under our control."** Since these words pleased all, he set his army in motion and made for Poitiers where Alaric was at that time. But since part of the host was passing through Touraine, he issued an edict out of respect to the blessed Martin that no one should **take anything from that country** except grass for fodder, and water. But one from the army found a poor man's hay and said: "Did not the king order grass only to be taken, nothing else? And this," said he, "is grass. We shall not be transgressing his command if we take it." And when he had done violence to the poor man and taken his hay by force, the deed came to the king. And quicker than speech the offender was slain by the sword, and the king said: "And where shall our hope of victory be if we offend the blessed Martin? It would be better for the army to take nothing else from this country." The king himself sent envoys to the blessed church saying: "Go, and perhaps you will receive some omen of victory from the holy temple." Then giving them gifts to set up in the holy place, he said: **"If thou, O Lord, art my helper, and hast determined to surrender this unbelieving nation, always striving against thee, into my hands, consent to reveal it propitiously at the entrance to the church of St. Martin, so that I may know that thou wilt deign to be favorable to thy servant."**

(page 44-45)

...

When they heard this, they prayed for mercy, saying it was enough for them if they were allowed to live. **The kings named above were kinsmen of Clovis<sup>6</sup>**, and their brother, Rignomer by name, was slain by Clovis' order at the city of Mans. When they were dead Clovis received all their kingdom and treasures. And having killed many other kings and his nearest

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<sup>6</sup> They were not the siblings of Clovis, but Frankish compatriots.

relatives, of whom he was jealous lest they take the kingdom from him, **he extended his rule over all the Gauls. However he gathered his people together at one time, it is said, and spoke of the kinsmen whom he had himself destroyed. "Woe to me, who have remained as a stranger among foreigners, and have none of my kinsmen to give me aid if adversity comes."** But he said this not because of grief at their death but by way of a ruse, if perchance he should be able to find some one still to kill.

(page 50)

...

15. Theodoric and Childebert made a treaty, and swearing to each other that neither would attack the other, they took hostages from each other, in order that their agreement might be more secure. Many sons of senators were given as hostages on that occasion, but a quarrel arose later between the kings, and they were given over to servitude and those who had taken them to guard now made slaves of them. Many of them however escaped by flight, **and returned to their native place**, but a good many were kept in slavery. Among these was Attains, nephew of the blessed Gregory, bishop of Langres, who became a slave and was appointed keeper of horses. He was in servitude **to a certain barbarian** in the territory of Treves. Now the blessed Gregory sent servants to inquire for him, who found him, and offered presents to the man, but he rejected them contemptuously, saying: "This fellow, belonging to such a family, ought to be ransomed with ten pounds of gold." And when they had returned, a certain Leo, belonging to the kitchen of his master, said: "I wish you would give me permission, and perhaps I might be able to bring him back from captivity." His master was glad of the offer, and he went straight to the place, and desired to carry the youth away secretly, but could not. Then bargaining with a certain man he said "Come with me, and sell me **in the house of that barbarian**, and take the profit of my price, only let me have a freer opportunity of doing what I have decided." After taking an oath, the man went and sold him for twelve gold pieces, and departed. The purchaser asked the new slave what work he could do, and he answered "I am very skilled in preparing all the things that ought to be eaten at the tables of masters, and I am not afraid that my equal in skill can be found. For I tell you that even if you desire to make ready a feast for the king, I can prepare kingly viands, and no one better than I." And he said: "The day of the sun is near," — **for thus the Lord's day is usually named in the barbarian fashion** — "on this day **my neighbors and kinsmen** shall be invited to my house. I ask you to make me such a feast as to make them wonder and say 'we have not seen better in the king's palace.'" And the other said: "Let my master order a great number of fowls, and I will do what you command." Accordingly the preparations which the slave had asked for were made, and the Lord's day dawned, and he made a great feast full of delicacies. And when all had feasted and praised the viands, **the master's kinsmen went away**. The master thanked this slave, and gave him authority over the food that he had ready for use, and he loved him greatly, and the slave used to serve food to all who were with his master. After the space of a year, when his master was now certain of him, Leo went out into a meadow which was near the house, with the slave Attains, the keeper of the horses, and lying on the ground with him a long distance off, with their backs turned so they would not be recognized as together, he said to the youth: "**It is time that we ought to be thinking of our native place**. Therefore I advise you not to allow yourself to go to sleep to-night when you bring the horses to be shut in, but as soon as I call you, come, and let us undertake the journey." **Now the barbarian had invited many of his**

**kinsmen to a feast**, and among them was his son-in-law, who had married his daughter. And at midnight they rose from the banquet and retired to rest, and Leo attended his master's son-in-law to the place assigned and offered him drink. The man said to him: "Tell me, if you can, trusted servant of my father-in-law, **when will you decide to take his horses and go to your own country.**" He said this in a joking way. In the same way the other jokingly gave the truthful answer: "To-night, I think, if it is God's will." And he said: "I hope my attendants will be on the watch that you take nothing of mine." They parted laughingly.  
(pages 60-63)

...

31. Theodoric of Italy having married a sister of king Clovis, died, and left his wife and a little daughter. When this girl was grown, because of her fickle temper she refused the counsel of her mother, who was looking out for a king's son for her, and took her slave named Traguilanis, and fled with him to a city where she hoped to defend herself. And when her mother raged at her furiously, **and begged her not to disgrace further a noble family, and said it was her duty to send the slave off and take one of equal rank with herself from a royal family**, whom her mother had provided, she was by no means willing to agree to it. Then her mother, still raging at her, set an army in motion. And they came upon them, and killed Traguilanis with the sword, chastised the girl herself, and took her to her mother's house. Now they belonged to the Arian sect, and as it is their custom that of those going to the altar **the kings receive one cup and the lesser people another**, she put poison in the cup from which her mother was going to receive the communion. (page 68)

...

14. Now when Clothar after Theodovald's death had received the kingdom of Francia and was making a progress through it, **he heard from his people that the Saxons were engaged in a second mad outburst** and were rebelling against him and contemptuously refusing to pay the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay every year. Aroused by the reports he hastened toward **their country, and when he was near their boundary the Saxons sent legates** to him saying: "We are not treating you contemptuously, and we do not refuse to pay what we have usually paid to your brothers and nephews, and we will grant even more if you ask for it. We ask for only one thing, that there be peace so that your army and our people shall not come into conflict." King Clothar heard this and said to his followers: "These men speak well. Let us not go against them for fear that we sin against God." But they said: "**We know that they are deceitful and will not do at all what they have promised.** Let us go against them." Again the Saxons offered half of their property in their desire for peace. And Clothar said to his men: "Give over, I beg you, from these men, lest the anger of God be kindled against us." But they would not agree to it. Again the Saxons brought garments, cattle and every kind of property, saying: "Take all this together with half of our land, only let our wives and little ones remain free and let war not arise between us." **But the Franks were unwilling** to agree even to this.  
(pages 83-84)

...

Then he took away much and left little, and sent her to a convent at Aries. But she took it very hard to be subject to fasts and watches, **and made proposals to a Goth** by secret messengers, promising that if he would take her to Spain and marry her she would leave the monastery with her treasures and follow him willingly. This promise he made without hesitation,

but when she had got her things together and packed and was ready to go from the convent, the diligence of the abbess frustrated her purpose, and the wicked project was detected, and orders were given to beat her severely and put her under guard. And she continued in confinement to the end of her life on earth, consumed with no slight passions.

**27. Now when king Sigibert saw that his brothers were taking wives unworthy of them, and to their disgrace were actually marrying slave women,** he sent an embassy into Spain and with many gifts asked for Brunhilda, daughter of king Athanagild. She was a maiden beautiful in her person, lovely to look at, virtuous and well-behaved, with good sense and a pleasant address. Her father did not refuse, but sent her to the king I have named with great treasures. And the king collected his chief men, made ready a feast, and took her as his wife amid great joy and mirth.

(page 89)

...

**29. The Huns were again endeavoring to make an entrance into the Gauls.** Sigibert marched against them with his army, leading a great number of brave men. And when they were about to fight, **the Huns, who were versed in magic arts,** caused false appearances of various sorts to come before them and defeated them decisively. Sigibert's army fled, but he himself was taken by the Huns and would have remained a prisoner if he had not overcome by his skill in making presents the men whom he could not conquer in battle. He was a man of fine appearance and good address. He gave gifts and entered into an agreement with their king that all the days of their lives they should fight no battles with one another. And this incident is rightly believed to be more to his credit than otherwise. The king of the Huns also gave many gifts to king Sigibert. He was called Gaganus. **All the kings of that people are called by this name.**

(page 90-91)

...

I am weary of relating the details of the civil wars that mightily plague **the nation and kingdom of the Franks;** and the worst of it is that we see in them the beginning of that time of woe which the Lord foretold: **"Father shall rise against son, son against father, brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman."** They should have been deterred by the examples of former kings who were slain by their enemies as soon as they were divided. How often has the very city of cities, the great capital of the whole earth, been laid low by civil war and again, when it ceased, has risen as if from the ground! Would that you too, O kings, **were engaged in battles like those in which your fathers struggled, that the heathen terrified by your union might be crushed by your strength!** Remember how Clovis won your great victories, how he slew opposing kings, **crushed wicked peoples and subdued their lands, and left to you complete and unchallenged dominion over them!** And when he did this he had neither silver nor gold such as you now have in your treasuries. What is your object? What do you seek after? What have you not in plenty? In your homes there are luxuries in abundance, in your storehouses wine, grain and oil abound, gold and silver are piled up in your treasuries. One thing you lack without peace you have not the grace of God. Why does one take from another? Why does one desire what another has? I beg of you, beware of this saying of the apostle: "But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." Examine carefully the books of the ancients and you will see what civil wars beget. Read **what Orosius writes of the Carthaginians, who says that after seven hundred years**

**their city and country were ruined and adds:** "What preserved this city so long? Union. What destroyed it after such a period? Disunion." Beware of disunion, beware of civil wars **which destroy you and your people.** What else is to be expected but that your army will fall and that you will be left without strength **and be crushed and ruined by hostile peoples.** And, king, if civil war gives you pleasure, govern that impulse which the apostle says is urgent within man, let the spirit struggle against the flesh and the vices fall before the virtues; and be free and serve your chief who is Christ, you who were once a fettered slave of the root of Evil.  
(pages 105-106)

...

5. While king Chilperic was still at the villa mentioned above, he directed his baggage to be moved and made arrangements to go to Paris. And when I went to see him to say good-by, a certain Jew named Priscus came in who was on friendly terms with him and helped him buy costly articles. The king took him by the hair in a gentle way and said to me: "Come, bishop of God, and lay your hands on him." But he struggled and the king said to him **"O obstinate-minded and ever disbelieving race, which does not recognize the Son of God promised to it by the voices of its prophets and does not recognize the mysteries of the church prefigured in its own sacrifices."** To these words the Jew replied: "God never married nor was blessed with offspring nor allowed any one to share his power, but he said by the mouth of Moses: 'See, see that I am the Lord and except me there is no God. I shall kill and I shall make alive; I shall wound and I shall heal.'" To this the king replied: "God in spiritual wise brought to the birth the eternal Son, neither younger than Himself in time, nor less in power, of whom He Himself saith: 'Out of the womb have I begotten Thee before the morning star.' This Son, born before the ages, He sent in the latter time to heal the world, as thy prophet saith; 'He sent forth His Word and healed them.' And as for that thy statement that He begetteth not, hear now thine own prophet, who setteth these words in the Lord's mouth: 'Shall I, who make others bring forth, not bring forth Myself?' Now this He saith of the people which is born again in Him by faith." The Jew rejoined: "How should God be made man, or be born of woman, or submit to stripes, or be condemned to death?" The king was now silent, whereupon I broke into the discussion. ... "Of Him doth that Jacob speak, **from whom thou vauntest to descend,** in that blessing of his son Judah, wherein he seemeth to address Christ Himself, the Son of God: **'The sons of thy father shall adore thee.** Judah is a lion's whelp; **from the seed, my son, thou art grown up.** Thou hast couched and slept as a lion, as a lion's whelp. Who hath raised him up? His eyes are fairer than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk. Who' saith he, 'hath raised him up?' And though He Himself hath said, 'I have power to lay down My life, and power to take it up again,' yet the apostle Paul saith: 'Whosoever hath not believed that God hath raised Him from the dead, cannot be saved.'" Although I said this and more, the wretched man felt no remorse and refused to believe. Then when he was silent and the king saw that he was not conscience stricken because of my words, he turned to me and asked to receive my blessing that he might depart. He said: "I will say to you, bishop, what Jacob said to the angel, for he said to him, 'I will not let you go until you bless me.'" So saying he ordered water brought for our hands. After washing them we prayed, and taking bread I thanked God and took it myself and offered it to the king, and after a draught of wine I said farewell and left. And the king mounted his horse and returned to Paris with his wife and daughter and all his household.

6. There was at this time in the city of Nice a recluse Hospicius who was very abstemious. He wore iron chains next his body and over these a hair shirt and ate nothing but plain bread with a few dates. And during Lent he lived on roots of Egyptian herbs such as the hermits use, which were brought to him by traders. First he would drink the soup in which they were cooked and eat the roots next day. The Lord did not disdain to work great miracles through him. For at one time the Holy Spirit revealed to him **the coming of the Lombards into the Gauls** and he foretold it as follows: **"The Lombards," said he, "will come into the Gauls and will lay waste seven cities because their wickedness has grown in the sight of God,** since no one understands, no one seeks God, no one does good to appease the anger of God. For all the people are unfaithful, given up to perjury, addicted to thievery, ready to kill, and from them comes no fruit of justice at all. Tithes are not paid, the poor are not fed, the naked are not clothed, strangers are not received with hospitality or satisfied with food. Therefore this affliction has come. And now I say to you: 'Gather all your substance within the inclosure of the walls **that the Lombards may not take it,** and fortify yourselves in the strongest places.'" At these words all stood gaping and they said good-by and returned home with great admiration. He also said to the monks: "You, too, depart from the place and take with you what you have. For behold, **the people I have named draw near.**" But when they replied: "We will not leave you, most holy father," he said to them: "Don't fear for me; for they will offer me insults but they will not harm me unto death." The monks went away and that people came and laying waste all they found, they came to the place where the holy recluse of God was. And he showed himself to them at the window of the tower. They went all round the tower but could find no entrance by which they could come to him. Then two climbed up and pulled the roof off, and seeing him bound with chains and clad in a hair shirt they said: "Here is a malefactor who has killed a man and therefore is kept bound in these fetters." They called an interpreter and asked him what crime he had committed to be so confined in punishment. And he confessed that he was a homicide and guilty of all crime. Then one of them drew his sword to strike at his head, but his lifted right arm stiffened in the very act of striking and he could not draw it back to him. He let go the sword and let it fall on the ground. Seeing this, his comrades raised a shout to heaven begging the saint to declare to them kindly what they were to do. And he made the sign of salvation and restored the arm to health. The man was converted on the spot and received the tonsure and is now reckoned a most faithful monk. **And two dukes who listened to him returned safe to their native place but those who despised his command perished wretchedly in the province.**

(page 146-148)

...

39. Remigius, bishop of Bourges, also died. After his passing, a fire destroyed the greater part of the city; thus all that had survived the enemy's attack now perished in the flames. Thereafter, Sulpicius, whom King Guntram favoured, was chosen bishop. When many came to the king with gifts in their hands, he is said to have answered them in the following words: "We have not made it the custom of our reign to put a bishopric up for sale, nor should it be yours to purchase one with bribes, lest we for our part be branded with the shame of taking filthy lucre, and ye for your part be likened to Simon Magus. But as God hath foreknown, Sulpicius shall be your bishop." So Sulpicius was admitted to the priesthood, and succeeded to the bishopric of Bourges. **He is a man of right noble blood, coming of a senatorial family, among the first**



**in Gaul**; he is learned in rhetoric, and second to none in poetic skill. He it was who summoned the above-mentioned council, with regard to the parishes of Cahors.

(page 270, second source)

...

1. Now king Gunthram in the twenty-fourth year of his reign started from Chalon and went to the city of Nevers. For he was going to Paris by invitation to receive from the holy font of regeneration Chilperic's son, whom they were already calling Clothar. And he left the territory of Nevers and came to the city of Orleans and at that time appeared much among the citizens. For on receiving invitations he went to their homes and partook of the repasts offered him. He received many gifts from them and bestowed many gifts on them in a very generous way. And when he came to the city of Orleans the day was the festival of the blessed Martin, namely the fourth before the Nones of the fifth month [July 4]. And a huge throng of people came to meet him with standards and banners, singing praises. **And here the Syrian<sup>7</sup> language, there that of the Latins, and again that even of the Jews**, sounded together strangely in varied praises, saying: "Long live the king; may his reign over the people last unnumbered years." And the Jews who were to be seen taking part in these praises said: "May all the nations honor you and bend the knee and be subject to you." And so it happened that when the king was seated at dinner after mass he said: "**Woe to the Jewish tribe, wicked, treacherous, and always living by cunning**. Here's what they were after," said he, "when they cried out their flattering praises to-day, that all the nations were to honor me as master. [They wish me] to order their synagogue, long ago torn down by the Christians, to be built at the public cost; but by the Lord's command I will never do it." O King glorious for wonderful wisdom. **He so understood the craft of the heretics** that they entirely failed to get from him what they were going to propose later. (page 189)

...

2. In the morning while the king was visiting the holy places to offer prayer he came to my lodging. It was the church of Saint Avitus the abbot, whom I mention in my book of the miracles. I rose gladly, I admit, to go to meet him, and after giving him my blessing begged him to accept St. Martin's holy bread at my lodging. He did not refuse but courteously came in, drank a cup, invited me to the dinner and went away in good humor. At that time Bertram, bishop of Bordeaux, and Palladius of Saintes were in great disfavor with the king because of their support of Gundovald of which we have told above. Moreover bishop Palladius had especially offended the king because he had repeatedly deceived him. Now they had recently been under examination before the remaining bishops and the nobles as to why they had supported Gundovald and why they had foolishly ordained Faustian bishop of Ax at his command. But bishop Palladius took the blame for the ordination from his metropolitan Bertram and took it on his own shoulders, saying: "My metropolitan was suffering greatly from sore eyes and I was plundered and treated with indignity and dragged to the place against my will. I could do nothing else than obey **one who said he had received complete control of the Gauls**." When this was told the king he was greatly irritated so that he could scarcely be prevailed upon to invite to the dinner these bishops whom he had previously refused to see. So when Bertram came in the king asked: "Who is he?" For it had been a long time since he had seen him. And they said:

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<sup>7</sup> The name "Syrian language" was given to all of those from the Orient (except Jews), including for example Armenians.

"This is Bertram bishop of Bordeaux." And the king said to him: "We thank you for keeping faith as you have with your own family. For I would have you know, beloved father, **that you are my kinsman on my mother's side and you should not have brought a plague from abroad on your own people.**" When Bertram had been told this and more, the king turned to Palladius and said: "You do not deserve much gratitude either, bishop Palladius. For you perjured yourself to me three times — a hard thing to say of a bishop — sending me information full of treachery. You excused yourself to me by letter and at the same time you were inviting my brother in other letters. God will judge my cause since I have always tried to treat you as fathers of the church and you have always been treacherous." And he said to the bishops Nicasius and Antidius: "Most holy fathers, **tell me what you have done for the advantage of your country or the security of my kingdom.**" They made no reply and the king washed his hands and after receiving a blessing from the bishops sat at table with a glad countenance and a cheerful behavior as if he had said nothing about the wrongs done him. ...

4. "There is only one thing that I ask of you, my lord bishops, namely, to pray God's mercy for my son Childebert. For he is a man of sense and ability so that one so cautious and energetic as he could scarcely be found in many years. **And if God would deign to grant him to these Gauls perhaps there would be hope that by him our race, greatly weakened though it is, can rise again.** And I have confidence that this will happen through His mercy because the indications at the boy's birth were of this sort. For it was the holy day of Easter and my brother Sigibert was standing in the church and the deacon was walking in procession with the holy book of the Gospels, and a messenger came to the king, and the words of the deacon as he read from the Gospels and of the messenger were the same, saying: 'To thee a son has been born.' And when they both spoke together all the people cried out: 'Glory to all-powerful God.' Moreover he was baptized on the holy day of Pentecost and was made king also on the holy day of the Lord's birth. And so if your prayers attend him, God willing he will be able to rule." (pages 190-192)

...

15. We started on the journey and came to the town of Yvois and there were met by deacon Vulfilaic and taken to his monastery, where we received a very kind welcome. This monastery is situated on a mountain top about eight miles from the town I have mentioned. On this mountain Vulfilaic built a great church and made it famous for its relics of the blessed Martin and other saints. While staying there I began to ask him to tell me something of the blessing of his conversion and how he had entered the clergy, **for he was a Lombard by race.** (page 194)

...

25. Now **in the Gauls** the disease I have mentioned attacked the province of Marseilles, and a great famine oppressed Angers, Nantes, and Mans. (page 244)

...

26. Ragnemod, bishop of Paris, died. His brother, the priest Faramod, was candidate for his bishopric, but a certain merchant named Eusebius, **a Syrian by race**, offered many gifts for the post and was appointed to succeed. The episcopate once his, he dismissed the whole household of his predecessor, **appointing Syrians of his own kin** to serve in the bishop's house. Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges, also died; Eustasius, deacon of Autun, obtained his see.

(page 463, second source)

...

St. Gall was a servant of God from his youth up, loving the Lord with his whole heart, and he loved what he knew to be beloved by God. His father was named Georgius and his mother Leocadia, a descendant of Vectius Epagatus who, as the history of Eusebius relates, was a martyr at Lyons. **They belonged among the leading senators so that no family could be found in the Gauls better born or nobler.** And although Gall's father wished to ask for a certain senator's daughter for him, he took a single attendant and went to the monastery at Cournon, six miles from Clermont, and besought the abbot to consent to give him the tonsure. ... So it came that when the king went to Cologne, he went with him. **There was there a heathen temple full of various articles of worship where the neighboring barbarians** used to make offerings and stuff themselves with food and drink until they vomited; there also they worshipped images as god, and carved limbs in wood, each one the limb in which he had suffered pain.

(pages 260-261)

<https://ia802706.us.archive.org/4/items/historyoffranks01greg/historyoffranks01greg.pdf>  
<https://archive.org/details/historyoffranks0002greg/mode/2up>

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## Saint Augustine, Ten Homilies on the First Epistle of John (During the years about 407 to 409)

9. "Let us love, because He first loved us." For how should we love, except He had first loved us? By loving we became friends: but He loved us as enemies, that we might be made friends. He first loved us, and gave us the gift of loving Him. We did not yet love Him: by loving we are made beautiful. If a man deformed and ill-featured love a beautiful woman, what shall he do? **Or what shall a woman do, if, being deformed and ill-featured and black-complexioned, she love a beautiful man? By loving can she become beautiful?** Can he by loving become handsome? He loves a beautiful woman, and when he sees himself in a mirror, he is ashamed to lift up his face to her his lovely one of whom he is enamored. What shall he do that he may be beautiful? Does he wait for good looks to come? Nay rather, by waiting old age is added to him, and makes him uglier. **There is nothing then to do, there is no way to advise him, but only that he should restrain himself, and not presume to love unequally:** or if perchance he does love her, and wishes to take her to wife, in her let him love chastity, not the face of flesh.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf107.iv.xii.html>

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## Saint John Chrysostom, Homilies on First Timothy

(Between 386-397)

1 Timothy 5:8

***But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house,<sup>8</sup> he has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.***

Many consider that their own virtue is sufficient for their salvation, and if they duly regulate their own life, that nothing further is wanting to save them. But in this they greatly err, which is proved by the example of him who buried his one talent, for he brought it back not diminished but entire, and just as it had been delivered to him. **It is shown also by the blessed Paul, who says here, *If any one provide not for his own.* The provision of which he speaks is universal, and relates to the soul as well as the body, since both are to be provided for.**

***If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, that is, those who are nearly related to him, he is worse than an infidel. And so says Isaiah, the chief of the Prophets, You shall not overlook your kinsmen of your own seed. Isaiah 58:7 For if a man deserts those who are united by ties of kindred and affinity, how shall he be affectionate towards others? Will it not have the appearance of vainglory, when benefiting others he slights his own relations, and does not provide for them? And what will be said, if instructing others, he neglects his own, though he has greater facilities; and a higher obligation to benefit them? Will it not be said, **These Christians are affectionate indeed, who neglect their own relatives? He is worse than an infidel. Wherefore? Because the latter, if he benefits not aliens, does not neglect his near kindred.** What is meant is this: The law of God and of nature is violated by him who provides not for his own family. But if he who provides not for them has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel, where shall he be ranked who has injured his relatives? With whom shall he be placed? But how has he denied the faith? Even as it is said, *They profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him.* Titus 1:16 What has God, in whom they believe, commanded? ***Hide not yourself from your own flesh.* Isaiah 58:7<sup>9</sup> How does he then believe who thus denies God? **Let those consider this, who to spare their wealth neglect their kindred. It was the design of God, in uniting us by the ties of kindred, to afford us many opportunities of doing good to one another.** When therefore you neglect a duty which infidels perform, have you not denied the faith? For it is not faith merely to profess belief, but to do works worthy of faith. And it is possible in each particular to believe and not to believe. For since he had spoken of luxury and self-indulgence, he says that it is not for this only that such a woman is punished, because she is luxurious, but because her luxury compels her to neglect her household. This he*****

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<sup>8</sup> Family members are given a separate category, which shows us that – while direct family members have a special need of piety – your countrymen also deserve a bond of piety which is granted them on account of their shared origin with an individual. Saint Chrysostom explains the application of this in practice more sufficiently than I could.

<sup>9</sup> Isaiah is not referring to direct relations; as the chapter opens he mentions *a nation that hath done justice*, (ver. 2) and speaking of the poor of said nation commands his listeners to *bring the needy and the harbourless into thy house*: (ver. 7) referring to those outside of your relations also. Saint Chrysostom also evidently sees this when he mentions aliens.

says with reason; for she that lives to the belly, perishes hereby also, as *having denied the faith*. But how is she worse than an infidel? **Because it is not the same thing to neglect our kindred, as to neglect a stranger. How should it be? But the fault is greater here, to desert one known than one who is unknown to us, a friend than one who is not a friend.**

Ver. 9, 10. *Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man. Well reported of for good works.*

He had said, *Let them learn first to show piety at home, and to requite their parents*. He had also said, *She that lives in pleasure is dead while she lives*. He had said, ***If she provides not for her own she is worse than an infidel.*** Having mentioned the qualities **which not to have would render a woman unworthy to be reckoned among the widows**, he now mentions what she ought to have besides.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/230614.htm>

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## Saint Augustine, Commentary on Galatians<sup>10</sup> (394)

**Within that faith** there is no difference between Jews and Greeks, neither between slaves and free, nor between male and female. Inasmuch as all possess the faith, they are all one in Christ Jesus. And if this is achieved by the faith that makes you walk in holiness for this life, how much greater perfection and abundance will the vision itself make when we see you face to face? Although now we have the firstfruits of the Spirit that is life mercy to the justice of faith, **as the body is still dead because of sin, the difference based on nationality, social status or sex, has already been eliminated from the unity founded on faith, but still it remains in mortal existence. Moreover, its ordering must be maintained in the course of this life. The apostles send it, who give extremely healthy norms about how they should coexist, according to their different race, Jews and Greeks; according to their different social status, masters and slaves, and according to their different sex, husbands and wives, or according to any other differentiated situation that may occur. The same Lord did the same beforehand, who said: Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God. Some are the norms that we keep within the unity of the faith eliminating all differences, and others that we observe, as people on the way, in the ordering of this life, so that it is not an object of blasphemy, neither the name of God nor his doctrine.** And this we do not only thinking about anger, that is, to avoid offending men, but also for reasons of conscience. We do not pretend, so that men see us, but, from the pure consciousness of love, in attention to God, who wants all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. So, he says, *you are one in Christ Jesus*. Then he added: *But if you are one in Christ Jesus* to qualify and emphasize

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<sup>10</sup> Though this writing covers Galatians 3:28, I have included it within the main body of the survey for its relevant sections regarding race.

and then infer: *therefore you are the offspring of Abraham*. The meaning is this: Therefore, you are all one in Christ Jesus; and if you are one in Christ Jesus, then you are descendants of Abraham. Previously he had affirmed: *It does not say: And to the descendants*, as if they were many; but as referring to only one: *to your offspring, which is Christ*. Here it shows that, under this single offspring that is Christ, it is not only the Mediator himself who must be understood, but also the Church, his body of which he is the head. So in Christ all are one and, according to the promise, receive the inheritance by faith. With a view to that inheritance was enclosed; that is, with a view to his coming, as under a pedagogue, the people were guarded until they reached the necessary age, in which they were to be called to freedom those who in the same town have been called according to the divine plan, that is, , those who were found to be grain in that era.

<https://sites.google.com/site/aquinasstudybible/home/galatians/augustine-on-galatians-3>

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## Saint Theodoret of Cyrus, Commentary on Daniel (433)

And after you will arise a kingdom inferior to yours, that is, the Persian; he calls it inferior, not in the sense of weaker, but as coming second. And a third kingdom, of bronze, which will dominate the whole earth. He means the Macedonian: Alexander son of Philip gained control the whole earth, subjecting all people in his reign of twelve years. And there will be fourth kingdom, strong as iron: just as iron crushes and tames everything, so it will crush and tame everything (v. 40). He refers to the Roman Empire, which was the strongest and, so to say, prevailed over all the nations, taking tribute and taxes from all; he used crush and tame of it in reference to the submission, good order, and the rule of law. **And as you saw its feet and toes were partly iron and partly clay; it will be another, divided kingdom, and some of the strength of iron will be in it in the way you saw the iron mixed with potter's clay (v. 41).** He used other not in respect of quantity but in respect of the quality of power: if he had meant in respect of quantity, other would have meant it was a fifth kingdom, as he had already referred to a third and a fourth. Since, however, he knew the final stages of the iron kingdom would be weaker, he used other on account of the weakness, and rightly so: he had shown it to be by far the strongest initially, its early stages being like that, whereas (he means) not even its final stages will be completely weak. **Some of the strength of the iron will be in it in the way you saw the iron mixed with potting clay. And the toes of the feet were partly iron and partly clay (vv. 41–42). This does not call for comment from us: the prophet himself gives the interpretation in saying A part of the kingdom will be strong, and will be crushed by it. After this he proceeds, As you saw the iron mixed with potter's clay, they will be mixed in human offspring (v. 43). This it is in particular that brings out that this is no different kingdom from the iron one, only the same one in a weaker condition, part of it being strong and part of it weak; a bond of kinship will connect the weak part with the strong, suggested by the phrase they will be mixed in human offspring. He is saying, There will**

**be a mingling and intermarriage of the one and the other, but discord will spoil the rights of kinship: the one will not be attached to the other (he is saying), just as iron does not mix with clay.**

While we for our part have thus understood the meaning of the divinely inspired Daniel, therefore, we ought also give attention to the views of some commentators before us, which is the way for the truth to be demonstrated more obviously. Some historians, then, claim that the fourth kingdom—namely, the iron one—is Alexander the Macedonian; its feet and the toes of the feet were a mixture of iron and clay—namely, the Macedonians ruling after him, successors of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Antiochus, and Demetrius, **some holding a weak grasp on power, others a very vigorous grasp, contracting intermarriage and being involved in relationships with one another.** Now, they should understand, firstly, that he said the head of gold was Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the kingdom of the Babylonians (or, if you like, Assyrians). **The kingdom of the Persians and Medes together succeeded to that, Cyrus being from both races,** and while ruling the one and the other he destroyed the kingdom of the Babylonians and gained control of the Persians. The Persians' kingdom, the second, Alexander the Macedonian destroyed, and blessed Daniel declared he dominated the whole earth, calling it the third kingdom. There was no other than that of the Romans to succeed to it. They need, therefore, to understand and grasp from the numbering and from the factors outlined that the third kingdom, of bronze, is that of the Macedonians, and the fourth, of iron, is that of the Romans. If, on the other hand, they even judged this to be definitely more obscure, they should at least have discerned the prediction from the conclusion: as soon as he pointed out the weakness of the iron kingdom's clay extremity, he went on, And in the days of those kingdoms, namely, **the clay and iron ones that intermingled and contracted a relationship with each other without this resulting in harmony.** The God of heaven will raise up a kingdom that will never be destroyed, and this kingdom will not be left to another people. It will smash and scatter all the kingdoms, and it will stand forever, in the way you saw that a stone was hewn from a mountain without hands being used, and it smashed the clay, the iron, the bronze, the silver and the gold (vv. 44–45).

<https://epdf.pub/theodoret-of-cyrus-commentary-on-daniel-sbl-society-of-biblical-literature-writi.html>

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## Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council

(1215)

### 67. Jews and excessive Usury

The more the christian religion is restrained from usurious practices, **so much the more does the perfidy of the Jews grow** in these matters, so that within a short time they are exhausting the resources of Christians. Wishing therefore to see that Christians are not

**savagely oppressed by Jews in this matter**, we ordain by this synodal decree that if Jews in future, on any pretext, extort oppressive and *excessive* interest from Christians, then they are to be removed from contact with Christians until they have made adequate satisfaction for the immoderate burden. Christians too, if need be, shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censure, without the possibility of an appeal, to abstain from commerce with them. **We enjoin upon princes not to be hostile to Christians on this account, but rather to be zealous in restraining Jews from so great oppression.** We decree, under the same penalty, that Jews shall be compelled to make satisfaction to churches for tithes and offerings due to the churches, which the churches were accustomed to receive from Christians for houses and other possessions, before they passed by whatever title to the Jews, so that the churches may thus be preserved from loss.

#### 68. Jews appearing in public

A difference of dress distinguishes Jews or Saracens from Christians in some provinces, but in others a certain confusion has developed so that they are indistinguishable. **Whence it sometimes happens that by mistake Christians join with Jewish or Saracen women, and Jews or Saracens with christian women. In order that the offence of such a damnable mixing may not spread further**, under the excuse of a mistake of this kind, we decree that such persons of either sex, in every christian province and at all times, are to be distinguished in public from other people by the character of their dress — **seeing moreover that this was enjoined upon them by Moses himself**, as we read. **They shall not appear in public at all on the days of lamentation and on passion Sunday<sup>11</sup>; because some of them on such days, as we have heard, do not blush to parade in very ornate dress and are not afraid to mock Christians who are presenting a memorial of the most sacred passion and are displaying signs of grief.** What we most strictly forbid however, is that they dare in any way to break out in derision of the Redeemer. We order secular princes to restrain with condign punishment those who do so presume, lest they dare to blaspheme in any way him who was crucified for us, since we ought not to ignore insults against him who blotted out our wrongdoings.

#### 69. Jews not to hold public offices

**It would be too absurd for a blasphemer of Christ to exercise power over Christians. We therefore renew in this canon, on account of the boldness of the offenders, what the council of Toledo providently decreed in this matter: we forbid Jews to be appointed to public offices, since under cover of them they are very hostile to Christians.** If, however, anyone does commit such an office to them let him, after an admonition, be curbed by the provincial council, which we order to be held annually, by means of an appropriate sanction. Any official so appointed shall be denied commerce with Christians in business and in other matters until he has converted to the use of poor Christians, in accordance with the directions of the diocesan bishop, whatever he has obtained from

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<sup>11</sup> This tradition dates back to 581, when the Synod of Mâcon issued a canon requiring that Jews be banned from public appearance, from Maundy Thursday until Easter Monday.



Christians by reason of his office so acquired, and **he shall surrender with shame the office which he irreverently assumed. We extend the same thing to pagans.**

#### 70. Jewish converts may not retain their old rite

**Certain people who have come voluntarily to the waters of sacred baptism, as we learnt, do not wholly cast off the old person in order to put on the new more perfectly.<sup>12</sup> For, in keeping remnants of their former rite, they upset the decorum of the christian religion by such a mixing.** Since it is written, cursed is he who enters the land by two paths, and a garment that is woven from linen and wool together should not be put on, **we therefore decree that such people shall be wholly prevented by the prelates of churches from observing their old rite, so that those who freely offered themselves to the christian religion may be kept to its observance by a salutary and necessary coercion.** For it is a lesser evil not to know the Lord's way than to go back on it after having known it.

<https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum12-2.htm>

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Saint Clement of Alexandria, The Stromata  
(During the years about 200 to 215)

#### Book I

These are the times of the oldest wise men and philosophers among the Greeks. **And that the most of them were barbarians by extraction, and were trained among barbarians, what need is there to say? Pythagoras is shown to have been either a Tuscan or a Tyrian. And Antisthenes was a Phrygian. And Orpheus was an Odrysian or a Thracian. The most, too, show Homer to have been an Egyptian. Thales was a Phœnician by birth, and was said to have consorted with the prophets of the Egyptians; as also Pythagoras did with the same persons, by whom he was circumcised, that he might enter the adytum and learn from the Egyptians the mystic philosophy. He held converse with the chief of the Chaldeans and the Magi<sup>13</sup>; and he gave a hint of the church, now so called, in the common hall which he maintained.**

**And Plato does not deny that he procured all that is most excellent in philosophy from the barbarians;** and he admits that he came into Egypt. Whence, writing in the Phœdo that the philosopher can receive aid from all sides, **he said: "Great indeed is Greece, O Cebes, in which everywhere there are good men, and many are the races of the barbarians."** Thus Plato **thinks that some of the barbarians, too, are philosophers. But**

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<sup>12</sup> This command – as an explicitly racial definition of Jews – paints all of the other canons in a more racial light; rather than just being a religious distinction, as is made in regard to Muslims.

<sup>13</sup> So then, this passage does not refer to barbarians as those of foreign philosophies, but those of foreign races.

Epicurus, on the other hand, supposes that only Greeks can philosophise. And in the *Symposium*, Plato, lauding the barbarians as practising philosophy with conspicuous excellence, truly says: “And in many other instances both among Greeks and barbarians, whose temples reared for such sons are already numerous.” And it is clear that the barbarians signally honoured their lawgivers and teachers, designating them gods. For, according to Plato, “they think that good souls, on quitting the super-celestial region, submit to come to this Tartarus; and assuming a body, share in all the ills which are involved in birth, from their solicitude for the race of men;” and these make laws and publish philosophy, “than which no greater boon ever came from the gods to the race of men, or will come.”

And as appears to me, it was in consequence of perceiving the great benefit which is conferred through wise men, **that the men themselves were honoured and philosophy cultivated publicly by all the Brahmins, and the Odrysi, and the Getæ. And such were strictly deified by the race of the Egyptians, by the Chaldeans and the Arabians, called the Happy, and those that inhabited Palestine, by not the least portion of the Persian race, and by innumerable other races besides these**. And it is well known that Plato is found perpetually celebrating the barbarians, remembering that both himself and Pythagoras learned the most and the noblest of their dogmas among the barbarians. **Wherefore he also called the racess of the barbarians, “racess of barbarian philosophers,” recognising, in the Phædrus, the Egyptian king, and shows him to us wiser than Theut, whom he knew to be Hermes**. But in the *Charmides*, it is manifest that he knew certain Thracians who were said to make the soul immortal. And Pythagoras is reported to have been a disciple of Sonches the Egyptian arch-prophet; and Plato, of Sechnuphis of Heliopolis; and Eudoxus, of Cnidius of Konuphis, who was also an Egyptian. And in his book, *On the Soul*, Plato again manifestly recognises prophecy, when he introduces a prophet announcing the word of Lachesis, uttering predictions to the souls whose destiny is becoming fixed. And in the *Timæus* he introduces Solon, **the very wise, learning from the barbarian**. The substance of the declaration is to the following effect: “O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children. And no Greek is an old man. For you have no learning that is hoary with age.”

Democritus appropriated the Babylonian ethic discourses, for he is said to have combined with his own compositions a translation of the column of Acicarus. And you may find the distinction notified by him when he writes, “Thus says Democritus.” About himself, too, where, pluming himself on his erudition, he says, “**I have roamed over the most ground of any man of my time, investigating the most remote parts. I have seen the most skies and lands, and I have heard of learned men in very great numbers. And in composition no one has surpassed me; in demonstration, not even those among the Egyptians who are called Arpenodaptæ, with all of whom I lived in exile up to eighty years**.” For he went to Babylon, and Persis, and Egypt, to learn from the Magi and the priests.

**Zoroaster the Magus, Pythagoras showed to be a Persian**. Of the secret books of this man, those who follow the heresy of Prodicus boast to be in possession. Alexander, in his book *On the Pythagorean Symbols*, relates that Pythagoras was a pupil of **Nazaratus the Assyrian** (some think that he is Ezekiel; but he is not, as will afterwards be shown), and will have it that, in addition to these, **Pythagoras was a hearer of the Galatæ and the Brahmins**.

Clearchus the Peripatetic says that he knew a Jew who associated with Aristotle. Heraclitus says that, not humanly, but rather by God's aid, the Sibyl spoke. They say, accordingly, that at Delphi a stone was shown beside the oracle, on which, it is said, sat the first Sibyl, who came from Helicon, and had been reared by the Muses. **But some say that she came from Milea, being the daughter of Lamia of Sidon.** And Serapion, in his epic verses, says that the Sibyl, even when dead, ceased not from divination. And he writes that, what proceeded from her into the air after her death, was what gave oracular utterances in voices and omens; and on her body being changed into earth, and the grass as natural growing out of it, whatever beasts happening to be in that place fed on it exhibited to men an accurate knowledge of futurity by their entrails. He thinks also, that the face seen in the moon is her soul. So much for the Sibyl.

**Numa the king of the Romans was a Pythagorean,** and aided by the precepts of Moses, prohibited from making an image of God in human form, and of the shape of a living creature. Accordingly, during the first hundred and seventy years, though building temples, they made no cast or graven image. For Numa secretly showed them that the Best of Beings could not be apprehended except by the mind alone. **Thus philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations.** And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks **were the prophets of the Egyptians; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians; and the Druids among the Gauls; and the Samanæans among the Bactrians; and the philosophers of the Celts; and the Magi of the Persians,** who foretold the Saviour's birth, and came into the land of Judæa guided by a star. **The Indian gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes, some of them called Sarmanæ, and others Brahmins.** And those of the Sarmanæ who are called Hylobii neither inhabit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not marriage nor begetting of children.

Some, too, **of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha;** whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to divine honours.

**Anacharsis was a Scythian,** and is recorded to have **excelled many philosophers among the Greeks. And the Hyperboreans, Hellanicus relates, dwelt beyond the Riphæan mountains, and inculcated justice, not eating flesh, but using nuts.** Those who are sixty years old they take without the gates, and do away with. **There are also among the Germans** those called sacred women, who, by inspecting the whirlpools of rivers and the eddies, and observing the noises of streams, presage and predict future events. These did not allow the men to fight against Cæsar till the new moon shone.

Of all these, **by far the oldest is the Jewish race;** and that their philosophy committed to writing has the precedence of philosophy among the Greeks, the Pythagorean Philo shows at large; and, besides him, Aristobulus the Peripatetic, and several others, not to waste time, in going over them by name. **Very clearly the author Megasthenes, the contemporary of Seleucus Nicanor, writes as follows in the third of his books, *On Indian Affairs*: "All that was said about nature by the ancients is said also by those who philosophise beyond**

**Greece: some things by the Brahmins among the Indians, and others by those called Jews in Syria.”** Some more fabulously say that certain of those called the Idæan Dactyli were the first wise men; to whom are attributed the invention of what are called the “Ephesian letters,” and of numbers in music. For which reason dactyls in music received their name. **And the Idæan Dactyli were Phrygians and barbarians.** Herodotus relates that Hercules, having grown a sage **and a student of physics, received from the barbarian Atlas, the Phrygian, the columns of the universe;** the fable meaning that he received by instruction the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. And Hermippus of Berytus calls Charon the Centaur wise; about whom, he that wrote *The Battle of the Titans* says, “that he first led the race of mortals to righteousness, by teaching them the solemnity of the oath, and propitiatory sacrifices and the figures of Olympus.” By him Achilles, who fought at Troy, was taught. And Hippo, the daughter of the Centaur, who dwelt with Æolus, taught him her father’s science, the knowledge of physics. Euripides also testifies of Hippo as follows:—

“Who first, by oracles, presaged,

And by the rising stars, events divine.”

By this Æolus, Ulysses was received as a guest after the taking of Troy. Mark the epochs by comparison with the age of Moses, and with the high antiquity of the philosophy promulgated by him.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02/anf02.vi.iv.i.xv.html>

## Book VII

**These salutary revolutions, in accordance with the order of change, are distinguished both by times, and places, and honours, and cognitions, and heritages, and ministries, according to the particular order of each change, up to the transcendent and continual contemplation of the Lord in eternity.**

Now that which is lovable leads, to the contemplation of itself, each one who, from love of knowledge, applies himself entirely to contemplation. Wherefore also the Lord, drawing the commandments, both the first which He gave, and the second, from one fountain, neither allowed those who were before the law to be without law, **nor permitted those who were unacquainted with the principles of the Barbarian philosophy to be without restraint. For, having furnished the one with the commandments, and the other with philosophy, He shut up unbelief to the Advent. Whence every one who believes not is without excuse. For by a different process of advancement, both Greek and Barbarian, He leads to the perfection which is by faith.**

And if any one of the Greeks, passing over the preliminary training of the Hellenic philosophy, proceeds directly to the true teaching, he distances others, though an unlettered man, by choosing the compendious process of salvation by faith to perfection.

Everything, then, **which did not hinder a man's choice from being free, He made and rendered auxiliary to virtue, in order that there might be revealed somehow or other, even to those capable of seeing but dimly,** the one only almighty, good God—from eternity to eternity saving by His Son.

And, on the other hand, He is in no respect whatever the cause of evil. For all things are arranged with a view to the salvation of the universe by the Lord of the universe, both generally and particularly. It is then the function of the righteousness of salvation to improve everything as far as practicable. **For even minor matters are arranged with a view to the salvation of that which is better, and for an abode suitable for people's character.** Now everything that is virtuous changes for the better; having as the proper cause of change the free choice of knowledge, which the soul has in its own power. **But necessary corrections, through the goodness of the great overseeing Judge, both by the attendant angels, and by various acts of anticipative judgment, and by the perfect judgment, compel egregious sinners to repent.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.vi.iv.vii.ii.html>

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In the following passages regarding the study of changing natures, Origen reads a passage from Isaiah, which can be helpful in understanding the concept of ethnic divides in the Early Christian mind.

“All the kings of the nations have all of them slept in glory, every one in his own house.”  
(Isaiah 14:18)

The Hebrew word which is here used for “nations” is “גוֹי”, transliterated “goy”; which is of course an expression of the word goy/goyim. This word has of course a distinctly ethnic meaning, and is often used in later eras to refer to the ethnic groups outside of the Kingdom of Israel. It is most notable perhaps in its use in Genesis 25, regarding the birth of Esau and Jacob; giving a clear equivalence of nations and their ancestral paterfamilias.

“And he answering said: Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be divided out of thy womb, and one people shall overcome the other, and the elder shall serve the younger. And when her time was come to be delivered, behold twins were found in her womb. He that came forth first was red, and hairy like a skin: and his name was called Esau. Immediately the other coming forth, held his brother's foot in his hand, and therefore he was called Jacob.” (Genesis 25:23-25)

Yet, Abraham and Jacob, both of whom are ancestral markers of the bloodline of Israel, are called gentiles; because the word simply refers to an ethnic nation. Though this brings up a discussion which is perhaps for a later time.

## Origen, De Principiis (About 230)

### Book I

And certainly, in a place where we have been discussing the subject of rational natures, it is not proper to be silent regarding ourselves, who are human beings, and are called rational animals; nay, even this point is not to be idly passed over, **that even of us human beings certain different orders are mentioned in the words**, “The portion of the Lord is His people Jacob; Israel is the cord of His inheritance.” Other nations, moreover, are called a part of the angels; since “when the Most High divided the nations, and dispersed the sons of Adam, He fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.” And therefore, with other rational natures, we must also thoroughly examine the reason of the human soul.

...

For it was proved that there was nothing compound in the nature of the Trinity, so that these qualities might seem to belong to it as accidental consequences. **From which it follows, that in the case of every creature it is a result of his own works and movements, that those powers which appear either to hold sway over others or to exercise power or dominion, have been preferred to and placed over those whom they are said to govern or exercise power over, and not in consequence of a peculiar privilege inherent in their constitutions, but on account of merit.**

...

We have shown, then, that what we have quoted regarding the prince of Tyre from the prophet Ezekiel refers to an adverse power, and by it it is most clearly proved that that power was formerly holy and happy; from which state of happiness it fell from the time that iniquity was found in it, and was hurled to the earth, and was not such by nature and creation. **We are of opinion, therefore, that these words are spoken of a certain angel who had received the office of governing the nation of the Tyrians, and to whom also their souls had been entrusted to be taken care of. But what Tyre, or what souls of Tyrians, we ought to understand, whether that Tyre which is situated within the boundaries of the province of Phœnicia, or some other of which, this one which we know on earth is the model; and the souls of the Tyrians, whether they are those of the former or those which belong to that Tyre which is spiritually understood, does not seem to be a matter requiring examination in this place; lest perhaps we should appear to investigate subjects of so much mystery and importance in a cursory manner, whereas they demand a labour and work of their own.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.vi.v.ii.v.html>

## Book II

3. Now we term world everything which is above the heavens, or in the heavens, or upon the earth, or in those places which are called the lower regions, or all places whatever that anywhere exist, together with their inhabitants. This whole, then, is called world. In which world certain beings are said to be super-celestial, i.e., placed in happier abodes, and clothed with heavenly and resplendent bodies; and among these many distinctions are shown to exist, the apostle, e.g., saying, "That one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory." **Certain beings are called earthly, and among them, i.e., among men, there is no small difference; for some of them are Barbarians, others Greeks; and of the Barbarians some are savage and fierce, and others of a milder disposition. And certain of them live under laws that have been thoroughly approved; others, again, under laws of a more common or severe kind; while some, again, possess customs of an inhuman and savage character, rather than laws. And certain of them, from the hour of their birth, are reduced to humiliation and subjection, and brought up as slaves, being placed under the dominion either of masters, or princes, or tyrants. Others, again, are brought up in a manner more consonant with freedom and reason: some with sound bodies, some with bodies diseased from their early years; some defective in vision, others in hearing and speech; some born in that condition, others deprived of the use of their senses immediately after birth, or at least undergoing such misfortune on reaching manhood. And why should I repeat and enumerate all the horrors of human misery, from which some have been free, and in which others have been involved, when each one can weigh and consider them for himself? **There are also certain invisible powers to which earthly things have been entrusted for administration; and amongst them no small difference must be believed to exist, as is also found to be the case among men.** The Apostle Paul indeed intimates that there are certain lower powers, and that among them, in like manner, **must undoubtedly be sought a ground of diversity.** Regarding dumb animals, and birds, and those creatures which live in the waters, it seems superfluous to require; **since it is certain that these ought to be regarded not as of primary, but of subordinate rank.****

...

6. We, however, although but men, not to nourish the insolence of the heretics by our silence, will return to their objections such answers as occur to us, so far as our abilities enable us. We have frequently shown, by those declarations which we were able to produce from the holy Scriptures, that God, the Creator of all things, is good, and just, and all-powerful. When He in the beginning created those beings which He desired to create, i.e., rational natures, He had no other reason for creating them than on account of Himself, i.e., His own goodness. **As He Himself, then, was the cause of the existence of those things which were to be created, in whom there was neither any variation nor change, nor want of power, He created all whom He made equal and alike, because there was in Himself no reason for producing variety and diversity. But since those rational creatures themselves, as we have frequently shown, and will yet show in the proper place, were endowed with the power of free-will, this freedom of will incited each one either to progress by imitation of God, or reduced him to failure through negligence. And this, as we have already stated, is the**

**cause of the diversity among rational creatures, deriving its origin not from the will or judgment of the Creator, but from the freedom of the individual will. Now God, who deemed it just to arrange His creatures according to their merit, brought down these different understandings into the harmony of one world, that He might adorn, as it were, one dwelling, in which there ought to be not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and clay (and some indeed to honour, and others to dishonour), with those different vessels, or souls, or understandings.** And these are the causes, in my opinion, why that world presents the aspect of diversity, while Divine Providence continues to regulate each individual according to the variety of his movements, or of his feelings and purpose. On which account the Creator will neither appear to be unjust in distributing (for the causes already mentioned) to every one according to his merits; **nor will the happiness or unhappiness of each one's birth, or whatever be the condition that falls to his lot, be deemed accidental;** nor will different creators, or souls of different natures, be believed to exist.

7. But even holy Scripture does not appear to me to be altogether silent on the nature of this secret, as when the Apostle Paul, in discussing the case of Jacob and Esau, says: "For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him who calleth, it was said, The elder shall serve the younger, as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." And after that, he answers himself, and says, "What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God?" And that he might furnish us with an opportunity of inquiring into these matters, and of ascertaining how these things do not happen without a reason, he answers himself, and says, "God forbid." **For the same question, as it seems to me, which is raised concerning Jacob and Esau, may be raised regarding all celestial and terrestrial creatures, and even those of the lower world as well.** And in like manner it seems to me, that as he there says, "The children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil," so it might also be said of all other things, "When they were not yet" created, "neither had yet done any good or evil, that the decree of God according to election may stand," that (as certain think) some things on the one hand were created heavenly, some on the other earthly, and others, again, beneath the earth, "not of works" (as they think), "but of Him who calleth," what shall we say then, if these things are so? "Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid." As, therefore, when the Scriptures are carefully examined regarding Jacob and Esau, it is not found to be unrighteousness with God that it should be said, before they were born, or had done anything in this life, "the elder shall serve the younger;" and as it is found not to be unrighteousness that even in the womb Jacob supplanted his brother, if we feel that he was worthily beloved by God, according to the deserts of his previous life<sup>14</sup>, so as to deserve to be preferred before his brother; so also is it with regard to heavenly creatures, **if we notice that diversity was not the original condition of the creature, but that, owing to causes that have previously existed, a different office is prepared by the Creator for each one in proportion to the degree of his merit, on this ground, indeed, that each one, in respect of having been created by God an understanding, or a rational spirit, has, according to the movements of his mind and the**

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<sup>14</sup> Origen did not believe in reincarnation, but of the pre-existence of souls. However, his view here seems to be based moreso on the inheritance of the sins of ancestors, as seen in his descriptions of Ethiopians as an "ignoble race," as seen repeatedly in his commentary on Song of Songs.



feelings of his soul, gained for himself a greater or less amount of merit, and has become either an object of love to God, or else one of dislike to Him; while, nevertheless, some of those who are possessed of greater merit are ordained to suffer with others for the adorning of the state of the world, and for the discharge of duty to creatures of a lower grade, in order that by this means they themselves may be participators in the endurance of the Creator, according to the words of the apostle: “For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope.” Keeping in view, then, the sentiment expressed by the apostle, when, speaking of the birth of Esau and Jacob, he says, “Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid,” I think it right that this same sentiment should be carefully applied to the case of all other creatures, because, as we formerly remarked, the righteousness of the Creator ought to appear in everything. **And this, it appears to me, will be seen more clearly at last, if each one, whether of celestial or terrestrial or infernal beings, be said to have the causes of his diversity in himself, and antecedent to his bodily birth.** For all things were created by the Word of God, and by His Wisdom, and were set in order by His Justice. And by the grace of His compassion He provides for all men, **and encourages all to the use of whatever remedies may lead to their cure, and incites them to salvation.**

8. As, then, there is no doubt that at the day of judgment the good will be separated from the bad, and the just from the unjust, and all by the sentence of God will be distributed according to their deserts throughout those places of which they are worthy, so I am of opinion some such state of things was formerly the case, as, God willing, we shall show in what follows. For God must be believed to do and order all things and at all times according to His judgment. For the words which the apostle uses when he says, “In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour;” and those which he adds, saying, “If a man purge himself, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master’s use, unto every good work,” undoubtedly point out this, that he who shall purge himself when he is in this life, will be prepared for every good work in that which is to come; while he who does not purge himself will be, according to the amount of his impurity, a vessel unto dishonour, i.e., unworthy. **It is therefore possible to understand that there have been also formerly rational vessels, whether purged or not, i.e., which either purged themselves or did not do so, and that consequently every vessel, according to the measure of its purity or impurity, received a place, or region, or condition by birth, or an office to discharge, in this world.** All of which, down to the humblest, God providing for and distinguishing by the power of His wisdom, arranges all things by His controlling judgment, according to a most impartial retribution, so far as each one ought to be assisted or cared for in conformity with his deserts. In which certainly every principle of equity is shown, **while the inequality of circumstances preserves the justice of a retribution according to merit.** But the grounds of the merits in each individual case are only recognised truly and clearly by God Himself, along with His only-begotten Word, and His Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.vi.v.iii.ix.html>

2. Since the heretics, however, think themselves persons of great learning and wisdom, we shall ask them if every body has a form of some kind, i.e., is fashioned according to some shape. **And if they shall say that a body is that which is fashioned according to no shape, they will show themselves to be the most ignorant and foolish of mankind. For no one will deny this, save him who is altogether without any learning.** But if, as a matter of course, they say that every body is certainly fashioned according to some definite shape, we shall ask them if they can point out and describe to us the shape of a spiritual body; a thing which they can by no means do. We shall ask them, moreover, about the differences of those who rise again. How will they show that statement to be true, that there is “one flesh of birds, another of fishes; bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial; that the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial another; that one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars; that one star differeth from another star in glory; and that so is the resurrection of the dead?” **According to that gradation, then, which exists among heavenly bodies, let them show to us the differences in the glory of those who rise again; and if they have endeavoured by any means to devise a principle that may be in accordance with the differences in heavenly bodies, we shall ask them to assign the differences in the resurrection by a comparison of earthly bodies. Our understanding of the passage indeed is, that the apostle, wishing to describe the great difference among those who rise again in glory, i.e., of the saints, borrowed a comparison from the heavenly bodies, saying, “One is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars.”** And wishing again to teach us the differences among those who shall come to the resurrection, without having purged themselves in this life, i.e., sinners, he borrowed an illustration from earthly things, saying, “There is one flesh of birds, another of fishes.” For heavenly things are worthily compared to the saints, and earthly things to sinners. These statements are made in reply to those who deny the resurrection of the dead, i.e., the resurrection of bodies.

3. We now turn our attention to some of our own (believers), who, either from feebleness of intellect or want of proper instruction, adopt a very low and abject view of the resurrection of the body. We ask these persons in what manner they understand that an animal body is to be changed by the grace of the resurrection, and to become a spiritual one; and how that which is sown in weakness will arise in power; how that which is planted in dishonour will arise in glory; and that which was sown in corruption, will be changed to a state of incorruption. Because if they believe the apostle, that a body which arises in glory, and power, and incorruptibility, has already become spiritual, it appears absurd and contrary to his meaning to say that it can again be entangled with the passions of flesh and blood, seeing the apostle manifestly declares that “flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, nor shall corruption inherit incorruption.” But how do they understand the declaration of the apostle, “We shall all be changed?” This transformation certainly is to be looked for, according to the order which we have taught above; and in it, undoubtedly, it becomes us to hope for something worthy of divine grace; and this we believe will take place in the order in which the apostle describes the sowing in the ground of a “bare grain of corn, or of any other fruit,” to which “God gives a body as it pleases Him,” as soon as the grain of corn is dead. For in the same way also our bodies are to be supposed to fall into

the earth like a grain; and (that germ being implanted in them which contains the bodily substance) although the bodies die, and become corrupted, and are scattered abroad, yet by the word of God, that very germ which is always safe in the substance of the body, raises them from the earth, and restores and repairs them, as the power which is in the grain of wheat, after its corruption and death, repairs and restores the grain into a body having stalk and ear. And so also to those who shall deserve to obtain an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, that germ of the body's restoration, which we have before mentioned, **by God's command restores out of the earthly and animal body a spiritual one, capable of inhabiting the heavens; while to each one of those who may be of inferior merit, or of more abject condition, or even the lowest in the scale, and altogether thrust aside, there is yet given, in proportion to the dignity of his life and soul, a glory and dignity of body,**—nevertheless in such a way, that even the body which rises again of those who are to be destined to everlasting fire or to severe punishments, is by the very change of the resurrection so incorruptible, that it cannot be corrupted and dissolved even by severe punishments. If, then, such be the qualities of that body which will arise from the dead, let us now see what is the meaning of the threatening of eternal fire.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.v.iii.x.html>

### Book III

**Nay, that very declaration, that from the same lump a vessel is formed both to honour and to dishonour,** will not push us hard; for we assert that the nature of all rational souls is the same, as one lump of clay is described as being under the treatment of the potter. Seeing, then, the nature of rational creatures is one, God, according to the previous grounds of merit, created and formed out of it, as the potter out of the one lump, some persons to honour and others to dishonour. Now, as regards the language of the apostle, which he utters as if in a tone of censure, “Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?” he means, I think, to point out that such a censure does not refer to any believer who lives rightly and justly, and who has confidence in God, i.e., to such an one as Moses was, of whom Scripture says that “Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice;” and as God answered Moses, so also does every saint answer God. But he who is an unbeliever, and loses confidence in answering before God owing to the unworthiness of his life and conversation, and who, in relation to these matters, does not seek to learn and make progress, but to oppose and resist, and who, to speak more plainly, is such an one as to be able to say those words which the apostle indicates, when he says, “Why, then, does He yet find fault? for who will resist His will?”—to such an one may the censure of the apostle rightly be directed, “Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?” This censure accordingly applies not to believers and saints, but to unbelievers and wicked men.

Now, to those who introduce souls of different natures, and who turn this declaration of the apostle to the support of their own opinion, we have to reply as follows: If even they are agreed as to what the apostle says, **that out of the one lump are formed both those who are made to honour and those who are made to dishonour,** whom they term of a nature that is to be

saved and destroyed, there will then be no longer souls of different natures, but one nature for all. And if they admit that one and the same potter may undoubtedly denote one Creator, there will not be different creators either of those who are saved, or of those who perish. Now, truly, let them choose whether they will have a good Creator to be intended who creates bad and ruined men, or one who is not good, who creates good men and those who are prepared to honour. For the necessity of returning an answer will extort from them one of these two alternatives. But according to our declaration, whereby we say that it is owing to preceding causes that God makes vessels either to honour or to dishonour, the approval of God's justice is in no respect limited. **For it is possible that this vessel, which owing to previous causes was made in this world to honour, may, if it behave negligently, be converted in another world, according to the deserts of its conduct, into a vessel unto dishonour:** as again, if any one, owing to preceding causes, was formed by his Creator in this life a vessel unto dishonour, and shall mend his ways and cleanse himself from all filth and vice, he may, in the new world, be made a vessel to honour, sanctified and useful, and prepared unto every good work. **Finally, those who were formed by God in this world to be Israelites, and who have lived a life unworthy of the nobility of their race, and have fallen away from the grandeur of their descent, will, in the world to come, in a certain degree be converted, on account of their unbelief, from vessels of honour into vessels of dishonour; while, on the other hand, many who in this life were reckoned among Egyptian or Idumean vessels, having adopted the faith and practice of Israelites, when they shall have done the works of Israelites, and shall have entered the Church of the Lord, will exist as vessels of honour in the revelation of the sons of God.** From which it is more agreeable to the rule of piety to believe that every rational being, **according to his purpose and manner of life, is converted, sometimes from bad to good, and falls away sometimes from good to bad:** that some abide in good, and others advance to a better condition, and always ascend to higher things, until they reach the highest grade of all; **while others, again, remain in evil, or, if the wickedness within them begin to spread itself further, they descend to a worse condition,** and sink into the lowest depth of wickedness. Whence also we must suppose that it is possible there may be some who began at first indeed with small offences, but who have poured out wickedness to such a degree, and attained such proficiency in evil, that in the measure of their wickedness they are equal even to the opposing powers: and again, if, by means of many severe administrations of punishment, they are able at some future time to recover their senses, and gradually attempt to find healing for their wounds, they may, on ceasing from their wickedness, be restored to a state of goodness. **Whence we are of opinion that, seeing the soul, as we have frequently said, is immortal and eternal, it is possible that, in the many and endless periods of duration in the immeasurable and different worlds, it may descend from the highest good to the lowest evil, or be restored from the lowest evil to the highest good.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.v.iv.ii.html>

## Book IV

**Do not, then, the "corporeal" Israelites refer their descent to the rulers of the people,**

and the rulers of the people to the patriarchs, and the patriarchs to Jacob, and those still higher up; while are not the “spiritual” Israelites, of whom the “corporeal” Israelites were the type, **sprung from the families, and the families from the tribes, and the tribes from some one individual whose descent is not of a “corporeal” but of a better kind,**—he, too, being born of Isaac, and he of Abraham,—all going back to Adam, whom the apostle declares to be Christ?

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.v.v.ii.html>

## Book IV

For perhaps as those who, departing this world in virtue of that death which is common to all, are arranged, in conformity with their actions and deserts — according as they shall be deemed worthy — some in the place which is called hell, others in the bosom of Abraham, and in different localities or mansions; so also from those places, as if dying there, if the expression can be used, do they come down from the upper world to this hell. For that hell to which the souls of the dead are conducted from this world, is, I believe, on account of this distinction, called the lower hell by Scripture, as is said in the book of Psalms: You have delivered my soul from the lowest hell. **Everyone, accordingly, of those who descend to the earth<sup>15</sup> is, according to his deserts, or agreeably to the position which he occupied there, ordained to be born in this world, in a different country, or among a different nation, or in a different mode of life, or surrounded by infirmities of a different kind, or to be descended from religious parents, or parents who are not religious; so that it may sometimes happen that an Israelite descends among the Scythians, and a poor Egyptian is brought down to Judea.** And yet our Saviour came to gather together the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and as many of the Israelites did not accept His teaching, those who belonged to the Gentiles were called. **From which it will appear to follow, that those prophecies which are delivered to the individual nations** ought to be referred rather to the souls, and to their different heavenly mansions. Nay, the narratives of the events which are said to have happened either to the nation of Israel, or to Jerusalem, or to Judea, when assailed by this or that nation, cannot in many instances be understood as having actually occurred, and are much more appropriate to those nations of souls who inhabit that heaven which is said to pass away, or who even now are supposed to be inhabitants of it.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/04124.htm>

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## Origen, Contra Celsum (About 248)

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<sup>15</sup> Though Origen is heterodox in his understanding of souls as pre-existing, his significant corpus of writings is important in demonstrating a clear repudiation of temporal equality, especially among races, which is shared by other writers of the time.

## Book IV

And it is not matter of surprise that in certain generations there have existed prophets who, in the reception of divine influence, surpassed, by means of their stronger and more powerful (religious) life, other prophets who were their contemporaries, and others also who lived before and after them. And so it is not at all wonderful that there should also have been a time when something of surpassing excellence took up its abode among the human race, and which was distinguished above all that preceded or even that followed. But there is an element of profound mystery in the account of these things, and one which is incapable of being received by the popular understanding. And in order that these difficulties should be made to disappear, and that the objections raised against the advent of Christ should be answered—viz., that, “after so long a period of time, then, did God now bethink himself of making men live righteous lives, but neglect to do so before?”—**it is necessary to touch upon the narrative of the divisions (of the nations), and to make it evident why it was, that “when the Most High divided the nations, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God, and the portion of the Lord was His people Jacob, Israel the cord of His inheritance;” and it will be necessary to state the reason why the birth of each man took place within each particular boundary, under him who obtained the boundary by lot,** and how it rightly happened that “the portion of the Lord was His people Jacob, and Israel the cord of His inheritance,” and why formerly the portion of the Lord was His people Jacob, and Israel the cord of His inheritance. But with respect to those who come after, it is said to the Saviour by the Father, “Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession.” For there are certain connected and related reasons, bearing upon the different treatment of human souls, which are difficult to state and to investigate.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.vi.ix.iv.viii.html>

## Book V Chapter XXV

By these words Celsus shows that the Jews, who were formerly Egyptians, subsequently **became a “peculiar people,”** and enacted laws which they carefully preserve. And not to repeat his statements, which have been already before us, he says that it is advantageous to the Jews to observe their ancestral worship, as other nations carefully attend to theirs. And he further states a deeper reason why it is **of advantage to the Jews to cultivate their ancestral customs,** in hinting dimly that those **to whom was allotted the office of superintending the country which was being legislated for, enacted the laws of each land in co-operation with its legislators.** He appears, then, to indicate that **both the country of the Jews, and the**

nation which inhabits it, are superintended by one or more beings<sup>16</sup>, who, whether they were one or more, co-operated with Moses, and enacted the laws of the Jews.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.ix.v.xxv.html>

## Chapter XXVI

You will observe that, whatever be his answer, he is in a strait. **But if the various quarters of the earth were *not* allotted by some one being to the various superintending spirits,<sup>17</sup> then each one at random, and without the superintendence of a higher power, divided the earth according to chance;** and yet such a view is absurd, and destructive in no small degree of the providence of the God who presides over all things.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.ix.v.xxvi.html>

## Chapter XXX

All the people upon the earth are to be regarded as having used one divine language, and so long as they lived harmoniously together were preserved in the use of this divine language, and they remained without moving from the east so long as they were imbued with the sentiments of the “light,” and of the “reflection” of the eternal light. But when they departed from the east, and began to entertain sentiments alien to those of the east, they found a place in the land of Shinar (which, when interpreted, means “gnashing of teeth,” by way of indicating symbolically that they had lost the means of their support), and in it they took up their abode. Then, desiring to gather together material things, and to join to heaven what had no natural affinity for it, that by means of material things they might conspire against such as were immaterial, they said, “Come, let us make bricks, and burn them with fire.” Accordingly, when they had hardened and compacted these materials of clay and matter, and had shown their desire to make brick into stone, and clay into bitumen, and by these means to build a city and a tower, the head of which was, at least in their conception, to reach up to the heavens, after the manner of the “high things which exalt themselves against the knowledge of God,” **each one was handed over (in proportion to the greater or less departure from the east which had taken place among them, and in proportion to the extent in which bricks had been converted into stones, and clay into bitumen, and building carried on out of these materials) to angels of character more or less severe, and of a nature more or less stern, until they had paid the penalty of their daring deeds; and they were conducted by those angels, who imprinted on each his native language, to the different parts of the earth according to their deserts:** some, for

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<sup>16</sup> This is in reference to Deuteronomy 32:8, where God forms the boundaries of the nations according to the angels of God.

<sup>17</sup> Origen refers severally to the superintending spirits which govern the nations and try them – a thing which Origen (and to some extent others) paints in explicitly racial terms – and though it has become obscure in modern Christianity, this is not a view which is singular to Origen; it is referenced also by Augustine, Pope Saint Clement I, and others; and is discussed at length in Pope Saint Gregory I’s *Moralia in Job*.

example, to a region of burning heat, others to a country which chastises its inhabitants by its cold; others, again, to a land exceedingly difficult of cultivation, others to one less so in degree; while a fifth were brought into a land filled with wild beasts, and a sixth to a country comparatively free of these.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.ix.v.xxx.html>

## Chapter XXXII

**And by this means let those who have the capacity of comprehending truths so profound, learn that he to whom were allotted those who had not formerly sinned is far more powerful than the others, since he has been able to make a selection of individuals from the portion of the whole, and to separate them from those who received them for the purpose of punishment, and to bring them under the influence of laws, and of a mode of life which helps to produce an oblivion of their former transgressions.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04/anf04.vi.ix.v.xxxii.html>

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## Saint Victorinus, Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John (Between 258-260)

13, 14. "And I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is in the presence of God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels." That is, the four corners of the earth which hold the four winds.

"Which are bound in the great river Euphrates." By the corners of the earth, or the four winds across the river Euphrates, are *meant* four nations, **because to every nation is sent an angel; as said the law, "He determined them by the number of the angels of God,"** until the number of the saints should be filled up. **They do not overpass their bounds,** because at the last they shall come with Antichrist.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.vi.ii.ix.html>

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## Pope Saint Clement I, Recognitions (About 95)

To this the old man answered: "But why was that prince made who delights in evil? And from what was he made? Or was he not made?" Aquila said: "The treatment of that subject



belongs to another time; but that you may not go away altogether without an answer to this, I shall give a few hints on this subject also. God, foreseeing all things before the creation of the world, knowing that the men who were to be would some of them indeed incline to good, but others to the opposite, assigned those who should choose the good to His own government and His own care, and called them His peculiar inheritance; but He gave over the government of those who should turn to evil to those angels who, not by their substance, but by opposition, were unwilling to remain with God, being corrupted by the vice of envy and pride. **Those, therefore, he made worthy princes of worthy subjects; yet he so delivered them over to those angels, that they have not the power of doing what they will against them, unless they transgress the bounds assigned to them from the beginning.** And this is the bound assigned, that unless one first do the will of the demons, the demons have no power over him.”

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vi.iii.x.lv.html>

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Rufinus – a prominent scholar of Origen – is likely influenced by Origen’s accounts of the righteousness or wickedness of certain nations; seemingly making a distinction between the departure of some angelic overseers as opposed to others, and then referencing Egypt and Ethiopia as havens of sin.

## Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles’ Creed (Between 400-411)

**Moreover,—to touch briefly some of the more recondite topics,—when God made the world in the beginning, He set over it and appointed certain powers of celestial virtues by whom the race of mortal men might be governed and directed. That this was so done Moses signifies in the Song in Deuteronomy, “When the Most High divided the nations, He appointed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.” But some of these, as he who is called the Prince of this world, did not exercise the power which God had committed to them according to the laws by which they had received it, nor did they teach mankind to obey God’s commandments, but taught them rather to follow their own perverse guidance. Thus we were brought under the bonds of sin, because, as the Prophet saith, “We were sold under our sins.” For every man, when he yields to lust, is receiving the purchase-money of his soul. Under that bond then every man was held by those most wicked rulers, which same bond Christ, when He came, tore down and stripped them of this their power. This Paul signifies under a great mystery, when he says of Him, “He destroyed the hand-writing which was against us, nailing it to His cross, and led away principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself.” Those rulers, then, whom God had set over mankind, having become contumacious and tyrannical, took in hand to assail the men who had been committed to their charge and to rout them utterly in the conflicts of sin, as the Prophet Ezekiel mystically intimates when he says, “In that day angels shall come forth hastening to**

**exterminate Ethiopia, and there shall be perturbation among them in the day of Egypt; for behold He comes.**” Having stript them then of their almighty power, Christ is said to have triumphed, and to have delivered to men the power which was taken from them, as also Himself saith to His disciples in the Gospel, “Behold I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the might of the enemy.” The Cross of Christ, then, brought those who had wrongfully abused the authority which they had received into subjection to those who had before been in subjection to them. But us, that is, mankind, it teaches first of all to resist sin even unto death, and willingly to die for the sake of religion. Next, this same Cross sets before us an example of obedience, in like manner as it hath punished the contumacy of those who were once our rulers. Hear, therefore, how the Apostle would teach us obedience by the Cross of Christ: “Let this mind be in you, which was in Christ Jesus, Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, taking upon Him the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and, being found in fashion as a man, He became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.” As, then, a consummate master teaches both by example and precept, so Christ taught the obedience, which good men are to render even at the cost of death, by Himself first dying in rendering it.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf203.vi.xiii.xvi.html>

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## Saint John Cassian, Conferences (During the years about 426 to 428)

And the genealogy of Cain is given separately as follows: “Cain begat Enoch, Enoch begat Cainan, Cainan begat Mahalaleel, Mahalaleel begat Methuselah, Methuselah begat Lamech, Lamech begat Jabal and Jubal.” **And so the line which sprang from the seed of righteous Seth always mixed with its own kith and kin, and continued for a long while in the holiness of its fathers and ancestors, untouched by the blasphemies and the wickedness of an evil offspring, which had implanted in it a seed of sin as it were transmitted by its ancestors.** As long then as there continued that separation of the lines between them, the seed of Seth, as it sprang from an excellent root, was by reason of its sanctity termed “angels of God,” or as some copies have it “sons of God;” and on the contrary the others by reason of their own and their fathers’ wickedness and their earthly deeds were termed “children of men.” Though then there was up to this time that holy and salutary separation between them, **yet after this the sons of Seth who were the sons of God saw the daughters of those who were born of the line of Cain, and inflamed with the desire for their beauty took to themselves from them wives who taught their husbands the wickedness of their fathers, and at once led them astray from their innate holiness and the single-mindedness of their forefathers.** To whom this saying applies with sufficient accuracy: “I have said: Ye are Gods, and ye are all the children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes;” **who fell away from that true study of natural philosophy, handed down to them by their ancestors,** which the first man who forthwith traced out the study of all nature, could clearly attain to, **and transmit to his descendants on**

sure grounds, inasmuch as he had seen the infancy of this world, while still as it were tender and throbbing and unorganized; and as there was in him not only such fulness of wisdom, but also the grace of prophecy given by the Divine inspiration, so that while he was still an untaught inhabitant of this world he gave names to all living creatures, and not only knew about the fury and poison of all kinds of beasts and serpents, but also distinguished between the virtues of plants and trees and the natures of stones, and the changes of seasons of which he had as yet no experience, so that he could well say: "The Lord hath given me the true knowledge of the things that are, to know the disposition of the whole world, and the virtues of the elements, the beginning and the ending and the midst of times, the alterations of their courses and the changes of their seasons, the revolutions of the year and the disposition of the stars, the natures of living creatures and the rage of wild beasts, the force of winds, and the reasonings of men, the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots, and all such things as are hid and open I have learnt." **This knowledge then of all nature the seed of Seth received through successive generations, handed down from the fathers, so long as it remained separate from the wicked line, and as it had received it in holiness,** so it made use of it to promote the glory of God and the needs of everyday life. But when it had been **mingled** with the evil generation, it drew aside at the suggestion of devils to profane and harmful uses what it had innocently learnt, and audaciously taught by it the curious arts of wizards and enchantments and magical superstitions, **teaching its posterity** to forsake the holy worship of the Divinity and to honour and worship either the elements or fire or the demons of the air. How it was then that this knowledge of curious arts of which we have spoken, did not perish in the deluge, but became known to the ages that followed, should, I think, be briefly explained, as the occasion of this discussion suggests, although the answer to the question raised scarcely requires it. And so, as ancient traditions tell us, Ham the son of Noah, who had been taught these superstitions and wicked and profane arts, as he knew that he could not possibly bring any handbook on these subjects into the ark, into which he was to enter with his good father and holy brothers, inscribed these nefarious arts and profane devices on plates of various metals which could not be destroyed by the flood of waters, and on hard rocks, and when the flood was over he hunted for them with the same inquisitiveness with which he had concealed them, and so transmitted **to his descendants a seed-bed** of profanity and perpetual sin. In this way then that common notion, according to which men believe that angels delivered to men enchantments and diverse arts, is in truth fulfilled. **From these sons of Seth then and daughters of Cain, as we have said, there were born still worse children who became mighty hunters, violent and most fierce men who were termed giants by reason of the size of their bodies and their cruelty and wickedness.**<sup>18</sup> For these first began to harass their neighbours and to practise pillaging among men, getting their living rather by rapine than by being contented with the sweat and labour of toil, and their wickedness increased to such a pitch that the world could only be purified by the flood and deluge. **So then when the sons of Seth at the instigation of their lust had transgressed that command which had been for a long while kept by a natural instinct from the beginning of the world, it was needful that it should afterwards be restored by the letter of the law:** "Thou shalt not give thy daughter to his son to wife, nor shalt

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<sup>18</sup> It is notable that the consequences of the unnatural union, seen in the offspring, is characterized by phenotypical expression.

thou take a wife of his daughters to thy son; for they shall seduce your hearts to depart from your God, and to follow their gods and serve them.”

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf211.iv.iv.ix.xxi.html>

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## Saint Augustine, City of God (426)

### Book I

#### Chapter 1

For to this earthly city belong the enemies against whom I have to defend the city of God. Many of them, indeed, being reclaimed from their ungodly error, have become sufficiently creditable citizens of this city; but many are so inflamed with hatred against it, and are so ungrateful to its Redeemer for His signal benefits, as to forget that they would now be unable to utter a single word to its prejudice, had they not found in its sacred places, as they fled from the enemy's steel, that life in which they now boast themselves.<sup>19</sup> **Have not those very Romans, who were spared by the barbarians through their respect for Christ,** become enemies to the name of Christ? The reliquaries of the martyrs and the churches of the apostles bear witness to this; for in the sack of the city they were open sanctuary for all who fled to them, whether Christian or Pagan. To their very threshold the bloodthirsty enemy raged; there his murderous fury owned a limit. There did such of the enemy as had any pity convey those to whom they had given quarter, lest any less mercifully disposed might fall upon them. And, indeed, when even those murderers who everywhere else showed themselves pitiless came to those spots where that was forbidden which the license of war permitted in every other place, their furious rage for slaughter was bridled, and their eagerness to take prisoners was quenched. Thus escaped multitudes who now reproach the Christian religion, and impute to Christ the ills that have befallen their city; but the preservation of their own lives — **a boon which they owe to the respect entertained for Christ by the barbarians** — they attribute not to our Christ, but to their own good luck. They ought rather, had they any right perceptions, to attribute the severities and hardships inflicted by their enemies, to that divine providence which is wont to reform the depraved manners of men by chastisement, and which exercises with similar afflictions the righteous and praiseworthy — either translating them, when they have passed through the trial, to a better world, or detaining them still on earth for ulterior purposes. And they ought to attribute it to the spirit of these Christian times, that, **contrary to the custom of war, these bloodthirsty barbarians spared them,** and spared them for Christ's sake, whether this mercy was actually shown in promiscuous places, or in those places specially dedicated to Christ's name, and of which the very largest were selected as sanctuaries, that full scope might thus be

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<sup>19</sup> Referring to Alaric the Visigoth and the Sack of Rome (410), who spared Christians because of his own Arianism.

given to the expansive compassion which desired that a large multitude might find shelter there. Therefore ought they to give God thanks, and with sincere confession flee for refuge to His name, that so they may escape the punishment of eternal fire — they who with lying lips took upon them this name, that they might escape the punishment of present destruction. For of those whom you see insolently and shamelessly insulting the servants of Christ, there are numbers who would not have escaped that destruction and slaughter had they not pretended that they themselves were Christ's servants. Yet now, in ungrateful pride and most impious madness, and at the risk of being punished in everlasting darkness, they perversely oppose that name under which they fraudulently protected themselves for the sake of enjoying the light of this brief life.

#### Chapter 2<sup>20</sup>

There are histories of numberless wars, both before the building of Rome and since its rise and the extension of its dominion; let these be read, and let one instance be cited in which, **when a city had been taken by foreigners**, the victors spared those who were found to have fled for sanctuary to the temples of their gods; **or one instance in which a barbarian general gave orders** that none should be put to the sword who had been found in this or that temple. Did not Æneas see

Dying Priam at the shrine,  
Staining the hearth he made divine?  
Virgil, *Æneid*, 2:201-2. The renderings of Virgil are from Conington.

Did not Diomedes and Ulysses

Drag with red hands, the sentry slain,  
Her fateful image from your fane,  
Her chaste locks touch, and stain with gore  
The virgin coronal she wore?  
Virgil, *Æneid*, 2:266.

Neither is that true which follows, that

Thenceforth the tide of fortune changed,  
**And Greece grew weak.**<sup>21</sup>  
Virgil, *Æneid*, 2:266.

**For after this they conquered and destroyed Troy with fire and sword; after this they beheaded Priam as he fled to the altars. Neither did Troy perish because it lost Minerva.** For what had Minerva herself first lost, that she should perish? Her guards perhaps? No doubt; just her guards. For as soon as they were slain, she could be stolen. It was not, in fact, the men

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<sup>20</sup> I have included Chapters 2 and 3 in full, though they are only seldom racial (on their own): primarily to give context to Book IV, Chapters 7, 15 and 29 and Book V, Chapters 21 and 23, and Book IV; wherein Augustine makes clear his view that the gods ought rightly to be viewed as ethnic claims and properties.

<sup>21</sup> After Ulysses profanes the image Minerva, who was the protector of the Achaeans.

who were preserved by the image, but the image by the men. How, then, was she invoked to defend the city and the citizens, she who could not defend her own defenders?

### Chapter 3

**And these be the gods to whose protecting care the Romans were delighted to entrust their city!** O too, too piteous mistake! And they are enraged at us when we speak thus about their gods, though, so far from being enraged at their own writers, they part with money to learn what they say; and, indeed, the very teachers of these authors are reckoned worthy of a salary from the public purse, and of other honors. There is Virgil, who is read by boys, in order that this great poet, this most famous and approved of all poets, may impregnate their virgin minds, and may not readily be forgotten by them, according to that saying of Horace,

The fresh cask long keeps its first tang.  
Horace, *Ep.* I. 2:29.

Well, in this Virgil, I say, **Juno is introduced as hostile to the Trojans, and stirring up Æolus, the king of the winds, against them in the words,**

**A race I hate now ploughs the sea,**  
Transporting Troy to Italy,  
And home-gods conquered.  
*Æneid*, 1:11.

And ought prudent men to have entrusted the defense of Rome to these conquered gods? But it will be said, this was only the saying of Juno, who, like an angry woman, did not know what she was saying. What, then, says Æneas himself — Æneas who is so often designated pious? Does he not say,

Lo! Panthus, 'scaped from death by flight,  
Priest of Apollo on the height,  
His conquered gods with trembling hands  
He bears, and shelter swift demands?  
Is it not clear that the gods (whom he does not scruple to call conquered) were rather entrusted to Æneas than he to them, when it is said to him,  
**The gods of her domestic shrines  
Your country to your care consigns?**

If, then, Virgil says that the gods were such as these, and were conquered, and that when conquered they could not escape except under the protection of a man, **what a madness is it to suppose that Rome had been wisely entrusted to these guardians**, and could not have been taken unless it had lost them! Indeed, to worship conquered gods as protectors and champions, what is this but to worship, not good divinities, but evil omens? Would it not be wiser to believe, not that Rome would never have fallen into so great a calamity had not they first perished, but rather that they would have perished long since had not Rome preserved them as

long as she could? For who does not see, when he thinks of it, what a foolish assumption it is that they could not be vanquished under vanquished defenders, and that they only perished because they had lost their guardian gods, when, indeed, the only cause of their perishing was that they chose for their protectors gods condemned to perish? **The poets, therefore, when they composed and sang these things about the conquered gods**, had no intention to invent falsehoods, but uttered, as honest men, what the truth extorted from them. This, however, will be carefully and copiously discussed in another and more fitting place. Meanwhile I will briefly, and to the best of my ability, explain what I meant to say about these ungrateful men who blasphemously impute to Christ the calamities which they deservedly suffer in consequence of their own wicked ways, while that which is for Christ's sake spared them in spite of their wickedness they do not even take the trouble to notice; and in their mad and blasphemous insolence, they use against His name those very lips wherewith they falsely claimed that same name that their lives might be spared. In the places consecrated to Christ, where for His sake no enemy would injure them, they restrained their tongues that they might be safe and protected; but no sooner do they emerge from these sanctuaries, than they unbridle these tongues to hurl against Him curses full of hate.

#### Chapter 4

**Troy itself, the mother of the Roman people**, was not able, as I have said, **to protect its own citizens in the sacred places of their gods from the fire and sword of the Greeks, though the Greeks worshipped the same gods**. Not only so, but

Phoenix and Ulysses fell  
In the void courts by Juno's cell  
Were set the spoils to keep;  
Snatched from the burning shrines away,  
There Ilium's mighty treasure lay,  
Rich altars, bowls of massy gold,  
And captive raiment, rudely rolled  
In one promiscuous heap;  
While boys and matrons, wild with fear,  
In long array were standing near.  
Virgil, *Aeneid*. 2:261.

In other words, the place consecrated to so great a goddess was chosen, not that from it none might be led out a captive, but that in it all the captives might be immured. Compare now this asylum — the asylum not of an ordinary god, not of one of the rank and file of gods, but of Jove's own sister and wife, the queen of all the gods — with the churches built in memory of the apostles. **Into it were collected the spoils rescued from the blazing temples and snatched from the gods, not that they might be restored to the vanquished, but divided among the victors**; while into these was carried back, with the most religious observance and respect, everything which belonged to them, even though found elsewhere. There liberty was lost; here preserved. There bondage was strict; here strictly excluded. Into that temple men were driven to become the chattels of their enemies, now lording it over them; into these churches men were led by their relenting foes, that they might be at liberty. **In fine, the gentle Greeks appropriated**

**that temple of Juno to the purposes of their own avarice and pride;** while these churches of Christ were chosen **even by the savage barbarians** as the fit scenes for humility and mercy. But perhaps, after all, **the Greeks did in that victory of theirs spare the temples of those gods whom they worshipped in common with the Trojans,** and did not dare to put to the sword or make captive the wretched and vanquished Trojans who fled there; and perhaps Virgil, in the manner of poets, has depicted what never really happened? But there is no question that he depicted the usual custom of an enemy when sacking a city.

#### Chapter 5

Even Cæsar himself gives us positive testimony regarding this custom; for, in his deliverance in the senate about the conspirators, he says (as Sallust, a historian of distinguished veracity, writes) that virgins and boys are violated, children torn from the embrace of their parents, matrons subjected to whatever should be the pleasure of the conquerors, temples and houses plundered, slaughter and burning rife; in fine, all things filled with arms, corpses, blood, and wailing. If he had not mentioned temples here, we might suppose that enemies were in the habit of sparing the dwellings of the gods. And the Roman temples were in danger of these disasters, **not from foreign foes, but from Catiline and his associates, the most noble senators and citizens of Rome.** But these, it may be said, were abandoned men, **and the parricides of their fatherland.**

...

#### Chapter 14

But, say they, many Christians were even led away captive. This indeed were a most pitiable fate, if they could be led away to any place where they could not find their God. But for this calamity also sacred Scripture affords great consolation. The three youths were captives; Daniel was a captive; so were other prophets: and God, the comforter, did not fail them. And in like manner He has not failed His own people **in the power of a nation which, though barbarous, is yet human** — He who did not abandon the prophet in the belly of a monster. These things, indeed, are turned to ridicule rather than credited by those with whom we are debating; though they believe what they read in their own books, that Arion of Methymna, the famous lyrist, when he was thrown overboard, was received on a dolphin's back and carried to land. But that story of ours about the prophet Jonah is far more incredible — more incredible because more marvellous, and more marvellous because a greater exhibition of power.

...

#### Chapter 31

...

For similar reasons, and animated by the same considerate patriotism, that same chief pontiff of yours — I still refer to him who was adjudged Rome's best man without one dissentient voice — threw cold water on the proposal of the senate to build a circle of seats round the theatre, and in a very weighty speech warned them **against allowing the luxurious manners of Greece to sap the Roman manliness,** and persuaded them not to yield **to the enervating and emasculating influence of foreign licentiousness.** So authoritative and forcible were his words, that the senate was moved to prohibit the use even of those benches which hitherto had been customarily brought to the theatre for the temporary use of the citizens. How eagerly would such a man as this have banished from Rome the scenic exhibitions themselves, had he



dared to oppose the authority of those whom he supposed to be gods!

...

### Chapter 33

Oh infatuated men, what is this blindness, or rather madness, which possesses you? How is it that while, as we hear, **even the eastern nations are bewailing your ruin, and while powerful states in the most remote parts of the earth are mourning your fall as a public calamity**, you yourselves should be crowding to the theatres, should be pouring into them and filling them; and, in short, be playing a madder part now than ever before?

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120101.htm>

## Book II

### Chapter 2

In the foregoing book, having begun to speak of the city of God, to which I have resolved, Heaven helping me, to consecrate the whole of this work, it was my first endeavor to reply to those who attribute the wars by which the world is being devastated, and especially the recent **sack of Rome by the barbarians**, to the religion of Christ, which prohibits the offering of abominable sacrifices to devils. I have shown that they ought rather to attribute it to Christ, that for His name's sake **the barbarians, in contravention of all custom and law of war, threw open as sanctuaries the largest churches**, and in many instances showed such reverence to Christ, that not only His genuine servants, but even those who in their terror feigned themselves to be so, **were exempted from all those hardships which by the custom of war may lawfully be inflicted**. Then out of this there arose the question, why wicked and ungrateful men were permitted to share in these benefits; and why, too, the hardships and calamities of war were inflicted on the godly as well as on the ungodly. And in giving a suitably full answer to this large question, I occupied some considerable space, partly that I might relieve the anxieties which disturb many when they observe that the blessings of God, and the common and daily human casualties, fall to the lot of bad men and good without distinction; but mainly that I might minister some consolation to those holy and chaste women who were outraged by the enemy, in such a way as to shock their modesty, though not to sully their purity, and that I might preserve them from being ashamed of life, though they have no guilt to be ashamed of. And then I briefly spoke against those who with a most shameless wantonness insult over those poor Christians who were subjected to those calamities, and especially over those broken-hearted and humiliated, though chaste and holy women; **these fellows themselves being most depraved and unmanly profligates, quite degenerate from the genuine Romans, whose famous deeds are abundantly recorded in history, and everywhere celebrated, but who have found in their descendants the greatest enemies of their glory**. In truth, Rome, which was **founded and increased by the labors of these ancient heroes, was more shamefully ruined by their descendants, while its walls were still standing, than it is now by the razing of them**. For in this ruin there fell stones and timbers; but in the ruin those profligates effected, there fell, not the mural, but the moral bulwarks and ornaments of the city, and their hearts burned with passions more destructive than the flames which consumed their houses. Thus I brought my first book to a close. And now I go on to speak of those calamities which that

city itself, or its subject provinces, have suffered since its foundation; all of which they would equally have attributed to the Christian religion, if at that early period the doctrine of the gospel against their false and deceiving gods had been as largely and freely proclaimed as now.

...

#### Chapter 14

...

But that demigod Plato resisted the lust of such gods as these, **and showed the Romans what their genius had left incomplete**; for he absolutely excluded poets from his ideal state, whether they composed fictions with no regard to truth, or set the worst possible examples before wretched men under the guise of divine actions. We for our part, indeed, reckon Plato neither a god nor a demigod; we would not even compare him to any of God's holy angels; nor to the truth-speaking prophets, nor to any of the apostles or martyrs of Christ, nay, not to any faithful Christian man. The reason of this opinion of ours we will, God prospering us, render in its own place. Nevertheless, since they wish him to be considered a demigod, we think he certainly is more entitled to that rank, and is every way superior, if not to Hercules and Romulus (though no historian could ever narrate nor any poet sing of him that he had killed his brother, or committed any crime), yet certainly to Priapus, or a Cynocephalus, or the Fever, — **divinities whom the Romans have partly received from foreigners, and partly consecrated by home-grown rites**. How, then, could gods such as these be expected to promulgate good and wholesome laws, either for the prevention of moral and social evils, or for their eradication where they had already sprung up?

...

Chapter 16 (*That If the Gods Had Really Possessed Any Regard for Righteousness, the Romans Should Have Received Good Laws from Them, Instead of Having to Borrow Them from Other Nations.*)

**Moreover, if the Romans had been able to receive a rule of life from their gods, they would not have borrowed Solon's laws from the Athenians, as they did some years after Rome was founded; and yet they did not keep them as they received them, but endeavored to improve and amend them. Although Lycurgus pretended that he was authorized by Apollo to give laws to the Lacedemonians, the sensible Romans did not choose to believe this, and were not induced to borrow laws from Sparta.** Numa Pompilius, who succeeded Romulus in the kingdom, is said to have framed some laws, which, however, were not sufficient for the regulation of civic affairs. Among these regulations were many pertaining to religious observances, and yet he is not reported to have received even these from the gods. With respect, then, to moral evils, evils of life and conduct — evils which are so mighty, that, according to the wisest pagans, by them states are ruined while their cities stand uninjured — their gods made not the smallest provision for preserving their worshippers from these evils, but, on the contrary, took special pains to increase them, as we have previously endeavored to prove.

...

#### Chapter 23

But, further, is it not obvious that the gods have abetted the fulfilment of men's desires, instead of authoritatively bridling them? For Marius, **a low-born and self-made man**, who ruthlessly provoked and conducted civil wars, was so effectually aided by them, that he was seven times

consul, and died full of years in his seventh consulship, escaping the hands of Sylla, who immediately afterwards came into power. Why, then, did they not also aid him, so as to restrain him from so many enormities?

...

I do not dwell on the fact that the inhabitants of Minturnæ took pity on Marius, and commended him to the goddess Marica in her grove, that she might give him success in all things, and that from the abyss of despair in which he then lay he immediately returned unhurt to Rome, and entered the city the ruthless leader of a ruthless army; **and they who wish to know how bloody was his victory, how unlike a citizen, and how much more relentlessly than any foreign foe he acted**, let them read the histories.

...

Chapter 29

**This, rather, is the religion worthy of your desires, O admirable Roman race — the progeny of your Scævolas and Scipios, of Regulus, and of Fabricius.** This rather covet, this distinguish from that foul vanity and crafty malice of the devils. If there is in your nature any eminent virtue, only by true piety is it purged and perfected, while by impiety it is wrecked and punished.

...

No longer, then, follow after false and deceitful gods; abjure them rather, and despise them, bursting forth into true liberty. Gods they are not, but malignant spirits, to whom your eternal happiness will be a sore punishment. **Juno, from whom you deduce your origin according to the flesh, did not so bitterly grudge Rome's citadels to the Trojans**, as these devils whom yet you repute gods, grudge an everlasting seat to the race of mankind.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120102.htm>

## Book III

Chapter 12

But though Pompilius introduced so ample a ritual, yet did not Rome see fit to be content with it. For as yet Jupiter himself had not his chief temple, — it being King Tarquin who built the Capitol. And Æsculapius left Epidaurus for Rome, that in this foremost city he might have a finer field for the exercise of his great medical skill. The mother of the gods, too, came I know not whence from Pessinuns; it being unseemly that, while her son presided on the Capitoline hill, she herself should lie hidden in obscurity. **But if she is the mother of all the gods, she not only followed some of her children to Rome, but left others to follow her. I wonder, indeed, if she were the mother of Cynocephalus, who a long while afterwards came from Egypt.** Whether also the goddess Fever was her offspring, is a matter for her grandson Æsculapius to decide. **But of whatever breed she be, the foreign gods will not presume, I trust, to call a goddess base-born who is a Roman citizen.** Who can number the deities to whom the guardianship of Rome was entrusted? **Indigenous and imported**, both of heaven, earth, hell, seas, fountains, rivers; and, as Varro says, gods certain and uncertain, male and female: for, as among animals, so among all kinds of gods are there these distinctions. Rome, then, enjoying the protection of such a cloud of deities, might surely have been preserved from some of those great and horrible

calamities, of which I can mention but a few.

...

#### Chapter 13

How is it that neither Juno, who with her husband Jupiter even then cherished

#### **Rome's sons, the nation of the gown,**

nor Venus herself, could assist **the children of the loved Æneas** to find wives by some right and equitable means? For the lack of this entailed upon the Romans the lamentable necessity of stealing their wives, **and then waging war with their fathers-in-law**; so that the wretched women, before they had recovered from the wrong done them by their husbands, **were dowered with the blood of their fathers. But the Romans conquered their neighbors. Yes; but with what wounds on both sides, and with what sad slaughter of relatives and neighbors!** The war of Cæsar and Pompey was the contest of only one father-in-law with one son-in-law; and before it began, the daughter of Cæsar, Pompey's wife, was already dead. But with how keen and just an accent of grief does Lucan exclaim: I sing that worse than civil war waged in the plains of Emathia, and in which the crime was justified by the victory!

...

Then Romulus, who could not brook his own brother as a colleague, was compelled to accept Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, as his partner on the throne. **But how long would he who disliked the fellowship of his own twin-brother endure a stranger?** So, Tatius being slain, Romulus remained sole king, that he might be the greater god. See what rights of marriage these were that fomented unnatural wars. **These were the Roman leagues of kindred, relationship, alliance, religion.** This was the life of the city so abundantly protected by the gods. You see how many severe things might be said on this theme; but our purpose carries us past them, and requires our discourse for other matters.

#### Chapter 14

But what happened after Numa's reign, and under the other kings, when the Albans were provoked into war, with sad results not to themselves alone, but also to the Romans? The long peace of Numa had become tedious; and with what endless slaughter and detriment of both states did the Roman and Alban armies bring it to an end! **For Alba, which had been founded by Ascanius, son of Æneas, and which was more properly the mother of Rome than Troy herself,** was provoked to battle by Tullus Hostilius, king of Rome, and in the conflict both inflicted and received such damage, that at length both parties wearied of the struggle. It was then devised that the war should be decided by the combat of three twin-brothers from each army: from the Romans the three Horatii stood forward, from the Albans the three Curiatii. Two of the Horatii were overcome and disposed of by the Curiatii; but by the remaining Horatius the three Curiatii were slain. Thus Rome remained victorious, but with such a sacrifice that only one survivor returned to his home. Whose was the loss on both sides? Whose the grief, **but of the offspring of Æneas, the descendants of Ascanius, the progeny of Venus, the grandsons of Jupiter?** For this, too, was a worse than civil war, **in which the belligerent states were mother and daughter.** And to this combat of the three twin-brothers there was added another atrocious and horrible catastrophe. **For as the two nations had formerly been friendly (being related and neighbors),** the sister of the Horatii had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii; and

she, when she saw her brother wearing the spoils of her betrothed, burst into tears, and was slain by her own brother in his anger. To me, this one girl seems to have been more humane than the whole Roman people. I cannot think her to blame for lamenting the man to whom already she had plighted her troth, or, as perhaps she was doing, for grieving that her brother should have slain him to whom he had promised his sister. For why do we praise the grief of Æneas (in Virgil) over the enemy cut down even by his own hand? Why did Marcellus shed tears over the city of Syracuse, when he recollected, just before he destroyed, its magnificence and meridian glory, and thought upon the common lot of all things? I demand, in the name of humanity, that if men are praised for tears shed over enemies conquered by themselves, a weak girl should not be counted criminal for bewailing her lover slaughtered by the hand of her brother. While, then, that maiden was weeping for the death of her betrothed inflicted by her brother's hand, Rome was rejoicing that such devastation had been wrought **on her mother state**, and that she had purchased a victory with such an expenditure of **the common blood of herself and the Albans**.

Why allege to me the mere names and words of glory and victory? Tear off the disguise of wild delusion, and look at the naked deeds: weigh them naked, judge them naked. Let the charge be brought against Alba, as Troy was charged with adultery. There is no such charge, none like it found: the war was kindled only in order that there

Might sound in languid ears the cry  
Of Tullus and of victory.

This vice of restless ambition was the sole motive to that **social and parricidal war** — a vice which Sallust brands in passing; for when he has spoken with brief but hearty commendation of those primitive times in which life was spent without covetousness, and every one was sufficiently satisfied with what he had, he goes on: **But after Cyrus in Asia, and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subdue cities and nations**, and to account the lust of sovereignty a sufficient ground for war, and to reckon that the greatest glory consisted in the greatest empire; and so on, as I need not now quote. This lust of sovereignty disturbs and consumes the human race with frightful ills. By this lust Rome was overcome when she triumphed over Alba, and praising her own crime, called it glory. For, as our Scriptures say, the wicked boasts of his heart's desire, and blesses the covetous, whom the Lord abhors. Away, then, with these deceitful masks, these deluding whitewashes, that things may be truthfully seen and scrutinized. Let no man tell me that this and the other was a great man, because he fought and conquered so and so. Gladiators fight and conquer, and this barbarism has its meed of praise; but I think it were better to take the consequences of any sloth, than to seek the glory won by such arms. And if two gladiators entered the arena to fight, **one being father, the other his son, who would endure such a spectacle?** Who would not be revolted by it? How, then, could that be a glorious war which a **daughter-state waged against its mother?** Or did it constitute a difference, that the battlefield was not an arena, and that the wide plains were filled with the carcasses not of two gladiators, but **of many of the flower of two nations**; and that those contests were viewed not by the amphitheatre, but by the whole world, and furnished a profane spectacle both to those alive at the time, and to their posterity, so long as the fame of it is handed down?

Yet those gods, guardians of the Roman empire, and, as it were, theatric spectators of such contests as these, were not satisfied until the sister of the Horatii was added by her brother's sword as a third victim from the Roman side, so that Rome herself, though she won the day, should have as many deaths to mourn. Afterwards, as a fruit of the victory, **Alba was destroyed, though it was there the Trojan gods had formed a third asylum after Ilium had been sacked by the Greeks, and after they had left Lavinium, where Æneas had founded a kingdom in a land of banishment.** But probably Alba was destroyed because from it too the gods had migrated, in their usual fashion, as Virgil says:

Gone from each fane, each sacred shrine,  
Are those who made this realm divine.

Gone, indeed, and from now their third asylum, that Rome might seem all the wiser in committing herself to them after they had deserted three other cities. Alba, whose king Amulius had banished his brother, displeased them; Rome, whose king Romulus had slain his brother, pleased them. **But before Alba was destroyed, its population, they say, was amalgamated with the inhabitants of Rome so that the two cities were one.** Well, admitting it was so, yet the fact remains that the city of Ascanius, the third retreat of the Trojan gods, was destroyed by the daughter-city.

...

Chapter 29

**What fury of foreign nations, what barbarian ferocity, can compare with this victory of citizens over citizens? Which was more disastrous, more hideous, more bitter to Rome: the recent Gothic and the old Gallic invasion, or the cruelty displayed by Marius and Sylla and their partisans against men who were members of the same body as themselves? The Gauls, indeed, massacred all the senators they found in any part of the city except the Capitol, which alone was defended; but they at least sold life to those who were in the Capitol, though they might have starved them out if they could not have stormed it. The Goths, again, spared so many senators, that it is the more surprising that they killed any. But Sylla, while Marius was still living, established himself as conqueror in the Capitol, which the Gauls had not violated, and thence issued his death-warrants; and when Marius had escaped by flight, though destined to return more fierce and bloodthirsty than ever, Sylla issued from the Capitol even decrees of the senate for the slaughter and confiscation of the property of many citizens. Then, when Sylla left, what did the Marian faction hold sacred or spare, when they gave no quarter even to Mucius, a citizen, a senator, a pontiff, and though clasping in piteous embrace the very altar in which, they say, reside the destinies of Rome? And that final proscription list of Sylla's, not to mention countless other massacres, **dispatched more senators than the Goths could even plunder.****

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120103.htm>

## Book IV

Chapter 3

Now, therefore, let us see how it is that they dare to ascribe the very great extent and duration of the Roman empire to those gods whom they contend that they worship honorably, even by the obsequies of vile games and the ministry of vile men: although I should like first to inquire for a little what reason, what prudence, there is in wishing to glory in the greatness and extent of the empire, when you cannot point out the happiness of men who are always rolling, with dark fear and cruel lust, in warlike slaughters and in blood, which, **whether shed in civil or foreign war, is still human blood**; so that their joy may be compared to glass in its fragile splendor, of which one is horribly afraid lest it should be suddenly broken in pieces. That this may be more easily discerned, let us not come to nought by being carried away with empty boasting, or blunt the edge of our attention by loud-sounding names of things, when we hear of peoples, kingdoms, provinces. But let us suppose a case of two men; for each individual man, like one letter in a language, is as it were the element of a city or kingdom, however far-spreading in its occupation of the earth. Of these two men let us suppose that one is poor, or rather of middling circumstances; the other very rich. But the rich man is anxious with fears, pining with discontent, burning with covetousness, never secure, always uneasy, **panting from the perpetual strife of his enemies, adding to his patrimony indeed by these miseries to an immense degree**, and by these additions also heaping up most bitter cares. But that other man of moderate wealth is contented with a small and compact estate, **most dear to his own family, enjoying the sweetest peace with his kindred neighbors and friends**, in piety religious, benignant in mind, healthy in body, in life frugal, in manners chaste, in conscience secure. I know not whether any one can be such a fool, that he dare hesitate which to prefer. **As, therefore, in the case of these two men, so in two families, in two nations, in two kingdoms, this test of tranquility holds good**; and if we apply it vigilantly and without prejudice, we shall quite easily see where the mere show of happiness dwells, and where real felicity.

...

## Chapter 6

Justinus, **who wrote Greek or rather foreign history in Latin**, and briefly, like Trogus Pompeius whom he followed, begins his work thus: In the beginning of **the affairs of peoples and nations the government was in the hands of kings**, who were raised to the height of this majesty not by courting the people, but by the knowledge good men had of their moderation. The people were held bound by no laws; the decisions of the princes were instead of laws. It was the custom **to guard rather than to extend the boundaries of the empire; and kingdoms were kept within the bounds of each ruler's native land**. Ninus king of the Assyrians first of all, through new lust of empire, **changed the old and, as it were, ancestral custom of nations**. He first made war **on his neighbors, and wholly subdued as far as to the frontiers of Libya the nations as yet untrained to resist**. And a little after he says: Ninus established by constant possession the greatness of the authority he had gained. **Having mastered his nearest neighbors, he went on to others, strengthened by the accession of forces, and by making each fresh victory the instrument of that which followed, subdued the nations of the whole East**. Now, with whatever fidelity to fact either he or Trogus may in general have written — for that they sometimes told lies is shown by other more trustworthy writers — yet it is agreed among other authors, that the kingdom of the Assyrians was extended far and wide by King Ninus. And it lasted so long, that the Roman empire has not yet attained the same age; for, as those write who have treated of chronological history, this kingdom

endured for twelve hundred and forty years from the first year in which Ninus began to reign, **until it was transferred to the Medes. But to make war on your neighbors**, and thence to proceed to others, and through mere lust of dominion to crush and subdue people who do you no harm, what else is this to be called than great robbery?

#### Chapter 7

**If this kingdom was so great and lasting without the aid of the gods, why is the ample territory and long duration of the Roman empire to be ascribed to the Roman gods? For whatever is the cause in it, the same is in the other also. But if they contend that the prosperity of the other also is to be attributed to the aid of the gods, I ask of which?** For the other nations whom Ninus overcame, did not then worship other gods. **Or if the Assyrians had gods of their own, who, so to speak, were more skillful workmen in the construction and preservation of the empire, whether are they dead, since they themselves have also lost the empire;** or, having been defrauded of their pay, or promised a greater, **have they chosen rather to go over to the Medes, and from them again to the Persians, because Cyrus invited them, and promised them something still more advantageous?** This nation, indeed, since the time of the kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian, which was as brief in duration as it was great in extent, has preserved its own empire, and at this day occupies no small territories in the East. **If this is so, then either the gods are unfaithful, who desert their own and go over to their enemies, which Camillus, who was but a man, did not do, when, being victor and subduer of a most hostile state, although he had felt that Rome, for whom he had done so much, was ungrateful, yet afterwards, forgetting the injury and remembering his native land, he freed her again from the Gauls;** or they are not so strong as gods ought to be, since they can be overcome by human skill or strength. Or if, when they carry on war among themselves, the gods are not overcome by men, but some gods who are peculiar to certain cities are perchance overcome by other gods, it follows that they have quarrels among themselves which they uphold, each for his own part. **Therefore a city ought not to worship its own gods, but rather others who aid their own worshippers.** Finally, whatever may have been the case as to this change of sides, or flight, or migration, or failure in battle on the part of the gods, the name of Christ had not yet been proclaimed in those parts of the earth when these kingdoms were lost and transferred through great destructions in war. For if, after more than twelve hundred years, when the kingdom was taken away from the Assyrians, the Christian religion had there already preached another eternal kingdom, and put a stop to the sacrilegious worship of false gods, **what else would the foolish men of that nation have said, but that the kingdom which had been so long preserved, could be lost for no other cause than the desertion of their own religions and the reception of Christianity?** In which foolish speech that might have been uttered, let those we speak of observe their own likeness, and blush, if there is any sense of shame in them, because they have uttered similar complaints; although the Roman empire is afflicted rather than changed — a thing which has befallen it in other times also, before the name of Christ was heard, and it has been restored after such affliction — a thing which even in these times is not to be despaired of. For who knows the will of God concerning this matter?

...

#### Chapter 15



Let them ask, then, whether it is quite fitting for good men to rejoice in extended empire. For the iniquity of those with whom just wars are carried on favors the growth of a kingdom, which would certainly have been small if the peace and justice of neighbors had not by any wrong provoked the carrying on of war against them; and human affairs being thus more happy, all kingdoms would have been small, **rejoicing in neighborly concord; and thus there would have been very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are very many houses of citizens in a city. Therefore, to carry on war and extend a kingdom over wholly subdued nations seems to bad men to be felicity, to good men necessity.** But because it would be worse that the injurious should rule over those who are more righteous, therefore even that is not unsuitably called felicity. But beyond doubt it is greater felicity to have **a good neighbor** at peace, than to conquer **a bad one** by making war. Your wishes are bad, when you desire that one whom you hate or fear should be in such a condition that you can conquer him. If, therefore, by carrying on wars that were just, not impious or unrighteous, the Romans could have acquired so great an empire, **ought they not to worship as a goddess even the injustice of foreigners?** For we see that this has cooperated much in extending the empire, **by making foreigners so unjust that they became people with whom just wars might be carried on,** and the empire increased. And why may not injustice, **at least that of foreign nations, also be a goddess, if Fear and Dread and Ague have deserved to be Roman gods?** By these two, therefore — that is, **by foreign injustice, and the goddess Victoria,** for injustice stirs up causes of wars, and Victoria brings these same wars to a happy termination — the empire has increased, even although Jove has been idle. For what part could Jove have here, when those things which might be thought to be his benefits are held to be gods, called gods, worshipped as gods, and are themselves invoked for their own parts? He also might have some part here, if he himself might be called Empire, just as she is called Victory. Or if empire is the gift of Jove, why may not victory also be held to be his gift? And it certainly would have been held to be so, had he been recognized and worshipped, not as a stone in the Capitol, but as the true King of kings and Lord of lords.

...

#### Chapter 29

For what kind of augury is that which they have declared to be most beautiful, and to which I referred a little ago, that Mars, and Terminus, and Juventas would not give place even to Jove, the king of the gods? **For thus, they say, it was signified that the nation dedicated to Mars — that is, the Roman — should yield to none the place it once occupied; likewise, that on account of the god Terminus, no one would be able to disturb the Roman frontiers; and also, that the Roman youth, because of the goddess Juventas, should yield to no one.** Let them see, therefore, how they can hold him to be the king of their gods, and the giver of their own kingdom, **if these auguries set him down for an adversary, to whom it would have been honorable not to yield.** However, if these things are true, they need not be at all afraid. For they are not going to confess that the gods who would not yield to Jove have yielded to Christ. For, without altering the boundaries of the empire, Jesus Christ has proved Himself able to drive them, not only from their temples, but from the hearts of their worshippers. But, before Christ came in the flesh, and, indeed, before these things which we have quoted from their books could have been written, but yet after that auspice was made under king Tarquin, the Roman army has been various times scattered or put to flight, and has shown the falseness of

the auspice, which they derived from the fact that the goddess Juventas had not given place to Jove; **and the nation dedicated to Mars was trodden down in the city itself by the invading and triumphant Gauls;** and the boundaries of the empire, through the falling away of many cities to Hannibal, had been hemmed into a narrow space. Thus the beauty of the auspices is made void, and there has remained only the contumacy against Jove, not of gods, but of demons. For it is one thing not to have yielded, and another to have returned whither you have yielded. **Besides, even afterwards, in the oriental regions, the boundaries of the Roman empire were changed by the will of Hadrian; for he yielded up to the Persian empire those three noble provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Thus that god Terminus, who according to these books was the guardian of the Roman frontiers, and by that most beautiful auspice had not given place to Jove, would seem to have been more afraid of Hadrian,** a king of men, than of the king of the gods. The aforesaid provinces having also been taken back again, almost within our own recollection the frontier fell back, when Julian, given up to the oracles of their gods, with immoderate daring ordered the victualling ships to be set on fire. The army being thus left destitute of provisions, and he himself also being presently killed by the enemy, and the legions being hard pressed, while dismayed by the loss of their commander, they were reduced to such extremities that no one could have escaped, unless by articles of peace the boundaries of the empire had then been established where they still remain; not, indeed, with so great a loss as was suffered by the concession of Hadrian, but still at a considerable sacrifice. **It was a vain augury, then, that the god Terminus did not yield to Jove, since he yielded to the will of Hadrian, and yielded also to the rashness of Julian, and the necessity of Jovinian.** The more intelligent and grave Romans have seen these things, but have had little power against the custom of the state, which was bound to observe the rites of the demons; because even they themselves, although they perceived that these things were vain, yet thought that the religious worship which is due to God should be paid to the nature of things which is established under the rule and government of the one true God, serving, as says the apostle, the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore. Romans 1:25 The help of this true God was necessary to send holy and truly pious men, who would die for the true religion that they might remove the false from among the living.

...

### Chapter 31

What says Varro himself, whom we grieve to have found, although not by his own judgment, placing the scenic plays among things divine? When in many passages he is exhorting, like a religious man, to the worship of the gods, does he not in doing so admit that he does not in his own judgment believe those things which he relates that the Roman state has instituted; so that he does not hesitate to affirm that if he were founding a new state, he could enumerate the gods and their names better by the rule of nature? **But being born into a nation already ancient,** he says that he finds himself bound to accept the traditional names and surnames of the gods, and the histories connected with them, and that his purpose in investigating and publishing these details is to incline the people to worship the gods, and not to despise them.

...

He says, also, **that the ancient Romans,** for more than a hundred and seventy years, worshipped the gods without an image. *And if this custom,* he says, *could have remained till now, the gods would have been more purely worshipped.* In favor of this opinion, he cites as a

witness **among others the Jewish nation**; nor does he hesitate to conclude that passage by saying of those who first consecrated images for the people, that they have both taken away religious fear from their fellow citizens, and increased error, wisely thinking that the gods easily fall into contempt when exhibited under the stolidity of images.

...

#### Chapter 34

Therefore, that it might be known that these earthly good things, after which those people who cannot imagine better things, remain in the power of the one God Himself, not of the many false gods whom the Romans have formerly believed worthy of worship, **He multiplied His people in Egypt from being very few, and delivered them out of it by wonderful signs. Nor did their women invoke Lucina when their offspring was being incredibly multiplied; and that nation having increased incredibly, He Himself delivered, He Himself saved them from the hands of the Egyptians, who persecuted them, and wished to kill all their infants.** Without the goddess Rumina they sucked; without Cunina they were cradled, without Educa and Potina they took food and drink; without all those puerile gods they were educated; without the nuptial gods they were married; without the worship of Priapus they had conjugal intercourse; without invocation of Neptune the divided sea opened up a way for them to pass over, and overwhelmed with its returning waves their enemies who pursued them. Neither did they consecrate any goddess Mannia when they received manna from heaven; nor, when the smitten rock poured forth water to them when they thirsted, did they worship Nymphs and Lymphs. Without the mad rites of Mars and Bellona they carried on war; and while, indeed, they did not conquer without victory, yet they did not hold it to be a goddess, but the gift of their God. Without Segetia they had harvests; without Bubona, oxen; honey without Mellona; apples without Pomona: and, in a word, everything for which the Romans thought they must supplicate so great a crowd of false gods, they received much more happily from the one true God. **And if they had not sinned against Him with impious curiosity**, which seduced them like magic arts, and drew them to strange gods and idols, **and at last led them to kill Christ**, their kingdom would have remained to them, and would have been, if not more spacious, yet more happy, than that of Rome. **And now that they are dispersed through almost all lands and nations**, it is through the providence of that one true God; that whereas the images, altars, groves, and temples of the false gods are everywhere overthrown, and their sacrifices prohibited, it may be shown from their books how this has been foretold by their prophets so long before; lest, perhaps, when they should be read in ours, they might seem to be invented by us. But now, reserving what is to follow for the following book, we must here set a bound to the prolixity of this one.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120104.htm>

## Book V

#### Chapter 6

**But even in the very conception of twins**, which certainly occurs at the same moment in the case of both, it often happens that the one is conceived a male, and the other a female. I know two of different sexes who are twins. Both of them are alive, and in the flower of their age; and

though they resemble each other in body, as far as difference of sex will permit, still they are very different in the whole scope and purpose of their lives (consideration being had of those differences which necessarily exist between the lives of males and females) — **the one holding the office of a count, and being almost constantly away from home with the army in foreign service, the other never leaving her country's soil, or her native district.** Still more — and this is more incredible, if the destinies of the stars are to be believed in, though it is not wonderful if we consider the wills of men, and the free gifts of God — he is married; she is a sacred virgin: he has begotten a numerous offspring; she has never even married. But is not the virtue of the horoscope very great? I think I have said enough to show the absurdity of that. But, say those astrologers, **whatever be the virtue of the horoscope in other respects, it is certainly of significance with respect to birth.**

...

## Chapter 12

Wherefore let us go on to consider what virtues of the Romans they were which the true God, in whose power are also the kingdoms of the earth, condescended to help in order to raise the empire, and also for what reason He did so. And, in order to discuss this question on clearer ground, we have written the former books, to show that the power of those gods, who, they thought, were to be worshipped with such trifling and silly rites, had nothing to do in this matter; and also what we have already accomplished of the present volume, to refute the doctrine of fate, lest any one who might have been already persuaded that the Roman empire was not extended and preserved by the worship of these gods, might still be attributing its extension and preservation to some kind of fate, rather than to the most powerful will of God most high. **The ancient and primitive Romans, therefore, though their history shows us that, like all the other nations, with the sole exception of the Hebrews,** they worshipped false gods, and sacrificed victims, not to God, but to demons, have nevertheless this commendation bestowed on them by their historian, **that they were greedy of praise, prodigal of wealth, desirous of great glory, and content with a moderate fortune. Glory they most ardently loved: for it they wished to live, for it they did not hesitate to die. Every other desire was repressed by the strength of their passion for that one thing. At length their country itself,** because it seemed inglorious to serve, but glorious to rule and to command, they first earnestly desired to be free, and then to be mistress. Hence it was that, not enduring the domination of kings, they put the government into the hands of two chiefs, holding office for a year, who were called consuls, not kings or lords. But royal pomp seemed inconsistent with the administration of a ruler (*regentis*), or the benevolence of one who consults (that is, for the public good) (*consulentis*), but rather with the haughtiness of a lord (*dominantis*). King Tarquin, therefore, having been banished, and the consular government having been instituted, it followed, as the same author already alluded to says in his praises of the Romans, that the state grew with amazing rapidity after it had obtained liberty, so great a desire of glory had taken possession of it. **That eagerness for praise and desire of glory, then, was that which accomplished those many wonderful things, laudable, doubtless, and glorious according to human judgment.** The same Sallust praises the great men of his own time, Marcus Cato, and Caius Cæsar, saying that for a long time the republic had no one great in virtue, but that within his memory there had been these two men of eminent virtue, and very different pursuits. Now, among the praises which he pronounces on Cæsar he put this, that he wished for a great

empire, an army, and a new war, that he might have a sphere where his genius and virtue might shine forth. Thus it was ever the prayer of men of heroic character **that Bellona would excite miserable nations to war**, and lash them into agitation with her bloody scourge, so that there might be occasion for the display of their valor. This, forsooth, is what that desire of praise and thirst for glory did. Wherefore, by the love of liberty in the first place, afterwards also by that of domination and through the desire of praise and glory, they achieved many great things; and their most eminent poet testifies to their having been prompted by all these motives:

Porsenna there, with pride elate,  
Bids Rome to Tarquin ope her gate;  
With arms he hems the city in,  
Æneas' sons stand firm to win.

At that time it was their greatest ambition either to die bravely or to live free; but when liberty was obtained, so great a desire of glory took possession of them, that liberty alone was not enough unless domination also should be sought, their great ambition being that which the same poet puts into the mouth of Jupiter:

Nay, Juno's self, whose wild alarms  
Set ocean, earth, and heaven in arms,  
Shall change for smiles her moody frown,  
And vie with me in zeal to crown  
**Rome's sons, the nation of the gown.**  
So stands my will. There comes a day,  
While Rome's great ages hold their way,  
**When old Assaracus's sons  
Shall quit them on the myrmidons,  
O'er Phthia and Mycenæ reign,  
And humble Argos to their chain.**

Which things, indeed, Virgil makes Jupiter predict as future, while, in reality, he was only himself passing in review in his own mind, things which were already done, and which were beheld by him as present realities. But I have mentioned them with the intention of showing that, **next to liberty, the Romans so highly esteemed domination**, that it received a place among those things on which they bestowed the greatest praise. Hence also it is that that poet, **preferring to the arts of other nations those arts which peculiarly belong to the Romans**, namely, the arts of ruling and commanding, **and of subjugating and vanquishing nations**, says,

Others, belike, with happier grace,  
From bronze or stone shall call the face,  
Plead doubtful causes, map the skies,  
And tell when planets set or rise;  
**But Roman thou, do thou control  
The nations far and wide;  
Be this your genius, to impose**

**The rule of peace on vanquished foes,**  
Show pity to the humble soul,  
And crush the sons of pride.

These arts they exercised with the more skill the less they gave themselves up to pleasures, and to enervation of body and mind in coveting and amassing riches, and through these corrupting morals, by extorting them from the miserable citizens and lavishing them on base stage-players. Hence these men of base character, who abounded when Sallust wrote and Virgil sang these things, did not seek after honors and glory by these arts, but by treachery and deceit. Wherefore the same says, *But at first it was rather ambition than avarice that stirred the minds of men, which vice, however, is nearer to virtue. For glory, honor, and power are desired alike by the good man and by the ignoble; but the former, he says, strives onward to them by the true way, while the other, knowing nothing of the good arts, seeks them by fraud and deceit.* And what is meant by seeking the attainment of glory, honor, and power by good arts, is to seek them by virtue, and not by deceitful intrigue; for the good and the ignoble man alike desire these things, but the good man strives to overtake them by the true way. The way is virtue, along which he presses as to the goal of possession — namely, to glory, honor, and power. **Now that this was a sentiment engrained in the Roman mind,** is indicated even by the temples of their gods; for they built in very close proximity the temples of Virtue and Honor, worshipping as gods the gifts of God. Hence we can understand what they who were good thought to be the end of virtue, and to what they ultimately referred it, namely, to honor; for, as to the bad, they had no virtue though they desired honor, and strove to possess it by fraud and deceit.

...

But, of the two great Romans of that time, Cato was he whose virtue was by far the nearest to the true idea of virtue. Wherefore, let us refer to the opinion of Cato himself, to discover what was the judgment he had formed concerning the condition of the state both then and in former times. *I do not think, he says, **that it was by arms that our ancestors made the republic great from being small.** Had that been the case, the republic of our day would have been by far more flourishing than that of their times, for the number of our allies and citizens is far greater; and, besides, we possess a far greater abundance of armor and of horses than they did. But it was other things than these that made them great, and we have none of them: **industry at home,** just government without, a mind free in deliberation, addicted neither to crime nor to lust. Instead of these, we have luxury and avarice, poverty in the state, opulence among citizens; we laud riches, we follow laziness; there is no difference made between the good and the bad; all the rewards of virtue are got possession of by intrigue. And no wonder, when every individual consults only for his own good, when you are the slaves of pleasure at home, and, in public affairs, of money and favor, no wonder that an onslaught is made upon the unprotected republic.*

He who hears these words of Cato or of Sallust probably thinks that such praise bestowed on **the ancient Romans** was applicable to all of them, or, at least, to very many of them. It is not so; otherwise the things which Cato himself writes, and which I have quoted in the second book of this work, would not be true. In that passage he says, that even from the very beginning of the state wrongs were committed by the more powerful, **which led to the separation of the people from the fathers,** besides which there were other internal dissensions; and the only

time at which there existed a just and moderate administration was after the banishment of the kings, and that no longer than while they had cause to be afraid of Tarquin, and were carrying on the grievous war which had been undertaken on his account **against Etruria; but afterwards the fathers oppressed** the people as slaves, flogged them as the kings had done, **drove them from their land**, and, to the exclusion of all others, held the government in their own hands alone. And to these discords, **while the fathers were wishing to rule**, and the people were unwilling to serve, the second Punic war put an end; for again great fear began to press upon their disquieted minds, holding them back from those distractions by another and greater anxiety, and bringing them back to civil concord. But the great things which were then achieved were accomplished through the administration of a few men, who were good in their own way. And by the wisdom and forethought of these few good men, which first enabled the republic to endure these evils and mitigated them, it waxed greater and greater. And this the same historian affirms, when he says that, reading and hearing of the many illustrious achievements of **the Roman people** in peace and in war, by land and by sea, he wished to understand what it was by which these great things were specially sustained. For he knew that **very often the Romans had with a small company contended with great legions of the enemy**; and he knew also that with small resources they had carried on wars with opulent kings. And he says that, after having given the matter much consideration, it seemed evident to him that the pre-eminent virtue of a few citizens had achieved the whole, and that that explained how poverty overcame wealth, and small numbers great multitudes. But, he adds, after that the state had been corrupted by luxury and indolence, again the republic, by its own greatness, was able to bear the vices of its magistrates and generals. Wherefore even the praises of Cato are only applicable to a few; for only a few were possessed of that virtue which leads men to pursue after glory, honor, and power by the true way — that is, by virtue itself. This **industry at home**, of which Cato speaks, was the consequence of a desire to enrich the public treasury, even though the result should be poverty at home; and therefore, when he speaks of the evil arising out of the corruption of morals, he reverses the expression, and says, *Poverty in the state, riches at home.*

...

## Chapter 17

For, as far as this life of mortals is concerned, which is spent and ended in a few days, what does it matter under whose government a dying man lives, if they who govern do not force him to impiety and iniquity? **Did the Romans at all harm those nations, on whom, when subjugated, they imposed their laws, except in as far as that was accomplished with great slaughter in war? Now, had it been done with consent of the nations**, it would have been done with greater success, but there would have been no glory of conquest, for neither did **the Romans themselves** live exempt from those laws **which they imposed on others**. Had this been done without Mars and Bellona, so that there should have been no place for victory, no one conquering where no one had fought, would not the condition **of the Romans and of the other nations** have been one and the same, especially if that had been done at once which afterwards was done most humanely and most acceptably, **namely, the admission of all to the rights of Roman citizens who belonged to the Roman empire**, and if that had been made the privilege of all which was formerly the privilege of a few, with this one condition, that the humbler class who had no lands of their own should live at the public expense — an alimentary

impost, which would have been paid with a much better grace by them into the hands of good administrators of the republic, of which they were members, by their own hearty consent, than it would have been paid with had it to be extorted from them **as conquered men**? For I do not see what it makes for the safety, good morals, and certainly not for the dignity, of men, **that some have conquered and others have been conquered**, except that it yields them that most insane pomp of human glory, in which they have received their reward, who burned with excessive desire of it, and carried on most eager wars. For do not **their lands** pay tribute? **Have they any privilege** of learning what the others are not privileged to learn? **Are there not many senators in the other countries who do not even know Rome by sight**? Take away outward show, and what are all men after all but men? But even though the perversity of the age should permit that **all the better men should be more highly honored than others**, neither thus should human honor be held at a great price, for it is smoke which has no weight. But let us avail ourselves even in these things of the kindness of God. Let us consider how great things they despised, how great things they endured, what lusts they subdued for the sake of human glory, who merited that glory, as it were, in reward for such virtues; and let this be useful to us even in suppressing pride, so that, as that city in which it has been promised us to reign as far surpasses this one as heaven is distant from the earth, as eternal life surpasses temporal joy, solid glory empty praise, or the society of angels the society of mortals, or the glory of Him who made the sun and moon the light of the sun and moon, **the citizens of so great a country** may not seem to themselves to have done anything very great, if, in order to obtain it, they have done some good works or endured some evils, when those men for this terrestrial country already obtained, did such great things, suffered such great things. And especially are all these things to be considered, because the remission of sins which collects citizens to the celestial country has something in it to which a shadowy resemblance is found in that asylum of Romulus, whither escape from the punishment **of all manner of crimes congregated that multitude with which the state was to be founded**.

...

## Chapter 21

These things being so, we do not attribute the power of giving kingdoms and empires to any save to the true God, who gives happiness in the kingdom of heaven to the pious alone, but gives kingly power on earth both to the pious and the impious, as it may please Him, whose good pleasure is always just. For though we have said something about the principles which guide His administration, in so far as it has seemed good to Him to explain it, nevertheless it is too much for us, and far surpasses our strength, to discuss the hidden things of men's hearts, **and by a clear examination to determine the merits of various kingdoms**. He, therefore, who is the one true God, who never leaves the human race without just judgment and help, **gave a kingdom to the Romans when He would, and as great as He would, as He did also to the Assyrians, and even the Persians**, by whom, as their own books testify, only two gods are worshipped, the one good and the other evil — **to say nothing concerning the Hebrew people, of whom I have already spoken as much as seemed necessary, who, as long as they were a kingdom, worshipped none save the true God. The same, therefore, who gave to the Persians harvests, though they did not worship the goddess Segetia, who gave the other blessings of the earth, though they did not worship the many gods which the Romans supposed to preside, each one over some particular thing, or even many of**



**them over each several thing — He, I say, gave the Persians dominion, though they worshipped none of those gods to whom the Romans believed themselves indebted for the empire. And the same is true in respect of men as well as nations.** He who gave power to Marius gave it also to Caius Cæsar; He who gave it to Augustus gave it also to Nero; He also who gave it to the most benignant emperors, the Vespasians, father and son, gave it also to the cruel Domitian; and, finally, to avoid the necessity of going over them all, He who gave it to the Christian Constantine gave it also to the apostate Julian, whose gifted mind was deceived by a sacrilegious and detestable curiosity, stimulated by the love of power. And it was because he was addicted through curiosity to vain oracles, that, confident of victory, he burned the ships which were laden with the provisions necessary for his army, and therefore, engaging with hot zeal in rashly audacious enterprises, he was soon slain, as the just consequence of his recklessness, and left his army unprovisioned **in an enemy's country**, and in such a predicament that it never could have escaped, save by altering the boundaries of the Roman empire, in violation of that omen of the god Terminus of which I spoke in the preceding book; for the god Terminus yielded to necessity, though he had not yielded to Jupiter. Manifestly these things are ruled and governed by the one God according as He pleases; and if His motives are hid, are they therefore unjust?

## Chapter 22

Thus also the durations of wars are determined by Him as He may see meet, according to His righteous will, and pleasure, and mercy, to afflict or to console the human race, so that they are sometimes of longer, sometimes of shorter duration. The war of the Pirates and the third Punic war were terminated with incredible celerity. Also the war of the fugitive gladiators, though in it many Roman generals and the consuls were defeated, **and Italy was terribly wasted and ravaged**, was nevertheless ended in the third year, having itself been, during its continuance, the end of much. **The Picentes, the Marsi, and the Peligni, not distant but Italian nations, after a long and most loyal servitude under the Roman yoke, attempted to raise their heads into liberty, though many nations had now been subjected to the Roman power, and Carthage had been overthrown. In this Italian war** the Romans were very often defeated, and two consuls perished, besides other noble senators; nevertheless this calamity was not protracted over a long space of time, for the fifth year put an end to it. But the second Punic war, lasting for the space of eighteen years, and occasioning the greatest disasters and calamities to the republic, wore out and nearly consumed the strength of the Romans; for in two battles about seventy thousand Romans fell. The first Punic war was terminated after having been waged for three-and-twenty years. The Mithridatic war was waged for forty years. And that no one may think that in the early and much belauded times of the Romans they were far braver and more able to bring wars to a speedy termination, the Samnite war was protracted for nearly fifty years; and in this war the Romans were so beaten that they were even put under the yoke. But because they did not love glory for the sake of justice, but seemed rather to have loved justice for the sake of glory, they broke the peace and the treaty which had been concluded. These things I mention, because many, ignorant of past things, and some also dissimulating what they know, if in Christian times they see any war protracted a little longer than they expected, straightway make a fierce and insolent attack on our religion, exclaiming that, but for it, the deities would have been supplicated still, according to ancient rites; and then, **by that**

**bravery of the Romans**, which, with the help of Mars and Bellona, speedily brought to an end such great wars, this war also would be speedily terminated. Let them, therefore, who have read history recollect what long-continued wars, having various issues and entailing woeful slaughter, were waged **by the ancient Romans**, in accordance with the general truth that the earth, like the tempestuous deep, is subject to agitations from tempests — tempests of such evils, in various degrees — and let them sometimes confess what they do not like to own, and not, by madly speaking against God, destroy themselves and deceive the ignorant.

### Chapter 23

Nevertheless they do not mention with thanksgiving what God has very recently, and within our own memory, wonderfully and mercifully done, but as far as in them lies they attempt, if possible, to bury it in universal oblivion. But should we be silent about these things, we should be in like manner ungrateful. **When Radagaisus, king of the Goths, having taken up his position very near to the city, with a vast and savage army, was already close upon the Romans**, he was in one day so speedily and so thoroughly beaten, that, while not even one Roman was wounded, much less slain, far more than a hundred thousand of his army were prostrated, and he himself and his sons, having been captured, were immediately put to death, suffering the punishment they deserved. For had so impious a man, with so great and so impious a host, entered the city, whom would he have spared? What tombs of the martyrs would he have respected? In his treatment of what person would he have manifested the fear of God? Whose blood would he have refrained from shedding? Whose chastity would he have wished to preserve inviolate? But how loud would they not have been in the praises of their gods! How insultingly they would have boasted, saying that Radagaisus had conquered, that he had been able to achieve such great things, because he propitiated and won over the gods by daily sacrifices — a thing which the Christian religion did not allow the Romans to do! For when he was approaching to those places where he was overwhelmed at the nod of the Supreme Majesty, as his fame was everywhere increasing, **it was being told us at Carthage that the pagans were believing, publishing, and boasting, that he, on account of the help and protection of the gods friendly to him, because of the sacrifices which he was said to be daily offering to them, would certainly not be conquered by those who were not performing such sacrifices to the Roman gods**, and did not even permit that they should be offered by any one. And now these wretched men do not give thanks to God for his great mercy, who, having determined to chastise the corruption of men, which was worthy of far heavier chastisement than **the corruption of the barbarians**, tempered His indignation with such mildness as, in the first instance, to cause that **the king of the Goths should be conquered in a wonderful manner, lest glory should accrue to demons, whom he was known to be supplicating**, and thus the minds of the weak should be overthrown; and then, afterwards, to cause that, when Rome was to be taken, **it should be taken by those barbarians who**, contrary to any custom of all former wars, protected, through reverence for the Christian religion, those who fled for refuge to the sacred places, and who so opposed the demons themselves, and the rites of impious sacrifices, that they seemed to be carrying on a far more terrible war with them than with men. Thus did the true Lord and Governor of things both scourge the Romans mercifully, and, by the marvellous defeat of the worshippers of demons, show that those sacrifices were not necessary even for the safety of present things; so that, by those who

do not obstinately hold out, but prudently consider the matter, true religion may not be deserted on account of the urgencies of the present time, but may be more clung to in most confident expectation of eternal life.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120105.htm>

## Book VI

### Chapter 11

**Seneca, among the other superstitions of civil theology,<sup>22</sup> also found fault with the sacred things of the Jews, and especially the sabbaths, affirming that they act uselessly in keeping those seventh days, whereby they lose through idleness about the seventh part of their life, and also many things which demand immediate attention are damaged. The Christians, however, who were already most hostile to the Jews, he did not dare to mention, either for praise or blame, lest, if he praised them, he should do so against the ancient custom of his country, or, perhaps, if he should blame them, he should do so against his own will.**

When he was speaking concerning those Jews, he said, *When, meanwhile, the customs of that most accursed nation have gained such strength that they have been now received in all lands, the conquered have given laws to the conquerors.* By these words he expresses his astonishment; **and, not knowing what the providence of God was leading him to say,** subjoins in plain words an opinion by which he showed what he thought about the meaning of those sacred institutions: *For, he says, those, however, know the cause of their rites, while the greater part of the people know not why they perform theirs.* But concerning the solemnities of the Jews, either why or how far they were instituted by divine authority, and afterwards, in due time, by the same authority taken away from the people of God, to whom the mystery of eternal life was revealed, we have both spoken elsewhere, especially when we were treating against the Manichæans, and also intend to speak in this work in a more suitable place.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120106.htm>

## Book VII

### Chapter 19

...

But what shall men do who cannot find anything wise to say, because they are interpreting foolish things? Saturn has a pruning-knife. That, says Varro, is on account of agriculture. Certainly in Saturn's reign there as yet existed no agriculture, and therefore the former times of Saturn are spoken of, because, as the same Varro interprets the fables, the primeval men lived

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<sup>22</sup> Saint Augustine dedicates Chapter 10 to talking about Seneca, and about the so-called “civil theology” of Rome and its people. In this, and especially in his citations of Seneca, he seems to reiterate that above mentioned viewpoint, that gods rightly belong to racial property. Tertullian propounds the same view in Book II, Chap. VIII of *Ad Nationes*.

on those seeds which the earth produced spontaneously. Perhaps he received a pruning-knife when he had lost his sceptre; that he who had been a king, and lived at ease during the first part of his time, should become a laborious workman while his son occupied the throne. Then he says that **boys were wont to be immolated to him by certain peoples, the Carthaginians for instance; and also that adults were immolated by some nations, for example the Gauls** — because, of all seeds, the human race is the best. What need we say more concerning this most cruel vanity.

...

#### Chapter 23

...

Let him return from this, which he thinks to be natural theology, back to that from which he went out, in order to rest from the fatigue occasioned by the many turnings and windings of his path. Let him return, I say, let him return to **the civil theology**. I wish to detain him there a while. I have somewhat to say which has to do with that theology. I am not yet saying, that if the earth and stones are similar to our bones and nails, they are in like manner devoid of intelligence, as they are devoid of sensation. Nor am I saying that, if our bones and nails are said to have intelligence, because they are in a man who has intelligence, he who says that the things analogous to these in the world are gods, is as stupid as he is who says that our bones and nails are men. We shall perhaps have occasion to dispute these things with the philosophers. At present, however, I wish to deal with Varro as a political theologian. For it is possible that, though he may seem to have wished to lift up his head, as it were, into the liberty of natural theology, the consciousness that the book with which he was occupied was one concerning a subject belonging to **civil theology**, may have caused him to relapse into the point of view of that theology, **and to say this in order that the ancestors of his nation, and other states, might not be believed to have bestowed on Neptune an irrational worship.**

...

#### Chapter 32

This mystery of eternal life, even from the beginning of the human race, was, by certain signs and sacraments suitable to the times, announced through angels to those to whom it was meet. **Then the Hebrew people was congregated into one republic**, as it were, to perform this mystery; and in that republic was foretold, sometimes through men who understood what they spoke, and sometimes through men who understood not, all that had transpired since the advent of Christ until now, and all that will transpire. **This same nation, too, was afterwards dispersed through the nations**, in order to testify to the scriptures in which eternal salvation in Christ had been declared. For not only the prophecies which are contained in words, nor only the precepts for the right conduct of life, which teach morals and piety, and are contained in the sacred writings — not only these, but also the rites, priesthood, tabernacle or temple, altars, sacrifices, ceremonies, and whatever else belongs to that service which is due to God, and which in Greek is properly called *λατρεία* — all these signified and fore-announced those things which we who believe in Jesus Christ unto eternal life believe to have been fulfilled, or behold in process of fulfillment, or confidently believe shall yet be fulfilled.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120107.htm>

## Book VIII

### Chapter 2

**As far as concerns the literature of the Greeks, whose language holds a more illustrious place than any of the languages of the other nations,** history mentions two schools of philosophers, **the one called the Italic school, originating in that part of Italy which was formerly called Magna Græcia; the other called the Ionic school, having its origin in those regions which are still called by the name of Greece. The Italic school had for its founder Pythagoras of Samos,** to whom also the term philosophy is said to owe its origin. For whereas formerly those who seemed to excel others by the laudable manner in which they regulated their lives were called sages, Pythagoras, on being asked what he professed, replied that he was a philosopher, that is, a student or lover of wisdom; for it seemed to him to be the height of arrogance to profess oneself a sage. **The founder of the Ionic school, again, was Thales of Miletus,** one of those seven who were styled the seven sages, of whom six were distinguished by the kind of life they lived, and by certain maxims which they gave forth for the proper conduct of life.

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### Chapter 9

Whatever philosophers, therefore, thought concerning the supreme God, that He is both the maker of all created things, the light by which things are known, and the good in reference to which things are to be done; that we have in Him the first principle of nature, the truth of doctrine, and the happiness of life — whether these philosophers may be more suitably called Platonists, or whether they may give some other name to their sect; whether, we say, **that only the chief men of the Ionic school, such as Plato himself, and they who have well understood him, have thought thus; or whether we also include the Italic school, on account of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans,** and all who may have held like opinions; and, **lastly, whether also we include all who have been held wise men and philosophers among all nations who are discovered to have seen and taught this, be they Atlantics, Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, or of other nations** — we prefer these to all other philosophers, and confess that they approach nearest to us.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120108.htm>

## Book X

### Chapter 13

Neither need we be surprised that God, invisible as He is, should often have appeared visibly to the patriarchs. For as the sound which communicates the thought conceived in the silence of the mind is not the thought itself, so the form by which God, invisible in His own nature, became visible, was not God Himself. Nevertheless it is He Himself who was seen under that form, as that thought itself is heard in the sound of the voice; and the patriarchs recognized that, though the bodily form was not God, they saw the invisible God. For, though Moses conversed with God, yet he said, *If I have found grace in Your sight, show me Yourself, that I may see and*

*know You.* Exodus 33:13 And as it was fit that the law, which was given, **not to one man or a few enlightened men, but to the whole of a populous nation**, should be accompanied by awe-inspiring signs, great marvels were wrought, by the ministry of angels, before the people on the mount where the law was being given to them through one man, while the multitude beheld the awful appearances. **For the people of Israel believed Moses, not as the Lacedæmonians believed their Lycurgus**, because he had received from Jupiter or Apollo the laws he gave them. For when the law which enjoined the worship of one God was given to the people, marvellous signs and earthquakes, such as the divine wisdom judged sufficient, were brought about in the sight of all, that they might know that it was the Creator who could thus use creation to promulgate His law.

...

Chapter 32

...

This, then, is the universal way of the soul's deliverance, the way that is granted by **the divine compassion to the nations universally. And no nation to which the knowledge of it has already come, or may hereafter come**, ought to demand, Why so soon? Or, Why so late?— for the design of Him who sends it is impenetrable by human capacity. This was felt by Porphyry when he confined himself to saying that this gift of God was not yet received, and had not yet come to his knowledge. For though this was so, he did not on that account pronounce that the way it self had no existence. This, I say, is the universal way for the deliverance of believers, concerning which the faithful Abraham received the divine assurance, *In your seed shall all nations be blessed.* Genesis 22:18 **He, indeed, was by birth a Chaldæan**; but, that he might receive these great promises, and that there might be propagated from him a seed *disposed by angels in the hand of a Mediator*, Galatians 3:19 in whom this universal way, thrown open **to all nations for the deliverance of the soul, might be found, he was ordered to leave his country, and kindred, and father's house. Then was he himself, first of all, delivered from the Chaldæan superstitions**, and by his obedience worshipped the one true God, whose promises he faithfully trusted. This is the universal way, of which it is said in holy prophecy, *God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause His face to shine upon us; that Your way may be known upon earth, Your saving health among all nations.* And hence, when our Saviour, so long after, had taken **flesh of the seed of Abraham**, He says of Himself, *I am the way, the truth, and the life.* John 14:6 This is the universal way, of which so long before it had been predicted, *And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* Isaiah 2:2-3 This way, therefore, **is not the property of one, but of all nations.** The law and the word of the Lord **did not remain in Zion and Jerusalem, but issued thence to be universally diffused.** And therefore the Mediator Himself, after His resurrection, says to His alarmed disciples, *These are the words which I spoke unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me. Then opened He their understandings that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third*

*day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name **among all nations**, beginning at Jerusalem.* Luke 24:44-47 This is the universal way of the soul's deliverance, which the holy angels and the holy prophets formerly disclosed **where they could among the few men who found the grace of God, and especially in the Hebrew nation**, whose commonwealth was, as it were, consecrated to prefigure and fore-announce the city of God which was **to be gathered from all nations**, by their tabernacle, and temple, and priesthood, and sacrifices.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120110.htm>

## Book XII

Chapter 27 (*That the Whole Plenitude of the Human Race Was Embraced in the First Man, and that God There Saw the Portion of It Which Was to Be Honored and Rewarded, and that Which Was to Be Condemned and Punished.*)

With good cause, therefore, does the true religion recognize and proclaim that the same God who created the universal cosmos, created also all the animals, souls as well as bodies. Among the terrestrial animals man was made by Him in His own image, and, for the reason I have given, was made one individual, though he was not left solitary. For there is nothing so social by nature, so unsocial by its corruption, as this race. And human nature has nothing more appropriate, either for the prevention of discord, or for the healing of it, where it exists, than the remembrance of that first parent of us all, whom God was pleased to create alone, **that all men might be derived from one, and that they might thus be admonished to preserve unity among their whole multitude.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120112.htm>

## Book XIV

Chapter 1

We have already stated in the preceding books that God, desiring not only that **the human race might be able by their similarity of nature to associate with one another, but also that they might be bound together in harmony and peace by the ties of relationship**, was pleased to derive all men from one individual, and created man with such a nature that the members of the race should not have died, had not the two first (of whom the one was created out of nothing, and the other out of him) merited this by their disobedience; for by them so great a sin was committed, that by it the human nature was altered for the worse, and was transmitted also to their posterity, liable to sin and subject to death. And the kingdom of death so reigned over men, that the deserved penalty of sin would have hurled all headlong even into the second death, of which there is no end, had not the undeserved grace of God saved some therefrom. **And thus it has come to pass, that though there are very many and great nations all over the earth, whose rites and customs, speech, arms, and dress, are distinguished by marked differences**, yet there are no more than two kinds of human society, which we may justly call two cities, according to the language of our Scriptures. The one consists of those who

wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit; and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in peace, each after their kind.

...

## Chapter 17

...

And thus they obtained a knowledge which they would have lived in blissful ignorance of, had they, in trustful obedience to God, declined to commit that offense which involved them in the experience of the hurtful effects of unfaithfulness and disobedience. And therefore, being ashamed of the disobedience of their own flesh, which witnessed to their disobedience while it punished it, they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons, that is, cinctures for their privy parts; for some interpreters have rendered the word by *succinctoria*. *Campestris* is, indeed, a Latin word, but it is used of the drawers or aprons used for a similar purpose by the young men who stripped for exercise in the *campus*; hence those who were so girt were commonly called *campestrati*. Shame modestly covered that which lust disobediently moved in opposition to the will, which was thus punished for its own disobedience. **Consequently all nations, being propagated from that one stock, have so strong an instinct to cover the shameful parts, that some barbarians do not uncover them even in the bath, but wash with their drawers on. In the dark solitudes of India also, though some philosophers go naked, and are therefore called gymnosophists, yet they make an exception in the case of these members and cover them.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120114.htm>

## Book XV

### Chapter 5

Thus the founder of the earthly city was a fratricide. Overcome with envy, he slew his own brother, a citizen of the eternal city, and a sojourner on earth. So that we cannot be surprised that this first specimen, or, as the Greeks say, archetype of crime, should, long afterwards, **find a corresponding crime [the slaughter of Remus] at the foundation of that city which was destined to reign over so many nations**, and be the head of this earthly city of which we speak.

