MAN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND RELIGION — READINGS, VOLUME I



READINGS, VOLUME I

SELECTED FOR USE WITH THE ELEVENTH EDITION

OF THE SYLLABUS FOR

MAN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND RELIGION

FIRST EDITION 1970

Edited by

Fred W. Neal

and

The Man Course Staff

Professors G. M. Apperson, History; R. A. Batey, Religion;

L. E. Bone, Bibliography; M. P. Brown, Religion; G. D. Davis, History;

H. R. Dinkelacker, Foreign Languages; J. W. Jobes, Philosophy;

W. L. Lacy, Philosophy; R. R. Llewellyn, Philosophy; F. W. Neal, Religion;

R. G. Patterson, Religion; D. W. Tucker, Foreign Languages; R. C. Wood, English.

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PREFACE

In the preface to the current edition of the "Man" Syllabus we indicated that one reason for the vitality of the "Man" Course has been its openness to change. Each addition to the personnel of the teaching staff, new interpretations of the past arising from current scholarship, new emphases and concerns arising from problems of contemporary man, serve to freshen and revitalize the content of the course--indeed, making mandatory a completely new edition of our syllabus every three to five years. We have in fact had eleven editions in thirty-one years.

Equally characteristic of the "Man" Course, however, is its retention of those features of the course which have continuing validity. Of chief importance among these features is the alternation between the lecture method and discussion method of teaching, allowing for the rapid communication of information and interpretation by lecture, and the penetration in detail into the thought of significant leaders in the periods we study by discussion. From the beginning we have believed it better to enter into conversation with some of the "great thinkers" of the world via their own words rather than to talk at second-hand about what other persons have thought about them. We have kept our concern to lead our students to the primary sources.

Multiple copies of books containing readings assigned in the syllabus are on the reserve shelves of the library (e.g. *The Gilgamesh Epic*). Other books have been assigned for student purchase from the bookstore.

We discovered, however, in the course of teaching that discussion was enhanced if the students owned their own copies of the readings and could bring them to the colloquia for reference. We experimented by requiring the purchase of the *Heritage of Western Civilization* when the second edition was published in 1966. We also experimented in a limited way with the publication of some of our own selections of readings--first with a mimeographed appendix to the syllabus in the ninth edition and then with a separate volume of readings. The present two-volume set of readings reproduces the selected passages by off-set press leaving space on each page for any notations the students may wish to make. It is furnished at cost to those students who register for the course.

To keep costs low we have looked for adequate editions of standard works which are in the public domain. In those cases where modern editions were necessary we have gained permission from the copyright holders to reproduce the respective selections generally at no cost at all or at nominal cost. Grateful acknowledgement of these permissions is made on a separate page in this volume.

The selection of source material has been a joint enterprise of the teaching staff, even sometimes the subject of lively debate. The choice of readings varies from edition to edition--a painful process by which "old-favorites" are replaced by new selections which seem to be more pertinent to the current purposes and directions of the course. Sometimes the "old-favorites" return to the syllabus. There is no satisfactory way in which one can justify the inclusion of some authors rather than others in an anthology, or the particular excerpts that were made from their writings. Everyone can think of something that would have been better! All we can say is that both authors and works cited have been generally recognized as significant, and the selections we made have proved useful and productive in the conduct of our course.

Once again we wish to thank Mrs. W. E. Edwards of our Duplication Office at Southwestern for her skill and artistry in the printing of this volume. We are also grateful to Miss Sheila Hill who has put in many hours of labor to make this production possible. Special attention is called to the preface to the second volume of readings where special acknowledgement is given to Professor James W. Jobes for his many services in the production of these volumes.

Fred W. Neal and the Man Course Staff

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THE IDEA OF HISTORY

BY

R. G. COLLINGWOOD

History's nature, object, method, and value

What history is, what it is about, how it proceeds, and what it is for, are questions which to some extent different people would answer in different ways. But in spite of differences there is a large measure of agreement between the answers. And this agreement becomes closer if the answers are subjected to scrutiny with a view to discarding those which proceed from unqualified witnesses. History, like theology or natural science, is a special form of thought. If that is so, questions about the nature, object, method, and value of this form of thought must be

answered by persons having two qualifications.

First, they must have experience of that form of thought. They must be historians. In a sense we are all historians nowadays. All educated persons have gone through a process of education which has included a certain amount of historical thinking. But this does not qualify them to give an opinion about the nature, object, method, and value of historical thinking. For in the first place, the experience of historical thinking which they have thus acquired is probably very superficial; and the opinions based on it are therefore no better grounded than a man's opinion of the French people based on a single week-end visit to Paris. In the second place, experience of anything whatever gained through the ordinary educational channels, as well as being superficial, is invariably out of date. Experience of historical thinking, so gained, is modelled on text-books, and text-books always describe not what is now being thought by real live historians, but what was thought by real live historians at some time in the past when the raw material was being created out of which the text-book has been put together. And it is not only the results of historical thought which are out of date by the time they get into the text-book. It is also the principles of historical thought: that is, the ideas as to the nature, object, method, and value of historical thinking. In the third place, and connected with this, there is a peculiar illusion incidental to all knowledge acquired in the way of education: the illusion of finality. When a student is in statu pupillari with respect to any subject whatever, he has to believe that things are settled because the text-books and his teachers regard them as settled. When he emerges from that state and goes on studying the subject for himself he finds that nothing is settled. The dogmatism which is an invariable mark of immaturity drops away from him. He looks at so-called facts with a new eye. He says to himself: 'My teacher and text-books told me that such and such was true; but is it true? What reasons had they for thinking it true, and were these reasons adequate?' On the other hand, if he emerges from the status of pupil without continuing to pursue the subject he never rids himself of this dogmatic attitude. And this makes him a person peculiarly unfitted

INTRODUCTION

to answer the questions I have mentioned. No one, for example, is likely to answer them worse than an Oxford philosopher who, having read Greats in his youth, was once a student of history and thinks that this youthful experience of historical thinking entitles him to say what history is, what it is about, how it proceeds, and what it is for.

The second qualification for answering these questions is that a man should not only have experience of historical thinking but should also have reflected upon that experience. He must be not only an historian but a philosopher; and in particular his philosophical thought must have included special attention to the problems of historical thought. Now it is possible to be a quite good historian (though not an historian of the highest order) without thus reflecting upon one's own historical thinking. It is even easier to be a quite good teacher of history (though not the very best kind of teacher) without such reflection. At the same time, it is important to remember that experience comes first, and reflection on that experience second. Even the least reflective historian has the first qualification. He possesses the experience on which to reflect; and when he is asked to reflect on it his reflections have a good chance of being to the point. An historian who has never worked much at philosophy will probably answer our four questions in a more intelligent and valuable way than a philosopher who has never worked much at history.

I shall therefore propound answers to my four questions such as I think any present-day historian would accept. Here they will be rough and ready answers, but they will serve for a provisional definition of our subject-matter and they will be defended and elaborated as the argument proceeds.

(a) The definition of history. Every historian would agree, I think, that history is a kind of research or inquiry. What kind of inquiry it is I do not yet ask. The point is that generically it belongs to what we call the sciences: that is, the forms of thought whereby we ask questions and try to answer them. Science in general, it is important to realize, does not consist in collecting what we already know and arranging it in this or that kind of pattern. It consists in fastening upon something we do not know, and trying to discover it. Playing patience with things we already know may be a useful means towards this end, but it is not the end itself. It is at best only the means. It is scientifically valuable only in so far as the new arrangement gives us the answer to a question we have already decided to ask. That is why all science begins from the knowledge of our own ignorance: not our ignorance of everything, but our ignorance of some definite thing—the origin of parliament, the cause of cancer, the chemical composition of the sun, the way to make a pump work without muscular exertion on the part of a man or a horse or some other docile animal. Science is finding things out: and in that sense history is a science.

(b) The object of history. One science differs from another in that it finds out things of a different kind. What kind of things does history find out? I answer, res gestae: actions of human beings that have been done in the past. Although this answer raises all kinds of further questions many of which are controversial, still, however they may be answered, the answers do not discredit the proposition that history is the science of res gestae, the attempt to answer questions about human actions done in the past.

HISTORY'S NATURE, OBJECT, METHOD, AND VALUE

(c) How does history proceed? History proceeds by the interpretation of evidence: where evidence is a collective name for things which singly are called documents, and a document is a thing existing here and now, of such a kind that the historian, by thinking about it, can get answers to the questions he asks about past events. Here again there are plenty of difficult questions to ask as to what the characteristics of evidence are and how it is interpreted. But there is no need for us to raise them at this stage. However they are answered, historians will agree that historical procedure, or method, consists essentially of interpreting evidence.

(d) Lastly, what is history for? This is perhaps a harder question than the others; a man who answers it will have to reflect rather more widely than a man who answers the three we have answered already. He must reflect not only on historical thinking but on other things as well, because to say that something is 'for' something implies a distinction between A and B, where A is good for something and B is that for which something is good. But I will suggest an answer, and express the opinion that no historian would reject it, although the further questions

to which it gives rise are numerous and difficult.

My answer is that history is 'for' human self-knowledge. It is generally thought to be of importance to man that he should know himself: where knowing himself means knowing not his merely personal peculiarities, the things that distinguish him from other men, but his nature as man. Knowing yourself means knowing, first, what it is to be a man; secondly, knowing what it is to be the kind of man you are; and thirdly, knowing what it is to be the man you are and nobody else is. Knowing yourself means knowing what you can do; and since nobody knows what he can do until he tries, the only clue to what man can do is what man has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is.

GROUNDS FOR A RECONSIDERATION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

By CHARLES A. BEARD

F A DESIRE to advance learning or increase precision of knowledge I requires any justification, practical as well as theoretical grounds may be put forward to warrant a plea for a reconsideration of historiography -the business of studying, thinking about, and writing about history. Practical persons—academic and lay—concerned primarily with public or private affairs and absorbed in "the instant need of things," are, to be sure, likely to question at once the truth or relevance of this contention. By such "practitioners" history is often, if not commonly, regarded as a kind of old almanac or as an ancient, if sometimes amusing, chronicle, without utility or pertinence in framing and executing policies for the conduct of affairs, public or private.

When leaders in politics, business, labor, agriculture, or other activities deemed "practical," set about forming programs for action they seldom, if ever, think of devoting long weeks and months to the study of history as possibly germane to their procedure. On the contrary, when in the presence of a problem to be handled, they are inclined to employ their impressions derived from current experiences in such affairs; and, if supplements are regarded as desirable, to make use of treatises on law, economics, government, and foreign affairs, or other special works presumably directed to practical ends. To practitioners in general the idea of having recourse to history in a search for firm guidance to effective action would therefore seem to be a waste of time if not absurd.

Yet in the speeches and declarations made by articulate persons among practitioners economists, reformers, politicians, business men, labor leaders, for instance—and in the newspapers and journals published for their information and satisfaction appeals to "history" occur with striking frequency. The word flows with ease from the pens of publicists, editors, columnists, and other writers for the general public; it crops up in the periods of orators, radio commentators, and special pleaders engaged in advancing practical interests, or for that matter advocating impractical, even dangerous, delusions. History is indeed often treated as the court of last resort by such instructors of the public when they are impressed by the need of "proving" the validity of their propositions, dogmas, and assertions. Men and women who could not demonstrate the simplest proposition in mathematics, chemistry, or physics, or pass a high school examination in history feel perfectly competent to demonstrate the soundness of any public or private policy they espouse by making reference to history, or at least feel competent enough to use history in efforts to support that soundness.

Among the phrases which appear in the speeches and writings of or for practitioners, the following are so common as to be clichés:

All history proves.

The lesson of history is plain.

History demonstrates.

History shows.

History teaches.

History affirms.

History confirms.

History repeats itself. History makes it clear.

An understanding of history settles the question.

All that belongs to ancient history.

If history is taken as our guide.

The verdict of history has been pronounced in our favor.

His place in history is secure.

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The verdict of history is against any such folly.

The truth of history corroborates.

History admits no such contention.

Let us turn to history and see.

The history of that matter is definitely closed.

All history up to the present has been the history of class struggles.

American history must be taught in the schools.

The appeals of publicists to history in short form are frequently supplemented by efforts on their part to "historicize" long arguments for one cause or another; that is, to make what purports to be more or less elaborate statements of historical facts, real or alleged, in a resolve to sustain in this fashion the invincibility of their assertions and contentions.

Although there is no way of measuring the influence of historicizations on public opinion, the immense circulation they attain seems to indicate that laborious students of history probably have less influence in national life than men of science had, let us say, in the New England of Cotton Mather. Great applause is given to works which purport to be authenticated by references to history but in fact bear about the same relation to

historical knowledge that astrology bears to astronomy.

Thus recent and current experiences present to workers in historiography a dilemma pertaining to the nature and uses of their work. History is treated as having little or no relation to the conduct of practical affairs and yet is constantly employed in efforts to validate the gravest policies, proposals, contentions, and dogmas advanced for adoption in respect of domestic and foreign affairs. Either historians have failed in giving precision, limitations, and social significance to their work or, by their writings, have lent countenance to the idea that almost any pressing public question can be indefeasibly answered by citations or illustrations selected from historical writings. History can scarcely be at the same time a useless old almanac and the ultimate source of knowledge and "laws" for demonstrating the invincible validity of policies proposed or already in practice....

CONTROLLING ASSUMPTIONS IN THE PRACTICE OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

By John Herman Randall, Jr. and George Haines, IV

Thus the history the historian will write, and the principle of selection he will employ, will be undergoing continual change. For the meaning and the significance of the past is continually changing with the occurrence of fresh events. Of course, what did happen, as brute events, does not change with further events. But, as we have seen, the historian is not and cannot be concerned with all that did happen. He is and must be concerned with those particular events that did happen which turn out to be "basic" for his history. He is not concerned with the entire past, with all its infinitesimal detail; he is concerned only with the "basic" or significant past. And it is precisely this "basic" past, this meaning and significance of the past, that is continually changing, that is cumulative and progressive. Writing the history of the United States, the historian uses what is basic and significant in that history-that-happened for 1927, or for 1944, as the principle that will control his selection of material. What is significant in Ameri-, can history he will understand in one way in 1927, and in a somewhat different way in 1944. For the historian's understanding of the significant past, like that past itself, is progressive and cumulative.

There is really nothing mysterious about this obvious fact that men's understanding of what is significant in their history changes with the lapse of time. For all understanding is in terms of causes and consequences. Now, our understanding of causes naturally changes and deepens as we find out more about the operation of causes; and equally naturally, our understanding of consequences changes with the working out of further consequences in the history-that-happens itself.

In the first place, the understanding of causes changes as we manage to extend and build up our sciences of man's social behavior...

Secondly, the understanding of consequences, and hence of the "significance" of past events, changes with further history-that-happens—with what comes to pass in the world of events as a result of the possibilities inherent in what has happened. . . .

New consequences flowing from past events change the significance of the past, of what has happened. Events which before had been overlooked, because they did not seem "basic" for anything that followed, now come to be selected as highly significant; other events that used to seem "basic" recede into the limbo of mere details. In this sense, a history-that-happens is not and in the nature of the case cannot be fully understood by the actors in it. They can not realize the "significance" or consequences of what they are doing, since they cannot foresee the future. We understand that history only when it has become a part of our own past; and if it continues to have consequences, our children will understand it still differently. In this sense, the historian, as Hegel proclaimed, is like the owl of Minerva, who takes his flight only when the shades of night are gathering, and the returns are all in. The significance of any history-that-happens is not completely grasped until all its consequences have been discerned. The "meaning" of any historical fact is what it does, how it continues to behave and operate, what consequences follow from it.

For example, at a historic moment Winston Churchill said: "With the fall of Singapore we are beginning to realize the meaning of Pearl Harbor." Note the word "beginning." For the "meaning," that is, the cumulative consequences of that specific event, were not completed when

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Churchill was speaking. They have not been completed yet. They depend on how things will turn out in the future.

In this sense, we understand any history-that-has-happened in terms of the future: our principle for selecting what is basic in that history involves a reference to its predicted outcome. Our "emphasis" will be determined by what we find going on in the present. But what we find there is not yet fully worked out. Rather, the present suggests what will eventuate in times to come. Thus we understand what is basic in a history in terms of what we call some "dynamic element" in the present, some "present tendency" directed toward the future. The present is full of such tendencies: it suggests many different possible futures, according as different tendencies now at work prove controlling. The historian selects one of these possible futures as "just around the corner," and uses it as a principle by which to select what is basic among the multitude of facts at his disposal.

For example, our papers are today full of attempts to understand what has been happening, the recent history of the different phases of the war. Most of this discussion inevitably turns out to be a prediction of what is going to happen: we cannot understand what has happened without reference to a projected future. Thus we cannot understand the Administration's foreign policy—toward the French, toward the Italians, toward Spain, toward Poland—we cannot understand what is "basic" in its history, without trying to predict how it is going to turn out. As we say, we are now beginning to see its significance, as we find out what it has already led to.

The historian must thus choose among the various possibilities of the present that tendency, that predicted future, which he judges to be dynamic or controlling. He chooses as his principle of selection the "real pattern of events," what is "being realized," what is "working itself out." Now, since the future is not foreseeable in detail—though many elements in it can be predicted, and all human action is based on such predictions of what will happen if other things occur—the historian's choice of a principle of selection necessarily involves a certain choice of allegiance, an act of faith in one kind of future rather than another. Thus, to take the growth of science as the basic factor in the intellectual history of modern times, means that we judge it to be of most significance today. "The future lies with it," we say, meaning we are for it. No devout Catholic, for instance, would choose that factor as basic. For him, the future will be different, and consequently he will have a different understanding of the past. In the same way, to take the growth of group control of technology as the principle for selecting what is basic in our economic past, is to express an allegiance. It is to make the problem of establishing such control central in the present. In terms of that principle of selection, the dominance of laissez faire during the nineteenth century will be understood as a "stage" in the reconstruction of the earlier medieval group controls. No "rugged individualist" would choose that focus: in his history he would select a different past.

But to say that a principle of selection is "chosen" does not mean that such choices are arbitrary. Men do not arbitrarily "choose" their allegiances and faiths, even when they are converts. Their faiths are rather forced upon them. Grace, we are told, is prevenient, and it is God who sends faith. The history-that-happens itself generates the faiths and allegiances that furnish the principles for selecting what is important in understanding it. Men do not "choose" arbitrarily to be Catholics—or rugged individualists—any more than they "choose" not to be. Some men indeed have their faiths and allegiances forced upon them by "facts," by knowledge; though presumably for none is this wholly the case. For such men, facts do force the selection of the controlling tendencies, the implicit ends, in the present, in terms of which they can understand the past. For such men, knowledge does declare what has to be done: the furtherance of science, the socialized control of industry, the achievement of international organization....

Indeed, there are so many facts and so many patterns of relation discernible in the history of anything, and it is so impossible to include them all, that any selection will remain "arbitrary" and "subjective" unless it is dictated by some necessary choice or problem generated in that history itself. Only by realizing that these are the fundamental problems and choices today, or that they were fundamental in some past period, can we hope to understand or write the history of anything "objectively." Only thus we can understand objectively, for example, the history of the Romantic era. It is notoriously difficult to find any common traits or common pattern in that movement. But we can find the common problems in terms of which we can understand its history. As Jacques Barzun writes. "Clearly, the one thing that unifies men in a given age is not their individual philosophies, but the dominant problem that these philosophies are designed to solve. In the romantic period this problem was to create a new world on the ruins of the old"3—to criticize the inadequate synthesis of the eighteenth century, and to reconstruct a more adequate one.

The historian must make a selection. From the infinite variety of relatednesses that past events disclose, he must select what is basic for his particular history. If that selection is not to be merely what is important for him, if it is not to be "subjective" and "arbitrary," it must have an "objective" emphasis or focus in something to be done, something he sees forced on men. The history of what is basic for that problem—of the conditions that generated it, the resources men had to draw upon, how they dealt with it-will then be perfectly "objective," in a sense in which no mere recording of arbitrarily selected "facts" could ever be. This is the "objective relativism" that is characteristic of all types of knowledge. Knowledge can be "objective" only for some determinate context; it is always a knowledge of the relations essential for that context. In historical knowledge, the context is always that of a problem faced by men, of the causes of that problem, the means for its solution, and the course actually adopted. In that context, the relation of cause and consequence, of means and end, will thus be quite "objective."

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORY

Frederick Jackson Turner

Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932), Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin and then at Harvard, became famous among American historians for his studies demonstrating his thesis that the American character was formed not so much by its inheritance from the Old World but by the way its life was shaped, by the challenges of the great Western frontier. The following essay, "The Significance of History," is reprinted directly from its first publication in The Wisconsin Journal of Education in 1891. It shows a historian of wide learning, of a broad and high conception of his task as an historian, and an interpreter of rare insight.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORY.

The conceptions of history have been almost as numerous as the men who have written history. To Augustine Birrel history is a pageant; it is for the purpose of satisfying our curiosity. Under the touch of a literary artist the past is to become living again. Like another Prospero the historian waves his wand, and the deserted streets of Palmyra sound to the tread of artisan and officer, warrior gives battle to warrior, ruined towers rise by magic, and the whole busy life of generations that have long ago gone down to dust comes to life again in the pages of a book. The artistic prose narration of past events—this is the ideal of those who view history as literature. To this class belong romantic literary artists who strive to give to history the coloring and dramatic action of fiction, who do not hesitate to paint a character blacker or whiter than he to paint a character blacker or whiter than he tain theoretical studies." "To study history really was, in order that the interest of the is to study problems." And thus a great cir-

page may be increased, who force dull facts into vivacity, who create impressive situations. who, in short, strive to realize as an ideal the success of Walter Scott. It is of the historian Froude that Freeman says: "The most winning style, the choicest metaphors, the neatest phrases from foreign tongues would all be thrown away if they were devoted to proving that any two sides of a triangle are not always greater than the third side. When they are devoted to prove that a man cut off his wife's head one day and married her maid the next morning out of sheer love for his country, they win believers for the paradox." It is of the reader of this kind of history that Sceley writes: "To him by some magic parliamentary debates shall always be lively, officials always men of strongly marked interesting character. There shall be nothing to remind him of the blue-book or the law book, nothing common or prosaic but he shall sit as in a theater and gaze at splendid scenery and costume. He shall never be called upon to study or to judge, but only to imagine and enjoy. His reflections as he reads shall be precisely those of the novel reader; he shall ask: Is this character well drawn? is it really amusing? is the interest of the story well sustained? and does it rise properly toward the close?"

But after all these criticisms we may gladly admit that in itself an interesting style, even a picturesque manner of presentation, is not to be condemned, provided that truthfulness of substance rather than vivacity of style be the end sought. But granting that a man may be the possessor of a good style which he does not allow to run away with him, either in the interest of the artistic impulse or the cause of party, still there remain differences as to the aim and method of history. To a whole school of writers among whom we find some of the great historians of our time, history is the study of politics, that is, politics in the high signification given the word by Aristotle, as meaning all that concerns the activity of the state itself. "History is past politics and politics present history," says the great author of the Norman Conquest. Maurenbrecher, of Leipsic, speaks in no less uncertain tones; "The bloom of historical studies is the history of politics;" and Lorenz, of Jena, asserts: "The proper field of historical investigation, in the closer sense of the word, is politics." Says Seeley: "The modern historian works at the same task as Aristotle in his politics." "To study history is to study not merely a narrative but at the same time cercle of profound investigators, with true scientific method, have expounded the evolution of political institutions, studying their growth as the biologist might study seed, bud, blossom and fruit. The results of these labors may be seen in such monumental works as those of Waitz on German institutions, Stubbs on English Constitutional History and Maine on Early Institutions.

There is another and an increasing class of historians to whom history is the study of the economic growth of the people, who aim to show that property, the distribution of wealth, the social condition of the people, are the underlying and determining factors to be studied. This school, whose advance-guard was led by Roscher, having already transformed orthodox political economy by its historical method, is now going on to rewrite history from the economic point of view. Perhaps the best English expression of the ideas of the school is to be found in Thorold Rogers' "Economic Interpretation of History." He truly asserts that "very often the cause of great political events and great social movements is economical and has hitherto been undetected." So important does the fundamental principle of this school appear to me, that I desire to quote from Mr. Rogers a specific illustration of this new historical method.

"In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," he says, "there were numerous and well frequented routes from the markets of Hindostan to the Western world, and for the conveyance of that Eastern produce which was so greatly desired as a seasoning to the coarse and often unwholesome diet of our forefathers. principal ports to which this produce was conveyed were Seleucia (latterly called Licia) in the Levant, to Trebizond, on the Black Sea, and to Alexandria. From these ports this Eastern produce was collected mainly by the Venetian and Genoese traders, and conveyed over the passes of the Alps to the upper Danube and the Rhine. Here it was a source of great wealth to the cities which were planted on these water-ways from Ratisbon and Nurenberg, to Bruges and Antwerp. The stream of commerce was not deep or broad, but it was singularly fertilizing, and every one who has any knowledge of the only history worth knowing, knows how important these cities were in the later Middle Ages.

"In the course of time, all but one of these routes had been blocked by the savages who desolated Central Asia, and still desolate it. It was, therefore, the object of the most enterprising of the Western nations to get, if possible, in the rear of these destructive brigands,

by discovering a long sea passage to Hindostan. All Eastern trade depended on the Egyptian road being kept open, and this remaining road was already threatened. The beginning of this discovery was the work of a Portuguese prince. The expedition of Columbus was an attempt to discover a passage to India over the Western sea. By a curious coincidence the Cape passage was doubled, and the new world discovered almost simultaneously.

"The discoveries were made none too soon. Selim I (1512-20) the sultan of Turkey conquered Mespotamia and the holy towns of Arabia, and annexed Egypt during his brief reign. This conquest blocked the only remaining road which the Old World knev. The thriving manufactures of Alexandria were at once destroyed. Egypt ceased to be the highway from Hindostan. I discovered that some cause must be at work which had hitherto been unsuspected in the sudden and enormous rise of prices in all Eastern products, at the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and found that it must have come from the conquest of Egypt. The river of commerce was speedily dried up. The cities which had thriven on it were gradually ruined, at least in so far as this source of their wealth was concerned, and the trade of the Danube and and Rhine ceased. The Italian cities fell into rapid decay. The German nobles, who had got themselves incorporated among the burghers of the free cities, were impoverished, and betook themselves to the obvious expedient of reimbursing their losses by the pillage of their tenants. Then came the Peasants' war, its ferocious incidents, its cruel suppression and the development of those wild sects which a sfigured and arrested the German Reformation. The battle of the Pyramids, in which Some gained the Sultanate of Egypt for the Osmani Turks, brought loss and misery into thousand of homes where the event had never to: heard of. It is such facts as these which the economic interpretation of history illu tratte and expounds."

Viewed from this position, the past is with new meaning. The focal point of more interest is the fourth estate, the great mass the people. History has been a romance could a tragedy. In it we read the brilliant annual of the few. The intrigues of courts, knightly valor, palaces and pyramids, the loves colladies, the songs of minstrels, and the chantefrom cathedrals, pass like a pageant, or linger like a strain of music as we turn the pages. But history has its tragedy as well, which tells of the degraded tillers of the soil, toiling that

others might dream, the slavery that rendered possible the "glory that was Greece," the serfdom into which decayed the "grandeur that was Rome"—these as well demand their arnals. Far oftener than has yet been shown have these underlying economic facts affecting the bread-winners of the nation, been the secret of the nation's rise or fall, by the side of which much that has passed as history is

the merest frippery.

But I must not attempt to exhaust the list of the conceptions of history. To a large ciass of writers represented by Hume, the field of historical writing is an arena whereon are to be fought out present partisan debates. Whig is to struggle against Tory, and the party of the writer's choice is to be victorious at whatever cost to the truth. We do not lack these partisan historians in America. Carlyle, the hero-worshipper, history is the stage on which a few great men play their parts. To Max Müller, history is the exposition of the growth of religious ideas. moralist, history is the text whereby to teach a lesson. To the metaphysician history is the

fulfillment of a few primary laws.

Plainly we may make choice out of many If, now, we strive to reduce them to some kind of order, we find that in each age a different ideal of history has prevailed. To the savage history is the painted scalp, with its symbolic representations of the victims of his valor; or it is the legend of the gods and heroes of his race-attempts to explain the origin of things. Hence the vast body of mytho'ogies, folk-lore and legends, in which science, history, fiction, are all blended together, judgment and imagination inextricably confused. As time passes the artistic instinct comes in and historical writing takes the form of Iliad, or Niebelungen Lied. have in these writings the reflection of the imaginative, credulous age that believed in the divinity of its heroes and wrote down what it believed. Artistic and critical faculty find expression in Herodotus, father of Greek history, and in Thucydides, the ideal Greek historian. Both write from the standpoint of an advanced civilization and strive to present a real picture of the events and an explanation of the causes of the events. But Thucvdides is a Greek: literature is to him an art, and history a part of literature; and so it seems to him no violation of historical truth to make his generals pronounce long orations that were composed for them by the historian. Moreover early men and Greeks alike believed their over ribe or state to be the favored of the

gods: the rest of humanity was for the most part outside the range of history.

To the medieval historian history was the annals of the monastery, or the chronicle of

court and camp.

In the nineteenth century a new ideal and method of history arose. Philosophy prepared the way for it. Schelling taught the doctring "that the state is not in reality governed by laws of man's devising, but is a part of the moral order of the universe, ruled by cosmicforces from above." Herder proclaimed the doctrine of growth in human institutions. He saw in history the development of given germs: religions were to be studied by comparison and by tracing their origins from superstitions up toward rational conceptions of God. Language, too, was no sudden creation, but a growth and to be studied as such; and so with political institutions. Thus he paved the way for the study of comparative philology, of mythology and of political evolution. Wolfe, applying Herder's suggestions to the Iliad. found no single Homer as its author, but many. This led to the critical study of the texts. Niebuhr applied this mode of study to the Roman historians and proved their incorrect-Livy's history of early Rome became legend. Then Niebuhr tried to find the real facts. He blieved that, although the Romans had forgotten their own history, still it was possible by starting with institutions of known reality to construct their predecessors, as the botanist may infer bud from flower. He would trace causes from effects. In other words, so strongly did he believe in the growth of an institution according to fixed laws that he believed he could reconstruct the past, reaching the real facts even by means of the incorrect accounts of the Roman writers. Although he carried his method too far, still it was the foundation of the modern historical school. He strove to reconstruct old Rome as it really was out of the original authorities that remained. By critical analysis and interpretation he attempted so to use these texts that the buried truth should come to light. To skill as an antiquary he added great political insight-for Niebuhr was a practical statesman. It was his aim to unite critical study of the materials with the interpretative skill of the political expert and this has been the aim of the new school of historians. Leopold von Ranke applied this critical method to the study of modern history. To him a document surviving from the past itself was of far greater value than any amount of tradition regarding the past. To him the contemporary account.

rightly used, was of far higher authority than the second-hand relation. And so he diligently sought in the musty archives of European courts, and the results of his labors and those of his scholars have been the rewriting of modern diplomatic and political history. Charters, correspondence, contemporary chronicles, inscriptions—these are the materials on which he and his disciples worked. To "tell things as they really were" was Ranke's ideal. But to him also, history was primarily past politics.

Superficial and hasty as this review has been, I think you see that the historical study of the first half of the nineteenth century reflected the thought of that age. It was an age of political agitation and inquiry, as our own age still so largely is. It was an age of science. That inductive study of phenomena which has worked a revolution in our knowledge of the external world was applied to history. In a word the study of history became scientific and

political.

To-day the questions that are uppermost, and that will become increasingly important, are not so much political as economic questions. The age of machinery, of the factory system, is also the age of socialistic inquiry.

It is not strange that the predominant historical study is coming to be the study of past social conditions, inquiry as to land-holding, distribution of wealth and the economic basis of society in general. Our conclusion, therefore is, that there is much truth in all these conceptions of history: history is past literature, it is past politics, it is past religion, it is past economics.

Each age tries to form its own conception of the past. Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time. Historians have accepted the doctrine of Herder. Society grows. They have accepted the doctrine of Comte. Society is an organism. History is the biography of society in all of its departments. There is objective history and subjective history. Objective history applies to the events themselves; subjective history is man's concention of these events. "The whole mode and manner of looking at things alters with every age," but this does not mean that the real events of a given age change: it means that our comprehension of these facts changes.

History, both objective and subjective, is ever becoming—never completed. The centuries unfold to us more and more the meaning of past times. To-day we understand Roman history better than did Livy or Tacitus; not only because we know how to use sources bet-

ter, but also because the significance of events develops with time; because to-day is so much a product of yesterday that yesterday can only be understood as explained by to-day. aim of history, then, is to know the elements of the present by understanding what came into the present from the past. For the present is simply the developing past, the past the undeveloped present. As well try to understand the egg without a knowledge of its developed form, the chick, as to try to understand the past without bringing to it the explanation of the present; and equally as well try to understand an animal without study of its embryology as to try to understand one time without the study of events that went before. antiquarian strives to bring back the past for the sake of the past; the historian strives to show the present to itself by revealing its origen from the past. The goal of the antiquarian is the dead past: the goal of the historian is the living present. Droysen has put this true conception into the statement: "History is the 'Know Thyself' of humanity"-"the self consciousness of mankind."

If now, you accept with me the statement of this great master of historical science, the rest of our way is clear. If history be, in truth, the self consciousness of humanity, the "self consciousness of the living age, acquired by understanding its development from the

past," all the rest follows.

First we recognize why all the spheres of man's activity must be considered. Not only is this the only way in which we can get a complete view of the society, but no one department of social life can be understood in isolation from the others. The economic life and the political life touch, modify and condition one another. Even the religious life needs to be studied in conjunction with the political and economic life, and vice versa. Therefore all kinds of history are essentialhistory as politics, history as art history as economics, history as religion—all are truly parts of society's endeavor to understand itself by understanding its past.

Next, we see that history is not shut up in a book—not in many books. The first lesson the student of history has to learn is to discard his conception that there are standard uitimate histories. In the nature of the case this is impossible. History is all the remains that have come down to us from the past, studied with all the critical and interpretative power that the present can bring to the task. From time to time great masters bring their investigations to fruit in books. To us these serve as the latest words, the best results of the most

recent efforts of society to understand itself—but they are not the final words. To the historian the materials for his work are found in all that remains from the ages gone by—in papers, roads, mounds, customs, languages; it monuments, coins, medals, names, titles, inscriptions, charters; in contemporary annals and chronicles, and finally in the secondary sources or histories in the common acceptance of the term. Wherever there remains a chipped flint, a spear-head, a piece of pottery, a pyramid, a picture, a poem, a coloseum, or a coin, there is history. Says Taine:

"What is your first remark on turning over the great stiff leaves of a folio, the yellow sheets of a manuscript, a poem, a code of laws, a declaration of faith? This you say was not created alone. It is but a mould, like a fossil shell, an imprint like one of those shapes embossed in stone by an animal which lived and perished. Under the shell there was an animal, and behind the document there was a Why do you study the shell except to represent to yourself the animal? So do you study the document only in order to know the The shell and the document are lifeless wrecks, valuable only as a clue to the entire and living existence. We must reach back to this existence, endeavor to re-create it."

But observe that when a man writes a narration of the past, he writes with all his limitations as regards ability to test the real value of his sources, and as able rightly to interpret their. Does he make use of a chronicle? first he must determine whether it is genuine; then whether it was contemporary, or at what period written; then what opportunities its author had to know the truth; then what were his personal traits; was he likely to see clearly, to relate impartially? If not, what was his bias, what his limitations? Next comes the harder task-to interpret the significance of events; causes must be understood, results seen. Local affairs must be described in relation to affairs of the world—all must be told with just selection, emphasis, perspective; with that historical imagination and sympathy that does not judge the past by the canons of the present, nor read into it the ideas of the present. Above all the historian must have a passion for truth above that for any party or idea. Such are some of the difficulties that lie in the way of our science. When, moreover, we consider that each man is conditioned by the age in which he lives and must perforce write with limitations and prepossessions, I think we shall all agree that no historian can say the ultimate word.

Another thought that follows as a corollary from our definition is, that in history there is a unity and a continuity. Strictly speaking there is no gap between ancient, medieval and modern history. Strictly speaking there are no such divisions. Baron Bunsen dates modern history from the migration of Abraham. Bluntschli makes it begin with Frederick the Great. The truth is, as Freeman has shown, that the age of Pericles, or the age of Augustus has more in common with modern times than has the age of Alfred or of Charle-There is another test than that of chronology; namely, stages of growth. In the past of the European world peoples have grown from families into states, from peasantry into the complexity of great city life, from animism into monotheism, from mythology into philosophy; and have yielded place again to primitive peoples who in turn have passed through stages like these and yielded to new nations. Each nation has bequeathed something to its successor; no age has suffered the highest content of the past entirely to be lost. By unconscious inheritance, and by conscious striving after the past as part of the present, history has acquired continuity. Freeman's statement that into Rome flowed all the ancient world and out of Rome came the modern world is as true as it is impressive. In a strict sense imperial Rome never died. You may find the eternal city still living in the Kaizer and the Czar, in the language of the Romance peoples, in the codes of European states, in the eagles of their coats of arms, in every college where the classics are read—in a thousand political institutions. Even here in young America old Rome still lives. When the inaugural procession passes toward the senate chamber, and the president's address outlines the policy he proposes to pursue—there is Rome! You may find her in the code of Louisiana, in the French and Spanish portions of our history, in the idea of checks and balances in our constitution. Clearest of all, Rome may be seen in the titles, government, and ceremonials of the Roman Catholic church; for when the Cæsar passed away, his scepter fell to that new Pontifex Maximus, the Pope, and to that new Augustus, the Holy Roman Emperor of the Middle Ages, an empire which in name, at least, continued till those heroic times when a new Imperator recalled the days of the great Julius, and sent the eagles of France to proclaim that Napoleon was king over kings. So it is true in fact, as we should presume, a priori, that to history

there are only artificial divisions. Society is an organism, ever growing. History is the self-consciousness of this organism. roots of the present lie deep in the past." There is no break. But not only is it true that no country can be understood without taking account of all the past; it is also true that we cannot select a stretch of land and say we will limit our study to this land; for local history can only be understood in the light of the history of the world. There is unity as well as continuity. To know the history of contemporary Italy, we must know the history of contemporary France, of contemporary Germany. Each acts on each. Ideas, commodities even, refuse the bounds of a nation. All are inextricably connected, so that each is needed to explain the others. This is true especially of our modern world with its complex commerce and means of intellectual connection. In history, then, there is unity and continuity. Each age must be studied in the light of all the past; local history must be viewed in the light of world-history.

Now, I think, we are in a position to consider the utility of historical studies. I will not dwell on the dignity of history considered as the self-consciousness of humanity; nor on the mental growth that comes from such a discipline; nor on the vastness of the field—all these occur to you, and their importance will impress you increasingly as you consider history from this point of view. To enable us to behold our own time and place as a part of the stupendous progress of the ages—to see primitive man; to recognize in our midst the undying ideas of Greece; to find Rome's majesty and power alive in present law and institution, still living in our superstitions and our folk-lore; to enable us to realize the richness of our inheritance, the possibility of our lives, the grandeur of the present—these are some of the priceless services of history.

But I must conclude my remarks with a few words upon the utility of history as affording a training for good citizenship. Doubtless good citizenship is the end for which the public schools exist. Were it otherwise there might be difficulty in justifying the support of them at public expense. The direct and important utility of the study of history in the achievement of this end hardly needs argument.

In the union of public service and historical study, Germany has been pre-eminent. For certain governmental positions in that country, a university training in historical studies is essential. Ex-President Andrew D. White affirms that a main cause of the efficiency of

German administration is the training that officials get from the university study of history and politics. In Paris there is the famous School of Political Sciences which fits men for the public service of France. In the decade closing with 1887 competitive examinations showed the advantages of this training. Of 60 candidates appointed to the council of state. 40 were graduates of this school. Of 42 appointed to the inspection of finance, 39 were from the school; 16 of the 17 appointees to the court of claims; and 20 of 26 appointees to the department of foreign affairs held diplomas from the School of Political Science. In these European countries not merely are the departmental officers required to possess historical training; the list of leading statesmen reveals many names eminent in historical science. I need hardly recall to you the great names of Niebuhr, the councilor, whose history of Rome gave the impetus to our new science; of Stein, the reconstructor of Germany, and the projector of the Monumenta Germanicae, that priceless collection of original sources of medieval history. Read the roll of Germany's great public servants and you will find among them such eminent men as Gneist, the authority on English constitutional history; Bluntschli, the able historian of politics; von Holst, the historian of our own political development; Knies, Roscher and Wagner, the economists, and many more. I have given you Droysen's conception of history, but Droysen was not simply a historian, he belonged with the famous historians, Treitschke, Moinmsen, von Sybel, to what Lord Acton calls "that central band of writers and statesmen and soldiers, who turned the tide that had run for six hundred years, and conquered the centrifugal forces that had reigned in Germany longer than the commons have sat at Westminster."

Nor does England fail to recognize the value of the union of history and politics as exemplified by such men as Macaualy, Dilke, Morley and Bryce, all of whom have been eminent members of parliament, as well as distinguished historical writers. From France and Italy such illustrations could easily be multiplied.

When we turn to America and ask what marriages have occurred between history and statesmanship, we are filled with astonishment at the contrast. It is true that our country has tried to reward literary men: Motley, Irving, Bancroft, Lowell held official positions, but these positions were in the diplomatic service. The "literary fellow" was good enough or Europe. The state gave these men aid

rather than called their services to its aid. To this statement I know of but one important exception -- George Bancroft. In America statesmanship has been considered something of spontaneous generation, a miraculous birth from our republican institutions. To demand of the statesmen who debate such topics as the tariff, European and South American relations, emigration, the labor and the railroad problems, a scientific acquaintance with historical politics or economics, would be to expose one's self to ridicule in the eyes of the public. I have said that the tribal stage of society demands tribal history and tribal politics. When a society is isolated it looks with contempt upon the history and institutions of the rest of the world. We shall not be altogether wrong if we say that such tribal ideas concerning our institutions and society have prevailed for many years in this country. Lately historians have turned to the comparative and historical study of our political institutions. The actual working of our constitution as contrasted with the literary theory of it has engaged the attention of able young men. Foreigners like von Holst and Bryce have shown us a mirror of our political life in the light of the political lite of other peoples. Little of this influence has yet attracted the attention of our public men. Count the roll in Senate and House, Cabinet and diplomatic service—to say nothing of the state governments—and where are the names famous in history and politics? It is shallow to express satisfaction with this condition, and sneer at "literary fellows." To me it seems that we are approaching a pivotal point in our country's history.

In an earlier part of my remarks I quoted from Thorold Rogers showing how the Turkish conquest of far off Egypt brought ruin to homes in Antwerp and Bruges. If this was true in that early day, when commercial threads were infinitely less complex than they are now, how profoundly is our present life interlocked with the events of all the world. Heretofore America has measurably remained aloof from the Old World affairs. Under the influence of a wise policy, she has avoided political relations with other powers. But it is one of the profoundest lessons that history has to teach, that political relations, in a highly developed civilization, are inextricably connected with economic relations. Already there are signs of a relaxation of our policy of commercial isolation. Reciprocity is a word that meets with increasing favor from all parties. But, once fully affoat on the sea of world-wide economic interests, we shall gon develop political interests. Our fishery disputes furnish one example; our Samoan interests another; our Congo relations a third. But, perhaps, most important are our present and future relations with South America, coupled with our Monroe doctrine. It is a settled maxim of International law that the government of a foreign state whose subjects have lent money to another state may interfere to protect the rights of the bondholders, if they are endangered by the borrowing state. As Prof. H. B. Adams has pointed out, South American states have close financial relations with many European money-lenders; they are also prone to revolutions. Suppose, now, that England, finding the interests of her bondholders in jeopardy, should step in to manage the affairs of some South American country as she has those of Egypt for the same reason. Would the United States abandon its popular interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, or would she give up her policy of non-interference in political affairs of the outer world? Or suppose our own bondholders in New York, say, to be in danger of loss by revolution in South America—and our increasing tendency to close connection with South American affairs makes this a supposable case—would our government stand idly by while her citizens' interests were sacrificed? Take another case, the protectorate of the proposed interoceanic canal. England will not be content to allow the control of this to rest solely in our hands. Will the United States form an alliance with England for the purpose of this protection? Such questions as these indicate that we are drifting out into European political relations; and that a new statesmanship is demanded; a statesmanship that shall clearly understand European history and present relations which depend on history. Again, consider the problems of socialism brought to our shores by European immigrants. We shall never deal rightly with such problems until we understand the historical conditions under which they grew. Thus we not only meet Europe outside our borders, but in our very midst. The problem of immigration furnishes many examples of the need of historical study. Consider how our vast western domain has been settled. Louis XIV devastates the Palatinate, and soon hundreds of its inhabitants are hewing down the forests of Pennsyl-The bishop of Salsburg persecutes his Protestant subjects, and the woods of Georgia sound to the crack of Teutonic rifles. Presbyterians are oppressed in Ireland, and soon in Tennessee and Kentucky the fires of pioneers gleam. These were but advance-guards

of the mighty army that has poured into our makes its own history in accordance with its midst ever since. Every economic change, past. It is true that a purely artificial piece every political change, every military conscription, every socialistic agitation in Europe has sent us groups of colonists who have passed out on to our prairies to form new self-governing that taught us this truth, and that there is, communities, or who have entered the life of our great cities. These men have come to us possible to a state, large scope for the use of historical products, they have brought to us, not merely so much bone and sinew, not stand ourselves.

Teutonic roots. Gladstone's remark that "The good citizenship. Says Dr. H. B. Adams:

growing centralization."

us. It is profoundly true that each people own State university carries on extensive work

of legislation, unrelated to present and past conditions, is the most short-lived of things. Yet it is to be remembered that it was history within the limits of the constructive action this experience of foreign peoples.

I have aimed to offer, then, these consideramerely so much money, not merely so much tions: History, I have said, is to be taken in manual skill-they have brought with them no narrow sense. It is more than past literadeep-inrooted customs and ideas. They are ture, more than past politics, more than past important factors in the political and economic economics. It is the self-consciousness of hulife of the nation. Our destiny is interwoven manity -- humanity's effort to understand itself with theirs; how shall we understand American through the study of its past. Therefore it is history, without understanding European his- not confined to books—the subject is to be tory? The story of the peopling of America studied, not books simply. History has a unity has not yet been written. We do not under- and a continuity: the present needs the past to explain it; and local history must be read as a One of the most fruitful fields of study in part of world history. The study has a utility our country has been the process of growth of as a mental discipline, and as expanding our our own institutions, local and national. The ideas regarding the dignity of the present. town and the county, the germs of our politi- But perhaps its most practical utility to us, as cal institutions, have been traced back to old public school teachers, is its service in fostering

American Constitution is the most wonderful. The ideals presented may at first be discourwork ever struck off at a given time by the aging. Even to him who devotes his life to brain and purpose of man," has been shown to the study of history the ideal conception is be misleading, for the Constitution was, with impossible of attainment. He must select all the constructive powers of the fathers, still some field and till that thoroughly—be absoa growth; and our history is only to be un- lute master of it; for the rest he must seek the derstood as a growth from European history aid of others whose lives have been given in under the new conditions of the new world. the true scientific spirit to the study of special fields. The public school teacher must do the "American local history should be studied best with the libraries at his disposal. We as a contribution to national history. This teachers must use all the resources we can obcountry will yet be viewed and reviewed as an tain and not pin our faith to a single book; we organism of historic growth, developing from must make history living instead of allowing minute germs, from the very protoplasm of it to seem mere literature, a mere narration of state-life. And some day this country will be events that might have occurred in the moon. studied in its international relations, as an or- We must teach the history of a few countries ganic part of a larger organism now vaguely thoroughly, rather than that of many countries called the World-State, but as surely develop- superficially. The popularizing of scientific ing through the operation of economic, legal, knowledge is one of the best achievements of social and scientific forces as the American this age of book-making. It is typical of that Union, the German and British Empires are social impulse which has led university men to evolving into higher forms." * * * "The bring the fruits of their study home to the local consciousness must be expanded into a people. In England the social impulse has led fuller sense of its historic worth and dignity, to what is known as the university extension We must understand the cosmopolitan rela- movement. University men have left their tions of modern local life, and its own whole- traditional cloister, and gone to live among the some conservative power in these days of working classes, in order to bring to them a new intellectual life. Chautauqua, in our own If any added argument were needed to show country, has begun to pass beyond the period that good citizenship demands the careful of superficial work to real union of the scienstudy of history, it is in the examples and les- tific and the popular. In their summer school sons that the history of other peoples has for they offer courses in American history. Our

in various lines. I believe that this movement in the direction of popularizing historical and scientific knowledge will work a real revolution in our towns and villages as well as in our great cities. The school teacher is called to do a work above and beyond the instruction in his school. He is called upon to be the apostle of the higher culture to the community in which he is placed. Given a good school or town library—such an one is now within the reach of every hamlet that is properly stimulated to the acquisition of one—and given an energetic. devoted teacher to direct and foster the study of history and politics and economics, and we would have an intellectual regeneration of the state. Historical study has for its end to let the community see itself in the light of the past-to give it new thoughts and feelings, new aspirations and energies. Thoughts and feelings flow into deeds. Here is the motive-power that lies behind institutions. This is therefore one of the ways to create good politics; here we can touch the very "age and body of the time, its form and pressure." Have you a thought of better things, a reform to accomplish? "Put it in the air," says the great teacher. Ideas have ruled, will rule. We must make university-extension into state life felt in this country as did Germany. Of one thing beware. Avoid as the very unpardonable sin, any one-sidedness, any partisan, any partial treatment of history. Do not misinterpret the past for the sake of the present. The man who enters the temple of history must devoutly respond to that invocation of the church "Sursum corda"—lift up your heart. No looking at history as an idle tale, a compend of anecdotes; no servile devotion to a text book, no carelessness of truth about the dead that can no longer speak, must be permitted in its sanctuary. "History," says Droysen, "is not the truth and the light; but a striving for it, a sermon on it, a consecration to it." Madison, Wis. F. I. TURNER.

WHAT IS MAN?

ROBERT LOWRY CALHOUN PROFESSOR OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY YALE UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

MANY MEN, MANY ANSWERS

There is something slightly abnormal about asking the question, What is man? At any rate, most people never put it to themselves in words, nor consciously try to puzzle out an answer. The normal thing is to go ahead being a man or a woman, doing whatever comes to hand, and not giving much thought to what one is, nor why. There is, indeed, a highly sophisticated sense in which just to be a human person at all is to be a living question mark, somewhat as a discord in music is a perpetual demand for harmony. We shall look at this view later. It is worth careful study. But it is not the view of common sense. In fact, ordinary common sense does not bother much about having a consistent "view" of man at all, and most people get on most of the time without wanting one. Everybody, no doubt, thinks of himself off and on, in one fashion or another: as a sound fellow, a good father, a loyal American (or Frenchman, or fascist), a worth-while friend. But this glimpsing oneself now in one rôle, now in another, is a quite different thing from grappling with the general problem: What is man-any man? and what, therefore, am I? This question is most likely to come up, if at all, when things are going badly, and customary behavior is, for unknown reasons, failing to bring satisfaction. The present is such a time for an uncommonly large number of people, and at the moment it is almost normal to ask what it means to be a human being, and what practical consequences follow.

But though there is widespread agreement in asking the question, there is fantastic disagreement in answering it. This is partly because so many of those who answer have personal or political axes to grind, and are mainly interested in putting themselves in a good light and their opponents in a bad one. But partly it is because the question can be examined from any one of a great number of quite legitimate viewpoints, and an answer that is appropriate from one may be hardly recognizable from another. A carpenter, a chemist, a philosopher, and a parson may all have ideas about human nature that are sound enough, as far as they go, but so different that they might not be referring to the same thing at all. This diversity is a fruitful source of confusion with respect to human relationships just now, and one chief purpose of this small book is to offer some hints about

straightening it out.

We may distinguish, for convenience, four main lines of approach to the understanding of man: the ways of every-day common sense, the sciences, the philosophies, and the religions. The first is the way that underlies all the others.

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It comprises the first-hand, concrete, unsystematic acquaintance with himself and his neighbors that every person gets in the course of his work and play and daily struggle. This direct acquaintance has the full-blooded vitality, color, and fluid movement of life itself. It is often what goes by the name of "experience," as contrasted with abstract thought.

The second way is related to the first somewhat as a book of road maps is related to the automobile travel through a given region. Road maps pick out certain features of touring, and ignore others; they bring to bear information from special inquiries that the ordinary tourist cannot or does not bother to make; and they translate all this into sign language, and organize it into systematic diagrams, drawn consistently to scale, which apply not merely to some particular tour, but to any or all tours through the region charted. In like manner, the sciences seek a view of man more diagrammatic, more accurately informed, more coherent, and more general than the vivid but miscellaneous insights of practical common sense, or "experience." Just as the road maps have to leave out colors and smells of the countryside, and pleasures and discomforts of the tourists, so the scientific diagrams of human nature and behavior leave out most of

its color and smell, and all of its individuality.

The philosophies try to retain as much as possible of both. They include a good many details that the sciences quite properly ignore, and they try in various ways to catch in their formulae the essence of individuality, also: that which makes each human being uniquely himself, and not any one else. Yet, paradoxically, the terms in which they try to recapture these concrete aspects of human life are even more generalized than those of the sciences. What turns up in philosophic formulae is not the actual individual, but the universal character of individuality, the definition of what it means to be an individual. The actual living individual, the man himself, necessarily eludes all formulae. His natural habitat is the realm not of definitions but of action. Practical, common-sense experience is acquainted with him there, since it is itself part and parcel of his active living. But the more strictly theoretic disciplines, the sciences and philosophies, are by their very nature less embedded in practical activity. Theirs is typically the rôle of observer more than that of participant, and they furnish diagrams or portraits rather than living specimens.

The religions, like common sense, move primarily within the practical realm, and their view of man is very concrete and dynamic. Their central concern is with the motives and obligations that are effective in his behavior, and those that ought to be so. They seek to appeal directly to him as a person—individual, social, and responsible; requiring his active commitment to the service of values, or powers, or both, which are superior to himself. A religious attitude may be highly intellectual or anti-intellectual, loving or despising reason. It cannot be neutral, dispassionate onlook-

ing, and be religion.

Plainly the materials are here for all sorts of conflicts, misunderstandings, and confusions of thought about man. Scientists and theologians at a given time may be at one another's throats, the plain man crying plague o' both their

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houses, and the politician exploiting them all, in their failure to understand one another and move along together. That has been happening for a long time, and is happening now with disastrous results. Analysis of points of view is, naturally, no guaranty against such conflicts, which in large part arise from sources not easily amenable to logic. But analysis can help one caught in the cross-currents to see a little more clearly what they mean, where they are tending, and how he may at least avoid being destroyed in them blindly. Whatever else may be true about man, it is more in keeping with his manhood to see where he is going, whether it be to more abundant life or to destruction, than for lack of thought to be driven like beef to the pasture or the slaughter pens.

CHAPTER I

COMMON SENSE SAYS, "JUST A PERSON"

The proper starting point for any inquiry about the nature of man is everyday experience, and the outlook usually known as common sense. This is the layman's outlook, assumed here to be at once uncomplicated by the technical habits of specialists, and unwarped by excessive emotional or other aberrations. Inasmuch as ordinary people, in most of their routine activities, behave more or less nearly like that useful fiction, "the average man," their routine way of seeing themselves and others may serve as a rough definition of what is meant here by common sense.

For this everyday view, a man is just a human person: a perfectly familiar figure, who can best be known by what he does. If you want to know what man is, says common sense, just watch him in action for awhile, and see how he behaves.

1. Man as a person differs in his behavior from the things around him. Especially his tools, languages, and cultures set him off from the rest.