...

### Chapter 8

At present it is the history which I aim at defending, that Scripture may not be reckoned incredible when it relates that one man built a city at a time in which there seem to have been but four men upon earth, or rather indeed but three, after one brother slew the other — to wit, the first man the father of all, and Cain himself, and his son Enoch, by whose name the city was itself called. But they who are moved by this consideration forget to take into account that the writer of the sacred history does not necessarily mention all the men who might be alive at that time, but those only whom the scope of his work required him to name. **The design of that writer (who in this matter was the instrument of the Holy Ghost) was to descend to Abraham through the successions of ascertained generations propagated from one man, and then to pass from Abraham's seed to the people of God, in whom, separated as they**



**were from other nations**, was prefigured and predicted all that relates to the city whose reign is eternal, and to its king and founder Christ, which things were foreseen in the Spirit as destined to come; yet neither is this object so effected as that nothing is said of the other society of men which we call the earthly city, but mention is made of it so far as seemed needful to enhance the glory of the heavenly city by contrast to its opposite. Accordingly, when the divine Scripture, in mentioning the number of years which those men lived, concludes its account of each man of whom it speaks, with the words, *And he begot sons and daughters, and all his days were so and so, and he died*, are we to understand that, because it does not name those sons and daughters, therefore, during that long term of years over which one lifetime extended in those early days, there might not have been born very many men, by whose united numbers not one but several cities might have been built? But it suited the purpose of God, by whose inspiration these histories were composed, **to arrange and distinguish from the first these two societies in their several generations — that on the one side the generations of men, that is to say, of those who live according to man, and on the other side the generations of the sons of God, that is to say, of men living according to God, might be traced down together and yet apart from one another** as far as the deluge, at which point their dissociation and association are exhibited: their dissociation, **inasmuch as the generations of both lines are recorded in separate tables, the one line descending from the fratricide Cain, the other from Seth, who had been born to Adam instead of him whom his brother slew**; their association, inasmuch as the good so deteriorated that the whole race became of such a character that it was swept away by the deluge, with the exception of one just man, whose name was Noah, and his wife and three sons and three daughters-in-law, which eight persons were alone deemed worthy to escape from that desolating visitation which destroyed all men.

Therefore, although it is written, *And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch, and he built a city and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch*, Genesis 4:17 it does not follow that we are to believe this to have been his first-born; for we cannot suppose that this is proved by the expression he knew his wife, as if then for the first time he had had intercourse with her. For in the case of Adam, the father of all, this expression is used not only when Cain, who seems to have been his first-born, was conceived, but also afterwards the same Scripture says, *Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and called his name Seth*. Genesis 4:25 Whence it is obvious that Scripture employs this expression neither always when a birth is recorded nor then only when the birth of a first-born is mentioned. Neither is it necessary to suppose that Enoch was Cain's first-born because he named his city after him. For it is quite possible that though he had other sons, yet for some reason the father loved him more than the rest. Judah was not the first-born, **though he gives his name to Judæa and the Jews**. But even though Enoch was the first-born of the city's founder, that is no reason for supposing that the father named the city after him as soon as he was born; for at that time he, being but a solitary man, **could not have founded a civic community, which is nothing else than a multitude of men bound together by some associating tie. But when his family increased to such numbers that he had quite a population, then it became possible to him both to build a city, and give it, when founded, the name of his son**. For so long was the life of those antediluvians, that he who lived the shortest time of those whose years are mentioned in Scripture attained to the age of 753 years. And though no one attained

the age of a thousand years, several exceeded the age of nine hundred. Who then can doubt that during the lifetime of one man the human race might be so multiplied that there would be a population to build and occupy not one but several cities? **And this might very readily be conjectured from the fact that from one man, Abraham, in not much more than four hundred years, the numbers of the Hebrew race so increased,** that in the exodus of that people from Egypt there are recorded to have been six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, Exodus 12:37 **and this over and above the Idumæans, who, though not numbered with Israel's descendants, were yet sprung from his brother, also a grandson of Abraham; and over and above the other nations which were of the same stock of Abraham, though not through Sarah — that is, his descendants by Hagar and Keturah, the Ishmaelites, Midianites, etc.**

## Chapter 9

...

I myself, along with some others, saw on the shore at Utica a man's molar tooth of such a size, that if it were cut down into teeth such as we have, a hundred, I fancy, could have been made out of it. But that, I believe, belonged to some giant. For though the bodies of ordinary men were then larger than ours, the giants surpassed all in stature. And neither in our own age nor any other have there been altogether wanting instances of gigantic stature, though they may be few. The younger Pliny, a most learned man, maintains that the older the world becomes, the smaller will be the bodies of men. And he mentions that Homer in his poems often lamented the same decline; and this he does not laugh at as a poetical figment, but in his character of a recorder of natural wonders accepts it as historically true. But, as I said, the bones which are from time to time discovered prove the size of the bodies of the ancients, and will do so to future ages, for they are slow to decay. But the length of an antediluvian's life cannot now be proved by any such monumental evidence. But we are not on this account to withhold our faith from the sacred history, whose statements of past fact we are the more inexcusable in discrediting, as we see the accuracy of its prediction of what was future. And even that same Pliny tells us that **there is still a nation in which men live 200 years. If, then, in places unknown to us, men are believed to have a length of days which is quite beyond our own experience, why should we not believe the same of times distant from our own?** Or are we to believe that in other places there is what is not here, while we do not believe that in other times there has been anything but what is now?

...

## Chapter 13

But if I say this [to promulgate the view of ancient lifespans, as according to Scripture], I shall presently be answered, **It is one of the Jews' lies.** This, however, we have disposed of above, showing that it cannot be that men of so just a reputation as the seventy translators should have falsified their version. **However, if I ask them which of the two is more credible, that the Jewish nation, scattered far and wide, could have unanimously conspired to forge this lie, and so, through envying others the authority of their Scriptures, have deprived themselves of their verity; or that seventy men, who were also themselves Jews, shut up in one place (for Ptolemy king of Egypt had got them together for this work), should have envied foreign nations that same truth, and by common consent inserted these errors:**

who does not see which can be more naturally and readily believed? But far be it from any prudent man to believe either **that the Jews, however malicious and wrong-headed**, could have tampered with so many and so widely-dispersed manuscripts; **or that those renowned seventy individuals had any common purpose to grudge the truth to the nations**. One must therefore more plausibly maintain, that when first their labors began to be transcribed from the copy in Ptolemy's library, some such misstatement might find its way into the first copy made, and from it might be disseminated far and wide; and that this might arise from no fraud, but from a mere copyist's error. This is a sufficiently plausible account of the difficulty regarding Methuselah's life, and of that other case in which there is a difference in the total of twenty-four years. But in those cases in which there is a methodical resemblance in the falsification, so that uniformly the one version allots to the period before a son and successor is born 100 years more than the other, and to the period subsequent 100 years less, and *vice versâ*, so that the totals may agree — and this holds true of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh generations — in these cases error seems to have, if we may say so, a certain kind of constancy, and savors not of accident, but of design.

Accordingly, that diversity of numbers which distinguishes the Hebrew from the Greek and Latin copies of Scripture, and which consists of a uniform addition and deduction of 100 years in each lifetime for several consecutive generations, is to be attributed **neither to the malice of the Jews** nor to men so diligent and prudent as the seventy translators, but to the error of the copyist who was first allowed to transcribe the manuscript from the library of the above-mentioned king. For even now, in cases where numbers contribute nothing to the easier comprehension or more satisfactory knowledge of anything, they are both carelessly transcribed, and still more carelessly emended. **For who will trouble himself to learn how many thousand men the several tribes of Israel contained?** He sees no resulting benefit of such knowledge.

...

## Chapter 16

...

And we see that, since the human race has increased and multiplied, this [distaste for incestuous relations] is so strictly observed even among the profane worshippers of many and false gods, that though their laws perversely allow a brother to marry his sister, yet custom, with a finer morality, prefers to forego this license; and though it was quite allowable in the earliest ages of the human race to marry one's sister, it is now abhorred as a thing which no circumstances could justify. For custom has very great power either to attract or to shock human feeling. And in this matter, while it restrains concupiscence within due bounds, the man who neglects and disobeys it is justly branded as abominable. For if it is iniquitous to plough beyond our own boundaries through the greed of gain, is it not much more iniquitous to transgress the recognized boundaries of morals through sexual lust? **And with regard to marriage in the next degree of consanguinity, marriage between cousins**, we have observed that in our own time the customary morality has prevented this from being frequent, though the law allows it. It was not prohibited by divine law, nor as yet had human law prohibited it; nevertheless, though legitimate, people shrank from it, because it lay so close to what was illegitimate, and in marrying a cousin seemed almost to marry a sister — **for cousins are so closely related that**

they are called brothers and sisters, and are almost really so. **But the ancient fathers, fearing that near relationship might gradually in the course of generations diverge, and become distant relationship, or cease to be relationship at all,** religiously endeavored to limit it by the bond of marriage before it became distant, and thus, as it were, to call it back when it was escaping them. **And on this account, even when the world was full of people, though they did not choose wives from among their sisters or half-sisters, yet they preferred them to be of the same stock as themselves.** But who doubts that the modern prohibition of the marriage even of cousins is the more seemly regulation — not merely on account of the reason we have been urging, the multiplying of relationships, so that one person might not absorb two, which might be distributed to two persons, and so increase the number of people bound together as a family, but also because there is in human nature I know not what natural and praiseworthy shamefacedness which restrains us from desiring that connection which, though for propagation, is yet lustful and which even conjugal modesty blushes over, with **any one to whom consanguinity bids us render respect?**

...

#### Chapter 19

**For that line also of which Seth is the father has the name Dedication in the seventh generation from Adam, counting Adam. For the seventh from him is Enoch, that is, Dedication.** But this is that man who was translated because he pleased God, and who held in the order of the generations a remarkable place, being the seventh from Adam, a number signalized by the consecration of the Sabbath. But, counting from the diverging point of the two lines, or from Seth, he was the sixth. Now it was on the sixth day God made man, and consummated His works. But the translation of Enoch prefigured our deferred dedication; for though it is indeed already accomplished in Christ our Head, who so rose again that He shall die no more, and who was Himself also translated, yet there remains another dedication of the whole house, of which Christ Himself is the foundation, and this dedication is deferred till the end, when all shall rise again to die no more. And whether it is the house of God, or the temple of God, or the city of God, that is said to be dedicated, it is all the same, and equally in accordance with the usage of the Latin language. For Virgil himself calls **the city of widest empire the house of Assaracus, meaning the Romans, who were descended through the Trojans from Assaracus. He also calls them the house of Æneas, because Rome was built by those Trojans who had come to Italy under Æneas. For that poet imitated the sacred writings, in which the Hebrew nation, though so numerous, is called the house of Jacob.**

#### Chapter 20

Some one will say, If the writer of this history intended, **in enumerating the generations from Adam through his son Seth, to descend through them to Noah,** in whose time the deluge occurred, **and from him again to trace the connected generations down to Abraham, with whom Matthew begins the pedigree of Christ the eternal King of the city of God, what did he intend by enumerating the generations from Cain, and to what terminus did he mean to trace them?** We reply, To the deluge, **by which the whole stock of the earthly city was destroyed, but repaired by the sons of Noah.** For the earthly city and community of men who live after the flesh will never fail until the end of this world, of which our Lord says, The children

of this world generate, and are generated. Luke 20:34 But the city of God, which sojourns in this world, is conducted by regeneration to the world to come, of which the children neither generate nor are generated. In this world generation is common to both cities; though even now the city of God has many thousand citizens who abstain from the act of generation; yet the other city also has some citizens who imitate these, though erroneously. For to that city belong also those who have erred from the faith, and introduced various heresies; for they live according to man, not according to God. **And the Indian gymnosophists, who are said to philosophize in the solitudes of India in a state of nudity, are its citizens;** and they abstain from marriage. For continence is not a good thing, except when it is practised in the faith of the highest good, that is, God. Yet no one is found to have practised it before the deluge; for indeed even Enoch himself, the seventh from Adam, who is said to have been translated without dying, begot sons and daughters before he was translated, **and among these was Methuselah, by whom the succession of the recorded generations is maintained.**

Why, then, **is so small a number of Cain's generations registered, if it was proper to trace them to the deluge,** and if there was no such delay of the date of puberty as to preclude the hope of offspring for a hundred or more years? **For if the author of this book had not in view some one to whom he might rigidly trace the series of generations, as he designed in those which sprang from Seth's seed to descend to Noah, and thence to start again by a rigid order, what need was there of omitting the first-born sons for the sake of descending to Lamech, in whose sons that line terminates — that is to say, in the eighth generation from Adam, or the seventh from Cain — as if from this point he had wished to pass on to another series, by which he might reach either the Israelitish people, among whom the earthly Jerusalem presented a prophetic figure of the heavenly city, or to Jesus Christ, *according to the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever,* Romans 9:5 the Maker and Ruler of the heavenly city? What, I say, was the need of this, **seeing that the whole of Cain's posterity were destroyed in the deluge? From this it is manifest that they are the first-born sons who are registered in this genealogy.** Why, then, are there so few of them? Their numbers in the period before the deluge must have been greater, if the date of puberty bore no proportion to their longevity, and they had children before they were a hundred years old. For supposing they were on an average thirty years old when they began to beget children, then, as there are eight generations, including Adam and Lamech's children, 8 times 30 gives 240 years; did they then produce no more children in all the rest of the time before the deluge? With what intention, then, did he who wrote this record make no mention of **subsequent generations?** For from Adam to the deluge there are reckoned, according to our copies of Scripture, 2262 years, and according to the Hebrew text, 1656 years. Supposing, then, the smaller number to be the true one, and subtracting from 1656 years 240, is it credible that during the remaining 1400 and odd years until the deluge **the posterity of Cain begot no children?****

But let any one who is moved by this call to mind that when I discussed the question, how it is credible that those primitive men could abstain for so many years from begetting children, two modes of solution were found — either a puberty late in proportion to their longevity, or that **the sons registered in the genealogies** were not the first-born, but those through whom the author of the book intended to reach the point aimed at, as he intended **to reach Noah by the**

**generations of Seth. So that, if in the generations of Cain** there occurs no one whom the writer could make it his object to reach by omitting the first-born and inserting those who would serve such a purpose, then we must have recourse to the supposition of late puberty, and say that only at some age beyond a hundred years they became capable of begetting children, so that the order of the generations ran through the first-born, and filled up even the whole period before the deluge, long though it was. It is, however, possible that, for some more secret reason which escapes me, this city, which we say is earthly, **is exhibited in all its generations down to Lamech and his sons**, and that then the writer withholds from recording the rest which may have existed before the deluge. And without supposing so late a puberty in these men, there might be another reason **for tracing the generations by sons who were not first-born**, viz., that the same city which Cain built, and named after his son Enoch, **may have had a widely extended dominion and many kings, not reigning simultaneously, but successively, the reigning king begetting always his successor. Cain himself would be the first of these kings; his son Enoch, in whose name the city in which he reigned was built, would be the second; the third Irad, whom Enoch begot; the fourth Mehujael, whom Irad begot; the fifth Methusael, whom Mehujael begot; the sixth Lamech, whom Methusael begot, and who is the seventh from Adam through Cain.** But it was not necessary that the first-born should succeed their fathers in the kingdom, but those would succeed who were recommended by the possession of some virtue useful to the earthly city, or who were chosen by lot, or the son who was best liked by his father **would succeed by a kind of hereditary right to the throne.** And the deluge may have happened during the lifetime and reign of Lamech, and may have destroyed him along with all other men, save those who were in the ark. For we cannot be surprised that, during so long a period from Adam to the deluge, and with the ages of individuals varying as they did, there should not be **an equal number of generations in both lines**, but seven in Cain's, and ten in Seth's; for as I have already said, Lamech is the seventh from Adam, Noah the tenth; and in Lamech's case not one son only is registered, as in the former instances, but more, because it was uncertain which of them would have succeeded when he died, if there had intervened any time to reign between his death and the deluge.

**But in whatever manner the generations of Cain's line are traced downwards, whether it be by first-born sons or by the heirs to the throne**, it seems to me that I must by no means omit to notice that, when Lamech had been set down as the seventh from Adam, **there were named, in addition, as many of his children as made up this number to eleven, which is the number signifying sin; for three sons and one daughter are added. The wives of Lamech have another signification, different from that which I am now pressing. For at present I am speaking of the children, and not of those by whom the children were begotten. Since, then, the law is symbolized by the number ten — whence that memorable Decalogue — there is no doubt that the number eleven, which goes beyond ten, symbolizes the transgression of the law, and consequently sin.** For this reason, eleven veils of goat's skin were ordered to be hung in the tabernacle of the testimony, which served in the wanderings of God's people as an ambulatory temple. And in that haircloth there was a reminder of sins, because the goats were to be set on the left hand of the Judge; and therefore, when we confess our sins, we prostrate ourselves in haircloth, as if we were saying what is written in the psalm, *My sin is ever before me.* **The progeny of Adam, then, by Cain the**

**murderer, is completed in the number eleven, which symbolizes sin;** and this number itself is made up by a woman, as it was by the same sex that beginning was made of sin by which we all die. **And it was committed that the pleasure of the flesh, which resists the spirit, might follow; and so Naamah, the daughter of Lamech, means *pleasure*. But from Adam to Noah, in the line of Seth, there are ten generations. And to Noah three sons are added, of whom, while one fell into sin, two were blessed by their father;** so that, if you deduct the reprobate and add the gracious sons to the number, you get twelve — a number signaled in the case of the patriarchs and of the apostles, and made up of the parts of the number seven multiplied into one another — for three times four, or four times three, give twelve. These things being so, **I see that I must consider and mention how these two lines, which by their separate genealogies depict the two cities, one of earth-born, the other of regenerated persons, became afterwards so mixed and confused, that the whole human race, with the exception of eight persons, deserved to perish in the deluge.**

## Chapter 21

We must first see why, **in the enumeration of Cain's posterity, after Enoch, in whose name the city was built, has been first of all mentioned, the rest are at once enumerated down to that terminus of which I have spoken, and at which that race and the whole line was destroyed in the deluge;** while, after Enos the son of Seth, has been mentioned, the rest are not at once named down to the deluge, but a clause is inserted to the following effect: *This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He him; male and female created He them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created.* Genesis 5:1

...

But we have not now time to pursue this subject; and, indeed, we have already dwelt upon it in the work we wrote against Faustus the Manichean, who denies that there is anything prophesied of Christ in the Hebrew books. It may be that one man's exposition excels another's, and that ours is not the best; but all that is said must be referred to this city of God we speak of, which sojourns in this wicked world as in a deluge, at least if the expositor would not widely miss the meaning of the author. **For example, the interpretation I have given in the work against Faustus, of the words, with lower, second, and third stories shall you make it, is, that because the church is gathered out of all nations, it is said to have two stories, to represent the two kinds of men — the circumcision, to wit, and the uncircumcision, or, as the apostle otherwise calls them, Jews and Gentiles; and to have three stories, because all the nations were replenished from the three sons of Noah.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120115.htm>

## Book XVI

### Chapter 2

The things which then were hidden are now sufficiently revealed by the actual events which have followed. For who can carefully and intelligently consider these things without recognizing them accomplished in Christ? **Shem, of whom Christ was born** in the flesh, means *named*.

And what is of greater name than Christ, the fragrance of whose name is now everywhere perceived, so that even prophecy sings of it beforehand, comparing it in the Song of Songs, Song of Songs 1:3 to ointment poured forth? Is it not also in the houses of Christ, that is, in the churches, that the *enlargement* of the nations dwells? For Japheth means *enlargement*. And Ham (*i.e.*, hot), who was the middle son of Noah, and, as it were, separated himself from both, and remained between them, **neither belonging to the first-fruits of Israel nor to the fullness of the Gentiles, what does he signify but the tribe of heretics**, hot with the spirit, not of patience, but of impatience, with which the breasts of heretics are wont to blaze, and with which they disturb the peace of the saints? But even the heretics yield an advantage to those that make proficiency, according to the apostle's saying, *There must also be heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you*. 1 Corinthians 11:19 Whence, too, it is elsewhere said, *The son that receives instruction will be wise, and he uses the foolish as his servant*. For while the hot restlessness of heretics stirs questions about many articles of the Catholic faith, the necessity of defending them forces us both to investigate them more accurately, to understand them more clearly, and to proclaim them more earnestly; and the question mooted by an adversary becomes the occasion of instruction. However, not only those who are openly separated from the church, but also all who glory in the Christian name, and at the same time lead abandoned lives, may without absurdity seem to be figured by Noah's middle son: for the passion of Christ, which was signified by that man's nakedness, is at once proclaimed by their profession, and dishonored by their wicked conduct. Of such, therefore, it has been said, *By their fruits you shall know them*. Matthew 7:20 **And therefore was Ham cursed in his son, he being, as it were, his fruit. So, too, this son of his, Canaan, is fitly interpreted their movement, which is nothing else than their work. But Shem and Japheth, that is to say, the circumcision and uncircumcision, or, as the apostle otherwise calls them, the Jews and Greeks**, but called and justified, having somehow **discovered the nakedness of their father** (which signifies the Saviour's passion), took a garment and laid it upon their backs, and entered backwards and covered their father's nakedness, without their seeing what their reverence hid. For we both honor the passion of Christ as accomplished for us, **and we hate the crime of the Jews who crucified Him. The garment signifies the sacrament, their backs the memory of things past**: for the church celebrates the passion of Christ as already accomplished, and no longer to be looked forward to, now that Japheth already dwells in the habitations of Shem, and their wicked brother between them.

But the wicked brother is, **in the person of his son** (*i.e.*, his work), the boy, or slave, of his good brothers, when good men make a skillful use of bad men, either for the exercise of their patience or for their advancement in wisdom. For the apostle testifies that there are some who preach Christ from no pure motives; *but*, says he, *whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice*. Philippians 1:18 For it is Christ Himself who planted the vine of which the prophet says, *The vine of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel*; Isaiah 5:7 and He drinks of its wine, whether we thus understand that cup of which He says, *Can you drink of the cup that I shall drink of?* Matthew 20:22 and, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me, Matthew 26:39 by which He obviously means His passion. Or, as wine is the fruit of the vine, we may prefer to understand that from this vine, **that is to say, from the race of Israel, He has assumed flesh and blood** that He might suffer; *and he was*



*drunken*, that is, He suffered; *and was naked*, that is, His weakness appeared in His suffering, as the apostle says, *though He was crucified through weakness*. 2 Corinthians 13:4 Wherefore the same apostle says, *The weakness of God is stronger than men; and the foolishness of God is wiser than men*. 1 Corinthians 1:25 And when to the expression *he was naked* Scripture adds *in his house*, it elegantly intimates that Jesus was to suffer the cross and death **at the hands of His own household, His own kith and kin, the Jews**. This passion of Christ is only externally and verbally professed by the reprobate, for what they profess, they do not understand. But the elect hold in the inner man this so great mystery, and honor inwardly in the heart this weakness and foolishness of God. **And of this there is a figure in Ham going out to proclaim his father's nakedness; while Shem and Japheth, to cover or honor it, went in, that is to say, did it inwardly.**

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Chapter 3

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**Whence it appears that among Shem's offspring there arose men who afterwards took possession of that giant's kingdom, and advancing from it, founded other cities, the first of which was called Nineveh, from Ninus.** From him Scripture returns to Ham's other son, Mizraim; and his sons are enumerated, not as seven individuals, but as seven nations. **And from the sixth, as if from the sixth son, the race called the Philistines are said to have sprung; so that there are in all eight. Then it returns again to Canaan, in whose person Ham was cursed; and his eleven sons are named.** Then the territories they occupied, and some of the cities, are named. And thus, if we count sons and grandsons, there are thirty-one of Ham's descendants registered.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120116.htm>

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Chapter 4

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He and his people therefore, erected this tower against the Lord, and so gave expression to their impious pride; and justly was their wicked intention punished by God, even though it was unsuccessful. But what was the nature of the punishment? As the tongue is the instrument of domination, in it pride was punished; so that man, who would not understand God when He issued His commands, should be misunderstood when he himself gave orders. **Thus was that conspiracy disbanded, for each man retired from those he could not understand, and associated with those whose speech was intelligible; and the nations were divided according to their languages, and scattered over the earth as seemed good to God, who accomplished this in ways hidden from and incomprehensible to us.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.iv.XVI.4.html>

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Chapter 8

It is also asked **whether we are to believe that certain monstrous races of men**, spoken of in

secular history, **have sprung from Noah's sons, or rather, I should say, from that one man from whom they themselves were descended.** For it is reported that some have one eye in the middle of the forehead; some, feet turned backwards from the heel; some, a double sex, the right breast like a man, the left like a woman, and that they alternately beget and bring forth: others are said to have no mouth, and to breathe only through the nostrils; others are but a cubit high, and are therefore called by the Greeks Pigmies: they say that in some places the women conceive in their fifth year, and do not live beyond their eighth. So, too, they tell of a race who have two feet but only one leg, and are of marvellous swiftness, though they do not bend the knee: they are called Skiopodes, because in the hot weather they lie down on their backs and shade themselves with their feet. Others are said to have no head, and their eyes in their shoulders; **and other human or quasi-human races are depicted in mosaic in the harbor esplanade of Carthage, on the faith of histories of rarities.** What shall I say of the Cynocephali, whose dog-like head and barking proclaim them beasts rather than men? But we are not bound to believe all we hear **of these monstrosities. But whoever is anywhere born a man, that is, a rational, mortal animal, no matter what unusual appearance he presents in color, movement, sound, nor how peculiar he is in some power, part, or quality of his nature, no Christian can doubt that he springs from that one protoplast. We can distinguish the common human nature from that which is peculiar, and therefore wonderful.**

**The same account which is given of monstrous births in individual cases can be given of monstrous races.** For God, the Creator of all, knows where and when each thing ought to be, or to have been created, **because He sees the similarities and diversities which can contribute to the beauty of the whole.** But he who cannot see the whole is offended by the deformity of the part, because he is blind to that which balances it, and to which it belongs. We know that men are born with more than four fingers on their hands or toes on their feet: this is a smaller matter; but far from us be the folly of supposing that the Creator mistook the number of a man's fingers, though we cannot account for the difference. **And so in cases where the divergence from the rule is greater.** He whose works no man justly finds fault with, knows what He has done. At Hippo-Diarrhytus there is a man whose hands are crescent-shaped, and have only two fingers each, and his feet similarly formed. **If there were a race like him, it would be added to the history of the curious and wonderful. Shall we therefore deny that this man is descended from that one man who was first created?** As for the Androgyni, or Hermaphrodites, as they are called, though they are rare, yet from time to time there appears persons of sex so doubtful, that it remains uncertain from which sex they take their name; though it is customary to give them a masculine name, as the more worthy. For no one ever called them Hermaphroditesses. Some years ago, quite within my own memory, a man was born in the East, double in his upper, but single in his lower half — having two heads, two chests, four hands, but one body and two feet like an ordinary man; and he lived so long that many had an opportunity of seeing him. But who could enumerate all the human births that have differed widely from their ascertained parents? **As, therefore, no one will deny that these are all descended from that one man, so all the races which are reported to have diverged in bodily appearance from the usual course which nature generally or almost universally preserves, if they are embraced in that definition of man as rational and mortal animals,**

**unquestionably trace their pedigree to that one first father of all.** We are supposing these stories about various races who differ from one another and from us to be true; but possibly they are not: **for if we were not aware that apes, and monkeys, and sphinxes are not men, but beasts, those historians would possibly describe them as races of men, and flaunt with impunity their false and vainglorious discoveries. But supposing they are men of whom these marvels are recorded, what if God has seen fit to create some races in this way, that we might not suppose that the monstrous births which appear among ourselves are the failures of that wisdom whereby He fashions the human nature, as we speak of the failure of a less perfect workman? Accordingly, it ought not to seem absurd to us, that as in individual races there are monstrous births, so in the whole race there are monstrous races.** Wherefore, to conclude this question cautiously and guardedly, **either these things which have been told of some races have no existence at all; or if they do exist, they are not human races; or if they are human, they are descended from Adam.**

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Chapter 10

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When, therefore, we look for the city of God **in these seventy-two nations**, we cannot affirm that while they had but one lip, that is, one language, **the human race** had departed from the worship of the true God, and that genuine godliness had survived **only in those generations which descend from Shem through Arphaxad and reach to Abraham**; but from the time when they proudly built a tower to heaven, a symbol of godless exaltation, the city or society of the wicked becomes apparent. Whether it was only disguised before, or non-existent; whether both cities remained after the flood, — **the godly in the two sons of Noah who were blessed, and in their posterity, and the ungodly in the cursed son and his descendants, from whom sprang that mighty hunter against the Lord**, — is not easily determined. For possibly — and certainly this is more credible — **there were despisers of God among the descendants of the two sons, even before Babylon was founded, and worshippers of God among the descendants of Ham. Certainly neither race was ever obliterated from earth.** For in both the Psalms in which it is said, *They are all gone aside, they are altogether become filthy; there is none that does good, no, not one*, we read further, **Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge? Who eat up my people as they eat bread, and call not upon the Lord.** There was then a people of God even at that time. And therefore the words, *There is none that does good, no, not one*, were said of the sons of men, not of the sons of God. For it had been previously said, *God looked down from heaven upon the sons of men, to see if any understood and sought after God*; and then follow the words which demonstrate that all the sons of men, that is, all who belong to the city which lives according to man, not according to God, are reprobate.

Chapter 11

**Wherefore, as the fact of all using one language did not secure the absence of sin-infected men from the race — for even before the deluge there was one language, and yet all but the single family of just Noah were found worthy of destruction by the flood, — so when the nations, by a prouder godlessness, earned the punishment of the dispersion and the confusion of tongues, and the city of the godless was called Confusion or**

**Babylon, there was still the house of Heber in which the primitive language of the race survived. And therefore, as I have already mentioned, when an enumeration is made of the sons of Shem, who each founded a nation, Heber is first mentioned, although he was of the fifth generation from Shem. And because, when the other races were divided by their own peculiar languages,** his family preserved that language which is not unreasonably believed to have been the common language of the race, it was on this account thenceforth named Hebrew. For it then became necessary to distinguish this language from the rest by a proper name; though, while there was only one, it had no other name than the language of man, or human speech, it alone being spoken by the whole human race. Some one will say: If the earth was divided by languages in the days of Peleg, Heber's son, that language, which was formerly common to all, should rather have been called after Peleg. But we are to understand that Heber himself gave to his son this name Peleg, which means Division; because he was born when the earth was divided, that is, at the very time of the division, and that this is the meaning of the words, *In his days the earth was divided*. Genesis 10:25 For unless Heber had been still alive when the languages were multiplied, the language which was preserved in his house would not have been called after him. We are induced to believe that this was the primitive and common language, because the multiplication and change of languages was introduced as a punishment, and it is fit to ascribe to the people of God an immunity from this punishment. **Nor is it without significance that this is the language which Abraham retained, and that he could not transmit it to all his descendants, but only to those of Jacob's line, who distinctively and eminently constituted God's people, and received His covenants, and were Christ's progenitors according to the flesh. In the same way, Heber himself did not transmit that language to all his posterity, but only to the line from which Abraham sprang.** And thus, although it is not expressly stated, that when the wicked were building Babylon there was a godly seed remaining, this indistinctness is intended to stimulate research rather than to elude it. For when we see that originally there was one common language, and that Heber is mentioned before all Shem's sons, though he belonged to the fifth generation from him, and that the language which the patriarchs and prophets used, not only in their conversation, but in the authoritative language of Scripture, is called Hebrew, when we are asked where that primitive and common language was preserved after the confusion of tongues, **certainly, as there can be no doubt that those among whom it was preserved were exempt from the punishment it embodied, what other suggestion can we make, than that it survived in the family of him whose name it took, and that this is no small proof of the righteousness of this family, that the punishment with which the other families were visited did not fall upon it?**

But yet another question is mooted: **How did Heber and his son Peleg each found a nation, if they had but one language? For no doubt the Hebrew nation propagated from Heber through Abraham, and becoming through him a great people, is one nation. How, then, are all the sons of the three branches of Noah's family enumerated as founding a nation each, if Heber and Peleg did not so? It is very probable that the giant Nimrod founded also his nation, and that Scripture has named him separately on account of the extraordinary dimensions of his empire and of his body, so that the number of seventy-two nations remains. But Peleg was mentioned, not because he founded a nation**

**(for his race and language are Hebrew)**, but on account of the critical time at which he was born, all the earth being then divided. Nor ought we to be surprised that the giant Nimrod lived to the time in which Babylon was founded and the confusion of tongues occurred, and the consequent division of the earth. For though Heber was in the sixth generation from Noah, and Nimrod in the fourth, it does not follow that they could not be alive at the same time. For when the generations are few, they live longer and are born later; but when they are many, they live a shorter time, and come into the world earlier. **We are to understand that, when the earth was divided, the descendants of Noah who are registered as founders of nations were not only already born, but were of an age to have immense families, worthy to be called tribes or nations.** And therefore we must by no means suppose that they were born in the order in which they were set down; otherwise, how could the twelve sons of Joktan, another son of Heber's, and brother of Peleg, have **already founded nations**, if Joktan was born, as he is registered, after his brother Peleg, since the earth was divided at Peleg's birth? We are therefore to understand that, though Peleg is named first, he was born long after Joktan, **whose twelve sons had already families so large as to admit of their being divided by different languages.** There is nothing extraordinary in the last born being first named: **of the sons of Noah, the descendants of Japheth are first named; then the sons of Ham, who was the second son; and last the sons of Shem, who was the first and oldest. Of these nations the names have partly survived, so that at this day we can see from whom they have sprung, as the Assyrians from Assur, the Hebrews from Heber,** but partly have been altered in the lapse of time, so that the most learned men, by profound research in ancient records, have scarcely been able to discover the origin, I do not say of all, but of some of these nations. There is, for example, **nothing in the name Egyptians to show that they are descended from Misraim, Ham's son, nor in the name Ethiopians to show a connection with Cush, though such is said to be the origin of these nations.** And if we take a general survey of the names, we shall find that more have been changed than have remained the same.

...

## Chapter 12

Let us now survey the progress of the city of God from the era of the patriarch Abraham, from whose time it begins to be more conspicuous, and the divine promises which are now fulfilled in Christ are more fully revealed. We learn, then, from the intimations of holy Scripture, **that Abraham was born in the country of the Chaldeans, a land belonging to the Assyrian empire. Now, even at that time impious superstitions were rife with the Chaldeans, as with other nations. The family of Terah, to which Abraham belonged, was the only one in which the worship of the true God survived, and the only one, we may suppose, in which the Hebrew language was preserved;** although Joshua the Son of Nun tells us that even this family served other gods in Mesopotamia. Joshua 24:2 **The other descendants of Heber gradually became absorbed in other races and other languages.**

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## Chapter 39

**As I said a little ago, Jacob was also called Israel, the name which was most prevalent among the people descended from him.** Now this name was given him by the angel who wrestled with him on the way back from Mesopotamia, and who was most evidently a type of Christ. For when Jacob overcame him, doubtless with his own consent, that the mystery might

be represented, it signified Christ's passion, in which the Jews are seen overcoming Him. And yet he besought a blessing from the very angel he had overcome; and so the imposition of this name was the blessing. For Israel means *seeing God*, which will at last be the reward of all the saints. The angel also touched him on the breadth of the thigh when he was overcoming him, and in that way made him lame. So that Jacob was at one and the same time blessed and lame: blessed in those among that people who believed in Christ, and lame in the unbelieving. **For the breadth of the thigh is the multitude of the family. For there are many of that race of whom it was prophetically said beforehand, *And they have halted in their paths.***

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120116.htm>

## Book XVII

### Chapter 4

Therefore the advance of the city of God, where it reached the times of the kings, yielded a figure, when, **on the rejection of Saul, David first obtained the kingdom on such a footing that thenceforth his descendants should reign in the earthly Jerusalem in continual succession;** for the course of affairs signified and foretold, what is not to be passed by in silence, concerning the change of things to come, what belongs to both Testaments, the Old and the New — where the priesthood and kingdom are changed by one who is a priest, and at the same time a king, new and everlasting, even Christ Jesus.

...

### Chapter 5

But this is said more plainly by a man of God sent to Eli the priest himself, whose name indeed is not mentioned, but whose office and ministry show him to have been indubitably a prophet. For it is thus written: *And there came a man of God unto Eli, and said, Thus says the Lord, I **plainly revealed myself unto your father's house, when they were in the land of Egypt slaves in Pharaoh's house; and I chose your father's house out of all the sceptres of Israel to fill the office of priest for me, to go up to my altar, to burn incense and wear the ephod; and I gave your father's house for food all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel. Why then have you looked at my incense and at my offerings with an impudent eye, and have glorified your sons above me, to bless the first-fruits of every sacrifice in Israel before me? Therefore thus says the Lord God of Israel, I said your house and your father's house should walk before me for ever: but now the Lord says, Be it far from me; for them that honor me will I honor, and he that despises me shall be despised. Behold, the days come, that I will cut off your seed, and the seed of your father's house, and you shall never have an old man in my house. And I will cut off the man of yours from mine altar, so that his eyes shall be consumed, and his heart shall melt away; and every one of your house that is left shall fall by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign unto you that shall come upon these your two sons, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they shall die both of them. And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to all that is in mine heart and in my soul; and I will build him a sure house, and he shall walk before my Christ forever. And it shall come to pass that he who is left in your house shall come to worship him with a piece of money, saying, Put me into one part of your priesthood, that I may eat bread.***

We cannot say that this prophecy, in which the change of the ancient priesthood is foretold with so great plainness, was fulfilled in Samuel; **for although Samuel was not of another tribe than that which had been appointed by God to serve at the altar, yet he was not of the sons of Aaron, whose offspring was set apart that the priests might be taken out of it.** And thus by that transaction also the same change which should come to pass through Christ Jesus is shadowed forth, and the prophecy itself in deed, not in word, belonged to the Old Testament properly, but figuratively to the New, signifying by the fact just what was said by the word to Eli the priest through the prophet. **For there were afterwards priests of Aaron's race,** such as Zadok and Abiathar during David's reign, and others in succession, before the time came when those things which were predicted so long before about the changing of the priesthood behooved to be fulfilled by Christ. But who that now views these things with a believing eye does not see that they are fulfilled? **Since, indeed, no tabernacle, no temple, no altar, no sacrifice, and therefore no priest either, has remained to the Jews, to whom it was commanded in the law of God that he should be ordained of the seed of Aaron;** which is also mentioned here by the prophet, when he says, *Thus says the Lord God of Israel, I said your house and your father's house shall walk before me for ever: but now the Lord says, That be far from me; for them that honor me will I honor, and he that despises me shall be despised. For that in naming his father's house he does not mean that of his immediate father, but that of Aaron,* who first was appointed priest, to be succeeded by others descended from him, is shown by the preceding words, when he says, *I was revealed unto your father's house, when they were in the land of Egypt slaves in Pharaoh's house; and I chose your father's house out of all the sceptres of Israel to fill the office of priest for me. Which of the fathers in that Egyptian slavery, but Aaron, was his father, who, when they were set free, was chosen to the priesthood? It was of his lineage,* therefore, he has said in this passage it should come to pass that they should no longer be priests; which already we see fulfilled. If faith be watchful, the things are before us: they are discerned, they are grasped, and are forced on the eyes of the unwilling, so that they are seen: *Behold the days come,* he says, *that I will cut off your seed, and the seed of your father's house, and you shall never have an old man in mine house. And I will cut off the man of yours from mine altar, so that his eyes shall be consumed and his heart shall melt away.* Behold the days which were foretold have already come. **There is no priest after the order of Aaron; and whoever is a man of his lineage,** when he sees the sacrifice of the Christians prevailing over the whole world, but that great honor taken away from himself, his eyes fail and his soul melts away consumed with grief.

**But what follows belongs properly to the house of Eli,** to whom these things were said: *And every one of your house that is left shall fall by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign unto you that shall come upon these your two sons, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they shall die both of them.* This, therefore, **is made a sign of the change of the priesthood from this man's house, by which it is signified that the priesthood of Aaron's house is to be changed.** For the death of this man's sons signified the death not of the men, but of the priesthood itself **of the sons of Aaron.** But what follows pertains to that Priest whom Samuel typified by succeeding this one. Therefore the things which follow are said of Christ Jesus, the true Priest of the New Testament: *And I will raise me up a faithful Priest that shall do according to all that is in mine heart and in my soul; and I will build Him a sure house.* The same is the

eternal Jerusalem above. *And He shall walk, says He, before my Christ always.* [and] *He shall walk* means *he shall be conversant with*, just as He had said before **of Aaron's house, I said that your house and your father's house shall walk before me forever.** But what He says, *He shall walk before my Christ, is to be understood entirely of the house itself*, not of the priest, who is Christ Himself, the Mediator and Saviour. His house, therefore, shall walk before Him. *Shall walk* may also be understood to mean from death to life, all the time this mortality passes through, even to the end of this world. But where God says, *Who will do all that is in mine heart and in my soul*, we must not think that God has a soul, for He is the Author of souls; but this is said of God tropically, not properly, just as He is said to have hands and feet, and other corporal members. And, lest it should be supposed from such language that man in the form of this flesh is made in the image of God, wings also are ascribed to Him, which man has not at all; and it is said to God, *Hide me under the shadow of Your wings*, that men may understand that such things are said of that ineffable nature not in proper but in figurative words.

But what is added, *And it shall come to pass that he who is left in your house shall come to worship him, is not said properly of the house of this Eli, but of that Aaron, the men of which remained even to the advent of Jesus Christ, of which race there are not wanting men even to this present. For of that house of Eli it had already been said above, And every one of your house that is left shall fall by the sword of men.* How, therefore, could it be truly said here, *And it shall come to pass that every one that is left shall come to worship him*, if that is true, that no one shall escape the avenging sword, **unless he would have it understood of those who belong to the race of that whole priesthood after the order of Aaron?**

Therefore, if it is of these the predestinated remnant, about whom another prophet has said, *The remnant shall be saved*; Isaiah 10:21 whence the apostle also says, *Even so then at this time also the remnant according to the election of grace is saved*; Romans 11:5 since it is easily understood to be of such a remnant that it is said, *He that is left in your house*, assuredly he believes in Christ; **just as in the time of the apostle very many of that nation believed**; nor are there now wanting those, although very few, who yet believe, and in them is fulfilled what this man of God has here immediately added, *He shall come to worship him with a piece of money*; to worship whom, if not that Chief Priest, who is also God? For in that priesthood after the order of Aaron men did not come to the temple or altar of God for the purpose of worshipping the priest. But what is that he says, *With a piece of money*, if not the short word of faith, about which the apostle quotes the saying, *A consummating and shortening word will the Lord make upon the earth?* But that money is put for the word the psalm is a witness, where it is sung, *The words of the Lord are pure words, money tried with the fire.*

What then does he say who comes to worship the priest of God, even the Priest who is God? *Put me into one part of Your priesthood, to eat bread. I do not wish to be set in the honor of my fathers, which is none*; put me in a part of Your priesthood. For *I have chosen to be mean in Your house*; I desire to be a member, no matter what, or how small, of Your priesthood. By the priesthood he here means the people itself, of which He is the Priest who is the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. 1 Timothy 2:5 This people the Apostle Peter calls *a holy people, a royal priesthood*. 1 Peter 2:9 But some have translated, *Of Your sacrifice, not Of Your priesthood*, which no less signifies the same Christian people. Whence the Apostle Paul says, *We being many are one bread, one body*. 1 Corinthians 10:17 [And again he says,



*Present your bodies a living sacrifice.* Romans 12:1] What, therefore, he has added, to *eat bread*, also elegantly expresses the very kind of sacrifice of which the Priest Himself says, *The bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world.* John 6:51 **The same is the sacrifice not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedec:** let him that reads understand. Matthew 24:15 Therefore this short and salutarily humble confession, in which it is said, *Put me in a part of Your priesthood, to eat bread*, is itself the piece of money, for it is both brief, and it is the Word of God who dwells in the heart of one who believes. For because He had said above, that He **had given for food to Aaron's house the sacrificial victims of the Old Testament**, where He says, *I have given your father's house for food all things which are offered by fire of the children of Israel, which indeed were the sacrifices of the Jews;* therefore here He has said, *To eat bread*, which is in the New Testament the sacrifice of the Christians.

...

## Chapter 7

Again Saul sinned through disobedience, and again Samuel says to him in the word of the Lord, *Because you have despised the word of the Lord, the Lord has despised you, that you may not be king over Israel.* 1 Samuel 15:23 And again for the same sin, when Saul confessed it, and prayed for pardon, and besought Samuel to return with him to appease the Lord, he said, *I will not return with you: for you have despised the word of the Lord, and the Lord will despise you that you may not be king over Israel. And Samuel turned his face to go away, and Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and rent it. And Samuel said to him, The Lord has rent the kingdom from Israel out of your hand this day, and will give it to your neighbor, who is good above you, and will divide Israel in two. And He will not be changed, neither will He repent: for He is not as a man, that He should repent; who threatens and does not persist.* He to whom it is said, *The Lord will despise you that you may not be king over Israel, and The Lord has rent the kingdom from Israel out of your hand this day*, reigned forty years over Israel — that is, just as long a time as David himself — yet heard this in the first period of his reign, **that we may understand it was said because none of his race was to reign, and that we may look to the race of David, whence also is sprung, according to the flesh, Romans 1:3 the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. 1 Timothy 2:5**

But the Scripture has not what is read in most Latin copies, *The Lord has rent the kingdom of Israel out of your hand this day*, but just as we have set it down it is found in the Greek copies, *The Lord has rent the kingdom from Israel out of your hand*; that the words *out of your hand* may be understood to mean *from Israel*. **Therefore this man figuratively represented the people of Israel, which was to lose the kingdom**, Christ Jesus our Lord being about to reign, not carnally, but spiritually. **And when it is said of Him, And will give it to your neighbor, that is to be referred to the fleshly kinship, for Christ, according to the flesh, was of Israel, whence also Saul sprang.** But what is added, *Good above you*, may indeed be understood, *Better than you*, and indeed some have thus translated it; but it is better taken thus, *Good above you*, as meaning that because He is good, therefore He must be above you, according to that other prophetic saying, *Till I put all Your enemies under Your feet. And among them is Israel, from whom, as His persecutor, Christ took away the kingdom; although the Israel in whom there was no guile may have been there too, a sort of grain, as it were, of that*

**chaff.** For certainly thence came the apostles, thence so many martyrs, of whom Stephen is the first, thence so many churches, which the Apostle Paul names, magnifying God in their conversion.

Of which thing I do not doubt what follows is to be understood, *And will divide Israel in two*, to wit, into Israel pertaining to the bond woman, and Israel pertaining to the free. For these two kinds were at first together, as Abraham still clave to the bond woman, until the barren, made fruitful by the grace of God, cried, *Cast out the bond woman and her son*. Genesis 21:10 **We know, indeed, that on account of the sin of Solomon, in the reign of his son Rehoboam, Israel was divided in two, and continued so, the separate parts having their own kings, until that whole nation was overthrown with a great destruction, and carried away by the Chaldeans.** But what was this to Saul, when, if any such thing was threatened, it would be threatened against David himself, whose son Solomon was? **Finally, the Hebrew nation is not now divided internally, but is dispersed through the earth indiscriminately, in the fellowship of the same error. But that division with which God threatened the kingdom and people in the person of Saul, who represented them, is shown to be eternal and unchangeable** by this which is added, *And He will not be changed, neither will He repent: for He is not as a man, that He should repent; who threatens and does not persist*, — that is, a man threatens and does not persist, but not God, who does not repent like man. For when we read that He repents, a change of circumstance is meant, flowing from the divine immutable foreknowledge. Therefore, when God is said not to repent, it is to be understood that He does not change.

**We see that this sentence concerning this division of the people of Israel, divinely uttered in these words, has been altogether irremediable and quite perpetual.** For whoever have turned, or are turning, or shall turn thence to Christ, it has been according to the foreknowledge of God, not according to the one and the same nature of the human race. **Certainly none of the Israelites, who, cleaving to Christ, have continued in Him, shall ever be among those Israelites who persist in being His enemies even to the end of this life**, but shall for ever remain in the separation which is here foretold. For the Old Testament, from the Mount Sinai, which genders to bondage, Galatians 4:25 profits nothing, unless because it bears witness to the New Testament. Otherwise, however long Moses is read, the veil is put over their heart; but when any one shall turn thence to Christ, the veil shall be taken away. 2 Corinthians 3:15-16 For the very desire of those who turn is changed from the old to the new, so that each no longer desires to obtain carnal but spiritual felicity. Wherefore that great prophet Samuel himself, before he had anointed Saul, when he had cried to the Lord for Israel, and He had heard him, and when he had offered a whole burnt-offering, **as the aliens were coming to battle against the people of God, and the Lord thundered above them and they were confused, and fell before Israel and were overcome;** [then] he took one stone and set it up between the old and new Massephat [Mizpeh], and called its name Ebenezer, which means *the stone of the helper*, and said, *Hitherto has the Lord helped us*. Massephat is interpreted *desire*. That stone of the helper is the mediation of the Saviour, by which we go from the old Massephat to the new — that is, from the desire with which carnal happiness was expected in the carnal kingdom to the desire with which the truest spiritual happiness is expected in the kingdom of heaven; and since nothing is better than that, the Lord helps us hitherto.

...

## Chapter 12

But the rest of this psalm runs thus: *Where are Your ancient compassions, Lord, which You swore unto David in Your truth? Remember, Lord, the reproach of Your servants, which I have borne in my bosom of many nations; wherewith Your enemies have reproached, O Lord, wherewith they have reproached the change of Your Christ.* **Now it may with very good reason be asked whether this is spoken in the person of those Israelites who desired that the promise made to David might be fulfilled to them;** or rather of the Christians, who are Israelites not after the flesh but after the Spirit. Romans 3:28-29 This certainly was spoken or written in the time of Ethan, from whose name this psalm gets its title, and that was the same as the time of David's reign; and therefore it would not have been said, *Where are Your ancient compassions, Lord, which You have sworn unto David in Your truth?* **unless the prophet had assumed the person of those who should come long afterwards, to whom that time when these things were promised to David was ancient.** But it may be understood thus, that **many nations**, when they persecuted the Christians, reproached them with the passion of Christ, which Scripture calls His change, because by dying He is made immortal. The change of Christ, according to this passage, **may also be understood to be reproached by the Israelites, because, when they hoped He would be theirs, He was made the Saviour of the nations; and many nations who have believed in Him by the New Testament now reproach them who remain in the old with this:** so that it is said, *Remember, Lord, the reproach of Your servants;* because through the Lord's not forgetting, but rather pitying them, even they after this reproach are to believe. But what I have put first seems to me the most suitable meaning. For to the enemies of Christ who are reproached with this, that Christ has left them, turning to the Gentiles, Acts 13:46 this speech is incongruously assigned, *Remember, Lord, the reproach of Your servants, for such Jews are not to be styled the servants of God;* but these words fit those who, if they suffered great humiliations through persecution for the name of Christ, could call to mind that an exalted kingdom had been promised to the seed of David, and in desire of it, could say not despairingly, but as asking, seeking, knocking, Matthew 7:7-8 *Where are Your ancient compassions, Lord, which You swore unto David in Your truth? Remember, Lord, the reproach of Your servants, that I have borne in my bosom of many nations;* that is, have patiently endured in my inward parts. *That Your enemies have reproached, O Lord, wherewith they have reproached the change of Your Christ,* not thinking it a change, but a consumption. But what does *Remember, Lord,* mean, but that You would have compassion, and would for my patiently borne humiliation reward me with the excellency which You swore unto David in Your truth? **But if we assign these words to the Jews, those servants of God who, on the conquest of the earthly Jerusalem, before Jesus Christ was born after the manner of men, were led into captivity,** could say such things, understanding the change of Christ, because indeed through Him was to be surely expected, not an earthly and carnal felicity, such as appeared during the few years of king Solomon, but a heavenly and spiritual felicity; **and when the nations, then ignorant of this through unbelief, exulted over and insulted the people of God for being captives,** what else was this than ignorantly to reproach with the change of Christ those who understand the change of Christ? And therefore what follows when this psalm is concluded, *Let the blessing of the Lord be for evermore, amen, amen,* is suitable enough for the whole people of God belonging to the heavenly Jerusalem, whether for those

things that lay hid in the Old Testament before the New was revealed, or for those that, being now revealed in the New Testament, are manifestly discerned to belong to Christ. **For the blessing of the Lord in the seed of David does not belong to any particular time, such as appeared in the days of Solomon**, but is for evermore to be hoped for, in which most certain hope it is said, *Amen, amen*; for this repetition of the word is the confirmation of that hope. Therefore David understanding this, says in the second Book of Kings, in the passage from which we digressed to this psalm, *You have spoken also for Your servant's house for a great while to come.* 2 Samuel 7:19 Therefore also a little after he says, *Now begin, and bless the house of Your servant for evermore*, etc., because the son was then about to be born from whom his posterity should be continued to Christ, through whom his house should be eternal, and should also be the house of God. **For it is called the house of David on account of David's race**; but the selfsame is called the house of God on account of the temple of God, made of men, not of stones, where shall dwell for evermore the people with and in their God, and God with and in His people, so that God may fill His people, and the people be filled with their God, while God shall be all in all, Himself their reward in peace who is their strength in war. Therefore, when it is said in the words of Nathan, *And the Lord will tell you what a house you shall build for Him*, 2 Samuel 7:8 it is afterwards said in the words of David, *For You, Lord Almighty, God of Israel, have opened the ear of Your servant, saying, I will build you a house.* 2 Samuel 7:2 For this house is built both by us through living well, and by God through helping us to live well; for *except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.* And when the final dedication of this house shall take place, then what God here says by Nathan shall be fulfilled, *And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant him, and he shall dwell apart, and shall be troubled no more; and the son of iniquity shall not humble him any more, as from the beginning, from the days when I appointed judges over my people Israel.* 2 Samuel 7:10-11

### Chapter 13

Whoever hopes for this so great good in this world, and in this earth, his wisdom is but folly. Can any one think it was fulfilled in the peace of Solomon's reign? Scripture certainly commends that peace with excellent praise as a shadow of that which is to come. But this opinion is to be vigilantly opposed, since after it is said, *And the son of iniquity shall not humble him any more*, it is immediately added, *as from the beginning, from the days in which I appointed judges over my people Israel.* 2 Samuel 7:10-11 **For the judges were appointed over that people from the time when they received the land of promise, before kings had begun to be there. And certainly the son of iniquity, that is, the foreign enemy, humbled him through periods of time in which we read that peace alternated with wars; and in that period longer times of peace are found than Solomon had, who reigned forty years. For under that judge who is called Ehud there were eighty years of peace. Judges 3:30 Be it far from us, therefore, that we should believe the times of Solomon are predicted in this promise, much less indeed those of any other king whatever. For none other of them reigned in such great peace as he; nor did that nation ever at all hold that kingdom so as to have no anxiety lest it should be subdued by enemies:** for in the very great mutability of human affairs **such great security is never given to any people, that it should not dread invasions hostile to this life.** Therefore the place of this promised peaceful and secure habitation is eternal, and of right belongs eternally to

Jerusalem the free mother, where the genuine people of Israel shall be: for this name is interpreted Seeing God; in the desire of which reward a pious life is to be led through faith in this miserable pilgrimage.

...

#### Chapter 17

Just as in that psalm also where Christ is most openly proclaimed as Priest, even as He is here as King, *The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make Your enemies Your footstool*. That Christ sits on the right hand of God the Father is believed, not seen; that His enemies also are put under His feet does not yet appear; it is being done, [therefore] it will appear at last: yea, this is now believed, afterward it shall be seen. But what follows, *The Lord will send forth the rod of Your strength out of Sion, and rule You in the midst of Your enemies*, is so clear, that to deny it would imply not merely unbelief and mistake, but downright impudence. And even enemies must certainly confess that out of Sion has been sent the law of Christ which we call the gospel, and acknowledge as the rod of His strength. But that He rules in the midst of His enemies, these same enemies among whom He rules themselves bear witness, gnashing their teeth and consuming away, and having power to do nothing against Him. Then what he says a little after, *The Lord has sworn and will not repent*, by which words He intimates that what He adds is immutable, *You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, who is permitted to doubt of whom these things are said, seeing that now there is nowhere a priesthood and sacrifice after the order of Aaron*, and everywhere men offer under Christ as the Priest, which Melchizedek showed when he blessed Abraham? Therefore to these manifest things are to be referred, when rightly understood, those things in the same psalm that are set down a little more obscurely, and we have already made known in our popular sermons how these things are to be rightly understood. So also in that where Christ utters through prophecy the humiliation of His passion, saying, *They pierced my hands and feet; they counted all my bones. Yea, they looked and stared at me*. By which words he certainly meant His body stretched out on the cross, with the hands and feet pierced and perforated by the striking through of the nails, and that He had in that way made Himself a spectacle to those who looked and stared. And he adds, *They parted my garments among them, and over my vesture they cast lots*. How this prophecy has been fulfilled the Gospel history narrates. Then, indeed, the other things also which are said there less openly are rightly understood when they agree with those which shine with so great clearness; especially because those things also which we do not believe as past, but survey as present, are beheld by the whole world, being now exhibited just as they are read of in this very psalm as predicted so long before. For it is there said a little after, *All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He shall rule the nations*.

...

#### Chapter 21

**The other kings of the Hebrews after Solomon** are scarcely found to have prophesied, through certain enigmatic words or actions of theirs, what may pertain to Christ and the Church, **either in Judah or Israel; for so were the parts of that people styled, when, on account of Solomon's offense, from the time of Rehoboam his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom, it was divided by God as a punishment. The ten tribes, indeed, which Jeroboam**

the servant of Solomon received, being appointed the king in Samaria, were distinctively called Israel, although this had been the name of that whole people; but the two tribes, namely, of Judah and Benjamin, which for David's sake, lest the kingdom should be wholly wrenched from his race, remained subject to the city of Jerusalem, were called Judah, because that was the tribe whence David sprang. But Benjamin, the other tribe which, as was said, belonged to the same kingdom, was that whence Saul sprang before David. But these two tribes together, as was said, were called Judah, and were distinguished by this name from Israel which was the distinctive title of the ten tribes under their own king. For the tribe of Levi, because it was the priestly one, bound to the servitude of God, not of the kings, was reckoned the thirteenth. For Joseph, one of the twelve sons of Israel, did not, like the others, form one tribe, but two, Ephraim and Manasseh. Yet the tribe of Levi also belonged more to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where was the temple of God whom it served. On the division of the people, therefore, Rehoboam, son of Solomon, reigned in Jerusalem as the first king of Judah, and Jeroboam, servant of Solomon, in Samaria as king of Israel. And when Rehoboam wished as a tyrant to pursue that separated part with war, the people were prohibited from fighting with their brethren by God, who told them through a prophet that He had done this; whence it appeared that in this matter there had been no sin either of the king or people of Israel, but the accomplished will of God the avenger. When this was known, both parts settled down peaceably, **for the division made was not religious but political.**

#### Chapter 22

But Jeroboam king of Israel, with perverse mind, not believing in God, whom he had proved true in promising and giving him the kingdom, was afraid lest, **by coming to the temple of God which was in Jerusalem, where, according to the divine law, that whole nation was to come in order to sacrifice, the people should be seduced from him, and return to David's line as the seed royal**; and set up idolatry in his kingdom, and with horrible impiety beguiled the people, ensnaring them to the worship of idols with himself. Yet God did not altogether cease to reprove by the prophets, not only that king, **but also his successors** and imitators in his impiety, and the people too. For there the great and illustrious prophet Elijah and Elisha his disciple arose, who also did many wonderful works. Even there, when Elijah said, *O Lord, they have slain Your prophets, they have dug down Your altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life*, it was answered that seven thousand men were there who had not bowed the knee to Baal.

#### Chapter 23

So also in the kingdom of Judah pertaining to Jerusalem prophets were not lacking even in the times **of succeeding kings**, just as it pleased God to send them, either for the prediction of what was needful, or for correction of sin and instruction in righteousness; 2 Timothy 3:16 **for there, too, although far less than in Israel**, kings arose who grievously offended God by their impieties, and, **along with their people, who were like them**, were smitten with moderate scourges. The no small merits of the pious kings there are praised indeed. But we read that in Israel the kings were, some more, others less, yet all wicked. Each part, therefore, as the divine providence either ordered or permitted, was both lifted up by prosperity and weighed down by

adversity of various kinds; **and it was afflicted not only by foreign, but also by civil wars with each other**, in order that by certain existing causes the mercy or anger of God might be manifested; until, **by His growing indignation, that whole nation was by the conquering Chaldeans not only overthrown in its abode, but also for the most part transported to the lands of the Assyrians — first, that part of the thirteen tribes called Israel, but afterwards Judah also, when Jerusalem and that most noble temple was cast down —** in which lands it rested seventy years in captivity. Being after that time sent forth thence, they rebuilt the overthrown temple. **And although very many stayed in the lands of the strangers**, yet the kingdom no longer had two separate parts, with different kings over each, but in Jerusalem there was one prince over them; **and at certain times, from every direction wherever they were, and from whatever place they could**, they all came to the temple of God which was there. **Yet not even then were they without foreign enemies and conquerors; yea, Christ found them tributaries of the Romans.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120117.htm>

## Book XVIII

### Chapter 2

The society of mortals spread abroad through the earth everywhere, **and in the most diverse places, although bound together by a certain fellowship of our common nature, is yet for the most part divided against itself, and the strongest oppress the others, because all follow after their own interests and lusts**, while what is longed for either suffices for none, or not for all, because it is not the very thing. **For the vanquished succumb to the victorious, preferring any sort of peace and safety to freedom itself**; so that they who chose to die rather than be slaves have been greatly wondered at. **For in almost all nations the very voice of nature somehow proclaims, that those who happen to be conquered should choose rather to be subject to their conquerors than to be killed by all kinds of warlike destruction.** This does not take place without the providence of God, in whose power it lies that **any one either subdues or is subdued in war; that some are endowed with kingdoms, others made subject to kings. Now, among the very many kingdoms of the earth into which, by earthly interest or lust, society is divided** (which we call by the general name of the city of this world), we see that two, settled and kept distinct from each other both in time and place, have grown far more famous than the rest, **first that of the Assyrians, then that of the Romans. First came the one, then the other. The former arose in the east, and, immediately on its close, the latter in the west. I may speak of other kingdoms and other kings as appendages of these.**

Ninus, then, who succeeded his father Belus, the first king of Assyria, was already the second king of that kingdom when Abraham was born in the land of the Chaldees. There was also at that time a very small kingdom of Sicyon, with which, as from an ancient date, that most universally learned man Marcus Varro begins, in writing of the Roman race. For from these kings of Sicyon he passes to the Athenians, from them to the Latins, and from these to the Romans. Yet very little is related about these kingdoms, before the

foundation of Rome, in comparison with that of Assyria. For although even Sallust, the Roman historian, admits that the Athenians were very famous in Greece, yet he thinks they were greater in fame than in fact. For in speaking of them he says, *The deeds of the Athenians, as I think, were very great and magnificent, but yet somewhat less than reported by fame. But because writers of great genius arose among them, the deeds of the Athenians were celebrated throughout the world as very great. Thus the virtue of those who did them was held to be as great as men of transcendent genius could represent it to be by the power of laudatory words.* This city also derived no small glory from literature and philosophy, the study of which chiefly flourished there. **But as regards empire, none in the earliest times was greater than the Assyrian, or so widely extended. For when Ninus the son of Belus was king, he is reported to have subdued the whole of Asia, even to the boundaries of Libya, which as to number is called the third part, but as to size is found to be the half of the whole world. The Indians in the eastern regions were the only people over whom he did not reign; but after his death Semiramis his wife made war on them. Thus it came to pass that all the people and kings in those countries were subject to the kingdom and authority of the Assyrians, and did whatever they were commanded. Now Abraham was born in that kingdom among the Chaldees, in the time of Ninus. But since Grecian affairs are much better known to us than Assyrian, and those who have diligently investigated the antiquity of the Roman nation's origin have followed the order of time through the Greeks to the Latins, and from them to the Romans, who themselves are Latins, we ought on this account, where it is needful, to mention the Assyrian kings, that it may appear how Babylon, like a first Rome, ran its course along with the city of God, which is a stranger in this world. But the things proper for insertion in this work in comparing the two cities, that is, the earthly and heavenly, ought to be taken mostly from **the Greek and Latin kingdoms**, where Rome herself is like a second Babylon.**

At Abraham's birth, then, **the second kings of Assyria and Sicyon respectively were Ninus and Europs, the first having been Belus and Ægialeus. But when God promised Abraham, on his departure from Babylonia, that he should become a great nation, and that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed, the Assyrians had their seventh king, the Sicyons their fifth;** for the son of Ninus reigned among them after his mother Semiramis, who is said to have been put to death by him for attempting to defile him by incestuously lying with him. **Some think that she founded Babylon, and indeed she may have founded it anew.** But we have told, in the sixteenth book, when or by whom it was founded. Now the son of Ninus and Semiramis, who succeeded his mother in the kingdom, is also called Ninus by some, but by others Ninias, a patronymic word. **Telexion then held the kingdom of the Sicyons.** In his reign times were quiet and joyful to such a degree, that after his death they worshipped him as a god by offering sacrifices and by celebrating games, which are said to have been first instituted on this occasion.

...

## Chapter 8

When Saphrus reigned as the fourteenth king of Assyria, and Orthopolis as the twelfth of Sicyon, and Criasus as the fifth of Argos, **Moses was born in Egypt, by whom the people of God were liberated from the Egyptian slavery,** in which they behoved to be thus tried that



they might desire the help of their Creator. Some have thought that Prometheus lived during the reign of the kings now named. He is reported to have formed men out of clay, because he was esteemed the best teacher of wisdom; yet it does not appear what wise men there were in his days. His brother Atlas is said to have been a great astrologer; and this gave occasion for the fable that he held up the sky, although the vulgar opinion about his holding up the sky appears rather to have been suggested by a high mountain named after him. Indeed, from those times many other fabulous things **began to be invented in Greece**; yet, down to Cecrops king of Athens, in whose reign that city received its name, and in whose reign **God brought His people out of Egypt by Moses**, only a few dead heroes are reported to have been deified according to **the vain superstition of the Greeks**.

...

Chapter 11<sup>23</sup>

**Moses led the people out of Egypt in the last time of Cecrops king of Athens, when Ascatades reigned in Assyria, Marathus in Sicyon, Triopas in Argos**; and having led forth the people, he gave them at Mount Sinai the law he received from God, which is called the Old Testament, because it has earthly promises, and because, through Jesus Christ, there was to be a New Testament, in which the kingdom of heaven should be promised. For the same order behooved to be observed in this as is observed in each man who prospers in God, according to the saying of the apostle, *That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural*, since, as he says, and that truly, *The first man of the earth, is earthly; the second man, from heaven, is heavenly*. 1 Corinthians 15:46-47 Now Moses ruled the people for forty years in the wilderness, and died a hundred and twenty years old, after he had prophesied of Christ by the types of carnal observances in the tabernacle, priesthood, and sacrifices, and many other mystic ordinances. **Joshua the Son of Nun succeeded Moses, and settled in the land of promise the people he had brought in, having by divine authority conquered the people by whom it was formerly possessed**. He also died, after ruling the people twenty-seven years after the death of Moses, **when Amyntas reigned in Assyria as the eighteenth king, Coracos as the sixteenth in Sicyon, Danaos as the tenth in Argos, Erichonius as the fourth in Athens**.

...

Chapter 13

After the death of Joshua the Son of Nun, **the people of God had judges, in whose times they were alternately humbled by afflictions on account of their sins**, and consoled by prosperity through the compassion of God. In those times were invented the fables about Triptolemus, who, at the command of Ceres, borne by winged snakes, bestowed grain **on the needy lands** in flying over them; about that beast the Minotaur, which was shut up in the Labyrinth, from which men who entered its inextricable mazes could find no exit; about the Centaurs, whose form was a compound of horse and man; about Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell; about Phryxus and his sister Hellas, who fled, borne by a winged ram; about the Gorgon, whose hair was composed of serpents, and who turned those who looked on her into stone; about Bellerophon, who was carried by a winged horse called Pegasus; about Amphion, who charmed and attracted the stones by the sweetness of his harp; about the artificer Dædalus

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<sup>23</sup> Although this chapter may seem less explicitly racial, I have done my best to show forth from earlier chapters the way in which the rules of kings and nations is viewed by Augustine as distinctly racial; not necessarily as opposed to Israel's race and distinct ethnic groups, but in concert.

and his son Icarus, who flew on wings they had fitted on; about Cædipus, who compelled a certain four-footed monster with a human face, called a sphynx, to destroy herself by casting herself headlong, having solved the riddle she was wont to propose as insoluble; about Antæus, who was the son of the earth, for which reason, on falling on the earth, he was wont to rise up stronger, whom Hercules slew; and perhaps there are others which I have forgotten. These fables, easily found in histories containing a true account of events, bring us down to the Trojan War, **at which Marcus Varro has closed his second book about the race of the Roman people;** and they are so skillfully invented by men as to involve no scandal to the gods.

...

#### Chapter 15

**During those times the kingdom of Argos came to an end; being transferred to Mycene, from which Agamemnon came, and the kingdom of Laurentum arose, of which Picus son of Saturn was the first king, when the woman Deborah judged the Hebrews;** but it was the Spirit of God who used her as His agent, for she was also a prophetess, although her prophecy is so obscure that we could not demonstrate, without a long discussion, that it was uttered concerning Christ. **Now the Laientes already reigned in Italy, from whom the origin of the Roman people is quite evidently derived after the Greeks;** yet the kingdom of Assyria still lasted, in which Lampares was the twenty-third king when Picus first began to reign at Laurentum. The worshippers of such gods may see what they are to think of Saturn the father of Picus, who deny that he was a man; **of whom some also have written that he himself reigned in Italy before Picus his son;** and Virgil in his well-known book says,

**That race indocile, and through mountains high  
Dispersed, he settled, and endowed with laws,  
And named their country Latium, because  
Latent within their coasts he dwelt secure.  
Tradition says the golden ages pure  
Began when he was king.**

...

#### Chapter 16

**Troy was overthrown,** and its destruction was everywhere sung and made well known even to boys; for it was signally published and spread abroad, **both by its own greatness and by writers of excellent style. And this was done in the reign of Latinus the son of Faunus, from whom the kingdom began to be called Latium instead of Laurentum. The victorious Greeks, on leaving Troy destroyed and returning to their own countries,** were torn and crushed by various and horrible calamities. Yet even from among them they increased the number of their gods for they made Diomede a god. They allege that his return home was prevented by a divinely imposed punishment, and they prove, not by fabulous and poetic falsehood, but by historic attestation, that his companions were turned into birds. Yet they think that, even although he was made a god, he could neither restore them to the human form by his own power, nor yet obtain it from Jupiter his king, as a favor granted to a new inhabitant of heaven. They also say that his temple is in the island of Diomedæa, not far from Mount Garganus in Apulia, and that these birds fly round about this temple, and worship in it with

such wonderful obedience, that they fill their beaks with water and sprinkle it; **and if Greeks, or those born of the Greek race, come there, they are not only still, but fly to meet them; but if they are foreigners, they fly up at their heads, and wound them with such severe strokes as even to kill them.** For they are said to be well enough armed for these combats with their hard and large beaks.

...

Chapter 18

...

These things have not come to us from persons we might deem unworthy of credit, but from informants we could not suppose to be deceiving us. Therefore what men say and have committed to writing about **the Arcadians** being often changed into wolves by the Arcadian gods, or demons rather, and what is told in song about Circe transforming the companions of Ulysses, if they were really done, may, in my opinion, have been done in the way I have said. As for Diomedes's birds, **since their race is alleged to have been perpetuated by constant propagation**, I believe they were not made through the metamorphosis of men, but were slyly substituted for them on their removal, just as the hind was for Iphigenia, the daughter of king Agamemnon. For juggleries of this kind could not be difficult for the demons if permitted by the judgment of God; and since that virgin was afterwards, found alive it is easy to see that a hind had been slyly substituted for her. But because the companions of Diomedes were of a sudden nowhere to be seen, and afterwards could nowhere be found, being destroyed by bad avenging angels, they were believed to have been changed into those birds, which were secretly brought there from other places where such birds were, and suddenly substituted for them by fraud. But that they bring water in their beaks and sprinkle it on the temple of Diomedes, **and that they fawn on men of Greek race and persecute aliens**, is no wonderful thing to be done by the inward influence of the demons, whose interest it is to persuade men that Diomedes was made a god, and thus to beguile them into worshipping many false gods, to the great dishonor of the true God; and to serve dead men, who even in their lifetime did not truly live, with temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests, all which, when of the right kind, are due only to the one living and true God.

...

Chapter 21

After Æneas, whom they deified, Latium had eleven kings, none of whom was deified. But Aventinus, who was the twelfth after Æneas, having been laid low in war, and buried in that hill still called by his name, was added to the number of such gods as they made for themselves. Some, indeed, were unwilling to write that he was slain in battle, but said he was nowhere to be found, and that it was not from his name, but from the alighting of birds, that hill was called Aventinus. After this no god was made in Latium except Romulus the founder of Rome. But two kings are found between these two, the first of whom I shall describe in the Virgilian verse:

**Next came that Procas, glory of the Trojan race.**

**That greatest of all kingdoms, the Assyrian, had its long duration brought to a close in his time, the time of Rome's birth drawing near. For the Assyrian empire was transferred to the Medes** after nearly thirteen hundred and five years, if we include the reign of Belus, who begot Ninus, and, content with a small kingdom, was the first king there. Now Procas reigned before Amulius. And Amulius had made his brother Numitor's daughter, Rhea by name, who was also called Ilia, a vestal virgin, who conceived twin sons by Mars, as they will have it, in that way honoring or excusing her adultery, adding as a proof that a she-wolf nursed the infants when exposed. For they think this kind of beast belongs to Mars so that the she-wolf is believed to have given her teats to the infants, because she knew they were the sons of Mars her lord; although there are not wanting persons who say that when the crying babes lay exposed, they were first of all picked up by I know not what harlot, and sucked her breasts first (now harlots were called *lupæ*, she-wolves, from which their vile abodes are even yet called *lupanaria*), and that afterwards they came into the hands of the shepherd Faustulus, and were nursed by Acca his wife. Yet what wonder is it, if, to rebuke the king who had cruelly ordered them to be thrown into the water, God was pleased, after divinely delivering them from the water, to succor, by means of a wild beast giving milk, these infants by whom so great a city was to be founded? **Amulius was succeeded in the Latian kingdom by his brother Numitor, the grandfather of Romulus; and Rome was founded in the first year of this Numitor, who from that time reigned along with his grandson Romulus.**

## Chapter 22

To be brief, the city of Rome was founded, like another Babylon, and as it were the daughter of the former Babylon, by which God was pleased to conquer the whole world, and subdue it far and wide by bringing it into one fellowship of government and laws. **For there were already powerful and brave peoples and nations trained to arms**, who did not easily yield, and whose subjugation necessarily involved great danger and destruction as well as great and horrible labor. **For when the Assyrian kingdom subdued almost all Asia, although this was done by fighting, yet the wars could not be very fierce or difficult, because the nations were as yet untrained to resist, and neither so many nor so great as afterward;** forasmuch as, after that greatest and indeed universal flood, when only eight men escaped in Noah's ark, not much more than a thousand years had passed **when Ninus subdued all Asia with the exception of India. But Rome did not with the same quickness and facility wholly subdue all those nations of the east and west which we see brought under the Roman empire, because, in its gradual increase, in whatever direction it was extended, it found them strong and warlike.** At the time when Rome was founded, then, the people of Israel had been in the land of promise seven hundred and eighteen years. Of these years twenty-seven belong to Joshua the Son of Nun, and after that three hundred and twenty-nine to the period of the judges. But from the time when the kings began to reign there, three hundred and sixty-two years had passed. And at that time there was a king in Judah called Ahaz, or, as others compute, Hezekiah his successor, the best and most pious king, who it is admitted reigned in the times of Romulus. **And in that part of the Hebrew nation called Israel, Hoshea had begun to reign.**

...

## Chapter 24

While Romulus reigned, **Thales the Milesian** is said to have lived, being one of the seven sages, who succeeded the theological poets, of whom Orpheus was the most renowned, and were called Σοφοί, that is, sages. **During that time the ten tribes, which on the division of the people were called Israel, were conquered by the Chaldeans and led captive into their lands, while the two tribes which were called Judah, and had the seat of their kingdom in Jerusalem, remained in the land of Judea.** As Romulus, when dead, could nowhere be found, the Romans, as is everywhere notorious, placed him among the gods — a thing which by that time had already ceased to be done, and which was not done afterwards till the time of the Cæsars, and then not through error, but in flattery; so that Cicero ascribes great praises to Romulus, because he merited such honors not in rude and unlearned times, when men were easily deceived, but in times already polished and learned, although the subtle and acute loquacity of the philosophers had not yet culminated. But although the later times did not deify dead men, still they did not cease to hold and worship as gods those deified of old; nay, by images, which the ancients never had, they even increased the allurements of vain and impious superstition, the unclean demons effecting this in their heart, and also deceiving them by lying oracles, so that even the fabulous crimes of the gods, which were not once imagined by a more polite age, were yet basely acted in the plays in honor of these same false deities. Numa reigned after Romulus; and although he had thought that Rome would be better defended the more gods there were, yet on his death he himself was not counted worthy of a place among them, as if it were supposed that he had so crowded heaven that a place could not be found for him there. **They report that the Samian sibyl lived while he reigned at Rome, and when Manasseh began to reign over the Hebrews, — an impious king, by whom the prophet Isaiah is said to have been slain.**

#### Chapter 25

**When Zedekiah reigned over the Hebrews, and Tarquinius Priscus, the successor of Ancus Martius, over the Romans, the Jewish people was led captive into Babylon, Jerusalem and the temple built by Solomon being overthrown.** For the prophets, in chiding them for their iniquity and impiety, predicted that these things should come to pass, especially Jeremiah, who even stated the number of years. Pittacus of Mitylene, another of the sages, is reported to have lived at that time. And Eusebius writes that, while the people of God were held captive in Babylon, the five other sages lived, who must be added to Thales, whom we mentioned above, and Pittacus, in order to make up the seven. **These are Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Periander of Corinth, Cleobulus of Lindus, and Bias of Priene.** These flourished after the theological poets, and were called sages, because they excelled other men in a certain laudable line of life, and summed up some moral precepts in epigrammatic sayings. **But they left posterity no literary monuments, except that Solon is alleged to have given certain laws to the Athenians, and Thales was a natural philosopher, and left books of his doctrine in short proverbs.** In that time of the Jewish captivity, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophanes, the natural philosophers, flourished. Pythagoras also lived then, and at this time the name philosopher was first used.

#### Chapter 26

**At this time, Cyrus king of Persia, who also ruled the Chaldeans and Assyrians, having**

**somewhat relaxed the captivity of the Jews**, made fifty thousand of them return in order to rebuild the temple. They only began the first foundations and built the altar; **but, owing to hostile invasions**, they were unable to go on, and the work was put off to the time of Darius. During the same time also those things were done which are written in the book of Judith, which, indeed, the Jews are said not to have received into the canon of the Scriptures. **Under Darius king of Persia**, then, on the completion of the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah the prophet, **the captivity of the Jews was brought to an end, and they were restored to liberty**. Tarquin then reigned **as the seventh king of the Romans**. On his expulsion, they also began to be free from the rule of their kings. **Down to this time the people of Israel had prophets**; but, although they were numerous, the canonical writings of only a few of them have been preserved among the Jews and among us. In closing the previous book, I promised to set down something in this one about them, and I shall now do so.

#### Chapter 27

In order that we may be able to consider these times, let us go back a little to earlier times. At the beginning of the book of the prophet Hosea, who is placed first of twelve, it is written, *The word of the Lord which came to Hosea in the days of Uzziah, Jothan, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah*. Hosea 1:1 Amos also writes that he prophesied in the days of Uzziah, and adds the name of Jeroboam king of Israel, who lived at the same time. Amos 1:1 Isaiah the son of Amos — either the above-named prophet, or, as is rather affirmed, another who was not a prophet, but was called by the same name — also puts at the head of his book these four kings named by Hosea, saying by way of preface that he prophesied in their days. Micah also names the same times as those of his prophecy, after the days of Uzziah; Micah 1:1 for he names the same three kings as Hosea named — Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. We find from their own writings that these men prophesied contemporaneously. To these are added Jonah in the reign of Uzziah, and Joel in that of Jotham, who succeeded Uzziah. But we can find the date of these two prophets in the chronicles, not in their own writings, for they say nothing about it themselves. Now these days extend from **Procas king of the Latins, or his predecessor Aventinus, down to Romulus king of the Romans, or even to the beginning of the reign of his successor Numa Pompilius**. Hezekiah king of Judah certainly reigned till then. So that thus these fountains of prophecy, as I may call them, burst forth at once during those times **when the Assyrian kingdom failed and the Roman began; so that, just as in the first period of the Assyrian kingdom Abraham arose, to whom the most distinct promises were made that all nations should be blessed in his seed, so at the beginning of the western Babylon**, in the time of whose government Christ was to come in whom these promises were to be fulfilled, the oracles of the prophets were given not only in spoken but in written words, for a testimony that so great a thing should come to pass. For although **the people of Israel** hardly ever lacked prophets from the time when they began to have kings, these were only for their own use, **not for that of the nations**. But when the more manifestly prophetic Scripture began to be formed, **which was to benefit the nations too, it was fitting that it should begin when this city was founded which was to rule the nations**.

#### Chapter 28

The prophet Hosea speaks so very profoundly that it is laborious work to penetrate his meaning.

But, according to promise, we must insert something from his book. He says, *And it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said to them, You are not my people, there they shall be called the sons of the living God.* Hosea 1:10 Even the apostles understood this as a prophetic testimony of the calling of the nations who did not formerly belong to God; and because this same people of the Gentiles is itself spiritually among the children of Abraham, and for that reason is rightly called Israel, therefore he goes on to say, *And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together in one, and shall appoint themselves one headship, and shall ascend from the earth.* Hosea 1:11 We should but weaken the savor of this prophetic oracle if we set ourselves to expound it. Let the reader but call to mind that cornerstone and those two walls of partition, **the one of the Jews, the other of the Gentiles**, Galatians 2:14-20 and he will recognize them, the one under the term **sons of Judah, the other as sons of Israel**, supporting themselves by one and the same headship, and ascending from the earth. **But that those carnal Israelites** who are now unwilling to believe in Christ shall afterward believe, that is, **their children shall** (for they themselves, of course, shall go to their own place by dying), this same prophet testifies, saying, *For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, without a priesthood, without manifestations.* Hosea 3:4 **Who does not see that the Jews are now thus?** But let us hear what he adds: *And afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall be amazed at the Lord and at His goodness in the latter days.* Hosea 3:5 Nothing is clearer than this prophecy, in which by David, as distinguished by the title of king, Christ is to be understood, *who is made*, as the apostle says, *of the seed of David according to the flesh.* Romans 1:3 This prophet has also foretold the resurrection of Christ on the third day, as it behooved to be foretold, with prophetic loftiness, when he says, *He will heal us after two days, and in the third day we shall rise again.* Hosea 6:2 In agreement with this the apostle says to us, *If you be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above.* Colossians 3:1 Amos also prophesies thus concerning such things: *Prepare you, that you may invoke your God, O Israel; for lo, I am binding the thunder, and creating the spirit, and announcing to men their Christ.* Amos 4:12-13 And in another place he says, *In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and build up the breaches thereof: and I will raise up his ruins, and will build them up again as in the days of old: that the residue of men may inquire for me, and all the nations upon whom my name is invoked, says the Lord that does this.*

...

Chapter 31

...

Obadiah, so far as his writings are concerned, the briefest of all the prophets, **speaks against Idumea, that is, the nation of Esau**, that reprobate elder of the twin sons of Isaac and grandsons of Abraham. Now if, by that form of speech in which a part is put for the whole, we take Idumea as put for the nations, we may understand of Christ what he says among other things, *But upon Mount Sion shall be safety, and there shall be a Holy One.* Obadiah 17

...

Chapter 32

...

*While my soul shall be troubled at Him, in wrath You will be mindful of mercy.* What is this but

that He puts Himself **for the Jews, of whose nation He was**, who were troubled with great anger and crucified Christ, when He, mindful of mercy, said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do? Luke 23:34 God shall come from Teman, and the Holy One from the shady and close mountain. Habakkuk 3:3 What is said here, He shall come from Teman, some interpret from the south, or from the southwest, by which is signified the noonday, that is, the fervor of charity and the splendor of truth.

...

*He regarded, and the nations melted;* that is, He had compassion, and made the people penitent. *The mountains are broken with violence;* that is, through the power of those who work miracles the pride of the haughty is broken. *The everlasting hills flowed down;* that is, they are humbled in time that they may be lifted up for eternity. *I saw His goings [made] eternal for his labors;* that is, I beheld His labor of love not left without the reward of eternity. ***The tents of Ethiopia shall be greatly afraid, and the tents of the land of Midian;*** that is, even those nations which are not under the Roman authority, being suddenly terrified by the news of Your wonderful works, shall become a Christian people.

...

*And in fury You shall cast down the nations; for in punishing those who exalt themselves You dash them one against another. You went forth for the salvation of Your people, that You might save Your Christ; You have sent death on the heads of the wicked.* None of these words require exposition. *You have lifted up the bonds, even to the neck.* This may be understood even of the good bonds of wisdom, that the feet may be put into its fetters, and the neck into its collar. *You have struck off in amazement of mind the bonds* must be understood for, He lifts up the good and strikes off the bad, about which it is said to Him, *You have broken asunder my bonds*, and that *in amazement of mind*, that is, wonderfully. *The heads of the mighty shall be moved in it;* to wit, in that wonder. *They shall open their teeth like a poor man eating secretly.* **For some of the mighty among the Jews shall come to the Lord, admiring His works and words, and shall greedily eat the bread of His doctrine in secret for fear of the Jews**, just as the Gospel has shown they did. *And You have sent into the sea Your horses, troubling many waters*, which are nothing else than many people; for unless all were troubled, some would not be converted with fear, others pursued with fury. *I gave heed, and my belly trembled at the voice of the prayer of my lips; and trembling entered into my bones, and my habit of body was troubled under me.* He gave heed to those things which he said, and was himself terrified at his own prayer, which he had poured forth prophetically, and in which he discerned things to come. For when many people are troubled, he saw the threatening tribulation of the Church, and at once acknowledged himself a member of it, and said, *I shall rest in the day of tribulation*, as being one of those who are rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation. Romans 12:12 *That I may ascend*, he says, **among the people of my pilgrimage, departing quite from the wicked people of his carnal kinship, who are not pilgrims in this earth, and do not seek the country above.** *Although the fig-tree, he says, shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall lie, and the fields shall yield no meat; the sheep shall be cut off from the meat, and there shall be no oxen in the stalls.* **He sees that nation which was to slay Christ about to lose the abundance of spiritual supplies**, which, in prophetic fashion, he has set forth by the figure of earthly plenty. **And because that nation was to suffer such wrath of God, because, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, it wished to establish its own,**



Romans 10:3 he immediately says, *Yet will I rejoice in the Lord; I will joy in God my salvation. The Lord God is my strength, and He will set my feet in completion; He will place me above the heights, that I may conquer in His song*, to wit, in that song of which something similar is said in the psalm, *He set my feet upon a rock, and directed my goings, and put in my mouth a new song, a hymn to our God*. He therefore conquers in the song of the Lord, who takes pleasure in His praise, not in his own; that *He that glories, let him glory in the Lord*. But some copies have, *I will joy in God my Jesus*, which seems to me better than the version of those who, wishing to put it in Latin, have not set down that very name which for us it is dearer and sweeter to name.

...

#### Chapter 37

In the time of our prophets, then, whose writings **had already come to the knowledge of almost all nations, the philosophers of the nations had not yet arisen** — at least, not those who were called by that name, **which originated with Pythagoras the Samian**, who was becoming famous at the time when the Jewish captivity ended. Much more, then, are the other philosophers found to be later than the prophets. **For even Socrates the Athenian**, the master of all who were then most famous, holding the pre-eminence in that department that is called the moral or active, is found after Esdras in the chronicles. Plato also was born not much later, who far out went the other disciples of Socrates. If, besides these, we take their predecessors, who had not yet been styled philosophers, to wit, the seven sages, and then the physicists, who succeeded Thales, and imitated his studious search into the nature of things, namely, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras, and some others, before Pythagoras first professed himself a philosopher, even these did not precede the whole of our prophets in antiquity of time, since Thales, whom the others succeeded, **is said to have flourished in the reign of Romulus**, when the stream of prophecy burst forth from the fountains of Israel in those writings which spread over the whole world. **So that only those theological poets, Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, and, it may be, some others among the Greeks, are found earlier in date than the Hebrew prophets** whose writings we hold as authoritative. But not even these preceded in time our true divine, Moses, who authentically preached the one true God, and whose writings are first in the authoritative canon; **and therefore the Greeks, in whose tongue the literature of this age chiefly appears, have no ground for boasting of their wisdom**, in which our religion, wherein is true wisdom, is not evidently more ancient at least, if not superior. **Yet it must be confessed that before Moses there had already been, not indeed among the Greeks, but among barbarous nations, as in Egypt**, some doctrine which might be called their wisdom, **else it would not have been written in the holy books that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians**, Acts 7:22 as he was, when, **being born there, and adopted and nursed by Pharaoh's daughter**, he was also liberally educated. **Yet not even the wisdom of the Egyptians** could be antecedent in time to the wisdom of our prophets, because even Abraham was a prophet. And what wisdom could there be in Egypt before Isis had given them letters, whom they thought fit to worship as a goddess after her death? **Now Isis is declared to have been the daughter of Inachus, who first began to reign in Argos when the grandsons of Abraham are known to have been already born.**

...

#### Chapter 40

In vain, then, do some babble with most empty presumption, saying that Egypt has understood

the reckoning of the stars for more than a hundred thousand years. For in what books have they collected that number who learned letters **from Isis their mistress**, not much more than two thousand years ago?

...

#### Chapter 41

...

It is not without good reason, then, that not merely a few people prating in the schools and gymnasia in captious disputations, but so many and great people, both learned and unlearned, **in countries and cities**, have believed that God spoke to them or by them, *i.e.* the canonical writers, when they wrote these books.

...

But what author of any sect is so approved in this demon-worshipping city, that the rest who have differed from or opposed him in opinion have been disapproved? The Epicureans asserted that human affairs were not under the providence of the gods; and the Stoics, holding the opposite opinion, agreed that they were ruled and defended by favorable and tutelary gods. **Yet were not both sects famous among the Athenians?**<sup>24</sup> I wonder, then, why Anaxagoras was accused of a crime for saying that the sun was a burning stone, and denying that it was a god at all; **while in the same city** Epicurus flourished gloriously and lived securely, although he not only did not believe that the sun or any star was a god, but contended that neither Jupiter nor any of the gods dwelt in the world at all, so that the prayers and supplications of men might reach them! Were not both Aristippus and Antisthenes there, two noble philosophers and both Socratic? Yet they placed the chief end of life within bounds so diverse and contradictory, that the first made the delight of the body the chief good, while the other asserted that man was made happy mainly by the virtue of the mind. The one also said that the wise man should flee from the republic; the other, that he should administer its affairs. Yet did not each gather disciples to follow his own sect? Indeed, in the conspicuous and well-known porch, in gymnasia, in gardens, in places public and private, they openly strove in bands each for his own opinion, some asserting there was one world, others innumerable worlds; some that this world had a beginning, others that it had not; some that it would perish, others that it would exist always; some that it was governed by the divine mind, others by chance and accident; some that souls are immortal, others that they are mortal — and of those who asserted their immortality, some said they transmigrated through beasts, others that it was by no means so; while of those who asserted their mortality, some said they perished immediately after the body, others that they survived either a little while or a longer time, but not always; some fixing supreme good in the body, some in the mind, some in both; others adding to the mind and body external good things; some thinking that the bodily senses ought to be trusted always, some not always, others never. **Now what people, senate, power, or public dignity of the impious city has ever taken care to judge between all these and other nearly innumerable dissensions of the philosophers, approving and accepting some, and disapproving and rejecting others?** Has it not held in its bosom at random, without any judgment, and confusedly, so many

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<sup>24</sup> So then, Augustine is not merely differentiating between philosophical sects, but also the ethnicities of those members thereof; in the same way that Clement of Alexandria referred to barbarians on account of their race, and not of their philosophy. This is seen when the people of Athens are compared with the Israelites.

controversies of men at variance, not about fields, houses, or anything of a pecuniary nature, but about those things which make life either miserable or happy? Even if some true things were said in it, yet falsehoods were uttered with the same licence; so that such a city has not amiss received the title of the mystic Babylon. For Babylon means confusion, as we remember we have already explained. Nor does it matter to the devil, its king, how they wrangle among themselves in contradictory errors, since all alike deservedly belong to him on account of their great and varied impiety.

**But that nation, that people, that city, that republic, these Israelites, to whom the oracles of God were entrusted,** by no means confounded with similar licence false prophets with the true prophets; but, agreeing together, and differing in nothing, acknowledged and upheld the authentic authors of their sacred books. These were their philosophers, these were their sages, divines, prophets, and teachers of probity and piety. Whoever was wise and lived according to them was wise and lived not according to men, but according to God who has spoken by them. If sacrilege is forbidden there, God has forbidden it. If it is said, *Honor your father and your mother*, Exodus 20:12 God has commanded it. If it is said, *You shall not commit adultery, You shall not kill, You shall not steal*, and other similar commandments, not human lips but the divine oracles have enounced them. Whatever truth certain philosophers, amid their false opinions, were able to see, and strove by laborious discussions to persuade men of — such as that God had made this world, and Himself most providently governs it, **or of the nobility of the virtues, of the love of country, of fidelity in friendship, of good works and everything pertaining to virtuous manners,** although they knew not to what end and what rule all these things were to be referred — all these, by words prophetic, that is, divine, although spoken by men, **were commended to the people in that city,** and not inculcated by contention in arguments, so that he who should know them might be afraid of contemning, not the wit of men, but the oracle of God.

#### Chapter 42

One of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, desired to know and have these sacred books. **For after Alexander of Macedon, who is also styled the Great, had by his most wonderful, but by no means enduring power, subdued the whole of Asia, yea, almost the whole world, partly by force of arms, partly by terror, and, among other kingdoms of the East, had entered and obtained Judea also,** on his death his generals did not peaceably divide that most ample kingdom among them for a possession, but rather dissipated it, wasting all things by wars. **Then Egypt began to have the Ptolemies as her kings.** The first of them, the son of Lagus, **carried many captive out of Judea into Egypt.** But another Ptolemy, called Philadelphus, who succeeded him, permitted all whom he had brought under the yoke to return free; and more than that, sent kingly gifts to the temple of God, and begged Eleazar, who was the high priest, to give him the Scriptures, which he had heard by report were truly divine, and therefore greatly desired to have in that most noble library he had made. When the high priest had sent them to him in Hebrew, he afterwards demanded interpreters of him, **and there were given him seventy-two, out of each of the twelve tribes six men,** most learned in both languages, to wit, the Hebrew and Greek and their translation is now by custom called the Septuagint. It is reported, indeed, that there was an agreement in their words so wonderful,

stupendous, and plainly divine, that when they had sat at this work, each one apart (for so it pleased Ptolemy to test their fidelity), they differed from each other in no word which had the same meaning and force, or, in the order of the words; but, as if the translators had been one, so what all had translated was one, because in very deed the one Spirit had been in them all. And they received so wonderful a gift of God, in order that the authority of these Scriptures might be commended not as human but divine, as indeed it was, **for the benefit of the nations who should at some time believe**, as we now see them doing.

#### Chapter 43

For while there were other interpreters who translated these sacred oracles out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and also that translation which, as the name of the author is unknown, is quoted as the fifth edition, yet the Church has received this Septuagint translation just as if it were the only one; and it has been used by **the Greek Christian people**, most of whom are not aware that there is any other. From this translation there has also been made a translation in the Latin tongue, **which the Latin churches use**. Our times, however, have enjoyed the advantage of the presbyter Jerome, a man most learned, and skilled in all three languages, who translated these same Scriptures into the Latin speech, not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew.

...

#### Chapter 45

**The Jewish nation no doubt became worse after it ceased to have prophets**, just at the very time when, on the rebuilding of the temple after the captivity in Babylon, it hoped to become better. **For so, indeed, did that carnal people understand what was foretold by Haggai the prophet, saying, *The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former.*** Haggai 2:9 Now, that this is said of the new testament, he showed a little above, where he says, evidently promising Christ, *And I will move all nations, and the desired One shall come to all nations.* Haggai 2:7 In this passage the Septuagint translators giving another sense more suitable to the body than the Head, that is, to the Church than to Christ, have said by prophetic authority, *The things shall come that are chosen of the Lord from all nations*, that is, *men*, of whom Jesus says in the Gospel, *Many are called, but few are chosen.* Matthew 22:14 For by such chosen ones of the nations there is built, through the new testament, with living stones, a house of God far more glorious than that temple was which was constructed by king Solomon, and rebuilt after the captivity. **For this reason, then, that nation had no prophets from that time, but was afflicted with many plagues by kings of alien race, and by the Romans themselves**, lest they should fancy that this prophecy of Haggai was fulfilled by that rebuilding of the temple.

**For not long after, on the arrival of Alexander, it was subdued**, when, although there was no pillaging, because they dared not resist him, and thus, being very easily subdued, received him peaceably, **yet the glory of that house was not so great as it was when under the free power of their own kings**. Alexander, indeed, offered up sacrifices in the temple of God, not as a convert to His worship in true piety, but thinking, with impious folly, that He was to be worshipped along with false gods. Then Ptolemy son of Lagus, whom I have already mentioned, after Alexander's death **carried them captive into Egypt**. His successor, Ptolemy

Philadelphus, most benevolently dismissed them; and by him it was brought about, as I have narrated a little before, that we should have the Septuagint version of the Scriptures. **Then they were crushed by the wars which are explained in the books of the Maccabees. Afterward they were taken captive by Ptolemy king of Alexandria, who was called Epiphanes. Then Antiochus king of Syria compelled them by many and most grievous evils to worship idols, and filled the temple itself with the sacrilegious superstitions of the Gentiles. Yet their most vigorous leader Judas, who is also called Maccabæus, after beating the generals of Antiochus, cleansed it from all that defilement of idolatry.**

**But not long after, one Alcimus, although an alien from the sacerdotal tribe, was, through ambition, made pontiff, which was an impious thing.** After almost fifty years, during which they never had peace, although they prospered in some affairs, Aristobulus first assumed the diadem among them, and was made both king and pontiff. Before that, indeed, from the time of **their return from the Babylonish captivity** and the rebuilding of the temple, they had not kings, but generals or *principes*. Although a king himself may be called a prince, from his principality in governing, and a leader, because he leads the army, but it does not follow that all who are princes and leaders may also be called kings, as that Aristobulus was. **He was succeeded by Alexander, also both king and pontiff, who is reported to have reigned over them cruelly. After him his wife Alexandra was queen of the Jews, and from her time downwards more grievous evils pursued them; for this Alexandra's sons, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, when contending with each other for the kingdom, called in the Roman forces against the nation of Israel. For Hyrcanus asked assistance from them against his brother. At that time Rome had already subdued Africa and Greece, and ruled extensively in other parts of the world also, and yet, as if unable to bear her own weight, had, in a manner, broken herself by her own size. For indeed she had come to grave domestic seditions, and from that to social wars, and by and by to civil wars, and had enfeebled and worn herself out so much, that the changed state of the republic, in which she should be governed by kings, was now imminent. Pompey then, a most illustrious prince of the Roman people, having entered Judea with an army, took the city, threw open the temple, not with the devotion of a suppliant, but with the authority of a conqueror, and went, not reverently, but profanely, into the holy of holies, where it was lawful for none but the pontiff to enter. Having established Hyrcanus in the pontificate, and set Antipater over the subjugated nation as guardian or procurator, as they were then called, he led Aristobulus with him bound. From that time the Jews also began to be Roman tributaries.** Afterward Cassius plundered the very temple. **Then after a few years it was their desert to have Herod, a king of foreign birth, in whose reign Christ was born. For the time had now come signified by the prophetic Spirit through the mouth of the patriarch Jacob, when he says, *There shall not be lacking a prince out of Judah, nor a teacher from his loins, until He shall come for whom it is reserved; and He is the expectation of the nations.* Genesis 49:10 **There lacked not therefore a Jewish prince of the Jews until that Herod, who was the first king of a foreign race<sup>25</sup> received by****

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<sup>25</sup> Alcimus is described as an alien because he was a Hellenizer and tribally – that is, *ethnically* – distinct from the priesthood. Aristobulus was of the Hasmonean dynasty, which took on the Greek term *basileus*. Yet, these were still both *racially* Jewish; as opposed to Herod who, despite being raised Jewish, and having a Jewish grandmother – the son of which (and the father of Herod) served under the ethnarch

**them.** Therefore it was now the time when He should come for whom that was reserved which is promised in the New Testament, that He should be the expectation of the nations. But it was not possible that the nations should expect He would come, as we see they did, to do judgment in the splendor of power, unless they should first believe in Him when He came to suffer judgment in the humility of patience.

#### Chapter 46

**While Herod, therefore, reigned in Judea, and Cæsar Augustus was emperor at Rome,** the state of the republic being already changed, and the world being set at peace by him, **Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah,** man manifest out of a human virgin, God hidden out of God the Father. For so had the prophet foretold: *Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb, and bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Immanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us.* He did many miracles that He might commend God in Himself, some of which, even as many as seemed sufficient to proclaim Him, are contained in the evangelic Scripture. The first of these is, that He was so wonderfully born, and the last, that with His body raised up again from the dead He ascended into heaven. **But the Jews who slew Him, and would not believe in Him, because it behooved Him to die and rise again, were yet more miserably wasted by the Romans, and utterly rooted out from their kingdom, where aliens had already ruled over them, and were dispersed through the lands (so that indeed there is no place where they are not),** and are thus by their own Scriptures a testimony to us that we have not forged the prophecies about Christ. And very many of them, considering this, even before His passion, but chiefly after His resurrection, believed on Him, of whom it was predicted, *Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved. But the rest are blinded, of whom it was predicted, Let their table be made before them a trap, and a retribution, and a stumbling-block. Let their eyes be darkened lest they see, and bow down their back always.* Therefore, when they do not believe our Scriptures, their own, which they blindly read, are fulfilled in them, lest perchance any one should say that the Christians have forged these prophecies about Christ **which are quoted under the name of the sibyl, or of others, if such there be, who do not belong to the Jewish people. For us, indeed, those suffice which are quoted from the books of our enemies,** to whom we make our acknowledgment, on account of this testimony which, in spite of themselves, they contribute by their possession of these books, **while they themselves are dispersed among all nations,** wherever the Church of Christ is spread abroad. For a prophecy about this thing was sent before in the Psalms, which they also read, where it is written, *My God, His mercy shall prevent me. My God has shown me concerning mine enemies, that You shall not slay them, lest they should at last forget Your law: **disperse them in Your might.*** Therefore God has shown the Church in her enemies the Jews the grace of His compassion, since, as says the apostle, *their offense is the salvation of the Gentiles.* Romans 11:11 **And therefore He has not slain them, that is, He has not let the knowledge that they are Jews be lost in them,** although they have been conquered by the Romans, lest they should forget the law of God, and their testimony should be of no avail in this matter of which we treat. But it was not enough that he should say, *Slay them not, lest they*

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(ruler of an *ethnos*) of Israel – was racially an Idumæan through his father, and an Arab through his mother.

*should at last forget Your law, unless he had also added, Disperse them; because if they had only been in their own land with that testimony of the Scriptures, and not every where, certainly the Church which is everywhere could not have had them as witnesses among all nations to the prophecies which were sent before concerning Christ.*

#### Chapter 47

**Wherefore if we read of any foreigner — that is, one neither born of Israel nor received by that people into the canon of the sacred books — having prophesied something about Christ, if it has come or shall come to our knowledge, we can refer to it over and above; not that this is necessary, even if wanting, but because it is not incongruous to believe that even in other nations there may have been men to whom this mystery was revealed, and who were also impelled to proclaim it, whether they were partakers of the same grace or had no experience of it, **but were taught by bad angels, who, as we know, even confessed the present Christ, whom the Jews did not acknowledge. Nor do I think the Jews themselves dare contend that no one has belonged to God except the Israelites, since the increase of Israel began on the rejection of his elder brother. For in very deed there was no other people who were specially called the people of God; but they cannot deny that there have been certain men even of other nations who belonged, not by earthly but heavenly fellowship, to the true Israelites, the citizens of the country that is above. Because, if they deny this, they can be most easily confuted by the case of the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native nor a proselyte, that is, a stranger joining the people of Israel, but, being bred of the Idumean race, arose there and died there too, and who is so praised by the divine oracle, that no man of his times is put on a level with him as regards justice and piety. And although we do not find his date in the chronicles, yet from his book, which for its merit the Israelites have received as of canonical authority, we gather that he was in the third generation after Israel. And I doubt not it was divinely provided, that from this one case we might know that among other nations also there might be men pertaining to the spiritual Jerusalem who have lived according to God and have pleased Him.** And it is not to be supposed that this was granted to any one, unless the one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, 1 Timothy 2:5 was divinely revealed to him; who was pre-announced to the saints of old as yet to come in the flesh, even as He is announced to us as having come, that the self-same faith through Him may lead all to God who are predestinated to be the city of God, the house of God, and the temple of God. But whatever prophecies concerning the grace of God through Christ Jesus are quoted, they may be thought to have been forged by the Christians. **So that there is nothing of more weight for confuting all sorts of aliens**, if they contend about this matter, and for supporting our friends, if they are truly wise, than to quote those divine predictions about Christ which are written **in the books of the Jews, who have been torn from their native abode and dispersed over the whole world** in order to bear this testimony, so that the Church of Christ has everywhere increased.**

#### Chapter 48

This house of God is more glorious than that first one which was constructed of wood and stone, metals and other precious things. Therefore the prophecy of Haggai was not fulfilled in the rebuilding of that temple. For it can never be shown to have had so much glory after it was

rebuilt as it had in the time of Solomon; yea, rather, **the glory of that house is shown to have been diminished, first by the ceasing of prophecy, and then by the nation itself suffering so great calamities, even to the final destruction made by the Romans**, as the things above-mentioned prove. But this house which pertains to the new testament is just as much more glorious as the living stones, even believing, renewed men, of which it is constructed are better. But it was typified by the rebuilding of that temple for this reason, because the very renovation of that edifice typifies in the prophetic oracle another testament which is called the new. When, therefore, God said by the prophet just named, *And I will give peace in this place*, Haggai 2:9 He is to be understood who is typified by that typical place; for since by that rebuilt place is typified the Church which was to be built by Christ, nothing else can be accepted as the meaning of the saying, *I will give peace in this place*, except I will give peace in the place which that place signifies. For all typical things seem in some way to personate those whom they typify, as it is said by the apostle, *That Rock was Christ*. Therefore the glory of this new testament house is greater than the glory of the old testament house; and it will show itself as greater when it shall be dedicated. For then *shall come the desired of all nations*, Haggai 2:7 as we read in the Hebrew. For before His advent He had not yet been desired by all nations. For they knew not Him whom they ought to desire, in whom they had not believed. Then, also, according to the Septuagint interpretation (for it also is a prophetic meaning), *shall come those who are elected of the Lord out of all nations*.

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#### Chapter 49

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He held converse on the earth forty days with His disciples, and in their sight ascended into heaven, and after ten days sent the promised Holy Spirit. It was given as the chief and most necessary sign of His coming on those who had believed, that every one of them spoke in the tongues of all nations; **thus signifying that the unity of the Catholic Church would embrace all nations, and would in like manner speak in all tongues**.

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#### Chapter 52

I do not think, indeed, that what some have thought or may think is rashly said or believed, that until the time of Antichrist the Church of Christ is not to suffer any persecutions besides those she has already suffered — that is, *ten* — and that the eleventh and last shall be inflicted by Antichrist. They reckon as the first that made by Nero, the second by Domitian, the third by Trajan, the fourth by Antoninus, the fifth by Severus, the sixth by Maximin, the seventh by Decius, the eighth by Valerian, the ninth by Aurelian, the tenth by Diocletian and Maximian. For as there were ten plagues in Egypt before the people of God could begin to go out, they think this is to be referred to as showing that the last persecution by Antichrist must be like the eleventh plague, **in which the Egyptians, while following the Hebrews with hostility, perished in the Red Sea when the people of God passed through on dry land**. Yet I do not think persecutions were prophetically signified by what was done in Egypt, however nicely and ingeniously those who think so may seem to have compared the two in detail, not by the prophetic Spirit, but by the conjecture of the human mind, which sometimes hits the truth, and sometimes is deceived. But what can those who think this say of the persecution in which the Lord Himself was crucified? In which number will they put it? And if they think the reckoning is to



be made exclusive of this one, as if those must be counted which pertain to the body, and not that in which the Head Himself was set upon and slain, what can they make of that one which, after Christ ascended into heaven, took place in Jerusalem, when the blessed Stephen was stoned; when James the brother of John was slaughtered with the sword; when the Apostle Peter was imprisoned to be killed, and was set free by the angel; when the brethren were driven away and scattered from Jerusalem; when Saul, who afterward became the Apostle Paul, wasted the Church; and when he himself, publishing the glad tidings of the faith he had persecuted, suffered such things as he had inflicted, **either from the Jews or from other nations**, where he most fervently preached Christ everywhere? Why, then, do they think fit to start with Nero, when the Church in her growth had reached the times of Nero amid the most cruel persecutions; about which it would be too long to say anything? But if they think that only the persecutions made by kings ought to be reckoned, it was king Herod who also made a most grievous one after the ascension of the Lord. And what account do they give of Julian, whom they do not number in the ten? Did not he persecute the Church, who forbade the Christians to teach or learn liberal letters? Under him the elder Valentinian, who was the third emperor after him, stood forth as a confessor of the Christian faith, and was dismissed from his command in the army. I shall say nothing of what he did at Antioch, except to mention his being struck with wonder at the freedom and cheerfulness of one most faithful and steadfast young man, who, when many were seized to be tortured, was tortured during a whole day, and sang under the instrument of torture, until the emperor feared lest he should succumb under the continued cruelties and put him to shame at last, which made him dread and fear that he would be yet more dishonorably put to the blush by the rest. Lastly, within our own recollection, did not Valens the Arian, brother of the foresaid Valentinian, waste the Catholic Church **by great persecution throughout the East? But how unreasonable it is not to consider that the Church, which bears fruit and grows through the whole world, may suffer persecution from kings in some nations even when she does not suffer it in others! Perhaps, however, it was not to be reckoned a persecution when the king of the Goths, in Gothia itself, persecuted the Christians with wonderful cruelty, when there were none but Catholics there, of whom very many were crowned with martyrdom**, as we have heard from certain brethren who had been there at that time as boys, and unhesitatingly called to mind that they had seen these things? **And what took place in Persia of late? Was not persecution so hot against the Christians (if even yet it is allayed) that some of the fugitives from it came even to Roman towns?** When I think of these and the like things, it does not seem to me that the number of persecutions with which the Church is to be tried can be definitely stated. But, on the other hand, it is no less rash to affirm that there will be some persecutions by kings besides that last one, about which no Christian is in doubt. Therefore we leave this undecided, supporting or refuting neither side of this question, but only restraining men from the audacious presumption of affirming either of them.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120118.htm>

## Book XIX

### Chapter 7

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**But the imperial city has endeavored to impose on subject nations not only her yoke, but her language, as a bond of peace, so that interpreters, far from being scarce, are numberless.** This is true; but how many great wars, how much slaughter and bloodshed, have provided this unity! And though these are past, the end of these miseries has not yet come. **For though there have never been wanting, nor are yet wanting, hostile nations beyond the empire, against whom wars have been and are waged, yet, supposing there were no such nations,** the very extent of the empire itself has produced wars of a more obnoxious description — social and civil wars— **and with these the whole race has been agitated, either by the actual conflict or the fear of a renewed outbreak.** If I attempted to give an adequate description of these manifold disasters, these stern and lasting necessities, though I am quite unequal to the task, what limit could I set?

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120119.htm>

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## Chapter 15

This is prescribed by the order of nature: it is thus that God has created man. For “let them,” He says, “have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every creeping thing which creepeth on the earth.” He did not intend that His rational creature, who was made in His image, should have dominion over anything but the irrational creation,—not man over man, but man over the beasts. And hence the righteous men in primitive times were made shepherds of cattle rather than kings of men, God intending thus to teach us what the relative position of the creatures is, and what the desert of sin; **for it is with justice, we believe, that the condition of slavery is the result of sin. And this is why we do not find the word “slave” in any part of Scripture until righteous Noah branded the sin of his son with this name. It is a name, therefore, introduced by sin and not by nature.** The origin of the Latin word for slave is supposed to be found in the circumstance that those who by the law of war were liable to be killed were sometimes preserved by their victors, and were hence called servants. **And these circumstances could never have arisen save through sin.** For even when we wage a just war, our adversaries must be sinning; and every victory, even though gained by wicked men, is a result of the first judgment of God, who humbles the vanquished either for the sake of removing or of punishing their sins. Witness that man of God, Daniel, who, when he was in captivity, confessed to God his own sins and the sins of his people, and declares with pious grief that these were the cause of the captivity. **The prime cause, then, of slavery is sin, which brings man under the dominion of his fellow,—that which does not happen save by the judgment of God, with whom is no unrighteousness, and who knows how to award fit punishments to every variety of offence.** But our Master in heaven says, “Every one who doeth sin is the servant of sin.” And thus there are many wicked masters who have religious men as their slaves, and who are yet themselves in bondage; “for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage.” **And beyond question it is a happier thing to be the slave of a man than of a lust;** for even this very lust of ruling, to mention no others, lays waste men’s hearts with the most ruthless dominion. **Moreover, when men are subjected to one another in a peaceful order, the lowly position does as much good to**

**the servant as the proud position does harm to the master.** But by nature, as God first created us, no one is the slave either of man or of sin. **This servitude is, however, penal, and is appointed by that law which enjoins the preservation of the natural order and forbids its disturbance;** for if nothing had been done in violation of that law, there would have been nothing to restrain by penal servitude. And therefore the apostle admonishes slaves to be subject to their masters, and to serve them heartily and with good-will, so that, if they cannot be freed by their masters, they may themselves make their slavery in some sort free, by serving not in crafty fear, but in faithful love, until all unrighteousness pass away, and all principality and every human power be brought to nothing, and God be all in all.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102/npnf102.iv.XIX.15.html>

#### Chapter 16

**And therefore, although our righteous fathers had slaves, and administered their domestic affairs so as to distinguish between the condition of slaves and the heirship of sons in regard to the blessings of this life,** yet in regard to the worship of God, in whom we hope for eternal blessings, they took an equally loving oversight of all the members of their household. And this is so much in accordance with the natural order, that the head of the household was called *paterfamilias*; and this name has been so generally accepted, that even those whose rule is unrighteous are glad to apply it to themselves. But those who are true fathers of their households desire and endeavor that all the members of their household, equally with their own children, should worship and win God, and should come to that heavenly home in which the duty of ruling men is no longer necessary, because the duty of caring for their everlasting happiness has also ceased; **but, until they reach that home, masters ought to feel their position of authority a greater burden than servants their service. And if any member of the family interrupts the domestic peace by disobedience, he is corrected either by word or blow, or some kind of just and legitimate punishment, such as society permits, that he may himself be the better for it, and be readjusted to the family harmony from which he had dislocated himself.** For as it is not benevolent to give a man help at the expense of some greater benefit he might receive, so it is not innocent to spare a man at the risk of his falling into graver sin. To be innocent, we must not only do harm to no man, but also restrain him from sin or punish his sin, so that either the man himself who is punished may profit by his experience, or others be warned by his example. Since, then, the house ought to be the beginning or element of the city, and every beginning bears reference to some end of its own kind, and every element to the integrity of the whole of which it is an element, it follows plainly enough that domestic peace has a relation to civic peace,—in other words, **that the well-ordered concord of domestic obedience and domestic rule has a relation to the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and civic rule.** And therefore it follows, further, that the father of the family ought to frame his domestic rule in accordance with the law of the city, so that the household may be in harmony with the civic order.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102/npnf102.iv.XIX.16.html>

#### Chapter 17

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This heavenly city, then, while it sojourns on earth, **calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace. It therefore is so far from rescinding and abolishing these diversities, that it even preserves and adopts them, so long only as no hindrance to the worship of the one supreme and true God is thus introduced.**

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#### Chapter 24

But if we discard this definition of a people [referring to the City of God], and, assuming another, **say that a people is an assemblage of reasonable beings bound together by a common agreement as to the objects of their love, then, in order to discover the character of any people, we have only to observe what they love.** Yet whatever it loves, if only it is an assemblage of reasonable beings and not of beasts, and is bound together by an agreement as to the objects of love, it is reasonably called a people; and it will be a superior people in proportion as it is bound together by higher interests, inferior in proportion as it is bound together by lower. **According to this definition of ours, the Roman people is a people, and its good is without doubt a commonwealth or republic. But what its tastes were in its early and subsequent days, and how it declined into sanguinary seditions and then to social and civil wars, and so burst asunder or rotted off the bond of concord in which the health of a people consists,** history shows, and in the preceding books I have related at large. And yet I would not on this account say either that it was not a people, or that its administration was not a republic, **so long as there remains an assemblage of reasonable beings bound together by a common agreement as to the objects of love. But what I say of this people and of this republic I must be understood to think and say of the Athenians or any Greek state, of the Egyptians, of the early Assyrian Babylon, and of every other nation, great or small, which had a public government.** For, in general, the city of the ungodly, which did not obey the command of God that it should offer no sacrifice save to Him alone, and which, therefore, could not give to the soul its proper command over the body, nor to the reason its just authority over the vices, is void of true justice.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120119.htm>

## Book XX

#### Chapter 5

**The Saviour Himself, while reproving the cities in which He had done great works, but which had not believed, and while setting them in unfavorable comparison with foreign cities, says, *But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you.* Matthew 11:22 And a little after He says, *Verily, I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for you.* Matthew 11:24 Here He most plainly predicts that a day of judgment is to come. And in another place He says, ***The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because*****

*they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here. **The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the utter most parts of the earth to hear the words of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.*** Matthew 12:41-42 Two things we learn from this passage, that a judgment is to take place, and that it is to take place at the resurrection of the dead. For when He spoke of **the Ninevites and the queen of the south**, He certainly spoke of dead persons, and yet He said that they should rise up in the day of judgment. He did not say, *They shall condemn*, as if they themselves were to be the judges, but because, in comparison with them, the others shall be justly condemned.

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In like manner He says to His disciples, *Verily I say unto you, That you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory, you also shall sit upon twelve thrones, **judging the twelve tribes of Israel.*** Matthew 19:28 Here we learn that Jesus shall judge with His disciples. **And therefore He said elsewhere to the Jews, *If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges.*** Matthew 12:27 Neither ought we to suppose that only twelve men shall judge along with Him, though He says that they shall sit upon twelve thrones; for by the number twelve is signified the completeness of the multitude of those who shall judge. For the two parts of the number seven (which commonly symbolizes totality), that is to say four and three, multiplied into one another, give twelve. For four times three, or three times four, are twelve. There are other meanings, too, in this number twelve. Were not this the right interpretation of the twelve thrones, then since we read that Matthias was ordained an apostle in the room of Judas the traitor, the Apostle Paul, though he labored more than them all, 1 Corinthians 15:10 should have no throne of judgment; but he unmistakably considers himself to be included in the number of the judges when he says, *Do you not know that we shall judge angels?* 1 Corinthians 6:3 The same rule is to be observed in applying the number twelve to those who are to be judged. **For though it was said, *judging the twelve tribes of Israel, the tribe of Levi, which is the thirteenth, shall not on this account be exempt from judgment, neither shall judgment be passed only on Israel and not on the other nations.*** And by the words *in the regeneration*, He certainly meant the resurrection of the dead to be understood; for our flesh shall be regenerated by incorruption, as our soul is regenerated by faith.

...

Chapter 11

*And when the thousand years are finished, Satan shall be loosed from his prison, **and shall go out to seduce the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall draw them to battle, whose number is as the sand of the sea.*** This then, is his purpose in seducing them, to draw them to this battle. For even before this he was wont to use as many and various seductions as he could continue. And the words *he shall go out* mean, he shall burst forth from lurking hatred into open persecution. For this persecution, occurring while the final judgment is imminent, shall be the last which shall be endured by the holy Church throughout the world, the whole city of Christ being assailed by the whole city of the devil, as each exists on earth. **For these nations which he names Gog and Magog are not to be understood of some barbarous nations in some part of the world, whether the Getæ and Massagetæ, as some conclude from the initial letters, or some other foreign nations not**

**under the Roman government.** For John marks that they are spread over the whole earth, when he says, *The nations which are in the four corners of the earth*, and he added that these are **Gog and Magog**. The meaning of these names we find to be, Gog, *a roof*, Magog, *from a roof*,— a house, as it were, and he who comes out of the house. They are therefore the nations in which we found that the devil was shut up as in an abyss, and the devil himself coming out from them and going forth, so that they are the roof, he from the roof. Or if we refer both words to the nations, not one to them and one to the devil, then they are both the roof, because in them the old enemy is at present shut up, and as it were roofed in; and they shall be from the roof when they break forth from concealed to open hatred. The words, *And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city*, do not mean that they have come, or shall come, to one place, as if the camp of the saints and the beloved city should be in some one place; for this camp is nothing else than the Church of Christ extending over the whole world. And consequently wherever the Church shall be — **and it shall be in all nations**, as is signified by the *breadth of the earth*,— there also shall be the camp of the saints and the beloved city, and there it shall be encompassed by the savage persecution of all its enemies; **for they too shall exist along with it in all nations** — that is, it shall be straitened, and hard pressed, and shut up in the straits of tribulation, but shall not desert its military duty, which is signified by the word *camp*.

...

## Chapter 21

...

After briefly mentioning those who shall be consumed in this judgment, speaking of the wicked and sinners under the figure of the meats forbidden by the old law, from which they had not abstained, he summarily recounts the grace of the new testament, from the first coming of the Saviour to the last judgment, of which we now speak; and herewith he concludes his prophecy. For he relates that the Lord declares **that He is coming to gather all nations**, that they may come and witness His glory. Isaiah 66:18 For, as the apostle says, *All have sinned and are in want of the glory of God*. Romans 3:23 And he says that He will do wonders among them, at which they shall marvel and believe in Him; and that from them **He will send forth those that are saved into various nations, and distant islands which have not heard His name nor seen His glory, and that they shall declare His glory among the nations, and shall bring the brethren of those to whom the prophet was speaking, i.e., shall bring to the faith under God the Father the brethren of the elect Israelites; and that they shall bring from all nations an offering to the Lord on beasts of burden and waggons** (which are understood to mean the aids furnished by God in the shape of angelic or human ministry), to the holy city Jerusalem, which at present is scattered over the earth, in the faithful saints. For where divine aid is given, men believe, and where they believe, they come. And the Lord compared them, in a figure, to the children of Israel offering sacrifice to Him in His house with psalms, which is already everywhere done by the Church; and He promised that from among them He would choose for Himself priests and Levites, which also we see already accomplished. For we see that priests and Levites are now chosen, **not from a certain family and blood, as was originally the rule in the priesthood according to the order of Aaron**, but as befits the new testament, under which Christ is the High Priest after the order of Melchisedec, in consideration of the merit which is bestowed upon each man by divine grace. And these priests are not to be

judged by their mere title, which is often borne by unworthy men, but by that holiness which is not common to good men and bad.

After having thus spoken of this mercy of God which is now experienced by the Church, and is very evident and familiar to us, he foretells also the ends to which men shall come when the last judgment has separated the good and the bad, saying by the prophet, or the prophet himself speaking for God, *For as the new heavens and the new earth shall remain before me, said the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain, and there shall be to them month after month, and Sabbath after Sabbath. All flesh shall come to worship before me in Jerusalem, said the Lord. And they shall go out, and shall see the members of the men who have sinned against me: their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.* Isaiah 66:22-24 At this point the prophet closed his book, as at this point the world shall come to an end. Some, indeed, have translated *carcasses* instead of *members of the men*, meaning by *carcasses* the manifest punishment of the body, although *carcass* is commonly used only of dead flesh, while the bodies here spoken of shall be animated, else they could not be sensible of any pain; but perhaps they may, without absurdity, be called *carcasses*, as being the bodies of those who are to fall into the second death. And for the same reason it is said, as I have already quoted, by this same prophet, *The earth of the wicked shall fall.* It is obvious that those translators who use a different word for *men* do not mean to include only males, for no one will say that the women who sinned shall not appear in that judgment; but the male sex, being the more worthy, and that from which the woman was derived, is intended to include both sexes. **But that which is especially pertinent to our subject is this, that since the words *All flesh shall come*, apply to the good, for the people of God shall be composed of every race of men — for all men shall not be present, since the greater part shall be in punishment — but, as I was saying, since *flesh* is used of the good, and *members* or *carcasses* of the bad, certainly it is thus put beyond a doubt that that judgment in which the good and the bad shall be allotted to their destinies shall take place after the resurrection of the body, our faith in which is thoroughly established by the use of these words.**

...

Chapter 25

...

By the sons of Levi and Judah and Jerusalem we ought to understand the Church herself, **gathered not from the Hebrews only, but from other nations as well**; nor such a Church as she now is, when *if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us*, 1 John 1:8 but as she shall then be, purged by the last judgment as a threshing-floor by a winnowing wind, and those of her members who need it being cleansed by fire, so that there remains absolutely not one who offers sacrifice for his sins. For all who make such offerings are assuredly in their sins, for the remission of which they make offerings, that having made to God an acceptable offering, they may then be absolved.

...

Chapter 29

...

Another and a preferable sense can be found in the words of the Septuagint translators, who have translated Scripture with an eye to prophecy, the sense, viz., that Elias shall turn the heart

of God the Father to the Son, not certainly as if he should bring about this love of the Father for the Son, but meaning that he should make it known, **and that the Jews also, who had previously hated, should then love the Son who is our Christ. For so far as regards the Jews,** God has His heart turned away from our Christ, this being their conception about God and Christ. But in their case the heart of God shall be turned to the Son when they themselves shall turn in heart, and learn the love of the Father towards the Son. The words following, *and the heart of a man to his next of kin*, — that is, Elias shall also turn the heart of a man to his next of kin — how can we understand this better than as the heart of a man to the man Christ? For though in the form of God He is our God, yet, taking the form of a servant, He condescended to become also our next of kin. It is this, then, which Elias will do, *lest*, he says, *I come and smite the earth utterly.* **For they who mind earthly things are the earth. Such are the carnal Jews until this day; and hence these murmurs of theirs against God, *The wicked are pleasing to Him, and It is a vain thing to serve God.***

### Chapter 30

...

There is also another passage in Zechariah which plainly declares that the Almighty sent the Almighty; and of what persons can this be understood but of God the Father and God the Son? For it is written, *Thus says the Lord Almighty, **After the glory has He sent me unto the nations which spoiled you;** for he that touches you touches the apple of His eye. Behold, I will bring mine hand upon them, and they shall be a spoil to their servants: and you shall know that the Lord Almighty has sent me.* Zechariah 2:8-9 Observe, the Lord Almighty says that the Lord Almighty sent Him. Who can presume to understand these words of any other than Christ, **who is speaking to the lost sheep of the house of Israel?** For He says in the Gospel, *I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel*, Matthew 15:24 which He here compared to the pupil of God's eye, to signify the profoundest love. And to this class of sheep the apostles themselves belonged. But after the glory, to wit, of His resurrection — for before it happened the evangelist said that *Jesus was not yet glorified*, John 7:39 — He was sent **unto the nations** in the persons of His apostles; and thus the saying of the psalm was fulfilled, *You will deliver me from the contradictions of the people; You will set me as the head of the nations, so that those who had spoiled the Israelites, and whom the Israelites had served when they were subdued by them, were not themselves to be spoiled in the same fashion, but were in their own persons to become the spoil of the Israelites. For this had been promised to the apostles when the Lord said, *I will make you fishers of men.* Matthew 4:19 And to one of them He says, *From henceforth you shall catch men.* Luke 5:10 They were then to become a spoil, but in a good sense, as those who are snatched from that strong one when he is bound by a stronger. Matthew 12:29*

In like manner the Lord, speaking by the same prophet, says, *And it shall come to pass in that day, **that I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me because they have insulted me, and they shall mourn for Him as for one very dear, and shall be in bitterness as for an only-begotten.*** Zechariah 12:9-10 To whom but to God does it belong **to destroy all the nations that are hostile to the holy city**



**Jerusalem**, which *come against it*, that is, are opposed to it, or, as some translate, *come upon it*, as if putting it down under them; or to pour out upon **the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem** the spirit of grace and mercy? This belongs doubtless to God, and it is to God the prophet ascribes the words; and yet Christ shows that He is the God who does these so great and divine things, when He goes on to say, *And they shall look upon me because they have insulted me, and they shall mourn for Him as if for one very dear (or beloved), and shall be in bitterness for Him as for an only-begotten. For in that day the Jews— those of them, at least, who shall receive the spirit of grace and mercy — when they see Him coming in His majesty, and recognize that it is He whom they, in the person of their parents,*<sup>26</sup> *insulted when He came before in His humiliation, shall repent of insulting Him in His passion: and their parents themselves, who were the perpetrators of this huge impiety, shall see Him when they rise; but this will be only for their punishment, and not for their correction. It is not of them we are to understand the words, And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and mercy, and they shall look upon me because they have insulted me; but we are to understand the words of their descendants, who shall at that time believe through Elias. But as we say to the Jews, You killed Christ, although it was their parents who did so, so these persons shall grieve that they in some sort did what their progenitors did.* Although, therefore, those that receive the spirit of mercy and grace, and believe, **shall not be condemned with their impious parents, yet they shall mourn as if they themselves had done what their parents did.** Their grief shall arise not so much from guilt as from pious affection. Certainly the words which the Septuagint have translated, *They shall look upon me because they insulted me*, stand in the Hebrew, *They shall look upon me whom they pierced.* And by this word the crucifixion of Christ is certainly more plainly indicated. But the Septuagint translators preferred to allude to the insult which was involved in His whole passion. For in point of fact they insulted Him both when He was arrested and when He was bound, when He was judged, when He was mocked by the robe they put on Him and the homage they did on bended knee, when He was crowned with thorns and struck with a rod on the head, when He bore His cross, and when at last He hung upon the tree. And therefore we recognize more fully the Lord's passion when we do not confine ourselves to one interpretation, but combine both, and read both *insulted* and *pierced*.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120120.htm>

## Book XXI

...

### Chapter 8

...

**From the book of Marcus Varro, entitled, *Of the Race of the Roman People*, I cite word for word the following instance: *There occurred a remarkable celestial portent; for Castor records***

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<sup>26</sup> This passage in particular is important in understanding the ethnology of Saint Augustine; he talks at length above about the racialism of the ancient Israelites, which may seem like beating a dead horse; but for Augustine, this is not so much abolished as transfigured by Christ. To each man belongs a spiritual heritage of his own race, whether for honor or for shame; for righteousness or for guilt.

*that, in the brilliant star Venus, called Vesperugo by Plautus, and the lovely Hesperus by Homer, there occurred so strange a prodigy, that it changed its color, size, form, course, which never happened before nor since. Adrastus of Cyzicus, and Dion of Naples, famous mathematicians, said that this occurred in the reign of Ogyges.* So great an author as Varro would certainly not have called this a portent had it not seemed to be contrary to nature. For we say that all portents are contrary to nature; but they are not so. For how is that contrary to nature which happens by the will of God, since the will of so mighty a Creator is certainly the nature of each created thing? A portent, therefore, happens not contrary to nature, but contrary to what we know as nature. But who can number the multitude of portents recorded in profane histories? Let us then at present fix our attention on this one only which concerns the matter in hand. What is there so arranged by the Author of the nature of heaven and earth as the exactly ordered course of the stars? What is there established by laws so sure and inflexible? And yet, when it pleased Him who with sovereignty and supreme power regulates all He has created, a star conspicuous among the rest by its size and splendor changed its color, size, form, and, most wonderful of all, the order and law of its course! Certainly that phenomenon disturbed the canons of the astronomers, if there were any then, by which they tabulate, as by unerring computation, the past and future movements of the stars, so as to take upon them to affirm that this which happened to the morning star (Venus) never happened before nor since.

...

Let not the sceptics then benight themselves in this knowledge of the nature of things, as if divine power cannot bring to pass in an object anything else than what their own experience has shown them to be in its nature. Even the very things which are most commonly known as natural would not be less wonderful nor less effectual to excite surprise in all who beheld them, if men were not accustomed to admire nothing but what is rare. **For who that thoughtfully observes the countless multitude of men, and their similarity of nature, can fail to remark with surprise and admiration the individuality of each man's appearance, suggesting to us, as it does, that unless men were like one another, they would not be distinguished from the rest of the animals; while unless, on the other hand, they were unlike, they could not be distinguished from one another, so that those whom we declare to be like, we also find to be unlike?** And the unlikeness is the more wonderful consideration of the two; for a common nature seems rather to require similarity. And yet, because the very rarity of things is that which makes them wonderful, we are filled with much greater wonder when we are introduced to two men so like, that we either always or frequently mistake in endeavoring to distinguish between them.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120121.htm>

## Book XXII

### Chapter 4

But men who use their learning and intellectual ability to resist the force of that great authority which, **in fulfillment of what was so long before predicted, has converted all races of men** to faith and hope in its promises, seem to themselves to argue acutely against the resurrection of the body while they cite what Cicero mentions in the third book *De Republica*. For when he

was asserting the apotheosis of Hercules and Romulus, he says: *Whose bodies were not taken up into heaven; for nature would not permit a body of earth to exist anywhere except upon earth.*

...

## Chapter 5

But granting that this was once incredible, behold, now, the world has come to the belief that the earthly body of Christ was received up into heaven. Already both the learned and unlearned have believed in the resurrection of the flesh and its ascension to the heavenly places, while only a very few either of the educated or uneducated are still staggered by it. If this is a credible thing which is believed, then let those who do not believe see how stolid they are; and if it is incredible, then this also is an incredible thing, that what is incredible should have received such credit. Here then we have two incredibles — to wit, the resurrection of our body to eternity, and that the world should believe so incredible a thing; and both these incredibles the same God predicted should come to pass before either had as yet occurred. We see that already one of the two has come to pass, for the world has believed what was incredible; why should we despair that the remaining one shall also come to pass, and that this which the world believed, though it was incredible, shall itself occur? For already that which was equally incredible has come to pass, in the world's believing an incredible thing. Both were incredible: the one we see accomplished, the other we believe shall be; for both were predicted in those same Scriptures by means of which the world believed. And the very manner in which the world's faith was won is found to be even more incredible if we consider it. Men uninstructed in any branch of a liberal education, without any of the refinement of heathen learning, unskilled in grammar, not armed with dialectic, not adorned with rhetoric, but plain fishermen, and very few in number — these were the men whom Christ sent with the nets of faith to the sea of this world, **and thus took out of every race so many fishes, and even the philosophers themselves, wonderful as they are rare.** Let us add, if you please, or because you ought to be pleased, this third incredible thing to the two former. And now we have three incredibles, all of which have yet come to pass. It is incredible that Jesus Christ should have risen in the flesh and ascended with flesh into heaven; it is incredible that the world should have believed so incredible a thing; **it is incredible that a very few men, of mean birth and the lowest rank, and no education, should have been able so effectually to persuade the world, and even its learned men, of so incredible a thing.** Of these three incredibles, the parties with whom we are debating refuse to believe the first; they cannot refuse to see the second, which they are unable to account for if they do not believe the third. It is indubitable that the resurrection of Christ, and His ascension into heaven with the flesh in which He rose, is already preached and believed in the whole world. If it is not credible, how is it that it has already received credence in the whole world? If a number of noble, exalted, and learned men had said that they had witnessed it, and had been at pains to publish what they had witnessed, it were not wonderful that the world should have believed it, but it were very stubborn to refuse credence; but if, as is true, the world has believed a few obscure, inconsiderable, uneducated persons, who state and write that they witnessed it, is it not unreasonable that a handful of wrong-headed men should oppose themselves to the creed of the whole world, and refuse their belief? And if the world has put faith in a small number of men, of mean birth and the lowest rank, and no education, it is because the divinity of the thing itself appeared all the more manifestly in such contemptible witnesses. The eloquence, indeed,

which lent persuasion to their message, consisted of wonderful works, not words. For they who had not seen Christ risen in the flesh, nor ascending into heaven with His risen body, believed those who related how they had seen these things, and who testified not only with words but wonderful signs. For men whom they knew to be acquainted with only one, or at most two languages, **they marvelled to hear speaking in the tongues of all nations.**

...

## Chapter 6

Let us here recite the passage in which Tully expresses his astonishment that the apotheosis of Romulus should have been credited. I shall insert his words as they stand: *It is most worthy of remark in Romulus, that other men who are said to have become gods lived in less educated ages, when there was a greater propensity to the fabulous, and when the uninstructed were easily persuaded to believe anything. But the age of Romulus was barely six hundred years ago, and already literature and science had dispelled the errors that attach to an uncultured age.* And a little after he says of the same Romulus words to this effect: *From this we may perceive that Homer had flourished long before Romulus, and that there was now so much learning in individuals, and so generally diffused an enlightenment, that scarcely any room was left for fable. For antiquity admitted fables, and sometimes even very clumsy ones; but this age [of Romulus] was sufficiently enlightened to reject whatever had not the air of truth.* Thus one of the most learned men, and certainly the most eloquent, M. Tullius Cicero, says that it is surprising that the divinity of Romulus was believed in, because the times were already so enlightened that they would not accept a fabulous fiction. But who believed that Romulus was a god **except Rome, which was itself small and in its infancy? Then afterwards it was necessary that succeeding generations should preserve the tradition of their ancestors; that, drinking in this superstition with their mother's milk, the state might grow and come to such power that it might dictate this belief, as from a point of vantage, to all the nations over whom its sway extended. And these nations, though they might not believe that Romulus was a god, at least said so, that they might not give offense to their sovereign state by refusing to give its founder that title which was given him by Rome,** which had adopted this belief, not by a love of error, but an error of love. But though Christ is the founder of the heavenly and eternal city, yet it did not believe Him to be God because it was founded by Him, but rather it is founded by Him, in virtue of its belief. **Rome, after it had been built and dedicated, worshipped its founder in a temple as a god;** but this Jerusalem laid Christ, its God, as its foundation, that the building and dedication might proceed. The former city loved its founder, and therefore believed him to be a god; the latter believed Christ to be God, and therefore loved Him. There was an antecedent cause for the love of the former city, and for its believing that even a false dignity attached to the object of its love; so there was an antecedent cause for the belief of the latter, and for its loving the true dignity which a proper faith, not a rash surmise, ascribed to its object. For, not to mention the multitude of very striking miracles which proved that Christ is God, there were also divine prophecies heralding Him, prophecies most worthy of belief, which being already accomplished, we have not, like the fathers, to wait for their verification. Of Romulus, on the other hand, and of his building Rome and reigning in it, we read or hear the narrative of what did take place, not prediction which beforehand said that such things should be. And so far as his reception among the gods is concerned, history only records that this was believed, and does not state it as a fact; for no miraculous signs testified to the

truth of this. For as to that wolf which is said to have nursed the twin-brothers, and which is considered a great marvel, how does this prove him to have been divine? For even supposing that this nurse was a real wolf and not a mere courtesan, yet she nursed both brothers, and Remus is not reckoned a god. Besides, what was there to hinder any one from asserting that Romulus or Hercules, or any such man, was a god? Or who would rather choose to die than profess belief in his divinity? **And did a single nation worship Romulus among its gods, unless it were forced through fear of the Roman name?** But who can number the multitudes who have chosen death in the most cruel shapes rather than deny the divinity of Christ? And thus the dread of some slight indignation, which it was supposed, perhaps groundlessly, **might exist in the minds of the Romans, constrained some states who were subject to Rome to worship Romulus as a god;** whereas the dread, not of a slight mental shock, but of severe and various punishments, and of death itself, the most formidable of all, could not prevent an immense multitude of martyrs throughout the world from not merely worshipping but also confessing Christ as God. The city of Christ, which, although as yet a stranger upon earth, had countless hosts of citizens, did not make war upon its godless persecutors for the sake of temporal security, but preferred to win eternal salvation by abstaining from war. They were bound, imprisoned, beaten, tortured, burned, torn in pieces, massacred, and yet they multiplied. It was not given to them to fight for their eternal salvation except by despising their temporal salvation for their Saviour's sake.

I am aware that Cicero, in the third book of his *De Republica*, if I mistake not, argues that a first-rate power will not engage in war except either for honor or for safety. What he has to say about the question of safety, and what he means by safety, he explains in another place, saying, *Private persons frequently evade, by a speedy death, destitution, exile, bonds, the scourge, and the other pains which even the most insensible feel. But to states, death, which seems to emancipate individuals from all punishments, is itself a punishment; for a state should be so constituted as to be eternal. And thus death is not natural to a republic as to a man, to whom death is not only necessary, but often even desirable. But when a state is destroyed, obliterated, annihilated, it is as if (to compare great things with small) this whole world perished and collapsed.* Cicero said this because he, with the Platonists, believed that the world would not perish. It is therefore agreed that, according to Cicero, a state should engage in war for the safety which preserves the state permanently in existence though its citizens change; as the foliage of an olive or laurel, or any tree of this kind, is perennial, the old leaves being replaced by fresh ones. For death, as he says, is no punishment to individuals, but rather delivers them from all other punishments, but it is a punishment to the state. **And therefore it is reasonably asked whether the Saguntines did right when they chose that their whole state should perish rather than that they should break faith with the Roman republic;** for this deed of theirs is applauded by the citizens of the earthly republic. But I do not see how they could follow the advice of Cicero, who tell us that no war is to be undertaken save for safety or for honor; neither does he say which of these two is to be preferred, if a case should occur in which the one could not be preserved without the loss of the other. **For manifestly, if the Saguntines chose safety, they must break faith; if they kept faith, they must reject safety;** as also it fell out. But the safety of the city of God is such that it can be retained, or rather acquired, by faith and with faith; but if faith be abandoned, no one can attain it. It is this thought of a most

steadfast and patient spirit that has made so many noble martyrs, while Romulus has not had, and could not have, so much as one to die for his divinity.

...

## Chapter 8

...

Worn out with weeping, and driven by necessity, it occurred to him **to call in an Alexandrian**, who was at that time esteemed a wonderfully skillful operator, that he might perform the operation his rage would not suffer them to do. But when he had come, and examined with a professional eye the traces of their careful work, he acted the part of a good man, and persuaded his patient to allow those same hands the satisfaction of finishing his cure which had begun it with a skill that excited his admiration, adding that there was no doubt his only hope of a cure was by an operation, but that it was thoroughly inconsistent with his nature to win the credit of the cure by doing the little that remained to be done, and rob of their reward men whose consummate skill, care, and diligence he could not but admire when he saw the traces of their work. They were therefore again received to favor; and it was agreed that, **in the presence of the Alexandrian**, they should operate on the fistula, which, by the consent of all, could now only be cured by the knife. The operation was deferred till the following day. But when they had left, there arose in the house such a wailing, in sympathy with the excessive despondency of the master, that it seemed to us like the mourning at a funeral, and we could scarcely repress it. Holy men were in the habit of visiting him daily; Saturninus of blessed memory, at that time bishop of Uzali, and the presbyter Gelosus, and the deacons of the church of Carthage; and among these was the bishop Aurelius, who alone of them all survives — a man to be named by us with due reverence — and with him I have often spoken of this affair, as we conversed together about the wonderful works of God, and I have found that he distinctly remembers what I am now relating.

...

A gouty doctor of the same city, when he had given in his name for baptism, and had been prohibited the day before his baptism from being baptized that year, **by black woolly-haired boys who appeared to him in his dreams, and whom he understood to be devils**, and when, though they trod on his feet, and inflicted the acutest pain he had ever yet experienced, he refused to obey them, but overcame them, and would not defer being washed in the laver of regeneration, was relieved in the very act of baptism, not only of the extraordinary pain he was tortured with, but also of the disease itself, so that, though he lived a long time afterwards, he never suffered from gout; and yet who knows of this miracle? We, however, do know it, and so, too, do the small number of brethren who were in the neighborhood, and to whose ears it might come.

...

**Hesperius, of a tribunitian family**,<sup>27</sup> and a neighbor of our own, has a farm called Zubedi in the Fussalian district; and, finding that his family, his cattle, and his servants were suffering from the malice of evil spirits, he asked our presbyters, during my absence, that one of them would go with him and banish the spirits by his prayers. One went, offered there the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying with all his might that that vexation might cease. It did cease immediately, through God's mercy.

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<sup>27</sup> The tribunus plebis was a hereditary class.

...

Lucillus bishop of Sinita, in the neighborhood of **the colonial town of Hippo**, was carrying in procession some relics of the same martyr, which had been deposited in the castle of Sinita. A fistula under which he had long labored, and which his private physician was watching an opportunity to cut, was suddenly cured by the mere carrying of that sacred fardel, — at least, afterwards there was no trace of it in his body.

**Eucharius, a Spanish priest, residing at Calama**, was for a long time a sufferer from stone. By the relics of the same martyr, which the bishop Possidius brought him, he was cured. Afterwards the same priest, sinking under another disease, was lying dead, and already they were binding his hands. By the succor of the same martyr he was raised to life, the priest's cloak having been brought from the oratory and laid upon the corpse.

...

There, too, by the same martyr, **two men, one a citizen, the other a stranger**, were cured of gout; **but while the citizen was absolutely cured**, the stranger was only informed what he should apply when the pain returned; and when he followed this advice, the pain was at once relieved.

...

**At Hippo a Syrian called Bassus** was praying at the relics of the same martyr for his daughter, who was dangerously ill. He too had brought her dress with him to the shrine. But as he prayed, behold, his servants ran from the house to tell him she was dead. His friends, however, intercepted them, and forbade them to tell him, lest he should bewail her in public. And when he had returned to his house, which was already ringing with the lamentations of his family, and had thrown on his daughter's body the dress he was carrying, she was restored to life.

...

**Likewise Eleusinus, a man of tribunitian rank among us**, laid his infant son, who had died, on the shrine of the martyr, which is in the suburb where he lived, and, after prayer, which he poured out there with many tears, he took up his child alive.

...

**At Uzali, too, a colony near Utica**, many signal miracles were, to my knowledge, wrought by the same martyr, whose relics had found a place there by direction of the bishop Evodius, long before we had them at Hippo. But there the custom of publishing narratives does not obtain, or, I should say, did not obtain, for possibly it may now have been begun. **For, when I was there recently, a woman of rank, Petronia**, had been miraculously cured of a serious illness of long standing, in which all medical appliances had failed, and, with the consent of the above-named bishop of the place, I exhorted her to publish an account of it that might be read to the people. She most promptly obeyed, and inserted in her narrative a circumstance which I cannot omit to mention, though I am compelled to hasten on to the subjects which this work requires me to treat. **She said that she had been persuaded by a Jew to wear next her skin**, under all her clothes, a hair girdle, and on this girdle a ring, which, instead of a gem, had a stone which had been found in the kidneys of an ox. Girt with this charm, she was making her way to the threshold of the holy martyr. But, after leaving Carthage, and when she had been lodging in her own demesne on the river Bagrada, and was now rising to continue her journey, she saw her ring lying before her feet. In great surprise she examined the hair girdle, and when she found it

bound, as it had been, quite firmly with knots, she conjectured that the ring had been worn through and dropped off; but when she found that the ring was itself also perfectly whole, she presumed that by this great miracle she had received somehow a pledge of her cure, whereupon she untied the girdle, and cast it into the river, and the ring along with it. This is not credited by those who do not believe either that the Lord Jesus Christ came forth from His mother's womb without destroying her virginity, and entered among His disciples when the doors were shut; but let them make strict inquiry into this miracle, and if they find it true, let them believe those others. **The lady is of distinction, nobly born, married to a nobleman.** She resides at Carthage.

...

One miracle was wrought among ourselves, which, though no greater than those I have mentioned, was yet so signal and conspicuous, that I suppose there is no inhabitant of Hippo who did not either see or hear of it, none who could possibly forget it. **There were seven brothers and three sisters of a noble family of the Cappadocian Cæsarea,** who were cursed by their mother, a new-made widow, on account of some wrong they had done her, and which she bitterly resented, and who were visited with so severe a punishment from Heaven, that all of them were seized with a hideous shaking in all their limbs. Unable, while presenting this loathsome appearance, **to endure the eyes of their fellow citizens, they wandered over almost the whole Roman world, each following his own direction.** Two of them came to Hippo, a brother and a sister, Paulus and Palladia, already known in many other places by the fame of their wretched lot. Now it was about fifteen days before Easter when they came, and they came daily to church, and specially to the relics of the most glorious Stephen, praying that God might now be appeased, and restore their former health. There, and wherever they went, they attracted the attention of every one. Some who had seen them elsewhere, and knew the cause of their trembling, told others as occasion offered. Easter arrived, and on the Lord's day, in the morning, when there was now a large crowd present, and the young man was holding the bars of the holy place where the relics were, and praying, suddenly he fell down, and lay precisely as if asleep, but not trembling as he was wont to do even in sleep. All present were astonished. Some were alarmed, some were moved with pity; and while some were for lifting him up, others prevented them, and said they should rather wait and see what would result. And behold! He rose up, and trembled no more, for he was healed, and stood quite well, scanning those who were scanning him.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120122.htm>

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## Saint Gregory of Nyssa, Answer to Eunomius' Second Book (About 381)

And if any one cites the confusion of tongues that took place at the building of the tower, as contradicting what I have said, not even there is God spoken of as creating men's languages, but as confounding the existing one, that all might not hear all. For when all lived together and



were not as yet divided by various differences of race, the aggregate of men dwelt together with one language among them; **but when by the Divine will it was decreed that all the earth should be replenished by mankind, then, their community of tongue being broken up, men were dispersed in various directions and adopted this and that form of speech and language, possessing a certain bond of union in similarity of tongue,** not indeed disagreeing from others in their knowledge of things, but differing in the character of their names. For a stone or a stick does not seem one thing to one man and another to another, but the different peoples call them by different names. So that our position remains unshaken, that human language is the invention of the human mind or understanding. For from the beginning, as long as all men had the same language, we see from Holy Scripture that men received no teaching of God's words, nor, when men were separated into various differences of language, did a Divine enactment prescribe how each man should talk. But God, willing that men should speak different languages, gave human nature full liberty to formulate arbitrary sounds, so as to render their meaning more intelligible. **Accordingly, Moses, who lived many generations after the building of the tower, uses one of the subsequent languages in his historical narrative of the creation, and attributes certain words to God, relating these things in his own tongue in which he had been brought up, and with which he was familiar, not changing the names for God by foreign peculiarities and turns of speech, in order by the strangeness and novelty of the expressions to prove them the words of God Himself.**

...