There need be no trouble about finding ways in which man acts differently from the earth and houses and machines, and the plants and animals, that form a part of his environment. He uses them. They do not use him. Or, if that seems too sweeping, in view of the fact that some plants and animals-mostly microscopic ones, plus a few beasts of prey and scavengers-do use him for food, say rather: man uses them deliberately and conciously, according to plans of his own, and there is no clear evidence that any of them use him in that way. Moreover, he makes things for himself on a quite different level from the nests and webs and tunneled mounds that other animals build. They can make a few stereotyped finished products for immediate use as shelters, and the like; or at most, as is true of highly intelligent apes, they can fit sticks or boxes together into simple tools, for getting food that is within sight or smell but out of reach. In contrast, man makes in endless variety tools which themselves by semi-automatic processes turn out endlessly varied products in quantities unapproachable by hand labor. He makes also tools with which to make other tools, and parts to go with other parts, working toward remote goals according to plan. All this is on a different plane, in terms of foresight and technical mastery, from what even the most intelligent apes have learned to do. It involves literally man's building of an artificial physical environment for himself in the midst of raw nature: commodious, man-made "caves" to dwell in, highways to travel, controlled heat, light, and air, and so on. No other creature on earth has done the like.

Watch man, further, in active relations with others of his own kind. With them he engages in talk, and all manner of elaborate communication, both near by and across wide gulfs in space and time. His numerous languages, or symbolsystems, through which he transacts extremely complicated business, deals with factors that elude sense perception, and puts himself into all sorts of imagined rôles, are again on a different level from the best that other animals can do. Their signal-cries are outstripped by his intricate word-systems in much the same way that their woven nests and bent sticks are outstripped by his machine tools and power houses. Man behaves, in social communication, as none of his animal neighbors seem able to do.

His skill with tools and with words, finally, has helped him develop for himself the extraordinary physical and spiritual environments we call cultures. In them he lives and moves. and carries on his affairs from birth till death. Unlike factories and highways, the traditions, habit-patterns, and beliefs that enter into one of his cultures are invisible and intangible. Yet they surround him and condition his living even more inescapably than any of his buildings or machinery. Each man is likely, indeed, to be unaware of his own cultural atmosphere, as of the air in his lungs, until it is interfered with. But when he comes into contact with men of another culture, their "folkways" are easy enough for him to discern, and perhaps to resent, with some new awareness of his own heritage arising in contrast. Still more, if his familiar way of life is threatened with destruction by a hostile force, its hold on him and his devotion to it are likely to become very plain.

Man is, then, collectively, a maker of tools, a user of languages, and a dweller in living cultures that hold in one common life generations of the past and the present. With these facts in mind, whether explicitly or implicitly, it is not hard for common sense to think of man as different from his

non-human neighbors.

2. Man as a person is an individual, social, responsible self, in intimate contact with a larger world.

Perhaps, however, we have been going somewhat beyond the ordinary layman's explicit ideas. He would readily recognize everything thus far mentioned, once it was pointed out to him, but he might not pick it out for himself as of especial importance. Perhaps he would be more likely to formulate his own relatively unsystematic thought about man along more immediately personal lines. He would think of a man first, very likely, as an individual person, since that is what he ordinarily feels himself to be.

(a) As individual, a man is largely a bundle of persistent wants and satisfactions (or frustrations), and of habitual ways of acting, thinking, and feeling; but for all that, he is more or less unpredictable, even to himself. On the other hand, there is a well-recognized difference between the unpredictability of a healthy, rational person and the unpredictability of a drug-fiend or a madman. An essential mark of everyday human behavior is reasonable consistency, or coherence,

COMMON SENSE SAYS, "JUST A PERSON"

among the desires, thoughts, and actions of the individual, and relevance to the public situations with which he has to deal.

Each man's individuality (which, of course, is a fluid and not a static thing) shows itself primarily in a certain bundle of wants that crave satisfaction. These wants are his own, not somebody else's: his hunger and thirst, his craving for companionship, a mate, and children, his need for security, freedom, and self-respect. In fact, these personal wants, and the frustrations or satisfactions in which they issue, are not merely his property. To an important degree they are himself. In large part, he is what he wants and arrives at, for better or for worse.

Some of these wants or interests are obviously located in his body, and all of them are associated with it in some manner. The same is true of the thwartings or satisfactions to which they lead. An individual human body is by no means the whole person, but it is an ever-present part of him, as common sense does not doubt.

A person shows himself, similarly, in his habits, or accustomed ways of acting, thinking, and feeling. These include his skills of all sorts, the ways he has worked up to get the things he wants. Chiefly in them lies his competence to hold a job, to engage in work and play for either payment or fun, and to acquire new skills by planned learning. The things he knows, also, will mostly come under this same head. They too are a part of his equipment for skilled living; some of them important to success in his job, some to less formal kinds of satisfaction-enjoyment of conversation, travel, reading, music, and so on. What he thinks, how he goes about solving problems that call for thinking, how he feels about all sorts of things, and hence his personal standards of conduct, depend in large measure on what habits he has formed. Everybody knows that, and tends to judge himself and his neighbors accordingly. Such and such a one can be depended on to feel, think, or act thus and so. That is how he is accustomed to behave. That is his character, which is, in important measure, himself.

But common sense sees, too, that this is not the whole story. An individual can act "out of character," and set at nought the most confident expectations, both of others and of himself. As a matter of fact, this element of unpredictability in human behavior is one of the aspects that common sense most readily takes for granted. Specialists may argue about whether a man is "free." Practical common sense never doubts it, unless in some mood of emotional dejection. Normally, men act on the assumption that what they are about to do is not completely fixed by what they have done already; and they assume this about others as well as about themselves. Within fairly wide limits, common sense has no prejudice

against uncertainty in human behavior.

There are limits, however, to the leeway that most people would regard as natural. Nobody, whatever his own habits may be, likes really erratic behavior in some one else, especially among grown-ups. One expects more unreliability in children, less of it in adults. Growing up is, indeed, very largely a process of developing the definiteness and stability of character that makes one's behavior in important respects more dependable—and in the large more predictable. This does not mean that one's freedom is simply lost as one matures, though with more and more commitments already made, some loss is bound to be an incidental part of the story.

It does mean that native spontaneity is progressively brought under the control of the maturing person himself, so that instead of being merely spontaneous and incalculable, his conduct becomes increasingly self-directed and controlled.

Without putting it into technical language, common sense recognizes that this is or should be so. Nearly every one would draw a distinction between the normal unpredictability of a healthy, rational adult and the erratic behavior of a drunkard, a drug addict, or a psychopath. The distingtion is notoriously hard to draw with any great accuracy. We are all a little abnormal. But we all assume its importance in practice; even to the point of holding that hospital or jail, not home or street-corner, is the place for those whose conduct is too unreliable. And though the ground of the distinction may not be put into words, most laymen would agree readily with the gist of the specialists' account of it. "Normal" conduct, with all its spontaneity or freedom, is marked by two features that are lacking in very "abnormal" conduct. One is reasonable consistency, or unity, or integration within the individual's own make-up and activities, so that he is not too flagrantly in conflict with himself. The other is a reasonable relevance of what he does and thinks and feels to the actual conditions which, along with other people, he has to face.

The drunkard or the insane person lives, while under the spell of his liquor or his dementia, in a private world of fantasy which has too little relevance to the public world of everyday fact. He sees things out of focus, cannot drive a car straight, nor hold a job, nor get on with other people. Moreover, the wants and habits in him that lead to these episodes are in conflict with his more sober tendencies, and his life in consequence is more or less profoundly split up and out of control. His unpredictability is that of a complex mechanism gone wrong and coming apart, whereas the freedom of a healthy person's behavior is that of a darting airplane in the hands of a skilled pilot. The one makes sense, the other does not; and laymen are well aware how important is the difference. It means in the most literal way that no man can live to himself alone, without failing to be a normal person. Man is not merely individual, but an individualsocial being.

(b) A man as social being is a member of many groups, each with its special rôles for him to perform. These, like his individual desires and habits, need to be held together in some stable unity.

Every grown person is, in a sense, a whole company of persons. He combines in himself many rôles that are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. Without them he would not be the person he is. Common sense knows all this well enough. When you ask who a certain man is, the layman will reply by telling you his name and family connections, where he lives, his business, the organizations he belongs to, and where he fits into the life of his community. That is the most usable answer to the question: "Who is he?" or "What is he?" He is the person who fills such and such a place in each of these particular groups.

First his family, and the circle of his close friends: what Hocking (interpreting Hegel) has called "the private order," in which a man can live at least part of the time with his more ceremonious masks off. His place in this circle depends more on sensitive feeling and imagination, friendli-

ness and laughter, generosity and tolerance, than upon any competitive prowess. Sterner qualitics are, of course, indispensable here also: tenacity, fairness, courage, loyalty. But they are not enough. One may be a model of business integrity or political courage, and be an egoist or bully at home. What especially is called for in "the private order" more than elsewhere is a readiness to give one's confidence. and to meet others' confidences more than halfway. Needless to say, the life and friendships of actual people, outside cream-puff literature, are by no means all sweetness and light. The clash of personalities cannot be avoided in such close quarters, and at times may rise to fierce heights. If the conflict becomes civil war, then the home-pattern is broken. If the basic pattern of friendship is maintained, a substantial amount of stress may be all to the good. Human growth cannot go on normally in a stagnant pool, even a pool of sunshine. One can learn more from a liked and trusted antagonist than from the most amiable yes-man, provided that mutual confidence grows greater, not less, and that each deals with the other as a person, not a thing. Of this more in a moment.

Where men work and fight for a living, competition is normally more cold-blooded, and requirements more specialized. At home it is the whole man that counts. On the job it may be little more than his skilled fingers or clever tongue. On the job, much of what makes him human is irrelevant, if not positively detrimental to his getting on. Too quick an imagination, too lively sympathy, too nice a sense of fairness toward competitors, too outspoken generosity in protesting against oppression of weaker associates may prove to be

quite out of place in the business world.

On the other hand, the very impersonality of the public order contributes to the making of grown men and women. Private personal relationships are likely to become trivial without the bracing demands of a larger world. Friendly domesticity is no adequate school for adulthood. Even person-to-person competition is no substitute for impersonal struggles with refractory raw materials and work-schedules. One can outwit, cajole, or argue down a human opponent, but not a spirit-level nor a time-clock. Either the job gets done, or it does not. Either the joint fits, the wall is plumb, the engine runs, or it does not. And meeting this sort of test is indispensable to personal maturity. To be a grown person means not only to be a good companion. It means also to be a disciplined worker, trained to cope with impersonal requirements and freed thereby from the pettiness of a sentimental individualism or the familiar idolizing of good fel-

A similar impersonality marks all the larger patterns of community life that widen out in intersecting circles around a man and his job. Their settled behavior patterns are social institutions. Each man is a member of various organized groups: trades unions or chambers of commerce; towns, states, and nations, with their political parties and their numerous organs; fraternal orders, schools, churches; and many more. These groups tend to fall into cell-like patterns, with small local groups included within larger groups—statewide, national, international. These groups form the massive structure of organized society, and as such they display far less pliability and quickness of response than persons do.

The economic order of wealth production and consumption; the political order of law and government; the inclusive culture that embraces both of these, along with a network of custom, tradition, literature and art, science, and religion. in their institutional forms: all these are areas in which men come together under conditions more refractory than any private personal relationship. Cutting across both organized groups and institutions, finally, are patterns of still another sort, based on racial differences of the more obvious kinds-color, physique, facial structure. These differences are being vehemently exploited of late, as alleged signs of profound intellectual, emotional, and moral differences; and as such, they are being made the basis for increasingly dan-

gerous social divisions.

We shall have more to say about all these a bit later. For the moment, the chief point to notice is that, in all these groupings, the human person finds himself enmeshed in segments of a social order that, though less impersonal than the physical order of matter, space, and time that he tackles in doing a job of work, has something of the same massive factual character. This is, of course, not uniform. A neighborhood club is much less impersonal than a factory or a state police force or a national credit system. Moreover, no part of a social order is wholly impersonal. Even the proverbial majesty of the law is elastic in fact; and in times of transition the fate of peoples can be tilted by the moods of. one man. None the less, in all the contacts that membership in organized society entails, the accepted ways of doing things and their complex grounds are there, and have to be taken into consideration as fully as physical laws. No doubt social patterns can be, and are, changed much more rapidly than physical laws. But social change itself always requires deep mass movements, beyond individual control. The public order, in short, calls throughout for a more objective kind of behavior than that which is normally most suitable at home; and therein lies its social significance for the maturing of its individual members.

One final point. Each of these parts that the individual is called on to play, as member of a family, friend, worker, employer, unionist, citizen, is vitalized by its own set of wants, emotions, and loyalties. Among these the occasions for conflict are many, and the more intelligent and emotionally grown-up one becomes, the more acutely aware of them he must be. Aware, too, of the danger that if he tries to be all things to all men, on all sides of every conflict, he will fritter away his personal life and wind up in futility.

In principle, two major alternatives to such disintegration are open to him. One is to cut to the bone the number and variety of his social commitments, with their competing claims. This deliberate simplification may take a monastic form, religious or secular, and when practised by a resolute man or woman-a Thoreau or a Saint Theresa-to increase the effectiveness of his impacts upon reality by concentrating them, it has been a way of great power. But it is a way better suited to pre-industrial civilizations, and to rare individuals, than to the rank and file in a closely knit world. The preferred form of simplification now, as with most peoples in the past, is one-track partisanship, which externalizes one's conflicts and purges away inner doubts and questions. By shutting one's mind to the claims of all but one's fellow partisans, and plunging into action in support of these last alone, it is possible to attain a high degree of inner unity while the particular party or cause holds together. When this goes to pieces, or becomes irrelevant to the larger course of events, personal unity or integrity that depends on it must suffer. Hence the familiar plight of demobilized fighting men, and revolutionists when the revolution is over. The other major alternative is to keep one's mind open to the conflicts involved in everyday living, seeking to understand and evaluate them, and to grow in range and stability of character through cumulative rational decisions, instead of taking refuge in stereotyped action.

Powerful personalities (not necessarily the persons who wield the most external power) are those who, like Eduard Benes and the Czech people, threatened and then overrun by Nazi might, can maintain a high degree of integrity under stresses that would disrupt less sturdy folk. Simplification of their living as dictated by limits of physical energy and mental grasp is no more avoidable by them than by others. But they do not carry it to the point of monastic seclusion

nor single-track partisanship.

Common sense is quite able to recognize and value wellunified persons. In their stability, it sees the basis for that moral responsibleness that is essential in all mature people. Here we come face to face with the crux of human personality.

(c) Responsible selfhood combines individual integrity and social participation with an acknowledgment of obligations that transcend both. This is, in the last analysis, what differentiates a human person from every impersonal being, alive or dead.

When I confront an inanimate thing, I recognize it as something to use, to admire, to fear, or what not; but never as something that in turn recognizes me. When I confront an animal, especially a familiar one such as a household pet, I expect also to be recognized in some fashion; but not to be understood, still less to be dealt with in the light of mutually acknowledged rules, norms, or standards of conduct. When I confront a man, this last is exactly what I do expect, both of him and of myself. He and I are presumed to be morally responsible beings, capable of mutual response in a personal way. Each of us expects the other to respond not simply on impulse, nor under the pressure of immediate craving or compulsion, but with some regard also to the desires of the one who confronts him, and to some common scale of values that is not the exclusive property of either, nor of both. Things are moved by physical impacts. Animals are moved partly by desires. Men seem to be moved also by obligations which impose themselves not through force nor through simple bodily craving but by way of imagination, feeling, and rational insight. Such are the familiar demands that we seek truth, play fair, be considerate, and so on. These depend for their effectiveness on human desires, no doubt; but the hunger on which they depend primarily is a complex hunger and thirst after righteousness, beauty, and truth, security, or self-respect; not meat and drink or other simple goals. And the hunger for social justice or some such intangible good can overrule, in human conduct, the narrower cravings that we share with the animals. We act then as though aware of another side to our environment besides the physical and social orders already noticed: namely, a moral order of standards and mandates, not separated from the former, but supplementing them as another aspect of the reality that surrounds us.

The moral order is neither visible nor tangible, and it exerts no physical force in any direct way. It is more like the standards of excellence in one of the fine arts, than like heat or pressure. Yet curiously enough men act as though it were very real. They experience satisfaction when they feel themselves in accord with it, and discomfort when they consciously fail to measure up; discomfort sometimes to the point of chronic indecision, sleeplessness, nervous strain, even physical or mental break-down. These consequences. at least, are very real, and sophistication seems to afford no effectual escape from them. Whatever its theoretical status (about which trained thinkers are still debating after some thousands of years) the moral order seems to be an aspect of reality with which men have to come to terms in everyday practice. Their efforts to do so-to discover little by little what is required of them, and to live up to it in the maze of actual living-often go by the name of aspiration. Without this one is not a moral self, not a human person, at all. The saddest feature of long-drawn-out disease that wrecks body and mind is the loosening of that moral tautness that makes a living body and mind a person.

Recognizing all this, though seldom putting words to it, common sense takes for granted that persons are responsible selves, and treats them accordingly. At least, it demands that they behave responsibly, and punishes them or tries to cure them when they do not. One further application of this insight, however, may be much less easy for the layman to make. If every human person who deserves the name may rightly be expected to act responsibly, it follows that every such person deserves to be treated always as a person, a fellow man, and never as a thing to be used nor as a non-human opponent to be stamped on. For both parties to every human relationship, moral responsibility transcends in principle all individual desires, group loyalties, and one-track partisanships. Irresponsible partisans and all who neglect or abdicate from their duty of moral judgment are by so much the less really persons. But genuine "reverence for personality" remains hard to achieve in practice. It is hard to abate our own claims in favor of another man's, especially when emotions are running high, or when uncorrected fancies blind us to facts. None the less, one proves himself human most fully not so much when he insists that others act as responsible persons, but when under extreme provocation he steadily behaves as one himself.

(d) Man in contact with his physical surroundings and his neighbors, and sensitive to the demands of a moral order, is sometimes vividly aware of being intimately a member of a great, complex world.

Even matter-of-fact, prosaic people are moved, at certain seasons—Christmas, harvest time, return of spring—or at crises of danger or joy, to feel themselves a part of ongoing life far greater than they. In more sensitive, poetic or mystical folk, this sense of participation, or oneness with a larger reality, may come to dominate their whole life-patterns, either as an experience consciously prized and sought for its own sake, or as a ground-swell that ebbs and flows beneath all their varied activities. In either instance, it is a chief source of personal religion: an all but universal aspect, in some form, of human living.

COMMON SENSE SAYS, "JUST A PERSON"

Here, in the tangled flux of everyday experience, is the concrete starting point for every view of man that can be taken seriously. The judgments of common sense are not enough. We need to know ourselves far better than ordinary experience enables us to do. But judgments about man that go too far astray from those of everyday living we may confidently regard as at best negligible, at worst disastrous.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIONS SAY, "A SERVANT OF SUPERIOR VALUES AND POWERS"

The special genius of religion makes its view of man concrete, personal, and practical, rather than abstract or theoretic. The sciences and philosophies seek to look at man from the outside, and to pass generalized, objective judgments about him. The religions have their place among the inner springs of his action, and seek to redirect his life as a person, with reference to realities superior to himself.

From its dim beginnings until now, religion has recognized two sorts of reality toward which man's life must be oriented: power and right. In primitive religion the former is by far the more prominent. Man feels himself surrounded by mysterious forces with which he must come to terms. Some of them are hostile, and must be shunned, warded off, or pacified. But some are friendly, being akin to him and his fellows, and with these friendly powers he can come into union so intimate that their strength enters his body and nerves him to more vigorous life. At the same time, it is necessary that such communion be sought in accordance with time-honored customs, which define what conduct toward the unseen allies is right. This last feature, the demand for right behavior toward the god, is connected from the beginning with right behavior toward the human group; and as religion becomes more advanced, the stress laid upon right conduct and the distinctively moral character of the demand for it steadily grow. The gods of advanced religion are not merely strong but good, not merely mysterious but just and merciful. So far, indeed, has this tendency to emphasize value progressed that, in some modern religions, values have displaced divine powers and have become the only objects of religious devotion, other than humanity itself.

Without spending time on other religions than those which today exercise a major influence in the West, we shall examine in turn types of religion in which higher values, higher powers, and a God at once mighty in power and per-

fect in goodness, are believed in and worshiped.

These last terms need brief notice. Worship as here understood is an experience in which man finds himself confronted by Reality so great or so good, or both, that he stands in awe of it; yet Reality with which, through some mediation, he feels himself reconciled, or brought into communion, and to which he commits his life without misgiving. From the first stage of such experience to the last, faith is involved: belief in the real presence of the Other, trust in its power and goodness, and self-devotion to its service. The normal issue of such devotion is in active work, guided by the insight that worship brings. Worship and work then together make up religious living.

Through such experience, man comes to find himself in a perspective different from any that can be attained in other

WHAT IS MAN?

ways. Its determining factor is supreme self-devotion or loyalty to something taken as overwhelmingly superior to oneself.

1. Humanism as religion calls for devotion to humanity and to values that have abiding worth, but not to any divine being that has power. It views each man as himself of high worth, and capable of perfecting his life through intelligence and kindness.

Here is one sort of highly advanced religion. In principle it is not new, for early Buddhism and Confucianism held convictions not unlike these, and in the West also humanism in various forms has appeared and re-appeared. In detail, its present form is determined largely by the present state of scientific thought. Thus, with respect to man it holds the now familiar evolutionary view, lighted up by a confident optimism. Man who has come so far in wisdom and decency may be expected to go much further, as the habit of intelligent self-discipline grows upon him, and his methods of attaining and applying knowledge are improved. This conviction was put into a phrase current in humanist circles some years ago: "the sufficiency and perfectibility of man."

For humanism there is no God. Man's belief in gods, like his other physical and mental features, has a history, and one who understands the history of this particular belief will see that all its positive values are grounded in man. Religion is first and last an expression of fellowship and aspiration by a human group. The values which it seeks to realize-oneness with kindred beings, liberation from fear and guilt, devotion to the common welfare, and so on-depend not on a superhuman deity, but on human growth in social living. Moreover, they can be realized more fully when the confusing personification of them into a supposed God outside of man is outgrown. Mankind is its own god-the only god there is. Peligion is devotion to those ideal goals that have arisen in the midst of human struggle, not come by miraculous revelation from heaven. The way to human betterment is education; the goal a glorified humanity and a beautified earth. Individual intelligence and kindness will assure social progress to this goal.

The virtues of this mode of thought are too obvious to need listing. Such ethical religion is humane, and its vision a noble one. In a world which gives so much ground for disparagement of man and his ideals, it is good to have a continual reaffirmation of faith in both, among men and women of high intelligence and vigorous idealism. It is among such men and women that humanism has always had its rebirths, and without them humanity would be worse off

than it is.

But the shortcomings of humanism as a religion are likewise familiar. It tends strongly toward sentimentality about man. The particular sort of optimism that evolutionary doctrine once seemed to warrant, before the World War and the new age of savagery, has been discredited by the brutal logic of events. Instead of assured progress in wisdom and decency, man faces the ever-present possibility of swift relapse not merely to animalism but into such calculated cruelty as no other animal can practise. Men freed from belief in God, it appears, are likely under severe pressure to behave less like supermen than like subhuman devils. For such devilry, humanism is naturally not to be held responsible. Every humanist, like every civilized person in his right

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mind, is revolted by it and seeks to help put an end to it. The point is that his way of trying to end it relies on something which there is all too good reason to doubt: man's

ability to rise by his own efforts alone.

When man worships ideals without power, he takes on himself the sole responsibility for realizing them. But he has always found that rôle discouragingly difficult, chiefly because of—himself. Each man is an aspiring animal, as we have urged; but an animal he is, compelled to struggle for his existence, and not strong enough, secure enough, nor good enough to establish justice and mercy even in his own personal behavior, to say nothing of the world at large. He needs to have his own stumbling efforts powerfully upheld by forces greater than his own. Ideals are not enough.

This need for reinforcement has found in our time, as often in the past, a ready answer in collectivisms that revive

many features of primitive religion.

2. Cults of nation, race, or class demand supreme loyalty to a particular human group, personified in a leader who is exalted to the godlike status of a folk-hero. Each individual follower finds his significance solely as a devoted member of the group, and may be sacrificed at any time by the leader's decree.

Today the outstanding cases of such relapse into tribal behavior patterns are fascism, especially in its German form, and Russian communism. There is no intention here of slighting their differences, which have been noticed in an earlier chapter. There is no intention, further, of denying the measure of economic and political skill displayed in the methods of each, though grave doubts of the soundness of these methods are in place. The primary point here is that in the appeal which both fascism and militant communism make to blind group loyalties and "the leader principle," they are reviving and crudely exploiting the archaic herdemotions in which primitive religion largely consists, and which more advanced religions have sought to purge and redirect.

The strength of these emotions is one of the most portentous facts about man. He craves with a fierce hunger to be upheld and reassured by the companionship of power not his own. This power he may find naïvely within the circle of his tribe and its more-than-man-sized heroes, totems, or other domestic gods. Or he may learn, through painful experience, that such power must be sought beyond the bounds of tribe, nation, and all that is human, in some Being that pervades and transcends the whole world of which he is aware.

The tendency thus to look for a God of the universe is discernible even in early religion, among the more visionary members of primitive societies. It becomes a dominant tendency only in more advanced cultures, when primitive group solidarity has given place to a complex social diversity, and contact with alien cultures has helped widen the primitive horizon of thought. But what religion thus gains in scope and clarity, it may lose in intensity. A God of the universe may easily seem less near at hand than the living Spirit of one's own tribe. Moreover, as critical thinking about the universe advances, first the practical effectiveness and then the very existence of this more remote God may be questioned. When this happens, man finds himself alone with his ideals, in a universe from which friendly Power has

faded out. Some men, like our modern humanists, will accept that outcome and stand by their ideals. But most men will not—at least not yet. Most men, when subjected to the punishing stress of extreme hardship, will revert to the comforting power-cult of tribal solidarity. Like strong drink, the old emotions well through men's veins once more, and they are warmed against the chill of critical thought and bloodless ideals. The upsurge of such tribal solidarity, flowing now in the channels of nation, race, or class, is sweeping in a tide through our disillusioned world.

Its strength and persuasiveness no one with his eyes open will question. It has temporarily revitalized tired millions who had lost the sense of belonging in a powerful, friendly current of life. It has brought new self-respect and hope, for the moment, to beaten victims of oppression: to the propertyless workers of Russia, to the vanquished, ruined middle class of Germany. For many it has become a devouring flood of loyalty that neither sees nor wants any other god

than the proletariat or the German folk.

But in this very strength are forces that make for its own destruction. As other religions have learned by long, costly experience, the fanatic mind closed hard against every one outside its own group is certain to provoke outsiders, even moderate people, to retaliation, which in the modern world can be very formidable. More than that, fanatic minds sooner or later turn against one another inside the deified group itself. Inquisitions and blood purges find their victims not only among outsiders but among fellow-enthusiasts, when inevitable differences assert themselves. Roehm and Zinoviev have gone the way of Robespierre and Danton; Goebbels and Goering, Stalin and Trotsky eye one another angrily; and the end is not yet. Most inexorably of all, fanatic minds collide with a deep-seated order of realitynatural, social, moral-which spells bankruptcy and failure for those too headstrong to acknowledge its demands. The economic realities of food-supply and labor power obey no dictator's wishes, and human nature itself rises up in revolt against irresponsible force too long unrelieved. The day for naked power-worship has gone by, if indeed it ever dawned.

3. In Judaism and Christianity, human craving is directed toward one supreme God, in whom sovereign power and perfect goodness are united. Man, in their view, is a creature and in some sense a child of God, to whom he owes ultimate devotion and whom he can trust without reserve.

It was a Hebrew psalmist who posed for us in its religious form the question, "What is man?" The eighth Psalm begins and ends with acknowledgment of the supremacy of God, whose glory is above the heavens and whose name is over all the earth. What then is man, that such a God should care for him, and show him favor above all other earthly creatures?

The answer of Hebrew and Jewish religion is the outcome of a long, hard growth from the crude polytheism of desert nomads to a monotheism as clear and high as men have ever known. The answer is that God has made man "in his own image," alone among earthly creatures in ability to hear and obey God's commands voluntarily. Other creatures obey of necessity. The seasons come and go, the winds rise and die away, the ocean roars but keeps its appointed place, the

plants and animals thrive each after its kind. Man alone obeys freely, and can disobey if he will. His relation with God is a personal-covenant relationship, which depends upon mutual trust. God never fails to keep his part of the covenant. But man fails again and again, even though the law has been made plain to him through inspired law-givers and prophetic interpreters. Hence, man brings on himself again and again punishment at the hands of a just and mighty God, who is supreme Ruler of the universe.

But God is not merely just. He is also merciful. "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust." The mercy of God is not an easy-going indulgence, and man his child is not a pampered darling. God's mercy is never divorced from his justice. His mercy is extended first to the down-trodden among men. Their oppressors-"the proud," "the mighty"-confront first his inexorable justice, which uses the forces of nature and the armies of foreign nations to bring down the mighty from their seats. Yet even for the poor, more than outward poverty is needed to insure the favor of God. Inward repentance and whole-hearted love are what he requires of poor and rich alike. And if the wicked should forsake his way of oppression, and turn to the Lord with "a broken and a contrite heart," he too will find mercy and pardon.

This need not mean prosperity. All too often, this world being what it is, the wicked flourish here and the righteous suffer. Indeed, one of the choicest minds among the Hebrew prophets, the unknown author of Isaiah 40-66, declared that the chosen Servant of the Lord—perhaps the faithful remnant of Israel in exile?—must suffer for the sins of other men, and in that very suffering performs his task as Servant of God, through whom others are made righteous. In any event, the hope of the faithful is in God, not man, and that hope brings an inward peace that is proof against any earthly misfortune. Such hope, moreover, will some day be justified even on earth. For God reigns, and in his own good time he will crush his people's enemies, and establish a new age of

justice on the earth.

The characteristic emphasis in Hebrew and Jewish faith is less on the individual than on the people as a social body. Both sin and righteousness, suffering and prosperity, are thought of as affecting the group, not merely this or that person in it. For better, for worse, human life is corporate life. Men suffer for one another's wrongdoing, and profit by one another's kindness and endurance. Men are destroyed or saved together, not one by one. The Jewish people, moreover, has lived this faith through twenty-six hundred years of fiery trial. No other human family has been subjected in the same degree and for so long to persecution as a people, nor displayed such indestructible solidarity in the face of it. Individual Jews may be raised up or destroyed. The Jewish people's faith in God and his righteousness has outlived disaster at the hands of pagans and professed Christians alike.

medieval monks have revolted from their exaggerated gloom. There is no need to exaggerate. Nor is there any need to leave the firm ground of experience and the familiar atmosphere of modern thought to see what the Christian analysis of man's plight has in view. It has its eyes on man the animal as we know him in business, in politics, and in war; in the hypocrisies of home and school and church, and all polite society; in the secret lusts and hates of his most private imaginings, and in the waking nightmares of his madness when these lusts and hates come out frankly, inside hospital cells or in lynchings and pogroms. Who indeed shall deliver man, ourselves and our fellowanimals, from the body of this death?

Not high ideals and moral discourses. Not common sense, nor science, nor philosophy. They can all help, but not enough. And above all, not the cults of race or class that sanctify hatred and lust, seeking to free man from conscience and the claims of right by handing him over to the whirlwinds of raw power. Man is an animal, predatory, deceitful, cruel. But he is no less incurably a social, responsible, aspiring animal, who can no more rid himself of conscience than of his memory or his powers of speech, without ceasing to be a man. If he could, his life would be far simpler.

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contain'd,
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God. . . .

No, horses and cattle do not. And Whitman was not the first man nor the last to wish he could be "so placid and self-contain'd." But in his very wishing and self-judging he was in a different order of existence from the beasts. Cattle do not wish to be, nor judge that they ought to be, otherwise than as they are. Men do, and no way except drugging has been found to stop them. Moreover, drugs wear off. Human nerves can stand just so much marching and shouting and regimented cruelty: Then comes nausea, and the cold, drab light in which men temporarily gone animal have to face once more the fact that they are still men, with the problem of being human still unsolved.

It is in this sense that Christian thinkers today are saying: Man is himself the question, "What is man?" It is not primarily a theoretical question at all, but a fearfully urgent, practical one: What must I be and do, to be human?

The answer is not: Go on as you are. That would be merely repeating the question over and over, as though a jangling discord were sounded again and again, without being resolved into a harmony. The answer is not in man by himself, at all, but only in man saved by the power and goodness of God.

Here Christian faith brings its positive hope to bear on the otherwise disheartening fact of human self-contradiction and failure. If man cannot love God and his neighbor as he ought, and if his full realization of himself as human person depends upon such love to widen and deepen his being to its full dimensions, then plainly his only hope is that God in some sense loves him powerfully enough to quicken and guide his love in return.

Just this is the affirmation of Christian faith. "God so

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loved the world that he gave his only Son. . . . " "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself." The language is necessarily symbolic, the language of myth. Nobody knows what it can mean literally for God, the Creator and Lord of a universe measured in light-years, to have an "only Son" on the earth, in whom God has himself come in human form to save men from themselves. But though the language has to be that of myth, it gives expression to a faith that has thrived on suffering and has rallied men time after time through dark centuries of struggle. Somehow it is the fact that, with the coming of Jesus, whom his followers called Messiah or Christ, a new regenerative energy was liberated among men that has made headway against seemingly overwhelming obstacles, bettered millions of individual lives, and dredged deep channels through the course of human history. This energy has found its vehicles in all sorts of institutions, of which the organized Church in all its branches is onehistorically the most distinctive one. But no institution has been able to contain, nor to repress, this power-call it the Holy Spirit, the Word of God, or any other name-which works upon and within men to make whole-hearted love toward God and their neighbors dominant in their living. It is this dynamic factor, and not merely ideals or values as such, that has made strong, wilful men, often in spite of themselves, find their own fullest self-realization as Paul did, or Bernard, or Luther, in surrender to the demand for such impossible self-devotion. This is not to say that men were not saved before Jesus emerged in human history. It is to say-and history itself bears witness-that never before was the impact of this saving or regenerative power made manifest with such effect as it has had since that turning-point in human life was reached.

Trust in this power as the power of God, centrally revealed in and through Jesus Christ, is Christian faith. And this is the ground of Christian hope, which transcends the most drastic pessimism concerning man. The Christian has unquenchable hope for man because he believes in God, as Creator, Father, and Savior.

Faith and hope are not knowledge of any sort that can be proved by argument. They are practical attitudes or ways of living, active commitments that can be tested only in life. The Christian understanding of man as creature, sinner, and still cherished child of God, can be neither proved true nor proved false as a theorem is proved or disproved. It can only be tried or not tried, by men and women engaged in the life-and-death effort to be fully human persons. It can and ought, needless to say, be subjected to criticism of all sorts, from all sides, without ceasing. Blind faith, irresponsible hope, are offenses against the spirit of truth. But when all is said, there remains in religious affirmation a basic venture, a risk, that cannot be escaped.

With its eyes wide open, and with Jesus Christ in mind, Christian faith makes a staggering affirmation about man: "Beloved, now are we sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be. But we know that when he is made manifest, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." Certain of the ideas which these words conveyed to the generation that wrote them are surely wrong, and the language as a whole must be reinterpreted in every new age. But one thing is sure. The Christian understanding of man, with its relentless pessimism and its exultant faith, is no ordinary

utopian dream, for it sees man not merely rehoused and re-educated, but remade. It does not crudely glorify man, but it sees him, even in the depths of his sin, as never for a moment alone but always with God, in whose unseen presence he lives and moves, and has his being. If there be any ground of hope for man the animal, it must be because something like this is true.

CHAPTER V

TOWARD SELF-KNOWLEDGE

One final word and we are through. We have glanced along four main roads by which men seek an answer to the question, "What is man?" Two of them are theoretic roads, by way of the sciences and the philosophies. Two are practical roads, through common sense and through religion. Life begins and ends in practice, not in theory. But theory provides the clearest light by which practice can become aware of its ends, and find its way. Each needs the other.

What is more, each mode of theory and each mode of practice here examined makes its distinctive contribution toward our self-knowledge. None of the four can be left out without impoverishing all the rest. And none need be left out. One form of philosophy may contradict another, one religion may conflict with another; but philosophy as such does not conflict with religion as such, nor religion with philosophy. Again some forms of religion, but not all, are incompatible with the temper and findings of some of the sciences, or with some types of philosophy. One who cares to keep his intellectual house in order will not try to mix those types which are mutually contradictory. But there is room in every man's life and thought about himself for all four major ways of approach to self-knowledge, in some significant combination.

Common-sense experience is the everyday earth on which we must walk, and the everyday air we must breathe. No scientific or philosophic subtlety, no religious devotion, can take its place; and any of these cut off from common sense will speedily lose its significance for actual human living.

The sciences provide the specialized information we need if our self-knowledge is ever to go beyond the stage of rough impressions. There is little danger that their importance will be slighted by any one who has once recognized it clearly, but in our day there is real danger for the sciences from two quarters. One is the studied effort of political dictators to suppress those findings about man that do not fit their racial or class dogmas, and to turn scientists from dispassionate inquiry to partisan propaganda. The other is the impatience of hard-pressed men of affairs, and embattled men of religious faith, over the tantalizing detachment of the genuine sciences and the present inconclusiveness of many of their findings. This is understandable, but gravely mistaken. Against every effort to coerce or to belittle the scientific study of mankind, all who really want to know what man is and what he can be must stand everlastingly on

Yet the insufficiency of scientific knowledge by itself must be affirmed, and wise scientists are the first to affirm it. The sciences deal with classes or types, not with what makes an individual unique. Their view is necessarily objective, or external, whereas each living man has an essential inner side to his life which differs from the outer, observable one.

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Their province is the region of fact, especially measurable fact, whereas human life finds its meaning largely in terms of values that none of the sciences can handle in a distinctively scientific way. We need, and shall always need, their contribution, but we can never live by science alone.

Philosophy cannot take the place of the sciences, and, excepting the more dogmatic totalitarian theories, it no longer tries to do so. Its task, as we have seen, is different: to help man piece together in larger patterns the findings of the sciences, of common sense, and of religious experience; and to evaluate all these in critical and systematic ways. If any one be tempted to suppose he can get on without philosophy, it is worth while for him to remember-as has often been remarked-that what he will get thus is simply bad philosophy, or pseudo-philosophic dogma. The clear-headed person will prefer to do his philosophizing with his eyes open, in order that he may both make the most of its special contribution toward his understanding of himself, and recognize clearly its limits. Philosophy is theory, not practice; and if he is wise, he will not expect it to become his life.

Religion, finally, is a man's life in so far as it is defined by his supreme loyalty or devotion. This is, like common sense experience and unlike the sciences and philosophies, a way in which one can actually live. It is not difficult, indeed, to define religion so inclusively as to take in all the other three modes of life and thought. Perhaps that is the way it should be defined: the whole life of man, critically and consciously oriented toward his god. However that be, the distinctive mode of life we have been calling religious should not be divorced from common sense, the sciences, or philosophy. In isolation from these it becomes fanaticism or rapt dreaming. In association with them all, it can be a wellspring of power for good.

No man will ever know himself fully, so far as we can judge now. He knows himself best who has explored most fully all these roads. But with every major advance on one of them, the meanings of all the others are set in a new light, and no end is as yet even imaginable. If we are persuaded, with most of those who know something of the evidence, that the present scientific understanding of man is on the right track, we shall accept without misgiving our status as evolving animals. If we share the Christian faith, we shall see ourselves and all men also as groping sons of God. In either case, it remains necessary to add: "and it doth not yet appear

SAMUEL M. THOMPSON

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY
MONMOUTH COLLEGE

A Modern Philosophy of Religion

WHAT IS RELIGION?

Religion is one of the more flexible words of our language. Different people use it with different meanings and for different purposes, and the same person often uses it differently on different occasions. Its popular meaning is so loose that few would think of using the word in a serious discussion without trying to specify the meaning intended. So at the beginning of our discussion of religion and the philosophy of religion we shall have to look carefully into the question of what religion means.

It may be well first to try to clear up a common misunderstanding. People who seek precision and clarity in their thinking are likely to distrust such words as religion. They prefer, so far as possible, to use clearly defined technical terms. The ideal, some of them think, is a separate word for each distinguishable meaning. This, however, has a serious drawback. It ignores the fact that although different meanings may be distinguishable they need not be separate. We may say of a man, for example, that "business is his religion." This use of religion is so different from its usual or primary meaning that we recognize the word here to be a metaphor. Yet for the metaphor to be effective there must be some relation between the meaning of the term in this statement and its primary meaning. If we think about what we mean when we say of a man that "business is his religion" we may have some new light on the meaning of religion.

The fact is that any word which takes us close to real things and events is almost sure to acquire variations in its meanings. For the things it takes us to are not experienced in isolation; they are experienced in relation to other things, and each different relation may add something new to the sense of the word. A word acquires fixity of meaning only as it becomes a technical or abstract term, only as we learn to think its meaning in isolation from other things. Abstraction is necessary and useful for certain purposes; but abstractions are products of thinking and inquiry, not

the material with which thinking begins.

In our attempt to come to some understanding of what we mean by religion it may be well to look first at what seems to be common to all its various meanings. In other words, what do we mean by religion in its most general sense? If we reflect for a moment we shall see that in its broadest sense to be religious is to be serious. This does not mean serious in any negative way, such as unhappy. It means rather that we have a concern about something, we are not fooling, we are not flippant, we are not jesting. It means, further, a concern with something we consider important; we attend to it because of its importance and we give to it the degree of consideration its importance deserves.

It is difficult to imagine a person who is serious about nothing. We should suspect one who took the trouble to proclaim such an attitude to be serious at least about not being serious. Just as ordinary waking attention requires that we concentrate our awareness on some things to the exclusion of others so, in order to live and act, we have to be selective. If we live and act with any awareness of what we are doing we judge that some things are more important than others, and we willingly sacrifice the less important to the more important.

Either a man has a serious purpose or he does not act. His purposes may change, and they may be inconsistent with each other; but when he acts he has some purpose at that time. Without purpose a man does not act; he is only acted upon. He does not act; he only reacts. Professor Ralph Barton Pérry's discussion of this as it applies to morals is pertinent also to religion. In his discussion of the puritan as "the moral athlete," Professor Perry examines the contention that the puritan overemphasizes moral discipline, that he "takes his game of morality too seriously," so that "he 'exaggerates' morality, as some colleges are said to exaggerate football." Critics of the puritan "who cannot compete with him, because they have only their odd hours to devote to morality, feel that the pace should be slackened. They are advocates of 'morality for all,' 'intramural' morality, morality of a more sportive and spontaneous sort."

But [says Professor Perry] the force of this plea for the amateur spirit in morality is somewhat weakened by the fact that most of those who utter it believe in being professional somewhere. They may be professionals in athletics, and although they think that the puritan's perpetual examination of the state of his soul is in bad taste, they have no hesitation in keeping a similar diary of the state of their muscles. Or they may be men of affairs, and want morality tempered to the tired businessman, who, however, is tired because he is so exceedingly businesslike about his business. These critics also think it morbid to balance one's spiritual account, but feel an irresistible urge to balance their bank accounts. And so with the artist, who is perhaps the most contemptuous critic of the puritan. He objects strongly to moral discipline, but devotes himself with infinite patience to the mastery of his own technique.⁴

It is not a question of whether we shall be serious about something, but a question of what we shall be serious about. In Professor Perry's words, "it is not so much a question of whether one shall be strict, as where one shall be strict. One will be strict, presumably, about the more important and central things: the athlete about high hurdles, the businessman about profits, the artist about music, painting, or poetry. The difference is over the question of what is important and central."

Every religious statement expresses an evaluation, and every sincere commitment to value is a religious expression. The two go together; we cannot assume a religious attitude toward something we consider inferior or worthless. But recognition of value is not enough, for there must be devotion to it. When we find religious sentiment in its maturity, Professor Allport says, we find a "disposition, built up through experience, to respond favorably, and in certain habitual ways, to conceptual objects and principles that the individual regards as of ultimate importance in his own life, and as having to do with what he regards as permanent or central in the nature of things."

In its broadest sense to be religious is to take toward something we regard important the attitude which is appropriate to the nature of the thing itself. In this sense are included all the meanings of religious from the narrowest literal meaning to all the effective metaphorical uses of the term. To be more specific than this we shall have to narrow the meaning by a more definite specification

of the objects of religion's interest.

In the more specific sense, to be religious is to have the appropriate attitude toward not just anything of importance but, as Professor Allport suggests, toward something we consider to be of primary importance. A religious person, in the more specific meaning of the term, is one who has an attitude of acceptance and commitment to whatever he takes to be of ultimate value in existence. In so far as this which he takes to be of ultimate value is of ultimate value, and his attitude toward it is appropriate to it, then to that extent his religion is true. In so far as he is mistaken in his idea of what is of final worth his religion is false. It is still a religious attitude, else it could not be a false one. But if it is a religious attitude toward what does not merit such an attitude, then the religion it expresses is a false religion.

Many men, for example, have worshipped the state. They have given to the state a devotion which could be merited only by something of ultimate and final worth. In so far as this is not true of the state we must regard the religion of these men as a false

religion.

Although religion concerns man's relation to man, as well as man's relation to God or to whatever it is which he considers as of ultimate importance, yet religion is an intensely personal thing. Its social expression is the expression of the individual's own internal attitudes or else, as religion, it is nothing. The individual's religion is not the internalizing of a social fact; this inverts the true relation between the individual and society in religion; or, in those cases in which this seems to be the case, it is not the individual's own religion he expresses but something he has merely borrowed. The social fabric in which religion expresses itself is woven from the attitudes and evaluations of individual persons.

On this point Professor Allport says that "the place of religion in the personal life is basically different from its place in society. The social scientist argues that the function of religion is to produce social stability. Yet no individual, I venture to assert, is religious for any such reason. Indeed, most people would discard

their religion if they thought it was merely a device to keep them out of the hands of the police and out of their neighbor's hair." "Machiavelli saw in the Church an instrument for maintaining civil peace, while his contemporary, St. Catherine of Genoa, found in it the motive and meaning for a life of exceptional charity and devotion. There is a world of difference between the ruler's view and the participant's view."

The same distinction is clearly drawn by Whitehead. "Religion is the art and the theory of the internal life of man, so far as it depends on the man himself and on what is permanent in the nature of things." He goes on to say, "This doctrine is the direct negation of the theory that religion is primarily a social fact. Social facts are of great importance to religion, because there is no such thing as absolutely independent existence. . . . But all collective emotions leave untouched the awful ultimate fact, which is the human being, consciously alone with itself, for its own sake." It is in the light of this that we should understand Whitehead's oftquoted statement: "Religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness." 10

Religion is more than merely an attitude, if we think of an attitude simply as a state of mind. Properly understood, of course, an attitude is never a mere state of mind in complete separation from action. Attitudes are incomplete except as they are expressed in thought and action. This shows the close connection of attitude and value, for an attitude may be described as an evaluation in action. The evaluations we act out are the ones we really mean.

Religion is policy; a person's religion is that person's high policy. To the extent that he lives his religion, and does not merely talk about it, he lives in a definitely recognizable way. He deals with things in ways that fit his conception of their importance. He deals with matters of immediate moment not only as they happen to concern him at the moment but with a recognition of their final importance. If they have no such importance he treats them with the triviality they deserve, no matter how seriously others may regard them. But if they do have a bearing on things of final importance he sees this in them and does not permit himself to ignore it. To be religious is to see in the proximate a reflection of the ultimate.

Religion cannot be dismissed as a mere escape, as has so often been attempted. It is true that a religion directs attention to what it considers the basic and final factors in life and existence, but this need not mean that attention is wholly removed from our immediate concerns. Rather it leads us to view the immediate in the light of the ultimate. The fact is that irreligion is more likely than religion to be an escape, an escape from the ultimate to the immediate.

Even less than as an escape from life can religion be dismissed as mere wishful thinking. There is wishful thinking in the name of religion, to be sure, but there is wishful thinking in every activity in which man has a stake. The concerns of religion, Professor Allport points out, are far removed from those of fantasy. "What is demanded by the great religions is self-abnegation, dis-

cipline, surrender. To find one's life one must lose it. Such a transposition of values is too extensive to be covered by the formula of autism that is applied appropriately only to daydreams and to the rationalizations of daily life that are transparent in their self-centeredness. Only occasionally, I think, do we find individuals in whom religion runs its course on the level of wish-fulfilling fantasy. When this occurs we are dealing with a merely abortive religious sentiment in the individual." Professor Allport insists that "it is unsound to trace the origin of the religious quest to the desire for escape from reality. It is true that religion tends to define reality as congenial to the powers and aspirations of the individual, but so too does any working principle that sustains human endeavor. Those who find the religious principle of life illusory would do well not to scrutinize their own working principles too closely." 12

Religion, in the sense we have given to it, is the way in which a life comes to a focus. It reminds us, as we practice it, where we stand with all our interests and personal concerns. We see these matters in their context, in the widest and most nearly final context available to our awareness. Whatever else it may be, religious experience is at least the illumination which is given to the immediate situation by our discovery of its place in the whole range of being. This of course affects our attitude toward the immediate situation and enables us to deal with it as it truly is rather than merely as it appears at the moment—it enables us to do this, that

is, in so far as our religion is true.

For example, a religious person who believes in the intrinsic value of human beings cannot treat a man or a woman or a child as a mere means to an end. However casual his dealings with them may be—the clerk at the cigar counter, the waitress in the restaurant, the boy who delivers his paper—he will show to each of them the respect due a person. He will not try to dominate or to hurt or to demonstrate any fancied superiority. In his attitude and in all his dealings with them he will show his recognition of the dignity

of their existence as persons.

For those who profess belief in God there is only one true final object of religious devotion because they believe that only in God can ultimate value be found. For those who profess belief in God, religion is the service of God. Since belief in God involves the belief that the source of all existence far exceeds in value anything we can know or imagine, for those who profess such a belief the highest service to God of which they are capable is to serve the best they can imagine. "A man's religion is the audacious bid he makes to bind himself to creation and to the Creator. It is his ultimate attempt to enlarge and to complete his own personality by finding the supreme context in which he rightly belongs." 13

CAN AN ATHEIST BE RELIGIOUS?

We ended our discussion of the meaning of *religion* with a reference to God. Many would take the connection for granted; indeed they would see no meaning in religion apart from God. Yet

we must recognize that there are those who deny the existence of God, who profess atheism, and yet who actually have attitudes which correspond in other respects to what we have called religion.

To ask whether an atheist can be religious may seem like asking whether a person can be religiously non-religious. Paradoxical as it may appear this is precisely the impression some people give. An expression of hostility to religion such as we find in the "anti-God crusade" of Soviet Russia shows all the intensity and devotedness of a religious movement. In fact any serious and sincere attack upon religion is likely itself to be a religious expression. In our general conception of the meaning of religion we found it to consist primarily of a commitment to values. A crusading atheist certainly behaves as if he considered it worth his while to promote atheism. His case, as he presents it, is that it is better to be an atheist than to believe in God. Unless he thought this, and unless his argument tacitly assumed it, the only appropriate attitude for him to take would be one of indifference.

It may be remarked in passing that even if he is wrong, and the existence of God is a fact, the crusading atheist may still be closer to the truth than the merely indifferent. For he who fights against the truth does, at least, make contact with it; and there is always the chance that in his contact he will come to see the truth for what it is. Clive Bell goes so far as to say: "All uncompromising belief is religious. A man who so cares for truth that he will go to prison, or death, rather than acknowledge a God in whose existence he does not believe, is as religious, and as much a martyr in the cause of religion, as Socrates or Jesus. He has set his criterion of values outside the physical universe." 14

Students of primitive societies recognize various forms of nature worship as varieties of religion. In some of these there are no "gods" in the usual sense of the term. To consider another and very different example, the Humanism of Auguste Comte was intended to be a religion as well as a philosophy. For the saints of the church it substituted the great men of literature and philosophy and science, and for God it substituted Humanity, the "Great Being" to which it gave adoration and devotion in its forms of worship.

A more recent version of humanism is expressed in the words of a contemporary biologist, Joseph Needham. "Many... see that the essence of religion is the sense of the holy (Julian Huxley, J. M. Murry, Canon J. M. Wilson and others). Religion thus becomes no more and no less than the reaction of the human spirit to the facts of human destiny and the forces by which it is influenced; and natural piety, or a divination of sacredness in heroic goodness, becomes the primary religious activity." 15

One of the most powerful political and cultural forces in the world today is a religion without God. Marxist Communism has its sacred writings and its inspired leaders who can do no wrong; it has rituals corresponding to confirmation, confession, repentance, and absolution. It has its paradise and its hell, its saved and its damned. It demands of its devotees the utmost loyalty and

limitless sacrifice. It appeals not to reason and science for its conception of existence-although it does adopt these words for its own use; it demands instead trust in dogma and subjection to authority. Inconsistently it denies all values except economic values and at the same time assumes, without acknowledging the assumption, that it is good to be a Marxist. And it is explicitly and vociferously atheistic.16

From these examples it would appear that some exceedingly religious persons are also atheists; and, indeed, that atheism may itself be a form of religion. It is quite possible, however, that many who call themselves atheists are not atheists after all; or it may be that atheism is yet another ambiguous word which carries different meanings for different people and in different contexts.

We must recognize also that atheist is often used more for the purpose of arousing an attitude than for the purpose of clarifying meanings and conveying truth. Where it carries an imputation of evil, where the avowal of atheism is in disrepute, the word is often used as a club to clout an enemy. Many use it, as they use radical or communist or red or fascist or reactionary, with no concern for its meaning; they are concerned only with the emotional attitudes they can guide, by its use, toward the targets of their

animosity.

Atheist may have a merely relative meaning in some of its uses. Those who hold to a certain conception of God may believe that any other supposed idea of God is not an idea of God at all. He who is confident that his idea of God is the only correct and adequate one, and that any idea which differs from his is false, may easily believe that he who uses God with a different meaning is not referring to God at all. Relative atheism is the denial of this or that conception of God. It is in this sense that the ancient Romans called the early Christians "atheists," for the Christians did not believe in the existence of the gods recognized and worshipped in the state religion of Rome.

Absolute atheism denies that there is anything real to which the term God may appropriately be applied. This of course raises the question of just what usages of God are appropriate, and if we wish to see clearly what absolute atheism involves we must keep in mind the widest and most general meaning we can give this word. We need to consider what we must at least admit in our conception of God if we are to use the term so that our meaning is in any way consistent with ordinary usage. More than this we

shall not attempt at this point.

Any conception of God, whatever else it may include, must regard God as really existing. A non-existing God is a contradiction in terms. A conception of God must consider God to be the primary or ultimate existent; that is to say we cannot apply the word God to anything which depends on something else for its existence. Finally, we mean by God the source of good and the final reality of value.

If God is at least this, and if by absolute atheism we mean the denial of this, then the absolute atheist must hold that there is no final and ultimate reality which depends solely upon itself for its own being and which is also the source of good and the reality of

value. Yet, oddly enough, if the absolute atheist considers it worth while to be an atheist he admits value; and at the same time, as an atheist, he seems to deny to value any place in the final structure of being and so in effect he seems to deny the reality of value. The only way he can avoid this inconsistency is to point out some other basis upon which the genuineness of value can be asserted. Otherwise he is advocating nihilism, and in the act of advocating it assumes that what he is doing is worth doing. He fails to see that if no basis for value remains then there is no point even in saying so. If nothing is good it cannot be good to know that nothing is good. If nothing makes any difference then it can make no difference to know that nothing makes any difference.

The atheist may object that there is no connection whatever between the admission of value and the existence of God. There are few problems in the history of thought more fundamental than this, and there have been widely different views concerning it. Nevertheless it seems that an atheist who asserts that values are real (and to regard anything as worth asserting is to assume this) is dangerously close to inconsistency. The problem which faces him is to tell us how values are real, to point out to us the position they occupy in the final structure of existence; he has to explain how they can have any place at all in the kind of real world he is willing to admit. The theist has his answer to this question, and the atheist must not be permitted to evade it.