On these passages it is probable that our opponents will take their stand. And I will agree for them with what is said, and will myself take advantage of their positions further on in our inquiry, in order that what we teach may be more firmly established, no point in controversy being left without due examination. "God called," he says, "the firmament Heaven, and He called the dry land Earth, and the light Day, and the darkness He called Night." How comes it, then, they will ask, when the Scripture admits that their appellations were given them by God, that you say that their names are the work of human invention? What, then, is our reply? We return to our plain statement, and we assert, that He Who brought all creation into being out of nothing is the Creator of things seen in substantial existence, not of unsubstantial words having no existence but in the sound of the voice and the lisp of the tongue. **But things are named by the indication of the voice in conformity with the nature and qualities inherent in each, the names being adapted to the things according to the vernacular language of each several race.**

...

But, like some viscous and sticky clay, the nonsense he has concocted in contravention of our teaching of conception seems to hold us back, and prevent us from applying ourselves to more important matters. For how can one pass over his solemn and profound philosophy, as when he says that God's greatness is seen not only in the works of His hands, but that His wisdom is displayed in their names also, adapted as they are with such peculiar fitness to the nature of each work of His creation? Having perchance fallen in with Plato's Cratylus, or hearing from some one who had met with it, by reason, I suppose, of his own poverty of ideas, he attached that nonsense patchwise to his own, acting like those who get their bread by begging. For just as they, receiving some trifle from each who bestows it on them, collect their bread from many and various sources, so the discourse of Eunomius, by reason of his scanty store of the

true bread, assiduously collects scraps of phrases and notions from all quarters. And thus, being struck by the beauty of the Platonic style, he thinks it not unseemly to make Plato's theory a doctrine of the Church. For by how many appellations, say, is the created firmament called according to the varieties of language? For we call it Heaven, the Hebrew calls it Samaim, the Roman *coelum*, other names are given to it by the Syrian, the Mede, the Cappadocian, the African, the Scythian, the Thracian the Egyptian: **nor would it be easy to enumerate the multiplicity of names which are applied to Heaven and other objects by the different nations that employ them.** Which of these, then, tell me, is the appropriate word wherein the great wisdom of God is manifested? **If you prefer the Greek to the rest, the Egyptian haply will confront you with his own. And if you give the first place to the Hebrew, there is the Syrian to claim precedence for his own word, nor will the Roman yield the supremacy, nor the Mede allow himself to be outdone; while of the other nations each will claim the prize.** What, then, will be the fate of his dogma when torn to pieces by the claimants for so many different languages? But by these, says he, as by laws publicly promulgated, it is shown that God made names exactly suited to the nature of the things which they represent. What a grand doctrine! What grand views our theologian allows to the Divine teachings, such indeed as men do not grudge even to bathing-attendants! For we allow them to give names to the operations they engage in, and yet no one invests them with Divine honours for the invention of such names as foot-baths, depilatories, towels, and the like—words which appropriately designate the articles in question.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf205/npnf205.viii.ii.ii.html>

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Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Orations  
(During the years about 360 to 383)

#### Oration 40

Let nothing hinder you from going on, nor draw you away from your readiness. While your desire is still vehement, seize upon that which you desire. While the iron is hot, let it be tempered by the cold water, lest anything should happen in the interval, and put an end to your desire. I am Philip; do you be Candace's Eunuch. Acts 8:36 Do you also say, See, here is water, what does hinder me to be baptized? Seize the opportunity; rejoice greatly in the blessing; and having spoken be baptized; and having been baptized be saved; **and though you be an Ethiopian body, be made white in soul.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/310240.htm>

#### Oration 41

XVI. But as the old Confusion of tongues was laudable, when men who were of one language

in wickedness and impiety, even as some now venture to be, were building the Tower; for by the confusion of their language the unity of their intention was broken up, and their undertaking destroyed; **so much more worthy of praise is the present miraculous one. For being poured from One Spirit upon many men**, it brings them again into harmony. **And there is a diversity of Gifts, which stands in need of yet another Gift to discern which is the best, where all are praiseworthy. And that division also might be called noble of which David says, Drown O Lord and divide their tongues.** Why? Because they loved all words of drowning, the deceitful tongue. Where he all but expressly arraigns the tongues of the present day which sever the Godhead. Thus much upon this point.

XVII. Next, since it was to inhabitants of Jerusalem, most devout Jews, Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, Egyptians, and Libyans, Cretans too, and Arabians, and Mesopotamians, **and my own Cappadocians**, that the tongues spake, and to Jews (if any one prefer so to understand it), **out of every nation under heaven thither collected; it is worth while to see who these were and of what captivity.** For the captivity in Egypt and Babylon was circumscribed, and moreover had long since been brought to an end by the Return; and that under the Romans, which was exacted for their audacity against our Saviour, was not yet come to pass, though it was in the near future. It remains then to understand it of the captivity under Antiochus, which happened not so very long before this time. But if any does not accept this explanation, as being too elaborate, seeing that this captivity was neither ancient nor widespread over the world, and is looking for a more reliable—perhaps the best way to take it would be as follows. **The nation was removed many times, as Esdras related; and some of the Tribes were recovered, and some were left behind; of whom probably (dispersed as they were among the nations)** some would have been present and shared the miracle.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf207.iii.xxiv.html>

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Origen, Homilies on Genesis (Hom. XVI)  
(214)

**For the Egyptians are prone to a degenerate life and quickly sink to every slavery of the vices. Look at the origin of the race** and you will discover that their father Cham, who had laughed at his father's nakedness, deserved a judgment of this kind, that his son Chanaan should be a servant to his brothers, in which case the condition of bondage would prove the wickedness of his conduct. **Not without merit, therefore, does the discolored posterity imitate the ignobility of the race.**

<https://archive.org/details/homiliesongenesi0071orig/mode/2up>

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# Origen, Commentary and Homilies on the Song of Songs (During the years 240 to about 253)

## Book II

### Chapter 1

...

Here again the person of the Bride is introduced as speaking, but she speaks now not to those maidens who are wont to run with her, but to the daughters of Jerusalem. **To these, since they have spoken slightingly about her as being ugly, she now makes answer, saying: "I am indeed dark-or black-as far as my complexion goes, O daughters of Jerusalem; but, should a person scrutinize the features of my inward parts, then I am beautiful.** For the tents of Cedar, which is a great nation," she says, "also are black, and their very name of Cedar means blackness or darkness. The curtains of Solomon likewise are black; **but that blackness of his curtains is not considered unbecoming for so great a king in all his glory.** Do not reproach me **for my colour**, then, O daughters of Jerusalem, seeing that my body lacks neither natural beauty, nor that which is acquired by practice."

This much is comprehended in the tale enacted, and is the superficial meaning of the story here set forth. But let us return to the mystical exposition. This Bride who speaks represents the Church gathered from among the Gentiles<sup>28</sup>; but the daughters of Jerusalem to whom she addresses herself are the souls who are described as being *most dear because of the election of the fathers, but enemies because of the Gospel*. Those are, therefore, the daughters of this earthly Jerusalem who, seeing the Church of the Gentiles, **despise and vilify her for her ignoble birth; for she is baseborn in their eyes, because she cannot count as hers the noble blood of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, for all that she forgets her own people and her father's house and comes to Christ.**

**The Bride knows that the daughters of the former people impute this to her, and that because of it they call her black, as one who has not been enlightened by the patriarchs' teaching.** She answers their objections thus: "I am indeed black, O daughters of Jerusalem, in that I cannot claim descent from famous men, neither have I received the enlightenment of Moses' Law. But I have my own beauty, all the same. For in me too there is that primal thing, the Image of God wherein I was created; and, coming now to the Word of God, I have received my beauty. **Because of my dark colouring you may compare me to the tents of Cedar and the curtains of Solomon;** but even Cedar was **descended from Ismael**, being born his second son, and Ismael was not without a share in the divine blessing. You liken me even to the curtains of Solomon, which are none other than the curtains of the tabernacle of

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<sup>28</sup> The reason which Origen and other authors take this character – the Queen of Sheba – to be the representation of the Gentiles is because she at this point ruled over many lands; the lands of this kingdom did not just include Ethiopia, but also stretched as far as Egypt. The Sabaeans originated not in Ethiopia but in Yemen, and so likely were not even "black," but very swarthy Arabs; perhaps with Ethiopian admixture, though.

God-indeed I am surprised, O daughters of Jerusalem, **that you should want to reproach me with the blackness of my hue.** How have you come to forget what is written in your Law, as to what Mary suffered who spoke against Moses because he had taken **a black Ethiopian to wife?** How is it that you do not recognize the true fulfilment of that type in me? I am that Ethiopian. **I am black indeed by reason of my lowly origin;** but I am beautiful through penitence and faith. For I have taken to myself the Son of God, I have received *the Word made flesh*; I have come to Him *who is the Image of God, the Firstborn of every creature and who is the brightness of the glory and the express Image of the substance of God*, and I have been made fair. What are you doing, then, reproaching one who turns away from sin, which reproach the Law entirely forbids? How do you come to glory in the Law, and yet to violate it?"

...

These were the passages from the Holy Scriptures that suggested themselves to me at the moment, as being in accordance with this verse of the Song of Songs which we are now considering-namely, the verse in which it says: **"I am dark (or black) and beautiful,** O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Cedar, as the curtains of Solomon."

So, then, in the Book of Numbers we find Moses taking **an Ethiopian wife – that is to say, one who is dark or black;** and because of her Mary and Aaron speak ill of him, and say with indignation: *Hath the Lord spoken to Moses only? Hath He not also spoken to us?* Now on careful consideration the narrative here is found to lack coherence. What has their saying, *Hath the Lord spoken to Moses only? Hath He not also spoken to us?* to do with their indignation about **the Ethiopian** woman? If that was the trouble, they ought to have said: **"Moses, you should not have taken an Ethiopian wife, and one of the seed of Ham; you should have married one of your own race and of the house of Levi."** They say not a word about this; they say instead: *Hath the Lord spoken to Moses only? Hath He not also spoken to us?* It seems to me that, in so saying, they understood the thing Moses had done more in terms of the mystery; they saw Moses – that is, the spiritual Law – entering now into wedlock and union with the Church that is gathered together from among the Gentiles. This is the reason, apparently, why Mary, who typified the forsaken Synagogue, and Aaron, who stood for the priesthood according to the flesh, seeing their kingdom taken away from them and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof, say: *Hath the Lord spoken to Moses only? Hath He not also spoken to us?*

...

And I think that the statement which we quoted from the prophet, **in which the Lord received those also who come from places *beyond the rivers of Ethiopia* and bring offerings to God, calls for a like interpretation. For it seems to me that he is said to be beyond the rivers of Ethiopia who has been darkened with exceeding great and many sins and, having been stained with the inky dye of wickedness, has been rendered black and dark.** And yet the Lord repels not even these; He drives away from Him none who offer *the sacrifices of a troubled spirit and humbled heart* to God, turning to Him with the password of confession and repentance. For thus says Our Lord the Peaceable: *Him that cometh to me I will not cast out.*

...

It remains now to expound only that passage from Jeremiah which relates how

Abdimelech, **the Ethiopian eunuch**, having heard that Jeremias had been put in the pit **by the princes of the people**, draws him out thence. And I do not think it is unsuitable to say that **this foreigner, this man of a dark and ignoble race**, who draws forth from the pit of death him whom **the princes of Israel** had cast therein, represents the people of the Gentiles, which believes in the resurrection from the dead of Him whom those princes had handed over to death and, by its faith, recalls and brings Him back from hell. But I think that this same Ethiopian is said to be a eunuch, because, *He had made himself a eunuch for the kingdom of heaven*, or even because He had in Himself no seed of wickedness. He is also a servant of the king, because *a wise servant rules over foolish lords*; for Abdimelech means “servant of kings.” And this is why the Lord, forsaking the people of Israel because of their sins, addresses Himself to **the Ethiopian** and tells him; *Behold, I bring my words upon this city unto evil and not unto good,...and I will save thee in that day, and will not give thee into the hands of men...,but will surely deliver thee*. And the reason why he is delivered is that he drew forth the prophet from the pit-that is, that by his faith in the resurrection of Christ from the dead, in a manner of speaking he drew *Him* forth from the pit.

...

But, although the speaker appears as a single person, **she has likened herself in her blackness to the tents of Cedar and the curtains of Solomon** in the plural number. We must understand, therefore, that a single character appears, yet there are countless churches scattered all over the world, and huge gatherings and multitudes of peoples; just as the kingdom of heaven is said to be one, yet there is mention of *many mansions in the Father's House*.

It can be said also of each individual soul that turns to repentance after many sins, **that she is black by reason of the sins, but beautiful through her repentance and the fruits of her repentance**.

And finally, because she who now says: “I am black and beautiful” **has not remained in her blackness to the end, the daughters of Jerusalem say later on concerning her: *Who is this that cometh up, having been made white, and leaning upon her Nephew?***

...

Chapter 2

**“Look not at me, for that I am darkened; for the sun hath looked down on me.”**  
(1.6a-Vg. 1.5a)

**LOOK NOT AT ME, FOR THAT I AM DARKENED; FOR THE SUN HATH LOOKED DOWN ON ME.** If the explanation we have constructed above, either **concerning the Ethiopian woman whom Moses took to wife, or in regard to the Sheban queen of the Ethiopians** who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, seems to us to fit the facts, **this dark (or black) and beautiful one appears now to give good reason for her blackness or darkness, and a proper explanation to those who reproach her for it. She tells them that it is not a natural condition in which she was created, but something that she has suffered through force of circumstance. “It came to pass,” she says, “because the sun looked down on me”; and thus she shows that she is not speaking of bodily blackness, because the sun is**

wont to tan or blacken when it looks *at*, and not when it looks down *on* anyone.

And it is commonly said **among the whole of the Ethiopian race, in which there is a certain natural blackness inherited by all, that in those parts the sun burns with fiercer rays, and that bodies that have once been scorched and darkened, transmit a congenital stain to their posterity**. But the reverse is the case with the blackness of the soul<sup>29</sup>; for the soul is scorched, not by being looked at by the sun, but by being looked down upon. **Its blackness, therefore, is acquired not through birth, but through neglect; and, since it comes through sloth, it is repelled and driven away by means of industry.**

And lastly, as I said just now, this same person **who is now called black**, is mentioned towards the end of this Song as *coming up, having been made white, and leaning on her Nephew*. **She became black, then, because she went down**; but, once she begins to come up and to lean upon her Nephew, to cleave to Him and suffer nothing whatever to separate her from Him, **then she will be made white and fair**; and, **when all her blackness has been cast away**, she will shine with the enveloping radiance of the true Light.

**So now, apologizing to the daughters of Jerusalem for her blackness, she says:** “**You must not think, O daughters of Jerusalem, that this blackness which you see in my face is natural**; you must understand that it has come to pass because the sun looked askance at me. **For the Sun of Justice found me not standing straight; and so He did not focus His rays on me directly**. I am the people of the Gentiles, who beheld not the Sun of Justice before, nor stood before the Lord; therefore He looked not at me, but looked askance at me; nor did He stand by me, but rather passed me by. But thou likewise, **who art called Israel**, and hast experienced this thyself already, wilt again and again admit that this is so and say: **‘For as when I of old did not believe, thou wast chosen and didst obtain mercy, and the Sun of Justice regarded thee, but looked askance at me and spurned me, as disobedient and unbelieving**; so likewise now, when thou hast become unbelieving and disobedient, do I hope to be looked upon by the Sun of Justice and to obtain mercy. And I will bring you the magnificent Paul, who knew the secrets of heaven, to testify to you that we thus share this being looked askance at by the sun, **and that I first was so despised by Him by reason of my disobedience**, when thou wast looked upon; but that now not only has the sun looked askance at thee, but also a certain partial blindness has befallen thee.’ This is what he says: *For as you – he is clearly addressing the Gentiles – in times past believed not God, but now have obtained mercy through their unbelief; so these also now have not believed in your mercy, so that they also may obtain mercy*. And again he says in another place: *That blindness in part has happened in Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles should come in*. **This blackness, then, for which you reproach me, is in me because the sun has looked askance at me by reason of my unbelief and disobedience**. But when I shall stand upright before Him and shall be crooked in nothing, when *I turn aside neither to the right hand, nor to the left, but make straight the paths for my feet, walking* before the Sun of Justice *in all His justifications without blame*, then He who is Himself upright will look on me, and there will be in me no crookedness, nor any

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<sup>29</sup> Augustine, though not delving into any kind of racial theory, also associates this blackness with sinfulness, in Book III, 32 of City of God. Saint Ambrose does also, in Book II, 10 of On the Holy Spirit.

cause for Him to look askance at me. **And then my light and my splendour will be restored to me, and that blackness for which you now reproach me will be banished from me so completely, that I shall be accounted worthy to be called the *light of the world*.**"

**Yonder visible sun, then, darkens and burns the bodies which come within its range when it is at the zenith; whereas it keeps within its light and does not burn at all those bodies that are distant, and situated further from it when in that position.** But the spiritual sun, by contrast, the Sun of Justice in whose wings is healing, we are told, illuminates and surrounds with every brightness those whom He finds upright in heart and standing close to the zenith of His splendour; but must needs look askance at those who walk contrary to Him, and cannot look on them with favour; and it is their own fickleness and instability that brings this about.

For how can those who are turned aside receive that which is straight? It is as if you put a perfectly straight ruler against a curved line; the crookedness of the thing will indeed be patently shown by the ruler, but it is not the ruler that made the line go crooked. It behoves us, therefore, to hasten to straight ways and to stand in the paths of virtue, **lest it happen that when the Sun of Justice come straight over us, finding us crooked and turned aside, He look askance at us and we be made black.**

...

Although we may seem to have dealt with these matters at too great length, we adjudged the opportunity afforded by these passages such as should certainly not be missed; **especially because they bear a certain likeness to this saying of her who is darkened because the sun has looked askance at her. And we have shown that this takes place wherever a sinful condition has previously obtained, and that a person is darkened or scorched by the sun<sup>30</sup> where the ground of sin exists. But where there is no sin, the sun is not said to burn or darken;** even as it is written of the just man in the Psalms: *The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night. So you see that the sun never burns the saints, in whom is nothing sinful; for, as we have said, the sun has twofold power: it enlightens the righteous; but sinners it enlightens not, but burns, for they themselves hate the light because they do evil.*

[https://ia803107.us.archive.org/30/items/origen\\_202001/Origen.pdf](https://ia803107.us.archive.org/30/items/origen_202001/Origen.pdf)

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## Saint Alcuin of York, Questions in Genesis (Around 796)

(Gen. 6). WHY DID THE SECOND BEGINNING OF THE WORLD ORIGINATE FROM NOAH'S THREE SONS? — Answer. So that the three parts of the world might be filled with the offspring

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<sup>30</sup> Take careful note of the use of the lowercase "sun," as opposed to the "Sun" of Justice – i.e. God.



of three men. **Sem, through his children**, possessed Asia, **Cham possessed Africa**, and Japheth Europe. [Question 95]

(Gen. 6:1-2). ABOUT WHOM DID HE SAY, "AFTER THAT MEN BEGAN TO BE MULTIPLIED UPON THE EARTH, AND DAUGHTERS WERE BORN TO THEM", AND AGAIN, "THE SONS OF GOD SEEING THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN, THAT THEY WERE FAIR"? — Answer. The Scripture decided to call Cham's progeny the daughters of men, and Seth's offspring the sons of God. **The latter were pious according to an ancestral blessing, the former were unchaste according to their father's curse.** But after the sons of Seth, overcome by concupiscence, contracted marriages with the daughters of Cham, from such a union were born men with immense bodies, proud of their strength and rude in manners, whom the Scripture calls giants. [Question 96]

...

(Gen. 10:1-7). HOW MANY NATIONS DID EACH OF THEM BEGET? — Answer. Of Japheth were born fifteen sons, of Cham thirty six, and of Sem twenty-seven: seventy-two in all, **from whom sprang seventy-two nations**, among which the Lord sent seventy-two disciples. [Question 142]

HOW WAS THE WORLD DIVIDED BY NOAH'S SONS AND GRANDSONS? — Answer. Sem, it is thought, obtained Asia, Cham Africa, and Japheth Europe. [Question 141]

<https://sites.google.com/site/aquinasstudybible/home/genesis/alcuin-of-york-questions-and-answers-on-genesis>

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## Saint John Chrysostom, Homilies on Genesis (About 385)

(4) So come now, let us spread before you the customary feast and regale your good selves with what we read before from blessed Moses by drawing to your attention the text itself just read and demonstrating the precision of Sacred Scripture. When it brought the story of Noe to a close, remember, **it then began the genealogy starting with Shem in the words, "Sons were born to Shem, ancestor of all the sons of Eber and younger brother of Japheth."** Then, after giving the list of names, it says, "Two sons were born to Eber: the name of one was Phalek because in his time the earth was divided." Notice how by the naming of the child it gave a hint of the sign due to occur before long, so that when you see the event take place you will not be amazed now that you have previously seen the child's name foreshadowing it. You see, after it listed the children later born to these people, it adds, "The whole world had the same language, and everyone used the same words"—referring not to the earth but to the human race, with the intention of teaching us that all mankind had the same language. "The whole world had the same language." it says, "and everyone used the same words." "Lips" literally meaning language, and "words" likewise has the same meaning, so that it is saying that everyone had the same language and idiom. For proof that the reference is to language in the

verse, "The whole world had the same language," listen to the words of Scripture elsewhere: "Venom of asps is on their lips." Scripture is accustomed to refer in this way to language by the word "lips."

(5) "When they travelled from the east, they found open country in the land of Sennar and settled there." **Notice how the human race, instead of managing to keep to their own boundaries, always longs for more and reaches out for greater things. This is what the human race has lost in particular, not being prepared to recognize the limitations of their own condition but always lusting after more and entertaining ambitions beyond their capacity.** In this regard, too, when people who chase after the things of the world acquire for themselves much wealth and status, they lose sight of their own nature, as it were, and aspire to such heights that they topple into the very depths. You could see this happening every day without others being any the wiser from the sight of it; instead, they pause for a while, but immediately lose all recollection of it and take the same road as the others and fall over the same precipice. This is exactly what you can see happening to these people in the present instance: "When they travelled from the east, they found open country in the land of Sennar and settled there." See how in gradual stages it teaches us the instability of their attitude: when they saw the open country (the text says), they packed up and left their previous dwelling and settled down there.

...

**Like an everlasting memorial, he says, I am setting in place for them such terrible punishment that would last forever and no length of time would suffice to bring them forgetfulness of it. In other words, since they abused their similarity of language, I intend them to come to their senses through their difference in language.**

(13) This, in fact, is the way the Lord is accustomed to behave. This is what he did in the beginning in the case of the woman as well: she had abused the status conferred on her, and for that reason he subjected her to her husband. Again, too, in the case of Adam, since he drew no advantage from the great ease he enjoyed and from life in the garden, but rather rendered himself liable to punishment through the Fall, God drove him out of the garden and inflicted on him **everlasting punishment** in the words, "Thorns and thistles let the earth yield you." So when the people in the present case, **who had been dignified with similarity of language used the privilege given them for evil purposes, he put a stop to the impulse of their wickedness through difference in language.** "Let us confuse their speech," he says, "so that they will be unable to understand one another's language," **his purpose being that, just as similarity of language achieved their living together, so difference in language might cause dispersal among them. How could people lacking the same language and converse live in conformity with one another?** "The Lord God dispersed them from there across the face of the whole earth, and they stopped building the city and the tower." See God's loving kindness in the extent of the helplessness to which he reduced them; from then on they resembled lunatics: when one gave a direction, another responded in different fashion. Hence "they stopped building the city and the tower. That is why it was given the name Confusion, because there it was that **the Lord God confused the languages of the whole earth, and**

from there the Lord God dispersed them in all the earth." Notice the extent of the action taken to ensure remembrance of it would last for all time: first the conflict of tongues, or rather prior to this the giving of the name—the name Phalek, remember, which Eber gave his son, means division. Next, the place name: the place was called Confusion, which is what Babylon means. Then, Eber kept the same language as he had had before, so that this too should prove an unmistakable sign of the conflict. Do you see how many means he wanted to use to keep the memory fresh and prevent the present event from being consigned to oblivion? You see, from that time on a father was obliged to tell his child the reason for the difference in languages, and a child would want to know the reason for the place name; the reason, of course, why the place was called Babylon, which means "confusion," was the fact that it was there that the Lord God confused the languages of the whole earth and from there he dispersed them. I think the place name implies both things, that he confused the languages and from there they felt the effects of dispersal.

(14) Dearly beloved, you have heard what gave rise to their dispersal and the conflict of tongues. **Let us, I beseech you, avoid imitating them, and make proper use of advantages provided for us by God; let us have human nature in mind and keep our ambitions on the level that is proper for human beings, being mortal as we are.** With our thoughts on the evanescence of this present life and how short is our time in this life, let us store up for ourselves abundant grounds for confidence through the performance of good deeds by giving evidence not only of the severity of our fasting in keeping with these days of Lent but also of the generosity of our alms giving and our ardent prayers.

<https://archive.org/details/homiliesongenesi0000john/mode/2up>

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## Saint Cyprian of Carthage, Treatise X - On Jealousy and Envy (Between 251-257)

For this is to change what you had been, and to begin to be what you were not, that the divine birth might shine forth in you, that the godly discipline might respond to God, the Father, that in the honour and praise of living, God may be glorified in man; as He Himself exhorts, and warns, and promises to those who glorify Him a reward in their turn, saying, Them that glorify me I will glorify, and he who despises me shall be despised. 1 Samuel 2:30 For which glorification the Lord, forming and preparing us, and the Son of God instilling the likeness of God the Father, says in His Gospel: You have heard that it has been said, You shall love your neighbour, and hate your enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them which persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, who makes His sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sends rain upon the just and on the unjust. Matthew 5:43-45 **If it is a source of joy and glory to men to have children like to themselves — and it is more agreeable to have begotten an offspring than when the remaining progeny responds to the parent with like lineaments —** how much greater is the gladness in God the Father, when any one is so spiritually born that in his acts and praises the

**divine eminence of race**<sup>31</sup> is announced! What a palm of righteousness is it, what a crown to be such a one as that the Lord should not say of you, I have begotten and brought up children, but they have despised me! Isaiah 1:2 Let Christ rather applaud you, and invite you to the reward, saying, Come, you blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Matthew 25:34

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050710.htm>

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## Saint Peter of Alexandria, Canonical Epistle (Between 300-311)

**To those who are altogether reprobate, and unrepentant, who possess the Ethiopian's unchanging skin,** Jeremiah 13:23 and the leopard's spots, it shall be said, as it was spoken to another fig-tree, Let no fruit grow on you henceforward for ever; and it presently withered away. Matthew 21:19 **For in them is fulfilled what was spoken by the Preacher: That which is crooked cannot be made straight;** and that which is wanting cannot be numbered. Ecclesiastes 1:15 **For unless that which is crooked shall first be made straight, it is impossible for it to be adorned;** and unless that which is wanting shall first be made up, it cannot be numbered. Hence also, in the end, will happen unto them what is spoken by Esaias the prophet: They shall look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against Me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh. Isaiah 66:24 Since as by the same also has been predicted, But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, says my God, to the wicked. Isaiah 57:20-21

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0620.htm>

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## Saint Jerome, The Perpetual Virginité of Blessed Virgin Mary (383)

Now here we have the explanation of what I am endeavouring to show, how it is that the sons of Mary, the sister of our Lord's mother, who though not formerly believers afterwards did believe, can be called brethren of the Lord. Possibly the case might be that one of the brethren believed immediately while the others did not believe until long after, and that one Mary was the mother of James and Joses, namely, Mary of Clopas, who is the same as the wife of Alphæus,

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<sup>31</sup> This term is not taken out of context. It is the only time that the word "race" is used in the entire treatise; there are no other references to race, even to the term "the human race" which many other authors use, and which Cyprian uses in his other treatises. No interlinear to inspect the original term seems to exist, however.

the other, the mother of James the Less. In any case, if she (the latter) had been the Lord's mother S. John would have allowed her the title, as everywhere else, and would not by calling her the mother of other sons have given a wrong impression. But at this stage I do not wish to argue for or against the supposition that Mary the wife of Clopas and Mary the mother of James and Joseph were different women, provided it is clearly understood that Mary the mother of James and Joseph was not the same person as the Lord's mother. **How then, says Helvidius, do you make out that they were called the Lord's brethren who were not his brethren? I will show how that is. In Holy Scripture there are four kinds of brethren — by nature, race, kindred, love. Instances of brethren by nature** are Esau and Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Andrew and Peter, James and John. **As to race, all Jews are called brethren of one another**, as in Deuteronomy (Deuteronomy 15:12), **If your brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman**, be sold unto you, and serve you six years; then in the seventh year you shall let him go free from you. And in the same book, Deuteronomy 17:15 You shall in anywise set him king over you, whom the Lord your God shall choose: **one from among your brethren** shall you set king over you; **you may not put a foreigner over you, which is not your brother**. And again, Deuteronomy 22:1 You shall not see your brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide yourself from them: you shall surely bring them again unto your brother. And if your brother be not near unto you, or if you know him not, then you shall bring it home to your house, and it shall be with you until your brother seek after it, and you shall restore it to him again. And the Apostle Paul says, Romans 9:3-4 I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ **for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen according to the flesh: who are Israelites. Moreover they are called brethren by kindred who are of one family**, that is πατρία, which corresponds to the Latin *paternitas*, **because from a single root a numerous progeny proceeds**. In Genesis (Genesis 13:8, 11) we read, And Abram said to Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray you, between me and you, and between my herdmen and your herdmen; for we are brethren. ... But for fear you may make some cavilling objection, and wriggle out of your difficulty like a snake, I must bind you fast with the bonds of proof to stop your hissing and complaining, for I know you would like to say you have been overcome not so much by Scripture truth as by intricate arguments. Jacob, the son of Isaac and Rebecca, when in fear of his brother's treachery he had gone to Mesopotamia, drew near and rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, and watered the flocks of Laban, his mother's brother. Genesis 29:11 And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept. And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son. Here is an example of the rule already referred to, **by which a nephew is called a brother**.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3007.htm>

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Saint Augustine, Exposition on the Psalms  
(418)

**In His presence shall fall down the Ethiopians, and His enemies shall lick the earth**

Psalm 71:9. **By the Ethiopians, as by a part the whole, He has signified all nations, selecting that nation to mention especially by name, which is at the ends of the earth.** By in His presence shall fall down has been signified, shall adore Him. And because there were to be schisms in various quarters of the world, which would be jealous of the Church Catholic spread abroad in the whole round world, and again those same schisms dividing themselves into the names of men, and by loving the men under whose authority they had been rent, opposing themselves to the glory of Christ which is throughout all lands; so when He had said, in His presence shall fall down the Ethiopians, He added, and His enemies shall lick the earth: that is, shall love men, so that they shall be jealous of the glory of Christ, to whom has been said, Be exalted above the Heavens, O God, and above all the earth Your glory. For man earned to hear, Earth you are, and unto earth you shall go. Genesis 3:19 By licking this earth, that is, being delighted with the vainly talking authority of such men, by loving them, and by counting them for the most pleasing of men, they gainsay the divine sayings, whereby the Catholic Church has been foretold, not as to be in any particular quarter of the world, as certain schisms are, but in the whole universe **by bearing fruit and growing so as to attain even unto the very Ethiopians, to wit, the remotest<sup>32</sup> and foulest of mankind.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801072.htm>

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Tertullian, Ad Nationes  
(Around 197)

Book II  
Chapter VIII

There remains the gentile class of gods **amongst the several nations:** these were adopted out of mere caprice, not from the knowledge of the truth; **and our information about them comes from the private notions of different races**<sup>33</sup>. God, I imagine, is everywhere known, everywhere present, powerful everywhere—an object whom all ought to worship, all ought to serve. Since, then, it happens that even they, whom all the world worships in common, fail in the evidence of their true divinity, how much more must this befall those whom their very votaries have not succeeded in discovering! For what useful authority could possibly precede a theology of so defective a character as to be wholly unknown to fame? **How many have either seen or heard of the Syrian Atargatis, the African Cœlestis, the Moorish Varsutina, the Arabian Obodas and Dusaris, or the Norican Belenus, or those whom Varro**

<sup>32</sup> It ought be noted that Augustine is not likely referring to geographical *distance*, in this or the above “ends of the Earth.” Augustine’s place of birth is about 7k kilometers—as the bird flies—from India. Saint Bartholomew reached India, and Clement of Alexandria (who died over a century before Augustine’s birth, and who Augustine very likely studied) showed familiarity with India and their religion. Even with poor cartography, travel to India would require vast amounts of time-consuming marine travel.

<sup>33</sup> Tertullian argues that the gods ought to be rightly viewed as a racial property, just as Augustine does in Book VI, 11 of *City of God*.

mentions—Deluentinus of Casinum, Visidianus of Narnia, Numiternus of Atina, or Ancharia of Asculum? And who have any clear notions of Nortia of Vulsinii? There is no difference in the worth of even their names, apart from the human surnames which distinguish them. I laugh often enough at the little coteries of gods in each municipality, which have their honours confined within their own city walls. **To what lengths this licence of adopting gods has been pushed, the superstitious practices of the Egyptians show us; for they worship even their native animals, such as cats, crocodiles, and their snake.** It is therefore a small matter that they have also deified a man—him, I mean, whom not Egypt only, or Greece, **but the whole world worships, and the Africans swear by;** about whose state also all that helps our conjectures and imparts to our knowledge the semblance of truth is stated in our own (sacred) literature. For that Serapis of yours was originally one of our own saints called Joseph. The youngest of his brethren, but superior to them in intellect, he was from envy sold into Egypt, and became a slave in the family of Pharaoh king of the country. Importuned by the unchaste queen, when he refused to comply with her desire, she turned upon him and reported him to the king, by whom he is put into prison. There he displays the power of his divine inspiration, by interpreting aright the dreams of some (fellow-prisoners). Meanwhile the king, too, has some terrible dreams. Joseph being brought before him, according to his summons, was able to expound them. Having narrated the proofs of true interpretation which he had given in the prison, he opens out his dream to the king: those seven fat-fleshed and well-favoured kine signified as many years of plenty; in like manner, the seven lean-fleshed animals predicted the scarcity of the seven following years. He accordingly recommends precautions to be taken against the future famine from the previous plenty. The king believed him. The issue of all that happened showed how wise he was, how invariably holy, and now how necessary. So Pharaoh set him over all Egypt, that he might secure the provision of corn for it, and thenceforth administer its government. They called him Serapis, from the turban which adorned his head. The peck-like shape of this turban marks the memory of his corn-provisioning; whilst evidence is given that the care of the supplies was all on his head, by the very ears of corn which embellish the border of the head-dress. For the same reason, also, they made the sacred figure of a dog, which they regard (as a sentry) in Hades, and put it under his right hand, because the care of the Egyptians was concentrated under his hand. And they put at his side Pharia, whose name shows her to have been the king's daughter. For in addition to all the rest of his kind gifts and rewards, Pharaoh had given him his own daughter in marriage. Since, however, they had begun to worship both wild animals and human beings, they combined both figures under one form Anubis, in which there may rather be seen clear proofs of its own character and condition **enshrined by a nation at war with itself, refractory to its kings, despised among foreigners, with even the appetite of a slave and the filthy nature of a dog.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03/anf03.iv.viii.ii.viii.html>

## Chapter XIII

Since the actions of men done in the very infancy of time are a valid claim for their deification, you consistently admitted to the honour the brother and sister who were stained with the sin of incest—Ops and Saturn. **Your Jupiter too, stolen in his infancy, was unworthy of**

**both the home and the nutriment accorded to human beings; and, as he deserved for so bad a child**, he had to live in Crete. Afterwards, when full-grown, he dethrones his own father, who, whatever his parental character may have been, was most prosperous in his reign, king as he was of the golden age.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03.iv.viii.ii.xiii.html>

## Chapter XVII

In conclusion, without denying all those whom antiquity willed *and* posterity has believed to be gods, to be the guardians of your religion, there yet remains for our consideration that very large assumption of the Roman superstitions which we have to meet in opposition to you, O heathen, viz. that the Romans have become the lords and masters of the whole world, because by their religious offices they have merited this dominion to such an extent that they are within a very little of excelling even their own gods in power. One cannot wonder that Sterculus, and Mutunus, and Larentina, have severally advanced this empire to its height! The Roman people has been by its gods alone ordained to such dominion. **For I could not imagine that any foreign gods would have preferred doing more for a strange nation than for their own people<sup>34</sup>, and so by such conduct become the deserters and neglecters, nay, the betrayers of the native land wherein they were born and bred, and ennobled and buried. Thus not even Jupiter could suffer his own Crete to be subdued by the Roman fasces, forgetting that cave of Ida, and the brazen cymbals of the Corybantes, and the most pleasant odour of *the goat* which nursed him on that *dear* spot. Would he not have made that tomb of his superior to the whole Capitol, so that that land should most widely rule which covered the ashes of Jupiter? Would Juno, *too*, be willing that the Punic city, for the love of which she even neglected Samos, should be destroyed, and that, too, by the fires of the sons of Æneas? Although I am well aware that**

“Hic illius arma,  
Hic currus fuit, hoc regnum des gentibus esse,  
Si qua fata sinant, jam tunc tenditque fovetque.”  
“Here were her arms, her chariot here,  
Here goddess-like, to fix one day  
The seat of universal sway,  
Might fate be wrung to yield assent,

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<sup>34</sup> Though Tertullian obviously disagrees with this proposition, it can be seen in this chapter and in others surrounding it that he is here arguing a refutation of the pagan gods by declaring an inter-people loyalty to be unnatural, and ignoble.



E'en then her schemes, her cares were bent."

*Still* the unhappy (queen of gods) had no power against the fates! **And yet the Romans did not accord as much honour to the fates, although they gave them Carthage, as they did to Larentina.** But surely those gods of yours have not the power of conferring empire. **For when Jupiter reigned in Crete, and Saturn in Italy, and Isis in Egypt, it was even as men that they reigned, to whom also were assigned many to assist them.** Thus he who serves also makes masters, and the bond-slave of Admetus aggrandizes with empire the citizens of Rome, although he destroyed his own liberal votary Cræsus by deceiving him with ambiguous oracles. Being a god, why was he afraid boldly to foretell to him the truth that he must lose his kingdom. **Surely those who were aggrandized with the power of wielding empire might always have been able to keep an eye, as it were, on their own cities. If they were strong enough to confer empire on the Romans, why did not Minerva defend Athens from Xerxes? Or why did not Apollo rescue Delphi out of the hand of Pyrrhus?** They who lost their own cities preserve the city of Rome, since (forsooth) the religiousness of Rome has merited the protection! But is it not rather the fact that this excessive devotion has been devised since the empire has attained its glory by the increase of its power? No doubt sacred rites were introduced by Numa, but then your proceedings were not marred by a religion of idols and temples. Piety was simple, and worship humble; altars were artlessly reared, and the vessels (thereof) plain, and the incense from them scant, and the god himself nowhere. Men therefore were not religious before they achieved greatness, (nor great) because they were religious. But how can the Romans possibly seem to have acquired their empire by an excessive religiousness and very profound respect for the gods, when that empire was rather increased after the gods had been slighted? Now, if I am not mistaken, every kingdom or empire is acquired and enlarged by wars, whilst they and their gods also are injured by conquerors. For the same ruin affects both city-walls and temples; similar is the carnage both of civilians and of priests; identical the plunder of profane things and of sacred. To the Romans belong as many sacrileges as trophies; and then as many triumphs over gods as over nations. Still remaining are their captive idols amongst them; and certainly, if they can only see their conquerors, they do not give them their love. Since, however, they have no perception, they are injured with impunity; and since they are injured with impunity, they are worshipped to no purpose. The nation, therefore, which has grown to its powerful height by victory after victory, cannot seem to have developed owing to the merits of its religion—whether they have injured the religion by augmenting their power, or augmented their power by injuring the religion. **All nations have possessed empire, each in its proper time, as the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Egyptians; empire is even now also in the possession of some,** and yet they that have lost their power used not to behave without attention to religious services and the worship of the gods, even after these had become unpropitious to them, until at last almost universal dominion has accrued to the Romans. It is the fortune of the times that has thus constantly shaken kingdoms with revolution. Inquire who has ordained these changes in the times. **It is the same (great Being) who dispenses kingdoms, and has now put the supremacy of them into the hands of the Romans,** very much as if the tribute of many nations were after its exaction amassed in one (vast) coffer. What He has determined concerning it, they know who are the nearest to Him.

Tertullian, A Treatise on the Soul  
(Between 208-209)

Chapter XX

And here, therefore, we draw our conclusion, that all the natural properties of the soul are inherent in it as parts of its substance; and that they grow and develop along with it, from the very moment of its own origin at birth. Just as Seneca says, whom we so often find on our side: **“There are implanted within us the seeds of all the arts and periods of life. And God, our Master, secretly produces our mental dispositions;”** that is, from the germs which are implanted and hidden in us by means of infancy, and these are the intellect: for from these our natural dispositions are evolved. Now, even the seeds of plants have, one form in each kind, but their development varies: some open and expand in a healthy and perfect state, while others either improve or degenerate, owing to the conditions of weather and soil, and from the appliance of labour and care; also from the course of the seasons, and from the occurrence of casual circumstances. In like manner, the soul may well be uniform in its seminal origin, although multiform by the process of nativity. And here local influences, too, must be taken into account. It has been said that dull and brutish persons are born at Thebes; and the most accomplished in wisdom and speech at Athens, where in the district of Colythus children speak—such is the precocity of their tongue—before they are a month old. Indeed, Plato himself tells us, in the *Timæus*, that Minerva, when preparing to found her great city, only regarded the nature of the country which gave promise of mental dispositions of this kind; whence he himself in *The Laws* instructs Megillus and Clinias to be careful in their selection of a site for building a city. Empedocles, however, places the cause of a subtle or an obtuse intellect in the quality of the blood, from which he derives progress and perfection in learning and science. The subject of national peculiarities has grown by this time into proverbial notoriety. Comic poets deride the Phrygians for their cowardice; Sallust reproaches the Moors for their levity, and the Dalmatians for their cruelty; even the apostle brands the Cretans as “liars.” Very likely, too, something must be set down to the score of bodily condition and the state of the health. Stoutness hinders knowledge, but a spare form stimulates it; paralysis prostrates the mind, a decline preserves it. How much more will those accidental circumstances have to be noticed, which, in addition to the state of one’s body or one’s health, tend to sharpen or to dull the intellect! It is sharpened by learned pursuits, by the sciences, the arts, by experimental knowledge, business habits, and studies; it is blunted by ignorance, idle habits, inactivity, lust, inexperience, listlessness, and vicious pursuits. Then, besides these influences, there must perhaps be added the supreme powers. Now these are the supreme powers: according to our (Christian) notions, they are the Lord God and His adversary the devil; but

according to men's general opinion about providence, they are fate and necessity; and about fortune, it is man's freedom of will. Even the philosophers allow these distinctions; whilst on our part we have already undertaken to treat of them, on the principles of the (Christian) faith, in a separate work. **It is evident how great must be the influences which so variously affect the one nature of the soul, since they are commonly regarded as separate "natures."** Still they are not different species, but casual incidents of one nature and substance—even of that which God conferred on Adam, and made the mould of all (subsequent ones). Casual incidents will they always remain, but never will they become specific differences. **However great, too, at present is the variety of men's maunders,** it was not so in Adam, the founder of their race. But all these discordances ought to have existed in him as the fountainhead, and thence to have descended to us in an unimpaired variety, if the variety had been due to nature.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03.iv.xi.xx.html>

## Chapter XXIV

But the knowledge of the sciences fails; the knowledge of the various fields of learning and of the arts of life fails; and so perhaps the knowledge of the faculties and affections of our minds fails, although they seem to be inherent in our nature, but really are not so: **because, as we have already said, they are affected by accidents of place, of manners and customs, of bodily condition, of the state of man's health—by the influences of the Supreme Powers, and the changes of man's free-will.** Now the instinctive knowledge of natural objects never fails, not even in the brute creation. **The lion, no doubt, will forget his ferocity, if surrounded by the softening influence of training; he may become, with his beautiful mane, the plaything of some Queen Berenice, and lick her cheeks with his tongue. A wild beast may lay aside his habits, but his natural instincts will not be forgotten. He will not forget his proper food, nor his natural resources, nor his natural alarms; and should the queen offer him fishes or cakes, he will wish for flesh; and if, when he is ill, any antidote be prepared for him, he will still require the ape; and should no hunting-spear be presented against him, he will yet dread the crow of the cock. In like manner with man, who is perhaps the most forgetful of all creatures, the knowledge of everything natural to him will remain ineradicably fixed in him,—but this alone, as being alone a natural instinct. He will never forget to eat when he is hungry; or to drink when he is thirsty; or to use his eyes when he wants to see; or his ears, to hear; or his nose, to smell; or his mouth, to taste; or his hand, to touch. These are, to be sure, the senses, which philosophy depreciates by her preference for the intellectual faculties. ... But then, again, Plato throws the blame upon the body, as if it were at all credible that a born substance could extinguish the power of one that is unborn. **There exist, however, among bodies a great many differences, by reason of their rationality, their bulk, their condition, their age, and their health.****

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03/anf03.iv.xi.xxiv.html>

## Chapter XXV

Of the necessity of such harsh treatment I have no doubt even Hicesius was convinced, although he imported their soul into infants after birth from the stroke of the frigid air, because the very term for soul, forsooth, in Greek answered to such a refrigeration! **Well, then, have the barbarian and Roman nations received souls by some other process, (I wonder;) for they have called the soul by another name than ψυχή? How many nations are there who commence life under the broiling sun of the torrid zone, scorching their skin into its swarthy hue? Whence do they get their souls, with no frosty air to help them? I say not a word of those well-warmed bed-rooms, and all that apparatus of heat which ladies in childbirth so greatly need, when a breath of cold air might endanger their life. But in the very bath almost a babe will slip into life, and at once his cry is heard! If, however, a good frosty air is to the soul so indispensable a treasure, then beyond the German and the Scythian tribes, and the Alpine and the Argæan heights, nobody ought ever to be born! But the fact really is, that population is greater within the temperate regions of the East and the West, and men's minds are sharper; whilst there is not a Sarmatian whose wits are not dull and humdrum. The minds of men, too, would grow keener by reason of the cold, if their souls came into being amidst nipping frosts; for as the substance is, so must be its active power. ... But when the same philosopher, in the sixth book of *The Laws*, **warns us to beware lest a vitiation of seed should infuse a soil into both body and soul from an illicit or debased concubinage**, I hardly know whether he is more inconsistent with himself in respect of one of his previous statements, or of that which he had just made. **For he here shows us that the soul proceeds from human seed (and warns us to be on our guard about it)**, not, (as he had said before,) from the first breath of the new-born child. **Pray, whence comes it that from similarity of soul we resemble our parents in disposition**, according to the testimony of Cleanthes, if we are not produced from this seed of the soul<sup>35</sup>? **Why, too, used the old astrologers to cast a man's nativity from his first conception, if his soul also draws not its origin from that moment?** To this (nativity) likewise belongs the inbreathing of the soul, whatever that is.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03/anf03.iv.xi.xxv.html>

## Chapter XXII

For I maintain that, of whichever of the before-mentioned natures the human soul is composed, it would not have been possible for it to pass for new forms into animals so contrary to each of the separate natures, and to bestow an origin by its passage on those beings, from which it would have to be excluded and rejected rather than to be admitted and received, by reason of that original contrariety which we have supposed it to possess, and which commits the bodily substance receiving it to an interminable strife; and then again by reason of the subsequent contrariety, which results from the development inseparable from each several nature. **Now it is on quite different conditions that the soul of man has had assigned to it (in individual bodies) its abode, and aliment, and order, and sensation, and affection, and**

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<sup>35</sup> Though Tertullian argued that the soul came into existence via traduction – that is, that the soul was generated from the soul of its parents – what is more important to our discussion is the significance placed on the circumstances of the soul's conception.

**sexual intercourse, and procreation of children; also (on different conditions has it, in individual bodies, received especial) dispositions, as well as duties to fulfil, likings, dislikes, vices, desires, pleasures, maladies, remedies—in short, its own modes of living, its own outlets of death.**

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03/anf03.iv.xi.xxxii.html>

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## Saint Augustine, Answer to Petilian the Donatist (400)

And yet, to use the same simile which you employed yourself: if you were to hear even from any one that was profane the prayer of the priest couched in the words suitable to the mysteries of the gospel, can you possibly say to him, Your prayer is not true, though he himself may be not only no true priest, but not a priest at all? seeing that the Apostle Paul said that certain testimony of I know not what Cretan prophet was true, though he was not reckoned among the prophets of God for he says, "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said the Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies: this witness is true." If, therefore, **the apostle even himself bore witness to the testimony of some obscure prophet of a foreign race**, because he found it to be true, why do not we, when we find in any one what belongs to Christ, and is true even though the man with whom it may be found be deceitful and perverse, why do not we in such a case make a distinction between the fault which is found in the man, and the truth which he has not of his own but of God's?

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf104.v.v.iv.xxx.html>

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## Saint Augustine, Reply to Faustus the Manichæan (400)

84. In Tamar, then, the daughter-in-law of Judah, **we see the people of the kingdom of Judah, whose kings, answering to Tamar's husbands, were taken from this tribe. Tamar means bitterness; and the meaning is suitable, for this people gave the cup of gall to the Lord.** The two sons of Judah represent two classes of kings who governed ill—those who did harm and those who did no good. One of these sons was evil or cruel before the Lord; the other spilled the seed on the ground that Tamar might not become a mother. There are only those two kinds of useless people in the world—the injurious and those who will not give the good they have but lose it or spill it on the ground. And as injury is worse than not doing good, the evil-doer is called the elder and the other the younger. Er, the name of the elder, means a preparer of skins, which were the coats given to our first parents when they were punished with expulsion from paradise. Onan, the name of the younger, means, their grief; that is, the grief of

those to whom he does no good, wasting the good he has on the earth. The loss of life implied in the name of the elder is a greater evil than the want of help implied in the name of the younger. Both being killed by God typifies the removal of the kingdom from men of this character. **The meaning of the third son of Judah not being joined to the woman, is that for a time the kings of Judah were not of that tribe. So this third son did not become the husband of Tamar; as Tamar represents the tribe of Judah, which continued to exist, although the people received no king from it.** Hence the name of this son, Selom, means, his dismissal. None of those types apply to the holy and righteous men who, like David, though they lived in those times, belong properly to the New Testament, which they served by their enlightened predictions. **Again, in the time when Judah ceased to have a king of its own tribe, the elder Herod does not count as one of the kings typified by the husbands of Tamar; for he was a foreigner, and his union with the people was never consecrated with the holy oil. His was the power of a stranger, given him by the Romans and by Cæsar. And it was the same with his sons, the tetrachs, one of whom, called Herod, like his father, agreed with Pilate at the time of the Lord's passion. So plainly were these foreigners considered as distinct from the sacred monarchy of Judah, that the Jews themselves, when raging against Christ, exclaimed openly, "We have no king but Cæsar." Nor was Cæsar properly their king, except in the sense that all the world was subject to Rome. The Jews thus condemned themselves, only to express their rejection of Christ, and to flatter Cæsar.**

85. **The time when the kingdom was removed from the tribe of Judah** was the time appointed for the coming of Christ our Lord, the true Saviour, who should come not for harm, but for great good. Thus was it prophesied, **"A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till He come for whom it is reserved: He is the desire of nations."** **Not only the kingdom, but all government, of the Jews had ceased,** and also, as prophesied by Daniel, the sacred anointing from which the name Christ or Anointed is derived. Then came He for whom it was reserved, **the desire of nations; and the holy of holies was anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows.** Christ was born in the time of the elder Herod, and suffered in the time of Herod the tetrarch. He who thus came to the lost sheep of the house of Israel was typified by Judah when he went to shear his sheep in Thamna, which means, failing. **For then the prince had failed from Judah, with all the government and anointing of the Jews, that He might come for whom it was reserved.** Judah, we are told, came **with his Adullamite shepherd,** whose name was Iras; and Adullamite means, a testimony in water. So it was with this testimony that the Lord came, having indeed greater testimony than that of John; but for the sake of his feeble sheep he made use of the testimony in water. The name Iras, too, means, vision of my brother. **So John saw his brother, a brother in the family of Abraham, and from the relationship of Mary and Elisabeth;** and the same person he recognised as his Lord and his God, for, as he himself says, he received of His fullness. On account of this vision, among those born of woman, there has arisen no greater than he; because, of all who foretold Christ, he alone saw what many righteous men and prophets desired to see and saw not. He saluted Christ from the womb; he knew Him more certainly from seeing the dove; and therefore, as **the Adullamite,** he gave testimony by water. The Lord came to shear His sheep, in releasing them from painful burdens, as it is said in praise of the Church in the Song of Songs,

that her teeth are like a flock of sheep after shearing.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf104.iv.ix.xxiv.html>

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## Saint Augustine, Letter to Vicentius (408)

21. ... If, on the other hand, the power be unfriendly to the truth, and cruelly persecute any one, he who is crowned victor in this contest receives praise from the power which he resists. But you do not that which is good, so as to avoid being afraid of the power; unless perchance this is good, to sit and speak against not one brother, **but against all your brethren that are found among all nations**, to whom the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles bear witness in the words of Scripture, **“In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;”** and again, “From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, a pure offering shall be offered unto My name; for My name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord.” Mark this: “saith the Lord;” not saith Donatus, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Ambrose, or Augustin, but “saith the Lord;” and again, **“All tribes of the earth shall be blessed in Him, and all nations shall call Him blessed.** Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be His glorious name for ever, and the whole earth shall be filled with His glory: so let it be, so let it be.” **And you sit at Cartennæ**, and with a remnant of half a score of Rogatists you say, “Let it not be! Let it not be!”

21. You hear Christ speaking thus in the Gospel: “All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning Me. Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name **among all nations**, beginning at Jerusalem.” You read also in the Acts of the Apostles how this gospel began at Jerusalem, where the Holy Spirit first filled those hundred and twenty persons, **and went forth thence into Judæa and Samaria, and to all nations**, as He had said unto them when He was about to ascend into heaven, “Ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, **and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth;**” for “their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.” And you contradict the Divine testimonies so firmly established and so clearly revealed, and attempt to bring about such an absolute confiscation of Christ’s heritage, that although repentance is preached, as He said, in His name to all nations, whosoever may be in any part of the earth moved by that preaching, there is for him no possibility of remission of sins, unless he seek and discover Vincentius of Cartennæ, or some one of his nine or ten associates, **in their obscurity in the imperial colony of Mauritania.**

...

22. You, however, through your profound erudition, have discovered something which you think worthy to be alleged as a great objection against the Divine testimonies. For you say, “If we consider the parts comprehended in the whole world, it is a comparatively small portion in which

the Christian faith is known:” **either refusing to see, or pretending not to know, to how many barbarous nations the gospel has already penetrated**, within a space of time so short, that not even Christ’s enemies can doubt that in a little while that shall be accomplished which our Lord foretold, when, answering the question of His disciples concerning the end of the world, He said, “This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.” Meanwhile do all you can to proclaim and to maintain, **that even though the gospel be published in Persia and India**, as indeed it has been for a long time, no one who hears it can be in any degree cleansed from his sins, **unless he come to Cartennæ, or to the neighbourhood of Cartennæ!** If you have not expressly said this, it is evidently through fear lest men should laugh at you; and yet when you do say this, do you refuse that men should weep for you?

...

26. You profess, nevertheless, to be afraid lest, when you are compelled **by imperial edicts to consent to unity**, the name of God be for a longer time **blasphemed by the Jews and the heathen**<sup>36</sup>: **as if the Jews were not aware how their own nation Israel, in the beginning of its history, wished to exterminate by war the two tribes and a half which had received possessions beyond Jordan, when they thought that these had separated themselves from the unity of their nation.**

27. ... Most assuredly we do not affirm you to be righteous on the ground of this instance until your associates be reduced to seven, yourself being the eighth person: provided always, however, that no other has, as I was saying, anticipated the party of Donatus in snatching up that righteousness, **by having, in some far distant spot, withdrawn himself along with seven more**, under pressure of some good reason, from communion with the whole world, and so saved himself from the flood by which it is overwhelmed. Seeing, therefore, that you do not know whether this may not have been done, **and been as entirely unheard of by you as the name of Donatus is unheard of by many nations of Christians in remote countries**, you are unable to say with certainty where the Church is to be found.

...

31. ... It is true that those who then stood most resolute, and were able to understand the treacherous phrases used by the heretics, were few in number when compared with the rest; but some of them it is to be remembered were then bravely enduring sentence of banishment, and others **were hiding themselves for safety in all parts of the world. And thus the Church, which is increasing throughout all nations, has been preserved as the Lord’s wheat, and shall be preserved unto the end, yea, until all nations, even the barbarous tribes, are within its embrace.** For it is the Church which the Son of man has sown as good seed, and of which He has foretold that it should grow among the tares until the harvest. For the field is the world, and the harvest is the end of time.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf101.vii.1.XCIII.html>

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<sup>36</sup> The Jews are not, to Saint Augustine, merely a religious group, as he describes the heathens; but members of the historical nation. Thus he views the prophecies regarding Israel as being racial in nature, which can be seen in – but also used to better understand – his *City of God*.



## Saint Jerome, Letter to Eustochium (Between 383-384)

7. How often, when I was living in the desert, in the vast solitude which gives to hermits a savage dwelling-place, parched by a burning sun, how often did I fancy myself among the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone because I was filled with bitterness. Sackcloth disfigured my unshapely limbs **and my skin from long neglect had become as black as an Ethiopian's**. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if drowsiness chanced to overcome my struggles against it, my bare bones, which hardly held together, clashed against the ground. Of my food and drink I say nothing: for, even in sickness, the solitaries have nothing but cold water, and to eat one's food cooked is looked upon as self-indulgence.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.XXII.html>

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## Saint Jerome, Letter to Pammachius and Oceanus (Between 388-389)

In my younger days I was carried away with a great passion for learning, yet I was not like some presumptuous enough to teach myself. At Antioch I frequently listened to Apollinaris of Laodicea, and attended his lectures; yet, although he instructed me in the holy scriptures, I never embraced his disputable doctrine as to their meaning. At length my head became sprinkled with gray hairs so that I looked more like a master than a disciple. Yet I went on to Alexandria and heard Didymus. And I have much to thank him for: for what I did not know I learned from him, and what I knew already I did not forget. So excellent was his teaching. Men fancied that I had now made an end of learning. Yet once more I came to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem. What trouble and expense it cost me to get Baraninas to teach me under cover of night. **For by his fear of the Jews** he presented to me in his own person a second edition of Nicodemus. John 3:2 Of all of these I have frequently made mention in my works. The doctrines of Apollinaris and of Didymus are mutually contradictory. The squadrons of the two leaders must drag me in different directions, for I acknowledge both as my masters. **If it is expedient to hate any men and to loath any race, I have a strange dislike to those of the circumcision. For up to the present day they persecute our Lord Jesus Christ in the synagogues of Satan.** Revelation 2:9 Yet can anyone find fault with me for having had a Jew as a teacher? Does a certain person dare to bring forward against me the letter I wrote to Didymus calling him my master? It is a great crime, it would seem, for me a disciple to give to one both old and learned the name of master. And yet when I ask leave to look at the letter which has been held over so long to discredit me at last, there is nothing in it but courteous language and a few words of greeting. Such charges are both foolish and frivolous.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001084.htm>

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Saint Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiæ (Secunda Secundæ Partis)  
(1274)

I:119

Reply to Objection 2. The likeness of the begetter to the begotten is on account not of the matter, but of the form of the agent that generates its like. **Wherefore in order for a man to be like his grandfather, there is no need that the corporeal seminal matter should have been in the grandfather; but that there be in the semen a virtue derived from the soul of the grandfather through the father.** In like manner the third objection is answered. **For kinship is not in relation to matter, but rather to the derivation of the forms.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/1119.htm>

I-II:47

Reply to Objection 2. If we are angry with those who harm others, and seek to be avenged on them, **it is because those who are injured belong in some way to us: either by some kinship or friendship, or at least because of the nature we have in common.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/2047.htm>

I-II:81

I answer that, Augustine puts this question in the Enchiridion xlvi, xlvii, and leaves it unsolved. Yet if we look into the matter carefully we shall see that it is impossible for the sins of the nearer ancestors, or even any other but the first sin of our first parent to be transmitted by way of origin. **The reason is that a man begets his like in species but not in individual.** Consequently those things that pertain directly to the individual, such as personal actions and matters affecting them, are not transmitted by parents to their children: for a grammarian does not transmit to his son the knowledge of grammar that he has acquired by his own studies. **On the other hand, those things that concern the nature of the species, are transmitted by parents to their children, unless there be a defect of nature:** thus a man with eyes begets a son having eyes, unless nature fails. **And if nature be strong, even certain accidents of the individual pertaining to natural disposition, are transmitted to the children, e.g. fleetness of body, acuteness of intellect, and so forth; but nowise those that are purely personal, as stated above.**

Now just as something may belong to the person as such, and also something through the gift of grace, so may something belong to the nature as such, viz. whatever is caused by the

principles of nature, and something too through the gift of grace. In this way original justice, as stated in the I:100:1, was a gift of grace, conferred by God on all human nature in our first parent. This gift the first man lost by his first sin. Wherefore as that original justice together with the nature was to have been transmitted to his posterity, so also was its disorder. **Other actual sins, however, whether of the first parent or of others, do not corrupt the nature as nature, but only as the nature of that person, i.e. in respect of the proneness to sin:** and consequently other sins are not transmitted.

Reply to Objection 1. According to Augustine in his letter to Avitus [*Ep. ad Auxilium* ccl.], children are never inflicted with spiritual punishment on account of their parents, **unless they share in their guilt, either in their origin, or by imitation**, because every soul is God's immediate property, as stated in Ezekiel 18:4. Sometimes, however, by Divine or human judgment, **children receive bodily punishment on their parents' account, inasmuch as the child, as to its body, is part of its father.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/2081.htm>

## I-II:87

Reply to Objection 1. Both the passages quoted should, seemingly, **be referred to temporal or bodily punishments, in so far as children are the property of their parents, and posterity, of their forefathers.** Else, if they be referred to spiritual punishments, they must be understood in reference to the imitation of sin, wherefore in Exodus these words are added, "Of them that hate Me," and in the chapter quoted from Matthew (verse 32) we read: "Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers." **The sins of the fathers are said to be punished in their children, because the latter are the more prone to sin through being brought up amid their parents' crimes, both by becoming accustomed to them, and by imitating their parents' example, conforming to their authority as it were. Moreover they deserve heavier punishment if, seeing the punishment of their parents, they fail to mend their ways.** The text adds, "to the third and fourth generation," because men are wont to live long enough to see the third and fourth generation, **so that both the children can witness their parents' sins so as to imitate them, and the parents can see their children's punishments so as to grieve for them.**

Reply to Objection 2. The punishments which human justice inflicts on one for another's sin are bodily and temporal. **They are also remedies or medicines against future sins, in order that either they who are punished, or others may be restrained from similar faults.**

Reply to Objection 3. **Those who are near of kin are said to be punished, rather than outsiders, for the sins of others, both because the punishment of kindred redounds somewhat upon those who sinned,** as stated above, in so far as the child is the father's property, and because the examples and the punishments that occur in one's own household are more moving. **Consequently when a man is brought up amid the sins of his parents, he is more eager to imitate them,** and if he is not deterred by their punishments, he would seem to be the more obstinate, and, therefore, to deserve more severe punishment.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/2087.htm>

## I-II:97

On the contrary, Augustine says (Ep. ad Casulan. xxxvi): "**The customs of God's people and the institutions of our ancestors are to be considered as laws.** And those who throw contempt on the customs of the Church ought to be punished as those who disobey the law of God."

I answer that, All law proceeds from the reason and will of the lawgiver; the Divine and natural laws from the reasonable will of God; the human law from the will of man, regulated by reason. Now just as human reason and will, in practical matters, may be made manifest by speech, so may they be made known by deeds: since seemingly a man chooses as good that which he carries into execution. But it is evident that by human speech, law can be both changed and expounded, in so far as it manifests the interior movement and thought of human reason.

**Wherefore by actions also, especially if they be repeated, so as to make a custom,** law can be changed and expounded; and also something can be established which obtains force of law, in so far as by repeated external actions, the inward movement of the will, and concepts of reason are most effectually declared; for when a thing is done again and again, it seems to proceed from a deliberate judgment of reason. **Accordingly, custom has the force of a law, abolishes law, and is the interpreter of law.**

Reply to Objection 1. The natural and Divine laws proceed from the Divine will, as stated above. Wherefore they cannot be changed by a custom proceeding from the will of man, but only by Divine authority. Hence it is that no custom can prevail over the Divine or natural laws: for Isidore says (Synon. ii, 16): "Let custom yield to authority: evil customs should be eradicated by law and reason."<sup>37</sup>

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/2097.htm>

## I-II:100

Reply to Objection 4. **Punishments are necessary against those who are prone to evil,** as stated in Ethic. x, 9. Wherefore a threat of punishment is only affixed to those precepts of the law which forbade evils to which men were prone. **Now men were prone to idolatry by reason of the general custom of the nations.** Likewise men are prone to perjury on account of the frequent use of oaths. Hence it is that a threat is affixed to the first two precepts.

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<sup>37</sup> I cannot find this quote, at least not by a *translation* which is comparable to this phrase. Though the lowercase numerals indicate a chapter, no form of the citation ii, 16 (in any combination of book/chapter/verse) coincides. The cordoning of sections was likely changed over time and translation. However, Isidore's discusses Divine Laws (and customs) in Book V, ii-iii. If St. Thomas draws his conception of rights and laws from this book, we can reasonably infer that his view coincides with Isidore's that it is the *natural right* of nations to proscribe miscegenation (Book V, vi, 1). This harmonizes with St. Thomas' discussion of foreign nationals (I-II:105:A3).

## I-II:105

Reply to Objection 2. A kingdom is the best form of government of the people, so long as it is not corrupt. But since the power granted to a king is so great, it easily degenerates into tyranny, unless he to whom this power is given be a very virtuous man: for it is only the virtuous man that conducts himself well in the midst of prosperity, as the Philosopher observes (Ethic. iv, 3). Now perfect virtue is to be found in few: **and especially were the Jews inclined to cruelty and avarice**, which vices above all turn men into tyrants. Hence from the very first the Lord did not set up the kingly authority with full power, but gave them judges and governors to rule them. But afterwards when the people asked Him to do so, being indignant with them, so to speak, He granted them a king, as is clear from His words to Samuel (1 Samuel 8:7): "They have not rejected thee, but Me, that I should not reign over them."

Nevertheless, as regards the appointment of a king, He did establish the manner of election from the very beginning (Deuteronomy 17:14, seqq.): and then He determined two points: first, that in choosing a king they should wait for the Lord's decision; **and that they should not make a man of another nation king, because such kings are wont to take little interest in the people they are set over, and consequently to have no care for their welfare**: secondly, He prescribed how the king after his appointment should behave, in regard to himself; namely, that he should not accumulate chariots and horses, nor wives, nor immense wealth: because through craving for such things princes become tyrants and forsake justice. He also appointed the manner in which they were to conduct themselves towards God: namely, that they should continually read and ponder on God's Law, and should ever fear and obey God. Moreover, He decided how they should behave towards their subjects: namely, that they should not proudly despise them, or ill-treat them, and that they should not depart from the paths of justice.

...

But with regard to possessions, it is a very good thing, says the Philosopher (Polit. ii, 2) that the things possessed should be distinct, and the use thereof should be partly common, and partly granted to others by the will of the possessors. These three points were provided for by the Law. Because, in the first place, the possessions themselves were divided among individuals: for it is written (Numbers 33:53-54): "I have given you" the land "for a possession: and you shall divide it among you by lot." And since many states have been ruined through want of regulations in the matter of possessions, as the Philosopher observes (Polit. ii, 6); therefore the Law provided a threefold remedy against the regularity of possessions. The first was that they should be divided equally, wherefore it is written (Numbers 33:54): "To the more you shall give a larger part, and to the fewer, a lesser." A second remedy was that possessions could not be alienated for ever, but after a certain lapse of time should return to their former owner, so as to avoid confusion of possessions (cf. ad 3). **The third remedy aimed at the removal of this confusion, and provided that the dead should be succeeded by their next of kin: in the first place, the son; secondly, the daughter; thirdly, the brother; fourthly, the father's brother; fifthly, any other next of kin. Furthermore, in order to preserve the distinction of property, the Law**

**enacted that heiresses should marry within their own tribe**, as recorded in Numbers 36:6.

...

Reply to Objection 2. The Law did not prescribe that women should succeed to their father's estate except in default of male issue: failing which it was necessary that succession should be granted to the female line in order to comfort the father, **who would have been sad to think that his estate would pass to strangers**. Nevertheless the Law observed due caution in the matter, **by providing that those women who succeeded to their father's estate, should marry within their own tribe, in order to avoid confusion of tribal possessions**, as stated in Numbers 36:7-8.

Reply to Objection 3. As the Philosopher says (Polit. ii, 4), the regulation of possessions conduces much to the preservation of a state or nation. Consequently, as he himself observes, it was forbidden by the law in some of the heathen states, "that anyone should sell his possessions, except to avoid a manifest loss." For if possessions were to be sold indiscriminately, they might happen to come into the hands of a few: so that it might become necessary for a state or country to become void of inhabitants. Hence the Old Law, in order to remove this danger, ordered things in such a way that while provision was made for men's needs, by allowing the sale of possessions to avail for a certain period, at the same time the said danger was removed, by prescribing the return of those possessions after that period had elapsed. **The reason for this law was to prevent confusion of possessions, and to ensure the continuance of a definite distinction among the tribes**.

...

I answer that, **Man's relations with foreigners are twofold: peaceful, and hostile**: and in directing both kinds of relation the Law contained suitable precepts. **For the Jews were offered three opportunities of peaceful relations with foreigners**. First, **when foreigners passed through their land** as travelers. Secondly, **when they came to dwell in their land as newcomers**. And in both these respects the Law made kind provision in its precepts: for it is written (Exodus 22:21): "Thou shalt not molest a stranger [*advenam*]"; and again (Exodus 22:9): "Thou shalt not molest a stranger [*peregrino*]." Thirdly, **when any foreigners wished to be admitted entirely to their fellowship** and mode of worship. With regard to these a certain order was observed. **For they were not at once admitted to citizenship: just as it was law with some nations that no one was deemed a citizen except after two or three generations**, as the Philosopher says (Polit. iii, 1). The reason for this was that **if foreigners were allowed to meddle with the affairs of a nation as soon as they settled down in its midst, many dangers might occur, since the foreigners not yet having the common good firmly at heart might attempt something hurtful to the people**. Hence it was that the Law prescribed **in respect of certain nations that had close relations with the Jews** (viz., the Egyptians among whom they were born and educated, and the Idumeans, the children of Esau, Jacob's brother), **that they should be admitted to the fellowship of the people after the third generation; whereas others (with whom their relations had been hostile, such as the Ammonites and Moabites) were never to be admitted to citizenship; while the Amalekites, who were yet more hostile to them, and had no fellowship of kindred with them, were to be held as foes in perpetuity**: for it is written (Exodus 17:16): "The war of the Lord shall be against Amalec from generation to generation."

**In like manner with regard to hostile relations with foreigners, the Law contained suitable precepts.** For, in the first place, it commanded that war should be declared for a just cause: thus it is commanded (Deuteronomy 20:10) that when they advanced to besiege a city, they should at first make an offer of peace. Secondly, it enjoined that when once they had entered on a war they should undauntedly persevere in it, putting their trust in God. And in order that they might be the more heedful of this command, it ordered that on the approach of battle the priest should hearten them by promising them God's aid. Thirdly, it prescribed the removal of whatever might prove an obstacle to the fight, **and that certain men, who might be in the way, should be sent home.** Fourthly, it enjoined that they should use moderation in pursuing the advantage of victory, by sparing women and children, and by not cutting down fruit-trees of that country.

Reply to Objection 1. The Law excluded the men of no nation from the worship of God and from things pertaining to the welfare of the soul: for it is written (Exodus 12:48): "If any stranger be willing to dwell among you, and to keep the Phase of the Lord; all his males shall first be circumcised, and then shall he celebrate it according to the manner, and he shall be as that which is born in the land." **But in temporal matters concerning the public life of the people, admission was not granted to everyone at once, for the reason given above: but to some, i.e. the Egyptians and Idumeans, in the third generation; while others were excluded in perpetuity, in detestation of their past offense, i.e. the peoples of Moab, Ammon, and Amalec.** For just as one man is punished for a sin committed by him, in order that others seeing this may be deterred and refrain from sinning; **so too may one nation or city be punished for a crime, that others may refrain from similar crimes.**

Nevertheless it was possible by dispensation for a man to be admitted to citizenship on account of some act of virtue: thus it is related (Judith 14:6) that Achior, the captain of the children of Ammon, "was joined to the people of Israel, with all the **succession of his kindred.**" The same applies to Ruth the Moabite who was "a virtuous woman" (Ruth 3:11): although it may be said that this prohibition regarded men and not women, who are not competent to be citizens absolutely speaking.

Reply to Objection 2. As the Philosopher says (Polit. iii, 3), a man is said to be a citizen in two ways: first, simply; secondly, in a restricted sense. A man is a citizen simply if he has all the rights of citizenship, for instance, the right of debating or voting in the popular assembly. On the other hand, any man may be called citizen, only in a restricted sense, if he dwells within the state, even common people or children or old men, **who are not fit to enjoy power in matters pertaining to the common weal.** For this reason **bastards, by reason of their base origin,** were excluded from the "ecclesia," i.e. from the popular assembly, down to the tenth generation. The same applies to eunuchs, who were not competent to receive the honor due to a father, **especially among the Jews,** where the divine worship was continued through carnal generation: **for even among the heathens,** those who had many children were marked with special honor, as the Philosopher remarks (Polit. ii, 6). Nevertheless, in matters pertaining to the grace of God, eunuchs were not discriminated from others, as neither were strangers, as already stated: for it is written (Isaiah 56:3): "Let not the son of the stranger that adhereth to the Lord speak, saying: The Lord will divide and separate me from His people. And let not the eunuch say: Behold I am a dry tree."

Reply to Objection 3. It was not the intention of the Law to sanction the acceptance of usury **from strangers, but only to tolerate it on account of the proneness of the Jews to avarice;** and in order to promote an amicable feeling towards those out of whom they made a profit.

Reply to Objection 4. **A distinction was observed with regard to hostile cities. For some of them were far distant,** and were not among those which had been promised to them. When they had taken these cities, they killed all the men who had fought against God's people; whereas the women and children were spared. But in the neighboring cities which had been promised to them, **all were ordered to be slain, on account of their former crimes,** to punish which God sent the Israelites as executor of Divine justice: for it is written (Deuteronomy 9:5) "because they have done wickedly, they are destroyed at thy coming in." The fruit-trees were commanded to be left untouched, for the use of **the people themselves, to whom the city with its territory was destined to be subjected.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/2105.htm>

## II-II:23

I answer that, Charity, as stated above (Article 1) is a kind of friendship of man for God. Now the different species of friendship are differentiated, first of all, in respect of a diversity of end, and in this way there are three species of friendship, namely friendship for the useful, for the delightful, and for the virtuous; secondly, in respect of the different kinds of communion on which friendships are based; **thus there is one species of friendship between kinsmen, and another between fellow citizens or fellow travellers, the former being based on natural communion, the latter on civil communion** or on the comradeship of the road, as the Philosopher explains (Ethic. viii, 12).

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3023.htm>

## II-II:26

On the contrary, The commandments of the decalogue contain a special precept about the honor due to our parents (Exodus 20:12). **Therefore we ought to love more specially those who are united to us by ties of blood.**

I answer that, As stated above (Article 7), **we ought out of charity to love those who are more closely united to us more,** both because our love for them is more intense, and because there are more reasons for loving them. Now intensity of love arises from the union of lover and beloved: **and therefore we should measure the love of different persons according to the different kinds of union,** so that a man is more loved in matters touching that particular union in respect of which he is loved. And, again, in comparing love to love we should compare one union with another. **Accordingly we must say that friendship among blood relations is based upon their connection by natural origin, the friendship of fellow-citizens on their civic fellowship,** and the friendship of those who are



fighting side by side on the comradeship of battle. **Wherefore in matters pertaining to nature we should love our kindred most, in matters concerning relations between citizens, we should prefer our fellow-citizens**, and on the battlefield our fellow-soldiers. Hence the Philosopher says (Ethic. ix, 2) that **"it is our duty to render to each class of people such respect as is natural and appropriate. This is in fact the principle upon which we seem to act, for we invite our relations to a wedding . . . It would seem to be a special duty to afford our parents the means of living . . . and to honor them."**

The same applies to other kinds of friendship.

**If however we compare union with union, it is evident that the union arising from natural origin is prior to, and more stable than, all others**, because it is something affecting the very substance, whereas other unions supervene and may cease altogether. **Therefore the friendship of kindred is more stable**, while other friendships may be stronger in respect of that which is proper to each of them.

Reply to Objection 1. In as much as the friendship of comrades originates through their own choice, love of this kind takes precedence of the love of kindred in matters where we are free to do as we choose, for instance in matters of action. **Yet the friendship of kindred is more stable, since it is more natural, and preponderates over others in matters touching nature: consequently we are more beholden to them in the providing of necessities.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3026.htm>

## II-II:31

Now one man's connection with another may be measured in reference to the various matters in which men are engaged together; **(thus the intercourse of kinsmen is in natural matters, that of fellow-citizens is in civic matters, that of the faithful is in spiritual matters, and so forth): and various benefits should be conferred in various ways according to these various connections**, because **we ought in preference to bestow on each one such benefits as pertain to the matter in which, speaking simply, he is most closely connected with us**. And yet this may vary according to the various requirements of time, place, or matter in hand: because in certain cases one ought, for instance, to succor a stranger, in extreme necessity, rather than one's own father, if he is not in such urgent need.

...

Reply to Objection 2. The common good of many is more Godlike than the good of an individual. Wherefore it is a virtuous action for a man to endanger even his own life, **either for the spiritual or for the temporal common good of his country**. Since therefore men engage together in warlike acts in order to safeguard the common weal, the soldier who with this in view succors his comrade, succors him not as a private individual, but with a view to the welfare of his country as a whole: wherefore it is not a matter for wonder if a stranger be preferred to one who is a blood relation.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3031.htm>

## II-II:57

Reply to Objection 2. Considered absolutely, **the fact that this particular man should be a slave rather than another man, is based, not on natural reason, but on some resultant utility, in that it is useful to this man to be ruled by a wiser man,** and to the latter to be helped by the former, as the Philosopher states (Polit. i, 2). **Wherefore slavery which belongs to the right of nations is natural in the second way, but not in the first.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3057.htm>

## II-II:63

Reply to Objection 1. **We must make a distinction with regard to a prelate's kinsfolk:** for sometimes they are less worthy, both absolutely speaking, and in relation to the common good: and then if they are preferred to the more worthy, there is a sin of respect of persons in the dispensation of spiritual goods, whereof the ecclesiastical superior is not the owner, with power to give them away as he will, but the dispenser, according to 1 Corinthians 4:1, "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God." **Sometimes however the prelate's kinsfolk are as worthy as others, and then without respect of persons he can lawfully give preference to his kindred since there is at least this advantage, that he can trust the more in their being of one mind with him in conducting the business of the Church.** Yet he would have to forego so doing for fear of scandal, if anyone might take an example from him and give the goods of the Church to their kindred without regard to their deserts.

...

Reply to Objection 4. **The man who is taken from among the members of a particular Church, is generally speaking more useful as regards the common good, since he loves more the Church wherein he was brought up.** For this reason it was commanded (Deuteronomy 17:15): "Thou mayest not make a man of another nation king, who is not thy brother."

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3063.htm>

## II-II:80

I answer that, Two points must be observed about the virtues annexed to a principal virtue. The first is that these virtues have something in common with the principal virtue; and the second is that in some respect they fall short of the perfection of that virtue. Accordingly since justice is of one man to another as stated above (II-II:58:2), all the virtues that are directed to another person may by reason of this common aspect be annexed to justice. Now the essential character of justice consists in rendering to another his due according to equality, as stated above (II-II:58:11). Wherefore in two ways may a virtue directed to another person fall short of

the perfection of justice: first, by falling short of the aspect of equality; secondly, by falling short of the aspect of due. For certain virtues there are which render another his due, but are unable to render the equal due. On the first place, whatever man renders to God is due, yet it cannot be equal, as though man rendered to God as much as he owes Him, according to Psalm 115:12, "What shall I render to the Lord for all the things that He hath rendered to me?" On this respect "religion" is annexed to justice since, according to Tully (De invent. ii, 53), it consists in offering service and ceremonial rites or worship to "some superior nature that men call divine." Secondly, it is not possible to make to one's parents an equal return of what one owes to them, as the Philosopher declares (Ethic. viii, 14); **and thus "piety" is annexed to justice, for thereby, as Tully says (De invent. ii, 53), a man "renders service and constant deference to his kindred and the well-wishers of his country."** Thirdly, according to the Philosopher (Ethic. iv, 3), man is unable to offer an equal meed for virtue, and thus "observance" is annexed to justice, consisting according to Tully (De invent. ii, 53) in the "deference and honor rendered to those who excel in worth."

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3080.htm>

## II-II:101

I answer that, Man becomes a debtor to other men in various ways, according to their various excellence and the various benefits received from them. On both counts God holds first place, for He is supremely excellent, and is for us the first principle of being and government. On the second place, **the principles of our being and government are our parents and our country, that have given us birth and nourishment. Consequently man is debtor chiefly to his parents and his country, after God.**<sup>38</sup> Wherefore just as it belongs to religion to give worship to God, **so does it belong to piety, in the second place, to give worship to one's parents and one's country.**

**The worship due to our parents includes the worship given to all our kindred, since our kinsfolk are those who descend from the same parents,** according to the Philosopher (Ethic. viii, 12)<sup>39</sup>. **The worship given to our country includes homage to all our fellow-citizens and to all the friends of our country.** Therefore piety extends chiefly to these.

...

Reply to Objection 3. **The relations of a man with his kindred and fellow-citizens are more referable to the principles of his being than other relations: wherefore the term piety is more applicable to them.**

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<sup>38</sup> As St. Thomas differentiates between kinsmen by racial group (I-II:105) as being the constituents of the country, and according to the line of ethnic succession – especially in regard to ethnic stock (III:31), with regards even to ethnic proximity (I-II:105) – and specifically in regards to shared ancestral blood (S:III:54), we may reasonably understand that the *country* here mentioned refers to one comprised of a racial ingroup.

<sup>39</sup> Aristotle references here the bond of kin as including "fellow-citizens, fellow-tribesmen" and states of these that they "come to be closer together or farther apart *by virtue of the nearness or distance of the original ancestor*" in the mentioned citation (Nic. Ethic. viii, 12). This principle ought be remembered moving forward.

...

Reply to Objection 3. As Tully says (De Invent. Rhet. ii), **"we offer homage and duty to all our kindred and to the well-wishers of our country"**; not, however, equally to all, but chiefly to our parents, and to others according to our means and their personal claims.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3101.htm>

## II-II:102

I answer that, Something may be paid to persons in positions of dignity in two ways. First, in relation to the common good, as when one serves them in the administration of the affairs of the state. This no longer belongs to observance, but to piety, **which pays worship not only to one's father but also to one's fatherland**. Secondly, that which is paid to persons in positions of dignity refers specially to their personal usefulness or renown, and this belongs properly to observance, as distinct from piety. Therefore in comparing observance with piety **we must needs take into consideration the different relations in which other persons stand to ourselves**, which relations both virtues regard. **Now it is evident that the persons of our parents and of our kindred are more substantially akin to us than persons in positions of dignity**, since birth and education, which originate in the father, belong more to one's substance than external government, the principle of which is seated in those who are in positions of dignity. **For this reason piety takes precedence of observance, inasmuch as it pays worship to persons more akin to us, and to whom we are more strictly bound.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3102.htm>

## II-II:108

Reply to Objection 2. As Augustine states (QQ. sup. Josue viii), human judgment should conform to the divine judgment, when this is manifest, and God condemns men spiritually for their own sins. But human judgment cannot be conformed to God's hidden judgments, **whereby He punishes certain persons in temporal matters without any fault of theirs**, since man is unable to grasp the reasons of these judgments so as to know what is expedient for each individual. Wherefore according to human judgment a man should never be condemned without fault of his own to an infictive punishment, such as death, mutilation or flogging. **But a man may be condemned, even according to human judgment, to a punishment of forfeiture, even without any fault on his part, but not without cause:** and this in three ways.

...

Thirdly, because the good of one person may depend on the good of another: **thus in the crime of high treason a son loses his inheritance through the sin of his parent.**

Reply to Objection 3. **By the judgment of God children are punished in temporal matters together with their parents, both because they are a possession of their parents, so that their parents are punished also in their person, and because this is for their good lest, should they be spared, they might imitate the sins of their parents, and thus deserve to be**

punished still more severely. Vengeance is wrought on dumb animals and any other irrational creatures, because in this way their owners are punished; and also in horror of sin.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3108.htm>

## II-II:113

It may also be replied that "the wisdom of men" is that which is acquired by human reason, while the "wisdom of the saints" is that which is received by divine inspiration. **Amos denied that he was a prophet by birth, since, to wit, he was not of the race of prophets:** hence the text goes on, "nor am I the son of a prophet."

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3113.htm>

## II-II:121

Reply to Objection 3. **As by the virtue of piety man pays duty and worship not only to his father in the flesh, but also to all his kindred on account of their being related to his father** so by the gift of piety he pays worship and duty not only to God, but also to all men on account of their relationship to God. Hence it belongs to piety to honor the saints, and not to contradict the Scriptures whether one understands them or not, as Augustine says (De Doctr. Christ. ii). Consequently it also assists those who are in a state of unhappiness. And although this act has no place in heaven, especially after the Day of Judgment, yet piety will exercise its principal act, which is to revere God with filial affection: for it is then above all that this act will be fulfilled, according to Wisdom 5:5, "Behold how they are numbered among the children of God." The saints will also mutually honor one another. Now, however, before the Judgment Day, the saints have pity on those also who are living in this unhappy state.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3121.htm>

## II-II:174

Reply to Objection 2. As Augustine says (De Civ. Dei xviii, 27), "just as in the early days of the Assyrian kingdom promises were made most explicitly to Abraham, so at the outset of the western Babylon," which is Rome, "and under its sway Christ was to come, in Whom were to be fulfilled the promises made through the prophetic oracles testifying in word and writing to that great event to come," the promises, namely, which were made to Abraham. "For while prophets were scarcely ever lacking to the people of Israel from the time that they began to have kings, **it was exclusively for their benefit, not for that of the nations.** But when those prophetic writings were being set up with greater publicity, which at some future time were to benefit the nations, it was fitting to begin when this city," Rome to wit, "was being built, **which was to govern the nations.**"

The reason why **it behooved that nation to have a number of prophets** especially at the time of the kings, **was that then it was not over-ridden by other nations, but had its own king**; wherefore it behooved the people, as enjoying liberty, to have prophets to teach them what to do.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3174.htm>

### III:28

Reply to Objection 2. As Jerome says on Matthew 1:18: "Though Joseph was not the father of our Lord and Saviour, the order of His genealogy is traced down to Joseph"—first, because "the Scriptures are not wont to trace the female line in genealogies": secondly, "Mary and Joseph were of the same tribe"; **wherefore by law he was bound to take her as being of his kin.**<sup>40</sup> Likewise, as Augustine says (De Nup. et Concup. i), "it was befitting to trace the genealogy down to Joseph, lest in that marriage any slight should be offered to the male sex, which is indeed the stronger: for truth suffered nothing thereby, **since both Joseph and Mary were of the family of David.**"

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/4028.htm>

### III:31

Reply to Objection 1. Faustus the Manichean argued thus, in the desire to prove that Christ is not the Son of David, because He was not conceived of Joseph, in whom Matthew's genealogy terminates. Augustine answered this argument thus (Contra Faust. xxii): "Since the same evangelist affirms that Joseph was Mary's husband and that Christ's mother was a virgin, and that Christ was of the seed of Abraham, what must we believe, but **that Mary was not a stranger to the family of David: and that it is not without reason that she was called the wife of Joseph, by reason of the close alliance of their hearts**, although not mingled in the flesh; and **that the genealogy is traced down to Joseph rather than to her by reason of the dignity of the husband? So therefore we believe that Mary was also of the family of David:** because we believe the Scriptures, which assert both **that Christ was of the seed of David according to the flesh**, and that Mary was His Mother, not by sexual intercourse but retaining her virginity." For as Jerome says on Matthew 1:18: "**Joseph and Mary were of the same tribe: wherefore he was bound by law to marry her as she was his kinswoman. Hence it was that they were enrolled together at Bethlehem, as being descended from the same stock.**"

Reply to Objection 2. Gregory of Nazianzum answers this objection by saying that it happened by God's will, that **the royal family was united to the priestly race**, so that Christ, who is both king and priest, should be born of both according to the flesh. Wherefore Aaron, who was the first priest according to the Law, **married a wife of the tribe of Juda**, Elizabeth, daughter of

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<sup>40</sup> Reiterating the point made in footnotes above about the expanse of the category of kindred.

Aminadab. It is therefore possible that Elizabeth's father married a wife **of the family of David**, through whom the Blessed Virgin Mary, **who was of the family of David**, would be a cousin of Elizabeth. Or conversely, and with greater likelihood, that the Blessed Mary's father, **who was of the family of David, married a wife of the family of Aaron.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/4031.htm>

S:III:20

Reply to Objection 3. **The people of Israel were one people**, and had but one temple, so that there was no need for a distinction in priestly jurisdiction, as there is now in the Church **which comprises various peoples and nations.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/5020.htm>

S:III:54

I answer that, According to the Philosopher (Ethic. iii, 11, 12) "all friendship is based on some kind of fellowship." And since friendship is a knot or union, **it follows that the fellowship which is the cause of friendship is called "a tie."** Wherefore in respect of any kind of a fellowship **certain persons are denominated as though they were tied together: thus we speak of fellow-citizens who are connected by a common political life**, of fellow-soldiers who are connected by the common business of soldiering, and in the same way **those who are connected by the fellowship of nature are said to be tied by blood [consanguinei].** Hence in the above definition **"tie" is included as being the genus of consanguinity; the "persons descending from the same common ancestor," who are thus tied together are the subject of this tie. while "carnal procreation" is mentioned as being its origin.**

Reply to Objection 1. An active force is not received into an instrument in the same degree of perfection as it has in the principal agent. And since every moved mover is an instrument, it follows that the power of the first mover in a particular genus when drawn out through many mediate movers fails at length, and reaches something that is moved and not a mover. But the power of a begetter moves not only as to that which belongs to the species, but also as to that which belongs to the individual, **by reason of which the child is like the parent even in accidentals and not only in the specific nature.** And yet this individual power of the father is not so perfect in the son as it was in the father, and still less so in the grandson, and thus it goes on failing: so that at length it ceases and can go no further. **Since then consanguinity results from this power being communicated to many through being conveyed to them from one person by procreation, it destroys itself by little and little, as Isidore says (Etym. ix). Consequently in defining consanguinity we must not take a remote common ancestor but the nearest, whose power still remains in those who are descended from him.**

Reply to Objection 2. **It is clear from what has been said that blood relations agree not only in the specific nature but also in that power peculiar to the individual which is conveyed**

**from one to many: the result being that sometimes the child is not only like his father, but also his grandfather or his remote ancestors (De Gener. Anim. iv, 3).**

Reply to Objection 3. Likeness depends more on form whereby a thing is actually, than on matter whereby a thing is potentially: for instance, charcoal has more in common with fire than with the tree from which the wood was cut. In like manner food already transformed by the nutritive power into the substance of the person fed has more in common with the subject nourished than with that from which the nourishment was taken. The argument however would hold according to the opinion of those who asserted that **the whole nature of a thing is from its matter and that all forms are accidents: which is false.**

Reply to Objection 4. **It is the blood that is proximately changed into the semen, as proved in De Gener. Anim. i, 18. Hence the tie contracted by carnal procreation is more fittingly called blood-relationship than flesh-relationship.** That sometimes one relation is called the flesh of another, is because the blood which is transformed into the man's seed or into the menstrual fluid is potentially flesh and bone.

...

I answer that, **Consanguinity as stated (Article 1) is a certain propinquity based on the natural communication by the act of procreation whereby nature is propagated.** Wherefore according to the Philosopher (Ethic. viii, 12) this communication is threefold. One corresponds to the relationship between cause and effect, **and this is the consanguinity of father to son, wherefore he says that "parents love their children as being a part of themselves."** Another corresponds to the relation of effect to cause, **and this is the consanguinity of son to father, wherefore he says that "children love their parents as being themselves something which owes its existence to them."** The third corresponds to the mutual relation between things that come from the same cause, as brothers, **"who are born of the same parents,"** as he again says (Ethic. viii, 12). And since the movement of a point makes a line, **and since a father by procreation may be said to descend to his son, hence it is that corresponding to these three relationships there are three lines of consanguinity, namely the "descending" line corresponding to the first relationship, the "ascending" line corresponding to the second, and the "collateral" line corresponding to the third.** Since however the movement of propagation does not rest in one term but continues beyond, **the result is that one can point to the father's father and to the son's son, and so on, and according to the various steps we take we find various degrees in one line. And seeing that the degrees of a thing are parts of that thing, there cannot be degrees of propinquity where there is no propinquity. Consequently identity and too great a distance do away with degrees of consanguinity;<sup>41</sup> since no man is kin to himself any more than he is like himself: for which reason there is no degree of consanguinity where there is but one person, but only when one person is compared to another.**

Nevertheless **there are different ways of counting the degrees in various lines.** For the degree of consanguinity in the ascending and descending line is contracted from the fact that

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<sup>41</sup> And so the relation between all men as originating from Adam is not *proximate* in the same way that an ethnic kinsfellow is, or ethnic kinsfolk are; in whom a special bond owed the reverence of piety exists.



one of the parties whose consanguinity is in question, is descended from the other. Wherefore according to the canonical as well as the legal reckoning, the person who occupies the first place, whether in the ascending or in the descending line, is distant from a certain one, say Peter, in the first degree—for instance father and son; while the one who occupies the second place in either direction is distant in the second degree, for instance grandfather, grandson and so on. **But the consanguinity that exists between persons who are in collateral lines is contracted not through one being descended from the other, but through both being descended from one: wherefore the degrees of consanguinity in this line must be reckoned in relation to the one principle whence it arises.** Here, however, the canonical and legal reckonings differ: **for the legal reckoning takes into account the descent from the common stock on both sides, whereas the canonical reckoning takes into account only one, that namely on which the greater number of degrees are found. Hence according to the legal reckoning brother and sister, or two brothers, are related in the second degree, because each is separated from the common stock by one degree; and in like manner the children of two brothers are distant from one another in the fourth degree. But according to the canonical reckoning, two brothers are related in the first degree, since neither is distant more than one degree from the common stock: but the children of one brother are distant in the second degree from the other brother, because they are at that distance from the common stock. Hence, according to the canonical reckoning, by whatever degree a person is distant from some higher degree, by so much and never by less is he distant from each person descending from that degree, because "the cause of a thing being so is yet more so."** Wherefore although the other descendants from the common stock be related to some person on account of his being descended from the common stock, these descendants of the other branch cannot be more nearly related to him than he is to the common stock. Sometimes, however, a person is more distantly related to a descendant from the common stock, than he himself is to the common stock, because this other person may be more distantly related to the common stock than he is: and consanguinity must be reckoned according to the more distant degree.

Reply to Objection 1. This objection is based on a false premise: **for consanguinity is not the series but a mutual relationship existing between certain persons, the series of whom forms a line of consanguinity.**

Reply to Objection 2. **Descent taken in a general sense attaches to every line of consanguinity, because carnal procreation whence the tie of consanguinity arises is a kind of descent: but it is a particular kind of descent, namely from the person whose consanguinity is in question, that makes the descending line.**

Reply to Objection 3. A line may be taken in two ways. Sometimes it is taken properly for the dimension itself that is the first species of continuous quantity: and thus a straight line contains actually but two points which terminate it, but infinite points potentially, any one of which being actually designated, the line is divided, and becomes two lines. But sometimes a line designates things which are arranged in a line, and thus we have line and figure in numbers, in so far as unity added to unity involves number. **Thus every unity added makes a degree in a particular**

**line: and it is the same with the line of consanguinity: wherefore one line contains several degrees.**

Reply to Objection 4. **Even as there cannot be likeness without a difference, so there is no propinquity without distance. Hence not every distance is opposed to consanguinity, but such as excludes the propinquity of blood-relationship.**

Reply to Objection 5. Even as whiteness is said to be greater in two ways, in one way through intensity of the quality itself, in another way through the quantity of the surface, **so consanguinity is said to be greater or lesser in two ways. First, intensively by reason of the very nature of consanguinity: secondly, extensively as it were, and thus the degree of consanguinity is measured by the persons between whom there is the propagation of a common blood, and in this way the degrees of consanguinity are distinguished. Wherefore it happens that of two persons related to one person in the same degree of consanguinity, one is more akin to him than the other, if we consider the quantity of consanguinity in the first way: thus a man's father and brother are related to him in the first degree of consanguinity, because in neither case does any person come in between; and yet from the point of view of intensity a man's father is more closely related to him than his brother, since his brother is related to him only because he is of the same father. Hence the nearer a person is to the common ancestor from whom the consanguinity descends, the greater is his consanguinity although he be not in a nearer degree.** In this way a man's great-uncle is more closely related to him than his great-nephew, although they are in the same degree.

Reply to Objection 6. Although a man's father and uncle are in the same degree in respect of the root of consanguinity, since both are separated by one degree from the grandfather, **nevertheless in respect of the person whose consanguinity is in question, they are not in the same degree, since the father is in the first degree, whereas the uncle cannot be nearer than the second degree, wherein the grandfather stands.**

Reply to Objection 7. **Two persons are always related in the same degree to one another, although they are not always distant in the same number of degrees from the common ancestor, as explained above.**

...

I answer that, The degrees within which consanguinity has been an impediment to marriage have varied according to various times. For at the beginning of the human race father and mother alone were debarred from marrying their children, because then mankind were few in number, and then it was necessary for the propagation of the human race to be ensured with very great care, and consequently only such persons were to be debarred as were unfitted for marriage even in respect of its principal end which is the good of the offspring, as stated above (Article 3). Afterwards however, the human race having multiplied, more persons were excluded by the law of Moses, for they already began to curb concupiscence. Wherefore as Rabbi Moses says (Doc. Perp. iii, 49) all those persons were debarred from marrying one another who are wont to live together in one household, because if a lawful carnal intercourse were possible between them, this would prove a very great incentive to lust. **Yet the Old Law permitted other**

**degrees of consanguinity, in fact to a certain extent it commanded them; to wit that each man should take a wife from his kindred, in order to avoid confusion of inheritances:** because at that time the Divine worship was handed down as the inheritance of the race. But afterwards more degrees were forbidden by the New Law which is the law of the spirit and of love, because the worship of God is no longer handed down and spread abroad by a carnal birth but by a spiritual grace: wherefore it was necessary that men should be yet more withdrawn from carnal things by devoting themselves to things spiritual, and that love should have a yet wider play. Hence in olden times marriage was forbidden even within the more remote degrees of consanguinity, in order that consanguinity and affinity might be the sources of a wider natural friendship; and this was reasonably extended to the seventh degree, both because beyond this it was difficult to have any recollection of the common stock, and because this was in keeping with the sevenfold grace of the Holy Ghost. Afterwards, however, towards these latter times the prohibition of the Church has been restricted to the fourth degree, because it became useless and dangerous to extend the prohibition to more remote degrees of consanguinity. Useless, **because charity waxed cold in many hearts so that they had scarcely a greater bond of friendship with their more remote kindred than with strangers:** and it was dangerous because through the prevalence of concupiscence and neglect men took no account of so numerous a kindred, and thus the prohibition of the more remote degrees became for many a snare leading to damnation. Moreover there is a certain fittingness in the restriction of the above prohibition to the fourth degree. **First because men are wont to live until the fourth generation, so that consanguinity cannot lapse into oblivion, wherefore God threatened (Exodus 20:5) to visit the parent's sins on their children to the third and fourth generation. Secondly, because in each generation the blood, the identity of which causes consanguinity, receives a further addition of new blood, and the more another blood is added the less there is of the old. And because there are four elements, each of which is the more easily mixed with another, according as it is more rarefied it follows that at the first admixture the identity of blood disappears as regards the first element which is most subtle; at the second admixture, as regards the second element; at the third, as to the third element; at the fourth, as to the fourth element. Thus after the fourth generation it is fitting for the carnal union to be repeated.**

...

Reply to Objection 3. **Although the tie of consanguinity is natural, it is not natural that consanguinity forbid carnal intercourse, except as regards certain degrees, as stated above (Article 3). Wherefore the Church's commandment does not cause certain people to be kin or not kin, because they remain equally kin at all times:** but it makes carnal intercourse to be lawful or unlawful at different times for different degrees of consanguinity.

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/5054.htm>

S:III:55

I answer that, **A certain natural friendship is founded on natural fellowship. Now natural fellowship, according to the Philosopher (Ethic. viii, 12), arises in two ways; first, from carnal procreation; secondly, from connection with orderly carnal procreation, wherefore**

he says (Ethic. viii, 12) that the friendship of a husband towards his wife is natural.

**Consequently even as a person through being connected with another by carnal procreation is bound to him by a tie of natural friendship,** so does one person become connected with another through carnal intercourse. **But there is a difference in this, that one who is connected with another through carnal procreation, as a son with his father, shares in the same common stock and blood, so that a son is connected with his father's kindred by the same kind of tie as the father was, the tie, namely of consanguinity, albeit in a different degree on account of his being more distant from the stock: whereas one who is connected with another through carnal intercourse does not share in the same stock, but is as it were an extraneous addition thereto: whence arises another kind of tie known by the name of "affinity."** This is expressed in the verse:

Marriage makes a new kind of connection,

**While birth makes a new degree,**

because, to wit, the person begotten is in the same kind of relationship, but in a different degree, whereas through carnal intercourse he enters into a new kind of relationship.

Reply to Objection 1. Although a cause is more potent than its effect, it does not always follow that the same name is applicable to the cause as to the effect, because sometimes that which is in the effect, is found in the cause not in the same but in a higher way; wherefore it is not applicable to both cause and effect under the same name or under the same aspect, as is the case with all equivocal effective causes. **Thus, then, the union of husband and wife is stronger than the union of the wife with her husband's kindred, and yet it ought not to be named affinity,** but matrimony which is a kind of unity; even as a man is identical with himself, but not with his kinsman.

Reply to Objection 2. **Blood-relations are in a way separate, and in a way connected: and it happens in respect of their connection that a person who is connected with one of them is in some way connected with all of them. But on account of their separation and distance from one another it happens that a person who is connected with one of them in one way is connected with another in another way, either as to the kind of connection or as to the degree.**

Reply to Objection 3. Further, a relation results sometimes from a movement in each extreme, for instance fatherhood and sonship, and a relation of this kind is really in both extremes. Sometimes it results from the movement of one only, and this happens in two ways. In one way when a relation results from the movement of one extreme without any movement previous or concomitant of the other extreme; as in the Creator and the creature, the sensible and the sense, knowledge and the knowable object: and then the relation is in one extreme really and in the other logically only. In another way when the relation results from the movement of one extreme without any concomitant movement, but not without a previous movement of the other; thus there results equality between two men by the increase of one, without the other either increasing or decreasing then, although previously he reached his actual quantity by some

movement or change, so that this relation is founded really in both extremes. **It is the same with consanguinity and affinity, because the relation of brotherhood which results in a grown child on the birth of a boy, is caused without any movement of the former's at the time, but by virtue of that previous movement of his wherein he was begotten; wherefore at the time it happens that there results in him the aforesaid relation through the movement of another. Likewise because this man descends through his own birth from the same stock as the husband, there results in him affinity with the latter's wife, without any new change in him.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/5055.htm>

S:III:57

Reply to Objection 7. **A relative ought to succeed by right of relationship; and therefore such a person is not competent to be chosen to succeed by adoption.** And if a relative, who is not competent to inherit the estate, be adopted, he is adopted not as a relative, **but as a stranger lacking the right of succeeding to the adopter's goods.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/5057.htm>

S:III:68

I answer that, A person is said to incur a loss for some cause in two ways: First, because he is deprived of his due, **and thus an illegitimate child incurs no loss.** Secondly, because something is not due to him, which might have been due otherwise, and thus an illegitimate son incurs a twofold loss. First because he is excluded from legitimate acts such as offices and dignities, which require a certain respectability in those who perform them. Secondly, he incurs a loss by not succeeding to his father's inheritance. **Nevertheless natural sons can inherit a sixth only, whereas spurious children cannot inherit any portion,** although by natural law their parents are bound to provide for their needs. Hence it is part of a bishop's care to compel both parents to provide for them.

Reply to Objection 1. To incur a loss in this second way is not a punishment. Hence we do not say that a person is punished by not succeeding to the throne through not being the king's son. **In like manner it is no punishment to an illegitimate child that he has no right to that which belongs to the legitimate children.**

Reply to Objection 2. Illegitimate intercourse is contrary to the law, not as an act of the generative power, but as proceeding from a wicked will. **Hence an illegitimate son incurs a loss, not in those things which come to him by his natural origin, but in those things which are dependent on the will for being done or possessed.**

<https://www.newadvent.org/summa/5068.htm>

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Saint Ambrose, De Officiis Ministrorum  
(386)

150. True liberality also must be tested in this way: **that we despise not our nearest relatives, if we know they are in want. For it is better for you to help your kindred who feel the shame of asking help from others, or of going to another to beg assistance in their need.** Not, however, that they should become rich on what you could otherwise give to the poor. It is the facts of the case we must consider, and not personal feeling.

<https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/34011.htm>

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Pope Saint Gregory I, Moralia in Job<sup>42</sup>  
(During the years 578-595)

17. But herein it is of interest to us to enquire, if the highest peace is maintained “in the high places,” what that is which is said to Daniel by the Angel, *I am come for thy words; but the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me.* [Dan. 10, 13] And a little afterward; **And now will I return to fight with the prince of the Persians. For when I was going forth there appeared the prince of the Greeks coming.** [v. 20] Whom else then but Angels does he call the “Princes” of the nations, that could have had the power to resist him as he went forth? Accordingly what peace can there be “in the high places,” if even among the Angelical spirits themselves also there is a conflict of warring carried on, who are always standing present to the view of Truth? **But because there are fixed charges of the Angels set to superintend the regulating of the several particular nations, when the practices of the subject peoples deserve the assistance of the presiding spirits against one another, the spirits themselves that are set in charge are said to come against one another.** Thus the Angel that spake to Daniel is known to have been appointed **over the captives of the Israelitish People established in Persia**, but Michael is ascertained to be **the ruler of those who remained in the land of Judaea from among the same people.** And hence it is said a little afterwards to Daniel by this same Angel; *And there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael, your prince.* [v. 21] Concerning whom he says this too which we have before said, *but, to, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me.* Who whereas he is never said “to be with,” but to “come to help”

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<sup>42</sup> This passage is valuable for three reasons; not only because it demonstrates clear racist definitions, but also because it elevates those definitions to a spiritual level. Each nation – that is, each *people* – has an angelic minister, who is the guardian of that people (i.e. *ethnos*). Thirdly, because it coincides with and validates Origen’s argumentation of the same principle, and most especially in the divine role of judging nations (i.e. kinsfolk).

is plainly seen to be set over **that people** which was held captive in another part. What then is it for the Angel to say, *I am come for thy words, but the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me*, but to tell his doings to those under him? As if he said in plain words; **“The claims [merita] of thy prayers indeed demand that the Israelitish People should be loosed from the yoke of their captivity, but there is still in that same people that which must be purged by the dominion of the Persians; so that touching the liberation of that people the prince of Persia should by rights withstand me, though to thy prayers the tears of those too who were left in Judaea come in aid.”** Whence he subjoins that too which we said; *But, lo, Michael, your prince, came to help me. And when he goes forth in order to fight against the prince of the Persians, there appeareth to him the prince of the Greeks coming towards him. By which circumstance it is implied that against the Greeks too Judaea had been guilty of somewhat*, on account of whom without a doubt it was that he **withstood the rescuing of her**. So the Angel hears effectually the prayers of the Prophet, but the prince of Persia withstands, because though the life of the righteous one making supplication **already claims the rescue of the People, yet the life of that same People still withstands**, that whereas those that had been brought into captivity were not yet completely purified, Persia should rightfully have the dominion over them still. Michael gives aid, but the prince of Greece comes to battle, **because that lengthened captivity of the People suffering oppression might indeed have merited pardon, but to the benefit of their liberation that also stood opposed, which they had done wrong against the Greeks**. Therefore it is rightly said that **the Angels come against each other, because the claims of the nations under them are reciprocally at odds with one another. For the lofty Spirits that are princes to those nations never fight in behalf of those that act unjustly, but justly judge and try their deeds. And when either the guilt or guiltlessness of each separate nation is brought into the debate of the Court Above, the ruling Spirit of that nation is said to have won in the conflict or not to have won; the one identical victory of all of whom, however, is the Supreme Will of their Maker above them, which Will whilst they ever have before their eyes, what they have not the power they have not the mind to obtain. Therefore it is well said, Who maketh peace in His high places.** It follows;

Ver. 3. *Is there any number of His soldiers?*

<http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia/Book17.html>

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Saint Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiæ*  
(During the years 600-625)

## Book I

vii. The noun (*De nomine*)

...

23. Agent (*actualis*) nouns derive from the action (*actus*), as “leader,” “king,” “runner,” “nurse,” “orator.” **Ethnic (*gens*) adjectives come from the ethnic group (*gens*), as “Greek,”**

“Roman.” 24. Adjectives of nationality (*patrius*) come from a native land (*patria*), as “Athenian,” “Theban.” Local (*locus*) adjectives from the place (*locus*), as “suburban.”

## Book II

xxvi. Aristotle’s categories (*De categoriis Aristotelis*)

...

7. “Quantity” is the measure by which something is shown to be large or small, as “long,” “short.” “Quality” expresses “of what sort” (*qualis*) a person may be, as “orator” or “peasant,” “black” or “white.” “Relation” is what is “related” (*referre*, ppl. *relatus*) to something, for when “son” is said, “father” is also indicated. These things arise together as related (*relativa*). Indeed, “slave” and “master” have a simultaneous onset of the name, nor can a master sometimes be found before a slave, nor a slave before a master, for one cannot exist before the other.

...

## Book V

ii. Divine laws and human laws (*De legibus divinis et humanis*)

1. All laws are either divine or human. Divine laws are based on nature, human law on customs. For this reason human laws may disagree, **because different laws suit different peoples.** 2. *Fas* is divine law; jurisprudence (*ius*) is human law. To cross through a stranger’s property is allowed by divine law; it is not allowed by human law.

...

vi. What the law of nations is (*Quid sit ius gentium*)

1. **The law of nations** concerns the occupation of territory, building, fortification, wars, captivities, enslavements, the right of return, treaties of peace, truces, the pledge not to molest embassies, the prohibition of marriages between different races. And it is called the “law of nations” (*ius gentium*) because nearly all nations (*gentes*) use it.

...

xxvii. Punishments drawn up in the laws (*De poenis in legibus constitutis*)

...

28. Exile (*exilium*) is so called as if it were “outside the country” (*extra solum*), for someone who is outside the country is called an exile (*exul*). Whence *postliminium* (i.e. the restoration of rank and privileges) for those who return, that is, those who are brought back from exile, who were cast out undeservedly, that is, **cast out beyond the borders (*limen*) of their native land.** Exile is divided into those who are *relegatus* and **those who are deportatus.** 29. A *relegatus* is one whose possessions accompany him; **a deportatus is not so accompanied.** 30. Proscription (*proscriptio*) is a condemnation of exile at a distance, as if it were a “writing afar” (*porro scriptio*). Also, because it is “publicly drawn up” (*palam scriptus*).



## Book VII

vi. **People who received their name** from a certain presaging (*De hominibus qui quodam praesagio nomen acceperunt*)

...

57. Naomi, which we can interpret as “she who is consoled,” because when her husband and children **had died in a foreign country** she clung to her Moabite daughter-in-law as a consolation for herself. 58. Ruth means “hastening,” **for she was an alien from a non-Israelite people, who hastened, her homeland abandoned, to cross into the land of Israel**, saying to her mother-in-law (Ruth 1:16), “Whithersoever thou shalt go, I will go.”

## Book IX

i. The languages of nations (*De linguis gentium*)

1. The diversity of languages arose with the building of the Tower after the Flood, for before the pride of that Tower divided human society, so that there arose a diversity of meaningful sounds, there was one language for all nations, which is called Hebrew. The patriarchs and prophets used this language not only in their speech, but also in the sacred writings. **But at the outset there were as many languages as there were nations**, and then more nations than languages, **because many nations sprang from one language stock**. 2. The term “languages” (*lingua*) is used in this context for the words that are made by the tongue (*lingua*), according to the figure of speech by which the thing that produces is named after the thing that is produced. Thus we will say “mouth” for “words,” as we speak of the letters we form as “a hand.”

3. **There are three sacred languages – Hebrew, Greek, and Latin** – which are preeminent throughout the world. On the cross of the Lord the charge laid against him was written at Pilate’s command in these three languages (John 19:20). Hence – and because of the obscurity of the Sacred Scriptures – a knowledge of these three languages is necessary, so that, whenever the wording of one of the languages presents any doubt about a name or an interpretation, recourse may be had to another language. 4. **Greek is considered more illustrious than the other nations’ languages, for it is more sonorous than Latin or any other language**. We can distinguish five varieties of Greek. The first of these is called, that is, “mixed” or “common,” which everyone uses. 5. The second is Attic (*Atticus*), namely the Greek of Athens (*Atheniensis*), **which all the authors of Greece used**. The third is Doric, which **the Egyptians and Syrians employ**. The fourth, Ionic; the fifth, Aeolic, which they say the Eolists spoke. In examining the Greek language we find settled differences of this kind, **because their speaking communities were dispersed in this way**.

6. Some say there are four varieties of Latin, that is, Ancient (*Priscus*), Latin, Roman, and Mixed. The Ancient is that uncouth language that **the oldest people of Italy** spoke in the age of Janus and Saturn, and it is preserved in the songs of the Salii. Then Latin, which the Etruscans and others in Latium spoke in the age of Latinus and the kings, and in this variety the Twelve

Tables were written. 7. Then Roman, which arose **after the kings were driven out by the Roman people**. In this variety the poets Naevius, Plautus, and Vergil, and the orators Gracchus and Cato and Cicero, and others produced their work. Then Mixed, which emerged in the Roman state after the wide expansion of the Empire, **along with new customs and peoples**, corrupted the integrity of speech with solecisms and barbarisms.

...

**14. We have treated languages first, and then nations, because nations arose from languages, and not languages from nations.**

ii. The names of nations (*De gentium vocabulis*)

**1. A nation (gens) is a number of people sharing a single origin, or distinguished from another nation (natio) in accordance with its own grouping, as the “nations” of Greece or of Asia Minor. From this comes the term “shared heritage” (gentilitas).** The word gens is also so called on account of the generations (*generatio*) of families, that is from “begetting” (*gignere*, ppl. *genitus*), as the term “nation” (*natio*) comes from “being born” (*nasci*, ppl. *natus*). 2. Now, of the nations into which the earth is divided, fifteen are from Japheth, thirty-one from Ham, and twenty-seven from Shem, which adds up to seventy-three – or rather, as a proper accounting shows, seventy-two. **And there are an equal number of languages, which arose across the lands and, as they increased, filled the provinces and islands.**

**3. The five sons of Shem each brought forth individual nations. The first of these was Elam, from whom descended the Elamites, princes of the Persians. The second Asshur, from whom sprang the empire of the Assyrians. The third Arpachshad, from whom the nation of the Chaldeans arose. The fourth Lud, from whom came the Lydians. The fifth Aram, from whom descended the Syrians, whose capital city was Damascus. 4. There are four sons of Aram, the grandsons of Shem: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. **Uz was the founder of Trachonitis – a principate between Palestine and Celesyria – from which came Job, as it is written (Job 1:1): “There was a man in the land of Uz.”** The second, **Hul, from whom came the Armenians. The third, Gether, from whom came the Acarnanians or Curians. The fourth Mash, from whom descended those who are called Maeones. 5. The posterity of Arpachshad the son of Shem follows. The grandson of Arpachshad was Heber (i.e. Eber), from whom descended the Hebrews. The son of Eber was Joktan, from whom the nation of the Indians arose. The son of Joktan was Sheleph, from whom came the Bactrians – although others suspect that these were Scythian exiles. 6. A son of Abraham was Ishmael, from whom arose the Ishmaelites, who are now called, with corruption of the name, Saracens, as if they descended from Sarah, and the Agarenes, from Agar (i.e. Hagar). 7. A son of Ishmael was Nebaioth, from whom descended the Nabatheans, who live between the Euphrates and the Red Sea. 8. The sons of Lot were Moab and Ammon (i.e. Ben-ammi), from whom came the Moabites and the Ammonites. 9. The son of Esau was Edom, from whom descended the Edomites. These are the nations that descend from the stock of Shem, holding the southern lands from the east to the Phoenicians.****

10. There were four sons of Ham, from whom sprang the following nations. Cush, from whom the Ethiopians were begotten. Mesraim (i.e. Egypt), from whom the Egyptians are said to have risen. 11. Put, from whom came the Libyans – whence the river of Mauretania is called Put still today, and the whole region around it is called Puthensis. 12. Finally Canaan, from whom descended the Africans and the Phoenicians and the ten tribes of Canaanites. 13. Again, the sons of Cush, grandsons of Ham – the grandchildren of Ham were six. The sons of Cush: Saba (i.e. Seba), Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Seba, and Cuza.<sup>6</sup> 14. Saba, from whom the Sabaeans were begotten and named, concerning which Vergil (Geo. 2.117):

The bough of frankincense is the Sabaeans' alone.

These are also the Arabians. 15. Havilah, from whom descended the Getulians, who cling together in a desert region of farthest Africa. 16. Sabtah, from whom came the Sabathenes, who now are called the Astabarians. 17. But Raamah, Seba, and Cuza gradually lost their ancient names, and the names that they now have, instead of the ancestral ones, are not known. 18. The sons of Raamah were Saba (i.e. Sheba) and Dedan. This Saba is written in Hebrew with the letter shin, whereas the Saba above is written with a samekh, and from him the Sabaeans were named – but now Saba is translated “Arabia.” 19. Dedan, from whom arose the Ethiopians in the western Region.

The sons of Mesraim (i.e. Egypt): Lahabim, from whom came the Libyans, who formerly were called Putheans. 20. Casluhim, from whom sprang the Philistines, whom the ancients called Ἀλλόφουλοι (lit. “foreigners”), and whom we now call, corruptly, Palestinians. 21. The other six nations are unknown because their past names fell into oblivion when they were overthrown in the Ethiopian War.

22. There were eleven sons of Canaan, from whom descended the ten tribes of Canaanites, whose land the Jews occupied when the Canaanites were expelled. The firstborn of these was Sidon, from whom came the Sidonians – whence also their city in Phoenicia is called Sidon. 23. The second, Heth, from whom came the Hethites. Third, Jebus, from whom descended the Jebusites, who possessed the city Jerusalem. Fourth, Emor, from whom came the Amorites. Fifth, Gargash, from whom the Gargashites. Sixth Hivah, from whom the Hivites. Those same were the Gibeonites, from the city of Gibeon, who came as suppliants to Joshua (Joshua 9:3–15). 24. Seventh, Arkah, who founded the city of Arcas opposite Tripoli, situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon. Eighth, Sinah, from whom the Sinites. Ninth Arvadah, from whom are the Arvadites, who occupied the island Aradum, separated by a narrow strait from the Phoenician coastline. 25. The tenth, Zemarrah, from whom came the noble city of Syria called Coeles. The eleventh, Hamath. These are the nations from the stock of Ham, which extend across the whole southern region from Sidon to the Gaditanian Strait (i.e. the Straits of Cadiz).

Now the tribes of the sons of Japheth. 26. Seven sons of Japheth are named: Gomer, from whom sprang the Galatians, that is, the Gauls (*Galli*). 27. Magog, from whom people

think the Scythians and the Goths took their origin. 28. Madai, from whom people reckon the Medes came to be. Javan, from whom the Ionians, who are also the Greeks – hence the “Ionian” Sea. 29. Tubal, from whom came the Iberians, who are also the Spaniards, although some think the Italians also sprang from him. 30. Meshech, from whom came the Cappadocians; hence to this day a city in their territory is called Mazaca. 31. Tiras, from whom the Thracians; their name is not much altered, as if it were Tiracians. 32. Then the sons of Gomer, the grandsons of Japheth. Ashkenaz, from whom descended the Sarmatians, whom the Greeks call Rheginians. 33. Riphath, from whom came the Paphlagonians. Gotorna (i.e. Togarmah), from whom are the Phrygians. 34. The sons of Javan: Elishah, from whom came the Greek Eliseans, who are called Aeolides. Hence also the fifth language in Greece is called Αἰολίς (“Aeolic”). 35. Tarshish, from whom descended the Cilicians, as Josephus thinks. From his name their capital city is called Tarsus. 36. Kittim, from whom the Citians, that is the Cypriots, whose city today is named Citium. Dodanim (i.e. Rodanim), from whom came the Rhodians. 37. These are the nations from the stock of Japheth, which occupy the middle region of Asia Minor from Mount Taurus to the north and all of Europe up to the Britannic Ocean, bequeathing their names to both places and peoples.

Afterwards many of these names were changed, others remain as they were. 38. Indeed, the names for many nations have partially remained, **so that their derivation is apparent today, like the Assyrians from Assur and the Hebrews from Heber (i.e. Eber)**. But partly, through the passage of time, they have been so altered that the most learned people, poring over the oldest historical works, **have not been able to find the origin of all nations from among these forebears**, but only of some, and these with difficulty. 39. Thus no original sound of the word remains to show that **the Egyptians arose from the son of Ham named Mesraim (i.e. Egypt)**, or similarly with regard to the Ethiopians, who are said to descend from that son of Ham named Cush.

If all this is taken into account, there appear to be more names of nations that have been altered than names remaining, and afterwards a rational process has given diverse names to these. **So the Indians were named from the river Indus, which bounds them on the western side. 40. The Serians (i.e. Chinese, or East Asians generally), a nation situated in the far East, were allotted their name from their own city.** They weave a kind of wool that comes from trees, hence this verse (Courtney fr. 7):

The Serians, unknown in person but known for their Cloth.

**41. The Gangarides are a people between the Assyrians and the Indians, living around the Ganges River – hence they were named Gangarides. 42. The Hircanians are named for the Hircanian forest, where there are many tigers. 43. The Bactrians were Scythians who were driven from their territory by a faction of their own people. They settled by the river Bactron in the East, and derived their name from the name of the river. The king of this nation was Zoroaster, inventor of the art of magic. 44. The Parthians likewise take their origin from the Scythians, for they were Scythian exiles, which is still evident from**

their name, for in the Scythian language exiles are called *parthi*. Like the Bactrians, after being driven by civil dissension from Scythia they first stealthily occupied the empty territory adjacent to the Hircanians, and then seized more land by force. 45. The Assyrians were named for Assur, the son of Shem – a very powerful nation, which held sway over the whole middle region between the Euphrates and the Indian border.

46. The Medes are thought to have been named after their king. Jason, brother of King Peliacus, was driven by Pelias's children from Thessaly with his wife Medea. Jason's stepson was Medus, king of the Athenians, who after the death of Jason conquered the territory of the East. He founded there the city Media, and he named the nation of Medes after his own name. But in the Book of Genesis we find that Madai was the progenitor of the nation of Medes, and also that they were named for him, as was said above (section 28 above). 47. The Persians were named after King Perseus, who crossed into Asia from Greece and there dominated the barbarian nations with heavy and prolonged fighting. Right after his victory he gave his name to the conquered people. Before Cyrus, the Persians were an ignoble people and considered of no rank among the nations of the area. The Medes were always very powerful. 48. The Chaldeans, who are now called the Chaldeans, were named after Chesed, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother. 49. The Sabaeans were named after the word σέβεισθαι, that is, "supplicate" and "worship," because we worship the divinity with Sabaean incense. They are also called Arabs, because they live in the mountains of Arabia called Libanus and Antilibanus, where incense is gathered. 50. The Syrians are held to be named from Surim (i.e. Asshurim), who was the grandson of Abraham from his wife Keturah. The people whom the ancients called Assyrians we now call Syrians, making a whole name from the Part.

51. The Hebrews were so named from Heber (i.e. Eber), the great-grandson of Shem. 52. The Israelites were named after Israel, the son of Isaac, for Israel was the patriarch of the Hebrews, and from him the twelve tribes of Jews were given the name of Israel. In the division of the kingdom his name was given to the Jews of the ten tribes, for before they were all called either Hebrews or Israelites. 53. However, from the time when the people of God were divided into two kingdoms, the two tribes that had kings from the stock of Judah were given the name of Jews (*Iudaeus*). The residue of ten tribes, who established a king for themselves in Samaria, kept the original name of Israel because of their large population. 54. The nation of the Samaritans took its origin from Assyrians who lived as immigrants in Samaria. In Latin their name means "guardians," because when the kingdom of Israel was taken captive the Samaritans were stationed in Israel's territory as a guard.

55. After Phoenix, the brother of Cadmus, moved from Egyptian Thebes to Syria, **he reigned at Sidon and named those people Phoenicians** and the province Phoenicia after his own name. 56. Moreover, the Sidonites are thought to have drawn their name from the city called Sidon. 57. **The Saracens are so called either because they claim to be descendants of Sarah** or, as the pagans say, **because they are of Syrian origin**, as if the word were *Syriginae*. They live in a very large deserted region. **They are also Ishmaelites, as the Book of Genesis teaches us,**

**because they sprang from Ishmael.** They are also named Kedar, from the son of Ishmael, and Agarines, from the name Agar (i.e. Hagar). **As we have said, they are called Saracens from an alteration of their name, because they are proud to be descendants of Sarah.**

**58. Philistines are the same as Palestinians,** because the Hebrew language lacks the letter p and uses the Greek phi in its place. Hence they say Philistine for Palestinians, expressly from the name of their city. **They are also called Allophyli, that is, “of foreign descent,” because they were always enemies of Israel and were set far apart from their race and society.** **59. Canaanites were named after Canaan the son of Ham, and the Jews occupied their land. From this origin came Emor, the father of Sicheu, for whom the Amorites were named.**

60. The Egyptians were named after a certain King Aegyptus, whereas earlier they were called Aeriens. In the Hebrew language “**Egyptians**” means “**afflictors**,” because they afflicted the **people of God** before they were liberated with divine assistance. 61. Armenius of Thessaly was one of Jason’s generals who set out for Colchis with a gathered multitude that wandered here and there upon the loss of their king Jason. He founded Armenia, and gave that nation its name after his own name.

**62. The Persian boundary, which divides the Scythians from them, is named Scythia, and the Scythians are regarded by some people as having been named from that boundary – a nation always held to be very ancient. They were ancestors of the Parthians and Bactrians; further, Scythian women founded the kingdom of the Amazons.** **63. The Massagetes are of Scythian origin,** and they are called Massagetes because they are “weighty,” that is, “strong” Getae – for Livy speaks of silver as weighty, that is, as “masses” (cf. *massa*, “mass”). **They live in northern regions between the Scythians and the Albanians.**

64. The Amazons are so called either because they live together without men, as if the word were ἄμα ζῶν (“living together”), or because they had their right breasts burnt off so that their shooting of arrows would not be hindered, as if it were ἄνευ μαζῶν (“without breasts”). Indeed, they would expose the breast that they had burned off. Titianus calls them “One-Breasted” (*Unimammae*), for that is “Amazon,” as if the term were ἄνευ μαζοῦ, that is, “without a breast.” Amazons no longer exist, because they were wiped out partly by Hercules and partly by Achilles or Alexander.

**65. The Scythian peoples in regions of Asia Minor, who believe that they are descendants of Jason,** are born with white (*albus*) hair because of the incessant snow, and the color of their hair gave the nation its name – hence they are called Albanians. **A blue-gray, that is, colored pupil is present in their eyes, so that they see better by night than by day. Also, the Albanians were neighbors of the Amazons.** **66. The Hugnians were formerly called Huns, and afterwards – after the name of their king – Avars, and they first lived in farthest Maeotis, between the icy Tanais (i.e. the Don) and the savage peoples of the Massagetes.** Then, with their nimble horses, they burst forth from the crags of the Caucasus, **where Alexander’s Gates had been keeping the fierce nations back.** They held the East captive for twenty years, and exacted an annual tribute from the Egyptians and the Ethiopians.

**67. The Trojan nation was formerly named the Dardanian, from Dardanus. The brothers**

Dardanus and Jasius emigrated from Greece, and Jasius came to Thrace, Dardanus to Phrygia, where he was the first ruler. After him succeeded his son Ericthonius, and then his grandson Tros, from whom the Trojans were named. 68. The Galatians are also known as the Gauls, and when they were called to the aid of the king of Bithynia they divided the kingdom with him when victory was attained. Then, mixed with the Greeks in this way, they were first called Gallogreeks, but now they are named Galatians after their ancient name of Galli (i.e. Gauls).

69. The Greeks were formerly named Thessalians, from Thessalus, and afterwards called Greeks, from King Graecus – for Greeks are properly Thessalians. 70. Further, people say that the Lapiths were a nation of Thessaly who once lived by the river Penios and were named after Lapitha, the daughter of Apollo. 71. The Greek nation of Sicyonians was named after King Sicyon. These were first called Agialeans, after King Agealeus, who first ruled over the Sicyonians. The city of Agealea is named after him, and this is now called the Peloponnesus, after its king Pelops. These are also called Arcadians, named after King Arcas, the son of Jupiter and Callista. 72. **The Danai were named after King Danaus. They are the same as the Argives**, named after their founder Argos. After Apis, the king of the Greeks, died, his son Argos succeeded to the kingship, and the Argives were named after him. After his death he began to be regarded as a god by them, honored with a temple and sacrifices. 73. **The Achaians, also known as Achivians, were named after Achaeus, son of Jupiter.** 74. **The Pelasgians were so named because they seemed to have arrived in Italy in springtime with sails spread**, like birds (cf. πελαργός, “stork”). Varro records their first landing in Italy. But the Greeks maintain that the Pelasgians were so called after the son of Jupiter and Larissa.

75. **The Myrmidons were allies of Achilles, and the Dolopians of Pyrrhus. The Myrmidons were so called for their cleverness**, as if the word were, that is, “ants.” But Eratosthenes says they are called Myrmidons after their leader Myrmido, son of Jupiter and Eurymedusa. 76. **Cranaus succeeded to Cecrops, king of the Athenians; his daughter Atthis gave her name to the region and the nation. Also from her the Attic people were named, and they are the Athenians.** 77. Ion was a powerful man, and he called those same Athenians ‘Ionians,’ from his own name. 78. The Macedonians were earlier named the Emathians, after the name of King Emathio, and afterwards called Macedonians. 79. The Epiroteans were earlier named the Pyrrhideans after Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, but afterwards after King Epirus . . . **they ventured to cross over to Italy.** 80. **Dorus was the son of Neptune and Ellepis, whence the Dorians take their origin and their name. Moreover, they are a part of the Greek nation,** and after them is named the third language of the Greeks, called Doric.

81. **The Lacedaemonians are named from Lacedaemon, the son of Semela. These people engaged for a long time in battle against the Messenians and, fearing that they would lose any hope of offspring because of the prolongation of the conflict, they commanded that their virgins should lie with the young men remaining at home. Thus, because of the promiscuous intercourse of these virgins, the youths, born of uncertain parentage, were named Spartans after the stigma of their mothers’ shame. The Spartans are the same as**

**the Lacedaemonians.**

**82. The Thracians are thought to have descended and taken their name from the son of Japheth named Tiras, as was said above, although the pagans judge that they were named for their behavior, because they are ferocious (trux, gen. trucis). Indeed, they were the most savage of all nations, and many legends are recorded about them: that they would sacrifice captives to their gods, and would drink human blood from skulls. About them, Vergil (*Aen.* 3.44):**

**Alas, flee those cruel lands, flee that greedy coast –**

**as if it were the land of cruel and greedy people. 83. The Istrian nation originated from the Colchians, who were sent to hunt down the Argonauts.** They went up the river Ister from the Pontus (i.e. the Black Sea), and thus they were called after the name of the river by which they left the sea.

**84. The Romans were named after Romulus, who founded the city of Rome and gave his name to both nation and city. These people were earlier called Saturnians, from Saturn, and Latins, from Latinus – for Latinus was king of Italy, who named the Latins from his own name – and they afterwards were called Romans. They are also called Quirites, because Romulus is also named Quirinus, since he would always use a spear that in the language of the Sabines is called *curis*. 85. Also, Italus, Sabinus, and Sicanus were brothers, after whom names were given to both peoples and regions. From Italus, the Italians; from Sabinus, the Sabines; from Sicanus, the Sicani were named – these last were also named Siculi, that is, Sicilians. 86. The Tuscans (i.e. Etruscans) are a nation of Italy named for their frequent use of rituals and incense (*tus*), that is, from the word  $\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  (“offer sacrifice”).**

**87. The Umbrians are a nation of Italy, but they are the offspring of the ancient Gauls, and they inhabit the Apennine mountains. The histories maintain that because in a period of destructive flooding they survived the rains they were called  $\text{Ὀμβριοί}$  (“rain people”) in Greek.**

**88. The Marsian nation of Italy is so called from Marsyas, the companion of Liber, who revealed the practice of viticulture to them. Because of this they built a statue to him, which afterwards the Romans carried off when the Marsians had been conquered.** Moreover, the Greeks call the Marsians “Oscians,” as if it were  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota$ , because they had many serpents, and  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$  means “serpent.” **They are also said to be invulnerable to the sorcery of spells. Like the Umbrians they inhabit the region of the Apennine mountains.**

**89. The Goths are thought to have been named after Magog, the son of Japheth, because of the similarity of the last syllable. The ancients called them Getae rather than Goths. They are a brave and most powerful people, tall and massive in body, terrifying for the kind of arms they use. Concerning them, Lucan (*Civil War* 2.54):**

**Let here a Dacian press forward, there a Getan (*Getes*) rush at the Iberians.**



**90. The Dacians were offshoots of the Goths, and people think they were called Dacians (*Dacus*) as if the word were *Dagus*, because they were begotten “from the stock of the Goths” (*de Gothorum stirpe*).** Concerning them, this verse (Paulinus of Nola, *Poems* 17.17):

You will go far, up to the northern Dacians.

**91. The Bessians were a barbarian people** who are thought to have been named after their great herds of cattle (*bos*). Concerning them, a certain poet (Paulinus of Nola, *Poems* 17.250):

He who lives in the middle of the land, or he who dwells by the river, rich with many cattle  
and wearing a felt cap.

**92. The Gipedes used to go to war on foot (*pedester*) rather than on horseback, and they are so named for this reason.**

**93. The Sarmatians rode armed (*armatus*) over the open fields before Lentulus restrained them at the Danube, and from their enthusiasm for weaponry (*arma*) they are thought to have received the name Sarmatians. 94. They say that the Lanus is a river beyond the Danube, after which the Alani were named, just as the people living by the river Lemannus (i.e. Lake Lemman) are called Alemanni.** About these, Lucan (*Civil War* 1.396):

They abandoned their tents pitched by the deep-channeled Lemannus.

**95. The Langobards are commonly said to have been named for their beards (*barba*), long and never cut. 96. The river Vindilicus springs out from the far frontier of Gaul, and people maintain that the Vandals lived by it and got their name from it.**

**97. The Germanic (*Germanicus*) nations are so called because they are immense (*immanis*) in body, and they are savage (*immanis*) tribes hardened by very severe cold.** They took their behavior from that same severity of climate – fiercely courageous and ever indomitable, living by raiding and hunting. **There are many tribes of Germani, varied in their weaponry, differing in the color of their clothes, of mutually incomprehensible languages, and with uncertain etymologies of their names – such as the Tolosates, the Amsivari, the Quadi, the Tuungri, the Marcomanni, the Bruteri, the Chamavi, the Blangiani, the Tubantes. The monstrosity of their barbarism gives a fearsome quality even to their names.**

**98. The Suevi were a segment of the Germanic nation at the northern frontier.** Of them, Lucan (*Civil War* 2.51):

(The Elbe and Rhine) pour the blond Suevi from the extreme north.

Many have reported that **there were a hundred villages and communities of Suevians<sup>43</sup>. The Suevi are thought to have been named from Mount Suevus, which forms the eastern boundary of Germania and whose territory they occupied.** 99. Formerly, when the interior of Germania was subjected by the Romans, **the Burgundians coalesced into a large nation after being placed at the frontier-line of the Roman camps by Tiberius Caesar. Thus they drew their name from their location,** because in their vernacular they call the dense settlements along the frontier 'forts' (*burgus*). **Afterwards they rebelled against the Romans and, comprising more than eighty thousand armed men, they settled on the banks of the Rhine, and took the name of a nation.** 100. **The Saxon people, situated on the shores of the Ocean in impassable marshes, are accomplished in strength and agility. Whence they were named (i.e. from *saxosus*, "stony"), because they are a hard and very powerful kind of people, standing out above the other piratical tribes.**

101. The Franks (*Franci*) are thought to have been named after a certain chieftain of theirs. Others reckon that they were named for **the brutality (*feritas*) of their behavior, for their behavior is wild, with a natural ferocity of spirit.** 102. Some suspect that the Britons were so named in Latin **because they are brutes (*brutus*).** Their nation is situated within the Ocean, with the sea flowing between us and them, as if they were outside our orbit. Concerning them, Vergil (*Ecl.* 1.66):

**The Britons, separated from the whole world.**

103. The Scotti (*Scottus*, i.e. the Irish) in their own language receive their name from their painted (*pictus*, cf. the Picts) bodies, because they are marked by tattoos of various figures made with iron pricks and black pigment. 104. **The Gauls (*Galli*) are named for the whiteness of their bodies, for in Greek milk is called γάλα. Whence the Sibyl speaks of them thus, when she says of them (Vergil, *Aen.* 8.660):**

**Then their milk-white necks are circled with gold.**

105. **People's faces and coloring, the size of their bodies, and their various temperaments correspond to various climates. Hence we find that the Romans are serious, the Greeks easy-going, the Africans changeable, and the Gauls fierce in nature and rather sharp in wit, because the character of the climate makes them so.** 106. The Gauls were also called the Senones, and in ancient times the Xenones, because they offered hospitality to Liber (cf. ξένοϛ, "guest"); afterwards the letter x was changed to s. 107. Vacca was a town near the Pyrenees, and the Vacceans were named after it. The poet is believed to have spoken about them (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 4.42):

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<sup>43</sup> Though they live in separate communities, they are not named for a founding king of a material settlement, as many nations are; they are named for the location of their *racial stock*; in much the same way that Galatians were distinguished as a unique race even after their intermixing with the rest of the Greeks. This is notable as distinct from the name of merely a group dwelling in a place such as the Vacceans, because it is said that the Suevi spread out throughout Germania; they are therefore traced as distinct for their racial origin.

And the Vacceans ranging far.

They occupied the vast emptiness of the heights of the Pyrenees. **They are the same people as the Vascones (i.e. the Basques)**, as if the word were *Vaccones*, with the letter *c* changed to *s*. 108. After he subdued Spain, Gnaeus Pompey, in his rush to come to his triumphal celebration, drove them down from the heights of the Pyrenees **and gathered them into one city. Hence the city took the name of “Assembled Refugees”** (*Convenae*, i.e. Saint-Bertrand de Comminges).

**109. The Spanish were first named Iberians, after the river Iberus (i.e. the Ebro), but afterwards they were named Spaniards (*Hispanus*) after Hispalus (i.e. the legendary founder of *Hispalis*, Seville).** 110. The Galicians (*Gallecus*) were named for their whiteness (cf. γάλα, "milk") – and hence also the Gauls (*Gallus*) were named – for they are of whiter complexion than the other people of Spain. They claim a Greek origin for themselves, and hence are wise with a native wit. 111. They say that, after the Trojan War, Teucer was despised by his father Telamon because of the death of his brother Ajax. When he was not received into his kingdom, **Teucer retired to Cyprus and there founded the city of Salamis after the name of his ancient homeland.** From there he emigrated to Galicia, and when he had settled there he gave the name of the place to the nation. **112. The Astures are a nation of Spain**, so called because they live along the river Astura, hedged in by mountains and thick forests. **113. The Cantabrians (*Cantaber*) are a nation of Spain** named after the name of a city and the river Iberus (i.e. the Ebro) where they reside. **They have a gritty spirit and are always as ready for brigandage and warfare as for enduring blows.** 114. The Celtiberians descended from the Celtic Gauls, and from these names their district, Celtiberia, was named – for they were named Celtiberians after the river Iberus of Spain, where they are settled, and after the Gauls, who were called Celtic, with the two terms combined.

**115. The Africans were named for one of the descendants of Abraham**, who was called Afer. He is said to have led an army against Libya and to have settled there after he had conquered the enemy, **and his descendants were named Africans, and the place named Africa, after their ancestor.** 116. The Punic people are the Carthaginians, named after the Phoenicians who emigrated with Dido. 117. The Tyrians were named after Tyre, the city of the Phoenicians, whence they emigrated and came to the African coast. 118. The Getulians are said to have been Getae who, setting out from their homeland with a huge force on ships, occupied the region of the Syrtes in Libya and were named by derivation Getulians, because they came from the Getae. Hence also the idea among the Goths is to speak of the Moors as close blood-relatives of themselves from their ancient affinity. 119. Thus Africa was held initially by the Libyans, then the Africans, and after this the Getulians, and finally the Moors and Numidians.

**120. The Moors and Numidians – so the Africans believe – got their origin and name in the following way.** After Hercules perished in Spain, his leaderless army, **composed of various nations, sought homes for themselves in various places, and from this mass Medes and**

**Persians and Armenians, having sailed across to Africa by ship, occupied the regions nearest the sea. 121. But the Persians, not finding wood in the fields for building houses, and with communication inhibited by the unknown language, wandered through open fields and diverse deserts.** In accordance with their itinerant foraging they called themselves, in their own language, Numidians, that is, wandering and errant and without a city. **122. On the other hand, the Medes mingled with those Libyans who lived closest to Spain. Little by little the Libyans altered the name of these people, in their barbarous tongue calling the Medes “Moors” (Maurus), although the Moors are named by the Greeks for their color, for the Greeks call black μαυρός (i.e. ἀμαυρός, "dark"), and indeed, blasted by blistering heat, they have a countenance of a dark color.**

123. Massylia is a city of Africa, not far from Mount Atlas and the gardens of the Hesperides. The Massylians were named after this city, and we now call them, with alteration, Massulians. Concerning them, Vergil (cf. *Aen.* 4.483):

Here a priestess of the **Massylian people** has been shown to me.

**124. The nation of the Gaulalians consists of people wandering from the south up to the western Ocean. The island Gauloe gave them their name; it is next to Ethiopia, and no serpent is born or lives there. 125. Garamantes are a people of Africa living near the Cyrenians and named after the king Garamans, son of Apollo. He founded there the city named Garama after his own name. They are neighbors of the Ethiopian tribes.** Concerning them, Vergil (*Ecl.* 8.44):

**The farthest Garamantes.**

**And “farthest,” because they are savage and remote from human fellowship.** 126. The Hesperians are those who live alongside Spain, for Hispania is Hesperia (see XIV.iv.19).

**127. Ethiopians are so called after a son of Ham named Cush, from whom they have their origin. In Hebrew, Cush means “Ethiopian.” 128. This nation, which formerly emigrated from the region of the river Indus, settled next to Egypt between the Nile and the Ocean, in the south very close to the sun. There are three tribes of Ethiopians: Hesperians, Garamantes, and Indians. Hesperians are of the West, Garamantes of Tripolis, and the Indians of the East. 129. The Trochodites (i.e. Troglodytes) are a tribe of Ethiopians so called because they run with such speed that they chase down wild animals on foot (cf. τροχάζειν, “run quickly”; τρέχειν, "run"). 130. The Pamphagians are also in Ethiopia. Their food is whatever can be chewed, and anything living that they come upon – whence they are named (cf. παν-, "all"; φαγεῖν, "eat"). 131. Ichthyophagians (cf. ἰχθυῖς, "fish"), who excel in fishing at sea and survive on fish alone. **They occupy the mountainous regions beyond the Indians,** and Alexander the Great conquered them and forbade them to eat fish. **132. Anthropophagians are a very rough tribe situated below the land of the Sirices. They feed on human flesh and are therefore named “maneaters” (*anthropophagus*, cf. ἄνθρωπος, "man"). As is the case for these nations, so for others the names have changed over the****

centuries in accordance with their kings, or their locations, or their customs, or for whatever other reasons, so that the primal origin of their names from the passage of time is no longer evident.

133. Now indeed the people called Antipodes (i.e. "opposite-footed") – because they are thought to be contrary to our footprints, as if from under the earth they make footprints upside-down from ours are on no account to be believed in, because neither the solidity nor the central space of the earth allows this. Indeed this is not confirmed by any knowledge of history, but poets conjecture it as it were by sheer inference. 134. Moreover, they say that the Titans of Greece were a robust people of preeminent strength who, the fables say, were created by the angry Earth for her revenge against the gods. 135. Hence Titans are so called from the word τίσις, that is, "revenge," for they lived in arms as if for the sake of avenging Mother Earth against the gods. The fables feign that in war the Titans were overwhelmed by Jupiter and made extinct, because they perished from thunderbolts hurled from the sky.

...

#### iv. Citizens (*De civibus*)

1. We have spoken somewhat about reigns and military terms, and now we add a summary of terms for citizens. 2. Citizens (*civis*) are so called because they live "assembled" (*coire*) in one body, so that their common life might be made richer and safer. **3. A house is the dwelling place of a family, as a city is the dwelling place of a single populace**, and as the world is the domicile of the whole of humankind. **But "house" also refers to a lineage, a family**, or the union of husband and wife. A house (*domus*) originates with these two (*duo*), and the term is Greek (i.e. δῶμος, οἰ δῶμα, "house, household, family"). **A familia consists of the children of free parents legally begotten from the loins (*femur*)**. 4. A "race" (*genus*) is so called from begetting (*gignere*, ppl. *genitus*) and procreating (*progenerare*), or from the delimiting of particular descendants (*prognatus*), as are nations (*natio*) that, delimited by their own kinships, are called "stocks of people" (*gens*). 5. A populace (*populus*) is composed of a human multitude, allied through their agreed practice of law and by willing association. A populace is distinct from the plebeians (*plebs*), because a populace consists of all the citizens, including the elders of the city. 6. Therefore the populace is the whole city, but the common people are the plebeians. The plebeians are named for their plurality (*pluralitas*), for there are more people of lesser status than there are elders. The populace is called the σουχναμοῖς, that is, σιτοασίς, and hence the term *populus*. In Greek the populace is called λαός, from the term "stone" (*lapis*, cf. Greek λίθος, "stone"). The "common people" (*vulgus*) is the multitude living here and there – as if it were "each one where he wishes" (*vult*, from *velle*, "wish")."

**7. The separate courts and assemblies of the people are called tribes (*tribus*), and they are so called because in the beginning the Romans had been separated by Romulus 'into three groups' (*trifarie*): senators, soldiers, and plebeians. Although the tribes are now multiplied, they retain their original name.** 8. Its members' age gave the senate (*senatus*) its name, because they were seniors (*senior*). Others have it that senators are so called from permitting (*sinere*), because they grant the means for doing something. 9. A "senate resolution" (*senatusconsultum*) is so called from consulting (*consulere*) and deliberating, because it is

rendered in such a way that it consults interests, and cannot cause harm. 10. Indeed, senators are called fathers (*pater*), as Sallust says (*War with Catiline* 6), from their similar responsibilities, for just as fathers tend to their children, so the senators would tend to the republic. 11. "Enrolled fathers" (*patres conscripti*) were so called because when Romulus chose the ten curial districts of the senators he set down their names on golden tablets in the presence of the populace, and hence they were called enrolled fathers. 12. The first ranks of senators are called the *illustres* (lit. "illustrious"), the second, the *spectabiles* ("notable"), and the third, the *clarissimi* ("distinguished"). There is no fourth type lower than these. **Although a person might be of senatorial birth**, he was called a Roman equestrian (*equus*) until the lawful age, and then he would receive the honor of the senatorial office.

...

**21. Fellow-citizens (*municeps*, particularly a "municipal officer") are those born in the same municipality**, so called from their service in their offices, because they take on (*accipere*) public offices – for *munia* are public offices. Hence people who assume no official duty are called "immune" (*immunis*). **22. Municipal officers (*municipalis*) are citizens native to a place and holding office there.**

...