1. Endymion, in The Novels and Tales of Benjamin Disraeli (The Bradenham Edition, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., n. d.), Volume XII, p. 371.

2. "Strictly Personal" by Sydney J. Harris in the Chicago Daily

News, July 31, 1952.

3. From Puritanism and Democracy, Copyright 1945 by Ralph Barton Perry. Published by The Vanguard Press, Inc., pp. 257-258.

4. Perry, op. cit., p. 258. 5. Perry, loc. cit.

6. The Individual and His Religion by Gordon W. Allport (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 56.

Allport, op. cit., p. 25.
 Allport, op. cit., p. 26.

- 9. Religion in the Making by Alfred North Whitehead (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 16.
 - 10. Whitehead, *loc. cit.*11. Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
 12. Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
 13. Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

14. Art by Clive Bell (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, Fifth Edition, n. d.; London: Chatto and Windus, Ltd.), pp. 91-92.

15. Time: The Refreshing River by Joseph Needham (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948; New York: The Macmillan Company), p. 57.

16. Professor Allport denies that such movements as Humanism, Communism, and Nazism are religions capable of satisfying the mature mind. Op. cit., pp. 68-69. They still may be classed among the religions, however inadequate they may be as such, provided we use the word "religion" in the inclusive sense suggested in our present discussion.

17. "Crusades," by Ernest Barker, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica

(1948), Volume VI, p. 772.

18. Feuer und Blut by Ernst Jünger, quoted from European Witness by Stephen Spender (Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.), p. 206.

ELEVEN SAMPLE DEFINITIONS OF RELIGION

- Matthew Arnold: Religion is "morality tinged with emotion."
- V.F. Calverton: "Magic and religion evolved as (a) means whereby (man) believed he was able to acquire...power (over his environment) and make the universe bend to his wishes." The Passing of the Gods. New York, 1934. p. 51.
- John Dewey: "Whatever introduces genuine perspective is religious."

 A Common Faith. New Haven, 1936. p. 24.

 "The religious attitude (is) a sense of the possibilities of existence and...devotion to the cause of these possibilities."

 The Quest for Certainty. New York, 1929. p. 303.
- Ludwig Feuerbach: "Man is the beginning of religion, man is the center of religion, man is the end of religion." Tr. from Das Wesen des Christentums. Leipzig, 1904. Kap. 19.
- W.E. Hocking: "Religion...is the present attainment in a single experience of those objects which in the course of nature are reached only at the end of infinite progression. Religion is anticipated attainment." The Meaning of God in Human Experience. New Haven, 1912. p. 31. "Religion...is the habitual reference of life to divine powers." Types of Philosophy. New York, 1929. p. 26.
- Harold Hoffding: "That which expresses the innermost tendency of all religions is the axiom of the conservation of values." The Philosophy of Religion. London, 1906. p.515.
- William James: "Religion (means)...the feelings, acts, and experience of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine." The Varieties of Religious Experience. New York, 1902. p. 31. (Cf. A.N. Whitehead: "Religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness." Religion in the Making. New York, 1926. p. 16.
- Immanuel Kant: "Religion is (subjectively regarded) the recognition of all duties as divine commands." Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone. Chicago, 1934. p. 142.
- Salomon Reinach: "I propose to define religion as: A sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties." Orpheus, A History of Religions. New York, 1932. p. 3.
- Friedrich Schleier macher: "To take everything individual as a part of the whole, everything limited as a representation of the infinite, --that is religion." Tr. from <u>Uber die Religion</u>. <u>Reden an die Gebildeten</u> unter ihren Verachtern. Berlin, 1799. p. 56.

"The common element in all expressions of religion (Frommigkeit), no matter how different, whereby they are distinguised from all other feelings, the permanently identical essence of religion, is that we are consious of ourselves as absolutely dependent or, to say the same thing in other words, we are conscious of being in relation with God." Tr. from <u>Der Chistliche Glaube</u>. Berlin, 1861. I, 15, sec. 4.

H.N. Weiman: Religion is man's attempt to realize the highest good, through coming into harmonious relations with some reality greater than himself, which commands his reverence and loyal service.

THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

Satire III 1

"The Perils of Life in Rome"

Although distressed at the departure of my old friend, yet I commend him for determining to fix his abode at unfrequented Cumae, and to give one citizen to the Sibyl. ... while all his household was being stowed in a single carriage, he (i.e., my friend Umbricius) halted at the old triumphal arches and the wet gate of Capena. ... "Since," said he, "there is no place in the city for honest employments, no return for industry, since to-day my means are smaller than they were yesterday, and those same means will to-morrow wear away somewhat from their scanty residue, I propose to go to the spot where Daedalus put off his wearied wings, while my hair is but recently grizzled, while my old age is but beginning and still erect, while there remains something for Lachesis to spin, and I bear myself on my own feet with no staff supporting my right hand. I must leave my country . . .; let those remain who turn black into white, to whom it comes easy to take contracts

¹Juvenal is regarded by many as the world's greatest satiric poet. Little is known about the life of Juvenal. It is believed that he was born in Aquinum, about sixty miles southeast of Rome, around 60 A.D. His first book of satires, including Satire III, was written about 110 A.D. He may have had military experience; he did live for a while in Egypt; and in his later years he lived comfortably on a farm near Tivoli. Scholars date his death in 131 A.D.

Juvenal's third satire is a penetrating and revealing analysis of the conditions of life in Rome in the late first and early second centuries. It is not an appealing picture. It clearly indicates that whatever the reasons for the fall of Rome more than 300 years later, the decline of Rome had already begun by the late first century. Augustine in a letter to Marcellinus (see below) quotes Juvenal to make precisely this point as he defends the Christian religion from the charge that it was the cause of the fall of Rome.

The translation of Satire III reproduced here is taken from D. Iunii Iuvenalis Satirae with a Literal English Prose Translation and Notes, by John Delaware Lewis (London, 1882). Footnotes by the editors.

²Near modern Naples. See map of the voyage of Aeneas.

³Priestess of Apollo who prophesied at Cumae. The Sibylline Books foretold the destiny of Rome.

⁴The gate was under an aqueduct which leaked.

⁵ I.e., Cumae.

⁶One of the three Fates; measured the thread of life.

about temples, rivers, harbours, cleansing a sewer, carrying a corpse to the funeral-pile, and to put up a man for sale These men, who were formerly horn-blowers, and constant attendants at the amphitheatres of country places, with their puffed-out cheeks well-known from town to town, now give shows of gladiators, and, when the vulgar turn up their thumbs, kill off any one you like to please the people: returned thence, they farm the public privies, and why not everything, since they are men such as Fortune raises up from obscurity to the highest summits of affairs, whenever she chooses to be sportive? What should I do in Rome? I know not how to lie; if a book is a bad one, I cannot praise it and ask for a copy; I am ignorant of the motions of the stars; I neither will nor can promise the death of a father; I never inspected the entrails of frogs; let others know how to carry to a married woman the presents and the messages of her lover--nobody shall be a thief by my aid, and therefore I am not going out in the suite of any one, as though I were maimed and a useless trunk with right hand destroyed. Who boils with hidden things which must ever by kept unrevealed? . . .

What race is now most in favour with our rich men, and what people I would particularly shun, I will hasten to tell you, nor shall shame prevent me. I cannot bear, Romans, a Greek city; and yet, how small a portion of our dregs is from Greece! Long since, Syrian Orontes has flowed into the Tiber, and has brought with it its language and manners, and with the piper the oblique chords, and the national tambourines, and the girls made to stand for hire at the circus. Hie thither, ye who have a fancy for a foreign harlot in an embroidered turban! That once rustic son of yours, Quirinus, adopts Greek slippers and wears Greek prizes of victory on his neck anointed with Ceroma. . . .

Produce at Rome a witness as virtuous as was the host of the Idaean deity; 8 let Numa stand forth, or he who saved the trembling Minerva from the burning temple, forthwith the inquiry will be as to his property, and last of all as to his character. 'How many slaves does he keep? How many acres of land does he possess? How numerous and how large the dishes at his dinners?' In proportion to the amount of money each man keeps in his strong-box, so much belief does he obtain. Though you swear by the altars of the Samothracian and our own divinities, the poor man is supposed to contemn thunderbolts and gods, with the connivance of the gods themselves. Why add that this same poor man furnishes everybody with material and subjects for jests, if his cloak is dirty and torn, if his toga is a trifle shabby and one of his shoes shows an opening with a slit in the leather, or if more than one seam

^{7&}lt;sub>Romulus</sub>.

⁸Cybele, Phrygian goddess identified with the Asiatic Great Mother.

⁹An island in the north Aegean famous for mystic rites of the Cabiri.

exhibits the coarse and recently applied thread, where the rent has been sewn together? There is nothing which unhappy poverty has in itself harder than this, that it makes men ridiculous. 'Let him be off, ' says the usher, 'if he has any shame, and rise from the cushions of the knights, whose property does not satisfy the law, . . . ' -- the sons of pimps, in whatever brothel born; here let the son of the sleek crier applaud among the gladiator's dandy youths and the youths of the trainer. Such was the fancy of idle Otho, 10 who made the distinction between us. Who is acceptable here as a son-in-law whose means are inferior, and who is unequal to furnishing a trousseau for the young lady? What poor man is put down for a legacy? When is he called into counsel even by the aediles? The poor among the Romans ought long ago to have emigrated in a body. Not easily do those emerge from obscurity whose noble qualities are cramped by domestic poverty: but at Rome the attempt is still harder for them; a great price must be paid for a wretched lodging, a great price for slaves' keep, a great price for a modest little dinner. A man is ashamed to dine off earthenware, which he would not think discreditable if he were suddenly transported to the Marsians and a Sabine 11 repast,

There is a great part of Italy, if we accept the truth, in which no one wears a toga but the dead. Whenever even the majesty of festive days is celebrated in a grassy theatre, and at length the well-known interlude reappears on the stage, when the rustic infant in its mother's lap is frightened at the gaping of the ghastly mask, there you will see an equality in dress, the orchestra-stalls and the people alike; and, as the garb of their high office, white tunics are sufficient for the highest aediles. Here splendour of dress is carried beyond people's means; here something more than is enough is occasionally taken out of another man's strong-box. This vice is common to us all; here all of us live in a state of pretentious poverty. Why detain you further? In Rome, everything costs a price.

Who fears, or ever has feared, the falling of a house at cool Praeneste, 12 or at Volsinii seated among the wooded hills, or at primitive Gabii, 13 or on the heights of sloping Tibur? We inhabit a city propped up to a great extent by thin buttresses; for in this way the steward prevents the houses from falling; and when he has plastered over the gaping of an old crack, he bids us sleep secure, with ruin overhanding us. The place to live in is where

¹⁰Roman emperor for three months, notorious in youth for his vices, often in companionship with Nero. Otho drew up a law giving special seats in the theater to the knights--men whose designation as knight was determined by their property.

¹¹ Refers to some of the ancient peoples of Italy.

 $^{^{12}\}mathrm{Town}$ in the mountains near Rome.

¹³Ancient town near Rome.

there are no fires, no nocturnal alarms. Already Ucalegon 14 is calling for water, already he is removing his chattels, already your third story is smoking: you yourself know nothing about it; for if the alarm begins from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to burn whom the tiling alone protects from the rain, where the soft doves lay their eggs. $Codrus^{15}$ had a couch too small . . ., six little jugs, the ornament of his sideboard, and a tiny drinking-cup beneath it into the bargain, and a figure of Chiron¹⁶ reclining under the same marble: a chest, old by this time, contained some Greek books, and barbarians of mice were gnawing the divine poems. Codrus had nothing: who indeed denies this? and yet the wretched man lost all that nothing: but the crowning point of his misery is, that though naked and begging for broken scraps, no one will help him with food, no one with shelter or a roof. If the great house of Asturicus 17 has been destroyed, we have the matrons dishevelled, the nobles in mourning, the praetor adjourns his court; then we groan over the accidents of the town, then we detest fire. The fire is still burning, and already some one runs up to make a present of marbles, and share in the expenses of rebuilding. One will contribute nude and white statues, another some masterpiece of Euphranor or Polycletus; 18 some lady will give antique ornaments of Asiatic gods, another man books and bookcases and a bust of Minerva, another a bushel of silver: Persicus 19 replaces what is lost by choicer and more numerous objects, most sumptuous of childless men, and suspected with reason of having himself set fire to his own house. If you are capable of being torn away from the games of the Circus, an excellent house can be procured at Sora, or Fabrateria, or Frusino, for the same price at which you now hire a dark hole for a single year. There you have a little garden, and a shallow well, that does not require to be worked with a rope, irrigates your tender plants with easy draught. Live enamoured of your hoe, and the overseer of your own trim garden, from which you could furnish a banquet for a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something, in whatever place, in whatever retreat, to have made one's self owner of a single lizard.

[.] ^{14}A Trojan mentioned in Vergil's description of the burning of Troy (Aeneid, II, 310-12).

¹⁵ Unknown individual.

¹⁶ Son of Saturn and Philyra.

 $^{^{17}}$ Another unknown individual, but obviously a member of the upper-class.

¹⁸ Famous Greek sculptors, 4th and 5th centuries.

¹⁹Another upper-class man.

Many a sick man dies here from want of sleep, the indisposition itself having been produced by food undigested, and clinging to the fevered stomach. For what hired lodgings allow of sleep? Rich men alone can sleep in the city. Hence the origin of the disease. The passage of carriages in the narrow windings of the streets, and the abuse of the drovers from the herds brought to a stand, would rob of sleep even Drusus²⁰ and sea-calves.

If a complimentary attendance calls him the rich man will be carried through the yielding crowd, and will speed over their heads on his huge Liburnian²¹ bearers, and will read on his way, or write, or even sleep inside; for a litter with closed windows is productive of sleep. Yet he will arrive before us: we, in our hurry, are impeded by the wave in front while the multitude which follows us presses on our loins in dense array; one strikes me with his elbow, another with a hard pole, one knocks a beam against my head, another a wine-jar. My legs are sticky with mud; before long I am trodden on upon all sides by large feet, and the hobnails of a soldier stick into my toe.

Observe now the different and distinct dangers of the night; what a height it is to the lofty house-tops, from which a potsherd strikes your head as often as cracked and broken utensils fall from the windows; with what a weight they dint and damage the flintpavement when they strike it. You may well be accounted remiss and improvident about a sudden accident, if you go out to supper without having made a will. Just so many fatal chances there are, as there are wakeful windows open on the night when you are passing by. then, and bear this pitiable prayer about with you, that they may be content to empty out flat-pans over you. . . . Nor yet are such things all you have to fear: for there will not be wanting he who will plunder you after the houses are closed, and in all directions the fastenings of the chained-up shops are fixed and at rest. Sometimes, too, the swift footpad plies his business with the steel, as often as the Pomptine marshes²² and the Gallinarian forest²³ are kept safe by an armed guard: all these fellows run from there to this place just as to a game-preserve. What forge is there, what anvil, on which chains are not lying heavy? The greatest proportion of iron is used in making fetters, so that one may well fear that ploughs will fail, that mattocks and hoes will run short. Happy our remote ancestors! happy one may call the ages which of yore, under kings and tribunes, beheld Rome contented with a single prison.

To these I had it in my power to add other and many reasons; but my steeds summon me, and the sun is declining. I must be off. For the muleteer has been signalling to me for some time by a movement of his whip. Good-bye, then, and remember me, and as often

²⁰The emperor Claudius.

²¹People from present day Yugoslavia and Albania.

²²Marshy region on the Appian Way.

 $^{^{23}}$ South of Rome, a haunt of criminals.

as Rome shall restore you, eager to recruit yourself, to your favorite Aquinum, 24 do you tear me away too from Cumae to Helvine Ceres and your Diana. I will come, in my hobnailed shoes, to that cool country to assist you in your Satires, if they be not ashamed of my aid."

adjourns his court; then we grown over the accidents of sor an oral

²⁴ Birthplace of Juvenal.

A petition for the restoration of the altar of Victory in the Senate House at Rome.

Symmachus, prefect of the city, had previously appealed to Gratian to restore the altar which had been removed. The following petition. of which the more impressive parts are given, was made in 384, two years after the first petition. The opening paragraph refers to the former petition. The memorial is found among the Epistles of Ambrose, who replies to it.

- 1. As soon as the most honorable Senate, always devoted to you, knew what crimes were made amenable to law, and saw that the reputation of late times was being purified by pious princes, following the example of a favorable time, it gave utterance to its long-suppressed grief and bade me be once again the delegate to utter its complaints. But through wicked men audience was refused me by the divine Emperor, otherwise justice would not have been wanting, my lords and emperors of great renown, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, victorious, triumphant, and ever august.
- 3. It is our task to watch on behalf of your clemency. For by what is it more suitable that we defend the institutions of our ancestors, and the rights and destiny of our country, than by the glory of these times, which is all the greater when you understand that you may not do anything contrary to the custom of your ancestors? We request, then, the restoration of that condition of religious affairs which was so long of advantage to the State. Let the rulers of each sect and of each opinion be counted up; a late one [Julian] practised the ceremonies of his ancestors, a later [Valentinian I], did not abolish them. If the religion of old times does not make a precedent, let the connivance of the last [Valentinian and Valensl do so.
- 4. Who is so friendly with the barbarians as not to require an altar of Victory? . . .
- 5. But even if the avoidance of such an omen were not sufficient, it would at least have been seemly to abstain from injuring the ornaments of the Senate House. Allow us, we beseech you, as old men to leave to posterity what we received as boys. The love of custom is great. Justly did the act of the divine Constantius last for a short time. All precedents ought to be avoided by you, which you know were soon abolished. . . .
- 6. Where shall we swear to obey your laws and commands? By what religious sanctions shall the false mind be terrified, so as not to lie in bearing witness? All things are, indeed, filled with God, and no place is safe for the perjured, but to be bound in the very presence of religious forms has

As the destruction of the altar of Victory.

great power in producing a fear of sinning. That altar preserves the concord of all; that altar appeals to the good faith of each; and nothing gives more authority to our decrees than that our order issues every decree as if we were under the sanction of an oath. So that a place will be opened to perjury, and my illustrious princes, who are defended by a public oath, will deem this to be such.

- 7. But the divine Constantius is said to have done the same. Let us rather imitate the other actions of that prince [Valentinian I], who would have undertaken nothing of the kind, if any one else had committed such an error before him. For the fall of the earlier sets his successor right, and amendment results from the censure of a previous example. It was pardonable for your clemency's ancestor in so novel a matter not to guard against blame. Can the same excuse avail us, if we imitate what we know to have been disapproved?
- 8. Will your majesties listen to other actions of this same prince, which you may more worthily imitate? He diminished none of the privileges of the sacred virgins, he filled the priestly offices with nobles. He did not refuse the cost of the Roman ceremonies, and following the rejoicing Senate through all the streets of the Eternal City, he beheld the shrines with unmoved countenance, he read the names of the gods inscribed on the pediments, he inquired about the origin of the temples, and expressed admiration for their founders. Although he himself followed another religion, he maintained these for the Empire, for every one has his own customs. every one his own rites. The divine Mind has distributed different guardians and different cults to different cities. As souls are separately given to infants as they are born, so to a people is given the genius of its destiny. Here comes in the proof from advantage, which most of all vouches to man for the gods. For, since our reason is wholly clouded, whence does the knowledge of the gods more rightly come to us, than from the memory and records of successful affairs? Now if a long period gives authority to religious customs, faith ought to be kept with so many centuries, and our ancestors ought to be followed by us as they happily followed theirs.
- 9. Let us now suppose that we are present at Rome and that she addresses you in these words: "Excellent princes, fathers of your country, respect my years to which pious rites have brought me. Let me use the ancestral ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. Let me live after my own fashion, for I am free. This worship subdued the world to my laws, these sacred rites repelled Hannibal from the walls, and the Senones from the capitol. Have I been reserved for this, that when aged I should be blamed? I will consider what it is thought should be set in order, but tardy and discreditable is the reformation of old age."
- 10. We ask, therefore, peace for the gods of our fathers and of our country. It is just that what all worship be considered one. We look on the same stars, the sky is common,

the same world surrounds us. What difference does it make by what paths each seeks the truth? We cannot attain to so great a secret by one road; but this discussion is rather for persons at ease; we offer now prayers, not conflict.

· state (the second of the se

Ambrose, Epistula 18.

Reply of Ambrose to the Memorial of Symmachus.

Immediately after the receipt of the Memorial of Symmachus by Valentinian II, a copy was sent to Ambrose, who wrote a reply or letter of advice to Valentinian, which might be regarded as a counterpetition. In it he enters upon the arguments of Symmachus. Although he could not present the same pathetic figure of an old man pleading for the religion of his ancestors, his arguments are not unjust, and dispose satisfactorily of the leading points made by Symmachus. The line of reasoning represents the best Christian opinion of the times on the matter of the relation of the State to heathenism.

- 3. The illustrious prefect of the city has in a memorial set forth three propositions which he considers of force—that Rome, he says, asks for her rites again, that pay be given to her priests and vestal virgins, and that a general famine followed upon the refusal of the priests' stipends. . . .
- 7. Let the invidious complaints of the Roman people come to an end. Rome has given no such charge. She speaks other words. "Why do you daily stain me with the useless blood of the harmless herd? Trophies of victory depend not upon the entrails of the flock, but on the strength of those who fight. I subdued the world by a different discipline. Camillus was my soldier who slew those who had taken the Tarpeian rock, and brought back to the capitol the standards taken away; valor laid low those whom religion had not driven off. . . . Why do you bring forward the rites of our ancestors? I hate the rites of Neros. Why should I speak of emperors of two months,1 and the ends of rulers closely joined to their commencements. Or is it, perchance, a new thing for barbarians to cross their boundaries? Were they, too, Christians whose wretched and unprecedented cases, the one a captive emperor² and under the other³ the captive world,4 made manifest that their rites which promised victory were false? Was there then no altar of Victory? . . .
- 8. By one road, says he, one cannot attain to so great a secret. What you know not, that we know by the voice of God. And what you seek by fancies we have found out from the very wisdom and truth of God. Your ways, therefore, do not agree with ours. You implore peace for your gods from the Emperor, we ask peace for our emperors themselves from Christ. . . .

Allusion to the very brief reign of several.

Valerian taken captive by Sapor.
Reference to the "thirty tyrants."

3 Galienus

ro. But, says he, let the ancient altars be restored to their images, and their ornaments to the shrines. Let this demand be made of one who shares in their superstitions; a Christian emperor has learned to honor the altar of Christ alone. . . . Has any heathen emperor raised an altar to Christ? While they demand the restoration of things which have been, by their own example they show us how great reverence Christian emperors ought to pay to the religion which they follow, since heathen ones offered all to their superstitions.

We began long since, and now they follow those whom they excluded. We glory in yielding our blood, an expense moves them. . . . We have increased through loss, through want, through punishment; they do not believe that their rites can continue without contribution. . . .

- 23. He says the rites of our ancestors ought to be retained. But why, seeing that all things have made a progress toward what is better? . . . The day shines not at the beginning, but as time proceeds it is bright with increase of light and grows warm with increase of heat.
- 27. We, too, inexperienced in age, have an infancy of our senses, but, changing as years go by, lay aside the rudimentary conditions of our faculties.
- 28. Let them say, then, that all things ought to have remained in their first dark beginnings; that the world covered with darkness is now displeasing because it has brightened with the rising of the sun. And how much more pleasant is it to have dispelled the darkness of the mind than that of the body, and that the rays of faith should have shone than that of the sun. So, then, the primeval state of the world, as of all things, has passed away that the venerable old age of hoary faith might follow. . . .
- 30. If the old rites pleased, why did Rome also take up foreign ones? I pass over the ground hidden with costly buildings, and shepherds' cottages glittering with degenerate gold. Why, that I may reply to the very matter which they complain of, have they eagerly received the images of captured cities, and conquered gods, and the foreign rites of alien superstition? Whence, then, is the pattern of Cybele washing her chariots in a stream counterfeiting the Almo? Whence were the Phrygian prophets and the deities of unjust Carthage, always hateful to the Romans? And he whom the Africans worship as Celestis, the Persians as Mithra, and the greater number as Venus, according to a difference of name, not a variety of deities?

LETTERS OF MARCELLINUS TO AUGUSTINE

AND OF AUGUSTINE TO MARCELLINUS IN REPLY, 412 A.D.

[Note: In 410 A.D. the city of Rome was attacked and pillaged. This event seemed to signal the end of the Roman Empire, and there were many attempts to explain the "fall" of the ruler of the civilized world. One account was that the Christian religion was to blame, and two arguments were used to support this explanation. The Christian religion taught unswerving service to God. Consequently it turned the citizen away from allegiance to the state. Secondly, as we have come to see in our study, the Romans believed that the security and strength of Rome depended on the favor of the gods and, as long as the gods were properly worshipped, Rome would be eternal. The Christian religion, which had become the only official religion of the Empire at the end of the fourth century, denied the existence of any other gods. Old-fashioned Romans, looking back to the virtues and ideals of an earlier day, believed that the Roman gods had punished Rome by allowing it to be sacked, and that the Christians were responsible.

A Christian Roman official, Marcellinus, wrote to Augustine, relating to him this charge against the Christian religion and asking for a reply. Augustine replied by letter and in much more detail in the first ten books of the <u>City of God</u> (completed in 426 A.D.).

The selections from the correspondence of Marcellinus and Augustine reflect the kind of argument raised against the Christian religion, and show a detailed response to that argument attempting to pinpoint the actual factors contributing to the decline of Rome and defending the Christian religion as benefical to any state.

Text is from the Vol. I of Schaff, P., (ed.), <u>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</u>, (Buffalo, 1886), letters 136 and 138.]

LETTER CXXXVI.

(A.D. 412.)

TO AUGUSTIN, MY LORD MOST VENERABLE, AND FATHER SINGULARLY WORTHY OF ALL POSSIBLE SERVICE FROM ME, I, MARCELLINUS, SEND GREETING.

1. The noble Volusianus read to me the letter of your Holiness, and, at my urgent solicitation, he read to many more the sentences which had won my admiration,

from your venerable Eminence, though he is kept back from firm faith in the true God by the influence of a class of persons who abound in this city, he was so moved, that, as he himself tells me, he was prevented only by the fear of undue prolixity in his letter from unfolding to you every possible difficulty in regard to the Christian faith. Some things, however, he has very earnestly asked you to explain. An objection which he stated was, that the Christian doctrine and preaching were in no way consistent with the duties and rights of citizens; because,

to quote an instance frequently alleged, among its precepts we find, "Recompense to no man evil for evil," and, "Whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain; "2 - all which he affirms to be contrary to the duties and rights of citizens. For who would submit to have anything taken from him by an enemy, or forbear from retaliating the evils of war upon an invader who ravaged a Roman province? . . Volusianus thinks is manifest (though he is silent on this point) that very great calamities have befallen the commonwealth under the government of emperors observing, for the most part, the Christian religion.

¹ Rom. xii. 17. 2 Matt. v. 39-41.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

(A.D. 412.)

TO MARCELLINUS, MY NOBLE AND JUSTLY FAMOUS LORD, MY SON MOST BELOVED AND LONGED FOR, AUGUSTIN SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

have added that they said that the Christian doctrine and preaching were in no way consistent with the duties and rights of citizens. . . .

• • • why should we prolong the debate, and not rather begin by inquiring for ourselves how it was possible that the Republic of Rome was governed and aggrandized from insignificance and poverty to greatness and opulence by men who, when they had suffered wrong, would rather pardon than punish the offender; or how Cicero, addressing Cæsar, the greatest statesman of his time, said, in praising his character, that he was wont to forget nothing but the wrongs which were done to him?

When these things are read in their own authors, they are received with loud applause; they are regarded as the record and recommendation of virtues in the practice of which the Republic deserved to hold sway over so many nations, because its citizens preferred to pardon rather than punish those who wronged them. But when the precept, "Render to no man evil for evil," is read as given by divine authority, and when, from the pulpits in our churches, this wholesome counsel is published in the midst of our congregations, or, as we might say, in places of instruction open to all, of both sexes and of all ages and ranks, our religion is accused as an enemy to the Republic! Yet, were our religion listened to as it deserves, it would establish, consecrate, strengthen, and enlarge the commonwealth in a way beyond all that Romulus, Numa, Brutus, and all the other men of renown in Roman history achieved. For what is a republic but a commonwealth? Therefore its interests are common to all; they are the interests of the State. Now what is a State but a multitude of men bound together by some bond of concord? In one of their own authors we read: "What was a scattered and unsettled multitude had by concord become in a short time a State." But what exhortations to concord have they ever appointed to be read in their temples? So far from this, they were unhappily compelled to devise how they might worship without giving offence to any of their gods, who were all at such variance among themselves, that, had their worshippers imitated their quarrelling, the State must have fallen to pieces for want of the bond of concord, as it soon afterwards began to do through civil wars, when the morals of the people were changed and corrupted.

our religion, is so deaf as not to know how many precepts enjoining concord, not invented by the discussions of men, but written with the authority of God, are continually read in the churches of Christ? For this is the tendency even of those precepts which they are much more willing to debate than to follow: "That to him who snites us on one cheek we should offer the other

to be smitten; to him who would take away our coat we should give our cloak also; and that with him who compels us to go one mile we should go twain." For these things are done only that a wicked man may be overcome by kindness, or rather that the evil which is in the wicked man may be overcome by good, and that the man may be delivered from the evilnot from any evil that is external and foreign to himself, but from that which is within and is his own, under which he suffers loss more severe and fatal than could be inflicted by the cruelty of any enemy from without. He, therefore, who is overcoming evil by good, submits patiently to the loss of temporal advantages, that he may show how those things, through excessive love of which the other is made wicked, deserve to be despised when compared with faith and righteousness; in order that so the injurious person may learn from him whom he wronged what is the true nature of the things for the sake of which he committed the wrong, and may be won back with sorrow for his sin to that concord, than which nothing is more serviceable to the State, being overcome not by the strength of one passionately resenting, but by the good-nature of one patiently bearing wrong. For then it is rightly done when it seems that it will benefit him for whose sake it is done, by producing in him amendment of his ways and concord with others. At all events, it is to be done with this intention, even though the result may be different from what was expected, and the man, with a view to whose correction and conciliation this healing and salutary medicine, so to speak, was employed, refuses to be corrected and reconciled. . . .

man ought to be prepared to endure with patience injury from those whom he desires to make good, so that the number of good men may be increased, instead of himself being added, by retaliation of injury, to the number of wicked men.

13. In fine, that these precepts pertain rather to the inward disposition of the heart than to the actions which are done in the sight of men, requiring us, in the inmost heart, to cherish patience along with benevolence, but in the outward action to do that which seems most likely to benefit those whose good we ought to seek, is manifest from the fact that our Lord Jesus Himself, our perfect example of patience, when He was smitten on the face, answered: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if not, why smitest thou me?"2 If we look only to the words, He did not in this obey His own precept, for He did not present the other side of his face to him who had smitten Him, but, on the contrary, prevented him who had done the wrong from adding thereto; and yet He had come prepared not only to be smitten on the face, but even to be slain upon the cross for those at whose hands He suffered crucifixion, and for whom, when hanging on the cross, He prayed, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!"3

² John xviii. 23. ³ Luke xxiii. 34.

14. These precepts concerning patience ought to be always retained in the habitual discipline of the heart, and the benevolence which prevents the recompensing of evil for evil must be always fully cherished in the disposition. At the same time, many things must be done in correcting with a certain benevolent severity, even against their own wishes, men whose welfare rather than their wishes it is our duty to consult; and the Christian Scriptures have most unambiguously commended this virtue in a magistrate. For in the correction of a son, even with some sternness, there is assuredly no diminution of a father's love; yet, in the correction, that is done which is received with reluctance and pain by one whom it seems necessary to heal by pain. And on this principle, if the commonwealth observe the precepts of the Christian religion, even its wars themselves will not be carried on without the benevolent design that, after the resisting nations have been conquered, provision may be more easily made for enjoying in peace the mutual bond of piety and justice. For the person from whom is taken away the freedom which he abuses in doing wrong is vanquished with benefit to himself; since nothing is more truly a misfortune than that good fortune of offenders, by which pernicious impunity is maintained, and the evil disposition, like an enemy within the man, is strengthened. But the perverse and froward hearts of men think human affairs are prosperous when men are concerned about magnificent mansions, and indifferent to the ruin of souls; when mighty theatres are built up, and the foundations of virtue are undermined; when the madness of extravagance is highly esteemed, and works of mercy are scorned; when, out of the wealth and affluence of rich men, luxurious provision is made for actors, and the poor are grudged the necessaries of life; when that God who, by the public declarations of His doctrine, protests against public vice, is blasphemed by impious communities, which demand gods of such character that even those theatrical representations which bring disgrace to both body and soul are fitly performed in honour of them. If God permit these things to prevail, He is in that permission showing more grievous displeasure: if He leave these crimes unpunished, such impunity is a more terrible judgment. When, on the other hand, He overthrows the props of vice, and reduces to poverty those lusts which were nursed by plenty, He afflicts in mercy. And in mercy, also, if such a thing were possible, even wars might be waged by the good, in order that, by bringing under the yoke the unbridled lusts of men, those vices might be abolished which ought, under a just government, to be either extirpated or suppressed.

15. For if the Christian religion condemned wars of every kind, the command given in the gospel to soldiers asking counsel as to salvation would rather be to cast away their arms, and withdraw themselves wholly from military service; whereas the word spoken to such was, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages," 1—

the command to be content with their wages manifestly implying no prohibition to continue in the service. Wherefore, let those who say that the doctrine of Christ is incompatible with the State's well-being, give us an army composed of soldiers such as the doctrine of Christ requires them to be; let them give us such subjects, such husbands and wives, such parents and children, such masters and servants, such kings, such judges -- in fine, even such taxpayers and tax-gatherers, as the Christian religion has taught that men should be, and then let them dare to say that it is adverse to the State's well-being; yea, rather, let them no longer hesitate to confess that this doctrine, if it were obeyed, would be the salvation of the common-

CHAP. III. — 16. But what am I to answer to the assertion made that many calamities have befallen the Roman Empire through some Christian emperors? This sweeping accusation is a calumny. For if they would more clearly quote some indisputable facts in support of it from the history of past emperors, I also could mention similar, perhaps even greater calamities in the reigns of other emperors who were not Christians; so that men may understand that these were either faults in the men, not in their religion, or were due not to the emperors themselves, but to others without whom emperors can do nothing. As to the date of the commencement of the downfall of the Roman Republic, there is ample evidence; their own literature speaks plainly as to this. Long before the name of Christ had shone abroad on the earth, this was said of Rome: "O venal city, and doomed to perish speedily, if only it could find a purchaser!"? In his book on the Catilinarian conspiracy. which was before the coming of Christ, the same most illustrious Roman historian declares plainly the time when the army of the Roman people began to be wanton and drunken; to set a high value on statues, paintings, and embossed vases; to take these by violence both from individuals and from the State; to rob temples and pollute everything, sacred and profane. When, therefore, the avarice and grasping violence of the corrupt and abandoned manners of the time spared neither men nor those whom they esteemed as gods, the famous honour and safety of the commonwealth began to decline. What progress the worst vices made from that time forward, and with how great mischief to the interests of mankind the wickedness of the Empire went on, it would take too long to rehearse. Let them hear their own satirist speaking playfully yet truly thus: -

[&]quot;Once poor, and therefore chaste, in former times
Our matrons were no luxury found room
In low-roofed houses and bare walls of loam;
Their hands with labour burdened while 'its light,
A frugal sleep supplied the quiet night;
While, pinched with want, their hunger held them strait,
When Hannibal was hovering at the gate;
But wanton now, and lolling at our ease,
We suffer all the inveterate ills of peace
And wasteful riot, whose destructive charms
Revenge the vanquished world of our victorious arms.
No crime, no lustful postures are unknown,
Since poverty, our guardian-god, is gone." 3

Sallust, Bell. Jugurth.
 Juvenal, vi. 277-295 (Dryden's translation).

Why, then, do you expect me to multiply examples of the evils which were brought in by wickedness uplifted by prosperity, seeing that among themselves, those who observed events with somewhat closer attention discerned that Rome had more reason to regret the departure of its poverty than of its opulence; because in its poverty the integrity of its virtue was secured, but through its opulence, dire corruption, more terrible than any invader, had taken violent possession not of the walls of the city, but of the mind of the State?

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17. Thanks be unto the Lord our God, who has sent unto us unprecedented help in resisting these evils. For whither might not men have been carried away by that flood of the appalling wickedness of the human race, whom would it have spared, and in what depths would it not have engulfed its victims, had not the cross of Christ, resting on such a solid rock of authority (so to speak), been planted too high and too strong for the flood to sweep it away? so that by laying hold of its strength we may become stedfast, and not be carried off our feet and overwhelmed in the mighty whirlpool of the evil counsels and evil impulses of this world. For when the empire was sinking in the vile abyss of utterly depraved manners, and of the effete ancient religion, it was signally important that heavenly authority should come to the rescue, persuading men to the practice of voluntary poverty, continence, benevolence, justice, and concord among themselves, as well as true piety towards God, and all the other bright and sterling virtues of life, — not only with a view to the spending of this present life in the most honourable way, nor only with a view to secure the most perfect bond of concord in the earthly commonwealth, but also in order to the obtaining of eternal salvation, and a place in the divine and celestial republic of a people which shall endure for ever - a republic to the citizenship of which faith, hope, and charity admit us; so that, while absent from it on our pilgrimage here, we may patiently tolerate, if we cannot correct, those who desire, by leaving vices unpunished, to give stability to that republic which the early Romans founded and enlarged by their virtues, when, though they had not the true piety towards the true God which could bring them, by a religion of saving power, to the commonwealth which is eternal, they did nevertheless observe a certain integrity of its own kind, which might suffice for founding, enlarging, and preserving an earthly commonwealth. For in the most opulent and illustrious Empire of Rome, God has shown how great is the influence of even civil virtues without true religion, in order that it might be understood that, when this is added to such virtues, men are made citizens of another commonwealth, of which the king is Truth, the law is Love, and the duration is Eternity.

I. Introductory considerations

- A. Date--post-exilic; 400 B.C. or later
- B. Various views about the book
 - 1. Literal history
 - 2. Poetic epic
 - 3. Story literal (chs. 1, 2, 42); remainder poetic

C. Textual problems

- 1. Is Zophar's third speech missing?
- 2. Are Elihu's speeches a later addition to the book?
- 3. Is the author's viewpoint that of Job or that of the friends?

II. Prologue and epilogue (chs. 1, 2, 42:7--end)

- A. The question raised: Is there disinterested love of God?
- B. The answer: Yes. (Job does not curse God)
- C. Goodness is rewarded two-fold. (42:10)
- D. Satan as emissary of God

III. Dramatis personae in chs. 3-42

- A. Job--genuinely righteous (else the whole book loses its point)
- B. The friends: Eliphaz calm authority, an "elder" appeals to experience

Bildad - orthodox 'wisdom' theology, dogmatic, appeals to what other men have said

Zophar - private religious man, violent if anyone disputes his convictions

C. Elihu--hesitant yet fervent youth, a member of the younger generation who restates yet defends orthodoxy

IV. Analysis of the poem

- A. The curse (ch. 3)
- B. The debate (in three cycles)
 - 1. The first cycle 4:1--14:22

 Eliphaz (chs. 4, 5) Politely suggests, Have not all sinned?

 Job (6,7) Your theology doesn't speak to my real experience

 Bildad (8) Appeal to bygone ages...the moral law

 Job (9, 10) God is too great for man, (climax in 9:19-20)

 Zophar (11) The most vindictive of the friends

 Job (12-14) Sincere effort to convince friends, though with irony

2. The Second Cycle 15:1--21:34

Eliphaz (15) - Job's blasphemy is self-condemning

Job (16, 17) - No human comforters; no hope in God (yet)

Bildad (18) - Orthodox picture of the lot of the wicked

Job (19) - The really wicked are the unsympathizing friends; Job's personal problem solved (19:25-26); the remainder of the book turns to the more general problem of God's righteousness

Zophar (20) - The wicked man's portion; sin its own retribution Job (21) - But the wicked do prosper!

3. The Third Cycle 22:1--27:23

Eliphaz (22) - Repent. (Thus, Eliphaz ends where he began)

Job (23, 24) - But is not God indifferent to wickedness?

Bildad (25) - Man is a worm. (Has part of this speech been lost?)

Job (26:1-4) - How do you know?

Bildad - ? (26:5-14) God is great. (This section seems to continue Bildad's speech; otherwise, 27:1 would be superfluous.)

Job (26:1-4) - How do you know?

Zophar (27:7-28) - (If these chapters are by Job, it must be irony or else Job is convinced by the friends. What seems more likely is that the Zophar heading has been lost. Note that 29:1 supports this view.)

Job (29, 30) - Summary of past happiness and present misery

- C. The oath of clearing (31) (Job rising and lifting his hands)
- Interposition of Elihu

Prologue: His intent to speak (32)

1st Speech, to Job: Judgment is redemptive in purpose (33)

2nd Speech, to the friends: Job is indeed sinful (34)

3rd Speech, to the sky: God, who is provident, is just (35)

4th Speech, as a storm begins to arise: God is great (36, 37)

The divine intervention

Voice out of the whirlwind (38--40:2) - Man does not have the knowledge or the basis to argue with God

Job (40:3-5) - Job is quieted

Voice out of the whirlwind (40:6--ch. 41)

Job (42:1-2): The Voice (42:3a): Job (42:3b-4a)

The Voice (42:4b)

Job (42:5-6)

- V. The theology of the book of Job
 - A. Answers suggested to the mystery of suffering
 - 1. Suffering a test of saintship (the prologue)
 - 2. Suffering is judgment upon sin (the friends)
 - 3. Suffering is redemptive rather than punitive (Elihu)
 - 4. Suffering is mysterious, but so is the Good and the Great (the Voice from the whirlwind)
 - 5. In any case, Job's quest for God in the midst of suffering is a more acceptable attitude than the servile adoration of the friends. (Epilogue)
 - B. Revelation as the "real" problem of the book
 - 1. Job's personal problem, How can I have fellowship with God?
- IV 5 2 2. The more general problem, Is God righteous?

THUCYDIDES

BOOK I

Theorems, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war in which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians fought against one another. He began to write when they first took up arms, believing that it would be great and memorable above any previous war. For he argued that both states were then at the full height of their military power, and he saw the rest of the Hellenes either siding or intending to side with one or other of them. No movement ever stirred Hellas more deeply than this; it was shared by many of the Barbarians, and might be said even to affect the world at large....

Such are the results of my enquiries, though the early history of Hellas is of a kind which forbids implicit reliance on every particular of the evidence. Men do not discriminate, and are too ready to receive ancient traditions about their own as well as about other countries. For example, most Athenians think that Hipparchus was actually tyrant when he was slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton; they are not aware that Hippias was the eldest of the sons of Peisistratus, and succeeded him, and that Hipparchus and Thessalus were only his brothers. At the last moment, Harmodius and Aristogeiton suddenly suspected that Hippias had been forewarned by some of their accomplices. They therefore abstained from attacking him, but, wishing to do something before they were seized, and not to risk their lives in vain, they slew Hipparchus, with whom they fell in near the temple called Leocorium as he was marshalling the Panathenaic procession. There are many other matters, not obscured by time, but contemporary, about which the other Hellenes are equally mistaken. For example, they imagine that the kings of Lacedaemon in their council have not one but two votes each, and that in the army of the Lacedaemonians there is a division called the Pitanate division; whereas they never had anything of the sort. So little trouble do men take in the search after truth; so readily do they accept whatever comes first to hand.

Yet any one who upon the grounds which I have given 21 arrives at some such conclusion as my own about those ancient times, would not be far wrong. He must not be misled by the exaggerated fancies of eding war. the poets, or by the tales of chroniclers who seek to please the ear rather than to speak the truth. Their accounts cannot be tested by him; and most of the facts in the lapse of ages have passed into the region of romance. At such a distance of time he must make up his mind to be satisfied with conclusions resting upon the clearest evidence which can be had. And, though men will always judge any war in which they are actually fighting to be the greatest at the time, but, after it is over, revert to their

admiration of some other which has preceded, still the Peloponnesian, if estimated by the actual facts, will certainly prove to have been the greatest ever known.

As to the speeches which were made either before or The speeches could during the war, it was hard for me, and not be exactly reported. for others who reported them to me, to Great pains taken to recollect the exact words. I have thereascertain the truth fore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavoured, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said. Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular enquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eye-witnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other. And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten.

BOOK II

During the same winter, in accordance with an old 34 national custom, the funeral of those who first fell in this war was celebrated by the Athenians at the public charge.

The athenians celebrated brate the funeral of their citizens who had died in the war.

days before the celebration they erect a tent in which the bones of the dead are laid out, and every one brings to his own dead any offering which he pleases. At the time of the funeral the bones are placed in chests of cypress wood, which are conveyed on hearses; there is one chest for each tribe. They also carry a single empty litter decked with a pall for all whose bodies are missing, and cannot be recovered after the battle. The procession is accompanied by any one who chooses, whether citizen or stranger, and the female relatives of the deceased are present at the place of interment and make lamentation. The public sepulchre is situated in the most beautiful spot outside the walls; there they always bury those who fall in war; only after the battle of Marathon the dead, in recognition of their pre-eminent valour, were interred on the field. When the remains have been laid in the earth, some man of known ability and high reputation, chosen by the city, delivers a suitable oration over them; after which the people depart. Such is the manner of interment; and the ceremony was repeated from time to time throughout the war. Over those who were the first buried Pericles

was chosen to speak. At the fitting moment he advanced from the sepulchre to a lofty stage, which had been erected in order that he might be heard as far as possible by the multitude, and spoke as follows:-

(FUNERAL SPEECH.)

'Most of those 35

> The law which enjoins this oration has been often praised. But I should prefer to praise the brave by deeds only, not to imperil their reputation on the skill of an orator, Still, our ancestors approved the

who have spoken here before me have commended the lawgiver who added this oration to our other funeral customs; it seemed to them a worthy thing that such an honour should be given at their burial to the dead who have fallen on the field of battle. But I should have preferred that, when men's fractice, and I must deeds have been brave, they should be honoured in deed only, and with

such an honour as this public funeral, which you are now witnessing. Then the reputation of many would not have been imperilled on the eloquence or want of eloquence of one, and their virtues believed or not as he spoke well or ill. For it is difficult to say neither too little nor too much; and even moderation is apt not to give the impression of truthfulness. The friend of the dead who knows the facts is likely to think that the words of the speaker fall short of his knowledge and of his wishes; another who is not so well informed, when he hears of anything which surpasses his own powers, will be envious and will suspect exaggeration. Mankind are tolerant of the praises of others so long as each hearer thinks that he can do as well or nearly as well himself, but, when the speaker rises above him, jealousy is aroused and he begins to be incredulous. However, since our ancestors have set the seal of their approval upon the practice, I must obey, and to the utmost of my power shall endeavour to satisfy the wishes and beliefs of all who hear me.

'I will speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and 36 seemly that now, when we are lamenting the dead, a tribute should be paid to their memory. There has never been a time when they did not inhabit this land, which by their valour they I will describe how have handed down from generation to generation, and we have received from

I will first commentorate our predecessors, who gave us freedom and empire. And before praising the dead, Athens has won her greatness.

them a free state. But if they were worthy of praise, still more were our fathers, who added to their inheritance, and after many a struggle transmitted to us their sons this great empire. And we ourselves assembled here to-day, who are still most of us in the vigour of life, have carried the work of improvement further, and have richly endowed our city with all things, so that she is sufficient for herself both in peace and war. Of the military exploits by which our various possessions were acquired, or of the energy with which we or our fathers drove back the tide of war, Hellenic or Barbarian, I will not speak; for the tale would be long and is familiar to you. But before I praise the dead, I should like to point out by what principles of action we rose to power, and under what institutions and through what manner of life our empire became great. For I conceive that such thoughts are not unsuited to the occasion, and that this numerous assembly of citizens and

strangers may profitably listen to them.

'Our form of government does not enter into rivalry 37 with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbours, but are a democracy, but we an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the from exclusiveness, our many and not of the few. But while private from suspicion; the law secures equal justice to all injunctions of law and alike in their private disputes, the custom.

Our government is honour men of merit, whether rich or poor. Our public life is free yet we revere alike the

claim of excellence is also recognised; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbour if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

'And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary

We find relaxation in whole world contributes to our enjoyment.

spirits many relaxations from toil; we our amusements, and have regular games and sacrifices in our homes; and the throughout the year; our homes are beautiful and elegant; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things

helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

39 'Then, again, our military training is in many respects In war we singly are superior to that of our adversaries. a match for the Pelopon- Our city is thrown open to the world, we have no secrets and and we never expel a foreigner or undergo no laborious prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret if revealed

to an enemy might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. And here is the proof. The Lacedaemonians come into Attica not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following; we go alone into a neighbour's country; and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them. Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength; the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere. But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all.

'If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but

without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus too our city is equally ad-

We are not enervated by culture, or vulgarised by wealth. We are all interested in public affairs, believing that nothing is lost by free discussion. Our goodness to others springs not from interest, but from the generous con-

mirable in peace and in war. For we fidence of freedom. are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favours. Now he who confers a favour is the firmer friend, because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation: but the recipient is colder in his feelings, because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbours not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank

In fine, Athens is the trial rises above her reputation. Her citizens

and fearless spirit. To sum up: I say school of Hellas. She that Athens is the school of Hellas, alone in the hour of and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the need no poet to sing power of adapting himself to the most their praises: for every varied forms of action with the utmost land bears witness to versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and

fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every

sea to open a path for our valour, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf.

'I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens because 42 I want to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those is the prise of these who enjoy none of these privileges, and to establish by manifest proof the merit rich and poor alike, of these men whom I am now com- preferred death to dismemorating. Their loftiest praise has

The praise of the city men, for they made her great. Good and bad,

been already spoken. For in magnifying the city I have magnified them, and men like them whose virtues made her glorious. And of how few Hellenes can it be said as of them, that their deeds when weighed in the balance have been found equal to their fame! Methinks that a death such as theirs has been gives the true measure of a man's worth; it may be the first revelation of his virtues, but is at any rate their final seal. For even those who come short in other ways may justly plead the valour with which they have fought for their country; they have blotted out the evil with the good, and have benefited the state more by their public services than they have injured her by their private actions. None of these men were enervated by wealth or hesitated to resign the pleasures of life; none of them put off the evil day in the hope, natural to poverty, that a man, though poor, may one day become rich. But, deeming that the punishment of their enemies was sweeter than any of these things, and that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honourably avenged, and to leave the rest. They resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness; but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone. And when the moment came they were minded to resist and suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives; they ran away from the word of dishonour, but on the battle-field their feet stood fast, and a in an instant, at the height of their fortune, they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their

43 'Such was the end of these men; they were worthy of

Contemplate and love Athens, and you will know how to value them. Theywere united in their deaths, but their glory is separate and single. remembrance of them in the hearts of men. Follow their example prosperous, not the unfortunate, who should be reckless.

Athens, and the living need not desire to have a more heroic spirit, although they may pray for a less fatal issue. The value of such a spirit is not to be expressed in words. Any one can Their sepulchre is the discourse to you for ever about the advantages of a brave defence, which you know already. But instead of listening without fear: it is the to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are

impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonour always present to them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprise, would not allow

their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast. The sacrifice which they collectively made was individually repaid to them; for they received again each one for himself a praise which grows not old. and the noblest of all sepulchres-I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their glory survives, and is proclaimed always and on every fitting occasion both in word and deed. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. The unfortunate who has no hope of a change for the better has less reason to throw away his life than the prosperous who, if he survive, is always liable to a change for the worse, and to whom any accidental fall makes the most serious difference. To a man of spirit, cowardice and disaster coming together are far more bitter than death striking him unperceived at a time when he is full of courage and animated by the general hope.

'Wherefore I do not now commiserate the parents of the 44

dead who stand here; I would rather comfort them. You know that your life has been passed amid manifold forted rather than pitied. vicissitudes; and that they may be deemed fortunate who have gained most honour, whether an honourable death like theirs, or an honourable

Some of them may yet have children who will lighten their sorrow and serve the state: while others should remember how large their share of happiness has been, and be consoled by the glory of those who

The parents of the

dead are to be com-

sorrow like yours, and whose days have been so ordered that the term of their happiness is likewise the term of their life. I know how hard it is

to make you feel this, when the good fortune of others will too often remind you of the gladness which once lightened your hearts. And sorrow is felt at the want of those blessings, not which a man never knew, but which were a part of his life before they were taken from him. Some of you are of an age at which they may hope to have other children, and they ought to bear their sorrow better; not only will the children who may hereafter be born make them forget their own lost ones, but the city will be doubly a gainer. She will not be left desolate, and she will be safer. For a man's counsel cannot have equal weight or worth, when he alone has no children to risk in the general danger. To those of you who have passed their prime, I say: "Congratulate yourselves that you have been happy during the greater part of your days; remember that your life of sorrow will not last long, and be comforted by the glory of those who are gone. For the love of honour alone is ever young, and not riches, as some say, but honour is the delight of men when they are old and useless."

'To you who are the sons and brothers of the departed, Sons and brothers I see that the struggle to emulate them will find their example will be an arduous one. For all men hard to imitate, for men praise the dead, and, however pre-

are jealous of the living, but envy follows not the dead. Let the widows restrain their natural weakness, and avoid both praise and blame.

eminent your virtue may be, hardly will you be thought, I do not say to equal, but even to approach them. The living have their rivals and detractors. but when a man is out of the way, the

honour and good-will which he receives is unalloyed. And. if I am to speak of womanly virtues to those of you who will henceforth be widows, let me sum them up in one short admonition: To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural to her sex is a great glory, and not to be talked about for good or for evil among men.

46 'I have paid the required tribute, in obedience to the So have I paid a due law, making use of such fitting words tribute of words to the as I had. The tribute of deeds has dead. The city will pay been paid in part; for the dead have then in deeds, as by this funeral, so too by been honourably interred, and it rethe maintenance of their mains only that their children should be maintained at the public charge

until they are grown up: this is the solid prize with which, as with a garland, Athens crowns her sons living and dead, after a struggle like theirs. For where the rewards of virtue are greatest, there the noblest citizens are enlisted in the service of the state. And now, when you have duly lamented, every one his own dead, you may depart.'

BOOK III

For not long afterwards nearly the whole Hellenic world 82 was in commotion; in every city the chiefs of the democracy and of the olig- cracy and oligarchy, archy were struggling, the one to bring encouraged as it is by in the Athenians, the other the Lacedaemonians. Now in time of peace, men ruins states and diswould have had no excuse for intro-

The conflict of demothe hope of Athenian or Lacedaemonian help, organises society.

ducing either, and no desire to do so; but, when they were at war, the introduction of a foreign alliance on one side or the other to the hurt of their enemies and the advantage of themselves was easily effected by the dissatisfied party. And revolution brought upon the cities of Hellas many terrible calamities, such as have been and always will be while human nature remains the same, but which are more or less aggravated and differ in character with every new combination of circumstances. In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are actuated by higher motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities; but war, which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life, is a hard master and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions.