**36. Colonists (*colonus*) are settlers (*cultor*) from a foreign country**, so called from the cultivation (*cultura*) of fields. There are people coming from elsewhere and tilling (*colere*, ppl. *cultus*) a foreign field that they have leased, and they owe their condition to the fruitful soil, because of their tillage of the land under the control of the owner, inasmuch as an estate was leased to them. We speak of four types of colonists: Roman, Latin, auxiliary, or colonists of the private countryside. **37. Tenants (*inquilinus*) are so called as if it were "residents of others' property" (*incolentes aliena*), for they have no place of their own, but live on alien land. 38. There is this difference between a tenant and a "resident alien" (*advena*): tenants are people who emigrate, and do not remain permanently, whereas we speak of resident aliens or immigrants (*incola*) as coming from abroad but settling permanently – hence the term *incola*, for those who are now inhabitants, from the word "reside" (*incolere*). **39. Indigenous people (*indigena*) are those "therefrom begotten" (*inde genitus*), born in the same place in which they live. 40. The term *incola* signifies not an indigenous person, but a resident alien.****

**41. Foreigners (*peregrinus*) are so called because the parents from whom they come are not known (cf. *parentes ignorari*). 42. People who lived in Rome were called *urbani*, but those who live in other towns are *oppidani*, because the only "city" (*urbs*) is Rome, and the others are towns (*oppidum*). 43. *Famuli* are those who were born of one's own household of slaves. Slaves (*servus*) got their name from this, that those who could have been killed by the victors according to the law of war, when they were "preserved alive" (*servare*), were made *servi*, and thus "slaves" were named from "preserving."**

...

**46. A freeman (*ingenuus*) is so called because he has freedom by birth (*genus*), not from a legal action like freedmen. Hence the Greeks call such a one εὐγενής (lit. "well-born") because he is of good birth. 47. A freedman (*libertus*) was so called as if the word were *liberatus* ("liberated"), for at an earlier time he was consigned to the yoke of slavery. In antiquity**

the son of a freedman was called *libertinus*, as if the term were *de liberto natus* ("born from a freedman"). But now, *libertinus* refers to one who was freed by a freedman, or his possession. 48. A "manumitted man" (*manumissus*) is so called as if the term were *manu emissus* ("delivered by a hand"), for in ancient times whenever they would liberate (*manumittere*) someone they would turn him around after he was struck with a slap and confirm him to be free. From this, they were said to be "manumitted" because they were delivered by a hand. 49. A *dediticius* (i.e. a surrendered captive) was first named after the word *deditio* ("surrender"), the word used **when conquered or about to be conquered enemies hand themselves over to the victors**. This was the origin of the word *dediticius*: once, when slaves took up arms and fought against the Roman people, they were defeated and "gave themselves up" (*se dare*, perfect tense *dedi*), and they were arrested and were punished with various marks of shame. 50. For this reason, when at a later time some of them were manumitted by their masters, **they did not attain the standing of Roman citizens**, on account of the marks of punishment that they had manifestly experienced.

...

v. Family relationships and their degrees (*De adfinitatibus et gradibus*)

...

9. A grandfather (*avus*) is a father's father, so called from "age" (*aevus*), that is, from "antiquity." A great-grandfather (*proavus*) is the grandfather's father, as though he were close to the grandfather (*prope* + *avus*). A great-great-grandfather (*abavus*) is the great-grandfather's father, who is now far way "from the grandfather" (*ab* + *avus*). 10. A great-great-great-grandfather (*atavus*) is the great-great-grandfather's father. 10. A great-great-great-great-grandfather (*tritavus*) is the father of a great-great-great-grandfather, as if the word were *tetravis*, that is, the "fourth beyond the grandfather" (cf. τετρα-, "four"). **But *tritavus* is the last name given to this line of kinship; a family arises with the father, and ends with the great-great-great-great-grandfather.**

...

11. Son (*filius*) and daughter (*filia*) are named after the family (*familia*); for they are first in the order of descent. **Hence with regard to the Cornelian family, the whole stock arose from Cornelius.** 12. "Family" comes from the word "loins" (*femur*; see iv.3 above), **for a race of people and its lineage appear from their ancestral loins (*femur*).** The word *familia* is used metaphorically for slaves, and not with its proper application. 13. A family's lineage (*stirps*, "stock," lit. "stalk") is so called from its longstanding designation based on birth. **A son (*gnatus*) is so called because he has been generated (*generatus*);** whence the word is spelled with a g. Offspring (*suboles*) are so named for their "taking the place" (*substitutio*) of the previous generation.

...

**28. Just as those born rather far down the line of descent are called progeny, so those further up, the great-grandfathers and great-great-grandfathers, are also called "progenitors" (*progenitor*), as if the term were *porro generans* ("remote begetter").** A great-grandson (*pronepos*) is so called because he is *prope nepotem* ("near the grandson"). 29. The great-great-grandson (*abnepos*), because he is separated "from the grandson" (*a nepote*), for the *pronepos* is between him and the *nepos*. The *adnepos* is the son of an *abnepos*. 30. The *trinepos* is the son of the *adnepos*, because he is fourth in line after the *nepos* – as if the word

were *tetranepos* (“fourth” + “grandson”). **31. We do not speak of “descendants” (*minor*) except where a name for a degree of kinship is lacking** – such names as son, grandson, great-grandson, great-great-grandson, great-great-great-grandson, and great-great-great-great-grandson. **Where there are no more such terms for degrees we rightly speak of “descendants,” just as we speak of “ancestors” (*maior*)** beyond the terms for father, grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, great-great-great-grandfather, and great-great-great-great-grandfather.

vi. Paternal and maternal relatives (*De agnatis et cognatis*)

...

**3. The “next of kin” (*proximus*) is so called because of closeness (*proximitas*) of blood. 4. “Blood-relatives” (*consanguineus*) are so called because they are conceived from one blood (*sanguis*), that is, from one seed of a father.** A man’s seed is a froth of blood that looks like water dashed against cliffs and making a white froth, or like dark wine that makes a whitish foam when shaken in a cup. 5. Brothers (*frater*) are so called because they are of the same fruit (*fructus*), that is, born of the same seed. 6. However, “maternal brothers” (*germanus*) are those issuing from the same mother (*genetrix*) and not, as many say, from the same seed (*germen*); only the latter are called fratres. Therefore *fratres* issue from the same fruit, and *germani* from the same mother. 7. Uterine (*uterinus*) brothers are so called because they have issued from different fathers but from a single womb (*uterus*), for only a woman has a womb.

**8. In the Divine Scriptures brothers are referred to in four ways: in nature, in nation, in lineage, and in affection.** In nature, as Esau and Jacob, Andrew and Peter, James and John. In nation, as all Jews are called brothers of each other in Deuteronomy (cf. 15:12): “If you obtain your brother (*frater*), who is a Hebrew man.” And the Apostle says (Romans 9:3-4): “I wished myself to be an anathema from Christ, for my brethren (*frater*), who are my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites.” 9. Further, people may be called brothers by lineage when they are of one family, that is, one native land. Latin speakers use the word “paternity” (*paternitas*) when many groups of a race spread from a single root. In Genesis, Abraham said to Lot (cf. 13:8): “Let there be no quarrel between me and thee, and between my herdsmen, and thy herdsmen: for we are all brethren (*frater*).” Surely Lot was not Abraham’s brother, but the son of his brother Aram. 10. In the fourth way, brothers are so called in affection, and this has two types: spiritual and general. In spiritual brotherhood, by which all of us Christians are called brothers, as (Psalm 132:1 Vulgate): “Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren (*frater*) to dwell together in unity.” In general brotherhood, because all humans, born from one father, are joined in equal kinship among ourselves, as Scripture says (cf. Isaiah 66:5): “Say to those that hate you: you are our brothers (*frater*).”

...

**28. The family tree that legal advisors draw up concerning lineage is called a *stemma*, where the degrees of relationship are spelled out – as, for example, “this one is the son, this one is the father, this one the grandfather, this one the relative on the father’s side,” and all the rest. Here are the figures for these relationships. 29. While this consanguinity diminishes towards the last degree, as it subdivides through the levels of descent, and**



kinship (*propinquitās*) ceases to exist, the law recovers it again through the bond of matrimony, and in a certain way calls it back as it slips away. Thus, consanguinity is established up to the sixth degree of kinship, so that just as the generation of the world and the status of humankind comes to an end through six ages, so kinship in a family is terminated by the same number of degrees.

## Book X

Certain terms for human beings (*De quibusdam vocabulis hominum*)

...

15. "Dressed for mourning" (*atratus*) and "clothed in white" (*albatūs*): the former from black clothing (cf. *ater*, "black"), the latter from white (*albus*) clothing. **Stranger (*advena*), one who "comes here" (*advenire*) from elsewhere. Foreigner (*alienigena*), because one is of a "foreign nation" (*alienum genus*), and not of the nation where one now is. *alienigena*, one who is begotten (*genitus*) from another people (*alia gens*), and not from the people where one now is.**

16. Immigrant (*accola*), because immigrating (*advenire*) one tills (*colere*) the land.

...

84. Exile (*exul*), because one is "outside his native soil" (*extra solum suum*), as if sent beyond his soil, or wandering outside his soil, for those who go outside their soil are said to "be in exile" (*exulare*).

85. Banished (*extorris*), because one is "outside his own land" (*extra terram suam*), as if the term were *exterris* but properly speaking one is banished when driven out by force and ejected from his native soil with terror (*terror*). Also *extorris*, driven "from one's own land" (*ex terra sua*). 86. Banished (*extorris*), "outside the land" (*extra terram*), or "beyond one's frontier" (*extra terminos suos*), because one is frightened (*exterrere*). 87. Expeller (*exterminator*), not the one who is commonly said ἀφα- νισθῆναι ("to be destroyed"), but the one who casts out and expels someone from the boundaries (*terminus*) of a city. Expelled (*exterminatus*), because such a one is driven out "beyond his boundaries" (*extra terminos*). **[Thus also] foreign (*externus*), because one is from an alien land (*terra*).** 88. Needy (*egens*) and destitute (*egenus*), "indigent (*indigens*)," without a nation (*gens*) and without a family (*genus*).

...

147. Unexpected (*improvisus*), so called because one is suddenly present, and not "seen far before" (*porro ante visus*). Informer (*index*), a betrayer, from "pointing out" (*indicare*). **Indigenous (*indigena*), so called because one is "from there begotten" (*inde genitus*), that is, born in the same place.**

...

214. Forward (*procax*), properly the same as "greedy" (*petax*), for to demand (*procare*) is to seek (*petere*). Hence a suitor for marriage is called *procus*. 215. Prodigal (*prodigus*), "a voluptuary and spendthrift," who "drives far away" (*porro agere*) everything, and as it were "throws it away" (*proicere*). **Fugitive (*profugus*) properly means one who wanders far from**

his own land, as if the term were *porro fugatus* (“driven far”). **Foreigner (*peregrinus*), one set far from his native country, just as *alienigena* (“born in another country”).** 216.

Far-flung (*proiectus*), as if “flung far” (*procul iactatus*) and wide, just as “he brought forth” (*producere*) is as if “he brought someone far” (*porro . . . ducere*), and “he called forth” (*provocare*), as if “he called someone far” (*porro . . . vocare*). Projecting (*proiectus*), “thrown out far” (*porro eiectus*) and “thrust forth” (*proiactatus*), whence also (Vergil, *Aen.* 3.699):

And the projecting (*proiectus*) rocks,

that is, thrust far out (*porro iactatus*).

...

**219. A raider (*praedo*) is one who invades a foreign province with plundering,** called “raider” from stealing booty (*praeda*), and a raider is someone who possesses booty. Plunderer (*praedator*), that is, the one to whom some of the booty (*praeda*) is owed.

...

238. Accused (*reus*), so called from the lawsuit (*res*) in which he is liable, and offence (*reatum*) from *reus*. “Impeached for state treason” (*reus maiestatis*) was at first the term for one who had carried out something against the republic, or anyone who had conspired with the enemy. It was called “impeached for state treason” **because it is “graver” (*maius*) to harm one’s native country than a single citizen.** Afterwards those people were called “impeached for state treason” who were seen to have acted against the majesty (*maiestas*) of the head of state, or who had conferred unbeneficial laws on the state, or had abrogated beneficial ones.

...

247. Sluggish (*segnis*), that is, “without fire” (*sine igni*), **lacking native wit** – for *se-* means “without” (*sine*), as *sedulus, sine dolo* (see 244 above). Calm (*securus*), as if the term were “without anxiety” (*sine cura*) – that is, unresponsive, **for which reason we take such people as unbeneficial.**

## Book XI

### iii. Portents (*De portentis*)

1. Varro defines portents as beings that seem to have been born contrary to nature – but they are not contrary to nature, because they are created by divine will, since the nature of everything is the will of the Creator. Whence even the pagans address God sometimes as “Nature” (*Natura*), sometimes as “God.” 2. A portent is therefore not created contrary to nature, but contrary to what is known nature<sup>44</sup>. Portents are also called signs, omens, and prodigies, because they are seen to portend and display, indicate and predict future events. 3. The term “portent” (*portentum*) is said to be derived from foreshadowing (*portendere*), that is, from

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<sup>44</sup> I have included this section not only on account of its entertaining nature, but more to demonstrate the concept of diversity among humans. Even if, as Isidore argues, these people are born (many of whom he believes to exist), they are still begotten of humans; but there is a great gap in the conditions and *nature* of the various races, just as he observes there are in the ethnicities which we today recognize. They are even differentiated by their intelligence and/or color in several preceding and proceeding passages.

“showing beforehand” (*praeostendere*). “Signs” (*ostentum*), because they seem to show (*ostendere*) a future event. Prodigies (*prodigium*) are so called, because they “speak hereafter” (*porro dicere*), that is, they predict the future. But omens (*monstrum*) derive their name from admonition (*monitus*), because in giving a sign they indicate (*demonstrare*) something, or else because they instantly show (*monstrare*) what may appear; and this is its proper meaning, even though it has frequently been corrupted by the improper use of writers.

4. Some portents seem to have been created as indications of future events, for God sometimes wants to indicate what is to come through some defects in newborns, and also through dreams and oracles, by which **he may foreshadow and indicate future calamity for certain peoples or individuals**, as is indeed proved by abundant experience. 5. In fact, to Xerxes a fox born of a mare was a portent for the destruction of the empire. A monster to which a woman gave birth, whose upper body parts were human, but dead, while its lower body parts came from diverse animals, yet were alive, signified to Alexander the sudden murder of the king – for the worse parts had outlived the better ones. However, those monsters that are produced as omens do not live long – they die as soon as they are born. 6. There is a difference between a “portent” (*portentum*) and “an unnatural being” (*portentuosus*). Portents are beings of transformed appearance, as, for instance, is said to have happened when in Umbria a woman gave birth to a serpent. Whence Lucan says (*Civil War* 1.563):

And the child terrified its own mother.

But an unnatural being strictly speaking takes the form of a slight mutation, as for instance in the case of someone born with six fingers.

7. Portents, then, or unnatural beings, exist in some cases in the form of a size of the whole body that surpasses common human nature, as in the case of Tityos who, as Homer witnesses, covered nine jugers (i.e. about six acres) when lying prostrate; **in other cases in the form of a smallness of the whole body, as in dwarfs (*nanus*), or those whom the Greeks call pygmies (*pygmaeus*), because they are a cubit tall. Others are so called due to the size of parts of their bodies, as for instance a misshapen head**, or due to superfluous parts of their limbs, as in the case of two-headed and three-headed individuals, or in the case of the *cynodontes* (i.e. “dog-toothed” people), who have a pair of projecting fangs. 8. Yet others are so called due to missing parts of the body, individuals in whom one corresponding part is deficient compared with the other, as when one hand is compared with the other hand and one foot with the other foot. Others due to a cutting off, as in the case of those born without a hand or without a head, whom the Greeks call *steresios* (cf. *στέρησις*, “deprivation”). Others in the form of *praenumeria*, when only the head or a leg is born.

9. Others, who are transformed in a part of the body, as for instance those who have the features of a lion or of a dog, or the head or body of a bull, as they relate in the case of the Minotaur born of Pasiphae what the Greeks call *ἔτερομορφία*. Others become a portent due to a complete transformation into a different creature, as in the story of a woman who gave birth to a calf. Others, who have a change in the position of features without any transformation, such as

those with eyes in their chest or forehead, or ears above their temples, or, as Aristotle relates, someone who had his liver on the left side and his spleen on the right. 10. Others, because of a joined begetting, as when in one hand several fingers are found joined at birth and fused together, and in the other hand fewer - and likewise with the feet. Others, with a feature that is premature and untimely, as those who are born with teeth or a beard or white hair. Others, with a complex of several oddities, like the multiformed portent of Alexander's about which I spoke above (see section 5). **11. Others, from a mixing of sexes, like those they call the ἀνδρόγυνοι ("androgynes") and ἑρμαφροδίται. Hermaphrodites are so named because both sexes appear in them, as in Greek "Ἑρμῆς signifies the male, Ἀφροδίτη the female. These, having a male right breast and a female left breast, in sexual intercourse sire and bear children in turn.**

**12. Just as, in individual nations, there are instances of monstrous people, so in the whole of humankind there are certain monstrous races, like the Giants, the Cynocephali (i.e. "dog-headed people"), the Cyclopes, and others. 13. Giants (*Gigantes*) are so called according to the etymology of a Greek term; the Greeks suppose that they are γηγενεῖς, that is, "earthborn," because in their fable the parent Earth begot them as like itself, with their immense mass – for γῆ means "earth" and γένος "offspring." However, those whose parentage is uncertain are also commonly called "sons of the earth." 14. But some, inexperienced with Holy Scripture (i.e. Genesis 6:4), falsely suppose that apostate angels lay with the daughters of humans before the Flood, and that from this the Giants were born – that is, excessively large and powerful men - and filled the earth. 15. The Cynocephali are so called because they have dogs' heads, and their barking indeed reveals that they are rather beasts than humans. These originate in India. 16. India also produces the *Cyclopes*, and they are called Cyclops because they are believed to have a single eye in the middle of their foreheads. These are also called ἀγριοφαγῖται, because they eat only the flesh of wild animals.**

**17. People believe that the Blemmyans in Libya are born as trunks without heads, and having their mouth and eyes in their chest, and that another race is born without necks and having their eyes in their shoulders. 18. Moreover, people write about the monstrous faces of nations in the far East: some with no noses, having completely flat faces and a shapeless countenance; some with a lower lip so protruding that when they are sleeping it protects the whole face from the heat of the sun; some with mouths grown shut, taking in nourishment only through a small opening by means of hollow straws. Some are said to have no tongues, using nods or gestures in place of words. 19. They tell of the Panotians of Scythia, who have such huge ears that they cover all the body-for πᾶν is the Greek word for "all," and ὦτα means "ears." 20. The Artabatitans of Ethiopia are said to walk on all fours, like cattle; none passes the age of forty.**

**21. The Satyrs are little people with hooked noses; they have horns on their foreheads, and feet like goats' - the kind of creature that Saint Anthony saw in the wilderness. When questioned by the servant of God, this Satyr is said to have responded (Jerome, *Life of Paul the Hermit* 8; PL 23.23): "I am one of the mortals that dwell in the desert, whom the pagans, deluded by their fickle error, worship as Fauns and Satyrs." 22. There are also**

said to be a kind of wild men, whom some call Fauns of the fig. 23. The race of Sciopodes are said to live in Ethiopia; they have only one leg, and are wonderfully speedy. The Greeks call them σκιόπῳδες ("shade-footed ones") because when it is hot they lie on their backs on the ground and are shaded by the great size of their feet.

24. The Antipodes in Libya have the soles of their feet twisted behind their legs, and eight toes on each foot. 25. The Hippopodes are in Scythia, and have a human form and horses' hooves. 26. In India there are said to be a race called Μακρόβιοι, who are twelve feet tall. There, too, is a race a cubit tall, whom the Greeks from the term "cubit" call pygmies (*pigmaeus*, cf. πυγμαί, "cubit"), of whom I have spoken above (section 7). They live in the mountainous regions of India, near the Ocean. 27. They claim also that in the same India is a race of women who conceive when they are five years old and do not live beyond eight.

28. Other fabulous human monstrosities are told of, which do not exist but are concocted to interpret the causes of things – like Geryon, the Spanish king fabled to have three bodies, for there were three brothers of such like minds that there was, so to speak, one soul in their three bodies. 29. And there are the Gorgons, harlots with serpentine locks, who would turn anyone looking at them into stone, and who had only one eye which they would take turns using. But these were three sisters who had a single beauty, as if they had a single eye, who would so stun those beholding them that they were thought to turn them into stone.

30. People imagine three Sirens who were part maidens, part birds, having wings and talons; one of them would make music with her voice, the second with a flute, and the third with a lyre. They would draw sailors, enticed by the song, into shipwreck. 31. In truth, however, they were harlots, who, because they would seduce passers-by into destitution, were imagined as bringing shipwreck upon them. They were said to have had wings and talons because sexual desire both flies and wounds. They are said to have lived among the waves because the waves gave birth to Venus. 32. People tell of Scylla as a woman girded with the heads of dogs, with a great barking, because of the straits of the sea of Sicily, in which sailors, terrified by the whirlpools of waves rushing against each other, suppose that the waves are barking, waves that the chasm with its seething and sucking brings into collision.

## Book XII

vi. Fish (De piscibus)

...

46. The cuttlefish (*sepia*) is named because it is more easily caught when it is hemmed in by enclosures (*sepes*, i.e. *saepes*). It is a disgusting species with respect to coition, for it conceives in its mouth as do vipers. There is so much strength in its black ink that some say that when it is placed in a lamp, with the light first removed, **people appear** [*italics mine*] **to be Ethiopian**.

...

27. The *stymphalis* is a bird named from the islands of Stymphades (cf. Stymphales, a lake in Arcadia), where they are abundant; Hercules used arrows against them. They are sea birds

living on islands. 28. *Diomediae* are birds named from the companions of Diomedes; fables say that his companions were transformed into these very birds. They are similar to coots in shape, the size of a swan, white in color, with large hard beaks. They are found near Apulia on the island Diomedia, flying between the crags of the shore and the rocks. **They distinguish between their own people and foreigners. 29. If someone is Greek, they come up close and fawn on him, but if someone is of alien birth, they attack and wound him by biting, grieving as if with tearful voices either their own transformation or the death of their king for Diomedes was slain by the Illyrians.** These birds are called *diomediae* in Latin, but the Greeks call them ἐρωδιοί ("herons, shearwaters").

## Book XIII

xvi. The Mediterranean Sea (*De mediterraneo mari*)

...

**6. The Gallic, Ausonian, Dalmatian and Ligurian Seas are named from peoples.** The Argolic, Corinthian, Tyrian and Adriatic Seas are named from cities, for Adria was a certain city near the Illyrian Sea, which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea.

...

xxi. Rivers (*De fluminibus*)

...

27. The Tiber (*Tiberis*), a river of Italy, is said to be named after Tiberinus, king of the Albans; he died in this river and from his death gave it his name. Before this time it had the ancient name Albula because of its color, since it is white (*albus*), due to the snows. It is also called the *Tibris*, which is the same as *Tiberis*, but *Tiberis* is used in everyday speech, and *Tibris* in poetry. **28. The Danube (*Danubius*) river of Germany is said to be named from the abundance of snow (*nix*, gen. *nivis*) by which it is much swelled. This is more famous than all the other rivers of Europe. It is also called the Ister, because, as it wanders through innumerable peoples, it changes its name and gathers more force as it travels. It arises in the mountains of Germania and the western regions belonging to the barbarians. It proceeds toward the east, and receives sixty tributaries. It flows into the Black Sea through seven mouths. 29. The Rhodanus (i.e. the Rhone), a river in Gaul, is named after the city Rhodos, which was founded by **colonists from Rhodes**. It rushes with a swift current, cutting channels into the Tyrrhenian Sea. It creates no small danger for sailors, when the waves of the sea and the currents of the river wrestle together.**

## Book XIV

iii. Asia (*De Asia*)

...

5. India is so called from the river Indus, by which it is bounded on the west. It stretches from the south sea to the place where the sun rises, and reaches in the north up to the Caucasus range. It has **many peoples and towns**, also the islands Taprobane (i.e. Sri Lanka), full of precious stones and elephants, Chrysa (cf. χρυσός, "gold") and Argyre (cf. ἄργυρος, "silver"), rich in gold and silver (*argentum*), and Tile, where the trees never lose their foliage.

6. It also has the rivers Ganges, Indus, and the Hypanis, which make India famous. India's soil, very healthful because of the breeze of the west wind, yields two harvests annually; in winter in turn it submits to the Etesian trade-winds. **It produces human beings of color**, huge elephants, the animal called *monoceros* (i.e. the unicorn), the bird called parrot, a wood called ebony, and cinnamon, pepper, and sweet calamus.

...

**16. It is said that a certain Syrus, a native of the land, named Syria after himself.** In the east its boundary is the Euphrates, in the west the Mediterranean and Egypt; in the north it touches Armenia and Cappadocia, in the south the Arabian Sea. Its territory extends immensely in length, more narrowly in width.

...

**23. Galilee (*Galilaea*) is a region in Palestine which is so called because it produces lighter-skinned people than Palestine does (cf. γάλα, "milk").** It has two parts, an upper and a lower, which are nevertheless connected and border on Syria and Phoenicia. Its earth is rich, fertile, and rather abundant in produce.

...

31. Like the **country of the Goths**, Scythia is said to have been named after Magog, son of Japheth. Formerly its territory was immense; it stretched from India in the east and from the Maeotian swamps (i.e. the Sea of Azov) in the north between the Danube and the Ocean up to the borders of Germania. To be sure, later it was reduced in size and then reached from the right-hand region of its east, where the Chinese Ocean extends, up to the Caspian Sea, which is on its west. From there it spreads in the south to the summits of the Caucasus, under which Hyrcania lies, **having in like manner many tribes in the west** who are nomads due to the infertility of the soil. **32. Among these tribes some cultivate the land, whereas others who are monstrous and savage live on human flesh and blood.** Many parts of Scythia have good land, but many are nevertheless uninhabitable, for while many places abound in gold and precious stones, they are rarely visited by human beings because of the savagery of the griffins. The best green gems come from there; lapis lazuli and the purest crystal are Scythian. It also has the great rivers of the Moschi, the Phasis, and the Araxes.

33. Hyrcania is so called after the Hyrcanian forest, which lies below Scythia, having in the east the Caspian Sea, in the south Armenia, in the north *Albania* and in the west Hiberia. It is a rough forest, full of savage wild beasts such as tigers, panthers, and pards. Vergil says of it (*Aen.* 4.367):

And Hyrcanian tigresses suckled you.

**34. Albania gets its name from the color of its inhabitants, because they are born with white (*albus*) hair.** In the east it rises from below the Caspian Sea and extends to the Maeotian swamps (i.e. the Sea of Azov) along the shores of the Ocean in the north, by deserts and uncultivated regions. This land has enormous dogs; their ferocity is such that they attack bulls and kill lions.

...

iv. Europe (*De Europa*)

...

3. The first region of Europe is lower Scythia, which begins in the Maeotian swamps (i.e. the Sea of Azov), stretching between the Danube and the northern Ocean up to Germania. **And this land is called Barbarica in general usage on account of the barbaric people by whom it is inhabited. Its first part is Alania, which touches on the Maeotian swamps; after this Dacia, where Gothia is; then Germania, where the Suevi inhabit the greater part.**

4. Germania lies beyond lower Scythia. It starts at the Danube and is enclosed by the river Rhine and the Ocean. In the north and in the west the Ocean is its boundary, in the east the Danube, in the south the river Rhine. **The country is rich in men and has a numerous and fierce (*immanis*) population; due to this and its fecundity in producing peoples it is called Germania (cf. *germinare*, "germinate").**

...

6. Thracia is said to have gotten its name from Tiras, the son of Japheth, upon his arrival there; **others have suggested that Thracia was named after the savagery of its inhabitants (perhaps cf. *trux*, gen. *trucis*, "savage," οἱ τραχύς, "rough, savage").** In the east it lies opposite the Propontis (i.e. the Sea of Marmara) and the city of Constantinople, in the north it is bordered by the Ister, in the south by the Aegean, in the west it adjoins Macedonia. **Once this region was inhabited by the Bessi, the Massagetes, the Sarmatians, the Scythians and many other nations; for it is a spacious region and therefore it contained a great number of tribes. From Thracia the river Ebrus flows forth, which also touches upon many barbarian tribes.**

...

10. Hellas is so called from king Hellen, the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha; from him the Greeks first took the name Hellenes. This is the same territory as Attica, earlier called "Acte." There was a certain Granus, a native of Greece, after whose daughter's name, Attis, Attica was named. It lies in the middle between Macedonia and Achaëa, connected to Arcadia on its northern side. **This is the true Greece, where the city of Athens was located, the mother of the liberal arts and the nurse of philosophers; there was nothing nobler and more illustrious in all of Greece.** In it (Attica) lies the field of Marathon, by repute once drenched with the blood of battle.

...

25. Gaul (*Gallia*) is so called from the whiteness of its people, for milk is called γάλα in Greek. The mountains and the chilliness of the sky keep the heat of the sun from this region, so that the whiteness of bodies does not darken in color. The Alpine ridges overlook it from the east and the Ocean limits it in the west, the rugged terrain of the Pyrenees in the south, and in the north the river Rhine and Germania. It begins with Belgica and ends with Aquitania. The region is characterized by rich and grassy soil and is well suited for animal husbandry, well watered by streams and springs, with the two great rivers Rhine and Rhone flowing through it.

...

v. Libya (*De Libya*)

...



4. Libya Cyrenensis is in the first part of Africa and is named after Cyrene, the chief city within its borders. From here Egypt is in the east, the Greater Syrtes and the *Trogodytae* (i.e. the Troglodytes) are in the west, the Libyan Sea lies to the north, **and in the south are Ethiopia and various barbarian nations and inaccessible wilderness**, which also brings forth basilisk serpents.

...

8. Great Carthage is in Zeugis. **This is the true Africa**, situated in between Byzacium and Numidia, bounded in the north by the Sicilian Sea. In the south it stretches as far as the region of the Gaetuli. The nearer part of it is fruitful, but the more remote part is filled with wild beasts and serpents and great onagers wandering in the desert. Gaetulia is the interior region of Africa.

9. **Numidia is so called after inhabitants** that wander about far and wide because they do not have a fixed abode. For in their language temporary and mobile settlements are called *numidia*. It begins at the river Amsiga and it marks its end in Zeugis. East of it are the Lesser Syrtes, in the north the sea that stretches toward Sardinia, in the west Mauretania Sitifensis, **in the south the tribes of Ethiopia**: it is a region of very fertile fields. However, in areas covered by forest it produces wild animals, in steep mountains horses and onagers. It is also renowned for its excellent marble, which is called Numidian marble. It has distinguished cities as well: Hippo Regius and Rusicada.

10. **Mauretania is so called after the color of the inhabitants; for the Greeks call "black" μαῦρος. Just as the name for Gaul is derived from the whiteness of its inhabitants, so also the name for Mauretania from blackness.** Its principal province is Mauretania Sitifensis, which contained the town of Sitifi, from which the name for the region is thought to be derived.

...

14. **Ethiopia is so called after the color of its inhabitants, who are scorched by the proximity of the sun (cf. αἶθειν, "burn"; ὤψ, gen. ὠπός, "face"). Indeed, the coloring of the people demonstrates the force of the sun**, for it is always hot there, because all of its territory is under the South Pole. Around the western part it is mountainous, sandy in the middle, and desert toward the east. It stretches from Mount Atlas in the west to the borders of Egypt in the east, bounded in the south by the Ocean and in the north by the river Nile. **It has very many tribes, fearsome with their different faces and strange appearance.** 15. It also teems with a multitude of wild beasts and serpents. There, indeed, the rhinoceros and the giraffe are found, the basilisk, and huge dragons from whose brains precious stones are extracted. There one finds the hyacinth stone as well as the chrysoprase, and cinnamon is gathered there. 16. **There are two Ethiopias: one to the east, another to the west, in Mauretania.**

17. Apart from these three parts of the world there exists a fourth part, beyond the Ocean, further inland toward the south, which is unknown to us because of the burning heat of the sun; **within its borders are said to live the legendary Antipodes.** Mauretania, however, lies next to Spain; then comes Numidia, then the territory of Carthage, after which we gather that there is Gaetulia, and after that Ethiopia; beyond that are places scorched by the heat of the sun.

18. **It should, indeed, be understood that some provinces were first named after their founders; afterwards the name of the inhabitants was derived from the name of the**

**province.** Thus, “Italy” (*Italia*) comes from “Italus” (see IX.ii.85), and in turn from “Italy” comes the term “an Italian” (*Italus*); and in this way we use a name for the people that is the same as the name of the founder, from whose name derives the name of the province. **And this is how it happens that a city, a territory, and a people are all named after a single name.** 19. Provinces, moreover, received their name for a reason. **A principate (*principatus*) over nations is a term that that applied to foreign kings; when the Romans brought these under their own jurisdiction by conquering (*vincere*) it, they called such far-off regions provinces (*provincia*). A fatherland (*patria*) is so called because it is common to all who were born in it (cf. *pater*, “father”).**

...

vi. Islands (*De insulis*)

...

5. The Orkneys (*Orcades*) are islands of the Ocean within Britannia, numbering thirty-three, of which twenty are uninhabited and thirteen colonized. 6. Ireland (*Scotia*), also known as *Hibernia*, is an island next to Britannia, narrower in its expanse of land but more fertile in its site. It extends from southwest to north. Its near parts stretch towards Iberia (*Hiberia*) and the Cantabrian Ocean (i.e. the Bay of Biscay), whence it is called *Hibernia*; **but it is called *Scotia*, because it has been colonized by tribes of the *Scoti*.**

## Book XV

i. Cities (*De civitatibus*)

1. Frequently we find dissension about who was responsible for the founding of cities, to such an extent that not even the origin of the city of Rome can accurately be known. Thus Sallust says (*War with Catiline* 6), “**As I understand it, at first the Trojans, and with them the native peoples,** first founded and settled the city of Rome.” Others say the founding was by Evander, as Vergil (*Aen.* 8.313):

Then King Evander, founder of the Roman citadel . . .

Others, by Romulus, as (Vergil, *Aen.* 6.781):

Behold, my son, under his (i.e. Romulus’s) auspices that illustrious Rome . . .

...

Famous towns, and which men or women established them (*Oppida nobilia, qui vel quae constituerunt*)

...

**11. The Bactrians founded the city of Bactrum, naming it after its river Bactros. 12. Carrhae, a city of Mesopotamia beyond Edessa, was founded by the Parthians.** A Roman army was once slaughtered there, and its general Crassus was captured. **13. Nimrod (*Nembroth*), son of Chus, founded the Mesopotamian city Edessa after he moved from Babylon, and he reigned there.** Formerly it was called Arach. He also built Chalane, which afterwards, its name changed by king Seleucus, was called Seleucia. **The Raphaim, a very**

ancient people whom the sons of Lot killed, founded the city Philadelphia of Arabia.

...

**16. The Eveians founded the city of Gaza in Palestine, in which the Cappadocians lived after the original inhabitants were killed.** It was called Gaza, because Cambyses, king of the Persians, located his treasury there when he waged war against Egypt – for in Persian a “treasury” is called *gaza*. **17. The Allophyli (*allophylus*, lit. “foreigner”) founded the city of the Philistines;** it is Ascalon, of which we have spoken above, named after Chasluim (*Cesloim*), who was the grandson of Ham and son of Mesraim.

...

**24. Hebron (*Chebron*), the city of Judea that formerly was called Arbe, was founded by giants seven years before they founded the Egyptian city of Tanis.** It was thus named “Arbe” from the number (cf. Hebrew *arba*, “four”), because there three patriarchs were buried, and Adam was the fourth. It is also called “Mambre” after a friend of Abraham.

...

**27. The Phoenician city Tyre was founded by the Phoenicians.** This is the city from which gold was brought down for King Solomon, and that in which the best purple cloth is dyed, whence the noble purple is called “Tyrian.” **28. The Phoenicians, having migrated from the Red Sea, founded the very rich city Sidon, which they called Sidon from its abundance of fish, for Phoenicians call a fish *sidon*.** They founded Tyre in Syria, Utica in Africa, as well as Hippo, Leptis, and other cities on seacoasts. **29. They built Thebes in Boeotia under the command of Cadmus; later, reaching the farthest part of the world, they built a city by the Ocean and named it Gades (i.e. Cadiz) in their language. It was an ancient custom for many of the Phoenician people to set off from home together for the purpose of trading, and when they had won over the hearts of the natives by the trading of goods previously unknown to them, they would then take over those places that seemed suitable for founding cities.** **30. When Dido, also a Phoenician, had journeyed to the shore of Africa, she founded a city and named it *Carthada*, which in Phoenician meant “new city.” Later, with altered pronunciation it was called Carthage (*Carthago*). Scipio destroyed it; what exists there now was founded afterwards by the Romans.** Carthage was once named Byrsa, later Tyrus, finally Carthage.

...

**57. Certain Gauls, driven by their civil discord and incessant dissensions, set out for Italy seeking new territory, and after the Etruscans (*Tuscus*) had been expelled from their own land, they founded Mediolanum (i.e. Milan) and other cities.** It was called Mediolanum because a sow that was “woolly around the middle” (*medio lanea*) is said to have been found there.

...

**67. The Africans, occupying the coasts of Spain under Hannibal, built New Carthage (*Carthago Spartaria*; i.e. Cartagena). Later taken and made a colony by the Romans, it gave its name to a province. But now it has been overthrown and reduced to desolation by the Goths. 68. Greeks from the island of Zacynthus, who had traveled to Spain, founded Saguntum (i.e. Sagunto). Later the Africans destroyed it in the onslaught of war.**

...

ii. Public buildings (*De aedificiis publicis*)

...

8. A city properly so called is one that has been founded not by newcomers but by those native to its soil. Therefore communities (*urbs*) founded by their own citizens (*civis*) are named cities (*civitas*), not colonies. 9. On the other hand, a colony (*colonia*) is what is filled by new inhabitants (*cultor*) when there are no indigenous people. Hence also a “colony” is so called from the tilling (*cultus*, ppl. of *colere*) of a field. 10. A free town is one that, while remaining in the status of a city, obtains from the sovereign some legal right to a greater or lesser obligation. It is called “free town” (*municipium*) from “official functions” (*munia*), that is “obligations,” because they yield only these functions, that is, as the owed tributes or services (*munus*). The most notorious court cases and those involving a person’s freedom, as well as those which proceed from the sovereign, are not conducted there; these belong to the jurisdiction of the city (*civitas*).

## Book XVIII

### ii. Triumphs (*De triumphis*)

1. **Every realm in this world is procured in wars and extended by victories.** A victory (*victoria*) is so called because it is attained by “force” (*vis*), that is, “strength” (*virtus*). **This is the law of nations, to expel “force by force” (*vim vi*), for a victory acquired by guile is wicked. A sure victory is either the killing or the complete despoiling of the enemy, or both.** But the victory attained at huge cost is not happy, and this is why Sallust (*Histories* 3.29) praises generals who win victory with an unbloodied army.

## Book XIX

### xxii. The different kinds of clothing and their names (*De diversitate et nominibus vestimentorum*)

...

21. A *velenensis* tunic is one that was brought from the islands. **An imported (*exoticus*) garment is a foreign one coming from the outside, such as a garment from Greece in Spain.**

...

### xxiii. The typical costumes of certain peoples (*De proprio quarundam gentium habitu*)

1. **Each nationality has its own costume belonging just to it, such as the Parthians and their *sarabara* (i.e. wide trousers), the Gauls and their *linna*, the Germans and their *reno*, the Spaniards and their *stringes*, the Sardinians and their *mastruca*.** 2. ***Sarabarae* are flowing, sinuous garments, concerning which one may read in Daniel (cf. 3:94):**

“And their *sarabarae* were not altered.”

And in Publilius (*Maxims*, fr. 19):

**As, why therefore have the Parthians draped *sarabarae* over your stomach?**

**But some people call certain head-coverings *sarabarae*, the sort that we see pictured on the heads of the Magi. 3. *Linnae* are soft square mantles. Concerning them Plautus says (fr. 176):**

**He was covered by a *linna* of Gaulish weave.**

4. The *reno* is a covering from the shoulders and chest to the navel, made so shaggy with twisted nap that it repels rain. Common people call it a *reptus* because it is as if its long fibers are “creeping like a snake” (*reptare*). Concerning them Sallust says (Histories 3.104): **“The Germans clothe their naked bodies with *renones*.” They are called *renones* from the Rhine (*Renus*) river of Germania, where they are often worn. 5. The *mastruca* is a Germanic garment made from the hides of wild animals, about which Cicero speaks in On Behalf of Scaurus (45): “He whom the royal purple did not disturb, was he moved by the *mastruca* of the Sardinians?” *Mastruca* is as if the word were *monstruosus* (“monstrous”), because those who wear them are transformed as if in the garb of wild Animals.**

6. Nationalities are distinguished by their costume just as they differ in their languages. The Persians cover their arms and legs with drawings and their heads with a turban. The Alani are distinguished by their pointed hats. The Scotti raise the hackles with their ugly dress, as well as with their barking tongues. The Alemanni are clothed in their woolen cloaks (*sagum*), the Indians in linen. The Persians wear jewels, the Chinese wear silk, and the Armenians wear quivers.

7. It is not simply in clothing but in physical appearance also that some groups of people lay claim to features peculiar to themselves as marks to distinguish them, so that we see the curls (*cirrus*, perhaps “topknot”) of the Germans, the mustaches and goatees of the Goths, the tattoos of the Britons. The Jews circumcise the foreskin, the Arabs pierce their ears, **the Getae with their uncovered heads are blond, the Albanians shine with their white hair. The Moors have bodies black as night, while the skin of the Gauls is white.** Without their horses, the Alani are idle. Nor should we omit the Picts (*Pictus*), whose name is taken from their bodies, because an artisan, with the tiny point of a pin and the juice squeezed from a native plant, tricks them out with scars to serve as identifying marks, and their nobility are distinguished by their tattooed (*pictus*) limbs.

8. The sexes also have accepted customs of appearance, such as short hair for men and flowing locks for women, long hair being the mark of virgins in particular. For women the hair is properly arranged when it is gathered up on the top of the head and protects the citadel of their head with a circle of hair.

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## Saint Francis Xavier, Letters

### Book I

(During the years 1506-1541)

### Letter I

It is most probably on account of some cause of the same kind that I receive answers from you less frequently than I desire. I feel sure that it is not that you have given up correspondence so delightful and so longed for by me, but that either the faithfulness, the industry, or the good fortune of your messengers has failed to be answerable to the efforts of your unwearied care concerning me. For, indeed, the accounts of our friends, and other proofs no less certain, have fully convinced me that you have a cordial sympathy **for the sufferings to which my labours as a student and my dwelling in a foreign land<sup>45</sup> expose me**, and that in your residence at Obanos, with every comfort round you, you feel the troubles of my watchings, and the difficulties with which I have to contend, as much as I feel them myself in Paris, where I am often without the necessaries of life, for no other reason, I feel certain, than that your unfailing readiness to come to my aid has not been sufficiently informed as to the numberless wants which I suffer, — wants, the particulars of which sound, for the most part, minute and insignificant when spoken of, but which are yet very hard to bear.

### Letter III

Among the persons who think this are the Confessor and the Preacher of the King, who both urge him to keep us here in the hope of more abundant fruit. Certain others hold different language, and talk wonderfully about the result that may be expected from our ministry in India. Those who speak thus are men of authority on such subjects, having lived many years in the Indies. **They say that they have remarked that the native tribes are very well disposed to accept the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ**, if it be offered them by representatives and teachers such as we are — they mean whose way of proceeding is far removed from all appearance of avarice.

### Letter VIII

Father Paul, **another, who is a Portuguese**, and myself, three in all, are to sail this week for India. We are full of great hopes, trusting in the merciful help of God our Lord that we shall there bring a large harvest into the garner of the Church. We think this from the wonderful things that we are told by good persons who have been eyewitnesses, having been many years

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<sup>45</sup> Saint Francis views even France as a foreign land, yet does not indicate anywhere that he feels Portugal to be foreign.

in India, **and who speak of the very favourable dispositions of those nations to listen to preachers of good, and to embrace the salvation of their souls when it is offered to them.**

The King sends us away full and laden with favours of every kind from himself, and has also recommended us very particularly to the Governor whom he is sending this year to India. We are to sail with him in his own flagship. He has shown us much kindness, as far as to take upon himself the care of everything for our passage, and to forbid us or any one else to trouble himself about the preparations, or equipment necessary for us while we are at sea. He has already settled that we are to be his guests at table every day. This I mention, not so much to show off whatever honour or convenience for us this implies, as if we took pleasure in the advantage to ourselves, — which we would certainly rather go without, — but that you may understand, and in your zeal for God's glory may rejoice in, the good ground which we have in this great affection for us on the part of the supreme Governor of the Indies, for hoping for great assistance from him towards that on which our whole heart is set, the conversion of the heathen there, and may congratulate us on the favourable opportunity opened to us, **of carrying the name of Jesus Christ before the native Kings of India, with whom, as every one knows, the authority and influence of the Portuguese Governor is supreme.**

...

And these prayers we beg you may be made for us in a very special way, besides the usual remembrance which we all make of one another. **And surely there is reason enough for this in our necessities, so far greater than usual, in the extraordinary dangers of our long voyage, and in what is to come after that, the continual intercourse we are to have with the heathen Indians, a race of men lost in vices of all sorts,** the contagion of which may well hurt men so tepid and ignorant as we are; and that it may not do so we must strive and fight hard with all the most abundant grace and most efficacious helps from God which we can gain.

## Book II

(During the years 1541-1545)

### Letter XI

Indeed, we hope, with God's help, that in a few years many will go forth from this place who will do good service to religion in these countries, and extend far and wide the boundaries of holy Church.

Judging from these beginnings, I hope that by six years' time the students of the College **will number quite three hundred, youths of all races, nations, and tongues,** and that by their labours the number of Christians will be very greatly increased. The Governor has promised that as "soon as the heathen give him a little leisure (**for he is constantly at war with them**), he will get the College buildings rapidly finished. He has made up his mind that there is no work to be done in India more pious and holy than this; that the dedication of such houses to Christ **has enabled him to win many and great victories which he has already won over the heathen,** and he trusts with the help of God to win by and by even greater.

...

The Governor has charged me to write to you at length about the College and its establishment, and I therefore do so. **The object of the institute is to bring up native boys of various nations in the Christian religion, who when sufficiently instructed may be sent home to teach their fellowcountrymen.** I can find no words to tell you how much the Governor approves our Society and its institute.

...

I would have you thoroughly to understand that this service **will win them the good will of all the Portuguese who are in India**, and give them much consideration and authority, which will be found of the greatest value when they have to implant divine truths in the minds of these people. **Of all the nations that I have seen, the Portuguese is the one which seems to me to go furthest in prizing Indulgences from Rome, and to be the most drawn to the frequentation of the sacraments by attractions of this kind.** So I trust that, both to cherish this devotion of the nation that I mention, and also in consideration of their profound devotion to the Holy See, the Holy Father will be pleased to show himself very liberal in granting **the request of children so obedient to him.**

#### Letter XIV<sup>46</sup>

I wrote to you a year ago about the College which has been begun at Goa, and which is being built with dispatch. A considerable part of the building is already finished. **A great number of pagan youths of different nations<sup>47</sup> are taught there.** Some learn Latin, others to read and write. Father Paul is their Superior as Rector of the College. He says mass for them every day, hears their confessions, and gives them religious instruction continually. The College is very large, it will hold as many as five hundred students, and has revenues enough for their support. Great sums of money are given to it as alms by many persons, and especially by the Governor. And well indeed may all Christians give thanks to God for this seminary, which is called the College of Santa Fe: for we hope that within a few years **multitudes of heathens** will by God's favour have become Christians, and that the pupils of this College will shortly **be the means of extending the limits of the Church far and wide in the whole East.**

**We have in these parts a class of men among the pagans who are called Brahmins.** They keep up the worship of the gods, the superstitious rites of religion, frequenting the temples and taking care of the idols. **They are as perverse and wicked a set as can anywhere be found, and I always apply to them the words of holy David, “from an unholy race and a wicked and crafty man deliver me, O Lord.” They are liars and cheats to the very backbone. Their whole study is, how to deceive most cunningly the simplicity and**

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<sup>46</sup> Henry James Coleridge adds a helpful note to this letter; that according to witnesses, Saint Francis must have preached to at least 30 nations – because the witnesses call each tribe a nation. Coleridge accounts that the Papal Bull of Canonization for Francis Xavier did the same, differentiating islands among the Indonesians and Filipinos as different nations. The text of the Papal Bull appears to be lost, however.

<sup>47</sup> Herein, he is referring to different nations within India; distinguishing even among Indian countrymen by ethnic divisions.



**ignorance of the people.** They give out publicly that the gods command certain offerings to be made to their temples, which offerings are simply the things that the Brahmins themselves wish for, **for their own maintenance** and that of their wives, children, and servants. Thus they make the poor folk believe that the images of their gods eat and drink, dine and sup like men, and some devout persons are found who really offer to the idol twice a day, before dinner and supper, a certain sum of money. **The Brahmins eat sumptuous meals to the sound of drums, and make the ignorant believe that the gods are banqueting. When they are in heed of any supplies, and even before, they give out to the people that the gods are angry because the things they have asked for have not been sent, and that if the people do not take care, the gods will punish them by slaughter, disease, and the assaults of the devils.** And the poor ignorant creatures, with the fear of the gods before them, obey them implicitly. **These Brahmins have barely a tincture of literature, but they make up for their poverty in learning by cunning and malice. Those who belong to these parts are very indignant with me for exposing their tricks.** Whenever they talk to me with no one by to hear them they acknowledge that they have no other patrimony but the idols, by their lies about which they procure their support from the people. They say that I, poor creature as I am, know more than all of them put together. They often send me a civil message and presents, and make a great complaint when I send them all back again. **Their object is to bribe me to connive at their evil deeds.** So they declare that they are convinced that there is only one God, and that they will pray to Him for me.

...

I find, by the way, that the arguments which are to convince these ignorant people must by no means be subtle, such as those which are found in the books of learned schoolmen, but must be such as their minds can understand. They asked me again how the soul of a dying person goes out of the body, how it was, whether it was as happens to us in dreams, when we seem to be conversing with our friends and acquaintance? (Ah, how often this happens to me, dearest brothers, when I am dreaming of you!) Was this because the soul then leaves the body? **And again, whether God was black or white? For as there is so great a variety of colour among men, and the Indians being black themselves, consider their own colour the best, they believe that their gods are black. On this account the great majority of their idols are as black as black can be, and moreover are generally so rubbed over with oil as to smell detestably, and seem to be as dirty as they are ugly and horrible to look at.**

## Letter XVI

My dearest Brother in Jesus Christ,

Your letter has given me great comfort. I implore you over and over again to deal with **that poor degraded people** [referring to Indians]<sup>48</sup> **as good fathers do with bad children.** Don't let your courage give way, however many may be the depraved and wicked things you see them do: for God Himself, Whom they so grievously offend, nevertheless does not kill them, as He might by a single nod. He does not cease to supply them with what they need for their life

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<sup>48</sup> This letter was written to Francis Mancias, who was at the time a missionary in Cape Comorin, India.

and support, and yet, unless He were to keep His bountiful hand open to them, all these things would fail, **and the poor wretches would perish for want, as indeed they deserve to perish.** I would have you consider this example of God, and conform your mind to greater indulgence by it, casting aside all needless worry and distress of heart.

Your labours where you are are more fruitful than you think, and although you may not make all the way that you desire, still, take my word for it, you are doing very sufficient work, and work which you will never repent of. And, after all, whatever may be the success of your labours, you have a sure consolation in the fact that it was not your doing nor your fault in any way that it has been otherwise than could be wished. **For the rest, as we have good precedents as well as good reason to show us that we may lawfully use the King's authority to break down the indomitable and stiffnecked obstinacy of a race over which he rules.** I send you an officer whom I have asked of the Governor, who is commissioned to exact a fine of one *fana* (two silver pieces) of any woman who continues to get tipsy on *arrack*, contrary to the edicts lately issued, and also to cast any one found guilty of such intemperance into prison for three days. And you must take care to have it published **with all possible clearness** throughout all your villages and dwellings, that this law will in future be inexorably enforced, and tell the Patangatins (the heads of the villages) that if after this any arrack is drunk in Punical, they must themselves expect severe punishment from me.

## Letter XVII

**I entreat you to show continual marks of very great love to the whole of the people you are among, rulers and nobles, and also the lowest classes.** The consequence will most certainly be That they will love you in return, and if you once get to that, the ministry by which you are trying to lead them to the knowledge and worship of God our Lord will find its course more easy and its fruit more abundant. **Accustom yourself to bear with great patience all their weaknesses and their slips from frailty, keeping up in your mind the merciful and charitable hope that though they are not yet good, they will one day become so.** And, after all, if you can't make them advance quite as far as you intended, still don't repent of having tried, **and take that little good which you have been able to beat out of them as a sufficient reward.** For my part, this is the way I comfort myself in suchlike troubles.<sup>49</sup>

## Letter XVIII

As for me, I really don't know what line I shall take, so entirely are all my measures and precautions upset by the inconsiderate outbreak of this reckless miscreant. **I feel strongly urged to be off and have done with it; for why should we waste more time here, among men who are utterly regardless of any considerations of justice, and who never care a straw at the cost of what damage to religion or to the State they indulge their own passions? above all, whose outrages are encouraged by impunity?** Every one can see that

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<sup>49</sup> It seems likely that this letter is not merely referring to collections of individuals with certain traits, as the previous letter (also addressed to Francis Mancias, as is this one) refers to the people being dwelt among as a race with indomitable and stiffnecked obstinacy.

if the men who were concerned in that shameless robbery of the myoparon<sup>50</sup> the other day had been punished as they deserved, we should not find **the Portuguese now breaking out in outrages of the same sort.** It will be a narrow escape for us now if the King of Travancore, irritated by so wanton an insult, do not take some severe measures against the Christians who are his subjects.

I wish you to write and tell the Commandant how much I am distressed at this act of violence on the person of the King of Travancore's slave, not only on account of the bad feeling which so scandalous a crime must produce, but also on account of the positive evils which threaten us in consequence of it. I myself have almost made up my mind never to write again on such matters, **for these people want to do just what comes into their head, and they can't bear to be told what is disagreeable to hear. They seem to think that it is an injury and an insult to them if any one dares to open his mouth while they are trampling on rights of all kinds.** If it should happen that you get certain information that the slave **carried off by the Portuguese** is at Tuticorin, then, I conjure you, by all the desire you have to please God, go yourself at once to the Commandant, and work upon him by all the means in your power to get the poor fellow set free at once. **And let the Portuguese** who had him arrested come here and make his claim or his complaint, and he will find all that consideration of his rights which is needed to give him full satisfaction.

**I wonder whether the Portuguese would think it good if, when one of the natives happened to have a dispute with one of themselves, he was to seize the Portuguese by main force, put him in chains, and have him taken out of a place in our territory and carried up the country?** Certainly not. **The Indians must have the same feelings;** why should we do to them what we don't wish to be done to ourselves? **Why should we be astonished that they, like ourselves, are indignant when they are injured?** There would be more to excuse the aggression if they denied us justice; but what plausible excuse can we plead now, when they undertake to do justice with the utmost faithfulness, observe exactly all the conditions of the alliance, and when they keep the peace and deal with all the equity we could desire in **their intercourse with us?** Where can we possibly find a pretext to cover even speciously the shameful disgrace of our faithless breach of agreement? If any insurmountable obstacle should prevent you from going yourself at once to the Commandant, send Paul Vaz to him with a letter from you.

I declare once more that this news has disturbed me more than I can express by letter. May our Lord God give us the strength of mind that is needed for us to bear with becoming patience such reckless excesses as this! Though what I have said about the affair has been ascertained on good authority, still please not to think it too much trouble to write to me a thorough account of the whole matter, as far as you can find out on the spot. **Is it true that a Portuguese has seized a slave of the King of Travancore within the territory of the latter?** If he has, what reason does he allege for it, and does he really intend to take the man to Tuticorin, and for what? I should be very glad to hear something at least which may diminish the atrocity of this detestable action, and prove that report had exaggerated it. If there is no way of

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<sup>50</sup> A type of boat.

lightening the ill feeling which has been caused, and if the facts really are what they are said to be, then I must give up my plan of going to see the King, with whom I was going to treat of matters concerning the service of God. **You well know how these people are incensed at these seizures of slaves, especially from territory of their own; and there can be no doubt that they must all be calling out for vengeance, and heaping reproaches upon the whole race of Portuguese, and even on the Christian religion.** It would never be wise for me to expose myself to all this hostility. No, I shall have to think of going elsewhere. I have long thought of it, and now shall have to set myself to work to carry it out. I have long had the idea suggesting itself to my mind, and it really seems very attractive, of leaving India altogether, where so many obstacles are placed in the way of the advancement of the Gospel from quarters from which least of all such obstacles should arise, and going instead to Ethiopia, where there is a great and probable hope to invite us of advancing signally the glory of our Lord God by preaching the gospel, **and where there will be no Europeans to oppose us and pull down what we have built up.**

## Letter XXXII

I am most anxious to know what you have heard with certainty of the affair which has made so much noise here. It has been reported everywhere **that a Portuguese had carried off one of the King of Travancore's servants**, and had taken him in fetters to Tuticorin. Now I know that rumour often reports things which are either without foundation, or much exaggerated by illwill. Tell me first whether the fact be true; then, if it be so, what right **the Portuguese** alleges on his own side, what occasion or pretext he would have had for such an act. I have already written to you at length touching this business and the reports which are current about it. It is the more necessary for me to know exactly how the truth is, as my plan of going to visit the King depends on what I may hear. For if this crime has really been committed, and in the way report says, I think it will be better to put off the whole thing and not to go to that court, **where the very sight of a European would be hateful**, and where I should have to face the responsibility of so inexcusable an outrage. **Any one can see how detestable the whole country and especially the court itself must think it, that a foreigner should dare to lay violent hands on a servant of the "Great King" in a place under his dominion, especially when that prince is behaving so differently to us.** Just lately he received Father Francis Coelho with wonderful courtesy, and granted him absolutely every favour that he asked for the Christians; indeed, he showed himself so very well inclined to benefit them on representations of this Father, that, to give him some striking proof of his regard, he, of his own accord, created four of our Munahpaul Christians Patangatins, and this without any fees from them, and without any cost to the people, for he formally forbade the exaction of any money on this occasion, as was formerly the custom in the time of the Pulas. Besides this, he has created three other Christian Patangatins in other places **without any expense to the inhabitants**, declaring with the greatest kindness that he did all this out of regard to Father Coelho, who had been to visit him, as I told you.

I conjure you, by the love you bear to God, write to the Commandant as precisely as possible in my name, to say that I entreat him over and over again that if he has any regard for

me he will abstain during this whole month of September from any offence or violence whatever to the subjects of the "Great King" **and not permit any Portuguese to treat any of them injuriously during the same time.** Give him as a reason, what is quite true, **that we find this nation of the subjects of the King of Travancore more easy to persuade and better disposed than any other in all that concerns the interests of religion and of the Christians.** If the Commandant will only believe this, I cannot doubt that he would see most forcible reasons in it for granting my request that he will do **no harm to people who deserve so well at our hands.** You will easily see what I am at in making this compact for a kind of truce for this next month. You know that I am thinking, on account of important interests of religion, of going to the King within the time I have named, and I should be annoyed and grieved beyond measure if my access to him were to be hindered by any new matter of complaint that might arise **against our countrymen.**

### Letter XXXV

My dearest Brother in Jesus Christ,

May it please God to grant us His most holy grace! For in this world truly we have no help but in Him alone. I was at Trinchandour and on the point of setting off for Virandapatanao to visit the Christians there, as I had done at Alendale, Pudicurim, and Trinchandour. I had found plenty to do everywhere, and to convince me how necessary such visits are. Well, as I said, I was in the act of setting off again, when a number of messengers from all parts came to tell me in the greatest alarm **that the whole savage race of the Badages was in excitement and all but up in arms. The cause of their fury is that the Portuguese have seized and taken prisoner a near relation of Beterbemali, their leader, in fact his wife's own brother. The Badages, exasperated by this affront, were all vowing to exterminate everything Christian throughout the whole coast of Comorin.**

As soon as I heard all this, I wrote at once to Father Francis Coelho that immediately on receiving my letter he was to hasten to the place where the Christians of Comorin have taken refuge, to protect as far as may be by my influence **these unfortunate people, and preserve them from the terrible disasters which threaten them on this occasion.** I know that **amongst the Badages** there is a great deal of talk about my credit with Iniquitribirim, whom they call their King, though they are far from obeying him implicitly, and indeed some of them, who follow Beterbemali, have openly shaken off his authority. **But the greater part have still a certain respect for the King's name,** so I hope that Father Coelho, as sent by me, and representing, as he does, me, may find some respect paid him, and be able to protect **these cruelly used people.** I have all the more hope of this, as I learn from Father Coelho's letter that it is **not only the rebel Badages that are incensed at the capture of Beterbemali's brother in law, but that the rest of the nation is being roused to arms against the people of Comorin by a relation of Iniquitribirim, king of Travancore, who has lately gone among them.**

### Letter XXXIX

I rely much, for the aid of God to help me in the hazards of my journey and in the doubtful issue of the affairs I have to manage, on your prayers for me and those of the children where you are, and I beg of you not to let my request for them be in vain. They will be an assistance and a shield to me, and I shall go with head erect and heart undaunted **to confront all the terrors which the Christians vie with one another to frighten me with, insisting on it that for me to undertake a journey by land through those countries is to run into almost certain destruction, because they think that the barbarous tribes who inhabit them will certainly pour forth all their burning hatred for our holy religion on my head as on its principal support.**

## Letter XL

My dearest Brother in Jesus Christ,

The day before yesterday, the 16th of December, I arrived at Cochin. **Before I got there I had baptized all I could reach of the Matchuas, a race of fishermen who live in the kingdom of Travancore.** God, Who sees our inmost heart, **knows how gladly I would have returned thither at once to baptize the people of another tribe which lives there, who are not ill disposed to embrace the yoke of Jesus Christ.** But the Vicar-general, Don Miguel Vaz, thinks that it is now of importance, for the greater service of our Lord, that I should go to the Governor, to arrange with him about the affair of Jafanapatam. So in two or three days I shall sail for Cambaia in a well appointed barque, soon, I hope, to return with the affair settled as we could wish — as the interests of religion and of the glory of God require.

## Letter XLI

Justly and rightly, therefore, does your Highness recommend to those servants of yours whom you send hither to exert themselves much in propagating widely our holy faith, and in the advancement of religion. **Since your Highness well understands that God will require of you an account of the salvation of so many nations, who are ready to follow the better path if any one will show them it,** but meanwhile, for want of a teacher, lie in blind darkness and the filth of most grievous sins, offending continually their Creator, and casting their own souls headlong into the misery of eternal death.

Your Highness will receive a report from Don Miguel Vaz, who has been the Vicar-general of the Bishop of Goa, and is now leaving us for Portugal, as to what his experience has been **of the readiness of these nations to be taught the faith,** and of the other openings which present themselves here for the good progress of religion. He has left among them so great an amount of regret at his departure, that his return at the end of a year is very advisable for their consolation and protection; though there is quite reason enough for his return in your Highness' own interests. I mean that you may thus confide to a servant so entirely competent and industrious the grave duty which is urgent upon you of advancing the glory of God in India. If you set this faithful and experienced steward over this business, you may rest in

full security, for you may rely on his eminent virtue, proved by so many years' experience, and **which has won for him the veneration of the whole population here**, for losing no opportunity of defending or advancing religion.

## Letter XLIV

**In the kingdom of Macazar, about 500 leagues distant from Travancore, three of the chief princes and many of the other inhabitants came into the Church of Jesus Christ eight months ago.** They have sent messengers to Malacca, a city **belonging to the King of Portugal**, to ask for persons able to instruct them in the law of God; **and have declared that, having lived hitherto like animals without reason, they intend for the future to live like men.** as soon as they shall have received the knowledge and religion of the true God. The Commandant of Malacca has sent them some priests who are to instruct them. You may judge from this alone, my very dear brothers, what great and what fertile harvests this uncultivated field promises to produce. **This part of the world is so ready**, so teeming with shooting corn, as I may say, that I hope within this very year to make as many as a hundred thousand Christians. *Pray the Lord of the harvest that He send forth labourers into His harvest.* **If any persons come to these countries, where the fields are already white unto the harvest**, in the desire of extending the worship of God and propagating religion, **they will be received not only courteously but with real affection by the Portuguese**, so that they will have all necessaries supplied them in abundance. **The Portuguese nation is in fact so desirous of the extension of the Christian faith, that if there was no other motive, this pious zeal of theirs and their great friendliness to our Society ought certainly to draw many of you hither.** And now what ought you to do when you see **the minds of these people so well prepared to receive the seed of the Gospel?** May God make known to you His most holy will, and give you at the same time strength and courage to carry it out; and may He in His Providence **send as many as possible of you into this country!**

The least and most lonely of your brothers, FRANCIS.

## Book III

(During the years 1545-1548)

## Letter L

I beg of you, my dearest brothers, to remember me constantly in your holy conversations with God and in your holy sacrifices. I feel peculiar need of this assistance from you, **on account of the dangers I am about to incur, as I am going to sail to barbarous countries, infested by dangers of every kind.** Simon Botelho, who is leaving this place for Goa, is very favourably disposed towards your holy house. He will give you a minute and full account of me and my affairs. He treats me as a great friend, and I have a great affection for him, for he is a truly good man, and one who sincerely loves God.

## Letter LIII

**I am anxious that you should know this, that you may understand how much your work is needed in these countries.** And though I am not ignorant that where you are you are not idle, yet as you are absolutely necessary here, I beg of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, you, Francis Mancias and Joam Beira, to come hither as soon as possible, and that this voyage may give you an opportunity of greater obedience and merit, I formally command it. If, by chance, either of you shall have quitted this mortal life, let another take his place at the choice of Father Antonio Criminale; but so that, in any case, one of you three **remain with the native priests among the Christians of Comorin.** If any of the Society arrive this year from Portugal to help our work, I entreat them, in the name of God, to proceed to Cape Comorin to instruct the Christians there. If there be any news from Portugal, write it to me, and give the letters from Portugal in charge to the Fathers who are to come hither. And that the new Fathers from Portugal may have greater merit by obedience, I command them, in virtue of my authority as Superior, to go to Cape Comorin.

And — as I perceive that this letter will hardly reach you before the beginning of March next year — one of the King's vessels will be going in May from Goa to the Moluccas, on board of which will be the King of Molucco, who some time ago was taken away as a prisoner; I wish you to come by that vessel. So as soon as you have read this letter, go at once from Cape Comorin back to Goa, and prepare yourselves, as I have said, to sail to Molucco. The people are hoping that the same vessel will bring their prince, whom they are always expecting. The Portuguese also think that the new Commandant of Molucco will be on board that vessel. If the King, of whom I speak, has received baptism at Goa, I have great hopes that a large number of his subjects will become Christians. But even if he should not have become a Christian, you may still render very great service here. Each of you should bring all that is necessary for the holy sacrifice; **but let the chalices be in tin, in order to preserve them more easily from the greedy hands of the unholy race<sup>51</sup> among whom you will have to live.**

## Letter LIV

When I saw that the winds which would have been favourable to ships returning from Macazar had ceased to blow, and that nothing was to be heard of the priest and soldiers who had been sent there, I thought I ought not to wait any longer, and quitting Malacca I sailed for the Moluccas. The King of Portugal possesses a fort in the Moluccas called Temate, in the most distant part of the Indies. About two hundred miles from this place, nearer to India, is Amboyna, an island about ninetyfour miles round, with a large population, **not only of natives, but of foreigners.** The King of Portugal has given this island to a Portuguese nobleman illustrious by his virtue and piety, who, it is said, is intending in less than two years to settle there with his wife, his children, and all his household. Here there are altogether seven towns of Christians, all of which I went through and baptized all the newborn infants and the children not yet baptized. A

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<sup>51</sup> The original words are *a gente non sancta*, which is drawn from Psalms 42:1; in Greek the word used is ἔθνους (ethnos) – the Hebrew (עִיָּוִן) indicates the same. The Hebrew refers to חֲסִידִי (chased), that is, “without mercy.” Literally, “an unmerciful race.”



great many of them died soon after their baptism, so that it was clear enough that their life had only been preserved by God until the entrance to eternal life should be opened to them. About the same time **some Spaniards** in eight ships came to the island, and remained about three months. All that time how I was distracted with occupations I can hardly tell you. I stirred all the crews up to a regular and virtuous life by sermons; I heard their confessions, I visited their sick, and encouraged them at the hour of death to leave this world with resignation and confidence in God; a very difficult thing for those who have been by no means obedient to His divine laws. The more daringly they have rolled in all sin and crime, the less hope and confidence in the mercy of God have they when they die. A good many also who were carrying on serious feuds with one another — a fault very widely spread among soldiers — were, with the help of God, brought to make peace. The fleet sailed from Amboyna for India, and I with my companion, Joam d'Eyro, of whom I have spoken to you, sailed in the opposite direction to the Moluccas.

**Nearly two hundred miles beyond Molucco there is a region which is called "Maurica." Here, many years ago, a great number of the inhabitants became Christians, but having been totally neglected and left, as it were, orphans by the death of the priests who taught them, they have returned to their former barbarous and savage state. It is in every way a land full of perils, and especially to be dreaded by strangers on account of the great ferocity of the natives** and the many kinds of poison which it is there common to give in what is eaten and drunk. The fear of this has deterred priests from abroad from going there to help the islanders.

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It is in such matters that we see clearly how great after all our weakness is, how frail and unstable is our human nature here. **Many friends of mine prayed me earnestly not to go amongst so barbarous a people.** But afterwards, when they saw that they gained nothing by prayers or tears, they brought me each what he thought the best possible antidote against poison of all sorts; but I have unrelentingly sent them all back, lest after burthening myself with medicines, I should have another burthen which I was before without, that of fear.

...

When I was at Malacca, I fell in with a Portuguese merchant, **lately come from the very rich kingdom of China. He told me that he had been asked by a Chinese** — a good and honourable man, who had been a good deal in the city where the king dwells — whether Christians ate swine's flesh? and that he answered that Christians had no objection to swine's flesh, but that he should like to know why on earth he asked him such a question. **Then the Chinaman said that there was a nation in the middle of China, shut in by mountains, whose manners and laws were very different indeed from those of the Chinese, and that this nation<sup>52</sup> altogether abstained from swine's flesh, and, besides, kept many festival days in a very solemn manner.** When the merchant told me this, I could not make a satisfactory conjecture whether these might be some of the Christians who unite the rites of the Hebrew law with the religion of Christ, **as we know that the Ethiopians who live on the**

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<sup>52</sup> Henry James Coleridge notes that this must be the Jewish colony of Khai-Fong-Fou. Today it is called Kaifeng. I am certain that this suggestion is correct, as Kaifeng is walled off from the North by the Yan Mountains, from the West by the Taihang Mountains, and from the South by the Jianghuai hills of the Qinling. To the East is the Yellow Sea.

**shores of the Red Sea do, or whether they were Jews, some of whom are scattered over all the world.** I hear that all are agreed that they are not Mussulmans.

A great many merchants go from Malacca to China every year. **I have charged many of them to find out with diligence what are the manners and rites and laws and institutions of this nation I speak of, so that by means of these marks I may find out what it is,** and settle the question whether they are Jews or Christians. There are many who say that the Apostle St. Thomas **penetrated as far as China, and that he made a great many Christians among that people. For before the Portuguese conquered India, the Greek Church used to send bishops there to take care of the Christians who were converted by St. Thomas and his disciples; and when the Portuguese first began to get possession of India, one of these Greek bishops of whom I speak is said to have affirmed,** that he knew from other bishops whom he had found in India that St. Thomas had entered China, had gone through the cities, publishing the Gospel, **and had converted many of the natives to Christ.**

...

In this island of Amboyna the heathen are far more numerous than the Mussulmans, and there is a bitter hatred between the two; **for the Mussulmans compel the natives either to become Mahometans or to be their slaves, and the heathen, hating even the name of Mahomet more than the yoke of slavery, repudiate altogether the superstition of the Mussulmans.** If there were people here to teach them the true religion, they would join the fold of Christ without much difficulty, for they have much less objection to the name of Christ than to that of Mahomet. It is about seventy years since the plague of Mahometanism invaded this island: before that time **all the inhabitants** were heathen. The evil was introduced by some Mahometan cacizes (ministers of religion), **who came from Mecca in Arabia,** where the accursed body of Mahomet is honoured with great superstition, and drew a large multitude of people to their own sect. **The native Mussulmans are altogether ignorant, and know nothing of the pestilential doctrine which they profess to follow,** so that I am led to hope that they may be easily converted from the Mahometan religion.

I write all this to you at so much length that you may share my solicitude, and conceive, as is only right, an immense sorrow at the miserable loss of so many souls who are perishing daily, utterly destitute of aid. And those who desire to help them, don't let them delay; for even if they are not very well furnished with learning and other gifts, they will be quite fit for the work of which I speak, if they have made up their minds to come hither for the sake of Christ alone, to live with the people here, and breathe out their last in earnestly carrying out this resolution. If only a dozen would come out every year, so disposed, there would be an end altogether of this sect of Mahomet, and all would shortly be Christians. And what would result from this would be, that the majesty of God would not be insulted by so many atrocious and impious sins **as is now the case at the hands of this nation,** because they are ignorant of the true religion. **For the inhabitants of this island are for the most part savage and barbarous men, remarkable for perfidy and wonderfully ungrateful.**

**There are also some islands in this part of the ocean the people of which eat human flesh,** especially the flesh of their enemies who have been killed in battle. **If any one of their own people dies by disease, they do not touch the rest of the body,** but they cut off

the hands and feet, and consider them great delicacies. **And if we are to believe what is reported of them, they have even got to that excess of savagery, that when any one is preparing a specially elegant banquet, he asks his neighbour to give him his aged father, whom he kills and serves up to his neighbours to feast upon,** and this request he makes on the understanding that he in turn promises to do the same for the man from whom he asks the boon, if ever he should wish to give a similar entertainment. **And so great and so barbarous are the lusts to which they are subject, that they take up with all kinds of impurity.** Within a month's time I intend to go to an island where, besides other unheard of crimes, each of the enormities I have mentioned is commonly committed, that is, they both eat the dead slain in battle and also give up their aged parents to one another to be banqueted on. The reason why I go there is that I understand they are willing to be converted from all their detestable wickedness to Christian piety.

...