When troubles had once begun in the cities, those who Changes in men's followed carried the revolutionary moral principles and in spirit further and further, and detertheir use of language. mined to outdo the report of all who had preceded them by the ingenuity of their enterprises and the atrocity of their revenges. The meaning of words had no longer the same relation to things, but was changed by them as they thought proper. Reckless daring was

held to be loyal courage; prudent delay was the excuse of a coward; moderation was the disguise of unmanly weakness; to know everything was to do nothing. Frantic energy was the true quality of a man. A conspirator who wanted to be safe was a recreant in disguise. The lover of violence was always trusted, and his opponent suspected. He who succeeded in a plot was deemed knowing, but a still greater master in craft was he who detected one. On the other hand, he who plotted from the first to have nothing to do with plots was a breaker up of parties and a poltroon who was afraid of the enemy. In a word, he who could outstrip another in a bad action was applauded, and so was he who encouraged to evil one who had no idea of it. The tie of party was stronger than the tie of blood, because a partisan was more ready to dare without asking why. (For party associations are not based upon any established law, nor do they seek the public good; they are formed in defiance of the laws and from self-interest.) The seal of good faith was not divine law, but fellowship in crime. If an enemy when he was in the ascendant offered fair words, the opposite party received them not in a generous spirit, but by a jealous watchfulness of his actions. Revenge was dearer than self-preservation. Any agreements sworn to by either party, when they could do nothing else, were binding as long as both were powerless. But he who on a favourable opportunity first took courage, and struck at his enemy when he saw him off his guard, had greater pleasure in a perfidious than he would have had in an open act of revenge; he congratulated himself that he had taken the safer course, and also that he had overreached his enemy and gained the prize of superior ability. In general the dishonest more easily gain credit for cleverness than the simple for goodness; men take a pride in the one, but are ashamed of the other.

The cause of all these evils was the love of power, originating in avarice and ambition, Causes and effects of and the party-spirit which is engendered the revolutionary spirit. by them when men are fairly embarked Disregard of all laws, human and divine. in a contest. For the leaders on either side used specious names, the one party professing to uphold the constitutional equality of the many, the other the wisdom of an aristocracy, while they made the public interests, to which in name they were devoted, in reality their prize. Striving in every way to overcome each other, they committed the most monstrous crimes; yet even these were surpassed by the magnitude of their revenges which they pursued to the very utmost, neither party observing any definite limits either of justice or public expediency, but both alike making the caprice of the moment their law. Either by the help of an unrighteous sentence, or grasping power with the strong hand, they were eager to satiate the impatience of party-spirit. Neither faction cared for religion; but any fair pretence which succeeded in effecting some odious purpose was greatly lauded. And the citizens who were of neither party fell a prey to both; either they were disliked because they held aloof, or men were jealous of their surviving.

Universal distrust. intellect, prevailed.

in Hellas. The simplicity which is so Force of character, not large an element in a noble nature was laughed to scorn and disappeared. An

attitude of perfidious antagonism everywhere prevailed: for there was no word binding enough, nor oath terrible enough to reconcile enemies. Each man was strong only in the conviction that nothing was secure; he must look to his own safety, and could not afford to trust others. Inferior intellects generally succeeded best. For, aware of their own deficiencies, and fearing the capacity of their opponents, for whom they were no match in powers of speech, and whose subtle wits were likely to anticipate them in contriving evil, they struck boldly and at once. But the cleverer sort, presuming in their arrogance that they would be aware in time, and disdaining to act when they could think, were taken off their guard and easily destroyed.

BOOK V

In the ensuing summer, Alcibiades sailed to Argos 84 with twenty ships, and seized any of the Argives who were still suspected suspected Argives. The to be of the Lacedaemonian faction, to the number of three hundred; and the Athenians deposited them in the subject islands near at hand. The Athenians next made an expedition

Meibiades seizes the

Athenians, enraged at the independence of the island of Mclos, send thither an expedition. But first they try negotiation.

against the island of Melos with thirty ships of their own, six Chian, and two Lesbian, twelve hundred hoplites and three hundred archers besides twenty mounted archers of their own, and about fifteen hundred hoplites furnished by their allies in the islands. The Melians are colonists of the Lacedaemonians who would not submit to Athens like the other islanders. At first they were neutral and took no part. But when the Athenians tried to coerce them by ravaging their lands, they were driven into open hostilities. The generals, Cleomedes the son of Lycomedes and Tisias the son of Tisimachus, encamped with the Athenian forces on the island. But before they did the country any harm they sent envoys to negotiate with the Melians. Instead of bringing these envoys before the people, the Melians desired them to explain their errand to the magistrates and to the dominant class. They spoke as follows:—

85 'Since we are not allowed to speak to the people, lest,

Since we are to be for sooth, a multitude should be deceived closeted with you, let us by seductive and unanswerable arguconverse and not make ments which they would hear set forth in a single uninterrupted oration (for

we are perfectly aware that this is what you mean in bringing us before a select few), you who are sitting here may as well make assurance yet surer. Let us have no set speeches at all, but do you reply to each several statement of which you disapprove, and criticise it at once. Say first of all how you like this mode of proceeding.'

The Melian representatives answered:—'The quiet

Wedonot object. But discussion between you and us is a mockery, and can only end in

interchange of explanations is a reasonable thing, and we do not object to that. But your warlike movements, which are present not only to our fears but to our eyes, seem to belie your words.

We see that, although you may reason with us, you mean to be our judges; and that at the end of the discussion, if the justice of our cause prevail and we therefore refuse to yield, we may expect war; if we are convinced by you, slavery.'

Ath. 'Nay, but if you are only going to argue from It any case you must fancies about the future, or if you meet us with any other purpose than that of face the facts. looking your circumstances in the face and saving your city, we have done; but if this is your intention we will

proceed.

Mcl. 'It is an excusable and natural thing that men in It must be as you, our position should neglect no arguand not as we, please. ment and no view which may avail. But we admit that this conference has met to consider the question of our preservation; and therefore let the argument proceed in the manner which you propose.'

Ath. 'Well, then, we Athenians will use no fine words; we will not go out of our way to prove at length that we have a right to rule, because No use in talking we overthrew the Persians ; or that about right; expediency we attack you now because we are is the word. suffering any injury at your hands. We should not convince you if we did; nor must you expect to convince us by arguing that, although a colony of the Lacedaemonians, you have taken no part in their expeditions, or that you have never done us any wrong. But you and we should say what we really think, and aim only at what is possible, for we both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice only enters where there is equal power to enforce it, and that the powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must,'

Mel. 'Well, then, since you set aside justice and invite 90 us to speak of expediency, in our For your own sakes, judgment it is certainly expedient that then, it is expedient that you should respect a principle which you should not be too is for the common good; that to every strict. man when in peril a reasonable claim should be accounted a claim of right, and that any plea which he is disposed to urge, even if failing of the point a little, should help Your interest in this principle is quite as his cause. great as ours, inasmuch as you, if you fall, will incur the heaviest vengeance, and will be the most terrible example to mankind .'

Ath. 'The fall of our empire, if it should fall, is 91 not an event to which we look forward For ourselves we have with dismay; for ruling states such as no fears. It is you who Lacedaemon are not cruel to their have to learn the lesson vanquished enemies. With the Lacedaemonians, however, we are not now contending; the real danger is from our many subject states, who may of their own motion rise up and overcome their masters. But this is a danger which you may

leave to us. And we will now endeavour to show that we

of what is expedient both for us and you.

have come in the interests of our empire, and that in what we are about to sav we are only seeking the preservation of your city. For we want to make you ours with the least trouble to ourselves, and it is for the interests of us both that you should not be destroyed.'

Mel. 'It may be your interest to be our masters, For you, yes. But but how can it be ours to be your

how for us? slaves?'

.1th. 'To you the gain will be that by submission you You will suffer less will avert the worst; and we shall be and we shall gain more. all the richer for your preservation.'

Mel. 'But must we be your enemies? Will you not May we not be receive us as friends if we are neutral nentral? and remain at peace with you?'

95 All. 'No, your enmity is not half so mischievous to Our subjects would us as your friendship; for the one is in not understand that. the eyes of our subjects an argument of

our power, the other of our weakness.'

Mel. 'But are your subjects really unable to distin-But we are not a guish between states in which you have colony of yours. no concern, and those which are chiefly your own colonies, and in some cases have revolted and been subdued by you?'

You are talking about justice again. We say that we cannot allow freedom to insignificant islanders.

97 Ath. 'Why, they do not doubt that both of them have a good deal to say for themselves on the score of justice, but they think that states like yours are left free because they are able to defend themselves, and that we do not attack them because we

dare not. So that your subjection will give us an increase of security, as well as an extension of empire. we are masters of the sea, and you who are islanders, and insignificant islanders too, must not be allowed to escape us.'

Mel. 'But do you not recognise another danger? For, 98 once more, since you drive us from But will not your the plea of justice and press upon us policy convert all nentrals into enemics? your doctrine of expediency, we must show you what is for our interest, and, if it be for yours also, may hope to convince you:-Will you not be making enemies of all who are now neutrals? When they see how you are treating us they will expect you some day to turn against them; and if so, are you not strengthening the enemies whom you already have, and bringing upon you others who, if they could help, would never dream of being your enemies at all?'

Ath. 'We do not consider our really dangerous ene-99 mies to be any of the peoples inhabiting the mainland who, secure in their of the mainland have freedom, may defer indefinitely any measures of precaution which they take against us, but islanders who, like you, happen to be under no control, and all jects and the free islandwho may be already irritated by the

The neutral peoples nothing to fear from us, and therefore we have nothing to fear from them. Our subers are our danger.

necessity of submission to our empire—these are our real enemies, for they are the most reckless and most likely to bring themselves as well as us into a danger which they cannot but foresee.'

Mel. 'Surely then, if you and your subjects will brave 100 all this risk, you to preserve your

If you fight for emempire and they to be quit of it, how pire and your subjects base and cowardly would it be in us, for freedom, shall we be slaves? who retain our freedom, not to do and suffer anything rather than be your slaves.'

Ath. 'Not so, if you calmly reflect: for you are not There is no coward- fighting against equals to whom you in yielding to cannot yield without disgrace, but you superior force. are taking counsel whether or no you shall resist an overwhelming force. The question is not one of honour but of prudence.'

Mel. 'But we know that the fortune of war is sometimes But we hope that impartial, and not always on the side fortune may befriend of numbers. If we yield now, all is over; but if we fight, there is yet a hope that we may stand upright.'

Ath. 'Hope is a good comforter in the hour of danger, Hope is a great detected when men are not ruinous. already ruined.

and when men have something else to ceiver; and is only de. depend upon, although hurtful, she is But when her spendthrift nature has induced them to stake

their all, they see her as she is in the moment of their fall, and not till then. While the knowledge of her might enable them to be ware of her, she never fails. You are weak and a single turn of the scale might be your ruin. Do not you be thus deluded; avoid the error of which so many are guilty, who, although they might still be saved if they would take the natural means, when visible grounds of confidence forsake them, have recourse to the invisible, to prophecies and oracles and the like, which ruin men by the hopes which they inspire in them.'

Mel. 'We know only too well how hard the struggle Heaven will protect must be against your power, and against the right and the Lace. fortune, if she does not mean to be daemonians will suc- impartial. Nevertheless we do not despair of fortune; for we hope to

stand as high as you in the favour of heaven, because we are righteous, and you against whom we contend are unrighteous; and we are satisfied that our deficiency in power will be compensated by the aid of our allies the Lacedaemonians; they cannot refuse to help us, if only because we are their kinsmen, and for the sake of their own honour. And therefore our confidence is not so utterly blind as you suppose.'

Ath. 'As for the Gods, we expect to have quite as 105 much of their favour as you: for we are not doing or claiming anything should rule over the which goes beyond common opinion about divine or men's desires about human things. For of the Gods we believe, and of men we know, that by favour us as you. And a law of their nature wherever they look only to their incan rule they will. This law was not terest.

That the stronger weaker is a principle common to Gods and men. Therefore the Gods are as likely to the Lacedaemonians

made by us, and we are not the first who have acted upon it; we did but inherit it, and shall bequeath it to all time, and we know that you and all mankind, if you were as strong as we are, would do as we do. So much for the Gods; we have told you why we expect to stand as high in their good opinion as you. And then as to the Lacedaemonians-when you imagine that out of very shame they will assist you, we admire the innocence of your idea,

but we do not envy you the folly of it. The Lacedae-monians are exceedingly virtuous among themselves, and according to their national standard of morality. But, in respect of their dealings with others, although many things might be said, they can be described in few words—of all men whom we know they are the most notorious for identifying what is pleasant with what is honourable, and what is expedient with what is just. But how inconsistent is such a character with your present blind hope of deliverance!'

Mel. 'That is the very reason why we trust them; 106 they will look to their interest, and therefore will not be willing to betray the Melians, who are their own But their interest will colonists, lest they should be distrusted induce them to assist us. by their friends in Hellas and play into the hands of their enemies.'

Not when there is any is safe, whereas justice and honour indanger. volve danger in practice, and such dangers the Lacedaemonians seldom care to face?'

Mel. 'On the other hand, we think that whatever perils

But they may need there may be, they will be ready to our aid, and they are face them for our sakes, and will consider danger less dangerous where we are concerned. For if they need our aid we are close at hand, and they can better trust our loyal feeling because we are their kinsmen.'

Ath. 'Yes, but what encourages men who are invited 109 The aid which you to join in a conflict is clearly not the can give is not sufficient good-will of those who summon them to make them run into to their side, but a decided superiority danger for your sakes. They will not come in real power. To this no men look alone to an island. more keenly than the Lacedaemonians; so little confidence have they in their own resources, that they only attack their neighbours when they have numerous allies, and therefore they are not likely to find their way by themselves to an island, when we are masters of the sea.'

Their ships may find their way to us; and they may themselves integrated Altica and draw away your allies.

Their ships may find their way to us; and the masters of the sea will have more difficulty in overtaking vessels which want to escape than the pursued in escaping. If the attempt should fail they may invade

Attica itself, and find their way to allies of yours whom Brasidas did not reach: and then you will have to fight, not for the conquest of a land in which you have no concern, but nearer home, for the preservation of your confederacy and of your own territory.'

Ath. 'Help may come from Lacedaemon to you as it III has come to others, and should you ever have actual experience of it, then you will know that never once have the Athenians retired from a siege sense of honour. Think through fear of a foe elsewhere. You again. told us that the safety of your city would be your first care, but we remark that, in this long discussion, not a word has been uttered by you which would give a reasonable man expectation of deliverance. Your strongest grounds are hopes deferred, and what power you have is

not to be compared with that which is already arrayed against you. Unless after we have withdrawn you mean to come, as even now you may, to a wiser conclusion, you are showing a great want of sense. For surely you cannot dream of flying to that false sense of honour which has been the ruin of so many when danger and dishonour were staring them in the face. Many men with their eyes still open to the consequences have found the word "honour" too much for them, and have suffered a mere name to lure them on, until it has drawn down upon them real and irretrievable calamities; through their own folly they have incurred a worse dishonour than fortune would have inflicted upon them. If you are wise you will not run this risk; you ought to see that there can be no disgrace in vielding to a great city which invites you to become her ally on reasonable terms, keeping your own land, and merely paying tribute; and that you will certainly gain no honour if, having to choose between two alternatives, safety and war, you obstinately prefer the worse. To maintain our rights against equals, to be politic with superiors, and to be moderate towards inferiors is the path of safety. Reflect once more when we have withdrawn, and say to yourselves over and over again that you are deliberating about your one and only country, which may be saved or may be destroyed by a single decision.'

The Athenians left the conference: the Melians, after The Melians refuse consulting among themselves, resolved to yield. to persevere in their refusal, and made answer as follows:—' Men of Athens, our resolution is unchanged; and we will not in a moment surrender that liberty which our city, founded seven hundred years ago, still enjoys; we will trust to the good fortune which, by the favour of the Gods, has hitherto preserved us, and for human help to the Lacedaemonians, and endeavour to save ourselves. We are ready however to be your friends, and the enemies neither of you nor of the Lacedaemonians, and we ask you to leave our country when you have made such a peace as may appear to be in the interest of both parties.'

Such was the answer of the Melians; the Athenians, as

Inst words of the they quitted the conference, spoke as

Athenians. follows:—'Well, we must say, judging from the decision at which you have arrived, that you are the only men who deem the future to be more certain than the present, and regard things unseen as already realised in your fond anticipation, and that the more you east your-selves upon the Lacedaemonians and fortune and hope, and trust them, the more complete will be your ruin.'

The Athenian envoys returned to the army; and the The Athenians block. generals, when they found that the ade Melos. Melians would not yield, immediately commenced hostilities. They surrounded the town of Melos with a wall, dividing the work among the several contingents. They then left troops of their own and of their allies to keep guard both by land and by sea, and retired with the greater part of their army; the remainder carried on the blockade...

The place was now closely invested, and there was treachery among the citizens themselves. So the Melians

were induced to surrender at discretion. The Athenians thereupon put to death all who were of military age, and made slaves of the women and children. They then colonised the island, sending thither five hundred settlers of their own.

BOOK VI

PREFACE

1. I AM aware that some will be at a loss to account for my interrupting the course of my narrative for the sake of entering upon the following disquisition on the Roman constitution. But I think that I have already in many passages made it fully evident that this particular branch of my work was one of the necessities imposed on me by the nature of my original design; and I pointed this out with special clearness in the preface which explained the scope of my history. I there stated that the feature of my work which was at once the best in itself, and the most instructive to the students of it, was that it would enable them to know and fully realise in what manner, and under what kind of constitution, it came about that nearly the whole world fell under the power of Rome in somewhat less than fifty-three years,-an event certainly without precedent. This being my settled purpose, I could see no more fitting period than the present for making a pause, and examining the truth of the remarks about to be made on this constitution. In private life if you wish to satisfy yourself as to the badness or goodness of particular persons, you would not, if you wish to get a genuine test, examine their conduct at a time of uneventful repose, but in the hour of brilliant success or conspicuous reverse. For the true test of a perfect man is the power of bearing with spirit and dignity violent changes of fortune. An examination of a constitution should be conducted in the same way: and therefore being unable to find in our day a more rapid or more signal change than that which has happened to Rome, I reserved my disquistion on its constitution for this place. . . .

What is really educational and beneficial to students of history is the clear view of the causes of events, and the consequent power of choosing the better policy in a particular case. Now in every practical undertaking by a state we must regard as the most powerful agent for success or failure the form of its constitution; for from this as from a fountain-head all conceptions and plans of action not only proceed, but attain their consummation.

3. Of the Greek republics, which have again and again risen to greatness and fallen into insignificance, it is not difficult to speak, whether we recount their past history or venture an opinion on their future. For to report what is already known is an easy task, nor is it hard to guess what is to come from our knowledge of what has been. But in regard to the Romans it is neither an easy matter to describe their present state, owing to the complexity of their constitution; nor to speak with confidence of their future, from our inadequate acquaintance with their peculiar institutions in the past whether affecting their public or their private life. It will require then no ordinary attention, and study to get a clear and comprehensive conception of the distinctive features of this constitution.

Now, it is undoubtedly the case that most of those who profess to give us authoritative instruction on this subject distinguish three kinds of Classification of constitutions, which they designate kingship, aristocracy, democracy. But in my opinion the question might fairly be put to them, whether they name these as being the only ones, or as the best. In either case I think they are wrong. For it is plain that we must regard as the best constitution that which partakes of all these three elements. And this is no mere assertion, but has been proved by the example of Lycurgus, who was the first to construct a constitution—that of Sparta—on this principle. Nor can we admit that these are the only forms: for we have had before now examples of absolute and tyrannical forms of government. which, while differing as widely as possible from kingship, yet appear to have some points of resemblance to it; on which account all absolute rulers falsely assume and use, as far as they can, the title of king. Again there have been many instances of oligarchical governments having in appearance some analogy to aristocracies, which are, if I may say so, as different from them as it is possible to be. The same also holds good about democracy. med that the feature of my work which

11. I have given an account of the constitution of Lycurgus, I will now endeavour to describe that of Rome at the period of their disastrous defeat at Cannae.

that manner, and under what stird of constitution, it came

I am fully conscious that to those who actually live under this constitution I shall appear to give an inadequate account The Roman con- of it by the omission of certain details. Knowstitution at the ing accurately every portion of it from personal epoch of Cannae, experience, and from having been bred up in its customs and laws from childhood, they will not be struck so much by the accuracy of the description, as annoyed by its omissions; nor will they believe that the historian has purposely omitted unimportant distinctions, but will attribute his silence upon the origin of existing institutions or other important facts to ignorance. What is told they depreciate as insignificant or beside the purpose; what is omitted they desiderate as vital to the question: their object being to appear to know more than the writers. But a good critic should not judge a writer by what he leaves unsaid, but from what he says: if he detects mis-statement in the latter, he may then feel certain that ignorance accounts for the former; but if what he says is accurate, his omissions ought to be attributed to deliberate judgment and not to ignorance. So much for those whose criticisms are prompted by personal ambition rather than by justice. . . .

Another requisite for obtaining a judicious approval for an historical disquisition, is that it should be germane to the matter in hand; if this is not observed, though its style may be excellent and its matter irreproachable, it will seem out of place, and disgust rather than please. . . .

As for the Roman constitution, it had three elements,

Triple element in each of them possessing sovereign powers:
the Roman and their respective share of power in the
Constitution. whole state had been regulated with such a
scrupulous regard to equality and equilibrium, that no one
could say for certain, not even a native, whether the constitution as a whole were an aristocracy or democracy or

despotism. And no wonder: for if we confine our observation to the power of the Consuls we should be inclined to regard it as despotic; if on that of the Senate, as aristocratic; and if finally one looks at the power possessed by the people it would seem a clear case of a democracy. What the exact powers of these several parts were, and still, with slight modifications, are, I will now state.

12. The Consuls, before leading out the legions, remain in Rome and are supreme masters of the The Consuls. administration. All other magistrates, except the Tribunes, are under them and take their orders. They introduce foreign ambassadors to the Senate; bring matters requiring deliberation before it; and see to the execution of its decrees. If, again, there are any matters of state which require the authorisation of the people, it is their business to see to them, to summon the popular meetings, to bring the proposals before them, and to carry out the decrees of the majority. In the preparations for war also, and in a word in the entire administration of a campaign, they have all but absolute power. It is competent to them to impose on the allies such levies as they think good, to appoint the Military Tribunes, to make up the roll for soldiers and select those that are suitable. Besides they have absolute power of inflicting punishment on all who are under their command while on active service: and they have authority to expend as much of the public money as they choose, being accompanied by a quaestor who is entirely at their orders. A survey of these powers would in fact justify our describing the constitution as despotic,—a clear case of royal government. Nor will it affect the truth of my description, if any of the institutions I have described are changed in our time, or in that of our posterity: and the same remarks apply to what follows.

13. The Senate has first of all the control of the treasury, and regulates the receipts and disbursements The Senate. alike. For the Quaestors cannot issue any public money for the various departments of the state without a decree of the Senate, except for the service of the Consuls. The Senate controls also what is by far the largest and most important expenditure, that, namely, which is made by the censors every lustrum for the repair or construction of public buildings; this money cannot be obtained by the censors except by the grant of the Senate. Similarly all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the hands of the Senate. Besides, if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded,-all this is the province of the Senate. Or again, outside Italy, if it is necessary to send an embassy to reconcile warring communities, or to remind them of their duty, or sometimes to impose requisitions upon them, or to receive their submission, or finally to proclaim war against them,-this too is the business of the Senate. In like manner the reception to be given to foreign ambassadors in Rome, and the answers to be returned to them, are decided by the Senate. With such business the people have nothing to do. Consequently, if one were staying at Rome when the Consuls were not in town, one would imagine the constitution to be a complete aristocracy: and this has been the idea entertained by many Greeks, and by many kings as well, from the fact that nearly all the business they had with Rome was settled by the Senate.

14. After this one would naturally be inclined to ask what part is left for the people in the consti-The people. tution, when the Senate has these various functions, especially the control of the receipts and expenditure of the exchequer; and when the Consuls, again, have absolute power over the details of military preparation. and an absolute authority in the field? There is, however. a part left the people, and it is a most important one. For the people is the sole fountain of honour and of punishment; and it is by these two things and these alone that dynasties and constitutions and, in a word, human society are held together: for where the distinction between them is not sharply drawn both in theory and practice, there no undertaking can be properly administered,—as indeed we might expect when good and bad are held in exactly the same honour. The people then are the only court to decide matters of life and death; and even in cases where the penalty is money, if the sum to be assessed is sufficiently serious, and especially when the accused have held the higher magistracies. And in regard to this arrangement there is one point deserving especial commendation and record. Men who are on trial for their lives at Rome, while sentence is in process of being voted, - if even only one of the tribes whose votes are needed to ratify the sentence has not voted,—have the privilege at Rome of openly departing and condemning themselves to a voluntary exile. Such men are safe at Naples or Praeneste or at Tibur, and at other towns with which this arrangement has been duly ratified on oath.

Again, it is the people who bestow offices on the deserving, which are the most honourable rewards of virtue. It has also the absolute power of passing or repealing laws; and, most important of all, it is the people who deliberate on the question of peace or war. And when provisional terms are made for alliance, suspension of hostilities, or treaties, it is the people who ratify them or the reverse.

These considerations again would lead one to say that the chief power in the state was the people's, and that the constitution was a democracy.

15. Such, then, is the distribution of power between the several parts of the state. I must now show The mutual how each of these several parts can, when they relation of the three. choose, oppose or support each other.

The Consul, then, when he has started on an expedition with the powers I have described, is to all The Consul appearance absolute in the administration of dependent on the Senate, the business in hand; still he has need of the support both of people and Senate, and, without them, is quite unable to bring the matter to a successful conclusion. For it is plain that he must have supplies sent to his legions from time to time; but without a decree of the Senate they can be supplied neither with corn, nor clothes, nor pay, so that all the plans of a commander must be futile, if the Senate is resolved either to shrink from danger or hamper his plans. And again, whether a Consul shall bring any undertaking to a conclusion or no depends entirely upon the Senate: for it has absolute authority at the end of a year to send another Consul to supersede him, or to continue the existing one in his command. Again, even to the successes of the generals the Senate has the power to add distinction and glory, and on the other hand to obscure their merits and lower their credit. For these high achievements are brought in tangible form before the eyes of the citizens by what are called "triumphs." But these triumphs the commanders cannot celebrate with proper pomp, or in some cases celebrate at all, unless the

Senate concurs and grants the necessary money. As for the people, the Consuls are pre-eminently obliged to court their favour, however distant from home may be the field of their operations; for it is the people, as I have said before, that ratifies, or refuses to ratify, terms of peace and treaties; but most of all because when laying down their office they have to give an account of their administration before it. Therefore in no case is it safe for the Consuls to neglect either the Senate or the goodwill of the people.

16. As for the Senate, which possesses the immense The Senate con- power I have described, in the first place troiled by the it is obliged in public affairs to take the multitude into account, and respect the wishes of the people; and it cannot put into execution the penalty for offences against the republic, which are punishable with death, unless the people first ratify its decrees. Similarly even in matters which directly affect the senators, for instance, in the case of a law diminishing the Senate's traditional authority, or depriving senators of certain dignities and offices, or even actually cutting down their property,even in such cases the people have the sole power of passing or rejecting the law. But most important of all is the fact that, if the Tribunes interpose their veto, the Senate not only are unable to pass a decree, but cannot even hold a meeting at all, whether formal or informal. Now, the Tribunes are always bound to carry out the decree of the people, and above all things to have regard to their wishes: therefore, for all these reasons the Senate stands in awe of the multitude, and cannot neglect the feelings of the people.

17. In like manner the people on its part is far from being independent of the Senate, and is bound to take its wishes into account both collectively and individually. For contracts, too numerous to count, are given out by the censors in all parts of Italy for the repairs The people or construction of public buildings; there dependent on is also the collection of revenue from many the Senate rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, and land-everything, in a word, that comes under the control of the Roman government: and in all these the people at large are engaged; so that there is scarcely a man, so to speak, who is not interested either as a contractor or as being employed in the works. For some purchase the contracts from the censors for themselves; and others go partners with them; while others again go security for these contractors, or actually pledge their property to the treasury for them. Now over all these transactions the Senate has absolute control. It can grant an extension of time; and in case of unforeseen accident can relieve the contractors from a portion of their obligation, or release them from it altogether, if they are absolutely unable to fulfil it. And there are many details in which the Senate can inflict great hardships, or, on the other hand, grant great indulgences to the contractors: for in every case the appeal is to it. But the most important point of all is that the judges are taken from its members in the majority of trials, whether public or private, in which the charges are heavy. Consequently, all citizens are much at its mercy; and being alarmed at the uncertainty as to when they may need its aid, are cautious about resisting or actively opposing its will. And for a similar reason men do not rashly resist the wishes of the

Consuls, because one and all may become subject to their absolute authority on a campaign.

18. The result of this power of the several estates for mutual help or harm is a union sufficiently firm for all emer-

gencies, and a constitution than which it is impossible to find a better. For whenever any danger from without compels them to unite and work together, the strength which is developed by the State is so extraordinary, that everything required is unfailingly carried out by the eager rivalry shown by all classes to devote their whole minds to the need of the hour. and to secure that any determination come to should not fail for want of promptitude; while each individual works, privately and publicly alike, for the accomplishment of the business in hand. Accordingly, the peculiar constitution of the State makes it irresistible, and certain of obtaining whatever it determines to attempt. Nay, even when these external alarms are past, and the people are enjoying their good fortune and the fruits of their victories, and, as usually happens, growing corrupted by flattery and idleness, show a tendency to violence and arrogance,—it is in these circumstances, more than ever, that the constitution is seen to possess within itself the power of correcting abuses. For when any one of the three classes becomes puffed up, and manifests an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the mutual interdependency of all the three, and the possibility of the pretensions of any one being checked and thwarted by the others, must plainly check this tendency: and so the proper equilibrium is maintained by the impulsiveness of the one part being checked by its fear of the other. . . .

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC COMPARED WITH OTHERS

as the Seign stands in the or the multitude, and

43. Nearly all historians have recorded as constitutions The Theban con- of eminent excellence those of Lacedaemonia. stitution may be Crete, Mantinea, and Carthage. Some have put aside, also mentioned those of Athens and Thebes. The former I may allow to pass; but I am convinced that little need be said of the Athenian and Theban constitutions: their growth was abnormal, the period of their zenith brief, and the changes they experienced unusually violent. Their glory was a sudden and fortuitous flash, so to speak; and while they still thought themselves prosperous, and likely to remain so, they found themselves involved in circumstances completely the reverse. The Thebans got their reputation for valour among the Greeks, by taking advantage of the senseless policy of the Lacedaemonians, and the hatred of the allies towards them, owing to the valour of one, or at most two, men who were wise enough to appreciate the situation. Since fortune quickly made it evident that it was not the peculiarity of their constitution, but the valour of their leaders, which gave the Thebans their success. For the great power of Thebes notoriously took its rise, attained its zenith, and fell to the ground with the lives of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. We must therefore conclude that it was not its constitution, but its men, that caused the high fortune which it then enjoyed. 44. A somewhat similar remark applies to the Athenian

constitution also. For though it perhaps had more frequent interludes of excellence, yet its highest perfection was attained during the brilliant career of Themistocles; and having reached that point it quickly declined, owing to its essential instability. For the Athenian demus is always in the position of a ship without a commander. In such a ship, if fear of the enemy,

or the occurrence of a storm induce the crew to be of one mind and to obey the helmsman, everything goes well; but if they recover from this fear, and begin to treat their officers with contempt, and to quarrel with each other because they are no longer all of one mind, one party wishing to continue the voyage, and the other urging the steersman to bring the ship to anchor; some letting out the sheets, and others hauling them in, and ordering the sails to be furled,—their discord and quarrels make a sorry show to lookers on; and the position of affairs is full of risk to those on board engaged on the same voyage: and the result has often been that, after escaping the dangers of the widest seas, and the most violent storms, they wreck their ship in harbour and close to shore. And this is what has often happened to the Athenian constitution. For, after repelling, on various occasions, the greatest and most formidable dangers by the valour of its people and their leaders, there have been times when, in periods of secure tranquillity, it has gratuitously and recklessly encountered disaster. Therefore I need say no more about either it, or the Theban constitution: in both of which a mob manages everything on its own unfettered impulse—a mob in the one city distinguished for headlong outbursts of fiery temper, in the other trained in long habits of violence and ferocity.

45. Passing to the Cretan polity there are two points The Spartan which deserve our consideration. The first polity unlike is how such writers as Ephorus, Xenophon, that of Crete. Callisthenes and Plato - who are the most learned of the ancients-could assert that it was like that of Sparta; and secondly how they came to assert that it was at all admirable. I can agree with neither assertion; and I will explain why I say so. And first as to its dissimilarity with the Spartan constitution. The peculiar merit of the latter is said to be its land laws, by which no one possesses more than another, but all citizens have an equal share in the public The next distinctive feature regards the possession of money: for as it is utterly discredited among them, the jealous competition which arises from inequality of wealth is entirely removed from the city. A third peculiarity of the Lacedaemonian polity is that, of the officials by whose hands and with whose advice the whole government is conducted, the kings hold an hereditary office, while the members of the Gerusia are elected for life.

46. Among the Cretans the exact reverse of all these arrangements obtains. The laws allow them to possess as much land as they can get with no limitation whatever. Money is so highly valued among them, that its possession is not only thought to be necessary but in the highest degree creditable. And in fact greed and avarice are so native to the soil in Crete, that they are the only people in the world among whom no stigma attaches to any sort of gain whatever. Again all their offices are annual and on a democratical footing. I have therefore often felt at a loss to account for these writers speaking of the two constitutions, which are radically different, as though they were closely united and allied. But, besides overlooking these important differences, these writers have gone out of their way to comment at length on the legislation of Lycurgus: "He was the only legislator," they say, "who saw the important points. For there being two things on which the safety of a commonwealth depends, -courage in the face of the enemy and concord at home,-by abolishing covetousness, he with it removed all motive for civil broil and contest: whence it has been brought about that the Lacedaemonians are the best governed and most united people in Greece." Yet while giving utterance to these sentiments, and

though they see that, in contrast to this, the Cretans by their ingrained avarice are engaged in countless public and private seditions, murders and civil wars, they yet regard these facts as not affecting their contention, but are bold enough to speak of the two constitutions as alike. Ephorus, indeed, putting aside names, employs expressions so precisely the same, when discoursing on the two constitutions, that, unless one noticed the proper names, there would be no means whatever of distinguishing which of the two he was describing.

47. In what the difference between them consists I have already stated. I will now address myself to showing that the Cretan constitution deserves neither praise nor imitation.

To my mind, then, there are two things fundamental to every state, in virtue of which its powers and constitution become desirable or objectionable. These are customs and laws.

Of these the desirable are those which make man's prints.

Of these the desirable are those which make men's private lives holy and pure, and the public character of the state civilised and just. The objectionable are those whose effect is the reverse. As, then, when we see good customs and good laws prevailing among certain people, we confidently assume that, in consequence of them, the men and their civil constitution will be good also, so when we see private life full of covetousness, and public policy of injustice, plainly we have reason for asserting their laws, particular customs, and general constitution to be bad. Now, with few exceptions, you could find no habits prevailing in private life more steeped in treachery than those in Crete, and no public policy more inequitable. Holding, then, the Cretan constitution to be neither like the Spartan, nor worthy of choice or imitation, I reject it from the comparison which I have instituted.

Nor again would it be fair to introduce the Republic of Plato, which is also spoken of in high terms by some philosophers. For just as we refuse admission to the athletic contests to those actors or athletes who have not acquired a recognised position or trained for them, so we ought not to admit this Platonic constitution to the contest for the prize of merit unless it can first point to some genuine and practical achievement. Up to this time the notion of bringing it into comparison with the constitutions of Sparta, Rome, and Carthage would be like putting up a statue to compare with living and breathing men. Even if such a statue were faultless in point of art, the comparison of the lifeless with the living would naturally leave an impression of imperfection and incongruity upon the minds of the spectators.

48. I shall therefore omit these, and proceed with my description of the Laconian constitution. Now it seems to me that for securing unity among the citizens, for safe-guarding the Laconian

territory, and preserving the liberty of Sparta inviolate, the legislation and provisions of Lycurgus were so excelent, that I am forced to regard his wisdom as something superhuman. For the equality of landed possessions, the simplicity in their food, and the practice of taking it in common, which he established, were well calculated to secure morality in private life and to prevent civil broils in the State; as also their training in the endurance of labours and dangers to make men brave and noble minded: but when both these virtues, courage and high morality, are combined in one soul or in one state, vice will not readily spring from such a soil, nor will such men easily be overcome by their enemies. By constructing his constitution therefore in this spirit, and of these elements, he secured two blessings to the Spartans,—safety for

their territory, and a lasting freedom for themselves long after he was gone. He appears however to have made no one provision whatever, particular or general, for the acquisition of the territory of their neighbours; or for the assertion of their supremacy; or, in a word, for any policy of aggrandisement at all. What he had still to do was to impose such a necessity, or create such a spirit among the citizens, that, as he had succeeded in making their individual lives independent and simple, the public character of the state should also become independent and moral. But the actual fact is, that, though he made them the most disinterested and sober-minded men in Their partial the world, as far as their own ways of life and failure. their national institutions were concerned, he left them in regard to the rest of Greece ambitious, eager for supremacy, and encroaching in the highest degree.

49. For in the first place is it not notorious that they were nearly the first Greeks to cast a covetous eye upon the territory of their neighMessenian wars, bours, and that accordingly they waged a B.C. 745-724 (?).
war of subjugation on the Messenians?

In the next place is it not related in all histories that in their dogged obstinacy they bound themselves with an oath never to desist from the siege of Messene until they had taken it? And lastly it is known to all that in their efforts for supremacy in Greece they submitted to do the bidding of those whom they had once conquered in war. For when the Persians invaded Greece,

Battle of Plataea, they conquered them, as champions of the liberty of the Greeks; yet when the invaders had retired and fled, they betrayed the cities of Greece into

Peace of Antalcidas, for the sake of getting money to secure their supremacy over the Greeks. It was then that the defect in their constitution was rendered apparent. For as long as

their ambition was confined to governing their immediate neighbours, or even the Peloponthis failure. nesians only, they were content with the resources and supplies provided by Laconia itself, having all material of war ready to hand, and being able without much expenditure of time to return home or convey provisions with them. But directly they took in hand to despatch naval expeditions, or to go on campaigns by land outside the Peloponnese, it was evident that neither their iron currency, nor their use of crops for payment in kind, would be able to supply them with what they lacked if they abided by the legislation of Lycurgus; for such undertakings required money universally current, and goods from foreign countries. they were compelled to wait humbly at Persian doors, impose tribute on the islanders, and exact contributions from all the Greeks: knowing that, if they abided by the laws of Lycurgus, it was impossible to advance any claims upon any outside power at all, much less upon the supremacy in Greece.

50. My object, then, in this digression is to make it manifest by actual facts that, for guarding Rome succeeds their own country with absolute safety, and for preserving their own freedom, the legislation of Lycurgus was entirely sufficient; and for those who are content with these objects we must concede that there neither exists, nor ever has existed, a constitution and civil order preferable to that of Sparta. But if any one is seeking aggrandisement, and believes that to be a leader and ruler and despot of numerous subjects, and to have all looking and turning to him, is a finer thing than that,—in this point of view we must acknowledge that the Spartan constitution is

deficient, and that of Rome superior and better constituted for obtaining power. And this has been proved by actual facts. For when the Lacedaemonians strove to possess themselves of the supremacy in Greece, it was not long before they brought their own freedom itself into danger. Whereas the Romans, after obtaining supreme power over the Italians themselves, soon brought the whole world under their rule,—in which achievement the abundance and availability of their supplies largely contributed to their success.

51. Now the Carthaginian constitution seems to me

originally to have been well contrived in Rome fresher these most distinctively important particu- Rome tresher than Carthage; For they had kings, and the Gerusia had the powers of an aristocracy, and the multitude were supreme in such things as affected them; and on the whole the adjustment of its several parts was very like that of Rome and Sparta. But about the period of its entering on the Hannibalian war the political state of Carthage was on the decline, that of Rome improving. For whereas there is in every body, or polity, or business a natural stage of growth, zenith, and decay; and whereas everything in them is at its best at the zenith; we may thereby judge of the difference between these two constitutions as they existed at that period. For exactly so far as the strength and prosperity of Carthage preceded that of Rome in point of time, by so much was Carthage then past its prime, while Rome was exactly at its zenith, as far as its political constitution was concerned. In Carthage therefore the influence of the people in the policy of the state had already risen to be supreme, while at Rome the Senate was at the height of its power: and so, as in the one measures were deliberated upon by the many, in the other by the best men, the policy of the Romans in all public undertakings proved the stronger; on which account, though they met with capital disasters, by force of prudent counsels they finally conquered the Carthaginians in the war.

52. If we look however at separate details, for instance and its citizen at the provisions for carrying on a war, we levies superior shall find that whereas for a naval expedition to Carthaginian the Carthaginians are the better trained and prepared,—as it is only natural with a people with whom it has been hereditary for many generations to practise this craft, and to follow the seaman's trade above all nations in the world,—yet, in regard to military service on land, the Romans train themselves to a much higher pitch than the Carthaginians. The former bestow their whole attention upon this department: whereas the Carthaginians wholly neglect their infantry, though they do take some slight interest in the cavalry. The reason of this is that they employ foreign mercenaries, the Romans native and citizen levies. It is in this point that the latter polity is preferable to the former. They have their hopes of freedom ever resting on the courage of mercenary troops: the Romans on the valour of their own citizens and the aid of their allies. The result is that even if the Romans have suffered a defeat at first, they renew the war with undiminished forces, which the Carthaginians cannot do. For, as the Romans are fighting for country and children, it is impossible for them to relax the fury of their struggle; but they persist with obstinate resolution until they have overcome their enemies. What has happened in regard to their navy is an instance in point. In skill the Romans are much behind the Carthaginians, as I have already said; yet the upshot of the whole naval war has been a decided triumph for the Romans, owing to the valour of their men. For although

nautical science contributes largely to success in sea-fights, still it is the courage of the marines that turns the scale most decisively in favour of victory. The fact is that Italians as a nation are by nature superior to Phoenicians and Libyans both in physical strength and courage; but still their habits also do much to inspire the youth with enthusiasm for such exploits. One example will be sufficient of the pains taken by the Roman state to turn out men ready to endure anything to win a reputation in their country for valour.

53. Whenever one of their illustrious men dies, in the course of his funeral, the body with all its Laudations at paraphernalia is carried into the forum to the Rostra, as a raised platform there is called, and sometimes is propped upright upon it so as to be conspicuous, or, more rarely, is laid upon it. Then with all the people standing round, his son, if he has left one of full age and he is there, or, failing him, one of his relations, mounts the Rostra and delivers a speech concerning the virtues of the deceased, and the successful exploits performed by him in his lifetime. By these means the people are reminded of what has been done, and made to see it with their own eyes, -not only such as were engaged in the actual transactions but those also who were not;and their sympathics are so deeply moved, that the loss appears not to be confined to the actual mourners, but to be a public one affecting the whole people. After the burial and all the usual ceremonies have been performed, they place the likeness of the deceased in the most conspicuous spot in his house, surmounted by a wooden canopy or shrine. This likeness consists of a mask made to represent the deceased with extraordinary fidelity both in shape and colour. These likenesses they display at public sacrifices adorned with much care. And when any illustrious member of the family dies, they carry these masks to the funeral, putting them on men whom they thought as like the originals as possible in height and other personal peculiarities. And these substitutes assume clothes according to the rank of the person represented: if he was a consul or practor, a toga with purple Toga practesta, stripes; if a censor, whole purple; if he had also celebrated a triumph or performed any exploit of that kind, a toga embroidered with gold. picta. These representatives also ride themselves in chariots, while the fasces and axes, and all the other customary insignia of the particular offices, lead the way, according to the dignity of the rank in the state enjoyed by the deceased in his lifetime; and on arriving at the Rostra they all take Sellae curules, their seats on ivory chairs in their order. There could not easily be a more inspiring spectacle than this for a young man of noble ambitions and virtuous aspirations. For can we conceive any one to be unmoved at the sight of all the likenesses collected together of the men who have earned glory, all as it were living and breathing? Or what

could be a more glorious spectacle? 54. Besides the speaker over the body about to be buried, after having finished the panegyric of this Devotion of the particular person, starts upon the others whose citizens. representatives are present, beginning with the most ancient, and recounts the successes and achievements By this means the glorious memory of brave men is continually renewed; the fame of those who have performed any noble deed is never allowed to die; and the renown of those who have done good service to their country becomes a matter of common knowledge to the multitude, and part of the heritage of posterity. But the chief benefit of

the ceremony is that it inspires young men to shrink from no exertion for the general welfare, in the hope of obtaining the glory which awaits the brave. And what I say is confirmed by this fact. Many Romans have volunteered to decide a whole battle by single combat; not a few have deliberately accepted certain death, some in time of war to secure the safety of the rest, some in time of peace to preserve the safety of the commonwealth. There have also been instances of men in office putting their own sons to death, in defiance of every custom and law, because they rated the interests of their country higher than those of natural ties even with their nearest and dearest. There are many stories of this kind, related of many men in Roman history; but one will be enough for our present purpose; and I will give the name as an instance to prove the truth of my words.

Horatius Cocles.

Horatius Cocles.

Horatius Cocles.

Horatius cocles.

Tiber, which is the entrance to the city on the north, seeing a large body of

men advancing to support his enemies, and fearing that they would force their way into the city, turned round, and shouted to those behind him to hasten back to the other side and break down the bridge. They obeyed him: and whilst they were breaking the bridge, he remained at his post receiving numerous wounds, and checked the progress of the enemy: his opponents being panic stricken, not so much by his strength as by the audacity with which he held his ground. When the bridge had been broken down, the attack of the enemy was stopped; and Cocles then threw himself into the river with his armour on and deliberately sacrificed his life, because he valued the safety of his country and his own future reputation more highly than his present life, and the years of existence that remained to him. Such is the enthusiasm and emulation for noble deeds that are engendered among the Romans by their customs.

money transactions are better than those of the Carthaginians. In the view of the latter nothing is disgraceful that makes for gain; with the former nothing is more disgraceful than to receive bribes and to make profit by improper means. For they regard wealth obtained from unlawful transactions to be as much a subject of reproach, as a fair profit from the most unquestioned source is of commendation. A proof of the fact is this. The Carthaginians obtain office by open bribery, but among the Romans the penalty for it is death.

With such a radical difference, therefore, between

the rewards offered to virtue among the two peoples, it is natural that the ways adopted for obtaining them should be different also.

But the most important difference for the better which the Roman commonwealth appears to me to display is in their religious beliefs. For I conceive that what in other nations is looked upon as a reproach, I mean a scrupulous fear of the gods, is the very thing which keeps the Roman commonwealth together.

To such an extraordinary height is this carried among them, both in private and public business, that nothing could exceed it. Many people might think this unaccountable; but in my opinion their object is to use it as a check upon the common people. If it were possible to form a state wholly of philosophers, such a custom would perhaps be unnecessary. But seeing that every multitude is fickle, and full of lawless desires, unreasoning anger, and violent passion, the only resource is to keep them in check by mysterious terrors and

scenic effects of this sort. Wherefore, to my mind, the ancients were not acting without purpose or at random, when they brought in among the vulgar those opinions about the gods, and the belief in the punishments in Hades: much rather do I think that men nowadays are acting rashly and foolishly in rejecting them. This is the reason why, apart from anything else, Greek statesmen, if entrusted with a single talent, though protected by ten checking-clerks, as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, yet cannot be induced to keep faith: whereas among the Romans, in their magistracies and embassies, men have the handling of a great amount of money, and yet from pure respect to their oath keep their faith intact. And, again, in other nations it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands out of the public purse, and is entirely pure in such matters: but among the Romans it is a rare thing to detect a man in the act of committing such a crime. . . .

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

57. That to all things, then, which exist there is ordained decay and change I think requires no further arguments to show: for the inexorable course of nature is sufficient to convince us of it.

But in all polities we observe two sources of decay existing from natural causes, the one external, the other internal and self-produced. The external admits of no certain or fixed definition, but the internal follows a definite order. What kind of polity, then, comes naturally first, and what second, I have already stated in such a way, that those who are capable of taking in the whole drift of my argument can henceforth draw their own conclusions as to the future of the Roman polity. For it is quite clear, in my opinion. When a commonwealth, after warding off many great dangers, has arrived at a high pitch of prosperity and undisputed power, it is evident that, by the lengthened continuance of great wealth within it, the manner of life of its citizens will become more extravagant; and that the rivalry for office, and in other spheres of activity, will become fiercer than it ought to be. And as this state of things goes on more and more, the desire of office and the shame of losing reputation, as well as the oscentation and extravagance of living, will prove the beginning of a deterioration. And of this change the people will be credited with being the authors, when they become convinced that they are being cheated by some from avarice, and are puffed up with flattery by others from love of office. For when that comes about, in their passionate resentment and acting under the dictates of anger, they will refuse to obey any longer, or to be content with having equal powers with their leaders, but will demand to have all or far the greatest themselves. And when that comes to pass the constitution will receive a new name, which sounds better than any other in the world, liberty or democracy; but, in fact, it will become that worst of all governments, mob-rule.

With this description of the formation, growth, zenith, and present state of the Roman polity, and having discussed also its difference, for better and worse, from other polities, I will now at length bring my essay on it to an end.

LUCRETIUS

ON THE NATURE OF THINGS

BOOK I

MOTHER of the Aeneadae, darling of men and gods, increase-giving Venus, who beneath the gliding signs of heaven fillest with thy presence the ship-carrying sea, the corn-bearing lands, since through thee every kind of living things is conceived, rises up and beholds the light of the sun. Before thee, goddess, flee the winds, the clouds of heaven; before thee and thy advent; for thee earth manifold in works puts forth sweetsmelling flowers; for thee the levels of the sea do laugh and heaven propitiated shines with outspread light. For soon as the vernal aspect of day is disclosed, and the birth-favouring breeze of Favonius unbarred is blowing fresh, first the fowls of the air, O lady, show signs of thee and thy entering in, throughly smitten in heart by thy power. Next the wild herds bound over the glad pastures and swim the rapid rivers: in such wise each made prisoner by thy charms follows thee with desire, whither thou goest to lead it on. Yes, throughout seas and mountains and sweeping rivers and leafy homes of birds and grassy plains, striking fond love into the breasts of all thou constrainest them each after its kind to continue their races with desire. Since thou then art sole mistress of the nature of things and without thee nothing rises up into the divine borders of light, nothing grows to be glad or lovely, fain would I have thee for a helpmate in writing the verses which I essay to pen on the nature of things for our own son of the Memmii, whom thou, goddess, hast willed to have no peer, rich as he ever is in every grace. Wherefore all the more, O lady, lend my lays an everliving charm. Cause meanwhile the savage works of war to be lulled to rest throughout all seas and lands; for thou alone canst bless mankind with calm peace, seeing that Mayors lord of battle controls the savage works of war, Mayors who often flings himself into thy lap quite vanquished by the never-healing wound of love; and then with upturned face and shapely neck thrown back feeds with love his greedy sight gazing, goddess, open-mouthed on thee; and as backward he reclines, his breath stays hanging on thy lips. While then, lady, he is reposing on thy holy body, shed thyself about him and above, and pour from thy lips sweet discourse, asking, glorious dame, gentle peace for the Romans. For neither can we in our country's day of trouble with untroubled mind think only of our work, nor can the illustrious offset of Memmius in times like these be wanting to the general weal. . . . for what remains to tell, apply to true reason unbusied ears and a keen mind withdrawn from cares, lest my gifts set out for you with steadfast zeal you abandon with disdain, before they are understood. For I will essay to discourse to you of the most high system of heaven and the gods and will open up the first beginnings of things, out of which nature gives birth to all things and increase and nourishment, and into which nature likewise dissolves them back after their destruction. These we are accustomed in explaining their reason to call matter and begetting bodies of things and to name seeds of things and also to term first bodies, because from them as first elements all things are.

When human life to view lay foully prostrate upon earth crushed down under the weight of religion, who showed her head from the quarters of heaven with hideous aspect lowering upon mortals, a man of Greece¹ ventured first to lift up his mortal eyes to her face and first to withstand her to her face. Him neither story of gods nor thunderbolts nor heaven with threatening roar could quell: they only chafed the more the eager courage of his soul, filling him with desire to be the first to burst the fast bars of nature's portals. Therefore the living force of his soul gained the day: on he passed far beyond the flaming walls of the world and traversed throughout in mind and spirit the immeasurable

universe; whence he returns a conqueror to tell us what can, what cannot come into being; in short on what principle each thing has its powers defined, its deepset boundary mark. Therefore religion is put under foot and trampled upon in turn; us his victory brings level with heaven.

This is what I fear herein, lest haply you should fancy that you are entering on unholy grounds of reason and treading the path of sin: whereas on the contrary often and often that very religion has given birth to sinful and unholy deeds. Thus in Aulis the chosen chieftains of the Danai, foremost of men, foully polluted with Iphianassa's blood the altar of the Trivian maid.2 Soon as the fillet encircling her maiden tresses shed itself in equal lengths adown each cheek, and soon as she saw her father standing sorrowful before the altars and beside him the ministering priests hiding the knife and her countrymen at sight of her shedding tears, speechless in terror she dropped down on her knees and sank to the ground. Nor aught in such a moment could it avail the luckless girl that she had first bestowed the name of father on the king. For lifted up in the hands of the men she was carried shivering to the altars. not after due performance of the customary rites to be escorted by the clear-ringing bridal song, but in the very season of marriage, stainless maid mid the stain of blood, to fall a sad victim by the sacrificing stroke of a father, that thus a happy and prosperous departure might be granted to the fleet. So great the evils to which religion could prompt!

This terror then and darkness of mind must be dispelled not by the rays of the sun and glittering shafts of day, but by the aspect and the law of nature; the warp of whose design we shall begin with this first principle, nothing is ever gotten out of nothing by divine power. Fear in sooth holds so in check all mortals, because they see many operations go on in earth and heaven, the causes of which they can in no way understand, believing them therefore to be done by power divine. For these reasons when we shall have seen that nothing can be produced from nothing, we shall then more correctly ascertain that which we are seeking, both the elements out of which every thing can be produced and the manner in which all things are done without the hand of the gods.

If things came from nothing, any kind might be born of any thing, nothing would require seed. Men for instance might rise out of the sea, the scaly race out of the earth, and birds might burst out of the sky; horned and other herds, every kind of wild beasts would haunt with changing brood tilth and wilderness alike. Nor would the same fruits keep constant to trees, but would change; any tree might bear any fruit. For if there were not begetting bodies for each, how could things have a fixed unvarying mother? But in fact because things are all produced from fixed seeds, each thing is born and goes forth into the borders of light out of that in which resides its matter and first bodies; and for this reason all things cannot be gotten out of all things, because in particular things resides a distinct power. Again why do we see the rose put forth in spring, corn in the season of heat, vines yielding at the call of autumn, if not because, when the fixed seeds of things have streamed together at the proper time, whatever is born discloses itself, while the due seasons are there and the quickened earth brings its weakly products in safety forth into the borders of light? But if they came from nothing, they would rise up suddenly at uncertain periods and unsuitable times of year, inasmuch as there would be no first-beginnings to be kept from a begetting union by the unpropitious season. No nor would time be required for the growth of things after the meeting of the seed, if they could increase out of nothing. Little babies would at once grow into men and trees in a moment would rise and spring out of the ground. But none of these events it is plain ever comes to pass, since all things grow step by step at a fixed time, as is natural, since they all grow from a fixed seed and in growing preserve their kind; so that you may be sure that all things increase in size and are fed out of their own matter. Furthermore without fixed seasons of rain the earth is unable to put forth its gladdening produce, nor again if kept from food could the nature of living things continue its kind and sustain life; so that you may hold with

greater truth that many bodies are common to many things, as we see letters common to different words, than that any thing could come into being without first-beginnings. Again why could not nature have produced men of such a size and strength as to be able to wade on foot across the sea and rend great mountains with their hands and outlive many generations of living men, if not because an unchanging matter has been assigned for begetting things and what can arise out of this matter is fixed? We must admit therefore that nothing can come from nothing, since things require seed before they can severally be born and be brought out into the buxom fields of air. Lastly since we see that tilled grounds surpass untilled and yield a better produce by the labour of hands, we may infer that there are in the earth first-beginnings of things which by turning up the fruitful clods with the share and labouring the soil of the earth we stimulate to rise. But if there were not such, you would see all things without any labour of ours spontaneously come forth in much greater perfection.

Moreover nature dissolves every thing back into its first bodies and does not annihilate things. For if aught were mortal in all its parts alike. the thing in a moment would be snatched away to destruction from before our eyes; since no force would be needed to produce disruption among its parts and undo their fastenings. Whereas in fact, as all things consist of an imperishable seed, nature suffers the destruction of nothing to be seen, until a force has encountered it sufficient to dash things to pieces by a blow or to pierce through the void places within them and break them up. Again if time, whenever it makes away with things through age, utterly destroys them eating up all their matter, out of what does Venus bring back into the light of life the race of living things each after its kind, or, when they are brought back, out of what does earth manifold in works give them nourishment and increase, furnishing them with food each after its kind? Out of what do its own native fountains and extraneous rivers from far and wide keep full the sea? Out of what does ether feed the stars? For infinite time gone by and lapse of days must have eaten up all things which are of mortal body. Now if in that period of time gone by those things have existed, of which this sum of things is composed and recruited, they are possessed no doubt of an imperishable body, and cannot therefore any of them return to nothing. Again the same force and cause would destroy all things without distinction, unless everlasting matter held them together, matter more or less closely linked in mutual entanglement: a touch in sooth would be sufficient cause of death, inasmuch as any amount of force must of course undo the texture of things in which no parts at all were of an everlasting body. But in fact, because the fastenings of first-beginnings one with the other are unlike and matter is everlasting, things continue with body uninjured, until a force is found to encounter them strong enough to overpower the texture of each. A thing therefore never returns to nothing, but all things after disruption go back into the first bodies of matter. Lastly rains die, when father ether has tumbled them into the lap of mother earth; but then goodly crops spring up and boughs are green with leaves upon the trees, trees themselves grow and are laden with fruit; by them in turn our race and the race of wild beasts are fed, by them we see glad towns teem with children and the leafy forests ring on all sides with the song of new birds; through them cattle wearied with their load of fat lay their bodies down about the glad pastures and the white milky stream pours from the distended udders; through them a new brood with weakly limbs frisks and gambols over the soft grass, rapt in their young hearts with the pure new milk. None of the things therefore which seem to be lost is utterly lost, since nature replenishes one thing out of another and does not suffer any thing to be begotten, before she has been recruited by the death of some other...

BOOK II

. . . .

Now mark and I will explain by what motion the begetting bodies of matter do beget different things and after they are begotten again break them up, and by what force they are compelled so to do and what the property is given to them for travelling through the great world do you

mind to give heed to my words. For verily matter does not cohere inseparably massed together, since we see that everything wanes and perceive that all things ebb as it were by length of time and that age withdraws them from our sight, though yet the sum is seen to remain unimpaired by reason that the bodies which quit each thing, lessen the things from which they go, gift with increase those to which they have come, compel the former to grow old, the latter to come to their prime, and yet abide not with these. Thus the sum of things is ever renewed and mortals live by a reciprocal dependency. Some nations wax, others wane, and in a brief space the races of living things are changed and like runners hand over the lamp of life.

If you think that first-beginnings of things can lag and by lagging give birth to new motions of things, you wander far astray from the path of true reason: since they travel about through void, the first-beginnings of things must all move on either by their own weight or haply by the stroke of another. For when during motion they have, as often happens, met and clashed, the result is a sudden rebounding in an opposite direction; and no wonder, since they are most hard and of weight proportioned to their solidity and nothing behind gets in their way. And that you may more clearly see that all bodies of matter are in restless movement, remember that there is no lowest point in the sum of the universe, and that first bodies have not where to take their stand. since space is without end and limit and extends immeasurably in all directions round, as I have shown in many words and as has been proved by sure reason. Since this then is a certain truth, sure enough no rest is given to first bodies throughout the unfathomable void, but driven on rather in ceaseless and varied motion they partly, after they have pressed together, rebound leaving great spaces between, while in part they are so dashed away after the stroke as to leave but small spaces between. And all that form a denser aggregation when brought together and rebound leaving trifling spaces between, held fast by their own close-tangled shapes, these form enduring bases of stone and unvielding bodies of iron and the rest of their class, few in number, which travel onward along the great void. All the others spring far off and rebound far leaving great spaces between: these furnish us with thin air and bright sunlight. And many more travel along the great void, which have been thrown off from the unions of things or though admitted have yet in no case been able likewise to assimilate their motions. Of this truth, which I am telling, we have a representation and picture always going on before our eyes and present to us: observe whenever the rays are let in and pour the sunlight through the dark chambers of houses: you will see many minute bodies in many ways through the apparent void mingle in the midst of the light of the rays, and as in never-ending conflict skirmish and give battle combating in troops and never halting, driven about in frequent meetings and partings; so that you may guess from this, what it is for first-beginnings of things to be ever tossing about in the great void. So far as it goes, a small thing may give an illustration of great things and put you on the track of knowledge. And for this reason too it is meet that you should give greater heed to these bodies which are seen to tumble about in the sun's rays, because such tumblings imply that motions also of matter latent and unseen are at the bottom. For you will observe many things were impelled by unseen blows to change their course and driven back to return the way they came now this way now that way in all directions round. All you are to know derive this restlessness from the first-beginnings. For the firstbeginnings of things move first of themselves; next those bodies which form a small aggregate and come nearest so to say to the powers of the first-beginnings, are impelled and set in movement by the unseen strokes of those first bodies, and they next in turn stir up bodies which are a little larger. Thus motion mounts up from the first-beginnings and step by step issues forth to our senses, so that those bodies also move, which we can discern in the sunlight, though it is not clearly seen by what blows they so act....

BOOK III

And now since I have shown what-like the beginnings of all things are and how diverse with varied shapes as they fly spontaneously driven on in everlasting motion, and how all things can be severally produced out of these, next after these questions the nature of the mind and soul should methinks be cleared up by my verses and that dread of Acheron be driven headlong forth, troubling as it does the life of man from its inmost depths and overspreading all things with the blackness of death, allowing no pleasure to be pure and unalloyed....

This same principle teaches that the nature of the mind and soul is bodily; for when it is seen to push the limbs, rouse the body from sleep, and alter the countenance and guide and turn about the whole man, and when we see that none of these effects can take place without touch nor touch without body, must we not admit that the mind and the soul are of a bodily nature? Again you perceive that our mind in our body suffers together with the body and feels in unison with it. When a weapon with a shudder-causing force has been driven in and has laid bare bones and sinews within the body, if it does not take life, yet there ensues a faintness and a lazy sinking to the ground and on the ground the turmoil of mind which arises, and sometimes a kind of undecided inclination to get up. Therefore the nature of the mind must be bodily, since it suffers from bodily weapons and blows.

I will now go on to explain in my verses of what kind of body the mind consists and out of what it is formed. First of all I say that it is extremely fine and formed of exceedingly minute bodies. That this is so you may, if you please to attend, clearly perceive from what follows: nothing that is seen takes place with a velocity equal to that of the mind when it starts some suggestion and actually sets it agoing; the mind therefore is stirred with greater rapidity than any of the things whose nature stands out visible to sight. But that which is so passing nimble, must consist of seeds exceedingly round and exceedingly minute, in order to be stirred and set in motion by a small moving power. Thus water is moved and heaves by ever so small a force, formed as it is of small particles apt to roll. But on the other hand the nature of honey is more sticky, its liquid more sluggish and its movement more dilatory; for the whole mass of matter coheres more closely, because sure enough it is made of bodies not so smooth, fine, and round. A breeze however gentle and light can force, as you may see, a high heap of poppy seed to be blown away from the top downwards; but on the other hand Eurus itself cannot move a heap of stones. Therefore bodies possess a power of moving in proportion to their smallness and smoothness; and on the other hand the greater weight and roughness bodies prove to have, the more stable they are. Since then the nature of the mind has been found to be eminently easy to move, it must consist of bodies exceedingly small, smooth, and round. The knowledge of which fact, my good friend, will on many accounts prove useful and be serviceable to you. The following fact too likewise demonstrates how fine the texture is of which its nature is composed, and how small the room is in which it can be contained, could it only be collected into one mass: soon as the untroubled sleep of death has gotten hold of a man and the nature of the mind and soul has withdrawn, you can perceive then no diminution of the entire body either in appearance or weight: death makes all good save the vital sense and heat. Therefore the whole soul must consist of very small seeds and be inwoven through veins and flesh and sinews; inasmuch as, after it has all withdrawn from the whole body, the exterior contour of the limbs preserves itself entire and not a tittle of the weight is lost. Just in the same way when the flavour of wine is gone or when the delicious aroma of a perfume has been dispersed into the air or when the savour has left some body, yet the thing itself does not therefore look smaller to the eye, nor does aught seem to have been taken from the weight, because sure enough many minute seeds make

up the savours and the odour in the whole body of the several things. Therefore, again and again I say, you are to know that the nature of the mind and the soul has been formed of exceedingly minute seeds, since at its departure it takes away none of the weight....

Again the quickened powers of body and mind by their joint partnership enjoy health and life; for the nature of the mind cannot by itself alone without the body give forth vital motions nor can the body again bereft of the soul continue to exist and make use of its senses: just, you are to know, as the eye itself torn away from its roots cannot see anything when apart from the whole body, thus the soul and mind cannot it is plain do anything by themselves. Sure enough, because mixed up through veins and flesh, sinews and bones, their first-beginnings are confined by all the body and are not free to bound away leaving great spaces between, therefore thus shut in they make those sense-giving motions which they cannot make after death when forced out of the body into the air by reason that they are not then confined in a like manner; for the air will be a body and a living thing, if the soul shall be able to keep itself together and to enclose in it those motions which it used before to perform in the sinews and within the body. Moreover even while it yet moves within the confines of life, often the soul shaken from some cause or other is seen to wish to pass out and be loosed from the whole body, the features are seen to droop as at the last hour and all the limbs to sink flaccid over the bloodless trunk: just as happens, when the phrase is used, the mind is in a bad way, or the soul is quite gone; when all is hurry and every one is anxious to keep from parting the last tie of life; for then the mind and the power of the soul are shaken throughout and both are quite loosened together with the body; so that a cause somewhat more powerful can quite break them up. Why doubt I would ask that the soul when driven forth out of the body, when in the open air, feeble as it is, stript of its covering, not only cannot continue through eternity, but is unable to hold together the smallest fraction of time? Therefore, again and again I say, when the enveloping body has been all broken up and the vital airs have been forced out. vou must admit that the senses of the mind and the soul are dissolved, since the cause of destruction is one and inseparable for both body and soul...

Death therefore to us is nothing, concerns us not a jot, since the nature of the mind is proved to be mortal; and as in time gone by we felt no distress, when the Poeni from all sides came together to do battle, and all things shaken by war's troublous uproar shuddered and quaked beneath high heaven, and mortal men were in doubt which of the two peoples it should be to whose empire all must fall by sea and land alike, thus when we shall be no more, when there shall have been a separation of body and soul, out of both of which we are each formed into a single being, to us, you may be sure, who then shall be no more, nothing whatever can happen to excite sensation, not if earth shall be mingled with sea and sea with heaven. And even supposing the nature of the mind and power of the soul do feel, after they have been severed from our body, yet that is nothing to us who by the binding tie of marriage between body and soul are formed each into one single being. And if time should gather up our matter after our death and put it once more into the position in which it now is, and the light of life be given to us again, this result even would concern us not at all, when the chain of our self-consciousness has once been snapped asunder. So now we give ourselves no concern about any self which we have been before, nor do we feel any distress on the score of that self. For when you look back on the whole past course of immeasurable time and think how manifold are the shapes which the motions of matter take, you may easily credit this too, that these very same seeds of which we now are formed, have often before been placed in the same order in which they now are; and yet we cannot recover this in memory: a break in our existence has been interposed, and all the motions have wandered to and fro far astray from the sensations they produced. For he whom evil is to befall, must in his own person exist at the very time it comes, if the misery and suffering are haply to have any place at all; but since death precludes this, and forbids him to be, upon whom the ills can be brought, you may be sure that we have nothing to fear after death, and that he who exists not, cannot become miserable, and that it matters not a whit whether he has been born into life at any other time, when immortal death has taken away his mortal life.

Therefore when you see a man bemoaning his hard case, that after death he shall either rot with his body laid in the grave or be devoured by flames or the jaws of wild beasts, you may be sure that his ring betrays a flaw and that there lurks in his heart a secret goad, though he himself declare that he does not believe that any sense will remain to him after death. He does not methinks really grant the conclusion which he professes to grant nor the principle on which he so professes, nor does he take and force himself root and branch out of life, but all unconsciously imagines something of self to survive. For when any one in life suggests to himself that birds and beasts will rend his body after death, he makes moan for himself: he does not separate himself from that self, nor withdraw himself fully from the body so thrown out, and fancies himself that other self and stands by and impregnates it with his own sense. Hence he makes much moan that he has been born mortal, and sees not that after real death there will be no other self to remain in life and lament to self that his own self has met death, and there to stand and grieve that his own self there lying is mangled or burnt. For if it is an evil after death to be pulled about by the devouring jaws of wild beasts, I cannot see why it should not be a cruel pain to be laid on fires and burn in hot flames, or to be placed in honey and stifled, or to stiffen with cold, stretched on the smooth surface of an icy slab of stone, or to be pressed down and crushed by a load of earth above.

'Now no more shall thy house admit thee with glad welcome, nor a most virtuous wife and sweet children run to be the first to snatch kisses and touch thy heart with a silent joy. No more mayst thou be prosperous in thy doings, a safeguard to thine own. One disastrous day has taken from thee luckless man in luckless wise all the many prizes of life.' This do men say; but add not thereto 'and now no longer does any craving for these things beset thee withal.' For if they could rightly perceive this in thought and follow up the thought in words, they would release themselves from great distress and apprehension of mind. 'Thou, even as now thou art, sunk in the sleep of death, shalt continue so to be all time to come, freed from all distressful pains; but we with a sorrow that would not be sated wept for thee, when close by thou didst turn to an ashen hue on thy appalling funeral pile, and no length of days shall pluck from our hearts our ever-during grief.' This question therefore should be asked of this speaker, what there is in it so passing bitter, if it come in the end to sleep and rest, that any one should pine in neverending sorrow.

This too men often, when they have reclined at table cup in hand and shade their brows with crowns, love to say from the heart, 'short is this enjoyment for poor weak men; presently it will have been and never after may it be called back'. As if after their death it is to be one of their chiefest afflictions that thirst and parching drought is to burn them up hapless wretches, or a craving for any thing else is to beset them. What folly! no one feels the want of himself and life at the time when mind and body are together sunk in sleep; for all we care this sleep might be everlasting, no craving whatever for ourselves then moves us. And yet by no means do those first-beginnings throughout our frame wander at that time far away from their sense-producing motions, at the moment when a man starts up from sleep and collects himself. Death therefore must be thought to concern us much less, if less there can be than what we see to be nothing; for a greater dispersion of the mass of matter follows after death, and no one wakes up, upon whom the chill cessation of life has once come.

Once more, if the nature of things could suddenly utter a voice and in person could rally any of us in such words as these, 'what hast thou,

O mortal, so much at heart, that thou goest such lengths in sickly sorrows? Why bemoan and bewail death? For say thy life past and gone has been welcome to thee and thy blessings have not all, as if they were poured into a perforated vessel, run through and been lost without avail: why not then take thy departure like a guest filled with life, and with resignation, thou fool, enter upon untroubled rest? But if all that thou hast enjoyed, has been squandered and lost, and life is a grievance, why seek to make any addition, to be wasted perversely in its turn and lost utterly without avail? Why not rather make an end of life and travail? For there is nothing more which I can contrive and discover for thee to give pleasure: all things are ever the same. Though thy body is not yet decayed with years nor thy frame worn out and exhausted, yet all things remain the same, ay though in length of life thou shouldst outlast all races of things now living, nay even more if thou shouldst never die,' what answer have we to make save this, that nature sets up against us a well-founded claim and outs forth in her pleading a true indictment? If however one of greater age and more advanced in years should complain and lament poor wretch his death more than is right, would she not with greater cause raise her voice and rally him in sharp accents, 'Away from this time forth with thy tears, rascal; a truce to thy complainings: thou decayest after full enjoyment of all the prizes of life. But because thou ever yearnest for what is not present, and despisest what is, life has slipped from thy grasp unfinished and unsatisfying, and or ever thou thoughtest, death has taken his stand at thy pillow, before thou canst take thy departure sated and filled with good things. Now however resign all things unsuited to thy age, and with a good grace up and greatly go: thou must.' With good reason methinks she would bring her charge, with reason rally and reproach; for old things give way and are supplanted by new without fail, and one thing must ever be replenished out of other things; and no one is delivered over to the pit and black Tartarus: matter is needed for after generations to grow; all of which though Il follow thee when they have finished their term of life; and thus it is that all these no less than thou have before this come to an end and hereafter will come to an end. Thus one thing will never cease to rise out of another, and life is granted to none in fee-simple, to all in usufruct. Think too how the bygone antiquity of everlasting time before our birth was nothing to us. Nature therefore holds this up to us as a mirror of the time yet to come after our death. Is there aught in this that looks appalling, aught that wears an aspect of gloom? Is it not more untroubled than any sleep?...

Once more what evil lust of life is this which constrains us with such force to be so mightily troubled in doubts and dangers? A sure term of life is fixed for mortals, and death cannot be shunned, but meet it we must. Moreover we are ever engaged, ever involved in the same pursuits, and no new pleasure is struck out by living on; but whilst what we crave is wanting, it seems to transcend all the rest; then, when it has been gotten, we crave something else, and ever does the same thirst of life possess us, as we gape for it open-mouthed. Quite doubtful it is what fortune the future will carry with it or what chance will bring us or what end is at hand. Nor by prolonging life do we take one tittle from the time past in death nor can we fret anything away, whereby we may haply be a less long time in the condition of the dead. Therefore you may complete as many generations as you please during your life; none the less however will that everlasting death await you; and for no less long a time will he be no more in being, who beginning with to-day has ended his life, than the man who has died many months and years ago.

EPICTETUS

ENCHEIRIDION

I

Of things some are in our power, and others are not. In our power are opinion, movement towards a thing, desire, aversion; and in a word, whatever are our own acts: not in our power are the body, property, reputation, offices, and in a word, whatever are not our own acts. And the things in our power are by nature free, not subject to restraint nor hindrance: but the things not in our power are weak, slavish, subject to restraint, in the power of others. Remember then that if you think the things which are by nature slavish to be free, and the things which are in the power of others to be your own, you will be hindered, you will lament, you will be disturbed, you will blame both gods and men: but if you think that only which is your own to be your own, and if you think that what is another's as it really is, belongs to another, no man will ever compel you, no man will hinder you, you will never blame any man, you will accuse no man, you will do nothing involuntarily, no man will harm you, you will have no enemy, for you will not suffer any harm

If then you desire such great things, remember that you must not lay hold of them with a small effort; but you must leave alone some things entirely, and postpone others for the present. But if you wish for these things also, and power and wealth, perhaps you will not gain even these very things because you aim also at those former things: certainly you will fail in those things through which alone happiness and freedom are secured. Straightway then, practice saying to every harsh appearance, You are an appearance, and in no manner what you appear to be. Then examine it by the rules which you possess, and by this first and chiefly, whether it relates to the things which are in our power or to things which are not in our power: and if it relates to anything which is not in our power, be ready to say, that it does not concern you.

III

In every thing which pleases the soul, or supplies a want, or is loved, remember to add this to the description; what is the nature of each thing, beginning from the smallest? If you love an earthen vessel, say it is an earthen vessel which you love; for when it has been broken, you will not be disturbed. If you are kissing your child or wife, say that it is a human being whom you are kissing, for when the wife or child dies, you will not be disturbed.

IV

When you are going to take in hand any act, remind yourself what kind of an act it is. If you are going to bathe, place before yourself what happens in the bath: some splashing the water, others pushing against one another, others abusing one another, and some stealing: and thus with more safety you will undertake the matter, if you say to yourself, I now intend to bathe, and to maintain my will in a manner conformable to nature. And so you will do in every act: for thus if any hindrance to bathing shall happen, let this thought be ready: it was not this only that I intended, but I intended also to maintain my will in a way conformable to nature; but I shall not maintain it so, if I am vexed at what happens.

V

Men are disturbed not by the things which happen, but by the opinions about the things: for example, death is nothing terrible, for if it were, it would have seemed so to Socrates; for the opinion about death, that it is terrible, is the terrible thing. When then we are impeded or disturbed or grieved, let us never blame others, but

ourselves, that is, our opinions. It is the act of an ill-instructed man to blame others for his own bad condition; it is the act of one who has begun to be instructed, to lay the blame on himself; and of one whose instruction is completed, neither to blame another, nor himself.

VIII

Seek not that the things which happen should happen as you wish; but wish the things which happen to be as they are, and you will have a tranquil flow of life.

X

On the occasion of every accident that befalls you, remember to turn to your-self and inquire what power you have for turning it to use. If you see a fair man or a fair woman, you will find that the power to resist is temperance. If labour be presented to you, you will find that it is endurance. If it be abusive words, you will find it to be patience. And if you have been thus formed to the proper habit, the appearances will not carry you along with them.

XIV

If you would have your children and your wife and your friends to live for ever, you are silly; for you would have the things which are not in your power to be in your power, and the things which belong to others to be yours. So if you would have your slave to be free from faults, you are a fool; for you would have badness not to be badness, but something else. But if you wish not to fail in your desires, you are able to do that. Practice then this which you are able to do. He is the master of every man who has the power over the things, which another person wishes or does not wish, the power to confer them on him or to take them away. Whoever then wishes to be free, let him neither wish for anything nor avoid anything which depends on others: if he does not observe this rule, he must be a slave.

XV

Remember that in life you ought to behave as at a banquet. Suppose that something is carried round and is opposite to you. Stretch out your hand and take a portion with decency. Suppose that it passes by you. Do not detain it. Suppose that it is not yet come to you. Do not send your desire forward to it, but wait till it is opposite to you. Do so with respect to children, so with respect to a wife, so with respect to magisterial offices, so with respect to wealth, and you will be some time a worthy partner of the banquets of the gods. But if you take none of the things which are set before you, and even despise them, then you will be not only a fellow banqueter with the gods, but also a partner with them in power. For by acting thus Diogenes and Heracleitus and those like them were deservedly divine, and were so called.

XIX

You can be invincible, if you enter into no contest in which it is not in your power to conquer. Take care then when you observe a man honoured before others or possessed of great power or highly esteemed for any reason, not to suppose him happy, and be not carried away by the appearance. For if the nature of the good is in our power, neither envy nor jealousy will have a place in us. But you yourself will not wish to be a general or senator or consul, but a free man: and there is only one way to this, to despise the things which are not in our power.

Remember that it is not he who reviles you or strikes you, who insults you, but it is your opinion about these things as being insulting. When then a man irritates you, you must know that it is your own opinion which has irritated you. Therefore especially try not to be carried away by the appearance. For if you once gain time and delay, you will more easily master yourself.

XXVI

We may learn the will of nature from the things in which we do not differ from one another: for instance, when your neighbor's slave has broken his cup, or any thing else, we are ready to say forthwith, that it is one of the things which happen. You must know then that when your cup also is broken, you ought to think as you did when your neighbor's cup was broken. Transfer this reflection to greater things also. Is another man's child or wife dead? There is no one who would not say, this is an event incident to man. But when a man's own child or wife is dead, forthwith he calls out, "Wo to me, how wretched I am." But we ought to remember how we feel when we hear that it has happened to others.

XXVII

As a mark is not set up for the purpose of missing the aim, so neither does the nature of evil exist in the world.

XXXI

As to piety toward the Gods you must know that this is the chief thing, to have right opinions about them, to think that they exist, and that they administer All well and justly; and you must fix yourself in this principle, to obey them, and yield to them in everything which happens, and voluntarily to follow it as being accomplished by the wisest intelligence. For if you do so, you will never either blame the Gods, nor will you accuse them of neglecting you. And it is not possible for this to be done in any other way than by withdrawing from the things which are not in our power, and by placing the good and the evil only in those things which are in our power. For if you think that any of the things which are not in our power is good or bad, it is absolutely necessary that, when you do not obtain what you wish, and when you fall into those things which you do not wish, you will find fault and hate those who are the cause of them; for every animal is formed by nature to this, to fly from and to turn from the things which appear harmful and the things which are the cause of the harm, but to follow and admire the things which are useful and the causes of the useful. It is impossible then for a person who thinks that he is harmed to be delighted with that which he thinks to be the cause of the harm, as it is also impossible to be pleased with the harm itself. For this reason also a father is reviled by his son, when he gives no part to his son of the things which are considered to be good: and it was this which made Polynices and Eteocles enemies, the opinion that royal power was a good. It is for this reason that the cultivator of the earth reviles the Gods, for this reason the sailor does, and the merchant, and for this reason those who lose their wives and their children. For where the useful is, there also piety is. Consequently he who takes care to desire as he ought and to avoid as he ought, at the same time also cares after piety. But to make libations and to sacrifice and to offer first fruits according to the custom of our fathers, purely and not meanly nor carelessly nor scantily nor above our ability, is a thing which belongs to all to do. In every thing we should hold these maxims ready to hand:

Lead me, O Zeus, and thou O Destiny,
The way that I am bid by you to go:
To follow I am ready. If I choose not,
I make myself a wretch, and still must follow.

But whoso nobly yields unto necessity, We hold him wise, and skill'd in things divine.

And the third also: O Crito, if so it pleases the Gods, so let it be; Anytus and Melitus are able indeed to kill me, but they cannot harm me.

(Translated by George Long, 1877.)

THE MEDITATIONS

OF

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

BOOK II

BEGIN the morning by saying to thyself, I shall meet with the busy-body, the ungrateful, arrogant, deceitful, envious, unsocial. All these things happen to them by reason of their ignorance of what is good and evil. But I who have seen the nature of the good that it is beautiful, and of the bad that it is ugly, and the nature of him who does wrong, that it is akin to me, not only of the same blood or seed, but that it participates in the same intelligence and the same portion of the divinity, I can neither be injured by any of them, for no one can fix on me what is ugly, nor can I be angry with my kinsman, nor hate him. For we are made for co-operation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another then is contrary to nature; and it is acting against one another to be vexed and to turn away.

3. All that is from the gods is full of Providence. That which is from fortune is not separated from nature or without an interweaving and involution with the things which are ordered by Providence. From thence all things flow; and there is besides necessity, and that which is for the advantage of the whole universe, of which thou art a part. But that is good for every part of nature which the nature of the whole brings, and what serves to maintain this nature. Now the universe is preserved, as by the changes of the elements so by the changes of things compounded of the elements. Let these principles be enough for thee, let them always be fixed opinions. But cast away the thirst after books, that thou mayest not die murmuring, but cheerfully, truly, and from thy heart thankful to the gods.

5. Every moment think steadily as a Roman and a man to do what thou hast in hand with perfect and simple dignity, and feeling of affection, and freedom, and justice; and to give thyself relief from all other thoughts. And thou wilt give thyself relief, if thou doest every act of thy life as if it were the last, laying aside all carelessness and passionate aversion from the commands of reason, and all hypocrisy, and self-love, and discontent with the portion which has been given to thee. Thou seest how few the things are, the which if a man lays hold of, he is able to live a life which flows in quiet, and is like the existence of the gods; for the gods on their part will require nothing more from him who observes these things.

8. Through not observing what is in the mind of another a man has seldom been seen to be unhappy; but those who do not observe the movements of their own minds must of necessity be unhappy.

as one would make in accordance with the common notions of mankind—says, like a true philosopher, that the offences which are committed through desire are more blameable than those which are committed through anger. For he who is excited by anger seems to turn away from reason with a certain pain and unconscious contraction; but he who offends through desire, being overpowered by pleasure, seems to be in a manner more intemperate and more womanish in his offences. Rightly then, and in a way worthy of philosophy, he said that the offence which is committed with pleasure is more blameable than that which is com-

mitted with pain; and on the whole the one is more like a person who has been first wronged and through pain is compelled to be angry; but the other is moved by his own impulse to do wrong, being carried towards doing something by desire.

14. Though thou shouldst be going to live three thousand years, and as many times ten thousand years, still remember that no man loses any other life than this which he now lives, nor lives any other than this which he now loses. The longest and shortest are thus brought to the same. For the present is the same to all, though that which perishes is not the same; and so that which is lost appears to be a mere moment. For a man cannot lose either the past or the future: for what a man has not, how can any one take this from him? These two things then thou must bear in mind; the one, that all things from eternity are of like forms and come round in a circle, and that it makes no difference whether a man shall see the same things during a hundred years or two hundred, or an infinite time; and the second, that the longest liver and he who will die soonest lose just the same. For the present is the only thing of which a man can be deprived, if it is true that this is the only thing which he has, and that a man cannot lose a thing if he has it not.

15. Remember that all is opinion. For what was said by the Cynic Monimus is manifest: and manifest too is the use of what was said, if

a man receives what may be got out of it as far as it is true.

16. The soul of man does violence to itself, first of all, when it becomes an abscess and, as it were, a tumour on the universe, so far as it can. For to be vexed at anything which happens is a separation of ourselves from nature, in some part of which the natures of all other things are contained. In the next place, the soul does violence to itself when it turns away from any man, or even moves towards him with the intention of injuring, such as are the souls of those who are angry. In the third place, the soul does violence to itself when it is overpowered by pleasure or by pain. Fourthly, when it plays a part, and does or says anything insincerely and untruly. Fifthly, when it allows any act of its own and any movement to be without an aim, and does anything thoughtlessly and without considering what it is, it being right that even the smallest things be done with reference to an end; and the end of rational animals is to follow the reason and the law of the most ancient city and polity.

17. Of human life the time is a point, and the substance is in a flux, and the perception dull, and the composition of the whole body subject to putrefaction, and the soul a whirl, and fortune hard to divine, and fame a thing devoid of judgement. And, to say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and what belongs to the soul is a dream and vapour, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after-fame is oblivion. What then is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing and only one, philosophy. But this consists in keeping the daemon within a man free from violence and unharmed, superior to pains and pleasures, doing nothing without a purpose, nor yet falsely and with hypocrisy, not feeling the need of another man's doing or not doing anything; and besides, accepting all that happens, and all that is allotted, as coming from thence, wherever it is, from whence he himself came; and, finally, waiting for death with a cheerful mind, as being nothing else than a dissolution of the elements of which every living being is compounded. But if there is no harm to the elements themselves in each continually changing into another, why should a man have any apprehension about the change and dissolution of all the elements? For it is according to nature, and nothing is evil which is according to nature.

This in Carnuntum.

BOOK IV

3. Men seek retreats for themselves, houses in the country, sea-shores, and mountains; and thou too art wont to desire such things very much. But this is altogether a mark of the most common sort of men, for it is in thy power whenever thou shalt choose to retire into thyself. For nowhere either with more quiet or more freedom from trouble does a man retire than into his own soul, particularly when he has within him such thoughts that by looking into them he is immediately in perfect tranquillity; and I affirm that tranquillity is nothing else than the good ordering of the mind. Constantly then give to thyself this retreat, and renew thyself; and let thy principles be brief and fundamental, which, as soon as thou shalt recur to them, will be sufficient to cleanse the soul completely, and to send thee back free from all discontent with the things to which thou returnest. For with what art thou discontented? With the badness of men? Recall to thy mind this conclusion, that rational animals exist for one another, and that to endure is a part of justice, and that men do wrong involuntarily; and consider how many already, after mutual enmity, suspicion, hatred; and fighting, have been stretched dead, reduced to ashes; and be quiet at last.—But perhaps thou art dissatisfied with that which is assigned to thee out of the universe.-Recall to thy recollection this alternative; either there is providence or atoms, fortuitous concurrence of things; or remember the arguments by which it has been proved that the world is a kind of political community, and be quiet at last.—But perhaps corporeal things will still fasten upon thee.—Consider then further that the mind mingles not with the breath. whether moving gently or violently, when it has once drawn itself apart and discovered its own power, and think also of all that thou hast heard and assented to about pain and pleasure, and be quiet at last.—But perhaps the desire of the thing called fame will torment thee.—See how soon everything is forgotten, and look at the chaos of infinite time on each side of the present, and the emptiness of applause, and the changeableness and want of judgement in those who pretend to give praise, and the narrowness of the space within which it is circumscribed, and be quiet at last. For the whole earth is a point, and how small a nook in it is this thy dwelling, and how few are there in it, and what kind of people are they who will praise thee.

This then remains: Remember to retire into this little territory of thy own, and above all do not distract or strain thyself, but be free, and look at things as a man, as a human being, as a citizen, as a mortal. But among the things readiest to thy hand to which thou shalt turn, let there be these, which are two. One is that things do not touch the soul, for they are external and remain immovable; but our perturbations-come only from the opinion which is within. The other is that all these things, which thou seest, change immediately and will no longer be; and constantly bear in mind how many of these changes thou hast already wit-

nessed. The universe is transformation: life is opinion.

4. If our intellectual part is common, the reason also, in respect of which we are rational beings, is common: if this is so, common also is the reason which commands us what to do, and what not to do; if this is so, there is a common law also; if this is so, we are fellow-citizens; if this is so, we are members of some political community; if this is so, the world is in a manner a state. For of what other common political community will any one say that the whole human race are members? And from thence, from this common political community comes also our very intellectual faculty and reasoning faculty and our capacity for law; or whence do they come? For as my earthly part is a portion given to me from certain earth, and that which is watery from another element, and that which is hot and fiery from some peculiar source (for nothing comes out of that which is nothing, as nothing also returns to non-existence), so also the intellectual part comes from some source.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS ON EPICURUS

"We must also reflect that of desires some are natural, others are groundless; and that of the natural some are necessary as well as natural, and some natural only. And of the necessary desires some are necessary if we are to be happy, some if the body is to be rid of uneasiness, some if we are even to live. He who has a clear and certain understanding of these things will direct every preference and aversion toward securing health of body and tranquillity of mind, seeing that this is the sum and end of a blessed life. For the end of all our actions is to be free from pain and fear, and, when once we have attained all this, the tempest of the soul is laid; seeing that the living creature has no need to go in search of something that is lacking, nor to look for anything else by which the good of the soul and of the body will be fulfilled. When we are pained because of the absence of pleasure, then, and then only, do we feel the need of pleasure. Wherefore we call pleasure the alpha and omega of a blessed life. Pleasure is our first and kindred good. It is the starting-point of every choice and of every aversion, and to it we come back, inasmuch as we make feeling the rule by which to judge of every good thing. And since pleasure is our first and native good, for that reason we do not choose every pleasure whatsoever, but ofttimes pass over many pleasures when a greater annoyance ensues from them. And ofttimes we consider pains superior to pleasures when submission to the pains for a long time brings us as a consequence a greater pleasure. While therefore all pleasure because it is naturally akin to us is good, not all pleasure is choiceworthy, just as all pain is an evil and yet not all pain is to be shunned. It is, however, by measuring one against another, and by looking at the conveniences and inconveniences, that all these matters must be judged. Sometimes we treat the good as an evil, and the evil, on the contrary, as a good. Again, we regard independence of outward things as a great good, not so as in all cases to use little, but so as to be contented with little if we have not much, being honestly persuaded that they have the sweetest enjoyment of luxury who stand least in need of it, and that whatever is natural is easily procured and only the vain and worthless hard to win. Plain fare gives as much pleasure as a costly diet, when once the pain of want has been removed, while bread and water confer the highest possible pleasure when they are brought to hungry lips. To habituate one's self, therefore, to simple and inexpensive diet supplies all that is needful for health, and enables a man to meet the necessary requirements of life without shrinking, and it places us in a better condition when we approach at intervals a costly fare and renders us fearless of fortune.

"When we say, then, that pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the pleasures of sensuality, as we are understood to do by some through ignorance, prejudice, or wilful misrepresentation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul. It is not an unbroken succession of drinking-bouts and of revelry, not sexual love, not the en-

EPICURUS

joyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul. Of all this the beginning and the greatest good is prudence. Wherefore prudence is a more precious thing even than philosophy; from it spring all the other virtues, for it teaches that we cannot lead a life of pleasure which is not also a life of prudence, honour, and justice; nor lead a life of prudence, honour, and justice, which is not also a life of pleasure. For the virtues have grown into one with a pleasant life, and a pleasant life is inseparable from them...

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The above selection is from T.V. Smith, Philosophers

ROMAN STOICISM

CICERO

ON LAW, JUSTICE, AND REASON8

VI. The most learned men have determined to begin with Law [in seeking Justice], and it would seem that they are right, if, according to their definition, Law is the highest reason, implanted in Nature, which commands what ought to be done and forbids the opposite. This reason, when firmly fixed and fully developed in the human mind, is Law. And so they believe that Law is intelligence, whose natural function it is to command right conduct and forbid wrongdoing. They think that this quality has derived its name in Greek from the idea of granting to every man his own, and in our language I believe it has been named from the idea of choosing. For as they have attributed the idea of fairness to the word law, so we have given it that of selection, though both ideas properly belong to Law. Now if this is correct, as I think it to be in general, then the origin of justice is to be found in Law, for law is a natural force; it is the mind and reason of the intelligent man, the standard by which Justice and injustice are measured.

VII. That animal which we call man, endowed with foresight and quick intelligence, complex, keen, possessing memory, full of reason and prudence, has been given a certain distinguished status by the supreme God who created him; for he is the only one among so many different kinds and varieties of living beings, who has a share in reason and thought, while all the rest are deprived of it. But what is more divine, I will not say in man only, but in all heaven and earth, than reason? And reason, when it is full grown and perfected, is rightly called wisdom. Therefore, since there is nothing better than reason, and since it exists both in man and God, the first common possession of man and God is reason. But those who have reason in common must also have right reason in common. And since right reason is Law, we must believe that men have Law also in common with the gods. Further, those who share Law must also share Justice; and those who share these are to be regarded as members of the same commonwealth. If indeed they obey the same authorities and powers, this is true in a far greater degree; but as a matter of fact they do obey this celestial system, the divine mind, and the God of transcendent power. Hence we must now conceive of this whole universe as one commonwealth of which both gods and men are members. . . .

Laws. Keyes's translation ("Loeb Classical Library" series). These selections are a small part of the first of the three books of the Laws. Marcus is speaking, but I have dropped the dialogue form for the sake of brevity and continuity.—T. V. S.

The above selection is from T.V. Smith, <u>Philosophers</u> Speak for Themselves, University of Chicago Press (1934), pp. 617 ff. Reprinted by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

X. . . . The points which are now being briefly touched upon are certainly important; but out of all the material of the philosophers' discussions, surely there comes nothing more valuable than the full realization that we are born for Justice, and that right is based, not upon men's opinions, but upon Nature. This fact will immediately be plain if you once get a clear conception of man's fellowship and union with his fellow-men. For no single thing is so like another, so exactly its counterpart, as all of us are to one another. Nav. if bad habits and false beliefs did not twist the weaker minds and turn them in whatever direction they are inclined, no one would be so like his own self as all men would be like all others. And so, however we may define man, a single definition will apply to all. This is a sufficient proof that there is no difference in kind between man and man; for if there were, one definition could not be applicable to all men; and indeed reason, which alone raises us above the level of the beasts and enables us to draw inferences, to prove and disprove, to discuss and solve problems, and to come to conclusions, is certainly common to us all, and, though varying in what it learns, at least in the capacity to learn it is invariable. For the same things are invariably perceived by the senses, and those things which stimulate the senses, stimulate them in the same way in all men; and those rudimentary beginnings of intelligence to which I have referred, which are imprinted on our minds, are imprinted on all minds alike; and speech, the mind's interpreter, though differing in the choice of words, agrees in the sentiments expressed. In fact, there is no human being of any race who, if he finds a guide, cannot attain to virtue.

IN FINAL PRAISE OF THE IMMUTABLE LAW!

XXII. True law is right reason in agreement with nature; it is of universal application, unchanging and everlasting; it summons to duty by its commands, and averts from wrongdoing by its prohibitions. And it does not lay its commands or prohibitions upon good men in vain, though neither have any effect on the wicked. It is a sin to try to alter this law, nor is it allowable to attempt to repeal any part of it, and it is impossible to abolish it entirely. We cannot be freed from its obligations by senate or people, and we need not look outside ourselves for an expounder or interpreter of it. And there will not be different laws at Rome and at Athens, or different laws now and in the future, but one eternal and. unchangeable law will be valid for all nations and all times, and there will be one master and rule, that is, God, over us all, for he is the author of this law, its promulgator, and its enforcing judge. Whoever is disobedient is fleeing from himself and denying his human nature, and by reason of this very fact he will suffer the worst penalties, even if he escapes what is commonly considered punishment.

VERGIL

ECLOGUE IV

Sicilian Muses, let the shepherd's rhyme A loftier theme pursue. Not all delight In copses green and humble hedge-row flowers. Yet may this music please our consul's ear!

Now come the world's last days, the age foretold By Cumae's prophetess in sacred song. The vast world-process brings a new-born time. Once more the Virgin comes and Saturn's reign, Behold a heaven-born offspring earthward hies! Holy Lucina, lend thy light and aid The while this child is born before whose power The iron race of mortals shall give way, And o'er this earth a golden people reign, For blest Apollo is at last their king. While you are consul, Pollio, forth shall shine This glory of our age; guided by thee These potent times begin, which if there be Some stain still with us of our common guilt, Shall blot it out and from its age-long fear Set the world free. The child to whom I sing Will have a life divine, and as of old See kings and heroes with great gods confer, Himself their counsel sharing, while he rules A world his virtuous father led to peace.

For tributes at thy birth, O blessed babe,
The untilled earth with wandering ivies wild
Shall mingle spikenard, and from bounteous breast
Pour forth her lilies and Egyptian balm;
The flock shall come unguided to the fold
Flowing with milk; nor shall the feeding sheep
At the huge lion tremble; fragrant flowers
Shall from thy cradle spring; the deadly snake
Shall perish, every baneful herb shall fail,
And orient spices by the wayside bloom.

As soon as you have learned to read about
Our glorious heroes and the mighty deeds
Your father wrought, soon as your soul shall see
What beauty virtue wears,—in those blest days
The unploughed field shall yellowing harvests show,
The bramble-bushes yield the purple grape,
And hard-limbed oaks distil sweet honey dew.
Some traces may remain of wicked guile,
Which bade men vex with ships the sacred sea,
Or circle towns with stone, or scar earth's breast

With furrows. Another Argo then Shall carry chosen heroes, at her helm Another Tiphys sitting; other wars Shall blaze abroad and once again will come The great Achilles to the Trojan town. Yet when in after-time the strengthening years Have made you man, from kingdoms of the sea The trader's sail shall cease, nor to and fro With foreign cargoes ply from shore to shore. Each land shall all things bear; the patient ground Shall feel no mattock, nor the vine a knife. The brawny ploughmen from the laboring yoke Shall let their bulls go free. No woven wool Shall flaunt its stolen hues; the ram himself Shall in the meadows wear the Tyrian stain. Or change to saffron; and vermilion gay Shall mantle artlessly the feeding lambs.

"Thus let the ages ever onward roll!"
So sang the Fates, turning their spindles round,
Obedient to the fixed decree of doom.

Receive this glory, for your day is risen,
O child of gods, offspring of mighty Jove!
Look, how the round world with its burden reels,
Its far-spread shores and seas and boundless sky!
Look, with what joy it hails the time to be!
Oh, may such length of days be granted me,
And skill, as shall suffice your deeds to tell!
Not then would Thracian Orpheus' heavenly strains
Nor Linus' voice outdo me; though to one
His mother gave the song, to one his sire—
The Muse to Orpheus, Phoebus to his son.
Yea, Pan himself, though all Arcadia heard,
Would own Pan vanquished in Arcadia's ear.

Infant, begin! Give back your mother's smile Who ten long moons her weary sickness bore! Begin, O child! If parents give no smile, What god would sup with you, or goddess wed?

Translation by T. C. Williams, slightly revised

THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE

THE EIGHTH BOOK

Augustine's thirty-second year. He consults Simplicianus: from him hears the history of the conversion of Victorinus, and longs to devote himself entirely to God, but is mastered by his old habits; is still further roused by the history of St. Antony, and the conversion of two courtiers; during a severe struggle hears a voice from heaven, opens Scripture, and is converted, with his friend Alypius. His mother's vision fulfilled.

MY God, let me, with thanksgiving, remember, and confess unto Thee Thy mercies on me. Let my bones be bedewed with Thy love, and let them say unto Thee, Who is like unto Thee, O Lord? Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder, I will offer unto Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving. And how Thou hast broken them, I will declare; and all who worship Thee, when they hear this, shall say, "Blessed be the Lord in heaven and in earth, great and wonderful is His name." Thy words had stuck fast in my heart, and I was hedged round about on all sides by Thee. Of Thy eternal life I was now certain, though I saw it in a figure and as through a glass. Yet I had ceased to doubt that there was an incorruptible substance, whence was all other substance; nor did I now desire to be more certain of Thee, but more steadfast in Thee. But for my temporal life, all was wavering, and my heart had to be purged from the old leaven. The Way, the Saviour Himself, well pleased me, but as yet I shrunk from going through its straitness.

For, I saw the church full; and one went this way, and another that way. But I was displeased that I led a secular life; yea now that my desires no longer inflamed me, as of old, with hopes of honour and profit, a very grievous burden it was to undergo so heavy a bondage. For, in comparison of Thy sweetness, and the beauty of Thy house which I loved, those things delighted me no longer. But still I was enthralled with the love of woman; nor did the Apostle forbid me to marry, although he advised me to something better, chiefly wishing that all men were as himself was.

My will the enemy held, and thence had made a chain for me, and bound me. For of a froward will, was a lust made; and a lust served, became custom; and custom not resisted, became necessity. By which links, as it were, joined together (whence I called it a chain) a hard bondage held me enthralled. But that new will which had begun to be in me, freely to serve Thee, and to wish to enjoy Thee, O God, the only assured pleasantness, was not yet able to overcome my former wilfulness, strengthened by age. Thus did my two wills, one new, and the other old, one carnal, the other spiritual, struggle within me; and by their discord, undid my soul.

Thus I understood, by my own experience, what I had read, how the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh. Myself verily either way; yet more myself, in that which I approved in myself, than in that which in myself I disapproved. For in this last, it was now for the more part not myself, because in much I

rather endured against my will, than acted willingly. And yet it was through me, that custom had obtained this power of warring against me, because I had come willingly, whither I willed not. And who has any right to speak against it, if just punishment follow the sinner? Nor had I now any longer my former plea, that I therefore as yet hesitated to be above the world and serve Thee, for that the truth was not altogether ascertained to me; for now it too was. But I, still under service to the earth, refused to fight under Thy banner, and feared as much to be freed of all encumbrances, as we should fear to be encumbered with it. Thus with the baggage of this present world was I held down pleasantly, as in sleep; and the thoughts wherein I meditated on Thee were like the efforts of such as would awake, who yet overcome with a heavy drowsiness, are again drenched therein. And as no one would sleep for ever, and in all men's sober judgment waking is better, yet a man for the most part, feeling a heavy lethargy in all his limbs, defers to shake off sleep, and, though half displeased, yet even, after it is time to rise, with pleasure yields to it, so was I assured that much better were it for me to give myself up to Thy charity, than to give myself over to mine own cupidity; but though the former course satisfied me and gained the mastery, the latter pleased me and held me mastered. Nor had I any thing to answer Thee calling to me, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light. And when Thou didst on all sides show me that what Thou saidst was true, I, convicted by the truth, had nothing at all to answer, but only those dull and drowsy words, "Anon, anon," "presently," "leave me but a little." But "presently, presently," had no present, and my "little while" went on for a long while; in vain I delighted in Thy law according to the inner man, when another law in my members rebelled against the law of my mind, and led me captive under the law of sin which was in my members. For the law of sin is the violence of custom, whereby the mind is drawn and holden, even against its will; but deservedly, for that it willingly fell into it. Who then should deliver me thus wretched from the body of this death, but Thy grace only, through lesus Christ our Lord?...

Then in this great contention of my inward dwelling, which I had strongly raised against my soul, in the chamber of my heart, troubled in mind and countenance, I turned upon Alypius. "What ails us?" I exclaim: "what is it? what heardest thou? The unlearned start up and take heaven by force, and we with our learning, and without heart, lo, where we wallow in flesh and blood! Are we ashamed to follow, because others are gone before, and not ashamed not even to follow?" Some such words I uttered, and my fever of mind tore me away from him, while he, gazing on me in astonishment, kept silence. For it was not my wonted tone; and my forehead, cheeks, eyes, colour, tone of voice, spake my mind more than the words I uttered. A little garden there was to our lodging, which we had the use of, as of the whole house; for the master of the house, our host, was not living there. Thither had the tumult of my breast hurried me, where no man might hinder the hot contention wherein I had engaged with myself, until it should end as Thou knewest, I knew not. Only I was healthfully distracted and dying, to live; knowing what evil thing I was, and not knowing what good thing I was shortly to become. I retired then into the garden, and Alypius, on my steps. For his presence did not lessen my privacy; or how could he forsake me so disturbed? We sate down as far removed as might be from the house. I was troubled in spirit, most vehemently indig-

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into myself. What said I not against myself? with what scourges of condemnation lashed I not my soul, that it might follow me, striving to go after Thee! Yet it drew back; refused, but excused not itself. All arguments were spent and confuted; there remained a mute shrinking; and she feared, as she would death, to be restrained from the flux of that custom, whereby she was wasting to death.

Lastly, in the very fever of my irresoluteness, I made with my body many such motions as men sometimes would, but cannot, if either they have not the limbs, or these be bound with bands, weakened with infirmity, or any other way hindered. Thus, if I tore my hair, beat my forehead, if locking my fingers I clasped my knees; I willed, I did it. But I might have willed, and not done it; if the power of motion in my limbs had not obeyed. So many things then I did, when "to will" was not in itself "to be able"; and I did not what both I longed incomparably more to do, and which soon after, when I should will, I should be able to do; because soon after, when I should will, I should will thoroughly. For in these things the ability was one with the will, and to will was to do; and yet was it not done: and more easily did my body obey the weakest willing of my soul, in moving its limbs at its nod, than the soul obeyed itself to accomplish in the will alone this its momentous will.

Whence is this monstrousness? and to what end? Let Thy mercy gleam that I may ask, if so be the secret penalties of men, and those darkest pangs of the sons of Adam, may perhaps answer me. Whence is this monstrousness? and to what end? The mind commands the body, and it obeys instantly; the mind commands itself, and is resisted. The mind commands the hand to be moved; and such readiness is there, that command is scarce distinct from obedience. Yet the mind is mind, the hand is body. The mind commands the mind, its own self, to will and yet it doth not. Whence this monstrousness? and to what end? It commands itself, I say, to will, and would not command, unless it willed, and what it commands is not done. But it willeth not entirely: therefore doth it not command entirely. For so far forth it commandeth, as it willeth; and, so far forth is the thing commanded, not done, as it willeth not. For the will commandeth that there be a will; not another, but itself. But it doth not command entirely, therefore what it commandeth, is not. For were the will entire, it would not even command it to be, because it would already be. It is therefore no monstrousness partly to will, partly to nill, but a disease of the mind, that it doth not wholly rise, by truth up-borne, borne down by custom. And therefore are there two wills, for that one of them is not entire: and what the one lacketh, the other hath...

Thus soul-sick was I, and tormented, accusing myself much more severely than my wont, rolling and turning me in my chain, till that were wholly broken, whereby I now was but just, but still was, held. And Thou, O Lord, pressedst upon me in my inward parts by a severe mercy, redoubling the lashes of fear and shame, lest I should again give way, and not bursting that same slight remaining tie, it should recover strength, and bind me the faster. For I said within myself, "Be it done now, be it done now," and as I spake, I all but enacted it: I all but did it, and did it not: yet sunk not back to my former state, but kept my stand hard by, and took breath. And I essayed again, and wanted somewhat less of it, and somewhat less, and all but touched, and laid hold of it; and yet came not at it, nor touched nor laid hold of it; hesitating to die to death and to live to life: and the worse whereto I was inured, prevailed more with me than the better whereto I was unused: and the very moment

wherein I was to become other than I was, the nearer it approached me, the greater horror did it strike into me; yet did it not strike me back, nor turned me away, but held me in suspense.

The very toys of toys, and vanities of vanities, my ancient mistresses, still held me; they plucked my fleshly garment, and whispered softly, "Dost thou cast us off? and from that moment shall we no more be with thee for ever? and from that moment shall not this or that be lawful for thee for ever?" And what was it which they suggested in that I said, "this or that," what did they suggest, O my God? Let Thy mercy turn it away from the soul of Thy servant. What defilements did they suggest! what shame! And now I much less than half heard them, and not openly showing themselves and contradicting me, but muttering as it were behind my back, and privily plucking me, as I was departing, but to look back on them. Yet they did retard me, so that I hesitated to burst and shake myself free from them, and to spring over whither I was called; a violent habit saying to me, "Thinkest thou, thou canst live without them?"

But now it spake very faintly. For on that side whither I had set my face, and whither I trembled to go, there appeared unto me the chaste dignity of Continency, serene, yet not relaxedly, gay, honestly alluring me to come and doubt not; and stretching forth to receive and embrace me, her holy hands full of multitudes of good examples: there were so many young men and maidens here, a multitude of youth and every age, grave widows and aged virgins; and Continence herself in all, not barren, but a fruitful mother of children of joys, by Thee her Husband, O Lord. And she smiled on me with a persuasive mockery, as would she say, "Canst not thou what these youths, what these maidens can? or can they either in themselves, and not rather in the Lord their God? The Lord their God gave me unto them. Why standest thou in thyself, and so standest not? cast thyself upon Him, fear not He will not withdraw Himself that thou shouldest fall; cast thyself fearlessly upon Him, He will receive, and will heal thee." And I blushed exceedingly, for that I yet heard the muttering of those toys, and hung in suspense. And she again seemed to say, "Stop thine ears against those thy unclean members on the earth, that they may be mortified. They tell thee of delights, but not as doth the law of the Lord thy God." This controversy in my heart was self against self only. But Alypius sitting close by my side, in silence waited the issue of my unwonted emotion.

But when a deep consideration had from the secret bottom of my soul drawn together and heaped up all my misery in the sight of my heart; there arose a mighty storm, bringing a mighty shower of tears. Which that I might pour forth wholly, in its natural expressions, I rose from Alypius: solitude was suggested to me as fitter for the business of weeping; so I retired so far that even his presence could not be a burden to me. Thus was it then with me, and he perceived something of it; for something I suppose I had spoken, wherein the tones of my voice appeared choked with weeping, and so had risen up. He then remained where we were sitting, most extremely astonished. I cast myself down I know not how, under a certain fig-tree, giving full vent to my tears; and the floods of mine eyes gushed out an acceptable sacrifice to Thee. And, not indeed in these words, yet to this purpose, spake I much unto Thee: and Thou, O Lord, how long? how long, Lord, wilt Thou be angry, for ever? Remember not our former iniquities,53 for I felt that I was held by them. I sent up these sorrowful words: How long, how long, "to-morrow, and to-morrow?" Why not now? why not is there this hour an end to my uncleanness?

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So was I speaking and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo! I heard from a neighbouring house a voice, as of boy or girl, I know not, chanting, and oft repeating, "Take up and read: Take up and read." Instantly, my countenance altered, I began to think most intently whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words: nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God to open the book, and read the first chapter I should find. For I had heard of Antony, that coming in during the reading of the Gospel, he received the admonition, as if what was being read was spoken to him: Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me: and by such oracle he was forthwith converted unto Thee. Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostle when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that section on which my eyes first fell: Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, in concupiscence. No further would I read; nor needed I: for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away.