**All these islands differ among themselves in language, and indeed in some of them the inhabitants do not all use the same, but different villages have different dialects. However, all understand the Malay language, on account of the commerce.** For this reason, when I was at Malacca I had the Creed, with an appropriate explanation, the form of general confession, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the ten commandments translated into the Malay tongue, that when I spoke to them about Divine truths they might better understand what I said. They have no literary monuments, and commonly do not know how to read or write; some few write in Malay words and Arabic letters. This is because the teachers of the Mahometan superstition, called Cacizes or Alfaquis, **have lately taught, and are still teaching, some of the natives how to write. Before Mahometanism was introduced, there was absolutely no writing or reading among the natives.**

## Letter LV

I have very good reason to thank God for the fruits which came of this work. The converts took up the practice of singing hymns of the praises of God with so much ardour, **that the native boys in the street, the young girls and the women in the houses, the labourers in the fields, the fishermen on the sea, instead of singing licentious and blasphemous songs, were always singing the elements of the Christian doctrine.** And as all the songs had been put **in the language of the country,** they were understood equally well by the newly made Christians and the heathens. And, by the favour of God, **the Portuguese in the country and the rest of the inhabitants, both Christian and heathen,** took such an affection for me that I found favour in their eyes. I passed from thence into the islands that are called "**of the Moor**" about sixty leagues from Molucco. There were here many Christian villages unattended to for a length of time, both on account of their great distance from India, **and because the natives had put to death the only priest who was among them.** In these islands I baptized a great number of children, and in the space of three months, for I remained that length of time, I visited all the Christian villages, and made them devoted to Christ and to myself. **All these isles are full of dangers, on account of the feuds which rage among the inhabitants and their civil wars; the race is barbarous, totally ignorant of letters, devoid of any written monuments of the past, and without any notions of reading or writing. It is their practice**

**to take away the lives of any whom they hate by poison, and in this way a great many are killed.** The soil is rugged and destitute of productions which support life. There is no corn nor wine; **the natives scarcely know what flesh meat is;** they have no herds nor flocks, nothing but a few swine, which are rather objects of curiosity than food. Wild boars abound; good water is very rare; rice is plentiful; there are also trees in great numbers from which they get a kind of bread and of wine, and others out of the woven bark of which the clothing which they all use is made. I have written all this to you, my dearest brothers, that you may know how much these islands overflow with heavenly joys. All these dangers and discomforts, when borne for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, are treasures filled full with heavenly consolations, so much so that one might think these islands were just the places where in a few years one might lose one's eyesight from weeping so abundantly the sweetest tears of joy. Nowhere do I remember either to have been so flooded with so much of limpid and perpetual spiritual delight, or to have borne so lightly all fatigue and bodily trouble, **though I was going about islands begirt with enemies, inhabited by not the most trustworthy friends,** and entirely destitute of anything that could help in sickness, or could defend and preserve life when endangered. **In short, it seems as if these isles should rather be called the Islands of Divine Hope than of the Moor.**

**There is here a race of men, enemies to Christianity, called Javars. They believe that to kill any men they can get hold of is a sort of immortal life. And it often happens that when they have no strangers to kill, they kill their own wives and children.** These Javars make great slaughter of the Christians. One of the islands is almost continually, throughout its length and breadth, shaken by earthquakes, and it sends up flames and ashes. **The natives say** that the violence of the subterranean fire is so great, that the strata of rocks on which a certain town is built are all on fire. What they say seems credible; for it often happens that large redhot stones, as big as the largest trees, are hurled into the air, and when there is a very strong wind such a quantity of ashes is sent up from the cavities that the men and women who are at work in the country come home so covered with ashes that you can hardly see their eyes or nose or face. You would think they were rather demons than human beings.

...

I stayed four whole months at Malacca, waiting for a favourable season for the passage to India; the time was not without its spiritual occupation; and, as I could not alone satisfy the wants of all, I had to hear the complaints of some; but as their taking offence came from their repentance for sins, this did not afflict me, but rather gave me pleasure, as it was a proof of holy resolutions. **I also spent much time in doing away with quarrels and enmities, which easily spring up amongst a fighting set like the Portuguese.** After I had gone through the Catechism, I taught the children and the converts the explanation of the Creed in the common native tongue of the country, so that everybody might understand it. I had done the same in the Moluccas, in order that after their idolatrous superstition had been overthrown, I might lay firmly in their minds the foundations of the Christian religion. This instruction can quite well be given in a year, if only twenty words are learned each day, so as to be easily committed to memory by ignorant converts. **Meanwhile you must often repeat the history of the coming of Christ, that it may plant itself and take root in their hearts as well as the explanation. It is only by this means that the people come to know the truth,** and to look with abhorrence on the

fables and witcheries held in renown by all heathen, ancient and modern.

...

At Malacca, **a Portuguese merchant**, a man of great devotion and faith, told me a great many things about some very large islands which have lately been discovered. **The country is called Japan. He told me that much more progress may be made there than in India, in the propagation of the religion of Jesus Christ, because the whole nation in Japan surpasses others in its desire for knowledge. A certain Japanese came to me with this merchant.** His name is Anger, and he had made up his mind to come and talk to me, from what he had heard from the people at Malacca. **In Japan he had consulted some Portuguese merchants**, his friends, and had laid open to them the wounds of his conscience, asking them for some remedy to heal his soul and appease God. These merchants had advised him to come to me at Malacca. He did as he was told, and embarked in their ship. But when he arrived at Malacca I was in the Moluccas. When he heard this, he set out for home with a sorrowful mind. He was already in sight of Japan when a storm came on suddenly, and an adverse wind drove the vessel after great danger back again to Malacca. He there heard of my return, and came to me most anxiously desiring to learn the Christian religion. He has some knowledge of Portuguese, so we conversed together without an interpreter.

**If the rest of the Japanese have the same ardour for gaining knowledge that Anger has, then they surpass in genius all nations anywhere found.** He was present at the explanation of the Catechism, and with the greatest accuracy wrote down in a book the articles of the Creed. Often, too, in the church, with all the people present, he repeated from memory the lessons he had learned, and asked many questions full of intelligence. In truth, he has a great thirst for knowledge — a thing which avails very much for a quick perception of truth. A week after his arrival at Malacca, he set out for India. I wished to get him to take the vessel in which I was to sail; but, from his great familiarity with other Portuguese merchants, who were going to India, he did not like to leave such great friends, to whom he owed so much. I expect him at Cochin within ten days.

**I asked this Anger, whom I have mentioned, whether he thought, in case I accompanied him to Japan, the inhabitants would become Christians. He replied, that his countrymen would not give assent instantly to everything they heard, but that they would be sure to ask a great number of questions as to the religion I was introducing; and that, above all, they would consider whether my actions agreed with my words.** If I could do those two things — satisfy them by a consistent statement as to the questions they would ask, and give them no cause for finding fault with the goodness of my life — then, when the matter had been fully examined and taken cognizance of, **the King, the whole nobility, and all the other grown up men would certainly join the flock of Christ — for theirs is a nation which follows the guidance of reason.**

My friend the Portuguese merchant, who has been a long time in Japan, **left me some very carefully drawn up papers, containing a description of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, and other things — partly what he had himself seen, partly what he had learnt from good authority.** I send you these notes herein inclosed. **All the Portuguese merchants who come back from Japan assure me, that if I make this voyage, I shall**

**spend my labour much better than in India, inasmuch as I shall have to do with a nation that is governed by reason.** My mind seems to forebode, that in less than two years I or some one else of the Society shall go to Japan, though the voyage is very dangerous, both on account of the incredible storminess of those seas and the depredations of Chinese pirates — so that many vessels are lost from both of these causes.

<https://archive.org/details/LifeLettersOfStFrancisXavierV1/mode/2up>

## Book IV

(During the years 1548-1549)

## Letter LVI

I entreat and conjure your Highness, by the love which you bear to our Lord God and the burning desire you have to do what is pleasing to Him, to grant to your faithful subjects here in India, and to me with them, this much of your wellknown royal favour, as to send hither next year a great many preachers of our Society; for I assure you, Sire, as a matter of the strictest truth, that your royal garrisons in India are in very great need of preachers, both on account of the Portuguese who dwell in the garrisons and of the newly-converted Christians who dwell in the towns and villages dependent on them. I speak from experience; and what I have seen and found myself makes me write this. When I was at Malacca and in the Moluccas I used to preach twice every Sunday or other holiday. I was obliged to do it, because I saw that both the soldiers and the people there were in need of being frequently fed with the word of God. So I used to give instruction from the pulpit at the morning mass **to the Portuguese; in the afternoon I used to instruct their boys and girls, their slaves, and the free Christian natives, in discourses that each would understand**, going through the explanation of the heads of Christian doctrine one by one. Then on a certain day in the week I used to preach a catechetical sermon on the Articles of the Creed and the Sacraments of Confession and Communion to a congregation **consisting of the wives of the Portuguese, native, and *half-bred***. If this method of instruction were kept up vigorously everywhere and constantly, there would in a few years be a very great and profitable result from it to the service of God. At the same time, within the forts themselves, I used to preach the Christian doctrine daily **to the children of both sexes of the Portuguese**, as well as to their men and maid servants, **and to the native Christians**; and this instruction produced as its fruit at once, that the idolatrous superstitions and magic incantations which used to be frequently practised among those ignorant converts were altogether abandoned.

I state all this minutely to your Highness, that your own wisdom may judge how great need we have of abundance of preachers in these parts, and what will follow naturally, that you may not forget to provide such an abundance as we want. For it is certain that if the great penury of such means of grace which is now felt is allowed to go on for the future, not only will those who have lately been converted to our holy faith not reverence it, but, **as a general rule, not even the Portuguese themselves** will be Christian farther than in name. I am very much afraid, Sire, that these desires of mine will not have their effect such as I wish them to have, and

such as need requires; and knowing, as I do, **the unhappy lot of India**, I can hardly bring myself to any certain confidence that she will obtain the great good which I desire for her. **It seems as if it were her natural lot, or rather, I should say, her congenital malady, not to be able to bear that any exactness in religion, or any excellence in the discharge of the duties of perfect virtue, should become a matter of common practice and flourish among the generality of her inhabitants.**

## Letter LVII

I have not yet made up my mind whether, after a year and a half from this, I shall go myself to Japan, with one or two others of the Society, or whether I shall send two of ours there first. I have quite decided either to go or to send others, and as things are now, I incline to the plan of going myself. I pray God to give me a clear intimation of His will as to what is most pleasing to Him. I thought it best to choose one of the three of our Society who are gone to the Moluccas to be Superior of the rest, so I made choice of Joam Beira for the others to obey, as if he were yourself. They were very glad of it. I think of making the same arrangement as to the Comorin Promontory, and the other places where more than one of ours are placed. I beg that you by your own prayers and the prayers of those with whom you have influence **may obtain the help of Heaven for us who are working in these barbarous regions**; and that you may do this more earnestly, I pray the Eternal God to show you, by a light from Himself, how much need I am in of your help and guiding hand.

## Letter LVIII

May the grace and charity of our Lord Jesus Christ always favour and help us! Amen.

I charge you, my dearest brother, for the love which you bear to Jesus Christ, to send us hither some preachers of the Society; men of that sort are most urgently wanted in India. Of all those whom you have hitherto sent I have seen none except Joam Beira, Father Ribero, and Niccolo Nunez the layman, who are in the Moluccas, and Adam Francis, who is here at Cochin. I have asked about the others, and people tell me that there is no one among them able to preach well. Another thing which I entreat you in the name of God is to be careful in choosing those whom you think of sending out hither to work for the conversion of the heathen. It is necessary that you choose men of proved goodness and tried virtue, men who for the space of some years have gained many and signal victories over themselves. **They must also not be men of weak health, but strong; for the hard work in India requires not only the virtue of the soul but also the strength of the body.** The King would gain great favour with God if he were to send to India as many preachers of our Society as possible, **so ignorant and uninstructed is the whole race of the Indians.** I write this to you on the strength of the experience I have now gained of all these parts.

...

If there is one thing which, for his very numerous and very great deserts at the hands of our Society, I should like to have the King of Portugal warned about, **since it is his business beyond all to provide for the salvation first of his own people and those of the heathen**

**who are in his dominions**, I would desire that the King, both for the sake of the service of God and also to discharge a religious obligation of his own soul, should place in all the towns of India which are occupied by his garrisons good preachers, either of our Society or of the Franciscans or the Dominicans, who should be free and disengaged from other cares, to preach on the Gospel in the forenoon of the Sundays and festivals **to the Portuguese**, and in the afternoon should explain the Articles of the Faith **to their servants and slave-girls as well as to the native converts**, and should also once a week preach to the wives and children of the Portuguese on the Articles of the Creed and the Sacraments of Confession and Communion; for I have learnt by experience how great necessity there is out here for this kind of instruction.

## Letter LIX

**Take diligent care never to speak hardly of the native Christians in the presence of the Portuguese**; rather always defend them and take up their cause when they are accused, making excuses for them and commending them as much as you are able. **You should ask the Portuguese to consider favourably what a bad education these poor creatures** who are lately converted from idolatry to Christianity have had from their childhood upwards; how little time they have had free, during the short period since they embraced the faith — what with the many instances of the absence of priests, **what with the invasions and alarms of invasions of the Badages** — to give themselves seriously to the receiving the necessary instructions how to behave as Christians. Say that, **if they take all these things wisely into account, not only ought they to be very indulgent in forgiving the defects of these uninstructed barbarians**, but they may well wonder that they are not somewhat worse than they appear to be from the faults into which they fall, which are generally not of the most grievous kind.

## Letter LXI

May the grace and charity of our Lord Jesus Christ ever favour and help us! Amen.

I would much rather, dearest brother, talk to you face to face than by letter, and so give you some little consolation for all the toils and discomforts and trials you are bearing for the sake of Christ. You do not ask for consolation of that kind which forms the delight of men of the world who give themselves to all the pleasures of this world that they may live in gaiety and enjoyments. We must needs feel a great compassion for the lot of such. The men whose part we should envy must be those of whom, as the Apostle says, the world was not worthy. **Do not grieve, my dear brother, that you make less progress than you could wish in your careful work among these new converts. As you tell me, the nation is addicted to idolatry**, and the Rajah himself is hostile to our religion and bitterly persecutes Christians. Well, you do more good than you think, by regenerating in baptism for the kingdom of heaven the infants whom you so diligently seek out and collect. **For if you choose to look around you in mind, you will find that of all people in India, whether white or black**, very few reach heaven except those who die before they are fourteen years old, and so depart from this life with their baptismal innocence.



## Letter LXIII

May the grace and charity of our Lord Christ always be with us! Amen.

My own and only Father in the Heart of Christ, I think that the many letters from this place which have lately been sent to Rome will inform you how prosperously the affairs of religion go on in these parts, through your prayers and the good bounty of God. But there seem to be certain things which I ought myself to speak about to you; so I will just touch on a few points **relating to these parts of the world which are so distant from Rome. In the first place, the whole race of the Indians, as far as I have been able to see, is very barbarous; and it does not like to listen to anything that is not agreeable to its own manners and customs, which, as I say, are barbarous. It troubles itself very little to learn anything about divine things and things which concern salvation. Most of the Indians are of vicious disposition, and are averse to virtue. Their instability, levity, and inconstancy of mind are incredible; they have hardly any honesty, so inveterate are their habits of sin and cheating.** We have hard work here, both in keeping the Christians up to the mark and in converting the heathen. And, as we are your children, it is fair that on this account you should take great care of us and help us continually by your prayers to God. **You know very well what a hard business it is to teach people who neither have any knowledge of God nor follow reason, but think it a strange and intolerable thing to be told to give up their habits of sin, which have now gained all the force of nature by long possession.**

...

**Again, all the Indians, whether heathen or Mussulmans, as far as I have been able to make out hitherto, are very ignorant.** So that those who are to go about in these parts for the purpose of propagating the Gospel, are not so much in need of learning as of virtue — above all of obedience, perseverance, patience, charity, and a very singular purity against numerous temptations to sin; and lastly, of an uncommon gift of counsel and prudence in the management of affairs, as well as strong health and vigour of body and mind, so as to bear labour and afflictions. I have said this, because I think it necessary that diligent examination should be made as to the virtues of the workers who may hereafter have to come to India. And if there are any of them whom you have not sufficiently proved in this respect, at least, I beseech you, let them be men in whom you may place great confidence. Such are the men who are wanted in India — men of singular purity and humility, with no appearance about them of pride or elation.

Any one whom you are to send to be Rector of the College at Goa, **where he will rule the native students as well as our own people,** must have, besides the other qualities which are necessary in Rectors, two recommendations in particular.

...

**The experience which I have of these countries makes me think that I can affirm with truth, that there is no prospect of perpetuating our Society out here by means of the natives themselves, and that the Christian religion will hardly survive us who are now in the country;** so that it is quite necessary that continual supplies of ours should be sent out from Europe. We have now some of the Society in all parts of India where there are Christians. Four

are in the Moluccas, two at Malacca, six in the Comorin Promontory, two at Coulan, as many at Bazain, four at Socotra. The distances between these places are immense; for instance, the Moluccas are more than a thousand leagues from Goa, Malacca five hundred, Cape Comorin two hundred, Coulan one hundred and twenty, Bazain sixty, and Socotra three hundred. In each place there is one of the Society who is Superior of the rest. As these Superiors are men of remarkable prudence and virtue, the others are very well content.

**The Portuguese in these countries are masters only of the sea and of the coast.** On the mainland they have only the towns in which they live. **The natives themselves are so enormously addicted to vice as to be little adapted to receive the Christian religion. They so dislike it that it is most difficult to get them to hear us if we begin to preach about it, and they think it like death to be asked to become Christians.** So for the present we devote ourselves to keeping the Christians whom we have. **Certainly, if the Portuguese were more remarkable for their kindness to the new converts, a great number would become Christians; as it is, the heathen see that the converts are despised and looked down on by the Portuguese, and so, as is natural, they are unwilling to become converts themselves.** For all these reasons there is no need for me to labour in these countries, and as I have learnt from good authorities **that there is a country near China called Japan, the inhabitants of which are all heathen, quite untouched by Mussulmans or Jews, and very eager to learn what they do not know both in things divine and things natural,** I have determined to go thither as soon as I can.

I undertake this voyage with great happiness in my soul, and with still greater hope, **because I feel quite confident that the labour we may spend on that nation will produce solid and lasting fruit.** In the College at Goa, which is called the College of Santa Fe, we have three Japanese students who came thither with me last year from Malacca. **They tell us wonderful things about Japan. They are youths of very good virtue and extremely sharp wit;** Paul in particular, who is sending you a letter of very good length. In the space of eight months he has learnt perfectly to read, write, and speak Portuguese. He is now making the Exercises, and with very good fruit. He is quite well instructed in the Christian doctrine. I have really a very good hope that by God's help there will be a large number made Christians in Japan. I have made up my mind first to go to the king of the country, and then to the universities and seats of learning, and, as I hope, with great gain of souls. **As Paul tells me, the religions of Japan are said to have been introduced from Chinghinquo, a city beyond China and Cathay, a year and a half's journey from Japan. When I get to Japan I will write to tell you all about the manners and literature of the people and also about the religion and the doctrines of Chinghinquo. For in all the Chinese Empire and in all Cathay it is said that no other teaching flourishes except that which is handed down in this most famous university.** So that when I have got well acquainted with their literature and the doctrine of this place of learning I will write to you about it all at good length. And I shall not fail also to write on the same subject to the University of Paris, that by means of the people there the rest of the universities of Europe may have information of these things. Of those of the Society here I think to take with me only one European, Cosmo Torres of Valentia, who has joined us out here, and besides those three Japanese youths whom I have mentioned. We shall set out, God willing, in

next April.

...

You would also do a thing well worth your while, and which would, as I hope, be pleasing to God, if you would send out to us all of the Society who are in India a letter full of spiritual precepts, **as a sort of will and testament by means of which you impart to the least of your children who are at such a distance from the sight of you**, the riches and treasures which you have received from God. Do it at your leisure; but I do beseech you some time or other grant us this favour. Enrico Enriquez, **a Portuguese priest** of our Society, a man of excellent virtue and good example, who is now in the Promontory of Comorin, writes and speaks the Malabar tongue very well indeed; and so he alone works with great profit as if he were a great many. His sermons and private conversations have made him a marvellous object of love and veneration to **the native Christians**. I beg of you to let such a man, so good, so laborious, so useful a worker in the vineyard of Christ, "who bears the burthen and heat of the day," have the consolation of a letter from yourself.

...

In this town there are two churches, one of St Thomas, one of St. James. Fra Vincenzo, whom I have mentioned, hopes very much that you will get each of them a plenary indulgence once a year from the Holy Father, on the feasts of St. Thomas and St. James, and the seven days after each. **This would be to increase the piety of the natives who are descended from the converts of St. Thomas, and are called Christians of St Thomas.**

## Letter LXIV

May the peace and charity of Christ our Lord be always with us! Amen.

My own and only Father in the Heart of Jesus Christ, — I have written to you three letters almost in the same words and at great length, which I have committed to the care of M. Simon. Antonio Criminale, with six others of the Society, is in the Promontory of Comorin. He is in truth, believe me, a holy man — **a man made for work in these countries; and as you have many in Europe like him**, I want you to send a good number of such out here. He is Superior of the others in the Comorin mission. **He is wonderfully dear to the native Christians and to the heathen and Mussulmans**, and I can hardly tell you how the fathers and brethren under him love him.

...

And indeed a great many Colleges of the Society would be started in these parts if Master Simon (as I have already said in a letter to you) were to be sent out with great powers from the King, and bring with him a large number of the Society, of whom six or seven should be preachers, and many fit for hearing confessions, giving spiritual exercises, receiving heathen into the Church, and all of whom should be men of self command and experience in affairs. I have also written to the King concerning Master Simon, that his Highness may send him with power not only to begin Colleges, **but also to confer favours on the native Christians and the heathen, whom ever so little an amount of favour would make willing converts to Christianity.**

I send you the Japanese characters. **The Japanese write in a very different manner from other nations**, beginning at the top of the page and writing straight downwards to the bottom. I asked Paul the Japanese why they did not write as we do? "Why, rather," said he, "do not you write as we do? The head of a man is at the top and his feet at the bottom, and so it is proper that when men write it should be straight down from top to bottom." **I also send you an account of Japan, and of the manners of the natives, which Paul has given me.** He is a very religious and trustworthy man. Two months hence I shall sail for Japan with Father Cosmo Torres, Paul, **and two other Japanese**, if God so will. When I am there I will write you an account of what their books contain, for I cannot get at this from Paul, who was a layman, and so never had any acquaintance with the literary monuments of Japan, which are in a sort of different language, like books written in Latin among ourselves. May Jesus our Lord teach us to do His will, and after we have passed through the troubles of this life, bring us into His blessed and eternal home! Amen.

## Letter LXVI

You will most certainly gain great favour with God if you come out to India with as many as may be of the Society, bringing seven or eight good preachers with you, and other men of much experience and moderation. **There is no such great need of much learning for the conversion of the heathen, for the people in these countries are very barbarous and ignorant, so that men even of moderate learning may do very serviceable work for God out here**, provided they are men of great virtue and strength. In all the towns in India where we could place a preacher of our Society with another priest to help him in hearing confessions and doing the other functions of our Society, it would be possible to have a house of the Society for the sake of educating **the children of the Portuguese and of the natives.**

I have written to our Father Ignatius to give you leave to come, and also to the King to send you to India with a large company of our Society and with great authority from himself. If this shall come about, you may believe me that your coming will be of much greater advantage to religion than you think. Another thing about which I have written to the King, is to get him to provide for the **children of the Portuguese** whose parents have lost their lives in his service and left their children orphans and poor. For no one thinks of paying them **the salaries and sustenance which are owing to their parents.** So that it would not be out of the way to found some colleges in India where orphans of this sort might not only be supported, but also educated. **And as the King is bound also to look after the welfare of the natives**, it would be for the interests of religion to give orders that **the children of native Christians** in certain places should have the Catechism taught them. So I am writing to his Highness to assign, if it seems good to him, about five thousand gold pieces out of the revenue of Bazain for the opening of a house of this kind. I hope confidently that the King, with the good help of God, will do all these things by means of your coming out.

I have lately heard of the country of Japan, which lies beyond China more than six hundred miles. **They tell us that the inhabitants are very clever, very desirous of learning not only religious truth, but also the natural truths which are a part of education. The**

**Portuguese who have come back from Japan tell us this, and indeed it is proved well enough by certain Japanese themselves**, who last year came with me from Malacca to India, and have lately been made Christians at Goa, in the College of Santa Fe. You will be able to see this well enough yourself from the account of Japanese matters which we have sent you, which we got from Paul the Japanese, who is called Paul of the Holy Faith [below: *The account of Yajiro Angero*], a man really of very excellent virtue and perfect truthfulness. He is writing to you about himself and his affairs, and the benefits which God has bestowed upon him. So in the month of April next I intend to go to Japan with Cosmo Torres, a priest of our Society; **for I am persuaded that the Christian religion will be propagated in those parts far and wide**; add to this, that here I am doing nothing, and am not wanted, since, on account of our brethren who have come out this year, my work is by no means necessary to the Indians, more especially as in a short time you are either coming out yourself, or going to send out some one else in your place with a large body of our Society.

...

I have written about the business to the King, showing him of what great advantage to religion such a College would be. Please to get the King to send orders to the Governor of India and to his own Procurator to build the house at the public expense, and to build it large in size, so that many **orphans both of Portuguese and native parents** may be supported there. Coulan is a place where all things are very plentiful and very cheap, so that at no great expense a very large number of students might be supported.

## Letter LXIX

When you reprove vices in the pulpit be careful never to speak against or attack any person by name, especially those who are officers or magistrates. If they do anything which you disapprove, and of which you think convenient to admonish them, make them a visit, and speak to them in private; or when they come of themselves to confession, whisper to them in the secret tribunal of penance, what you have to say to them. **But altogether avoid the speaking against them openly; for they [speaking of Persians] are a sort of people who are commonly difficult and irritable, and they are so far from amending upon such public admonitions that they are stung by them, and become furious, like bulls under a gadfly, and rush headlong to perdition.**

...

The injunction which I have given above — namely, that you should find out from men who are well acquainted with the matter **what are the commercial frauds most common at Ormuz** — I would not have confined either to that place in particular, or to those specific heads of which I spoke. Wherever you are, even if it be only in passing and on a journey, **always make it a point to try to find out as exactly as possible from good men who know the ways of common life, not only what are the prevalent crimes or customary tricks of cheating in such places, but the whole manners of the people there, the opinions and prejudices of the populace, what the nation is intent upon, what are the peculiar customs of the country, the mode of government, the method of the courts, the forms of suits, the quibbles of lawyers, and whatever has any sort of bearing upon the character of the state or of civil society there.** Believe my experience, nothing of all this is useless for the physician

of souls to know, **in order that he may at once understand their diseases**, may easily provide remedies, and may always have at command a power of readily and quickly meeting all necessities.

## Letter LXXI

We have now got as far as the port of Malacca on our way to Japan. There are two of our Society with me, **and three Japanese Christians**, lately converted, but very good. After having been fully instructed in the mysteries and doctrines of the life and teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, they were baptized at Goa in the College of Santa Fe. They have learned to read and write in our manner, they recite the prayers of the Church, and make meditation at regular hours. What moves and affects them most of all is the consideration of the labours and sufferings of Christ, and the remembrance of His cross and death. They often meditate upon these things with very deep and strong sentiments and very tender affections. They have exercised their minds with very great attentiveness in the ascetic meditations of Father Ignatius, and have carried away from them most remarkable fruits in the clearer knowledge of God. They frequent of their own accord the sacraments of confession and communion, and they feel urged to **join us in this voyage to their own country by great desires of leading their own people to the religion of Christ.**

## Letter LXXII

**We are told here a great many things about Japan which fill us with the greatest hope that our voyage thither will lead to results which will abundantly repay the labour.** They say that you can see there far and wide the fields white with the harvest, **that many of the people are wearied with their ancestral superstitions**, that many are desirous to hear about the law of Christ, the reputation of which has reached them with very great commendations; they show us letters also of some merchants dealing in the kingdom of Siam, who testify that some Japanese had landed there and **had been heard to say that their countrymen wished to see some European priests** come amongst them to teach them the true doctrine concerning God. Such are our hopes, and we are eager to fly to the spot where they may become true, our hearts full of spirit and of that confidence which is a sort of augury and presage, and which finds nothing too great to promise to itself in the way of success. But may God grant that our own sins may not intercept the rich streams of gifts of grace and heavenly succours, without an abundant torrent of which all labour for the conversion of the heathen is in vain! Farewell. Your most devoted brother in Christ, FRANCIS.

## Letter LXXIV

Before they were put under the training of the Spiritual Exercises, we had kept them for several months at learning by heart the articles of the Christian faith and the mysteries of the life of Christ, and in making their minds familiar with the cause of the Incarnation of the Son of God in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the whole plan of the redemption of mankind. I

have often asked them, which of all the sacraments of the Christian law seemed to them of most salutary use? and they always answered that, on account of their usefulness and universality of application, which extended to every kind and circumstance of condition and place, they gave the first rank of all principally to two sacraments, those of holy Penance and of holy Communion. They used to add, that all the doctrines of the Christian religion appeared to them to hold together so aptly among themselves, that they thought that no one of sound judgment could help approving of them if ever he came to know them. **I have heard one of these men, who is called Paul of the Holy Faith, sighing deeply and exclaiming, “O unhappy people of Japan, who adore the creatures which God has made in order that they may be your servants!” I said to him, “Paul, why do you talk so?” He answered, “I pity my poor fellow countrymen, who give divine honour to the sun and moon,** whereas those stars are servants to those who acknowledge the Lord Jesus, and by His command they give light to men by day and by night, that they may use that light to understand the glory of Jesus Christ the Son of God.”

...

They say that we shall set sail either on the feast of St. John Baptist of this year 1549, or on the night before. We have settled to sail straight for Japan, and for a distance of about two hundred leagues to run along the coast of the celebrated kingdom of China, never disembarking or approaching the shore, until we reach Japan. The sailors say that this may be on about the tenth or fifteenth of the following month. And when this happens, by God’s favour, **you must expect long and full letters from me, in which I shall inform you of the position and character of the country, the nature of the people who inhabit it, their disposition, manners, laws, superstitions, errors, studies, universities, and learning** — of the exercises which are practised in acquiring it, and the method by which it is taught.

...

**All who tell us what they have seen of the Japanese agree in one thing, that they are a nation with an exceeding eagerness for knowledge. I shall tell you at full length what my own practice and experience among them may teach me.**

## Letter LXXV

May the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be always in our souls ! Amen.

As soon as I landed here I was struck with greater wonder than I can easily find words to express, at seeing with my own eyes the immense harvest which in this city of Malacca, as in some large field of rich corn, is gathered into the barn of Christ by the labour and industry of the single evangelical workman Father Francesco Perez. Every Sunday and feastday he preaches **in the morning to the Portuguese** in the largest church in the city. In the afternoon in the same place he diligently expounds the articles of the holy Creed **to the less instructed free men or to the slaves of both sexes**. Once in the week in the church of our Lady the Mother of God he preaches to a large congregation **of the wives both of the Portuguese and of the native Christians a sermon adapted to their capacity and condition**. And besides all this, every single day he teaches and explains in the most laborious manner the elements of the Christian doctrine to a very large crowd of boys in the church of the Confraternity of Mercy. Besides these

things, which might certainly be enough abundantly to occupy a single man, it would not be easy to count the number of penitents whose confessions he alone hears.

### The account of Yajiro Angero<sup>53</sup>, as relayed by Saint Francis

Northwards from China, and further east, the Portuguese merchants discovered an island called Japan, in the same latitude as Italy: it measures (according to the account given me) 600 leagues from east to west, and 300 in width. From that island came, in the month of April last, a man of great intelligence and sagacity named Angero, bringing with him two servants. Among other things, he asked information concerning our holy Faith, and having been instructed therein, after a short space of time he became a Christian, taking the name of Paul. He remained with us in this our College of St. Paul of the holy Faith, in Goa, where he learned to read and write Portuguese, and translated into his own language a short summary of the doctrines and practices essential to our holy religion. This man gave himself to prayer and contemplation, calling on and sighing for our Lord Jesus Christ; his goodness is so great that it cannot be easily told. **Whilst a catechumen he gave, at our request, an account of the customs and laws of his country; but since he was not initiated in the sects as some of his countrymen who are held to be learned, and he only knew the common language, on this account he related things only according to the current popular opinion.** This information I transmit to you as he told it to us, intending to write all more certainly by and by, and how our Father Master Francis has by that time been there, **and has himself made personal acquaintance with the inhabitants and the writings of that country.**

**In the first place, he informed us that the whole island of Japan is subject to one king;** under him there are great lords, like our dukes and counts; their number amounts altogether to about fourteen in all Japan; and when one of them dies, his eldest son inherits the entire estate, the younger sons having some castle allotted them for their maintenance, on condition that they maintain obedience to the head of the family, so as not to divide the estate. **The least of these nobles,** he says, can send into the field 10,000 men, others 15,000, others 20,000 or 30,000. **The chief ruler or king is called Voo; he is of a more noble race than the rest, and can only marry in his own family. He has jurisdiction in things spiritual as well as temporal, and over both seculars and religious, these last being very numerous in this country;** indeed, his authority seems like that of the Pope amongst us. Though he has authority over all, he never makes war or puts any to death; all such things he leaves to another among them, who is like the Emperor, and is called Goxo, and with whom rests all the government, and who rules the island. He is under the obedience of the aforementioned Voo, and when he visits him, he kneels and bends his head on his thigh; and, though he has a great court of lords, captains, and soldiers, who superintend matters connected with carrying on war and justice, if the Goxo should do any evil, the Voo can cause him **to be deprived of his kingdom** and beheaded. **The less obey the greater very much,** on account of the stern justice they use. All crimes are by them punished with the same severity. The Voo lives as follows: **he takes a wife of his own**

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<sup>53</sup> Yajiro Angero is the name of the convert who Saint Francis severally references as Paul. His original name is thought to be Anjiro, which the Portuguese called as Angero; e.g. Angelo. Yajiro's account is relayed to Saint Ignatius of Loyola in this letter. He was the first Japanese person to convert.



**family**, and when the moon begins to wane he begins to fast and to separate from his wife, and give himself to meditation and prayer for fifteen days, eating very little, and being dressed in white the whole time, and wearing a large crown upon his head, until the moon changes: but when she begins to increase, he at once begins to lead a life of pleasure with his wife, goes to hunt, and enjoys many other amusements. If his wife dies before he is thirty he may marry again, but not after that age; and the rest of his life he must keep perpetual chastity, and live like a religious, and at no time may he have intercourse with any woman but his wife.

**Besides the great lords, the nation has other gentlemen, merchants and officials of every grade, as amongst ourselves. Generally no one has more than one wife.** If she prove unfaithful, and the husband can surprise her with her paramour, he is authorised to kill them both; if he kill only one, public justice proceeds against the other, and puts him to death; but if he kill neither, it is considered a disgrace to him. When a wife is believed guilty of adultery, yet cannot be taken in the act, she is sent home to her father's house, and then the husband does not lose his honour, but may marry again, she herself being for ever dishonoured and not allowed to remarry. It is thought infamous for one who lives with his wife to have intercourse with another woman. The nobles send their sons to the monasteries to be educated as soon as they are eight years old, and they remain there until they are nineteen or twenty, learning reading, writing, and religion; as soon as they come out they marry, and apply themselves to politics.

There are in these islands three sorts of religious, who have monasteries like our friars, some within the cities, and some without: those in the cities do not marry, live on alms, and shave their heads and beards. They wear long habits with wide sleeves, almost like our friars; in winter they cover their heads, but the rest of the year they are always uncovered; they eat together like friars, and fast many times in the year. These religious eat no animal food, in order to afflict their bodies and extirpate all sinful desires, and this abstinence is common to all the religious. They rise in the middle of the night to say prayers, which they chant for about half an hour, and then sleep till dawn, when they again arise, and say other prayers; they also recite prayers at sunrise, at midday, and in the evening; at this last time they sound a bell, **and all the people fall on their knees to pray, as we do at home.** These religious pray in a language not understood by the common people, just as our priests do in Latin.

...

This excellent man also narrated to us the history of a man who is esteemed a saint among them, as we say. **He said that there lived once in a land beyond China, called Chenguquo, a king named Sanbon, whose wife was called Illagabuni. One night this king dreamt that a son was to be born to him, who should be a very great man and regarded as a god in all those lands.** This dream he told to his wife, who nine months later had a son, whom they called Xaqua, at whose birth two huge winged serpents were seen to float over the palace, descend to where the child was without doing him any harm, and presently disappear. When Xaqua was nineteen years old, his father wished him to marry; but he, impressed with the miseries of this life, fled by night to the mountains, where for the space of six years he lived a life of solitary penance. **At the end of this time he reappeared amongst his countrymen, and began to preach with great fervour and eloquence to all those people.** His reputation for sanctity soon spread, and he acquired unbounded influence, **so that he remodelled the laws of the country, and taught the people how to adore God.** It is said

that Xaqu made 8000 converts, **some of whom carried his doctrines into China, preaching his laws and religion; that they converted China and the kingdom of Chenguinquo, making the people destroy the idols and pagodas; and that they were established in China and Chenguinquo, and thence came to Japan, making the people do the same;** and even now fragments of ancient statues are found there, as they are found at Rome.

This Xaqu taught that there is one God, Creator of all things ; and exhorted his followers to accept five precepts: 1. not to kill; 2. not to steal; 3. not to commit fornication; 4. not to be passionate for things that cannot be remedied; 5. to forgive injuries. He also wrote many books full of much virtue and very useful, wherein he taught the manners which men ought to observe, each according to his state.

...

Paul told us also that there are in Japan many sorcerers and enchanters; however, they are little esteemed by wise and prudent men; there are also very great astrologers, who foretell events to come. **The natives write chronicles of their history, much as we do ourselves, and they resemble us also in their manners and subtlety of invention. Indeed, the author of our present information gives tokens of a mental power which many of us might envy; nor is his cleverness of an unpractical kind, being shown in action as well as in speech.** He appears much shocked at the vices which he cannot but perceive amongst Christians. **He thinks that all the Japanese will become Christians, because it is written in their law and in their books that all laws are to be one, and they expect a more perfect law than their own, and he cannot imagine one more perfect than ours.** He says he is very happy in having received so great a blessing from God, in that he has been taken as the instrument **to introduce Christian people into Japan**, who may preach this holy law; and although he is married, he offers himself to go to Japan and stay with the fathers who go there two years more, until some good beginning of a Christian community is made there, and until the fathers know the language.

He says that the climate is very healthy, and that hurricanes and earthquakes are of frequent occurrence. The fruits and metals are much the same as those of Europe; also the animals and birds, which are both very numerous; there are few poisonous serpents. No wine is made from grapes, but a fermented liquor is distilled from rice, as from barley in Flanders; there are wild vines in the woods which bear grapes. **The people eat rice with meat and fish as in India.** Wheat is plentiful; it is not made into bread, but used for pastry and the like, rice being used as a substitute for bread. The flesh of wild fowls is eaten, but not that of chickens; indeed no domestic animal is used as an article of food. **He says that in this country there is a duke who has on his banner a sign like a cross, and none but his own family can bear it. The whole nation pray on beads as we do;** those who can read use little books, and those who pray on beads say on each bead a prayer twice as long as the Pater noster. These strings of beads, or rosaries, have one hundred and eight beads. They say that their learned men teach that each man has one hundred and eight sorts of sin, and that he must say a prayer against each of these. **This prayer is in a tongue not understood by the people, as Latin with us.** When they get up in the morning, they say nine words, raising the fingers of the right hand, to defend themselves against the devil. The religious make profession and vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and practise this in humility before they are received into religion.

**The climate of Japan resembles that of Italy, and the natives are much like the Italians in height. They are discreet, magnanimous, and lovers of virtue and letters, honouring learned men very much. Their customs of government in peace and war are like ours. Justice is very expeditious.** A man is allowed to kill his own slave for an insult or injury. The supreme dignity of the Voo, who is like the Pope, descends to his eldest son or to his nearest relation by the father's side. **So it is with the other princes.** The Goxo intervenes if these quarrel among themselves; and if any one is contumacious or disobedient, he makes war on him and takes away his realm and cuts off his head; **yet the dignity is not taken out of the family, but descends to his next heir.** They use prayers, alms, pilgrimages, and fasts for the remission of sins of the living and the dead many times in the year, eating, when they fast, at the same hours that we do. In a mountain in the island there are 5000 religious, very rich, with many servants, well housed and clothed. They observe chastity so much that no woman is allowed to enter the monastery, nor anything female. Women after childbirth are fifteen days without any one touching them, and do not go to church for forty days. Poor women who have many children kill the youngest that they may not grow up to suffer poverty, and this is not punished.

He said also that 1600 years ago or more, the idols were destroyed in the kingdom of Jenico (Chenguinquo), by which you go to Japan, passing by China and Tartary, and also in this island, by means of the doctrine of Xaquu. When he preached about hell, he said that souls were tormented therein by the demons with divers torments, the damned being in perpetual flames, and other similar pains. He said there was a Purgatory, where the souls which have not done sufficient penance in this life for their sins are detained until they are purified, and that in Paradise are the angels, who are contemplating the majesty of God. They believe that the angels are defenders of men, and for this reason they carry with them images of the angels, who, they say, are spirits made of other substance and elements than ours. They use many prayers in praise of God, and practise contemplation, especially the religious. They assemble round the altar when they chant, and they ring bells to assemble the people for the sermons, and sacrifices, and other common prayers; and when any one dies they assemble to bury him or to burn him, with many lighted candles. All their laws and scriptures and prayers are in a language which is not the common tongue, as Latin with us. We asked this good man whether they practised sacrifices; and he said that some of the priests, especially the prelate, in certain vestments, come into the church, and in presence of the people they burn certain scents, like incense — aloe-wood sticks, and certain odoriferous leaves — upon a stone like an altar, chanting certain prayers. **The churches of this people have the same privilege as ours, so that the officers of justice cannot seize or take any one from them, save only for theft. They have in their temples many images of saints (men and women) painted, of large size, with crowns and glory like ours; and they venerate the saints as we venerate ours;** and although they adore one God, Creator of all things, yet they pray to the saints to intercede with God for them.

**This nation eats all kinds of food, and does not practise circumcision; so that it would appear that the Gospel had been preached in the country,** and that on account of sins the light of faith had been obscured, and that then some heretic like Mahomet had taken it away altogether. While I was writing this paper there came to me **an Armenian Bishop,** who has been more than forty years in these parts, **who said that he had read that the Armenians**

**had preached in China** in the beginning of the primitive Church, Nevertheless, it would be very well that the light of the holy faith and of the doctrine of the Gospel **should be once more made to shine upon these nations**; and although from Rome to Japan there are 8000 leagues of journey, yet to those who love God and the salvation of souls all the toils and dangers of the world are pleasures. If God will, our Father Master Francis, together with Paul (the author of this information), and two men of Japan who are already Christians, and three others, fathers or brothers of our Society, will, if God so please, sail to Japan this next April, and in two years your Reverence will have information **of the good which we may hope to do in that country** by the grace of Jesus Christ our Lord, *Qui est benedictus in sæcula sæculorum*. Amen.

## Book V

(During the years 1549-1552)

### Letter LXXIX

We shall write to you about Japan just as far as we get acquainted with it, and what we ourselves have learnt. **In the first place, the nation with which we have had to do here surpasses in goodness any of the nations lately discovered. I really think that among barbarous nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than the Japanese. They are of a kindly disposition, not at all given to cheating,** wonderfully desirous of honour and rank. Honour with them is placed above everything else. There are a great many poor among them, but poverty is not a disgrace to any one. There is one thing among them of which I hardly know whether it is practised anywhere among Christians. The nobles, however poor they may be, receive the same honour from the rest as if they were rich; nor can any noble, however poor and needy, be induced to contract marriage with even the richest plebeian. They think that by coming down to ally themselves with plebeians they lose a great deal of dignity and estimation, and thus it is that they despise riches in comparison with dignity. They have a great many observances of courtesy among themselves. They are very fond of arms and weapons, and rely upon them very much. The highest and lowest alike always wear their swords and daggers — even boys of fourteen years of age. They never bear an insult either in word or deed.

The common people pay very great respect to the nobles, and these in their turn think it a great honour to themselves to wait on the Kings and Princes and obey their word. **They seem to me to do this rather from their desire of honour than out of fear, lest by not behaving thus they should lose anything of their own dignity.** They are sparing and frugal in eating, but not in drink. The wine they drink is made of rice, for here there is no other. They abhor dice and gaming as things highly disgraceful, because gamesters are greedy of other men's goods, and their desire of gain leads them on to the desire of stealing. They seldom swear, but when they do, they swear by the sun. Most of them can read, and this is a great help to them for the easy understanding of our usual prayers and the chief points of our holy religion. **They have not more than one wife. There are few thieves among them, and this is on account of the severity of the punishments inflicted for theft, as all thieves are put to death. So there is no kind of theft which they do not hate in a remarkable degree.**

**They are wonderfully inclined to all that is good and honest, and have an extreme eagerness to learn.**

They listen with great avidity to discourse about God and Divine things, especially when they can well understand what you say. **Of all nations I have ever seen I cannot remember ever to have found any, either Christian or heathen, so averse to theft.** They do not worship any gods under the form of beasts. Most of them venerate certain ancient men, who, as far as I have been able to ascertain, used to live after the fashion of the old philosophers; most of them worship the sun, some the moon. They listen willingly to things consonant to nature and reason; and although they are not themselves free from crimes and wicked practices, yet, if you show them that their sin is contrary to reason, they readily acknowledge its guilt and obey the law of reason.

...

I do therefore pray and beseech you to cast away all confidence in your own powers, in human wisdom and reputation, and keep all your hopes and thoughts continually fixed on God alone. If you do this, then I shall consider that you are sufficiently armed and prepared against all the troubles which may beset you either in the mind or in body. For God lifts up and strengthens the humble, those especially who in the practice of even humble and abject offices keep their eyes, as on a mirror, on their own weakness, and conquer themselves nobly in such practices. These are the persons who in the greatest labours and sufferings will show virtue and constancy, and neither Satan and his ministers, nor the storms of the sea, **nor savage and barbarous nations**, nor anything else, will be able to separate them from the love of Christ.

## Letter LXXXIV

Last year, dearest brethren, I wrote to you from Cagoxima concerning our voyage, our arrival in Japan, and what had been done in the interests of Christianity up to that time. Now I will relate what God has done by our means since last year. **On our arrival at the native place of our good Paul**, we were received very kindly indeed by his relations and friends. They all of them became Christians, being led by what Paul told them; and that they might be thoroughly confirmed in the truth of our religion, we remained in that place a whole year and more. In that time more than a hundred were gathered into the fold of Christ. **The rest might have done so if they had been willing, without giving any offence to their kinsfolk or relations.** But the bonzes admonished the prince (who is very powerful, the lord of several towns), **that if he allowed his people to embrace the Christian religion, his whole dominion would be destroyed, and the ancestral gods of the country, which they call pagodas, would come to be despised by the natives.** For the law of God was contrary to the law of Japan, and it would therefore result that any who embraced that law would repudiate the holy founders of **the ancient law of their forefathers**, which could not be done without great ruin to the town and realm.

...

Out of this we read what I have mentioned to those who came to the faith of Christ, that

the converts may know how to worship God and Jesus Christ with piety and to their souls' health. And when we went on to expound these things in our discourses, the Christians delighted in them very much, as seeing how true the things were which we had taught them.

**The Japanese are certainly of remarkably good dispositions, and follow reason wonderfully. They see clearly that their ancestral law is false and the law of God true,** but they are deterred by fear of their prince from submitting to the Christian religion.

...

**The Japanese are very curious by nature, and as desirous of learning as any people ever were.** So they go on perpetually telling other people about their questions and our answers. They desire very much to hear novelties, especially about religion. Even before our arrival we are told that they were perpetually disputing among themselves, each one contending that his own sect was the best. But after they had heard what we had to say, they left off their disputes about their own rules of life and religions, and all began to contend about the Christian faith. It is really very wonderful that in so large a city as Amanguchi in every house and in every place men should be talking constantly about the law of God. But if I were to go into the history of all their questionings, I should have to write on for ever.

**The Japanese have a very high opinion of the wisdom of the Chinese, whether as to the mysteries of religion or as to manners and civil institutions.** They used to make that a principal point against us, that if things were as we preached, **how was it that the Chinese knew nothing about them?** After many disputations and interrogatories, the people of Amanguchi began to join the Church of Christ, **some from the lower orders and some from the nobility.** In the space of two months quite as many as five hundred have become Christians. Their number is daily being added to; so that there is great cause for joy, and for thanking God that there are so many who embrace the Christian faith, and who tell us all the deceptions of the bonzes, and the mysteries contained in their books and taught by their sects. For those who have become Christians used to belong, one to one sect, another to another; the most learned of each of them explained to us the institutions and rules of his own way of belief. If I had not had the work of these converts to help me, I should not have been able to become sufficiently acquainted with, and so to attack, **these abominable religions of Japan.** It is quite incredible how much the Christians love us. They are always coming to our house to ask whether we have anything at all which we wish them to do for us. **All the Japanese appear naturally very obliging;** certainly the Christians among them are so very good to us that it would be impossible to exceed their extreme kindness and attentiveness.

May God in His mercy repay them with His favour, and give us all His heavenly bliss! Amen.

## Letter LXXXVI

**Japan is a very large empire entirely composed of islands. One language is spoken throughout, not very difficult to learn. This country was discovered by the Portuguese eight or nine years ago. The Japanese are very ambitious of honours and distinctions, and think themselves superior to all nations in military glory and valour. They prize and honour all that has to do with war, and all such things, and there is**

**nothing of which they are so proud as of weapons adorned with gold and silver.** They always wear swords and daggers both in and out of the house, and when they go to sleep they hang them at the bed's head. **In short, they value arms more than any people I have ever seen. They are excellent archers, and usually fight on foot, though there is no lack of horses in the country. They are very polite to each other, but not to foreigners, whom they utterly despise.** They spend their means on arms, bodily adornment, and on a number of attendants, and do not in the least care to save money. **They are, in short, a very warlike people and engaged in continual wars among themselves; the most powerful in arms bearing the most extensive sway.**

...

In the end, by God's favour, we succeeded in solving all their questions, so as to leave no doubt remaining in their mind. **The Japanese are led by reason in everything more than any other people, and in general they are all so insatiable of information and so importunate in their questions, that there is no end either to their arguments with us, or to their talking over our answers among themselves.**

...

Such a man, ignorant of and a stranger to all human teaching, if he were asked whether it were or were not criminal to kill, to steal, or to commit the other actions forbidden by the law of God, and whether it were right to abstain from such actions, then, I say, this man, so fundamentally without all human education, would most certainly reply in such a manner as to show that he was by no means without knowledge of the divine law. Whence then must he be supposed to have received this knowledge, but from God Himself, the Author of nature? **And if this knowledge is seen among barbarians, what must be the case with civilized and polished nations?**

...

Next April some fathers will be sent to Japan from India, and the King of Boungo's ambassador will return home in their company. I have very great hopes that, by the favour of Jesus Christ, **there will be a plentiful harvest in these countries; for a nation so ingenious, moderate, so desirous of instruction, so much guided by right reason and so well adorned with other eminent qualities, ought to be, as it were, a rich and fertile field from whence copious and joyful results may be expected.**

...

Opposite to Japan lies China, an immense empire, enjoying profound peace, and which, as the Portuguese merchants tell us, **is superior to all Christian states in the practice of justice and equity. The Chinese whom I have seen in Japan and elsewhere, and whom I got to know, are white in colour, like the Japanese, are acute, and eager to learn. Their intellect is superior even to the Japanese.** Their country abounds in plenty of all things, and very many cities of great extent cover its surface. The cities are very populous; the houses ornamented with stone roofings, and very elegant. All reports say that the empire is rich in every sort of produce, but especially in silk. **I find, from the Chinese themselves, that amongst them may be found many people of many different nations and religions,** and, as far as I could gather from what they said, I suspect that among them are Jews and Mahometans.

...

My hair has become quite white, but I am as active and robust as I ever was in my life.

**The labours which are undergone for the conversion of a people so rational, so desirous to know the truth and be saved, result in very sweet fruit to the soul.** Even at Amanguchi, when the King allowed us to preach the faith and a vast concourse of people gathered round us, I had so much joy and vigour and delight of heart, as I never experienced in my life before. I saw how by means of our ministry the spirit of the bonzes was broken down by God, and the most glorious victory over most formidable enemies was gained.

## Letter LXXXVIII

**With regard to Japan, the reason why I am convinced that you should send there persons of great excellence and eminent both for virtue and learning, to be sent to the universities of that empire, is this. There are many there, unlearned though prudent men, who possess good judgment,** and when they are convicted of their errors they take refuge in the answer that there are a multitude of learned persons in their country also who have devoted their lives to deep research, and to the reading of all kinds of books. These learned ones, they say, deny the truths which we maintain, and must have their arguments confuted and be gained over to us, in order that others who rely on their authority may be themselves converted. Therefore letters and science are indispensable.

The most remarkable strength of soul and patience, and indeed all virtues in perfection, are absolutely necessary for those who are preparing for such great conflicts. **They will come, a few poor foreigners, to match themselves against the whole glory and reputation of a haughty people relying on its pride in itself and its institutions,** entirely ruled by the bonzes, the first personages in the country as to dignity and esteem.

...

I cannot repeat too often that our brothers will have to endure conflicts and trials beyond all common expectation. Visited constantly and most unseasonably, they will not have a moment of the day (often not of the night) free from importunate inquirers; questions will follow one upon another incessantly; the nobles will send for them, and it will be impossible to refuse to go to them. These distractions will rob them of time for daily prayer, meditation, recollection of the soul in God, and other spiritual exercises of the kind. They will not have time to celebrate mass at least for some days after they first show themselves, on account of the crowd of visitors; they will barely have leisure for accomplishing the obligation of Office, or for necessary food and sleep. **One of the faults of this people is without any shame to take up the time of foreigners, especially people who come from a distance, whom they generally treat contemptuously and make game of them wantonly, even when they are harmless and in no way troublesome. But if these foreigners venture to attack and blame openly what the common people reverence and admire,** if they lift up their voice against the different sects of false religions, if they satirize and strike with the censor's rod **the public crimes of the nation,** and do it thoroughly and earnestly, if they declare obstinately that no one who has gone down into the fires of hell can be delivered from them by any sacrifice or almsgiving or rites performed by their living relations and friends; then they will certainly have to undergo a violent tempest of ill will; **even the wisest of the natives** will be exasperated at their thinking so hardly as to the souls of persons, dear to them, who are already dead; they will, for the most part, despise the



new religion as imperfect and impotent, as confessing at once to inability of applying any remedy to souls already condemned. People's minds here are filled with cares and questions as to this point, **because the literature and the old traditions of the country** abound in stories of hell and do not say anything about Purgatory.

...

Bandou, the chief Japanese university, is situated in the most northern part of these islands, and the others are not far off. **It is found out here that natives of a colder climate are distinguished beyond others for skill and genius.**

...

I should be most glad if your holy charity would be so good as to write to Coimbra desiring that the missionaries intended for Japan may be first sent to you at Rome. **I have often thought that Belgians or Germans, acquainted with Portuguese or Spanish, would be well fitted for this destination. The men of both these countries bear fatigue well, and are prepared by their temperament and education to bear the cold of Bandou.** It has seemed to me as very probable that there must be a great many fathers, **natives of these two countries, in the different Colleges of Spain and Italy**, where perhaps they are not so very useful, not being masters of the native elegances of the language of the country. If they were transplanted to Japan, they would do very efficient service there, and gain the reward of great fruit of souls. I have thought it also my duty to suggest to your holy charity, if this idea pleases you, to order that more strict prudence be exercised in the choice of persons to be sent from the Spanish and Portuguese Colleges to live in India.

...

**As I perceive in the Japanese a happy disposition for approving the Christian religion when sufficiently explained to them, and for persevering with constancy therein when they have received it, as well as handing it on to their posterity, I think that even the greatest labour would be well employed in cultivating them.** As to this thought, I find much strength and consolation in the hope I place in your holy charity, which bids me ask that you will send some fathers of great sanctity whom we may fitly oppose to the teachers of **the superstitions of Japan. One of the principal motives to induce you to do so, is the superiority, which is very evident to me, of the Japanese nation over all the others at present discovered in these parts.** I do not think that there is any other nation living under its own laws and not subject to the King of Portugal as to which we may hope that the Christian religion will take root and remain firm and lasting. As far as I know, the Japanese nation is the single and only nation of them all which seems likely to preserve unshaken and for ever the profession of Christian holiness if once it embraces it; but this will doubtless not be without great sufferings and heroic conflicts on the part of the preachers of the Gospel.

**China, an immense empire, enjoying profound peace, regulated by a number of very wise laws, is governed by a single sovereign whose will is absolute.** It is a most opulent empire, abounding in everything necessary for human life. A narrow strait separates it from Japan. **Its people are remarkable for intelligence, and employ themselves in study, chiefly of laws and human jurisprudence, and also of political science. The ambition of the greater part of the people is to gain a deep knowledge on this subject. The faces of**

**the natives are pale and beardless, and their eyes are small. They have generally kind open dispositions, and are lovers of peace, which flourishes and is firmly established among them, without any fear of wars.** Unless some new obstacles should arise and alter my plans, I hope to sail for China in this year 1552, whither I am attracted by the hope of being able to do good work in furthering greatly the service of God **to the benefit of both the Chinese and Japanese nations. As soon as the Japanese learn that the Chinese have embraced the faith of Jesus Christ, there is reason to hope that the obstinacy with which they are attached to their own false sects will be lessened.** So I am full of confidence that by the labours of our Society, **the Chinese and Japanese will abandon their idolatrous superstitions and adore Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all nations.**

## Letter LXXXIX

Most desirable it would be if no one were to come from Portugal to India before finishing his studies, and no one be received into the Society here excepting subjects required for domestic purposes. Studies out here are a very slow concern; those who undertake studies here must wait a great many years before they will be fit to preach, hear confessions, and be of use to the Society and **people of the country.**

## Book VI (1552)

## Letter CI

All the funds of the house should be in your own hands, under lock and key; you alone should put in and take out; you alone should disburse, to the persons employed by you, the sums you think necessary towards the expenses of our brethren, the pupils, and the preachers labouring at a distance or religion. Poor men! they most commonly suffer extreme misery from the want of the absolute necessities of life; and what is the worst, they are obliged to give up great undertakings, to the immense prejudice of the souls under their care, sinking under the pressure of want, after waiting long in vain or promised assistance. I pray you to provide against such misfortunes by a fair and prudent distribution of the college revenues, which you will, as is reasonable, first employ for the necessities of the house, for our own brothers and the externs in it; then send part to our people at Cape Comorin and in the Isles of the Moor, who are languishing in the most grievous want; to those also at the Moluccas and Japan, that they may be enabled to live at least poorly; for without some help they will be obliged to leave undone most important works, and to sacrifice vast hopes, to the great injury of God's kingdom. **I have mentioned those who live away from Portuguese settlements, and in the midst of natives, because their condition is in this way the hardest. Those who reside in the King's garrisons, or other places of settlement or resort for Europeans, will never be allowed to want, nor to give up their labours for the salvation of souls for want of maintenance — misfortunes which may well befall those who dwell away amid barbarous populations, partly hostile and partly in misery themselves.** These labourers will die of hunger if they do

not receive assistance from their brothers at a distance.

## Letter CV

O, Simon, my dearest brother, do you see how great the work is that we have in hand? And if God wills that the light of the Gospel **should be carried to so judicious and docile a people, you too will do well, I think, to come yourself to China**, to slake your thirst for the salvation of souls. If, by the help of God, I penetrate there, **I will write to you about the character of the people, and the hopes there are of planting the Gospel among them**. I feel such an ardent wish to see again before I die, that I am always thinking to myself how I may have my wish; and I may have it, perhaps, if China were opened to us. Meanwhile I again and again most earnestly entreat you to send us next year such fathers as I have described; you can hardly imagine how necessary they are, but I wish you to trust my experience. I have desired Father Gaspar to write diligently to you about all that goes on here of the benefits done to souls.

## Letter CVI

**Again I urge you to receive the two Japanese in such a way that they may learn a great many wonderful things about our churches, our universities, and the other marvels of Europe, to tell to their people at home**. I am confident that they will be astonished at the wealth and power of Christians. Bernard, and Matthew also, have lived much with me at Japan. They're poor, but full of faith. They attached themselves to me in Japan, and they followed me on my return to the Indies, with the intention of going to Portugal, and thence to Rome. **Japanese of noble rank feel no desire to visit foreign countries, though some of our neophytes, men of honourable position, think of going to Jerusalem, to visit the place of our Lord's birth and passion**. Matthew and Bernard are among the first of these, but whether, after seeing Rome, they will go on to Jerusalem, I do not know.

**I should have liked to send two of the learned bonzes to Portugal, so as to give you a specimen of Japanese intellects, as sharp and sensible as any in the world; but they being noble, and at ease, will not consent to leave their country even for a time**. I tried to bring other neophytes with me, who abandoned the idea for fear of the difficulties of a sea voyage, especially for such a great distance.

## Letter CVII

Three of us altogether of the Society start with Pereira for China, **in order to set at liberty the Portuguese who are in captivity there, to obtain the alliance of the Emperor of China for the Portuguese**, and lastly to wage war with the devil and his followers. We shall inform the Sovereign first, and then his subjects, in the name of the King of Heaven, that henceforth they must no longer worship the devil, but God, the Creator of men, and Jesus, their Redeemer and Lord. **It may seem a bold undertaking to go to an unbelieving nation and a very powerful Sovereign in order to reprove them and to preach the truth to them, — a thing in our time full enough of danger even with Christian kings and princes, not to**

**speak of barbarians.**<sup>54</sup> But what fills us with confidence is that the design has been inspired by God Himself, who is the aim and end of all my thoughts, and He has filled us with the happiest hopes, so that trusting to God's mercy, we doubt nothing as to His divine power, which is infinitely higher than the power of the Chinese King, and of all the kings of the world.

As the matter is altogether in the hand and power of God, there is no cause for fear or doubt. We certainly ought to fear nothing, except to offend God and so incur the punishment due to the wicked. Therefore it seems a greater extreme of audacity for men, who see most clearly their own sins and crimes, to take up the preaching of His law, **than to go to foreign nations to reprove and teach the truth to most powerful kings. That which increases still more my hope and confidence is the thought that for so great a work as the offering of gospel light and truth to a barbarous nation, blinded by vice and superstition, belonging, if I may use the expression, to a different universe.** God has chosen men so utterly without skill and without virtue as ourselves. So what is necessary is, that since it has so pleased God to order it, in answer to the prayers and alms of your Highness, I should have a will ready to correspond to all this courage and confidence, which God in His goodness has given me, in preaching His holy law.

...

With these fathers let him send a Rector for this residence and College, a man of tried and known virtue whom we can trust, and who perfectly knows our rules and Institute; for such a man is very necessary here. You may be sure that such priests will be of great use in the Indies, Japan, and China; and these countries require men capable of bearing severe and frequent combats. **They should therefore possess solid virtue and sufficient learning to reply to all the difficulties which may be proposed to them by some of the most subtle people in the world, that is to say, the Japanese and Chinese.**

<https://archive.org/details/LifeLettersOfStFrancisXavierV2/page/n1/mode/2up>

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## Saint Thomas Aquinas, Summa Contra Gentiles (Book I) (1259)

On the other hand those who introduced the errors of the sects proceeded in contrary fashion, as instanced by Mohammed, who enticed peoples with the promise of carnal pleasures, to the desire of which the concupiscence of the flesh instigates. He also delivered commandments in keeping with his promises, by giving the reins to carnal pleasure, wherein it is easy for carnal men to obey: and the lessons of truth which he inculcated were only such as can be easily known to any man of average wisdom by his natural powers: yea rather the truths which he taught were mingled by him with many fables and most false doctrines. Nor did he add

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<sup>54</sup> It is notable that, despite all his praise for Japan, Saint Francis seems to view all non-European nations as barbarians, regardless of religion; for he speaks of the natives of every non-European nation as barbarians, even those among Christian communities; whom he occasionally calls unholy races.

any signs of supernatural agency, which alone are a fitting witness to divine inspiration, since a visible work that can be from God alone, proves the teacher of truth to be invisibly inspired: but he asserted that he was sent in the power of arms, a sign that is not lacking even to robbers and tyrants. **Again, those who believed in him from the outset were not wise men practised in things divine and human, but beastlike men who dwelt in the wilds, utterly ignorant of all divine teaching;** and it was by a multitude of such men and the force of arms that he compelled others to submit to his law.

<https://archive.org/details/summacontragenti01thomuoft/mode/2up>

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## The Catechism of the Council of Trent (1566)

But although the good and the bad are found within the limits of this kingdom, and thus all men by right belong to it, yet those who in conformity with His commands lead unsullied and innocent lives, experience beyond all others the sovereign goodness and beneficence of our King. **Although descended from the most illustrious race of kings,** He obtained this kingdom not by hereditary or other human right, but because God bestowed on Him as man all the power, dignity and majesty of which human nature is capable. To Him, therefore, God delivered the government of the whole world, and to this His sovereignty, which has already commenced, all things shall be made fully and entirely subject on the day of judgment.

...

Unlike states of human institution, or the sects of heretics, she is not confined to **any one country or class of men**, but embraces within the amplitude of her love all mankind, **whether barbarians or Scythians, slaves or freemen, male or female.** Therefore it is written: Thou . . . hast redeemed us to God, in thy blood, **out of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation,** and hast made us to our God a kingdom.

...

Such seems to have been the divine plan with regard to the children of Israel. God delivered them from the bondage of Egypt, having drowned Pharaoh and his hosts in the sea; yet He did not conduct them immediately into the happy land of promise; He first tried them by a variety and multiplicity of sufferings. And when He afterwards placed them in possession of the promised land **and expelled the previous inhabitants from their native territories, yet He left a few other nations whom the Israelites could not exterminate, in order that His people might always have occasion to exercise fortitude and warlike courage.**

...

These are ends, some one of which, those who desire to contract marriage piously and religiously, as becomes the children of the Saints, should propose to themselves. If to these we add other causes which induce to contract marriage, and, in choosing a wife, **to prefer one person to another, such as the desire of leaving an heir, wealth, beauty, illustrious descent, congeniality of disposition** -- such motives, because not inconsistent with the

holiness of marriage, are not to be condemned. We do not find that the Sacred Scriptures condemn the Patriarch Jacob for having chosen Rachel for her beauty, in preference to Lia.

...

Finally, to leave nothing unsaid that may be calculated to induce the faithful to an observance of the law, the pastor should point out how abundant and sweet are its fruits. This he will easily accomplish by referring to the eighteenth Psalm, which celebrates the praises of the divine law. The highest eulogy of the law is that it proclaims the glory and the majesty of God more eloquently than even the heavenly bodies, whose beauty and order **excite the admiration of all peoples, even the most uncivilised**, and compel them to acknowledge the glory, wisdom and power of the Creator and Architect of the universe.

...

From all this the pastor should especially note that **out of all the nations God chose only one** whom He called His people, and by whom He willed to be known and worshipped; not that they were superior to other nations in justice or in numbers, and of this God Himself reminds the Hebrews, but rather because He wished, by the multiplication and aggrandisement of **an inconsiderable and impoverished nation**, to display to mankind His power and goodness.

...

We are to pray for all mankind, without exception of enemies, nation or religion; for every man, **be he enemy, stranger or infidel**, is our neighbour, whom God commands us to love, and for whom, therefore, we should discharge a duty of love, which is prayer.

<https://www.saintsbooks.net/books/The%20Roman%20Catechism.pdf>

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## Pope Pius XI, Casti Connubii (1930)

**66. What is asserted *in favor of the social and eugenic "indication" may and must be accepted.*<sup>55</sup> provided lawful and upright methods are employed within the proper limits; but to wish to put forward reasons based upon them for the killing of the innocent is unthinkable**

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<sup>55</sup> Pope Pius XII also touches on eugenics in his 1958 to the International Association of Blood Transfusion. "Warned of the danger and its scope, the parents will then make a decision, which will be "eugenic" or "dysgenic", according to the hereditary character considered. If they decide not to have children, their decision is eugenic, that is, they will not propagate the defective gene any more by generating sick children or normal carriers. If, as is often the case, the probabilities of generating a child with this defect are less than what is usually believed, they may decide to accept more offspring. This decision is dysgenic, because they propagate the defective gene instead of preventing its diffusion....Better warned of the problems posed by genetics and the seriousness of certain hereditary diseases, today's men have, more than in the past, the duty to take these acquisitions into account in order to avoid themselves and avoid others numerous physical and moral difficulties. They must be very attentive to everything that could cause their offspring permanent damage, throwing it into an endless succession of miseries. We recall in this regard that the community of blood between people, be it in families, or in communities, imposes certain duties....What we say about inheritance can be applied in a broad sense to the communities that constitute human races."

and contrary to the divine precept promulgated in the words of the Apostle: Evil is not to be done that good may come of it.

...

80. Even by the light of reason alone and particularly if the ancient records of history are investigated, if the unwavering popular conscience is interrogated **and the manners and institutions of all races examined**, it is sufficiently obvious that there is a certain sacredness and religious character attaching even to the purely natural union of man and woman, "not something added by chance but innate, not imposed by men but involved in the nature of things," since it has "God for its author and has been even from the beginning a foreshadowing of the Incarnation of the Word of God."

[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19301231\\_casti-connubii.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19301231_casti-connubii.html)

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## Pope Pius XI, Mit Brennender Sorge (1937)

8. Whoever exalts **race, or the people**, or the State, or a particular form of State, or the depositories of power, or **any other fundamental value of the human community**<sup>56</sup> - however necessary and honorable be their function in worldly things - whoever raises these notions above their standard value and divinizes them to an idolatrous level<sup>57</sup>, distorts and perverts an order of the world planned and created by God; he is far from the true faith in God and from the concept of life which that faith upholds.

9. ... Our God is the Personal God, supernatural, omnipotent, infinitely perfect, one in the Trinity of Persons, tri-personal in the unity of divine essence, the Creator of all existence. Lord, King and ultimate Consummator of the history of the world, who will not, and cannot, tolerate a rival God by His side.

...

11. None but superficial minds could stumble into concepts of a national God, of a national religion; or attempt to lock **within the frontiers of a single people, within the narrow limits of a single race**, God, the Creator of the universe, King and Legislator of all nations before whose immensity they are "as a drop of a bucket" (*Isaiah* xl, 15).

...

18. Faith in Christ cannot maintain itself pure and unalloyed without the support of faith in the Church, "the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 *Tim.* iii. 15); for Christ Himself, God eternally

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<sup>56</sup> Father Bonaventure Hinwood, in his *Race: the Reflections of a Theologian* argues of the above statement that "this necessarily implies the right to preserve and defend it as such." He argues that Catholics ought to maintain "the value or right of conserving the vigor of the race and the purity of its blood within the limits of the moral order"

<sup>57</sup> One should note the supreme height of veneration which is required for "idolatry." Anything short of pagan worship of blood as an idol itself does not meet this standard. I have included section 9 to expound on this.

blessed, raised this pillar of the Faith. His command to hear the Church (*Matt.* xviii. 15), to welcome in the words and commands of the Church His own words and His own commands (*Luke* x. 16), is addressed **to all men, of all times and of all countries**. The Church founded by the Redeemer is one, the same for **all races and all nations**. Beneath her dome, as beneath the vault of heaven, there is but one country for all nations and tongues; **there is room for the development of every quality, advantage, task and vocation which God the Creator and Savior has allotted to individuals as well as to ethnic communities**. The Church's maternal heart is big enough to see in the God-appointed development of individual characteristics and gifts, more than a mere danger of divergency. **She rejoices at the spiritual superiorities among individuals and nations. In their successes she sees with maternal joy and pride fruits of education and progress, which she can only bless and encourage, whenever she can conscientiously do so.**

...

34. **No one would think of preventing young Germans establishing a true ethnical community in a noble love of freedom and loyalty to their country.** What We object to is the voluntary and systematic antagonism raised between national education and religious duty. ...He who sings hymns of loyalty to this terrestrial country should not, for that reason, become unfaithful to God and His Church, or a deserter and traitor to His heavenly country....You are often told about the human deficiencies which mar the history of the Church: **why ignore the exploits which fill her history, the saints she begot, the blessing that came upon Western civilization from the union between that Church and your people?**

...

38. We visualize the immense multitudes of Our faithful children, Our sons and daughters, for whom the sufferings of the **Church in Germany and their own** have left intact their devotion to the cause of God, their tender love for the Father of Christendom, their obedience to their pastors, their joyous resolution to remain ever faithful, happen what may, **to the sacred inheritance of their ancestors.**<sup>58</sup>

[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_14031937\\_mit-bre nnender-sorge.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_14031937_mit-bre nnender-sorge.html)

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Pope Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus*  
(1939)

44. The Church of Christ, the faithful depository of the teaching of Divine Wisdom, **cannot and does not think of deprecating or disdaining the particular characteristics which each people, with jealous and intelligible pride, cherishes and retains as a precious heritage.**

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<sup>58</sup> Though I would argue that the abandonment of God is the truest death knell for a race – as seen when the Israelites are subjected to the foreigners of Babylon, Assyria, and so forth as punishment – this is a discussion I leave for elsewhere. Of more importance is the recognition of the sacral nature of racial inheritance, as Pope Pius XII reasserts severally throughout his reign, such as during his *Radio Discourse* on September 7, 1953.



Her aim is a supernatural union in all-embracing love, deeply felt and practiced, and not the unity which is exclusively external and superficial and by that very fact weak.

45. The Church hails with joy and follows with her maternal blessing every method of guidance and care which aims at a wise and orderly evolution of **particular forces and tendencies having their origin in the individual character of each race**, provided that they are not opposed to the duties incumbent on men from their unity of origin and common destiny.

...

49. Nor is there any fear lest the consciousness of universal brotherhood aroused by the teaching of Christianity, and the spirit which it inspires, **be in contrast with love of traditions or the glories of one's fatherland**, or impede the progress of prosperity or legitimate interests. For that same Christianity teaches that in the exercise of charity we must follow a God-given order, **yielding the place of honor in our affections and good works to those who are bound to us by special ties**. Nay, the Divine Master Himself gave an example of this preference for **His Own country and fatherland**, as He wept over the coming destruction of the Holy City.

[https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xii\\_enc\\_20101939\\_summi-pontificatus.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20101939_summi-pontificatus.html)

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## Pope John XXIII, Mater et Magistra (1961)

"The Church of Jesus Christ," as Our Predecessor Pius XII observed with such penetration, "is the repository of His wisdom; **she is certainly too wise to discourage or belittle those peculiarities and differences which mark out one nation from another. It is quite legitimate for nations to treat those differences as a sacred inheritance and guard them at all costs.** The Church aims at unity, a unity determined and kept alive by that supernatural love which should be actuating everybody; **she does not aim at a uniformity which would only be external in its effects and would cramp the natural tendencies of the nations concerned. Every nation has its own genius, its own qualities, springing from the hidden roots of its being. The wise development, the encouragement within limits, of that genius, those qualities, does no harm; and if a nation cares to take precautions, to lay down rules, for that end, it has the Church's approval.** She is mother enough to befriend such projects with her prayers provided that they are not opposed to the duties incumbent on men from their common origin and shared destiny."

[https://www.newadvent.org/library/docs\\_jo23mm.htm](https://www.newadvent.org/library/docs_jo23mm.htm)

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I will therefore make an exception, and leave you with one passage from Scripture (Tobit 4:12-13) to think on.

12 **“Be on your guard, son, against every kind of fornication, and above all, marry a woman of your own ancestral family. Do not marry a foreign woman, one who is not of your father’s tribe,** because we are descendants of the prophets, who were the first to speak the truth. Noah prophesied first, then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, **our ancestors from the beginning of time. Son, remember that all of them took wives from among their own kindred and were blessed in their children, and that their posterity would inherit the land.**

13 **Therefore, son, love your kindred.** Do not act arrogantly toward any of them, **the sons and daughters of your people, by refusing to take a wife for yourself from among them.** For in arrogance there is ruin and great instability. In idleness there is loss and dire poverty, for idleness is the mother of famine.