Then putting my finger between, or some other mark, I shut the volume, and with a calmed countenance made it known to Alypius. And what was wrought in him, which I knew not, he thus showed me. He asked to see what I had read: I showed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I knew not what followed. This followed, him that is weak in the faith, receive; which he applied to himself, and disclosed to me. And by this admonition was he strengthened; and by a good resolution and purpose, and most corresponding to his character, wherein he did always very far differ from me, for the better, without any turbulent delay he joined me. Thence we go in to my mother; we tell her; she rejoiceth: we relate in order how it took place; she leaps for joy, and triumpheth, and blessed Thee, Who art able to do above that which we ask or think; for she perceived that Thou hadst given her more for me, than she was wont to beg by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For thou convertedst me unto Thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing in that rule of faith, where Thou hadst showed me unto her in a vision, so many years before. And Thou didst convert her mourning into joy much more plentiful than she had desired, and in a much more precious and purer way than she erst required, by having grandchildren of my body.

THE CITY OF GOD.

BOOK FOURTEENTH.

Of the nature of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly.

Accordingly, two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in For the one seeks glory from men; but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of conscience. The one lifts up its head in its own glory; the other says to its God, "Thou art my glory, and the lifter up of In the one, the princes and the nations it subdues are ruled by the love of ruling; in the other, the princes and the subjects serve one another in love, the latter obeying, while the former take thought for all. The one delights in its own strength, represented in the persons of its rulers; the other says to its God, "I will love Thee, O Lord, And therefore the wise men of the one my strength." city, living according to man, have sought for profit to their own bodies or souls, or both, and those who have known God "glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise,"—that is, glorying in their own wisdom, and being possessed by pride,—"they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.". For they were either leaders or followers of the people in adoring images, "and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever." But in the other city there is no human wisdom, but only godliness, which offers due worship to the true God, and looks for its reward in the society of the saints, of holy angels as well as holy men, "that God may be all in all."

BOOK NINETEENTH.

What produces peace, and what discord, between the heavenly and earthly cities.

But the families which do not live by faith seek their peace in the earthly advantages of this life; while the families which live by faith look for those eternal blessings which are promised, and use as pilgrims such advantages of time and of earth as do not fascinate and divert them from God, but rather aid them to endure with greater ease, and to keep down the number of those burdens of the corruptible body which weigh upon the soul. Thus the things necessary for this mortal life are used by both kinds of men and families

alike, but each has its own peculiar and widely different aim in using them. The earthly city, which does not live by faith.

seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the wellordered concord of civic obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it. But, as the earthly city has had some philosophers whose doctrine is condemned by the divine teaching, and who, being deceived either by their own conjectures or by demons, supposed that many gods must be invited to take an interest in human affairs, and assigned to each a separate function and a separate department,—to one the body, to another the soul; and in the body itself, to one the head, to another the neck, and each of the other members to one of the gods; and in like manner, in the soul, to one god the natural capacity was assigned, to another education, to another anger, to another lust; and so the various affairs of life were assigned,—cattle to one, corn to another, wine to another, oil to another, the woods to another, money to another, navigation to another, wars and victories to another, marriages to another, births and fecundity to another, and other things to other gods: and as the celestial city, on the other hand, knew that one God only was to be worshipped, and that to Him alone was due that service which the Greeks call λατρεία, and which can be given only to a god, it has come to pass that the two cities could not have common laws of religion, and that the heavenly city has been compelled in this matter to dissent, and to become obnoxious to those who think differently, and to stand the brunt of their anger and hatred and persecutions, except in so far as the minds of their enemies have been alarmed by the multitude of the Christians and quelled by the manifest protection of God accorded to them. 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 recognising that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly reace. 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. Even the heavenly city, therefore, while in its state of pilgrimage, avails itself of the peace of earth, and, so far as it can without injuring faith and godliness, desires and maintains a common agreement among men regarding the acquisition of the necessaries of life, and makes this earthly peace bear upon the peace of heaven; for this alone can be truly

called and esteemed the peace of the reasonable creatures, consisting as it does in the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God and of one another in God. When we shall have reached that peace, this mortal life shall give place to one that is eternal, and our body shall be no more this animal body which by its corruption weighs down the soul, but a spiritual body feeling no want, and in all its members subjected to the will. In its pilgrim state the heavenly city possesses this peace by faith; and by this faith it lives righteously when it refers to the attainment of that peace every good action towards God and man; for the life of the city is a social life.

BOOK TWENTIETH.

What the reign of the saints with Christ for a thousand years is, and how it differs from the eternal kingdom.

But while the devil is bound, the saints reign with Christ during the same thousand years, understood in the same way, that is, of the time of His first coming. For, leaving out of account that kingdom concerning which He shall say in the end. "Come, ye blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you," the Church could not now be called His kingdom or the kingdom of heaven unless His saints were even now reigning with Him, though in another and far different way; for to His saints He says, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' it is in this present time that the scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God, and of whom we have already spoken, brings forth from his treasure things new and old. And from the Church those reapers shall gather out the tares which He suffered to grow with the wheat till the harvest, as He explains in the words, "The harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered together and burned with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences." Can He mean out of that kingdom in which are no offences? Then it must be out of His present kingdom, the Church, that they are gathered. So He says, "He that breaketh one of the least of these commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth and teacheth thus shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." of both as being in the kingdom of heaven, both the man who does not perform the commandments which He teaches,-for "to break" means not to keep, not to perform, --- and the man who does and teaches as He did; but the one He calls least, the other great. And He immediately adds, "For I say unto you, that except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees,"—that is, the righteousness of those who break what they teach; for of the scribes and Pharisees He elsewhere says, "For they say and do not;" -unless, therefore, your righteousness exceed theirs, that is, so that you do not break but rather do what you teach, "ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." We must understand in one sense the kingdom of heaven in which exist together both he who breaks what he teaches and he who does it, the one being least, the other great, and in another sense the kingdom of heaven into which only he who does what he teaches shall enter. Consequently, where both classes exist, it is the Church as it now is, but where only the one shall exist, it is the Church as it is destined to be when no wicked person shall be in her. Therefore the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, even now His saints reign with Him, though otherwise than as they shall reign hereafter; and yet, though the tares grow in the Church along with the wheat, they do not reign with Him. For they reign with Him who do what the apostle says, "If ye be risen with Christ, mind the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Seek those things which are above, not the things which are on the earth." persons he also says that their conversation is in heaven. In fine, they reign with Him who are so in His kingdom that they themselves are His kingdom. But in what sense are those the kingdom of Christ who, to say no more, though they are in it until all offences are gathered out of it at the end of the world, yet seek their own things in it, and not the things that are Christ's?

It is then of this kingdom militant, in which conflict with the enemy is still maintained, and war carried on with warring lusts, or government laid upon them as they yield, until we come to that most peaceful kingdom in which we shall reign without an enemy, and it is of this first resurrection in the present life, that the Apocalypse speaks in the words just quoted. For, after saying that the devil is bound a thousand years and is afterwards loosed for a short season, it goes on to give a sketch of what the Church does or of what is done in the Church in those days, in the words, "And I saw seats and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given." It is not to be supposed that this refers to the last judgment, but to the seats of the rulers and to the rulers themselves by whom the Church is now governed. And no better interpretation of judgment being given can be produced than that which we have in the words, "What ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in Whence the apostle says, "What have I to do with judging them that are without? do not ye judge them that are within?" "And the souls," says John, "of those who were slain for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God,"—understanding what he afterwards says, "reigned with Christ a thousand years," —that is, the souls of the martyrs not yet restored to their bodies. For the souls of the pious dead are not separated from the Church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ; otherwise there would be no remembrance made of them at the altar of God in the partaking of the body of Christ, nor would it do any good in danger to run to His baptism, that we might not pass from this life without it; nor to reconciliation, if by penitence or a bad conscience any one may be severed from His body. For why are these things practised, if not because the faithful, even though dead, are His members? Therefore, while these thousand years run on, their souls reign with Him, though not as yet in conjunction with their bodies. And therefore in another part of this same book we read, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: and now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works do follow them."

The Church, then, begins its reign with Christ now in the living and in the dead. For, as the apostle says, "Christ died that He might be Lord both of the living and of the dead." But he mentioned the souls of the martyrs only, because they who have contended even to death for the truth, themselves principally reign after death; but, taking the part for the whole, we understand the words of all others who belong to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.

As to the words following, "And if any have not worshipped the beast nor his image, nor have received his inscription on their forehead, or on their hand," we must take them of both the living and the dead. And what this beast is. though it requires a more careful investigation, yet it is not inconsistent with the true faith to understand it of the ungodly city itself, and the community of unbelievers set in opposition to the faithful people and the city of God. "His image" seems to me to mean his simulation, to wit, in those men who profess to believe, but live as unbelievers. For they pretend to be what they are not, and are called Christians. not from a true likeness, but from a deceitful image. For to this beast belong not only the avowed enemies of the name of Christ and His most glorious city, but also the tares which are to be gathered out of His kingdom, the Church, in the end And who are they who do not worship the of the world. beast and his image, if not those who do what the apostle says, "Be not yoked with unbelievers?" For such do not worship, i.e. do not consent, are not subjected; neither do they receive the inscription, the brand of crime, on their forehead by their profession, on their hand by their practice. They, then, who are free from these pollutions, whether they still live in this mortal flesh, or are dead, reign with Christ even now, through this whole interval which is indicated by the thousand years, in a fashion suited to this time.

"The rest of them," he says, "did not live." For now is the hour when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live; and the rest of them shall not live. The words added, "until the thousand years are finished," mean that they did not live in the time in which they ought to have lived by passing from death to life. And therefore, when the day of the bodily resurrection arrives, they shall come out of their graves, not to life, but to judgment, namely, to damnation, which is called the second death. whosoever has not lived until the thousand years be finished, i.e. during this whole time in which the first resurrection is going on,-whosoever has not heard the voice of the Son of God, and passed from death to life,—that man shall certainly in the second resurrection, the resurrection of the flesh, pass with his flesh into the second death. For he goes on to say, "This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection," or who experiences it. Now he experiences it who not only revives from the death of sin, but continues in this renewed life. "In these the second death hath no power." Therefore it has power in the rest, of whom he said above, "The rest of them did not live until the thousand years were finished;" for in this whole intervening time, called a thousand years, however lustily they lived in the body, they were not quickened to life out of that death in which their wickedness held them, so that by this revived life they should become partakers of the first resurrection, and so the second death should have no power over them.

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VII - 1 - 12

HISTORY OF THE FRANKS

By GREGORY BISHOP OF TOURS

HERE BEGINS GREGORY'S FIRST PREFACE

WITH liberal culture on the wane, or rather perishing in the Gallic cities, there were many deeds being done both good and evil: the heathen were raging fiercely; kings were growing more cruel; the church, attacked by heretics, was defended by Catholics; while the Christian faith was in general devoutly cherished, among some it was growing cold; the churches also were enriched by the faithful or plundered by traitors - and no grammarian skilled in the dialectic art could be found to describe these matters either in prose or verse; and many were lamenting and saying: "Woe to our day, since the pursuit of letters has perished from among us and no one can be found among the people who can set forth the deeds of the present on the written page." Hearing continually these complaints and others like them I [have undertaken] to commemorate the past, in order that it may come to the knowledge of the future; and although my speech is rude, I have been unable to be silent as to the struggles between the wicked and the upright; and I have been especially encouraged because, to my surprise, it has often been said by men of our day, that few understand the learned words of the rhetorician but many the rude language of the common people. I have decided also that for the reckoning of the years the first book shall begin with the very beginning of the world, and I have given its chapters below.

THE SECOND BOOK

27. After these events Childeric died and Clovis his son reigned in his stead. In the fifth year of his reign Siagrius, king of the Romans, son of Egidius, had his seat in the city of Soissons which Egidius, who has been mentioned before, once held. And Clovis came against him with Ragnachar, his kinsman, because he used to possess the kingdom, and demanded that they make ready a battle-field. And Siagrius did not delay nor was he afraid to resist. 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. And Clovis took him and gave orders to put him under guard, and when he had got his kingdom he directed that he be executed secretly. At that time many churches were despoiled by Clovis' army, since he was as yet involved in heathen error. Now the army had taken from a certain church a vase of wonderful size and beauty, along with the remainder of the utensils for the service of the church. And the bishop of the church sent messengers to the king asking that the vase at least be returned, if he could not get back any more of the sacred dishes. On hearing this

the king said to the messenger: "Follow us as far as Soissons. because all that has been taken is to be divided there and when the lot assigns me that dish I will do what the father 1 asks." Then when he came to Soissons and all the booty was set in their midst. the king said: "I ask of you, brave warriors, not to refuse to grant me in addition to my share, yonder dish," that is, he was speaking of the vase just mentioned. In answer to the speech of the king those of more sense replied: "Glorious king, all that we see is yours. and we ourselves are subject to your rule. Now do what seems well-pleasing to you; for no one is able to resist your power." When they said this a foolish, envious and excitable fellow lifted his battle-ax and struck the vase, and cried in a loud voice: "You shall get nothing here except what the lot fairly bestows on you." At this all were stupefied, but the king endured the insult with the gentleness of patience, and taking the vase he handed it over to the messenger of the church, nursing the wound deep in his heart. And at the end of the year he ordered the whole army to come with their equipment of armor, to show the brightness of their arms on the field of March. And when he was reviewing them all carefully, he came to the man who struck the vase, and said to him: "No one has brought armor so carelessly kept as you; for neither your spear nor sword nor ax is in serviceable condition." And seizing his ax he cast it to the earth, and when the other had bent over somewhat to pick it up, the king raised his hands and drove his own ax into the man's head. "This," said he, "is what you did at Soissons to the vase." Upon the death of this man, he ordered the rest to depart, raising great dread of himself by this action. He made many wars and gained many victories. In the tenth year of his reign he made war on the Thuringi and brought them under his dominion.

28. Now the king of the Burgundians was Gundevech, of the family of king Athanaric the persecutor, whom we have mentioned before. He had four sons; Gundobad, Godegisel, Chilperic and Godomar. Gundobad killed his brother Chilperic with the sword, and sank his wife in water with a stone tied to her neck. His two daughters he condemned to exile; the older of these, who became a nun, was called Chrona, and the younger Clotilda. And as Clovis often sent embassies to Burgundy, the maiden Clotilda was found by his envoys. And when they saw that she was of good bearing and wise, and learned that she was of the family of the king, they reported this to King Clovis, and he sent an embassy to Gundobad without delay asking her in marriage. And Gundobad was afraid to refuse, and surrendered her to the men, and they took the girl and brought her swiftly to the king. The king was very glad when he saw her, and married her, having already by a concubine a son named Theodoric.

29. He had a first-born son by queen Clotilda, and as his wife wished to consecrate him in baptism, she tried unceasingly to persuade her husband, saying: "The gods you worship are nothing, and they will be unable to help themselves or any one else. For they are graven out of stone or wood or some metal. And the names you have given them are names of men and not of gods, as Saturn, who is declared to have fled in fear of being banished from

¹ papa. The word was used in the early Middle Ages in unrestricted, informal sense, and applied widely to bishops. Cf. Du Cange, Glossarium.

his kingdom by his son; as Jove himself, the foul perpetrator of all shameful crimes, committing incest with men, mocking at his kinswomen, not able to refrain from intercourse with his own sister as she herself says: Jovisque et soror et conjunx. What could Mars or Mercury do? They are endowed rather with the magic arts than with the power of the divine name. But he ought rather to be worshipped who created by his word heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is out of a state of nothingness, who made the sun shine, and adorned the heavens with stars, who filled the waters with creeping things, the earth with living things and the air with creatures that fly, at whose nod the earth is decked with growing crops, the trees with fruit, the vines with grapes, by whose hand mankind was created, by whose generosity all that creation serves and helps man whom he created as his own." But though the queen said this the spirit of the king was by no means moved to belief, and he said: "It was at the command of our gods that all things were created and came forth, and it is plain that your God has no power and, what is more, he is proven not to belong to the family of the gods." Meantime the faithful queen made her son ready for baptism; she gave command to adorn the church with hangings and curtains, in order that he who could not be moved by persuasion might be urged to belief by this mystery. The boy, whom they named Ingomer, died after being baptized, still wearing the white garments in which he became regenerate. At this the king was violently angry, and reproached the queen harshly, saying: "If the boy had been dedicated in the name of my gods he would certainly have lived; but as it is, since he was baptized in the name of your God, he could not live at all." To this the queen said: "I give thanks to the omnipotent God, creator of all, who has judged me not wholly unworthy, that he should deign to take to his kingdom one born from my womb. My soul is not stricken with grief for his sake, because I know that, summoned from this world as he was in his baptismal garments, he will be fed by the vision of God."

After this she bore another son, whom she named Chlodomer at baptism; and when he fell sick, the king said: "It is impossible that anything else should happen to him than happened to his brother, namely, that being baptized in the name of your Christ, he should die at once." But through the prayers of his mother, and the Lord's command, he became well.

30. The queen did not cease to urge him to recognize the true God and cease worshiping idols. But he could not be influenced in any way to this belief, until at last a war arose with the Alamanni, in which he was driven by necessity to confess what before he had of his free will denied. It came about that as the two armies were fighting fiercely, there was much slaughter, and Clovis's army began to be in danger of destruction. He saw it and raised his eyes to heaven, and with remorse in his heart he burst into tears and cried: "Jesus Christ, whom Clotilda asserts to be the son of the living God, who art said to give aid to those in distress, and to bestow victory on those who hope in thee, I beseech the glory of thy aid, with the vow that if thou wilt grant me victory over these enemies, and I shall know that power which she says that people dedicated in thy name have had from thee, I will believe in thee and be baptized in thy name. For I have invoked my own gods,

but, as I find, they have withdrawn from aiding me; and therefore I believe that they possess no power, since they do not help those who obey them. I now call upon thee, I desire to believe thee, only let me be rescued from my adversaries." And when he said this, the Alamanni turned their backs, and began to disperse in flight. And when they saw that their king was killed, they submitted to the dominion of Clovis, saying: "Let not the people perish further, we pray; we are yours now." And he stopped the fighting, and after encouraging his men, retired in peace and told the queen how he had had merit to win the victory by calling on the name of Christ. This happened in the fifteenth year of his reign.

31. Then the queen asked saint Remi, bishop of Rheims, to summon Clovis secretly, urging him to introduce the king to the word of salvation. And the bishop sent for him secretly and began to urge him to believe in the true God, maker of heaven and earth, and to cease worshiping idols, which could help neither themselves nor any one else. But the king said: "I gladly hear you, most holy father; but there remains one thing: the people who follow me cannot endure to abandon their gods; but I shall go and speak to them according to your words." He met with his followers, but before he could speak the power of God anticipated him, and all the people cried out together: "O pious king, we reject our mortal gods, and we are ready to follow the immortal God whom Remi preaches." This was reported to the bishop, who was greatly rejoiced, and bade them get ready the baptismal font. The squares were shaded with tapestried canopies, the churches adorned with white curtains, the baptistery set in order, the aroma of incense spread, candles of fragrant odor burned brightly, and the whole shrine of the baptistery was filled with a divine fragrance: and the Lord gave such grace to those who stood by that they thought they were placed amid the odors of paradise. And the king was the first to ask to be baptized by the bishop. Another Constantine advanced to the baptismal font, to terminate the disease of ancient leprosy and wash away with fresh water the foul spots that had long been borne. And when he entered to be baptized, the saint of God began with ready speech: "Gently bend your neck, Sigamber; worship what you burned; burn what you worshipped." The holy bishop Remi was a man of excellent wisdom and especially trained in rhetorical studies, and of such surpassing holiness that he equalled the miracles of Silvester. For there is extant a book of his life which tells that he raised a dead man. And so the king confessed all-powerful God in the Trinity, and was baptized in the name of the Father, Son and holy Spirit, and was anointed with the holy ointment with the sign of the cross of Christ. And of his army more than 3000 were baptized. His sister also, Albofled, was baptized, who not long after passed to the Lord. And when the king was in mourning for her, the holy Remi sent a letter of consolation which began in this way: "The reason of your mourning pains me, and pains me greatly, that Albofled your sister, of good memory, has passed away. But I can give you this comfort, that her departure from the world was such that she ought to be envied rather than mourned." Another sister also was converted, Lanthechild by name, who had fallen into the heresy of the Arians, and she confessed that the Son and the holy Spirit were equal to the Father, and was anointed.

32. At that time the brothers Gundobad and Godegisel were kings of the country about the Rhone and the Saône 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, 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." 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." When he said this, Aridius bade him good-by and departed, and going to King Clovis he said: "Behold I am your humble servant, most pious king, I come to your protection, leaving the wretched Gundobad. And if your goodness condescends to receive me, both you and your children shall have in me a true and faithful servant." Clovis received him very readily, and kept him by him, for he was entertaining in story-telling, ready in counsel, just in judgment, and faithful in what was put in his charge. Then when Clovis with all his army sat around the walls of the city, Aridius said: "O King, if the glory of your loftiness should kindly consent to hear the few words of my lowliness, though you do not need counsel, yet I would utter them with entire faithfulness, and they will be advantageous to you and to the cities through which you purpose to go. Why," said he, "do you keep your army here, when your enemy sits in a very strong place? If you ravage the fields, lay waste the meadows, cut down the vineyards, lay low the olive-yards, and destroy all the produce of the country, you do not, however, succeed in doing him any harm. Send an embassy rather and impose tribute to be paid you every year, so that the country may be safe and you may rule forever over a tributary. And if he refuses, then do whatever pleases you." The king took this advice, and commanded his army to return home. Then he sent an embassy to Gundobad, and ordered him to pay him every year a tribute. And he paid it at once and promised that he would pay it for the future.

- 33. Later he regained his power, and now contemptuously refused to pay the promised tribute to king Clovis, and set his army in motion against his brother Godegisel, and shut him up in the city of Vienne and besieged him. And when food began to be lacking for the common people, Godegisel was afraid that the famine would extend to himself, and gave orders that the common people be expelled from the city. When this was done, there was driven out, among the rest, the artisan who had charge of the aqueduct. And he was indignant that he had been cast out from the city with the rest, and went to Gundobad in a rage to inform him how to burst into the city and take vengeance on his brother. Under his guidance an army was led through the aqueduct, and many with iron crowbars went in front, for there was a vent in the aqueduct closed with a great stone, and when this had been pushed away with crowbars, by direction of the artisan, they entered the city, and surprised from the rear the defenders who were shooting arrows from the wall. 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.
- [34. King Gundobad is converted to the doctrine of the Trinity but will not confess it in public. The writings of bishop Avitus are described.]
- 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.

43. After all this he died at Paris, and was buried in the church of the holy apostles, which he himself had built together with his queen Clotilda. He passed away in the fifth year after the battle of Vouillé, and all the days of his reign were thirty years, and his age was forty-five. From the death of St. Martin to the death of king Clovis, which happened in the eleventh year of the episcopate of Licinius, bishop of Tours, one hundred and twelve years are reckoned. Queen Clotilda came to Tours after the death of her husband and served there in the church of St. Martin, and dwelt in the place with the greatest chastity and kindness all the days of her life, rarely visiting Paris.

EINHARD

THE

LIFE OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES

Having made up my mind to write an account of the life and conversation, and to a large extent of the actions of my lord and patron King Charles, of great and deservedly glorious memory, I have compressed my task within the narrowest possible limits. My aim has been on the one hand to insert everything of which I have been able to find an account; and on the other to avoid offending the fastidious by telling each new incident at wearisome length. Above all, I have tried to avoid offending in this new book those who look down upon even the monuments of antiquity written by learned and eloquent men.

There are, I do not doubt, many men of learning and leisure who feel that the life of the present day must not be utterly neglected, and that the doings of our own time should not be devoted to silence and forgetfulness as wholly unworthy of record; who, therefore, have such love of fame that they would rather chronicle the great deeds of others in writings, however poor, than, by abstaining from writing, allow their name and reputation to perish from the memory of mankind. But, even so, I have felt that I ought not to hold my hand from the composition of this book, for I knew that no one could write of these events more truthfully than I could, since I was myself an actor in them, and, being present, knew them from the testimony of my own eyes; while I could not certainly know whether anyone else would write them or no. I thought it better, therefore, to join with others in committing this story to writing for the benefit of posterity rather than to allow the shades of oblivion to blot out the life of this King. the noblest and greatest of his age, and his famous deeds, which the men of later times will scarcely be able to imitate.

Another reason, and not, I think, a foolish one, occurred to me, which even by itself would have been strong enough to persuade me to write—the care, I mean, that was taken with my upbringing, and the unbroken friendship which I enjoyed with the King himself and his children from the time when first I began to live at his Court. For in this way he has so bound me to himself, and has made me his debtor both in life and death, that I should most justly be considered and condemned as ungrateful if I were to forget all the benefits that he conferred upon me and were to pass over in silence the great and glorious deeds of a man who was so kind to me; if I were to allow his life to remain as unchronicled and unpraised, as if he had never lived, when that life deserves not merely the efforts of my poor talents, which are insignificant, small and almost non-existent, but all the eloquence of a Cicero.

So here you have a book containing the life of that great and glorious man. There is nothing for you to wonder at or admire except his deeds; unless, indeed, it be that I, a barbarian, and little versed in the Roman tongue, have imagined that I could write Latin inoffensively and usefully, and have become so swollen with impudence as to despise Cicero's words when, speaking about Latin writers in the first book of the Tusculans, he says: "If a man commits his thoughts to paper when he can neither arrange them well nor write them agreeably, nor furnish pleasure of any kind to the reader, he is recklessly misusing both his leisure and his paper." The great orator's opinion would, perhaps, have deterred me from writing if I had not fortified myself with the reflection that I ought to risk the condemnation of men, and bring my poor talents into peril by writing, rather than spare my reputation and neglect this great man's memory.

The Preface ends: the Book begins

HE race of the Merovings from which the I Franks were accustomed to choose their kings is reckoned as lasting to King Hilderich, who, by the order of Stephen, the Roman Pontiff, was deposed, tonsured, and sent into a monastery. But this race, though it may be regarded as finishing with him, had long since lost all power, and no longer possessed anything of importance except the empty royal title. For the wealth and power of the kingdom was in the hands of the Præfects of the Court, who were called Mayors of the Palace, and exercised entire sovereignty. The King, contented with the mere royal title, with long hair and flowing beard, used to sit upon the throne and act the part of a ruler, listening to ambassadors, whencesoever they came, and giving them at their departure, as though of his own power, answers which he had been instructed or commanded to give. But this was the only function that he performed, for besides the empty royal title and the precarious life income which the Præfect of the Court allowed him at his pleasure he had nothing of his own except one estate with a very small revenue, on which he had his house, and from which he drew the few servants who performed such services as were necessary and made him a show of deference. Wherever he had to go he travelled in a waggon, drawn in rustic style by a pair of oxen, and driven by a cowherd. In this fashion he used to go to the palace and to the general meetings of the people, which were held yearly for the affairs of the kingdom; in this fashion he returned home. But the Præfect of the Court looked after the administration of the kingdom and all that had to be done or arranged at home or abroad.

2. When Hilderich was deposed Pippin, the father of King Charles, was performing the duties of Mayor of the Palace as if by hereditary right. For his father Charles, who put down the tyrants who were claiming dominion for themselves through all Frankland, and so crushed the Saracens, when they were attempting to conquer Gaul, in two great battles (the one in Aquitania, near the city of Poitiers, the other near Narbonne, on the river Birra), that he forced them to return into Spain—his father Charles had nobly administered the same office, and had inherited it from his father Pippin. For the people did not usually give this honour except to such as were distinguished for the renown of their family and the extent of their wealth.

This office, then, was handed down from his father and his grandfather to Pippin, the father of King Charles, and to his brother Carloman. He exercised it for some years conjointly with his brother Carloman on terms of the greatest harmony, still in nominal subordination to the above-mentioned King Hilderich. But then his brother Carloman, for some unknown cause, but probably fired with love of the contemplative life, abandoned the toilsome administration of a temporal kingdom and retired to Rome in search of peace. There he changed his dress, and, becoming a monk in the monastery upon Mount Soracte, built near the church of the blessed Silvester, enjoyed for some years the quiet that he desired, with many brethren, who joined themselves to him for the same purpose. But as many of the nobles of Frankland came on pilgrimage to Rome to perform their vows, and, unwilling to pass by one who had once been their lord, interrupted the peace that he most desired by frequent visits, he was compelled to change his abode. For, seeing that the number of his visitors interfered with his purpose, he left Mount Soracte and retired to the monastery of Saint Benedict, situated in the camp of Mount Cassino, in the province of Samnium. There he occupied what remained to him of this temporal life in religious exercises.

3. But Pippin, after he was made King instead of Mayor of the Palace by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, exercised sole rule over the Franks for fifteen years, or rather more. Then, after finishing the Aquitanian war, which he had undertaken against Waifar, Duke of Aquitania, and had carried on for

nine consecutive years, he died at Paris of the dropsy. and left behind him two sons, Charles and Carloman. to whom by divine will the succession of the kingdom came. For the Franks called a solemn public assembly, and elected both of them to be kings, on the understanding that they should equally divide the whole kingdom, but that Charles should receive for his special administration that part which his father Pippin had held, while Carloman received the territories ruled by their uncle Carloman. The conditions were accepted, and each received the share of the kingdom that was allotted to him. Harmony was maintained between the two brothers, though not without difficulty; for many partisans of Carloman tried to break their alliance, and some even hoped to engage them in war. But the course of events proved that the danger to Charles was imaginary rather than real. For, upon the death of Carloman, his wife with her sons and some of the leading nobles fled to Italy, and, for no obvious reason, passed over her husband's brother, and placed herself and her children under the protection of Desiderius, King of the Lombards. Carloman, after ruling the kingdom for two years conjointly with Charles, died of disease, and Charles, upon the death of Carloman, was made sole king with the consent of all the Franks.

4. It would be foolish of me to say anything about his birth and infancy, or even about his boyhood, for I can find nothing about these matters in writing, nor does anyone survive who claims to have personal knowledge of them. I have decided, therefore, to pass on to describe and illustrate his acts and his habits and the other divisions of his life without lingering over the unknown. I shall describe first his exploits both at home and abroad, then his habits and interests, and lastly the administration of the kingdom and the end of his reign, omitting nothing that demands or deserves to be recorded.

5. Of all the wars that he waged that in Aquitania, begun, but not finished, by his father, was the first that he undertook, because it seemed easy of accomplishment. His brother was still alive, and was called upon for assistance, and, though he failed to provide the help that he promised, Charles prosecuted the enterprise that he had undertaken with the utmost energy, and would not desist or slacken in his task before, by perseverance and continuous effort, he had completely reached the end after which he strove. For he forced Hunold, who after the death of Waifar had attempted to occupy Aquitania and renew the almost finished war, to abandon Aquitania and retire into Gascony. Even there he did not allow him to remain, but crossed the Garonne, and sent ambassadors to Lupus, Duke of the Gascons, ordering him to surrender the fugitive, and threatening him with war unless he did so at once. Lupus, more wisely, not only surrendered Hunold but also submitted himself and the province over which he presided to the power of Charles.

6. When the Aquitanian trouble was settled and the war finished, when, too, his partner in the kingdom had withdrawn from the world's affairs, he undertook a war against the Lombards, being

moved thereto by the entreaties and the prayers of Hadrian, Bishop of the City of Rome. Now, this war, too, had been undertaken by his father at the supplication of Pope Stephen, under circumstances of great difficulty, inasmuch as certain of the chiefs of the Franks, whose advice he was accustomed to ask, so strongly resisted his wishes that they openly declared that they would leave their King to return home. But now Charles undertook the war against King Haistulf, and most swiftly brought it to an end. For, though his reasons for undertaking the war were similar to, and, indeed, the same as those of his father, he plainly fought it out with a very different energy, and brought it to a different end. For Pippin, after a siege of a few days at Pavia, forced King Haistulf to give hostages, and restore to the Romans the towns and fortresses that he had taken from them, and to give a solemn promise that he would not attempt to regain what he had surrendered. But King Charles, when once he had begun the war, did not stop until he had received the surrender of King Desiderius, whom he had worn down after a long siege; until he had forced his son Adalgis, in whom the hopes of his people seemed to be centred, to fly not only from his kingdom but from Italy; until he had restored to the Romans all that had been taken from them: until he had crushed Hruodgausus, Præfect of the Duchy of Friuli, who was attempting a revolution; until, in fine, he had brought all Italy under his rule, and placed his son Pippin as king over the conquered country. I should describe here the difficulties of the passage of the Alps and the vast toil with which the Franks found their way through the pathless mountain ridges, the rocks that soared to heaven, and the sharply-pointed cliffs, if it were not that my purpose in the present work is rather to describe Charles's manner of life than to chronicle the events of the wars that he waged. The sum of this war was the conquest of Italy, the transportation and perpetual exile of King Desiderius, the expulsion of his son Adalgis from Italy, power taken from the kings of the Lombards and restored to Hadrian, the Ruler of the Roman Church.

7. When this war was ended the Saxon war, which seemed dropped for a time, was taken up again. Never was there a war more prolonged nor more cruel than this, nor one that required greater efforts on the part of the Frankish peoples. For the Saxons, like most of the races that inhabit Germany, are by nature fierce, devoted to the worship of demons and hostile to our religion, and they think it no dishonour to confound and transgress the laws of God and man. There were reasons, too, which might at any time cause a disturbance of the peace. For our boundaries and theirs touch almost everywhere on the open plain, except where in a few places large forests or ranges of mountains are interposed to separate the territories of the two nations by a definite frontier; so that on both sides murder,

robbery, and arson were of constant occurrence. The Franks were so irritated by these things that they thought it was time no longer to be satisfied with retaliation but to declare open war against them.

So war was declared, and was fought for thirty vears continuously with the greatest fierceness on both sides, but with heavier loss to the Saxons than the Franks. The end might have been reached sooner had it not been for the perfidy of the Saxons. It is hard to say how often they admitted themselves beaten and surrendered as suppliants to King Charles; how often they promised to obey his orders, gave without delay the required hostages, and received the ambassadors that were sent to them. Sometimes they were so cowed and broken that they promised to abandon the worship of devils and willingly to submit themselves to the Christian religion. But though sometimes ready to bow to his commands they were always eager to break their promise, so that it is impossible to say which course seemed to come more natural to them, for from the beginning of the war there was scarcely a year in which they did not both promise and fail to perform.

But the high courage of the King and the constancy of his mind, which remained unshaken by prosperity and adversity, could not be conquered by their changes nor forced by weariness to desist from his undertakings. He never allowed those who offended in this way to go unpunished, but either led an army himself, or sent one under the command of his counts, to chastise their perfidy and inflict a suitable penalty. So that at last, when all who had resisted had been defeated and brought under his power, he took ten thousand of the inhabitants of both banks of the Elbe, with their wives and children, and planted them in many groups in various parts of Germany and Gaul. And at last the war, protracted through so many years, was finished on conditions proposed by the King and accepted by them; they were to abandon the worship of devils, to turn from their national ceremonies, to receive the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and then, joined to the Franks, to make one people with them.

8. In this war, despite its prolongation through so many years, he did not himself meet the enemy in battle more than twice—once near the mountain called Osning, in the district of Detmold, and again at the river Hasa—and both these battles were fought in one month, with an interval of only a few days. In these two battles the enemy were so beaten and cowed that they never again ventured to challenge the King nor to resist his attack unless they were protected by some advantage of ground.

In this war many men of noble birth and high office fell on the side both of the Franks and Saxons. But at last it came to an end in the thirty-third year, though in the meanwhile so many and such serious wars broke out against the Franks in all parts of the

world, and were carried on with such skill by the King, that an observer may reasonably doubt whether his endurance of toil or his good fortune deserves the greater admiration. For the war in Italy began two years before the Saxon war, and though it was prosecuted without intermission no enterprise in any part of the world was dropped, nor was there anywhere a truce in any struggle, however difficult. For this King, the wisest and most high-minded of all who in that age ruled over the nations of the world, never refused to undertake or prosecute any enterprise because of the labour involved, nor withdrew from it through fear of its danger. He understood the true character of each task that he undertook or carried through, and thus was neither broken by adversity nor misled by the false flatteries of good fortune.

9. Whilst the war with the Saxons was being prosecuted constantly and almost continuously he placed garrisons at suitable places on the frontier, and attacked Spain with the largest military expedition that he could collect. He crossed the Pyrenees, received the surrender of all the towns and fortresses that he attacked, and returned with his army safe and sound, except for a reverse which he experienced through the treason of the Gascons on his return through the passes of the Pyrences. For while his army was marching in a long line, suiting their formation to the character of the ground and the defiles, the Gascons placed an ambuscade on the top. of the mountain-where the density and extent of the woods in the neighbourhood rendered it highly suitable for such a purpose—and then rushing down into the valley beneath threw into disorder the last part of the baggage train and also the rearguard which acted as a protection to those in advance. In the battle which followed the Gascons slew their opponents to the last man. Then they seized uponthe baggage, and under cover of the night, which was already falling, they scattered with the utmost rapidity in different directions. The Gascons were assisted in this feat by the lightness of their armour and the character of the ground where the affair took place. In this battle Eggihard, the surveyor of the royal table; Anselm, the Count of the Palace; and Roland, Præfect of the Breton frontier, were killed along with very many others. Nor could this assault be punished at once, for when the deed had been done the enemy so completely disappeared that they left behind them not so much as a rumour of their whereabouts.

22. His body was large and strong; his stature tall but not ungainly, for the measure of his height was seven times the length of his own feet. The top of his head was round; his eyes were very large and piercing. His nose was rather larger than is usual; he had beautiful white hair; and his expression was brisk and cheerful; so that, whether sitting or standing, his appearance was dignified and impressive. Although his neck was rather thick and short and he was somewhat corpulent this was not noticed owing

to the good proportions of the rest of his body. His step was firm and the whole carriage of his body manly; his voice was clear, but hardly so strong as you would have expected. He had good health, but for four years before his death was frequently attacked by fevers, and at last was lame of one foot. Even then he followed his own opinion rather than the advice of his doctors, whom he almost hated, because they advised him to give up the roast meat to which he was accustomed, and eat boiled instead. He constantly took exercise both by riding and hunting. This was a national habit; for there is hardly any race on the earth that can be placed on equality with the Franks in this respect. He took delight in the vapour of naturally hot waters, and constantly practised swimming. in which he was so proficient that no one could be fairly regarded as his superior. Partly for this reason he built his palace at Aix, and lived there continuously during the last years of his life up to the time of his death. He used to invite not only his sons to the bath but also his nobles and friends, and at times even a great number of his followers and bodyguards.

23. He wore the national—that is to say, the Frankish dress. His shirts and drawers were of linen. then came a tunic with a silken fringe, and hose. His legs were cross-gartered and his feet enclosed in shoes. In winter-time he defended his shoulders and chest with a jerkin made of the skins of otters and ermine. He was clad in a blue cloak, and always wore a sword, with the hilt and belt of either gold or silver. Occasionally, too, he used a jewelled sword, but this was only on the great festivals or when he received ambassadors from foreign nations. He disliked foreign garments, however beautiful, and would never consent to wear them, except once at Rome on the request of Pope Hadrian, and once again upon the entreaty of his successor, Pope Leo, when he wore a long tunic and cloak, and put on shoes made after the Roman fashion. On festal days he walked in procession in a garment of gold cloth, with jewelled boots and a golden girdle to his cloak, and distinguished further by a diadem of gold and precious stones. But on other days his dress differed little from that of the common people.

24. He was temperate in eating and drinking, but especially so in drinking; for he had a fierce hatred of drunkenness in any man, and especially in himself or in his friends. He could not abstain so easily from food, and used often to complain that fasting was injurious to his health. He rarely gave large banquets, and only on the high festivals, but then he invited a large number of guests. His daily meal was served in four courses only, exclusive of the roast, which the hunters used to bring in on spits, and which he ate with more pleasure than any other food. During the meal there was either singing or a reader for him to listen to. Histories and the great deeds of men of old were read to him. He took delight also in the books of Saint Augustine, and especially in those which are entitled the City of God. He was so temperate in the use of wine and drink of any kind that he rarely drank oftener than thrice during dinner.

to officiate in their ordinary dress. He carefully reformed the manner of reading and singing; for he was thoroughly instructed in both, though he never read publicly himself, nor sang except in a low voice, and with the rest of the congregation.

27. He was most devout in relieving the poor and in those free gifts which the Greeks call alms. For he gave it his attention not only in his own country and in his own kingdom, but he also used to send money across the sea to Syria, to Egypt, to Africa—to Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Carthage—in compassion for the poverty of any Christians whose miserable condition in those countries came to his ears. It was for this reason chiefly that he cultivated the friendship of kings beyond the sea, hoping thereby to win for the Christians living beneath their sway some succour and relief.

Beyond all other sacred and venerable places he loved the church of the holy Apostle Peter at Rome, and he poured into its treasury great wealth in silver and gold and precious stones. He sent innumerable gifts to the Pope; and during the whole course of his reign he strove with all his might (and, indeed, no object was nearer to his heart than this) to restore to the city of Rome her ancient authority, and not merely to defend the church of Saint Peter but to decorate and enrich it out of his resources above all other churches. But although he valued Rome so much, still, during all the forty-seven years that he reigned, he only went there four times to pay his vows and offer up his prayers.

28. But such were not the only objects of his last visit; for the Romans had grievously outraged Pope Leo, had torn out his eyes and cut off his tongue, and thus forced him to throw himself upon the protection of the King. He, therefore came to Rome to restore the condition of the church, which was terribly disturbed, and spent the whole of the winter there. It was then that he received the title of Emperor and Augustus, which he so disliked at first that he affirmed that he would not have entered the church on that day-though it was the chief festival of the church—if he could have foreseen the design of the Pope. But when he had taken the title he bore very quietly the hostility that it caused and the indignation of the Roman emperors. He conquered their illfeeling by his magnanimity, in which, doubtless, he far excelled them, and sent frequent embassies to them, and called them his brothers.

29. When he had taken the imperial title he noticed many defects in the legal systems of his people; for the Franks have two legal systems, differing in many points very widely from one another, and he, therefore, determined to add what was lacking, to reconcile the differences, and to amend anything that was wrong or wrongly expressed. He completed nothing of all his designs beyond adding a few capitularies, and those unfinished. But he gave orders that the laws and rules of all nations comprised within his dominions which were not already written out should be collected and committed to writing.

He also wrote out the barbarous and ancient songs,

GREGORY VII'S CONCEPTION OF THE POPE'S PREROGATIVES

The Dictatus of Gregory VII (1075).

Among the letters and decrees of Gregory VII a list of propositions is found which briefly summarizes the claims of the papacy. The purpose of this so-called *Dictatus* is unknown; it was probably drawn up shortly after Gregory's accession and no doubt gives an official statement of the powers which he believed that he rightly possessed. The more important of the twenty-seven propositions contained in the *Dictatus* are given below.

The Roman church was founded by God alone.

The Roman bishop alone is properly called universal.

He alone may depose bishops and reinstate them.

His legate, though of inferior grade, takes precedence, in a council, of all bishops and may render a decision of deposition against them.

He alone may use the insignia of empire.1

The pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes.

His title is unique in the world.2

He may depose emperors.

No council may be regarded as a general one without his consent.

No book or chapter may be regarded as canonical without his authority.

A decree of his may be annulled by no one; he alone may annul the decrees of all.

He may be judged by no one.

No one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the papal see.

The Roman church has never erred, nor ever, by the witness of Scripture, shall err to all eternity.

He may not be considered Catholic who does not agree with the Roman church.

The pope may absolve the subjects of the unjust from their allegiance.

ORIGIN OF THE TROUBLES BETWEEN GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

In 1075 a synod held at Rome under Gregory VII denounced the marriage of the clergy, prohibited lay investiture, and then excommunicated five of Henry IV's councilors on the ground that they had gained the church offices which they held, by simony. While the text of this decree, which in a way began the trouble between Gregory and Henry, is lost, it was probably similar to the following decrees issued respectively three and five years later.

The Donation of Constantine describes the emperor Constantine as leaving his imperial scepter, cloak, etc., to Pope Sylvester. The word "use" (Latin uti) here employed may perhaps be used in the sense of "dispose of," referring to the pope's asserted claim to control the election of the emperor.

² This is the first distinct assertion of the exclusive right of the bishop of Rome to the title of pope, once applied to all bishops.

Inasmuch as we have learned that, contrary to the ordinances of the holy fathers, the investiture with churches is, in many places, performed by lay persons, and that from this cause many disturbances arise in the Church by which the Christian religion is degraded, we decree that no one of the clergy shall receive the investiture with a bishopric, or abbey, or church, from the hand of an emperor, or king, or of any lay person, male or female. If he shall presume to do so, let him know that such investiture is void by apostolic authority, and that he himself shall lie under excommunication until fitting satisfaction shall have been made.

Decree of November 19, 1078, forbidding lay investi-

Following the ordinances of the holy fathers, as we decreed in our former councils held by the mercy of God concerning the regulation of ecclesiastical offices, so also now by apostolic authority we decree and confirm: that, if any one shall henceforth receive a bishopric or abbey from the hands of any lay person, he shall by no means be reckoned among the bishops and abbots; nor shall any hearing be granted him as bishop or abbot. Moreover we further deny him the favor of St. Peter and entrance to the Church, until, coming to his senses, he shall surrender the position that he has appropriated through criminal ambition and disobedience—which is the sin of idolatry. We decree, moreover, that the same rule be observed in the case of inferior ecclesiastical positions.

Decree of March 7, 1080, forbidding the same

Likewise if any emperor, king, duke, margrave, count, or any secular dignitary or person shall presume to bestow the investiture with bishoprics, or with any ecclesiastical office, let him know that he is bound by the bonds of the same condemnation. And, furthermore, unless he come to his senses and relinquish her prerogatives to the Church, let him feel, in this present life, the divine wrath both in body and estate, in order that at the Lord's coming his soul may be saved.

The two letters which follow serve to show the attitude of mind of the pope and of the emperor on the eve of open hostilities.

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction:—that is, if he be obedient to the apostolic chair as beseems a Christian king:

For we cannot but hesitate to send thee our benediction when we seriously consider the strictness of the Judge to whom we shall have to render account for the ministry intrusted to us by St. Peter, chief of the apostles. For thou art said knowingly to associate with men excommunicated by a judgment of the apostolic chair and by sentence of a synod. If this be true, thou thyself dost know that thou mayst not receive the favor of the divine, nor of the apostolic benediction, unless those who have been excommunicated be separated from thee and compelled to do penance, and thou, with condign repentance and satisfaction, obtain absolution and pardon for thy misdeeds. Therefore we counsel thy Highness that, if thou dost feel thyself guilty in this matter, thou shouldst seek the advice of some devout bishop, with prompt confession. He, with our permission, enjoining on thee a proper penance for this fault, shall absolve thee, and shall take care to inform us by letter, with thy consent, of the exact measure of thy penance.

Gregory's letter of December, 1075, upbraiding Henry for his neglect of the papal decrees.

In the next place, it seems strange to us that although thou dost so often send us such devoted letters; and although thy Highness dost show such humility in the messages of thy legates, - calling thyself the son of holy mother Church and of ourselves, subject in the faith, foremost in love and devotion; - although, in short, thou dost commend thyself with all the sweetness of devotion and reverence, yet in conduct and action thou dost show thyself most stubborn, and in opposition to the canonical and apostolic decrees in those matters which the religion of the Church deems of chief importance. For, not to mention other things, in the affair of Milan1 the actual outcome shows with what intent thou didst make, and how thou didst carry out, the promises made through thy mother and through our brothers the bishops whom we sent to thee. And now, indeed, inflicting wound upon wound, thou hast, contrary to the rules of the apostolic chair, given the churches of Fermo and Spoleto if indeed a church can be given or granted by a mere manto certain persons not even known to us, on whom, unless they are previously well known and proven, it is not lawful regularly to perform the laying on of hands.

It would have beseemed thy royal dignity, since thou dost confess thyself a son of the Church, to have treated more respectfully the master of the Church, — that is, St. Peter, the chief of the apostles. For to him, if thou art of the Lord's sheep, thou wast given over by the Lord's voice and authority to be fed; Christ himself saying, "Peter, feed my sheep." And again: "To thee are given over the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Inasmuch as in his seat and apostolic ministration we, however sinful and unworthy, do, by the providence of God, act as the representative of his power, surely he himself is receiving whatever, in writing or by word of mouth, thou hast sent to us. And at the very time when we are either perusing thy letters or listening to the voices of those who speak for thee, he himself is observing, with discerning eye, in what spirit the instructions were issued. Wherefore thy Highness should have seen to it that no lack of good will should appear toward the apostolic chair in thy words and messages. . . .

A reference to the decree of 1075 forbidding investitures by laymen. In this year a synod was assembled about the apostolic chair, over which the heavenly dispensation willed that we should preside, and at which some of thy faithful subjects were present. Seeing that the good order of the Christian religion has now for some time been disturbed, and that the chief and proper methods of winning souls have, at the instigation of the devil, long been neglected and suppressed, we, struck by the danger and impending ruin of the Lord's flock, reverted to the decrees and teachings of the holy fathers, — decreeing nothing new, nothing of our own invention. • . . .

The pope willing to moderate his decree.

Lest these things should seem unduly burdensome or unjust to thee, we did admonish thee, through thy faithful servants, that the changing of an evil custom should not alarm thee; that thou shouldst send to us wise and religious men from thy land, to demonstrate or prove, if they could, by any reasoning, in what respects, saving the honor of the

¹ There had been trouble even before Gregory's accession over the question of filling the bishopric of Milan.

Eternal King and without danger to our soul, we might moderate the decree as passed by the holy fathers, and we would yield to their counsels. Even without our friendly admonitions it would have been but right that, before thou didst violate apostolic decrees, thou shouldst reasonably have appealed to us in cases where we oppressed thee or infringed thy prerogatives. But how little thou didst esteem our commands or the dictates of justice is shown by those things which thou afterwards didst.

But since the long-suffering patience of God still invites thee to amend thy ways, we have hopes that thy understanding may be awakened, and thy heart and mind be bent to obey the mandates of God: we exhort thee with paternal love to recognize the dominion of Christ over thee and to reflect how dangerous it is to prefer thine own honor to his.

Henry, irritated not so much by the tone of the above letter as by the reproaches of Gregory's legates, sent the following violent reply, January 24, 1076.

Henry, King not by usurpation but by holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, now no Pope but false monk:

Such greeting as this hast thou merited through thy disturbances, for there is no rank in the Church but thou hast brought upon it, not honor but disgrace, not a blessing but a curse. To mention a few notable cases out of the many, thou hast not only dared to assail the rulers of the holy Church, the anointed of the Lord, — archbishops, bishops, and priests, - but thou hast trodden them under foot like slaves ignorant of what their master is doing. By so crushing them thou hast won the favor of the common herd; thou hast regarded them all as knowing nothing, - thyself alone as knowing all things. Yet this knowledge thou hast exerted, not for their advantage but for their destruction; so that with reason we believe St. Gregory, whose name thou hast usurped, prophesied of thee when he said, "The pride of the magistrate commonly waxes great if the number of those subject to him be great, and he thinks that he can do more than they all."

We, forsooth, have endured all this in our anxiety to save the honor of the apostolic see, but thou hast mistaken our humility for fear, and hast, accordingly, ventured to attack the royal power conferred upon us by God, and threatened to divest us of it. As if we had received our kingdom from thee! As if the kingdom and the empire were in thy hands, not in God's! For our Lord Jesus Christ did call us to the kingdom, although he has not called thee to the priesthood: that thou hast attained by the following steps.

By craft abhorrent to the profession of monk, thou hast acquired wealth; by wealth, influence; by influence, arms; by arms, a throne of peace. And from the throne of peace thou hast destroyed peace; thou hast turned subjects against their governors, for thou, who wert not called of God, hast taught that our bishops, truly so called, should be despised. Thou hast put laymen above their priests, allowing them to depose or condemn those whom they themselves had received as teachers from the hand of God through the laying on of bishops' hands.

Thou hast further assailed me also, who, although unworthy of anointing, have nevertheless been anointed to the kingdom, and who, according to the traditions of the holy fathers, am subject to the judgment of God alone, to be deposed

Henry
IV's violent
reply to
Gregory.

upon no charge save that of deviation from the faith,—which God avert! For the holy fathers by their wisdom committed the judgment and deposition of even Julian the Apostate not to themselves but to God alone. Likewise the true pope, Peter, himself exclaims: "Fear God. Honor the king." But thou, who dost not fear God, art dishonoring me, his appointed one. Wherefore, St. Paul, since he spared not an angel of heaven if he should preach other than the gospel, has not excepted thee, who dost teach other doctrine upon earth. For he says, "If any one, whether I, or an angel from heaven, shall preach the gospel other than that which has been preached to you, he shall be damned."

Thou, therefore, damned by this curse and by the judgment of all our bishops and ourselves, come down and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another assume the seat of St. Peter, who will not practice violence under the cloak of religion, but will teach St. Peter's wholesome doctrine. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all our bishops, say unto thee: "Come down, come down, to be damned throughout all eternity!"

GREGORY'S DEPOSITION OF HENRY IV. HENRY'S PENANCE AT CANOSSA

First deposition and excommunication of Henry IV (February 22, 1076).

O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, incline to us, I beg, thy holy ear, and listen to thy servant, whom from infancy thou hast nurtured, and whom, until this day, thou hast shielded from the hand of the wicked that hated me, and do hate me, for my faithfulness to thee. Thou and my Lady, the Mother of God, and thy brother, St. Paul, are witnesses for me among all the saints that thy holy Roman church placed me in control against my will; that I had no thought of violence in ascending to thy chair, and that I should rather have ended my life as a pilgrim than by worldly means to have gained thy throne for the sake of earthly glory.

Therefore, through thy grace and through my own merit, I believe that it has been and is thy will that the Christian people especially committed to thee should obey me. To me, in particular, as thy representative and the recipient of thy favor, has God granted the power of binding and loosing in heaven and earth. In this confidence, therefore, for the honor and security of thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by thy power and authority, I withdraw from Henry the king, son of Henry the emperor, a rebel of incredible insolence against thy Church, his right to rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy. And I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have taken to him or which they shall in future take; and I forbid any one to serve him as king.

For it is fitting that he who strives to lessen the honor of thy Church should himself lose the honor which seems to belong to him. And since he has scorned to obey as a Christian, and has not returned to God whom he has deserted, but has had intercourse with the excommunicated; practiced manifold iniquities; spurned the counsels which, as thou art witness, I sent to him for his own salvation; separated himself from thy Church and endeavored to rend it asunder; I bind him, in thy stead, with the chain of the anathema. Relying upon thee, I bind him, that the people may know and prove that thou art Peter, and upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

Gregory's account of Henry's penance at Canossa (1077).

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Counts, and other princes of the realm of the Germans, defenders of the Christian faith, greeting and apostolic benediction:

Inasmuch as for the love of justice ye have assumed common cause and danger with us in the stress of this Christian warfare, we have bethought us to relate to you, beloved, in sincere affection, how the king, humbled to penance, has obtained the pardon of absolution, and how the whole matter has progressed since his entry into Italy up to the present day.

As had been arranged with the legates whom you dispatched to us, we came into Lombardy about twenty days before the date on which one of the nobles was to meet us at the pass, and awaited his coming before we crossed over to the other side of the Alps.

When the time fixed upon had quite passed, we were told, as we could well believe, that at that season, on account of the numerous obstacles, an escort could not be sent to meet us. We were then involved in no little anxiety as to what we would best do, since we had no means of crossing over to you.

Meanwhile, however, we learned positively that the king was approaching. Indeed, before he entered Italy he had sent us suppliant messages, offering to render satisfaction, in all respects, to God, St. Peter, and ourselves. He also renewed his promise that he would be perfectly obedient in the matter of amending his life if only he might win from us the favor of absolution and of the apostolic benediction.

When, after many delays and after much consultation, we had, through all the envoys who passed between us, severely reprimanded him for his offenses, he at length came of his own accord, accompanied by a few followers, with no hostility or arrogance in his bearing, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying. And there, laying aside all the trappings of royalty, he stood in wretchedness, barefooted and clad in woolen, for three days before the gate of the castle, and implored with profuse weeping the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy, until he had moved all who saw or heard of it to such pity and depth of compassion that they interceded for him with many prayers and tears and wondered at the unaccustomed hardness of our heart; some even protested that we were displaying not the seriousness of the apostolic displeasure but the cruelty of tyrannical ferocity.

At last, overcome by his persistent remorse and by the earnest entreaties of those with us, we loosed the chain of anathema and received him into the favor of our fellowship and into the lap of the holy mother Church, accepting the pledges given below.¹ We also obtained a confirmation of the transaction from the abbot of Cluny, from our daughters Matilda² and the countess Adelaide, and from such princes, ecclesiastical and lay, as seemed to us proper.

¹ Henry took an oath that he would carry out the wishes of the pope; this may be found in Henderson, Select Documents, pp. 387-388.

THE POPE FULLY EXPLAINS THE NATURAL SUPREMACY OF THE SPIRITUAL OVER THE CIVIL POWER

Letter
of Gregory VII to
the bishop
of Mets
(March. rosx)

The following is one of the fullest and most instructive general justifications of the papal supremacy that has come down to us.

(March, 1081). Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Hermann, Bishop of Metz, greeting and the apostolic benediction:

It is doubtless through God's grace that thou art ready, as we hear, to endure trials and dangers in the defense of the truth. . . . However, thy request to be supported and fortified by a letter from us directed against those persons who are constantly asserting, with perverse tongues, that the holy and apostolic see had no authority to excommunicate Henry—the scorner of Christian law, the destroyer of churches and of the empire, the patron and companion of heretics—nor to absolve any one from the oath of fidelity to him, hardly seems necessary to us when so many and such absolutely decisive warrants are to be found in the pages of Holy Scriptures. . . .

Diabolical origin of civil rule.

Shall not an office instituted by laymen - by those even who did not know God - be subject to that office which the providence of God Almighty has instituted for his own honor, and in compassion given to the world? For his Son, even as he is unquestioningly believed to be God and man, so is he considered the chief of priests, sitting on the right hand of the Father and always interceding for us. Yet he despised a secular kingdom, over which the men of this world swell with pride, and came of his own will to the priesthood of the cross. Whereas all know that kings and princes are descendants of men who were ignorant of God, and who, by arrogance, robbery, perfidy, murder, — in a word by almost every crime, -at the prompting of the prince of this world, the devil, strove with blind avarice and intolerable presumption to gain the mastery over their equals, that is, over mankind.

To whom, indeed, can we better compare them, when they seek to make the priests of God bend to their feet, than to him who is chief of all the sons of pride and who tempted the highest Pontiff himself, the chief of priests, the Son of the Most High, and promised to him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, "All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me"?

Who doubts that the priests of Christ should be regarded as the fathers and masters of kings and princes, and of all the faithful? Is it not evidently hopeless folly for a son to attempt to domineer over his father, a pupil over his master, or for any one, by iniquitous exactions, to claim power over him by whom he himself, as he acknowledges, can be bound and loosed both on earth and in heaven? Constantine, the great lord of all kings and princes throughout nearly the whole world, plainly understood this, as the blessed Gregory observes in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, for Constantine took his seat after all the bishops in the holy Council of Nicæa; he presumed to issue no decisions superior to theirs, but addressed them as gods, and declared that they should not be subject to his judgment, but that he was dependent upon their will.

Armed accordingly with such decrees and authority, many bishops have excommunicated, in some cases kings, in others emperors. If the names of such princes are asked for, it

Cases of churchmen excommunicating kings. may be said that the blessed pope Innocent excommunicated the emperor Arcadius for consenting to the expulsion of St. John Chrysostom from his see. Likewise another Roman pontiff, Zacharias, deposed a king of the Franks, not so much for his iniquities, as for the reason that he was not fitted to exercise his great power. And he substituted Pippin, father of the emperor Charles the Great, in his place,—releasing all the Franks from the oath of fealty which they had sworn to him,—as, indeed, the holy Church frequently does, by its abundant authority, when it absolves servitors from the fetters of an oath sworn to such bishops as are deposed by apostolic sentence from their pontifical rank.

The blessed Ambrose — who, although a saint, was yet not bishop over the whole Church — excommunicated and excluded from the Church the emperor Theodosius the Great for a fault which was not looked upon as very grave by other priests. He shows, too, in his writings that gold does not so far excel lead in value as the priestly dignity transcends the royal power. He speaks in this fashion near the beginning of his pastoral letter: "The honor and sublimity of bishops, brethren, is beyond all comparison. To compare them to resplendent kings and diademed princes would be far more unworthy than to compare the base metal lead to gleaming gold. For one may see how kings and princes bow their necks before the knees of priests, and kiss their right hands so as to believe themselves protected by their prayers."...

Furthermore every Christian king, when he comes to die, seeks as a poor suppliant the aid of a priest, that he may escape hell's prison, may pass from the darkness into the light, and at the judgment of God may appear absolved from the bondage of his sins. Who, in his last hour, whether layman or priest, has ever implored the aid of an earthly king for the salvation of his soul? And what king or emperor is able, by reason of the office he holds, to rescue a Christian from the power of the devil through holy baptism, to number him among the sons of God, and to fortify him with the divine unction? Who of them can by his own words make the body and blood of our Lord, - the greatest act in the Christian religion? Or who of them possesses the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth? From all of these considerations it is clear how greatly the priestly office excels in power.

Who of them can ordain a single clerk in the holy Church, much less depose him for any fault? For in the ranks of the Church a greater power is needed to depose than to ordain. Bishops may ordain other bishops, but can by ho means depose them without the authority of the apostolic see. Who, therefore, of even moderate understanding, can hesitate to give priests the precedence over kings? Then, if kings are to be judged by priests for their sins, by whom should they be judged with better right than by the Roman pontiff?

In short, any good Christian whatsoever might far more properly be considered as a king than might a bad prince; for the former, seeking the glory of God, strenuously governs himself, whereas the latter, seeking the things which are his own and not the things of God, is an enemy to himself and a tyrannical oppressor of others. Faithful Christians constitute the body of the true king, Christ; evil rulers, that of the devil. The former rule themselves in the hope that they will eternally reign with the Supreme Emperor, but

the sway of the latter ends in their destruction and eternal damnation with the prince of darkness, who is king over all the sons of pride.

Bishops chosen by the emperor naturally support him It is certainly not strange that wicked bishops are of one mind with a bad king, whom they love and fear for the honors which they have wrongfully obtained from him. Such men, simoniacally ordaining whom they please, sell God even for a paltry sum. As even the elect are indissolubly united with their Head, so also the wicked constitute a pertinacious league with him who is the head of evil, with the special purpose of resisting the good. But surely we ought not so much to inveigh against them as to mourn for them with tears and lamentations, beseeching God Almighty to snatch them from the snares of Satan in which they are held captive, and after their peril to bring them at last to a knowledge of the truth.

How kings should be kept in a humble frame of mind.

We refer to those kings and emperors who, too much elated by worldly glory, rule not for God but for themselves. Now, since it belongs to our office to admonish and encourage every one as befits the special rank or dignity which he enjoys, we endeavor, by God's grace, to implant in emperors and kings and other princes the virtue of humility, that they may be able to allay the gusts of passion and the floods of pride. For we know that mundane glory and worldly cares usually foster pride, especially in those who are in authority, and that, in consequence, they forget humility and seek ever their own glory, and dominion over their brethren. Wherefore it is well for kings and emperors, particularly when they grow haughty in spirit and delight in their own pomp, to discover a means by which they may be humbled and be brought to realize that the cause of their complacency is the very thing that they should most fear.

Kings and emperors rarely attain salvation Let them, therefore, diligently consider how dangerous and how much to be dreaded are the royal and imperial offices. For in them very few are saved, and those who, through the mercy of God, do attain to salvation are not so glorified in the holy Church by the will of the Holy Spirit as are many of the poor. From the beginning of the world to this our own day, in the whole extent of recorded history, we do not find seven emperors or kings whose lives were as distinguished for piety and as beautified by the gift of miracles as were those of an innumerable multitude who despised the world; yet, notwithstanding this, we believe that many of them achieved salvation through the almighty God of mercy.

What emperor or king was ever honored by miracles as were St. Martin, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, not to mention the apostles and the martyrs? What emperor or king raised the dead, cleansed lepers, or gave sight to the blind? Observe how the holy Church praises and reveres the emperor Constantine of blessed memory, Theodosius, Honorius, Charles, and Louis, lovers of justice, promoters of Christian religion, defenders of the churches; yet it does not ascribe even to them such resplendent and glorious miracles. Furthermore, how many emperors or kings have chapels or altars dedicated to them by order of the holy Church, or masses celebrated in their honor?

Terrible responsibility of the royal power. Let kings and princes fear lest the more they exult in their sway over men in this life, the more they shall be subjected to eternal fires; for of them it is written, "The mighty shall suffer mightily in torment." They must needs

render account to God for as many as they had under their dominion, and if it be no slight task for any devout person in a private station to guard his single soul, how much labor devolves upon them who rule over many thousands of souls?

Moreover if the judgment of the holy Church severely punishes a sinner for the slaying of one man, what will become of them who, for the sake of worldly renown, send many thousands of souls to death? Such men, though after a great slaughter they may say with their lips, "We have sinned," nevertheless inwardly rejoice that they have extended their so-called fame. They would not undo what they have done, nor do they grieve that they have sent their brethren down to Tartarus. And so long as they do not repent with their whole heart, and refuse to let go what they have gained or kept through the shedding of human blood, their repentance fails in the sight of God to bring forth the true fruit of repentance.

They should, therefore, be in constant apprehension and should frequently recall to mind that, as we have already said, from the beginning of the world very few of the multitude of kings in the various realms of the earth are known to have been holy, whereas in one see alone, the Roman, where bishops have succeeded one another in an unbroken line, - almost a hundred, since the time of St. Peter the apostle, are reckoned among the most holy. Why is this, except that kings and princes of the earth, seduced by vain glory, prefer, as has been said, the things that are their own to the things that are spiritual, whereas the bishops of the Church, despising vain glory, prefer to carnal things the things that are of God? The former punish promptly offenders against themselves and are indifferent to sinners against God. The latter pardon readily those who sin against themselves, but do not spare those who are remiss toward God. The former, too much bent on earthly achievements, think slightingly of spiritual ones; the latter, sedulously meditating upon heavenly things, despise the things

THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AT ITS HEIGHT

The most celebrated assertion of the supreme authority of the Church and of its head, the pope, is the bull Unam Sanctam, issued by Boniface VIII in 1302.

That there is one holy Catholic and apostolic Church we are impelled by our faith to believe and to hold—this we do firmly believe and openly confess — and outside of this there is neither salvation nor remission of sins, as the bride- (1302). groom proclaims in Canticles, "My dove, my undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her." The Church represents one mystic body, and of this body Christ is the head; of Christ, indeed, God is the head. In it is one Lord, and one faith, and one baptism. In the time of the flood there was one ark of Noah, prefiguring the one Church, finished in one cubit, having one Noah as steersman and commander. Outside of this all things upon the face of the earth were, as we

tam of Boniface VIII

The Mediaval Church at its Height

read, destroyed. This Church we venerate and this alone.
... It is that seamless coat of the Lord, which was not rent but fell by lot. Therefore, in this one and only Church there is one body and one head, — not two heads as if it were a monster, — namely, Christ and Christ's vicar, Peter and Peter's successor; for the Lord said to Peter himself, "Feed my sheep." "My sheep," he said, using a general term and not designating these or those sheep, so that we must believe that all the sheep were committed to him. If, then, the Greeks, or others, shall say that they were not intrusted to Peter and his successors, they must perforce admit that they are not of Christ's sheep, as the Lord says in John, "there is one fold, and one shepherd."

In this Church and in its power are two swords, to wit, a spiritual and a temporal, and this we are taught by the words of the Gospel; for when the apostles said, "Behold, here are two swords" (in the Church, namely, since the apostles were speaking), the Lord did not reply that it was too many, but enough. And surely he who claims that the temporal sword is not in the power of Peter has but ill understood the word of our Lord when he said, "Put up again thy sword into his place." Both the spiritual and the material swords, therefore, are in the power of the Church, the latter indeed to be used for the Church, the former by the Church, the one by the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers,

but by the will and sufferance of the priest.

It is fitting, moreover, that one sword should be under the other, and the temporal authority subject to the spiritual power. For when the apostle said, "there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," they would not be ordained unless one sword were under the other, and one, as inferior, was brought back by the other to the highest place. For, according to St. Dionysius, the law of divinity is to lead the lowest through the intermediate to the highest. Therefore, according to the law of the universe, things are not reduced to order directly and upon the same footing, but the lowest through the intermediate, and the inferior through the superior. It behooves us, therefore, the more freely to confess that the spiritual power excels in dignity and nobility any form whatsoever of earthly power, as spiritual interests exceed the temporal in importance. All this we see fairly from the giving of tithes, from the benediction and sanctification, from the recognition of this power and the control of these same things.

Hence, the truth bearing witness, it is for the spiritual power to establish the earthly power and judge it, if it be not good. Thus, in the case of the Church and the power of the Church, the prophecy of Jeremiah is fulfilled: "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms," etc. Therefore, if the earthly power shall err, it shall be judged by the spiritual power; if the lesser spiritual power err, it shall be judged by the higher. But if the supreme power err, it can be judged by God alone and not by man, the apostles bearing witness, saying, The spiritual man judges all things, but he himself is judged by Hence this power, although given to man and exercised by man, is not human, but rather a divine power, given by the divine lips to Peter, and founded on a rock for him and his successors in him (Christ) whom he confessed, the Lord saying to Peter himself, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," etc.

Whoever, therefore, shall resist this power, ordained by God, resists the ordination of God, unless there should be

two beginnings [i.e. principles], as the Manichæan imagines. But this we judge to be false and heretical, since, by the testimony of Moses, not in the beginnings but in the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth. We, moreover, proclaim, declare, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff.

Given at the Lateran the twelfth day before the Kalends of December, in our eighth year, as a perpetual memorial of this matter.

The Rule of Saint Benedict

THE INSTRUMENTS OF GOOD WORKS

IN THE first place, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; then, one's neighbor as oneself. Then, not to kill; not to commit adultery; not to steal; not to covet; not to bear false witness; to honor all men; not to do to another what one would not have done to oneself; to deny oneself in order to follow Christ; to chastise the body; not to seek affer luxuries; to love fasting; to refresh the poor; to clothe the naked; to visit the sick; to bury the dead; to help in afflictions; to console the sorrowing; to keep aloof from worldly actions; to prefer nothing to the love of Christ; not to follow the promptings of anger; not to seek an occasion of revenge; not to foster deceit in one's heart; not to make a feigned peace; not to forsake charity; not to swear, lest perchance one perjure oneself; to utter the truth with heart and lips; not to render evil for evil; to do no wrong to anyone, but to bear patiently any wrong done to oneself; to love one's enemies; not to render railing for railing, but rather blessing; to suffer persecution for justice' sake; not to be proud; not to be given to wine; not to be a glutton; not to be given to sleep: not to be slothful: not to be a murmurer; not to be a detractor; to put one's hope in God; to attribute any good that one sees in oneself to God and not to oneself, but to acknowledge evil as having been done by oneself and to repute it to oneself; to fear the day of judgment: to be in dread of hell; to desire everlasting life with all spiritual longing; to keep death daily before one's eyes; to keep guard at all times over the actions of one's life; to know for certain that God sees one in every place; to dash upon Christ one's evil thoughts the instant they come to one's heart, and to manifest them to one's spiritual senior; to keep one's mouth from speech that is wicked or full of guile; not to love much speaking; not to speak words that are vain or such as provoke laughter; not to love much or noisy laughter; to listen willingly to holy reading; to apply oneself frequently to prayer; daily to confess in prayer one's past sins with tears and sighs to God, and to amend these evils for the future; not to fulfil the desires of the flesh; to hate one's own will; to obey in all things the commands of the Abbot,

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even though he himself (which God forbid) should act otherwise, being mindful of that precept of the Lord: "What they say, do ye; but what they do, do ye not." Not to wish to be called holy before one is so, but first to be holy that one may be truly so called; to fulfil daily the commandments of God by one's deeds; to love chastity; to hate no man; to have no jealousy or envy; not to love strife; to fly from vainglory; to reverence one's seniors; to love one's juniors; to pray for one's enemies in the love of Christ: to make peace with those with whom one is at variance before the setting of the sun: and never to despair of the mercy of God.

Behold, these are the instruments of the spiritual art, which, if they be constantly employed by day and by night, and delivered up on the day of judgment, that reward will be made to us by the Lord which He Himself has promised: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him." And the workshop in which we are to labor diligently at all these things is the enclosure of the monastery and stability in the community.

OF OBEDIENCE

THE first degree of humility is obedience without delay. This is peculiar to those who prefer nothing to Christ; who on account of the holy service to which they have obliged themselves, or on account of the fear of hell, or for the glory of eternal life, as soon as anything has been commanded by their superior, as though it were commanded by God Himself, cannot suffer a moment's delay in fulfilling this command. It is of these that the Lord said: "At the hearing of the ear they have obeyed Me." And again to teachers He says: "He that heareth you heareth Me." Therefore, such as these, immediately putting aside their private occupation and forsaking their own will, with their hands quickly disengaged and leaving unfinished what they were about, with the instant step of obedience, fulfil by their deeds the word of him who commands; and so, as it were at the same instant, the command of the master and its perfect fulfilment by the

disciple, in the swiftness of the fear of God, are together speedily fulfilled by those upon whom presses the desire of attaining eternal life. These, therefore, seize upon that narrow way of which the Lord says: "Straight is the way that leadeth to life"; inasmuch as they, not living according to their own will, neither obeying their own desires and pleasures, but walking according to the judgment and command of another, live in community and desire to have an Abbot over them. Such as these, without doubt, fulfil that saying of the Lord: "I came not to do my own will but the will of Him who sent me."

But this very obedience will then only be acceptable to God and pleasing to men if what is commanded be done without hesitancy, tardiness, lukewarmness, murmuring, or a manifestation of unwillingness; because the obedience which is given to superiors is given to God; for He Himself has said: "He that heareth you heareth Me." And this obedience ought to be given by the disciple with a ready will, because "God loveth a cheerful giver." For if the disciple obey with ill will, and murmur not only with his lips but also in his heart, even though he fulfil the command, nevertheless he will not be acceptable to God, who regards the heart of the murmurer; for such a deed he receives no reward; nay, he rather incurs the punishment of murmurers, unless he amend and make satisfaction.

OF SILENCE

I ET us act in conformity with that saying of the Prophet: "I said I will take heed to my ways that I sin not with my tongue; I have set a guard to my mouth; I was dumb and was humbled and kept silence from good things." Here the prophet shows that if we ought at times for the sake of silence to refrain even from good words, much more ought we to abstain from evil words on account of the punishment due to sin. Therefore, on account of the importance of silence, let permission to speak be rarely given even to the perfect disciples, even though their words be good and holy and conducive to edification, because it is written: "In the multitude of words there shall not want sin." And elsewhere: "Death and life are in the power

of the tongue." For to speak and to teach are the province of the master; whereas that of the disciple is to be silent and to listen. Therefore, if anything is to be asked of the superior, let it be done with all humility and subjection of reverence, lest one seem to speak more than is expedient. Buffoonery, however, or idle words or such as move to laughter we utterly condemn in every place, and forbid the disciple to open his mouth to any such discourse.

OF HUMILITY

THE Sacred Scripture cries out to us, brethren, saying, "Everyone that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." In saying this it teaches us that all exaltation is of the nature of pride, which vice the Prophet shows that he took care to avoid, saying: "Lord, my heart is not exalted nor are my eyes lofty, nor have I walked in great matters, nor in wonderful things above me." And why? "If I was not humbly minded, but exalted in my soul, as a child that is weaned is towards his mother, so reward in my soul."

Wherefore, brethren, if we wish to gain the summit of humility and speedily to attain to that heavenly exaltation to which we can ascend only by the humility of this present life, we must, by actions which constantly elevate us, erect that ladder which Jacob beheld in his dream and on which Angels appeared descending and ascending. This descent and ascent we must understand without doubt as being nothing other than that we descend by exaltation and ascend by humility. The ladder itself thus erected is our life in this world, which the Lord, having respect to our humility of heart, lifts up even to heaven. The sides of this ladder we declare to be our body and soul, in which our divine vocation has placed divers rounds of humility and discipline which we must ascend.

The first degree of humility then is, that a person, always keeping the fear of God before his eyes, should avoid all forgetfulness and be ever mindful of all that God has commanded, and of the fact that those who contemn God fall into hell for their sins; and that one should ever meditate in his heart on the everlasting life which has been prepared

for those who fear God. And keeping himself at all times from sins and vices, whether of the thoughts, the tongue, the eyes, the hands, the feet, or of his own will, let him also hasten to cut off the desires of the flesh.

Let him always consider that at all times he is being watched from heaven by God, and that his actions are everywhere seen by the eye of the Divine Majesty, and are every moment reported to Him by His Angels. Of this the Prophet informs us when he shows how God is ever present to our thoughts, saying: "The searcher of hearts and reins is God." And again: "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men that they are vain." And he also says: "Thou hast understood my thoughts afar off." And: "The thought of man shall confess to thee." In order, therefore, that the humble brother may be on his guard against evil thoughts, let him say ever in his heart: "Then shall I be unspotted before Him, if I shall have kept myself from my iniquity." We are indeed forbidden to do our own will by the Scripture when it says to us: "Turn away from thy own will." And so, too, we beg God in prayer, that His will may be done in us. Rightly, therefore, are we taught not to do our own will when we hearken to that which the Scripture says: "There are ways which seem to men right, but the ends thereof lead to the depths of hell." Or again, when we pay heed to what is said of the careless: "They are corrupt and have become abominable in their pleasures."

As to the desires of the flesh, let us hold as certain that God is always present to us, as the prophet says to the Lord: "Lord, before thee is all my desire." We must be on our guard, then, against evil desires, for death is close to the entrance of delight; whence the Scripture commands us, saying: "Go not after thy lusts."

Wherefore, since the eyes of the Lord behold the good and the evil, and "the Lord is ever looking down from heaven upon the children of men to see if there is one who hath understanding or who seeketh God"; and since the works of our hands are reported to Him, our Creator, day and night by the Angels appointed to watch over us, we must be always on the watch, brethren, lest, as the Prophet says in the Psalm, God should see us at any time declining to evil and become unprofitable; and lest He, though sparing us at the present time, because He is merciful

and awaits our conversion, should say to us hereafter: "These things hast thou done and I was silent."

The second degree of humility is, that a person, loving not his own will, delight not in gratifying his desires, but carry out in his deeds that saying of the Lord: "I came not to do my own will, but the will of Him who sent me." And again the Scripture says: "Self-will merits punishment, but self-constraint wins a crown."

The third degree of humility is, that a person for the love of God submit himself to his superior in all obedience, imitating thereby the Lord, of whom the Apostle says: "He was made obedient even unto death."

The fourth degree of humility is, that if. in this very obedience, hard and contrary things, nay even injuries, are done to a person, he should take hold silently on patience. and, bearing up bravely, grow not weary nor depart, according to that of the Scripture: "He that shall persevere to the end shall be saved." And again: "Let thy heart be strengthened and wait thou for the Lord." And, showing how the faithful man ought to bear all things, however contrary, for the Lord, it says in the person of those who suffer: "For thee we suffer death all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter." And, confident in the hope of divine reward, they go on with joy, saying: "But in all these things we overcome because of him who hath loved us." Similarly in another place the Scripture says: "Thou hast proved us, O God; thou hast tried us as silver is tried by fire; thou hast led us into the snare, and hast laid tribulation on our backs." And to show that we ought to be under a superior, it goes on to say: "Thou hast placed men over our heads."

Moreover, these, fulfilling the precept of the Lord by patience in adversities and injuries, when struck on one cheek offer the other; to him who takes away their coat they leave also their cloak; forced to walk a mile they go other two; with Paul the Apostle they bear with false brethren and with persecution; and bless those that curse them.

The fifth degree of humility is to hide from one's Abbot none of the evil thoughts that beset one's heart, nor the sins committed in secret, but to manifest them in humble confession. To this the Scripture exhorts us, saying: "Make known thy way unto the Lord, and hope in him." And again: "Con-

fess to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth forever." So also the prophet says: "I have made known to thee my offence, and my iniquities I have not hidden. I said, I will confess against myself my iniquities to the Lord; and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my heart."

The sixth degree of humility is, that a monk be content with all that is mean and poor, and, in all that is enjoined him, esteem himself a sinful and unworthy laborer, saying with the prophet: "I have been brought to nothing and I knew it not; I am become as a beast before thee, and (yet) I am always with thee."

The seventh degree of humility is, that a person not only call himself with his own tongue lower and viler than all men, but also consider himself thus with inmost conviction, humbling himself and saying with the Prophet: "I am a worm and no man, the shame of men and the outcast of the people. I have been exalted and cast down and confounded." And again: "It is good for me that thou hast humbled me, that I may learn thy commandments."

The eighth degree of humility is, that a monk do nothing except what the common rule of the monastery or the example of the seniors direct.

The ninth degree of humility is, that a monk restrain his tongue from speaking and, maintaining silence, speak not until questioned, for the Scripture teaches: "In the multitude of words there shall not want sin," and: "The man full of tongue shall not be established upon the earth."

The tenth degree of humility is, that one be not easily moved or quick to laughter, because it is written: "The fool lifteth up his voice in laughter."

The eleventh degree of humility is, that, when a monk speaks, he do so gently and without laughter, humbly, gravely, and with few and reasonable words, and that he be not boisterous in his speech, as it is written: "A wise man is known by the fewness of his words."

The twelfth degree of humility is, that a monk, not only in his heart, but also in his very outward appearance, always show his humility to all who see him; that is, in his work, in the oratory, in the monastery, in the garden, when traveling, in the field, or wherever he may be, whether sitting, walking, or standing, he keep his head always bent down, his gaze fixed on the ground;

always mindful of the guilt of his sins, he consider himself already present before the fearful judgment seat of God, always repeating in his heart what the publican in the gospel said with his eyes fixed on the earth: "Lord, I a sinner am not worthy to raise my eyes to heaven." And again with the Prophet: "I am bowed down and humbled in every way."

Having, therefore, ascended all these degrees of humility, the monk will presently arrive at that love of God which, when perfect, casts out fear; in which love he shall begin to observe without labor and as it were naturally and by habit all those precepts which previously he had observed not without fear, now no longer through fear of hell, but for the love of Christ and out of holy custom and delight in virtue. This the Lord will deign to manifest by the Holy Ghost in his laborer, now cleansed from vice and sin.

WHETHER THE MONKS ARE TO HAVE ANYTHING OF THEIR OWN

A BOVE all, let this vice be rooted out of the monastery: namely, that one presume to give or to receive anything without leave of the Abbot, or to keep anything as his own, absolutely anything at all: either a book or a writing tablet or a pen or anything whatsoever; since they are to have not even their bodies or their wills in their own keeping.

They may, however, expect to receive from the father of the monastery all that is necessary; but they may not keep what the Abbot has not given or permitted. Let all things be common to all, as it is written, but let no one call anything his own or claim it as such. Should, however, anyone be found addicted to this most wicked vice, let him be twice admonished; if he be not amended, let him be subjected to punishment.

OF THE OBSERVANCE OF LENT

LTHOUGH the life of a monk ought at all times to have the aspect of Lenten observance, yet, since few have strength enough for this, we exhort all during these days of

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Lent to lead lives of the greatest purity, and to atone during this holy season for all the negligences of other times. This we shall do in a worthy manner if we refrain ourselves from all sin and give ourselves to prayer with tears, to reading, to compunction of heart, and to abstinence. Moreover, during these days, let us add something to our ordinary burden of service, such as private prayers, abstinence from food and drink, so that each one may offer up to God in the joy of the Holy Ghost something over and above the measure appointed to him; let him deny his body in food, in drink, in sleep, in superfluous talking, in mirth, and withal long for the holy feast of Easter with the joy of spiritual desire.

Let each one, however, make known to his Abbot what he offers up, and let it be done with the assistance of his prayers and with his permission; because that which is done without the permission of the spiritual father will be imputed to presumption and vainglory, and will merit no reward. All things, therefore, are to be done with the permission of the Abbot.

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ST. FRANCIS

How St. Francis came to undertake his mission. (From the first Life of St. Francis, by Thomas of Celano, written in 1228; condensed.)

Until his twentieth year Francis wretchedly wasted his days. He astonished every one, for he sought to exceed all others in pomp and vain display. He was full of jests, quips, and light words; he dressed in soft flowing garments, for he was very rich; yet he was not avaricious, only prodigal, and squandered instead of saving his money. He was withal a man of gentle manner, friendly and very courteous.

In the midst of the joys and sins of his youth suddenly the divine vengeance, or grace, came upon him, which began to recall him to the right way by bringing anguish to his mind and suffering to his body, according to the saying of the prophet, "Behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and I will encompass it with afflictions." When he had long been afflicted by bodily sickness — as the sinful man merits, since

he will not amend his ways except by punishment — he began to turn his thoughts to other things than had been his wont.

When he had somewhat mended, he once more wandered about the house, supported by a staff, in order to hasten his recovery. One day he went out of doors and looked thoughtfully over the neighboring plain; but the beauty of the fields and their pleasantness, and all things whatsoever that are lovely to the sight, in no way delighted him. He marveled at the sudden change in himself, and those who still loved the things that he had formerly loved seemed to him most foolish.

From that day it came to pass that he seemed worthless in his own sight, and did hold in a certain contempt those things that he was used to hold in admiration and love. He would fain conform his will to the divine will, and so he withdrew himself for a season from worldly business and tumult and sought to store away Jesus Christ within his soul.

[Together with a certain man of Assisi who did love him greatly, he was used to go apart into the country.] Now there was near the city a certain grotto and thither they often went. Francis, the man of God, who now was blessed with a holy purpose, would enter into the grotto whilst his companion awaited him without. There he did pray fervently that the eternal and true God would direct his way and would teach him to do his will. His soul glowed with divine fire and he could not hide the brightness of his spirit. And he repented him because he had sinned so grievously and had offended in the eyes of the Divine Majesty.

On a certain day when he had most earnestly besought the mercy of God, it was made known to him by the Lord what he should do. Therefore he was filled with so great gladness that he could not keep from rejoicing inwardly, and yet he would not make known unto men anything concerning this joy. But so great was the love kindled within him that he could not be wholly silent, so he spoke somewhat cautiously and in parables and told his companions how that he would do noble and mighty deeds. They asked him, saying, "Wilt thou marry a wife, Francis?" Who, answering, saith, "I will marry a wife more noble and fairer than ever ye saw, and this spotless bride is the true religion of God."

Ever had he been the benefactor of the poor, but from this time he resolved more firmly in his heart to deny no poor man anything who asked of him in the name of the Lord. Thenceforth whensoever he walked abroad and a beggar asked alms of him, if he had money he gave it to him. If he had no money, then he went apart into some hidden place and took off his shirt and sent it to the beggar secretly.

After some days, as he was passing by the church of St. Damian, it was revealed to him in the spirit that he should go in and pray. When he had entered and had begun to pray fervently before a certain crucifix, lo, the Christ upon the cross spoke to him kindly and lovingly, saying, "Francis, do you not see that my house is destroyed? Go then and repair it for me." Trembling and astounded, he answered, "That will I gladly do, Lord." For he thought that our Lord did speak of the church of St. Damian, which, because of its too great age, was like to fall into decay. So Francis straightway sought out the priest and gave him a certain sum of money that he might buy oil for the lamp before the crucifix. From that hour was his heart softened and

wounded by the memory of our Lord's passion, so that even while he lived he did bear in his heart the stigmata

of the Lord Jesus. . . .

[Now Francis, from this time, did long to give all things that he had to the Lord;] so this blessed servant of the Most High took some pieces of cloth that he might sell them, and went forth mounted upon his horse and arrived straightway at the city called Foligno. There did the happy merchant sell all the goods that he had, and did even part with his horse when a price was offered for him. Then he took his way toward Assisi, and he passed by the way the church of St. Damian. The new soldier of Christ straightway entered the church and sought out a certain poor priest, and with reverence did kiss his hands and then offered to him all the money that he had. . . .

[Rejoicing in the Lord, he lingered in the church of St. Damian.] His father, hearing of these things, gathered together his friends and neighbors and made all speed possible to the place where the servant of God was abiding. Then he, because he was but a new champion of Christ, when he heard the threats of vengeance, did hide himself in a certain secret cave and there did lie concealed for a month. Fasting and praying, he did entreat the mercy of the Saviour; and though he lay in a pit and in the shadow of death, yet was he filled with a certain unutterable joy, unhoped for until now. All aglow with this gladness, he left the cave and exposed himself openly to the abuses of his persecutors. . . . Armed with the shield of faith and the armor of trust, he took his way to the city. All who knew him did deride him and called him insane and a madman, and pelted him with the mud of the streets and with stones.

The father of the blessed Francis, when he learned that his son was ridiculed in the open streets, first strove by abuse to turn him from his chosen way. When he could not thus prevail over him, he desired the servant of God to renounce all his inheritance. That this might be done, he brought the blessed Francis before the bishop of Assisi. At this Francis did greatly rejoice and hastened with a

willing heart to fulfill his father's demands.

When he had come before the bishop he did not delay, nor did he suffer others to hinder him. Indeed, he waited not to be told what he should do, but straightway did take off his garments and cast them away and gave them back to his father; and he stood all naked before the people. But the bishop took heed of his spirit and was filled with exceeding great wonder at his zeal and steadfastness; so he gathered him in his arms and covered him with the cloak which he wore. Behold now had he cast aside all things which are of this world.

The holy one, lover of all humility, did then betake himself to the lepers and abode with them most tenderly for the love of God. He washed away all the putrid matter from them, and even cleansed the blood and all that came forth from the ulcers, as he himself spake in his will: "When I was yet in my sins it did seem to me too bitter to look upon the lepers, but the Lord himself did lead me among them and I had compassion upon them."

Now upon a certain day, in the church of Santa Maria Portiuncula, the gospel was read—how that the Lord sent forth his disciples to preach. It was while they did celebrate the solemn mystery of the mass, and the blessed one

of God stood by and would fain understand the sacred words. So he did humbly ask the priest that the gospel might be expounded unto him. Then the priest set it forth plainly to him, and the blessed Francis heard how the disciples were to have neither gold, nor silver, nor money, nor purse, nor script, nor bread, not to carry any staff upon the road, not to have shoes nor two coats, but to preach repentance and the spirit of God, rejoicing always in the spirit of God.

Then said the blessed Francis, "This is what I long for, this is what I seek, this is what I desire to do from the bottom of my heart." And he was exceeding rich in joy, and did hasten to fulfill the blessed words that he had heard. He did not suffer any hindrance to delay him, but did earnestly begin to do that which he had heard. Forthwith he did loose the shoes from his feet, and did lay down the staff from out his hands, and was content with one tunic, and changed his girdle for a rope. Then with great fervor of spirit and joy of mind he began to preach repentance to all men. He used simple speech, yet by his noble heart did he strengthen those who heard him. His word was as a flaming fire, and found a way into the depths of all hearts.

The most blessed Father Francis once made his way through the valley of Spoleto, and he came to a place near Bevagna where birds of divers kinds had gathered together in a great multitude, - crows, doves, and others which are called, in the vulgar tongue, bullfinches. Now Francis, most blessed servant of God, was a man full of zeal and moved to tenderness and gentleness toward all creatures, even those that be lowly and without reason. So when he had seen the birds he did run to them quickly, leaving his companions upon the way.

St. Francis' the birds. (From Celano.)

When he had come near to them he saw that they awaited him, and he made salutation, as he was wont to do. Wondering not a little that they did not take flight, as is the habit of birds, he begged them humbly, yet with great joy, that they would hear the word of God. And among many things which he said unto them was this which follows: "My brother birds, greatly should ye praise your Creator and always serve him, because he gave you feathers to wear, wings to fly, and whatsoever ye needed. He exalted you among his creatures and made for you a mansion in the pure air. Although ye sow not, neither reap, none the less he protects you and guides you, and ye have not any care."

At this the birdlings — so one said who was with him began to stretch out their necks and raise their wings, to open their mouths, and to look upon him. He went and came, passing through the midst of them, and his tunic touched their heads and bodies. Then he blessed them, and made the sign of the cross, and gave them leave to fly to other places.

Francis left no more important memorial of himself and his ideals than his will, dictated by him shortly St. Francis. before his death.

God gave it to me, Brother Francis, to begin to do penance in the following manner: when I was yet in my sins it did seem to me too bitter to look upon the lepers, but the Lord himself did lead me among them, and I had compassion upon them. When I left them, that which had seemed to me bitter had become sweet and easy.

A little while after I left the world, and God gave me such faith that I would kneel down with simplicity in any of his churches, and I would say, "We adore thee, Lord Jesus Christ, here and in all thy churches which are in the world, and we bless thee that by thy holy cross thou hast ransomed the world."

Afterward the Lord gave me, and still gives me, so great a faith in priests who live according to the form of the holy Roman Church, because of their sacerdotal character, that even if they persecuted me I would have recourse to them, and even though I had all the wisdom of Solomon, if I should find poor secular priests, I would not preach in their parishes against their will. I desire to respect them like all the others, to love them and honor them as my lords. I will not consider their sins, for in them I see the Son of God. and they are my lords. I do this because here below I see nothing, I perceive nothing corporeally of the most high Son of God, except his most holy body and blood, which the priests receive and alone distribute to others.

I desire above all things to honor and venerate all these most holy mysteries and to keep them precious. Wherever I find the sacred names of Jesus, or his words, in unsuitable places, I desire to take them away and put them in some decent place; and I pray that others may do the same. We ought to honor and revere all the theologians and those who preach the most holy word of God, as dispensing to us

spirit and life.

A reference to Francis' first Rule.

When the Lord gave me the care of some brothers, no one showed me what I ought to do, but the Most High himself revealed to me that I ought to live according to the model of the holy gospel. I caused a short and simple formula to be written, and the lord pope confirmed it for

Those who presented themselves to follow this kind of life distributed all they might have to the poor. They contented themselves with one tunic, patched within and without, with the cord and breeches, and we desired to have nothing more. The clerics said the office like other clerics, and the laymen repeated the paternoster.

We loved to live in poor and abandoned churches, and we were ignorant, and were submissive to all. I worked with my hands and would still do so, and I firmly desire also that all the other brothers work, for this makes for goodness. Let those who know no trade learn one, but not for the purpose of

receiving the price of their toil, but for their good example and to flee idleness. And when we are not given the price of our work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging our bread from door to door. The Lord revealed to me the salutation which we ought to give: "God give you peace!"

Let the brothers take great care not to accept churches, habitations, or any buildings erected for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule; and let them not live in them except as strangers and pilgrims. I absolutely interdict all the brothers, in whatsoever place they may be found, from asking any bull from the court of Rome, whether directly or indirectly, in the interest of church or convent, or under pretext of preaching, nor even for the protection of their bodies. If they are not received anywhere, let them go of themselves elsewhere, thus doing penance with the benediction of God.

I firmly desire to obey the minister general of this brother-hood, and the guardian whom he may please to give me. I desire to put myself entirely into his hands, to go nowhere and do nothing against his will, for he is my lord. Though I be simple and ill, I would, however, have always a clerk who will perform the office, as it is said in the Rule. Let all the other brothers also be careful to obey their guardians and to do the office according to the Rule.

If it come to pass that there are any who do not the office according to the Rule, and who desire to make any other change, or if they are not Catholics, let all the brothers, wherever they may be, be bound by obedience to present them to the nearest custodian. Let the custodians be bound by obedience to keep such a one well guarded, like a man who is in bonds, day and night, so that he may not escape from their hands until they personally place him in the minister's hands. And let the minister be bound by obedience to send him, by brothers who will guard him as a prisoner day and night, until they shall have placed him in the hands of the lord bishop of Ostia, who is the lord protector, and the corrector of all the brotherhood.

And let the brothers not say, "This is a new Rule"; for this is only a reminder, a warning, an exhortation; it is my last will and testament, that I, little Brother Francis, make for you, my blessed brothers, in order that we may observe in a more Catholic way the Rule which we promised the Lord to keep.

Let the ministers general, all the other ministers, and the custodians be held by obedience to add nothing to and take nothing away from these words. Let them always keep this writing near them beside the Rule; and in all the assemblies which shall be held, when the Rule is read, let these words be read also.

I interdict absolutely by obedience all the brothers, clerics and laymen, to introduce comments in the Rule, or in this will, under pretext of explaining it. But since the Lord has given me to speak and to write the Rule and these words in a clear and simple manner, so do you understand them in the same way without commentary, and put them in practice until the end.

And whoever shall have observed these things, may he be crowned in heaven with the blessings of the heavenly Father, and on earth with those of his well-beloved Son and of the Holy Spirit, the Consoler, with the assistance of all the heavenly virtues and all the saints.

And I, little Brother Francis, your servitor, confirm to you, so far as I am able, this most holy benediction. Amen.

We have drawn up in the briefest form a statement of the truth concerning the seven sacraments, so that the Armenians, now and in future generations, may more easily be instructed therein.

There are seven sacraments under the new law: that is to say, baptism, confirmation, the mass, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony. These differ essentially from the sacraments of the old law; for the latter do not confer grace, but only typify that grace which can be given by the passion of Christ alone. But these our sacraments both contain grace and confer it upon all who receive them worthily.

The first five sacraments are intended to secure the spiritual perfection of every man individually; the two last are ordained for the governance and increase of the Church. For through baptism we are born again of the spirit; through confirmation we grow in grace and are strengthened in the faith; and when we have been born again and strengthened we are fed by the divine food of the mass; but if, through sin, we bring sickness upon our souls, we are made spiritually whole by penance; and by extreme unction we are healed, both spiritually and corporeally, according as our souls have need; by ordination the Church is governed and multiplied spiritually; by matrimony it is materially increased.

To effect these sacraments three things are necessary: the things [or symbols], that is, the "material"; the words, that is, the "form"; and the person of the "ministrant," who administers the sacrament with the intention of carrying out what the Church effects through him. If any of these things be lacking, the sacrament is not accomplished.

Three of these sacraments - baptism, confirmation, and The indelible ordination - impress indelibly upon the soul a character, a certain spiritual sign, distinct from all others; so they are not repeated for the same person. The other four do not imprint a character upon the soul, and admit of repetition.

Holy baptism holds the first place among all the sacra- Baptism. ments because it is the gate of spiritual life; for by it we are made members of Christ and of the body of the Church. Since through the first man death entered into the world, unless we are born again of water, and of the spirit, we cannot, so saith Truth, enter into the kingdom of heaven. The material of this sacrament is water, real and natural it matters nothing whether it be cold or warm. Now the form is: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." . . .

The ministrant of this sacrament is the priest, for baptism belongs to his office. But in case of necessity not only a priest or deacon may baptize, but a layman or a woman nay, even a pagan or a heretic, provided he use the form of the Church and intend to do what the Church effects. The efficacy of this sacrament is the remission of all sin, original sin and actual, and of all penalties incurred through this guilt. Therefore no satisfaction for past sin should be imposed on those who are baptized; but if they die before they commit any sin, they shall straightway attain the kingdom of heaven and the sight of God.

The second sacrament is confirmation. The material is the chrism made from oil, which signifies purity of conscience, and from balsam, which signifies the odor of fair fame; and it must be blessed by the bishop. The form is: "I sign thee with the sign of the cross and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The proper ministrant of this

account of the seven sacraments, for the Armenians by Pope

Confirmation.

sacrament is the bishop. While a simple priest avails to perform the other anointings, this one none can confer save the bishop only; for it is written of the apostles alone that by the laying on of hands they gave the Holy Ghost, and the bishops hold the office of the apostles. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, when the apostles who were at Jerusalem heard how Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John; who, when they were come, prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost; for as yet it was fallen upon none of them, - they were only baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then they laid hands upon them and they received the Holy Ghost. Now, in place of this laying on of hands, confirmation is given in the Church. Yet we read that sometimes, for reasonable and urgent cause, by dispensation from the Holy See, a simple priest has been permitted to administer confirmation with a chrism prepared by a bishop.

In this sacrament the Holy Ghost is given to strengthen us, as it was given to the apostles on the day of Pentecost, that the Christian may confess boldly the name of Christ. And therefore he is confirmed upon the brow, the seat of shame, that he may never blush to confess the name of Christ and especially his cross, which is a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles, according to the apostle. Therefore he is signed with the sign of the cross.

The holy eucharist.

The third sacrament is the eucharist. The material is wheaten bread and wine of the grape, which before consecration should be mixed very sparingly with water; because, according to the testimony of the holy fathers and doctors of the Church set forth in former times in disputation, it is believed that the Lord himself instituted this sacrament with wine mixed with water, and also because this corresponds with the accounts of our Lord's passion. For the holy Pope Alexander, fifth from the blessed Peter, says, "In the offerings of sacred things made to God during the solemnization of the mass, only bread and wine mixed with water are offered up. Neither wine alone nor water alone may be offered up in the cup of the Lord, but both mixed, since it is written that both blood and water flowed from Christ's side."

Moreover the mixing of water with the wine fitly signifies the efficacy of this sacrament, namely, the union of Christian people with Christ, for water signifies "people," accordding to the passage in the Apocalypse which says, "many waters, many people." And Julius, second pope after the blessed Sylvester, says: "According to the provisions of the canons the cup of the Lord should be offered filled with wine mixed with water, because a people is signified by the water and in the wine is manifested the blood of Christ. Therefore when the wine and water are mixed in the cup the people are joined to Christ, and the host of the faithful is united with him in whom they believe."

Since, therefore, the holy Roman Church, instructed by the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, together with all the other churches of the Greeks and Latins in which glowed the light of sanctity and of doctrine, has from the beginning of the nascent Church observed this custom and still observes it, it is quite unseemly that any region whatever should depart from this universal and rational observance. We decree, therefore, that the Armenians likewise shall conform themselves with the whole Christian world, and that their priests shall mix a little water with the wine in the cup of oblation.

The form of this sacrament is furnished by the words of the Saviour when he instituted it, and the priest, speaking in the person of Christ, consummates this sacrament. By virtue of these words, the substance of the bread is turned into the body of Christ and the substance of the wine into his blood. This is accomplished in such wise that the whole Christ is altogether present under the semblance of the bread and altogether under the semblance of the wine, Moreover, after the consecrated host and the consecrated wine have been divided, the whole Christ is present in any part of them. The benefit effected by this sacrament in the souls of those who receive it worthily is the union of man with Christ. And since, through grace, man is made one body with Christ and united in his members, it follows that through this sacrament grace is increased in those who partake of it worthily. Every effect of material food and drink upon the physical life, in nourishment, growth, and pleasure, is wrought by this sacrament for the spiritual life. By it we recall the beloved memory of our Saviour; by it we are withheld from evil, and strengthened in good, and go forward to renewed growth in virtues and graces.

The fourth sacrament is penance. The material, as we may say, consists in the acts of penitence, which are divided into three parts. The first of these is contrition of the heart, wherein the sinner must grieve for the sins he has committed, with the resolve to commit no further sins. Second comes confession with the mouth, to which it pertains that the sinner should make confession to his priest of all the sins he holds in his memory. The third is satisfaction for sins according to the judgment of the priest, and this is made chiefly by prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. The form of this sacrament consists in the words of absolution which the priest speaks when he says, "I absolve thee," etc.; and the minister of this sacrament is the priest, who has authority to absolve either regularly or by the commission of a superior. The benefit of this sacrament is absolution from sins.

The fifth sacrament is extreme unction, and the material Extreme is oil of the olive, blessed by a bishop. This sacrament shall not be given to any except the sick who are in fear of death. They shall be anointed in the following places: the eyes on account of the sight, the ears on account of the hearing, the nostrils on account of smell, the mouth on account of taste and speech, the hands on account of touch, the feet on account of walking, and the loins as the seat of pleasure. The form of this sacrament is as follows: "Through this holy unction and his most tender compassion, the Lord grants thee forgiveness for whatever sins thou hast committed by the sight," - and in the same way for the other members. The minister of this sacrament is a priest. The benefit is even the healing of the mind and, so far as is expedient, of the body also. Of this sacrament the blessed apostle James says: "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

The sixth sacrament is ordination. The material for the Ordination. priesthood is the cup with the wine and the paten with the bread; for the deaconate, the books of the Gospel; for the subdeaconate, an empty cup placed upon an empty paten; and in like manner, other offices are conferred by giving to the candidates those things which pertain to their

Transubstantiation of the bread and the wine.

Penance and

secular ministrations. The form for priests is this: "Receive the power to offer sacrifice in the Church for the living and the dead, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And so for each order the proper form shall be used, as fully stated in the Roman pontifical. The regular minister of this sacrament is a bishop; the benefit, growth in grace, to the end that whosoever is ordained may be a worthy minister.

Matrimony.

The seventh sacrament is matrimony, the type of the union of Christ and the Church, according to the apostle, who saith, "This is a great mystery¹; but I speak concerning Christ and the church." The efficient cause of marriage is regularly the mutual consent uttered aloud on the spot. These advantages are to be ascribed to marriage: first, the begetting of children and their bringing up in the worship of the Lord; secondly, the fidelity that husband and wife should each maintain toward the other; thirdly, the indissoluble character of marriage, for this typifies the indissoluble union of Christ and the Church. Although for the cause of adultery separation is permissible, for no other cause may marriage be infringed, since the bond of marriage once legitimately contracted is perpetual.

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH SUMMA CONTRA GENTILES BOOK ONE: GOD

Chapter 3.

ON THE WAY IN WHICH DIVINE TRUTH
IS TO BE MADE KNOWN

- [1] The way of making truth known is not always the same, and, as the Philosopher has very well said, "it belongs to an educated man to seek such certitude in each thing as the nature of that thing allows." The remark is also introduced by Boethius. But, since such is the case, we must first show what way is open to us in order that we may make known the truth which is our object.
- [2] There is a twofold mode of truth in what we profess about God. Some truths about God exceed all the ability of the human reason. Such is the truth that God is triunc. But there are some truths which the natural reason also is able to reach. Such are that God exists, that He is one, and the like. In fact, such truths about God have been proved demonstratively by the philosophers, guided by the light of the natural reason.
- That there are certain truths about God that totally surpass man's ability appears with the greatest evidence. Since, indeed, the principle of all knowledge that the reason perceives about some thing is the understanding of the very substance of that being (for according to Aristotle "what a thing is" is the principle of demonstration), it is necessary that the way in which we understand the substance of a thing determines the way in which we know what belongs to it. Hence, if the human intellect comprehends the substance of some thing, for example, that of a stone or of a triangle, no intelligible characteristic belonging to that thing surpasses the grasp of the human reason. But this does not happen to us in the case of God. For the human intellect is not able to reach a comprehension of the divine substance through its natural power. For, according to its manner of knowing in the present life, the intellect depends on the sense for the origin of knowledge; and so those things that do not fall under the senses cannot be grasped by the human intellect except in so far as the knowledge of them is gathered from sensible things. Now, sensible things cannot lead the human intellect to the point of seeing in them the nature of the divine substance; for sensible things are effects that fall short of the power of their cause. Yet, beginning with sensible things, our intellect is led to the point of knowing about God that He exists, and other such characteristics that must be attributed to the First Principle. There are, consequently, some intelligible truths about God that are open to the human reason; but there are others that absolutely surpass its power.

- [4] We may easily see the same point from the gradation of intellects. Consider the case of two persons of whom one has a more penetrating grasp of a thing by his intellect than does the other. He who has the superior intellect understands many things that the other cannot grasp at all. Such is the case with a very simple person who cannot at all grasp the subtle speculations of philosophy. But the intellect of an angel surpasses the human intellect much more than the intellect of the greatest philosopher surpasses the intellect of the most uncultivated simple person; for the distance between the best philosopher and a simple person is contained within the limits of the human species, which the angelic intellect surpasses. For the angel knows God on the basis of a more noble effect than does man; and this by as much as the substance of an angel, through which the angel in his natural knowledge is led to the knowledge of God, is nobler than sensible things and even than the soul itself, through which the human intellect mounts to the knowledge of God. The divine intellect surpasses the angelic intellect much more than the angelic surpasses the human. For the divine intellect is in its capacity equal to its substance, and therefore it understands fully what it is, including all its intelligible attributes. But by his natural knowledge the angel does not know what God is, since the substance itself of the angel, through which he is led to the knowledge of God, is an effect that is not equal to the power of its cause. Hence, the angel is not able, by means of his natural knowledge, to grasp all the things that God understands in Himself; nor is the human reason sufficient to grasp all the things that the angel understands through his own natural power. Just as, therefore, it would be the height of folly for a simple person to assert that what a philosopher proposes is false on the ground that he himself cannot understand it, so (and even more so) it is the acme of stupidity for a man to suspect as false what is divinely revealed through the ministry of the angels simply because it cannot be investigated by reason.
- [5] The same thing, moreover, appears quite clearly from the defect that we experience every day in our knowledge of things. We do not know a great many of the properties of sensible things, and in most cases we are not able to discover fully the natures of those properties that we apprehend by the sense. Much more is it the case, therefore, that the human reason is not equal to the task of investigating all the intelligible characteristics of that most excellent substance.
- [6] The remark of Aristotle likewise agrees with this conclusion. He says that "our intellect is related to the prime beings, which are most evident in their nature, as the eye of an owl is related to the sun."
- [7] Sacred Scripture also gives testimony to this truth. We read in Job: "Peradventure thou wilt comprehend the steps of God, and wilt find out the Almighty perfectly?" (11:7). And again: "Behold, God is great, exceeding our knowledge" (Job 36:26). And St. Paul: "We know in part" (I Cor. 13:9).
- [8] We should not, therefore, immediately reject as false, following the opinion of the Manicheans and many unbelievers, everything that is said about God even though it cannot be investigated by reason.

Chapter 4.

THAT THE TRUTH ABOUT GOD TO WHICH THE
NATURAL REASON REACHES IS FITTINGLY
PROPOSED TO MEN FOR BELIEF

- [1] Since, therefore, there exists a twofold truth concerning the divine being, one to which the inquiry of the reason can reach, the other which surpasses the whole ability of the human reason, it is fitting that both of these truths be proposed to man divinely for belief. This point must first be shown concerning the truth that is open to the inquiry of the reason; otherwise, it might perhaps seem to someone that, since such a truth can be known by the reason, it was uselessly given to men through a supernatural inspiration as an object of belief.
- [2] Yet, if this truth were left solely as a matter of inquiry for the human reason, three awkward consequences would follow.
- The first is that few men would possess the knowledge of God. For there are three reasons why most men are cut off from the fruit of diligent inquiry which is the discovery of truth. Some do not have the physical disposition for such work. As a result, there are many who are naturally not fitted to pursue knowledge; and so, however much they tried, they would be unable to reach the highest level of human knowledge which consists in knowing God. Others are cut off from pursuing this truth by the necessities imposed upon them by their daily lives. For some men must devote themselves to taking care of temporal matters. Such men would not be able to give so much time to the leisure of contemplative inquiry as to reach the highest peak at which human investigation can arrive, namely, the knowledge of God. Finally, there are some who are cut off by indolence. In order to know the things that the reason can investigate concerning God, a knowledge of many things must already be possessed. For almost all of philosophy is directed towards the knowledge of God, and that is why metaphysics, which deals with divine things, is the last part of philosophy to be learned. This means that we are able to arrive at the inquiry concerning the aforementioned truth only on the basis of a great deal of labor spent in study. Now, those who wish to undergo such a labor for the mere love of knowledge are few, even though God has inserted into the minds of men a natural appetite for knowledge.
- [4] The second awkward effect is that those who would come to discover the abovementioned truth would barely reach it after a great deal of time. The reasons are several. There is the profundity of this truth, which the human intellect is made capable of grasping by natural inquiry only after a long training. Then, there are many things that must be presupposed, as we have said. There is also the fact that, in youth, when the soul is swayed by the various movements of the passions, it is not in a suitable state for the knowledge of such lofty truth. On the contrary, "one becomes wise and knowing in repose," as it is said in the Physics. The result is this. If the only way open to us for the knowledge of God were solely that of the reason, the human race would remain in the blackest shadows of ignorance. For then the knowledge of God, which especially renders men perfect and good, would come to be

possessed only by a few, and these few would require a great deal of time in order to reach it.

- [5] The third awkward effect is this. The investigation of the human reason for the most part has falsity present within it, and this is due partly to the weakness of our intellect in judgment, and partly to the admixture of images. The result is that many, remaining ignorant of the power of demonstration, would hold in doubt those things that have been most truly demonstrated. This would be particularly the case since they see that, among those who are reputed to be wise men, each one teaches his own brand of doctrine. Furthermore, with the many truths that are demonstrated, there sometimes is mingled something that is false, which is not demonstrated but rather asserted on the basis of some probable or sophistical argument, which yet has the credit of being a demonstration. That is why it was necessary that the unshakeable certitude and pure truth concerning divine things should be presented to men by way of faith.
- [6] Beneficially, therefore, did the divine Mercy provide that it should instruct us to hold by faith even those truths that the human reason is able to investigate. In this way, all men would easily be able to have a share in the knowledge of God, and this without uncertainty and error.
- [7] Hence it is written: "Henceforward you walk not as also the Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind, having their understanding darkened" (Eph. 4:17-18). And again: "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord" (Isa. 54:13).

Chapter 5.

THAT THE TRUTHS THE HUMAN REASON IS NOT ABLE TO INVESTIGATE ARE FITTINGLY PROPOSED TO MEN FOR BELIEF

- [1] Now, perhaps some will think that men should not be asked to believe what the reason is not adequate to investigate, since the divine Wisdom provides in the case of each thing according to the mode of its nature. We must therefore prove that it is necessary for man to receive from God as objects of belief even those truths that are above the human reason.
- [2] No one tends with desire and zeal towards something that is not already known to him. But, as we shall examine later on in this work, men are ordained by the divine Providence towards a higher good than human fragility can experience in the present life. That is why it was necessary for the human mind to be called to something higher than the human reason here and now can reach, so that it would thus learn to desire something and with zeal tend towards something that surpasses the whole state of the present life. This belongs especially to the Christian religion, which in a unique way promises spiritual and eternal goods. And so there are many things proposed to men in it that transcend human sense. The Old Law, on the other hand, whose promises were of a temporal character, contained very few proposals that transcended the inquiry of the human reason. Following this same direction, the philosophers themselves, in order that they might lead men from the pleasure of sensible things to virtue, were concerned to show that there were in existence other goods of a higher nature than these things of sense, and that those who gave

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- [3] It is also necessary that such truth be proposed to men for belief so that they may have a truer knowledge of God. For then only do we know God truly when we believe Him to be above everything that it is possible for man to think about Him; for, as we have shown, the divine substance surpasses the natural knowledge of which man is capable. Hence, by the fact that some things about God are proposed to man that surpass his reason, there is strengthened in man the view that God is something above what he can think.
- [4] Another benefit that comes from the revelation to men of truths that exceed the reason is the curbing of presumption, which is the mother of error. For there are some who have such a presumptuous opinion of their own ability that they deem themselves able to measure the nature of everything; I mean to say that, in their estimation, everything is true that seems to them so, and everything is false that does not. So that the human mind, therefore, might be freed from this presumption and come to a humble inquiry after truth, it was necessary that some things should be proposed to man by God that would completely surpass his intellect.
- [5] A still further benefit may also be seen in what Aristotle says in the Ethics. There was a certain Simonides who exhorted people to put aside the knowledge of divine things and to apply their talents to human occupations. He said that "he who is a man should know human things, and he who is mortal, things that are mortal." Against Simonides Aristotle says that "man should draw himself towards what is immortal and divine as much as he can." And so he says in the De animalibus that, although what we know of the higher substances is very little, yet that little is loved and desired more than all the knowledge that we have about less noble substances. He also says in the De caelo et mundo that when questions about the heavenly bodies can be given even a modest and merely plausible solution, he who hears this experiences intense joy. From all these considerations it is clear that even the most imperfect knowledge about the most noble realities brings the greatest perfection to the soul. Therefore, although the human reason cannot grasp fully the truths that are above it, yet, if it somehow holds these truths at least by faith, it acquires great perfection for itself.
- [6] Therefore it is written: "For many things are shown to thee above the understanding of men" (Ecclus. 3:25). Again: "So the things that are of God no man knoweth but the Spirit of God. But to us God hath revealed them by His Spirit" (I Cor. 2:11, 10).

Chapter 6.

THAT TO GIVE ASSENT TO THE TRUTHS OF FAITH IS NOT FOOLISHNESS EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE ABOVE REASON

[1] Those who place their faith in this truth, however, "for which the human reason offers no experimental evidence," do not believe foolishly, as though "following

artificial fables" (II Peter 1:16). For these "secrets of divine Wisdom" (Job 11:6) the divine Wisdom itself, which knows all things to the full, has deigned to reveal to men. It reveals its own presence, as well as the truth of its teaching and inspiration, by fitting arguments; and in order to confirm those truths that exceed natural knowledge, it gives visible manifestation to works that surpass the ability of all nature. Thus, there are the wonderful cures of illnesses, there is the raising of the dead, and the wonderful immutation in the heavenly bodies; and what is more wonderful, there is the inspiration given to human minds, so that simple and untutored persons, filled with the gift of the Holy Spirit, come to possess instantaneously the highest wisdom and the readiest eloquence. When these arguments were examined, through the efficacy of the abovementioned proof, and not the violent assault of arms or the promise of pleasures, and (what is most wonderful of all) in the midst of the tyranny of the persecutors, an innumerable throng of people, both simple and most learned, flocked to the Christian faith. In this faith there are truths preached that surpass every human intellect; the pleasures of the flesh are curbed; it is taught that the things of the world should be spurned. Now, for the minds of mortal men to assent to these things is the greatest of miracles, just as it is a manifest work of divine inspiration that, spurning visible things, men should seek only what is invisible. Now, that this has happened neither without preparation nor by chance, but as a result of the disposition of God, is clear from the fact that through many pronouncements of the ancient prophets God had foretold that He would do this. The books of these prophets are held in veneration among us Christians, since they give witness to our faith.

- [2] The manner of this confirmation is touched on by St. Paul: "Which," that is, human salvation, "having begun to be declared by the Lord, was confirmed unto us by them that hear Him: God also bearing them witness of signs, and wonders, and divers miracles, and distributions of the Holy Ghost" (Heb. 2:3-4).
- [3] This wonderful conversion of the world to the Christian faith is the clearest witness of the signs given in the past; so that it is not necessary that they should be further repeated, since they appear most clearly in their effect. For it would be truly more wonderful than all signs if the world had been led by simple and humble men to believe such lofty truths, to accomplish such difficult actions, and to have such high hopes. Yet it is also a fact that, even in our own time, God does not cease to work miracles through His saints for the confirmation of the faith.
- [4] On the other hand, those who founded sects committed to erroneous doctrines proceeded in a way that is opposite to this. The point is clear in the case of Mohammed. He seduced the people by promises of carnal pleasure to which the concupiscence of the flesh goads us. His teaching also contained precepts that were in conformity with his promises, and he gave free rein to carnal pleasure. In all this, as is not unexpected, he was obeyed by carnal men. As for proofs of the truth of his doctrine, he brought forward only such as could be grasped by the natural ability of anyone with a very modest wisdom. Indeed, the truths that he taught he mingled with many fables and with doctrines of the greatest falsity. He did not bring forth any signs

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produced in a supernatural way, which alone fittingly gives witness to divine inspiration; for a visible action that can be only divine reveals an invisibly inspired teacher of truth. On the contrary, Mohammed said that he was sent in the power of his arms-which are signs not lacking even to robbers and tyrants. What is more, no wise men, men trained in things divine and human, believed in him from the beginning. Those who believed in him were brutal men and desert wanderers, utterly ignorant of all divine teaching, through whose numbers Mohammed forced others to become his followers by the violence of his arms. Nor do divine pronouncements on the part of preceding prophets offer him any witness. On the contrary, he perverts almost all the testimonies of the Old and New Testaments by making them into fabrications of his own, as can be seen by anyone who examines his law. It was, therefore, a shrewd decision on his part to forbid his followers to read the Old and New Testaments, lest these books convict him of falsity. It is thus clear that those who place any faith in his words believe foolishly.

Chapter 7.

THAT THE TRUTH OF REASON IS NOT OPPOSED TO THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

- [1] Now, although the truth of the Christian faith which we have discussed surpasses the capacity of the reason, nevertheless that truth that the human reason is naturally endowed to know cannot be opposed to the truth of the Christian faith. For that with which the human reason is naturally endowed is clearly most true; so much so, that it is impossible for us to think of such truths as false. Nor is it permissible to believe as false that which we hold by faith, since this is confirmed in a way that is so clearly divine. Since, therefore, only the false is opposed to the true, as is clearly evident from an examination of their definitions, it is impossible that the truth of faith should be opposed to those principles that the human reason knows naturally.
- [2] Furthermore, that which is introduced into the soul of the student by the teacher is contained in the knowledge of the teacher—unless his teaching is fictitious, which it is improper to say of God. Now, the knowledge of the principles that are known to us naturally has been implanted in us by God; for God is the Author of our nature. These principles, therefore, are also contained by the divine Wisdom. Hence, whatever is opposed to them is opposed to the divine Wisdom, and, therefore, cannot come from God. That which we hold by faith as divinely revealed, therefore, cannot be contrary to our natural knowledge.
- [3] Again. In the presence of contrary arguments our intellect is chained, so that it cannot proceed to the knowledge of the truth. If, therefore, contrary knowledges were implanted in us by God, our intellect would be hindered from knowing truth by this very fact. Now, such an effect cannot come from God.
- [4] And again. What is natural cannot change as long as nature does not. Now, it is impossible that contrary opinions should exist in the same knowing subject at the same time. No opinion or belief, therefore, is implanted in man

by God which is contrary to man's natural knowledge.

- [5] Therefore, the Apostle says: "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart. This is the word of faith, which we preach" (Rom. 10:8). But because it overcomes reason, there are some who think that it is opposed to it: which is impossible.
- [6] The authority of St. Augustine also agrees with this. He writes as follows: "That which truth will reveal cannot in any way be opposed to the sacred books of the Old and the New Testament."
- [7] From this we evidently gather the following conclusion: whatever arguments are brought forward against the doctrines of faith are conclusions incorrectly derived from the first and self-evident principles imbedded in nature. Such conclusions do not have the force of demonstration; they are arguments that are either probable or sophistical. And so, there exists the possibility to answer them.

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH SUMMA CONTRA GENTILES BOOK THREE: PROVIDENCE

Chapter 1.

PROLOGUE

"The Lord is a great God and a great King above all gods" (Ps. 94:3). "For the Lord will not cast off His people" (Ps. 93:14). "For in His hand are all the ends of the earth, and the heights of the mountains are His. For the sea is His and He made it, and His hands formed dry land" (Ps. 94:4-5).

- [1] That there is one First Being, possessing the full perfection of the whole of being, and that we call Him God, has been shown in the preceding Books.1 From the abundance of His perfection, He endows all existing things with being, so that He is fully established not only as the First Being but also as the original source of all existing things. Moreover, He has granted being to other things, not by a necessity of His nature but according to the choice of His will, as has been made clear in our earlier explanations.2 From this it follows that He is the Lord of the things that He has made, for we are masters of the things that are subject to our will. In fact, He holds perfect dominion over things produced by Himself, since to produce them He is in need neither of the assistance of an external agent nor of the underlying presence of matter, for He is the universal maker of the whole of being.
- [2] Now, each of the things produced through the will of an agent is directed to an end by the agent. For the proper object of the will is the good and the end. As a result, things which proceed from will must be directed to some end. Moreover, each thing achieves its ultimate end through its own action which must be directed to the end by Him Who gives things the principles through which they act.
- [3] So, it must be that God, Who is in all ways perfect in Himself, and Who endows all things with being from His own power, exists as the Ruler of all beings, and is ruled by none other. Nor is there anything that escapes His rule, just as there is nothing that does not receive its being from Him. As He is perfect in being and causing, so also is He perfect in ruling.
- Of course, the result of this rule is manifested dif-

^{1.} St. Thomas Aquinas, On the Truth of the Catholic Faith, Book One: God, trans. Anton C. Pegis, Doubleday & Company, Inc. (Image Books), Garden City, N. Y., 1955; Book Two: Creation, trans. James Anderson, Doubleday & Company, Inc. (Image Books), Garden City, N. Y., 1956.

ferently in different beings, depending on the diversity of their natures. For some beings so exist as God's products that, possessing understanding, they bear His likeness and reflect His image. Consequently, they are not only ruled but are also rulers of themselves, inasmuch as their own actions are directed to a fitting end. If these beings submit to the divine rule in their own ruling, then by virtue of the divine rule they are admitted to the achievement of their ultimate end; but, if they proceed otherwise in their own ruling, they are rejected.

- [5] Still other beings, devoid of understanding, do not direct themselves to their end, but are directed by another being. Some of these are incorruptible and, as they can suffer no defect in their natural being, so in their own actions they never fail to follow the order to the end which is prearranged for them. They are unfailingly subject to the rule of the First Ruler. Such are the celestial bodies whose motions occur in ever the same way.
- [6] Other beings, however, are corruptible. They can suffer a defect in their natural being, yet such a defect works to the advantage of another being. For, when one thing is corrupted, another comes into being. Likewise, in their proper actions they may fall short of the natural order, yet such a failure is balanced by the good which comes from it. Thus, it is evident that not even those things which appear to depart from the order of the primary rule do actually escape the power of the First Ruler. Even these corruptible bodies are perfectly subject to His power, just as they are created by God Himself.
- [7] Contemplating this fact, the Psalmist, being filled with the Holy Spirit, first describes for us the perfection of the First Ruler, in order to point out the divine rule to us: as a perfection of nature, by the use of the term "God"; as a perfection of power, by the use of the words, "great Lord" (suggesting that He has need of no other being for His power to produce His effect); and as a perfection of authority, by the use of the phrase, "a great King above all gods" (for even if there be many rulers, they are all none-theless subject to His rule).
- [8] In the second place, he describes for us the manner of this rule. First, as regards those intellectual beings who are led by Him to their ultimate end, which is Himself, he uses this expression: "For the Lord will not cast off His people." Next, in regard to corruptible beings which are not removed from the power of the First Ruler, even if they go astray sometimes in their own actions, he says: "For in His hands are all the ends of the earth." Then, in regard to celestial bodies which exist above all the highest parts of the earth (that is, of corruptible bodies) and which always observe the right order of the divine rule, he says: "and the heights of the mountains are His."
- [9] In the third place, he indicates the reason for this universal rule: the things created by God must also be ruled by Him. Thus it is that he says: "For the sea is His," and so on.
- [10] Therefore, since we have treated of the perfection of the divine nature in Book One, and of the perfection of His power inasmuch as He is the Maker and Lord of all things in Book Two, there remains to be treated in this third Book His perfect authority or dignity, inasmuch as

He is the End and Ruler of all things. So, this will be our order of procedure: first, we shall treat of Himself, according as He is the end of all things; second, of His universal rule, according as He governs every creature; third, of His particular rule, according as He governs creatures possessed of understanding.

Chapter 37.

THAT THE ULTIMATE FELICITY OF MAN CONSISTS IN THE CONTEMPLATION OF GOD

- [1] So, if the ultimate felicity of man does not consist in external things which are called the goods of fortune, nor in the goods of the body, nor in the goods of the soul according to its sensitive part, nor as regards the intellective part according to the activity of the moral virtues, nor according to the intellectual virtues that are concerned with action, that is, art and prudence—we are left with the conclusion that the ultimate felicity of man lies in the contemplation of truth.
- [2] Indeed, this is the only operation of man which is proper to him, and in it he shares nothing in common with the other animals.
- [3] So, too, this is ordered to nothing else as an end, for the contemplation of truth is sought for its own sake.
- [4] Also, through this operation man is united by way of likeness with beings superior to him, since this alone of human operations is found also in God and in separate substances.
- [5] Indeed, in this operation he gets in touch with these higher beings by knowing them in some way.
- [6] Also, for this operation man is rather sufficient unto himself, in the sense that for it he needs little help from external things.
- [7] In fact, all other human operations seem to be ordered to this one, as to an end. For, there is needed for the perfection of contemplation a soundness of body, to which all the products of art that are necessary for life are directed. Also required are freedom from the disturbances of the passions—this is achieved through the moral virtues and prudence—and freedom from external disorders, to which the whole program of government in civil life is directed. And so, if they are rightly considered, all human functions may be seen to subserve the contemplation of truth.
- [8] However, it is not possible for man's ultimate felicity to consist in the contemplation which depends on the understanding of principles, for that is very imperfect, being most universal, including the potential cognition of things. Also, it is the beginning, not the end, of human enquiry, coming to us from nature and not because of our search for truth. Nor, indeed, does it lie in the area of the sciences which deal with lower things, because felicity should lie in the working of the intellect in relation to the noblest objects of understanding. So, the conclusion remains that man's ultimate felicity consists in the contemplation of wisdom, based on the considering of divine matters.

[9] From this, that is also clear by way of induction, which was proved above by rational arguments, namely, that man's ultimate felicity consists only in the contemplation of God.

BOOK FOUR: SALVATION

Chapter 54.

THAT IT WAS SUITABLE FOR GOD TO BE MADE FLESH

- [1] However, if one earnestly and devoutly weighs the mysteries of the Incarnation, he will find so great a depth of wisdom that it exceeds human knowledge. In the Apostle's words: "The foolishness of God is wiser than men" (I Cor. 1:25). Hence it happens that to him who devoutly considers it, more and more wondrous aspects of this mystery are made manifest.
- [2] First, then, let this be taken into consideration: The Incarnation of God was the most efficacious assistance to man in his striving for beatitude. For we have shown in Book III1 that the perfect beatitude of man consists in the immediate vision of God. It might, of course, appear to some that man would never have the ability to achieve this state: that the human intellect be united immediately to the divine essence itself as an intellect is to its intelligible; for there is an unmeasured distance between the natures, and thus, in the search for beatitude, a man would grow cold, held back by very desperation. But the fact that God was willing to unite human nature to Himself personally points out to men with greatest clarity that man can be united to God by intellect, and see Him immediately. It was, then, most suitable for God to assume human nature to stir up man's hope for beatitude. Hence, after the Incarnation of Christ, men began the more to aspire after heavenly beatitude; as He Himself says: "I am come that they may have life and may have it more abundantly" (John 10:10).
- [3] At the same time, too, some obstacles to acquiring beatitude are removed from man. For, since the perfect beatitude of man consists in the enjoyment of God alone, as shown above,2 necessarily every man is kept from participation in the true beatitude who cleaves as to an end to these things which are less than God. But man was able to be misled into this clinging as to an end to things less than God in existence by his ignorance of the worthiness of his nature. Thus it happens with some. They look on themselves in their bodily and sentient nature-which they have in common with other animals-and in bodily things and fleshly pleasures they seek out a kind of animal beatitude. But there have been others who considered the excellence of certain creatures superior to man in some respects. And to the cult of these they bound themselves. They worshiped the universe and its parts because of the greatness of its size and its long temporal duration; or spiritual substances, angels and demons, because they found these greater than man both in immortality and in sharpness of understanding. They judged that in these, as existing above themselves, the beatitude of man should be sought. Now, although it is true, some conditions considered, that man stands inferior to some creatures, and even that in certain matters he is rendered like to the lowest creatures, nothing stands higher in the order of end than man except God alone, in whom alone man's perfect beatitude is to be found. Therefore, this dignity of man-namely, that in the immediate vision of God his beatitude is to be found-was most suitably

manifested by God by His own immediate assumption of human nature. And we look upon this consequence of God's Incarnation: a large part of mankind passing by the cult of angels, of demons, and all creatures whatsoever, spurning, indeed, the pleasures of the flesh and all things bodily, have dedicated themselves to the worship of God alone, and in Him only they look for the fulfillment of this beatitude; and so the Apostle exhorts: "Seek the things that are above where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God. Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth" (Col. 3:1-2).

[4] Since man's perfect beatitude, furthermore, consists in the sort of knowledge of God which exceeds the capacity of every created intellect (as was shown in Book III), there had to be a certain foretaste of this sort of knowledge in man which might direct him to that fullness of blessed knowledge; and this is done through faith, as we showed in Book III.3 But the knowledge by which man is directed to his ultimate end has to be most certain knowledge, because it is the principle of everything ordered to the ultimate end; so, also, the principles naturally known are most certain. But there cannot be a most certain knowledge of something unless the thing be known of itself, as the first principles of demonstration are known to us; or the thing be resolved into what is known of itself, in the way in which the conclusion of a demonstration is most certain for us. Of course, what is set forth for us to hold about God by faith cannot be known of itself to man, since it exceeds the capacity of the human intellect. Therefore, this had to be made known to man by Him to whom it is known of itself. And, although to all who see the divine essence this truth is somehow known of itself, nevertheless, in order to have a most certain knowledge there had to be a reduction to the first principle of this knowledge-namely, to God. To Him this truth is naturally known of itself, and from Him it becomes known to all. And just so the certitude of a science is had only by resolution into the first indemonstrable principles. Therefore, man, to achieve perfect certitude about the truth of faith, had to be instructed by God Himself made man, that man might in the human fashion grasp the divine instruction. And this is what John (1:18) says: "No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." And our Lord Himself says: "For this was I born and for this came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth" (John 18: 37). And for this reason we see that after Christ's Incarnation men were the more evidently and the more surely instructed in the divine knowledge; as Isaias (11:9) has it: "The earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord."

[5] Again, since man's perfect beatitude consists in the enjoyment of divinity, man's love had to be disposed toward a desire for the enjoyment of divinity, as we see that there is naturally in man a desire of beatitude. But the desire to enjoy anything is caused by love of that thing. Therefore, man, tending to perfect beatitude, needed inducement to the divine love. Nothing, of course, so induces us to love one as the experience of his love for us. But God's love for men could be demonstrated to man in no way more effective than this: He willed to be united to man in person, for it is proper to love to unite the lover with the beloved so far as possible. Therefore, it was necessary for man tending to perfect beatitude that God become man.

^{3.} SCG, III, ch. 147 and 152.

- [6] Furthermore, since friendship consists in a certain equality, things greatly unequal seem unable to be coupled in friendship.⁵ Therefore, to get greater familiarity in friendship between man and God it was helpful for man that God became man, since even by nature man is man's friend;⁶ and so in this way, "while we know God visibly, we may [through Him] be borne to love of things invisible."⁷
- [7] In like fashion, too, it is clear that beatitude is the reward of virtue.⁸ Therefore, they who tend to beatitude must be virtuously disposed. But we are stimulated to virtue both by words and by examples. Of course, his examples and words of whose goodness we have the more solid opinion induce us the more effectively to virtue. But an infallible opinion of goodness about any pure man was never tenable; even the holiest of men, one finds, have failed in some things. Hence, it was necessary for man to be solidly grounded in virtue to receive from God made human both the teaching and the examples of virtue. For this reason our Lord Himself says: "I have given you an example that as I have done to you so you do also" (John 13:15).
- [8] By_virtues, again, man is disposed to beatitude, and so by sin he is blocked therefrom. Sin, of course, the contrary of virtue, constitutes an obstacle to beatitude; it not only induces a kind of disorder in the soul by seducing it from its due end, but it also offends God to whom we look for the reward of beatitude, in that God has the custody of human acts. And sin is the contrary of divine charity, as we showed more fully in Book III. What is more, man, being aware of this offense, loses by sin that confidence in approaching God which is necessary to achieve beatitude. Therefore, the human race, which abounds in sins, needed to have some remedy against sin applied to it. But this remedy can be applied only by God, who can move the will of man to good and bring it back to the order due; who can, as well, remit the offense committed against Him-for an offense is not remitted except by him against whom the offense is committed. But, if man is to be freed from awareness of past offense, he must know clearly that God has remitted his offense. But man cannot be clear on this with certainty unless God gives him certainty of it. Therefore, it was suitable and helpful to the human race for achieving beatitude that God should become man; as a result, man not only receives the remission of sins through God, but also the certitude of this remission through the man-God. Hence, our Lord Himself says: "But that you may know that the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins" (Matt. 9:6), and the rest; and the Apostle says that "the blood of Christ will cleanse our conscience from dead works to serve the living God" (Heb. 9:14).
- [9] The tradition of the Church, moreover, teaches us that the whole human race was infected by sin. But the order of divine justice—as is clear from the foregoing9—requires that God should not remit sin without satisfaction. But to satisfy for the sin of the whole human race was beyond the power of any pure man, because any pure man is something less than the whole human race in its entirety. Therefore, in order to free the human race from its common sin, someone had to satisfy who was both man and so proportioned to the satisfac-

^{5.} Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, VIII, 5, (1157b 35-40).

^{6.} Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, VIII, 1 (1155a 15-25).

^{7.} Preface, Mass of the Nativity of our Lord and of Corpus Christi; St. Thomas has omitted per hunc.

^{8.} See Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, I, 9 (1099b 10-20).

^{9.} SCG, III, ch. 158.

tion, and something above man that the merit might be enough to satisfy for the sin of the whole human race. But there is no greater than man in the order of beatitude, except God, for angels, although superior to man in the condition of nature, are not superior in the order of end, because the same end beatifies them. 10 Therefore, it was necessary for man's achievement of beatitude that God should become man to take away the sin of the human race. And this is what John the Baptist said of Christ: "Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him who taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). And the Apostle says: "As by the offense of one, unto all men to condemnation; so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification" (Rom. 5:16).

[10] These points, then, and similar ones make us able to conceive that it was not out of harmony with the divine goodness for God to become man, but extremely helpful for human salvation.

the Pier Article

ST. THOMAS

TREATISE ON LAW

QUESTION XCI.

OF THE VARIOUS KINDS OF LAW.

(In Six Articles.)

WE must now consider the various kinds of law: under which head there are six points of inquiry: (I) Whether there is an eternal law? (2) Whether there is a natural law? (3) Whether there is a human law? (4) Whether there is a Divine law? (5) Whether there is one Divine law, or several? (6) Whether there is a law of sin?

FIRST ARTICLE.

WHETHER THERE IS AN ETERNAL LAW?

We proceed thus to the First Article :-

Objection I. It would seem that there is no eternal law. Because every law is imposed on someone. But there was not someone from eternity on whom a law could be imposed: since God alone was from eternity. Therefore no law is eternal.

Obj. 2. Further, promulgation is essential to law. But promulgation could not be from eternity: because there was no one to whom it could be promulgated from eternity. Therefore no law can be eternal.

Obj. 3. Further, a law implies order to an end. But nothing ordained to an end is eternal: for the last end alone is eternal. Therefore no law is eternal.

On the contrary, Augustine says (De Lib. Arb. i. 6): That Law which is the Supreme Reason cannot be understood to be otherwise than unchangeable and eternal.

I answer that, As stated above (Q. XC., A. I ad 2; AA. 3, 4), a law is nothing else but a dictate of practical reason emanating from the ruler who governs a perfect community. Now it is evident, granted that the world is ruled by Divine Providence, as was stated in the First Part (Q. XXII., AA. I, 2), that the whole community of the universe is governed by Divine Reason. Wherefore the very Idea of the government of things in God the Ruler of the universe, has the nature of a law. And since the Divine Reason's conception of things is not subject to time but is eternal, according to Prov. viii. 23, therefore it is that this kind of law must be called eternal.

Reply Obj. I. Those things that are not in themselves, exist with God, inasmuch as they are foreknown and preordained by Him, according to Rom. iv. 17: Who calls those things that are not, as those that are. Accordingly the eternal concept of the Divine law bears the character of an eternal law, in so far as it is ordained by God to the government of things foreknown by Him.

Reply Obj. 2. Promulgation is made by word of mouth or

in writing; and in both ways the eternal law is promulgated: because both the Divine Word and the writing of the Book of Life are eternal. But the promulgation cannot be from eternity on the part of the creature that hears or reads.

Reply Obj. 3. The law implies order to the end actively, in so far as it directs certain things to the end; but not passively,—that is to say, the law itself is not ordained to the end,—except accidentally, in a governor whose end is extrinsic to him, and to which end his law must needs be ordained. But the end of the Divine government is God Himself, and His law is not distinct from Himself. Wherefore the eternal law is not ordained to another end.

SECOND ARTICLE.

WHETHER THERE IS IN US A NATURAL LAW?

We proceed thus to the Second Article:-

Objection I. It would seem that there is no natural law in us. Because man is governed sufficiently by the eternal law: for Augustine says (De Lib. Arb. i.) that the eternal law is that by which it is right that all things should be most orderly. But nature does not abound in superfluities as neither does she fail in necessaries. Therefore no law is natural to man.

Obj. 2. Further, by the law man is directed, in his acts, to the end, as stated above (Q. XC., A. 2). But the directing of human acts to their end is not a function of nature, as is the case in irrational creatures, which act for an end solely by their natural appetite; whereas man acts for an end by his reason and will. Therefore no law is natural to man.

Obj. 3. Further, the more a man is free, the less is he under the law. But man is freer than all the animals, on account of his free-will, with which he is endowed above all other animals. Since therefore other animals are not subject to a natural law, neither is man subject to a natural law.

On the contrary, A gloss on Rom. ii. 14: When the Gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature those things that are of the law, comments as follows: Although they have no written law, yet they have the natural law, whereby each one knows, and is conscious of, what is good and what is evil.

I answer that, As stated above (Q. XC., A. I ad I), law, being a rule and measure, can be in a person in two ways: in one way, as in him that rules and measures; in another way, as in that which is ruled and measured, since a thing is ruled and measured, in so far as it partakes of the rule or measure. Wherefore, since all things subject to Divine providence are ruled and measured by the eternal law, as was stated above (A. I); it is evident that all things partake somewhat of the eternal law, in so far as, namely, from its being imprinted on them, they derive their respective inclinations to their proper acts and ends. Now among all others, the rational creature is subject to Divine providence in the most excellent way, in so far as it partakes of a share of providence, by being provident both for itself and for others. Wherefore it has a share of the Eternal Reason, whereby it has a natural inclination to its proper act and end: and this participation of the eternal law in the rational creature is called the

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natural law. Hence the Psalmist after saying (Ps. iv. 6): Offer up the sacrifice of justice, as though someone asked what the works of justice are, adds: Many say, Who showeth us good things? in answer to which question he says: The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us: thus implying that the light of natural reason, whereby we discern what is good and what is evil, which is the function of the natural law, is nothing else than an imprint on us of the Divine light. It is therefore evident that the natural law is nothing else than the rational creature's participation of the eternal law.

Reply Obj. 1. This argument would hold, if the natural law were something different from the eternal law: whereas it is nothing but a participation thereof, as stated above.

Reply Obj. 2. Every act of reason and will in us is based on that which is according to nature, as stated above (Q. X., A. 1): for every act of reasoning is based on principles that are known naturally, and every act of appetite in respect of the means is derived from the natural appetite in respect of the last end. Accordingly the first direction of our acts to their end must needs be in virtue of the natural law.

Reply Obj. 3. Even irrational animals partake in their own way of the Eternal Reason, just as the rational creature does. But because the rational creature partakes thereof in an intellectual and rational manner, therefore the participation of the eternal law in the rational creature is properly called a law, since a law is something pertaining to reason, as stated above (Q. XC., A. I). Irrational creatures, however, do not partake thereof in a rational manner, wherefore there is no participation of the eternal law in them, except by way of similitude.

THIRD ARTICLE.

WHETHER THERE IS A HUMAN LAW?

We proceed thus to the Third Article :-

Objection 1. It would seem that there is not a human law. For the natural law is a participation of the eternal law, as stated above (A. 2). Now through the eternal law, "It things are most orderly, as Augustine states (De Lib. Arb., i. 6). Therefore the natural law suffices for the ordering of all human: ffairs. Consequently there is no need for a human law.

Obj. 2. Further, a law bears the character of a measure, as stated above (Q. X(., A. r). But hand the only not measure of things, but vice versa, as stated in Metaph. x., text. 5. Therefore no law can emanate from human reason.

Obj. 3. Further, a measure should be most certain, as stated in Metaph. x., text. 3. But the dictates of human reason in matters of conduct are uncertain, according to Wis. ix. 14: The thoughts of mortal men are fearful, and ou counsels uncertain. Therefore no law can emanate from human reason.

On the contrary, Augustine (De Lib. Arb. i. 6) distinguishes two kinds of law, the one eternal, the other temporal, which he calls human.

I answer that, As stated above (Q. XC., A. I, ad 2), a law is a dictate of the practical reason. Now it is to be observed that the same procedure takes place in the practical and in the speculative reason: for each proceeds from principles to conclusions, as stated above (ibid.). Accordingly we conclude that just as, in the speculative reason, from naturally known indemonstrable principles, we draw the conclusions of the various sciences, the knowledge of which is not imparted to us by nature, but acquired by the efforts of reason, so too it is from the precepts of the natural law, as from general and indemonstrable principles, that the human reason needs to proceed to the more particular determination of certain matters. These particular determinations, devised by human reason, are called human laws, provided the other essential conditions of law be observed, as stated above (Q. XC., AA. 2, 3, 4). Wherefore Tully says in his Rhetoric (De Invent. Rhet. ii.) that justice has its source in nature; thence certain things came into custom by reason of their utility; afterwards these things which emanated from nature and were approved by custom, were sanctioned by fear and reverence for the law.

Reply Obj. 1. The human reason cannot have a full participation of the dictate of the Divine Reason, but according to its own mode, and imperfectly. Consequently, as on the part of the speculative reason, by a natural participation of Divine Wisdom, there is in us the knowledge of certain general principles, but not proper knowledge of each single truth, such as that contained in the Divine Wisdom; so too, on the part of the practical reason, man has a natural participation of the eternal law, according to certain general principles, but not as regards the particular determinations of individual cases, which are, however, contained in the eternal law. Hence the need for human reason to proceed further to sanction them by law.

Reply Obj. 2. Human reason is not, of itself, the rule of things: but the principles impressed on it by nature, are general rules and measures of all things relating to human conduct, whereof the natural reason is the rule and measure, although it is not the measure of things that are from nature.

Reply Obj. 3. The practical reason is concerned with practical matters, which are singular and contingent: but not with necessary things, with which the speculative reason is concerned. Wherefore human laws cannot have that inerrancy that belongs to the demonstrated conclusions of sciences. Nor is it necessary for every measure to be altogether unerring and certain, but according as it is possible in its own particular genus.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

WHETHER THERE WAS ANY NEED FOR A DIVINE LAW?

We proceed thus to the Fourth Article :-

Objection 1. It would seem that there was no need for a Divine law. Because, as stated above (A. 2), the natural law is a participation in us of the eternal law. But the

eternal law is a Divine law, as stated above (A.1). Therefore there is no need for a Divine law in addition to the natural law, and human laws derived therefrom.

- Obj. 2. Further, it is written (Ecclus. xv. 14) that God left man in the hand of his own counsel. Now counsel is an act of reason, as stated above (Q. XIV., A. 1). Therefore man was left to the direction of his reason. But a dictate of human reason is a human law, as stated above (A. 3). Therefore there is no need for man to be governed also by a Divine law.
- Obj. 3. Further, human nature is more self-sufficing than irrational creatures. But irrational creatures have no Divine law besides the natural inclination impressed on them. Much less, therefore, should the rational creature have a Divine law in addition to the natural law.

On the contrary, David prayed God to set His law before him, saying (Ps. cxviii. 33): Set before me for a law the way of Thy justifications, O Lord.

I answer that, Besides the natural and the human law it was necessary for the directing of human conduct to have a Divine law. And this for four reasons. First, because it is by law that man is directed how to perform his proper acts in view of his last end. And indeed if man were ordained to no other end than that which is proportionate to his natural faculty, there would be no need for man to have any further direction on the part of his reason, besides the natural law and human law which is derived from it. But since man is ordained to an end of eternal happiness which is inproportionate to man's natural faculty, as stated above (Q. V., A. 5), therefore it was necessary that, besides the natural and the human law, man should be directed to his end by a law given by God.

Secondly, because, on account of the uncertainty of human judgment, especially on contingent and particular matters, different people form different judgments on human acts; whence also different and contrary laws result. In order, therefore, that man may know without any doubt what he ought to do and what he ought to avoid, it was necessary for man to be directed in his proper acts by a law given by God, for it is certain that such a law cannot err.

Thirdly, because man can make laws in those matters of which he is competent to judge. But man is not competent to judge of interior movements, that are hidden, but only of exterior acts which appear: and yet for the perfection of virtue it is necessary for man to conduct himself aright in both kinds of acts. Consequently human law could not sufficiently curb and direct interior acts; and it was necessary for this purpose that a Divine law should supervene.

Fourthly, because, as Augustine says (De Lib. Arb. i. 5, 6), human law cannot punish or forbid all evil deeds: since while aiming at doing away with all evils, it would do away with many good things, and would hinder the advance of the common good, which is necessary for human intercourse. In order, therefore, that no evil might remain unforbidden and unpunished, it was necessary for the Divine law to supervene, whereby all sins are forbidden.

Q. 91. ART. 4 THE "SUMMA THEOLOGICA"

And these four causes are touched upon in Ps. cxviii. 8, where it is said: The law of the Lord is unspotted, i.e., allowing no foulness of sin; converting souls, because it directs not only exterior, but also interior acts; the testimony of the Lord is faithful, because of the certainty of what is true and right; giving wisdom to little ones, by directing man to an end supernatural and Divine.

Reply Obj. I. By the natural law the eternal law is participated proportionately to the capacity of human nature. But to his supernatural end man needs to be directed in a yet higher way. Hence the additional law given by God, whereby man shares more perfectly in the eternal law.

Reply Obj. 2. Counsel is a kind of inquiry: hence it must proceed from some principles. Nor is it enough for it to proceed from principles imparted by nature, which are the precepts of the natural law, for the reasons given above: but there is need for certain additional principles, namely, the precepts of the Divine law.

Reply Obj. 3. Irrational creatures are not ordained to an end higher than that which is proportionate to their natural powers: consequently the comparison fails.

BENVENUTO CELLINI

BOOK FIRST

T

ALL men of whatsoever quality they be, who have done anything of excellence, or which may properly resemble excellence, ought, if they are persons of truth and honesty, to describe their life with their own hand; but they ought not to attempt so fine an enterprise till they have passed the age of forty. This duty occurs to my own mind, now that I am travelling beyond the term of fifty-eight years, and am in Florence, the city of my birth. Many untoward things can I remember, such as happen to all who live upon our earth; and from those adversities I am now more free than at any previous period of my career-nay, it seems to me that I enjoy greater content of soul and health of body than ever I did in bygone years. I can also bring to mind some pleasant goods and some inestimable evils, which, when I turn my thoughts backward, strike terror in me, and astonishment that I should have reached this age of fifty-eight, wherein, thanks be to God, I am still travelling prosperously forward.

II

It is true that men who have laboured with some show of excellence, have already given knowledge of themselves to the world; and this alone ought to suffice them; I mean the fact that they have proved their manhood and achieved renown. Yet one must needs live like others; and so in a work like this there will always be found occasion for natural bragging, which is of divers kinds, and the first is that a man should let others know he draws his lineage from persons of worth and most ancient origin.

I am called Benvenuto Cellini, son of Maestro Giovanni, son of Andrea, son of Cristofano Cellini; my mother was Madonna Elisabetta, daughter to Stefano Granacci; both parents citizens of Florence. It is found written in chronicles made by our ancestors of Florence, men of old time and of credibility, even as Giovanni Villani writes, that the city of Florence was evidently built in imitation of the fair city of Rome; and certain remnants of the Colosseum and the Baths can yet be traced. These things are near Santa Croce. The Capitol was where is now the Old Market. The Rotonda is entire, which was made for the temple of Mars, and is now dedicated to our Saint John. That thus it was, can very well be seen, and cannot be denied; but the said buildings are much smaller than those of Rome. He who caused them to be built, they say, was Julius Cæsar, in concert with some noble Romans, who, when Fiesole had been stormed and taken, raised a city in this place, and each of them took in hand to erect one of these notable edifices.

Julius Cæsar had among his captains a man of highest rank and valour, who was called Fiorino of Cellino, which is a vil-

lage about two miles distant from Monte Fiascone. Now this Fierino took up his quarters under the hill of Fiesole, on the ground where Florence now stands, in order to be near the river Arno, and for the convenience of the troops. All those soldiers and others who had to do with the said captain, used then to say: "Let us go to Fiorenze;" as well because the said captain was called Fiorino, as also because the place he had chosen for his quarters was by nature very rich in flowers. Upon the foundation of the city, therefore, since this name struck Julius Cæsar as being fair and apt, and given by circumstance, and seeing furthermore that flowers themselves bring good augury, he appointed the name of Florence for the town. He wished besides to pay his valiant captain this compliment; and he loved him all the more for having drawn him from a very humble place, and for the reason that so excellent a man was a creature of his own. The name that learned inventors and investigators of such etymologies adduce, as that Florence is flowing at the Arno, cannot hold; seeing that Rome is flowing at the Tiber, Ferrara is flowing at the Po, Lyons is flowing at the Saone. Paris is flowing at the Seine, and yet the names of all these towns are different, and have come to them by other ways.

Thus then we find; and thus we believe that we are descended from a man of worth. Furthermore, we find that there are Cellinis of our stock in Ravenna, that most ancient town of Italy, where too are plenty of gentle folk. In Pisa also there are some, and I have discovered them in many parts of Christendom; and in this state also the breed exists, men devoted to the profession of arms; for not many years ago a young man, called Luca Cellini, a beardless youth, fought with a soldier of experience and a most valorous man, named Francesco da Vicorati, who had frequently fought before in single combat. This Luca, by his own valour, with sword in hand, overcame and slew him, with such bravery and stoutness that he moved the folk to wonder, who were expecting quite the contrary issue; so that I glory in tracing my descent from men of valour.

As for the trifling honours which I have gained for my house, under the well-known conditions of our present ways of living, and by means of my art, albeit the same are matters of no great moment, I will relate these in their proper time and place, taking much more pride in having been born humble and having laid some honourable foundation for my family, than if I had been born of great lineage and had stained or overclouded that by my base qualities. So then I will make a beginning by saying how it pleased God I should be born.

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When I reached the age of fifteen, I put myself, against my father's will, to the goldsmith's trade with a man called An-

tonio, son of Sandro, known commonly as Marcone the goldsmith. He was a most excellent craftsman and a very good fellow to boot, high-spirited and frank in all his ways. My father would not let him give me wages like the other apprentices; for having taken up the study of this art to please myself, he wished me to include my whim for drawing to the full. I did so willingly enough; and that honest master of mine took marvellous delight in my performances. He had an only son, a bastard, to whom he often gave his orders, in order to spare me. My liking for the art was so great, or, I may truly say, my natural bias, both one and the other, that in a few months I caught up the good, nay, the best young craftsmen in our business, and began to reap the fruits of my labours. I did not, however, neglect to gratify my good father from time to time by playing on the flute or cornet. Each time he heard me, I used to make his tears fall accompanied with deepdrawn sighs of satisfaction. My filial piety often made me give him that contentment, and induced me to pretend that I enjoyed the music too.

XII

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When I had recovered my health, I returned to my old friend Marcone, the worthy goldsmith, who put me in the way of earning money, with which I helped my father and our household. About that time there came to Florence a sculptor named Piero Torrigiani; he arrived from England, where he had resided many years; and being intimate with my master, he daily visited his house; and when he saw my drawings and the things which I was making, he said: "I have come to Florence to enlist as many young men as I can; for I have undertaken to execute a great work for my king, and want some of my own Florentines to help me. Now your method of working and your designs are worthy rather of a sculptor than a goldsmith; and since I have to turn out a great piece of bronze, I will at the same time turn you into a rich and able artist." This man had a splendid person and a most arrogant spirit, with the air of a great soldier more than of a sculptor, especially in regard to his vehement gestures and his resonant voice, together with a habit he had of knitting his brows, enough to frighten any man of courage. He kept talking every day about his gallant feats among those beasts of Englishmen.

In course of conversation he happened to mention Michel Agnolo Buonarroti, led thereto by a drawing I had made from a cartoon of that divinest painter. This cartoon was the first masterpiece which Michel Agnolo exhibited, in proof of his stupendous talents. He produced it in competition with another painter, Lionardo da Vinci, who also made a cartoon; and both were intended for the council-hall in the palace of the Signory. They represented the taking of Pisa by the Florentines; and our admirable Lionardo had chosen to depict a battle of horses, with the capture of some standards, in as divine a style as could possibly be imagined. Michel Agnolo in his cartoon portrayed a number of foot-soldiers, who, the season being summer, had gone to bathe in Arno. He drew them at the very moment the alarm is sounded, and the men all naked run to arms; so splendid in their action that nothing survives of ancient or of modern art which touches the same lofty point of excellence; and as I have already said, the design of the great Lionardo was itself most admirably beautiful. These two cartoons stood, one in the palace of the Medici, the other in the hall of the Pope. So long as they remained intact, they were the school of the world. Though the divine Michel Agnolo in later life finished that great chapel of Pope Julius, he never rose half-way to the same pitch of power; his genius never afterwards attained to the force of those first studies.

XIII

Now let us return to Piero Torrigiani, who, with my drawing in his hand, spoke as follows: "This Buonarroti and I used, when we were boys, to go into the Church of the Carmine, to learn drawing from the chapel of Masaccio. It was Buonarroti's habit to banter all who were drawing there; and one day, among others, when he was annoying me, I got more angry than usual, and clenching my fist, gave him such a blow on the nose, that I felt bone and cartilage go down like biscuit beneath my knuckles; and this mark of mine he will carry with him to the grave." These words begat in me such hatred of the man, since I was always gazing at the masterpieces of the divine Michel Agnolo, that although I felt a wish to go with him to England, I now could never bear the sight of him.

All the while I was at Florence, I studied the noble manner of Michel Agnolo, and from this I have never deviated. About that time I contracted a close and familiar friendship with an amiable lad of my own age, who was also in the goldsmith's trade. He was called Francesco, son of Filippo, and grandson of Fra Lippo Lippi, that most excellent painter. Through intercourse together, such love grew up between us that, day or night, we never stayed apart. The house where he lived was still full of the fine studies which his father had made, bound up in several books of drawings by his hand, and taken from the best antiquities of Rome. The sight of these things filled me with passionate enthusiasm; and for two years or thereabouts we lived in intimacy. At that time I fashioned a silver bas-relief of the size of a little child's hand. It was intended for the clasp to a man's belt; for they were then worn as large as that. I carved on it a knot of leaves in the antique style, with figures of children and other masks of great beauty. This piece I made in the workshop of one Francesco Salimbene; and on its being exhibited to the trade, the goldsmiths praised me as the best young craftsman of their art.

There was one Giovan Battista, surnamed Il Tasso, a woodcarver, precisely of my own age, who one day said to me that if I was willing to go to Rome, he should be glad to join me. Now we had this conversation together immediately after dinner; and I being angry with my father for the same old reason of the music, said to Tasso: "You are a fellow of words, not deeds." He answered: "I too have come to anger with my mother; and if I had cash enough to take me to Rome, I would not turn back to lock the door of that wretched little workshop I call mine." To these words I replied that if that was all that kept him in Florence I had money enough in my pockets to bring us both to Rome. Talking thus and walking onwards, we found ourselves at the gate San Piero Gattolini without noticing that we had got there; whereupon I said: "Friend Tasso, this is God's doing that we have reached this gate without either you or me noticing that we were there; and now that I am here, it

seems to me that I have inished half the journey." And so, being of one accord, we pursued our way together, saying, "Oh, what will our old folks say this evening?" We then made an agreement not to think more about them till we reached Rome. So we tied our aprons behind our backs, and trudged almost in silence to Siena. When we arrived at Siena, Tasso said (for he had hurt his feet) that he would not go farther, and asked me to lend him money to get back. I made answer: "I should not have enough left to go forward; you ought indeed to have thought of this on leaving Florence; and if it is because of your feet that you shirk the journey, we will find a return horse for Rome, which will deprive you of the excuse." Accordingly I hired a horse; and seeing that he did not answer, I took my way toward the gate of Rome. When he knew that I was firmly resolved to go. muttering between his teeth, and limping as well as he could. he came on behind me very slowly and at a great distance. On reaching the gate, I felt pity for my comrade, and waited for him, and took him on the crupper, saying: "What would our friends speak of us to-morrow, if, having left for Rome, we had not pluck to get beyond Siena?" Then the good Tasso said I spoke the truth; and as he was a pleasant fellow, he began to laugh and sing; and in this way, always singing and laughing, we travelled the whole way to Rome. I had just nineteen years then, and so had the century.

When we reached Rome, I put myself under a master who was known as Il Firenzuola. His name was Giovanni, and he came from Firenzuola in Lombardy, a most able craftsman in large vases and big plate of that kind. I showed him part of the model for the clasp which I had made in Florence at Salimbene's. It pleased him exceedingly; and turning to one of his journeymen, a Florentine called Giannotto Giannotti, who had been several years with him, he spoke as follows: "This fellow is one of the Florentines who know something, and you are one of those who know nothing." Then I recognised the man, and turned to speak with him; for before he went to Rome, we often went to draw together, and had been very intimate comrades. He was so put out by the words his master flung at him, that he said he did not recognise me or know who I was; whereupon I got angry, and cried out: "O Giannotto, you who were once my friend-for have we not been together in such and such places, and drawn, and ate, and drunk, and slept in company at your house in the country? I don't want you to bear witness on my behalf to this worthy man, your master, because I hope my hands are such that without aid from you they

will declare what sort of a fellow I am."

XIV

When I had thus spoken, Firenzuola, who was a man of hot spirit and brave, turned to Giannotto, and said to him: "You vile rascal, aren't you ashamed to treat a man who has been so intimate a comrade with you in this way?" And with the same movement of quick feeling, he faced round and said to me: "Welcome to my workshop; and do as you have promised; let your hands declare what man you are."

He gave me a very fine piece of silver plate to work on for a cardinal. It was a little oblong box, copied from the porphyry sarcophagus before the door of the Rotonda. Beside what I copied, I enriched it with so many elegant masks of my invention, that my master went about showing it through the art, and boasting that so good a piece of work had been turned out from his shop. It was about half a cubit in size,

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and was so constructed as to serve for a salt-cellar at table. This was the first earning that I touched at Rome, and part of it I sent to assist my good father; the rest I kept for my own use, living upon it while I went about studying the antiquities of Rome, until my money failed, and I had to return to the shop for work. Battista del Tasso, my comrade, did not stay long in Rome, but went back to Florence.

After undertaking some new commissions, I took it into my head, as soon as I had finished them, to change my master: I had indeed been worried into doing so by a certain Milanese. called Pagolo Arsago. My first master, Firenzuola, had a great quarrel about this with Arsago, and abused him in my presence: whereupon I took up speech in defence of my new master. I said that I was born free, and free I meant to live, and that there was no reason to complain of him, far less of me, since some few crowns of wages were still due to me; also that I chose to go, like a free journeyman, where it pleased me. knowing I did wrong to no man. My new master then put in with his excuses, saying that he had not asked me to come, and that I should gratify him by returning with Firenzuola. To this I replied that I was not aware of wronging the latter in any way, and as I had completed his commissions, I chose to be my own master and not the man of others, and that he who wanted me must beg me of myself. Firenzuola cried: "I don't intend to beg you of yourself; I have done with you; don't show yourself again upon my premises." I reminded him of the money he owed me. He laughed me in the face; on which I said that if I knew how to use my tools in handicraft as well as he had seen, I could be quite as clever with my sword in claiming the just payment of my labour. While we were exchanging these words, an old man happened to come up. called Maestro Antonio, of San Marino. He was the chief among the Roman goldsmiths, and had been Firenzuola's master. Hearing what I had to say, which I took good care that he should understand, he immediately espoused my cause, and bade Firenzuola pay me. The dispute waxed warm, because Firenzuola was an admirable swordsman, far better than he was a goldsmith. Yet reason made itself heard; and I backed my cause with the same spirit, till I got myself paid. In course of time Firenzuola and I became friends, and at his request I stood godfather to one of his children.

XV

I went on working with Pagolo Arsago, and earned a good deal of money, the greater part of which I always sent to my good father. At the end of two years, upon my father's entreaty, I returned to Florence, and put myself once more under Francesco Salimbene, with whom I earned a great deal, and took continual pains to improve in my art. I renewed my intimacy with Francesco di Filippo; and though I was too much given to pleasure, owing to that accursed music, I never neglected to devote some hours of the day or night to study. At that time I fashioned a silver heart's-key (chiavaquore), as it was then called. This was a girdle three inches broad, which used to be made for brides, and was executed in half relief with some small figures in the round. It was a commission from a man called Raffaello Lapaccini. I was very badly paid; but the honour which it brought me was worth far more than the gain I might have justly made by it. Having at this time worked with many different persons in Florence, I had come to know some worthy men among the goldsmiths, as, for instance, Marcone, my first master; but I also met with others reputed honest, who did all they could to

ruin me, and robbed me grossly. When I perceived this, I left their company, and held them for thieves and blackguards. One of the goldsmiths, called Giovanbattista Sogliani, kindly accommodated me with part of his shop, which stood at the side of the New Market near the Landi's bank. finished several pretty pieces, and made good gains, and was able to give my family much help. This roused the jealousy of the bad men among my former masters, who were called Salvadore and Michele Guasconti. In the guild of the goldsmiths they had three big shops, and drove a thriving trade. On becoming aware of their evil will against me, I complained to certain worthy fellows, and remarked that they ought to have been satisfied with the thieveries they practised on me under the cloak of hypocritical kindness. This coming to their ears, they threatened to make me sorely repent of such words; but I, who knew not what the colour of fear was, paid them little or no heed.

XIX

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At Siena I waited for the mail to Rome, which I afterwards joined; and when we passed the Paglia, we met a courier carrying news of the new Pope, Clement VII. Upon my arrival in Rome, I went to work in the shop of the mastergoldsmith Santi. He was dead; but a son of his carried on the business. He did not work himself, but entrusted all his commissions to a young man named Lucagnolo from Iesi, a country fellow, who while yet a child had come into Santi's service. This man was short but well proportioned, and was a more skilful craftsman than any one whom I had met with up to that time; remarkable for facility and excellent in design. He executed large plate only; that is to say, vases of the utmost beauty, basons, and such pieces. Having put myself to work there, I began to make some candelabra for the Bishop of Salamanca, a Spaniard. They were richly chased, so far as that sort of work admits. A pupil of Raffaello da Urbino called Gian Francesco, and commonly known as Il Fattore, was a painter of great ability; and being on terms of friendship with the Bishop, he introduced me to his favour, so that I obtained many commissions from that prelate, and earned considerable sums of money.

During that time I went to draw, sometimes in Michel Agnolo's chapel, and sometimes in the house of Agostino Chigi of Siena, which contained many incomparable paintings by the hand of that great master Raffaello. This I did on feast-days, because the house was then inhabited by Messer Gismondo, Agostino's brother. They plumed themselves exceedingly when they saw young men of my sort coming to study in their palaces. Gismondo's wife, noticing my frequent presence in that house -she was a lady as courteous as could be, and of surpassing beauty-came up to me one day, looked at my drawings, and asked me if I was a sculptor or a painter; to whom I said I was a goldsmith. She remarked that I drew too well for a goldsmith; and having made one of her waiting-maids bring a lily of the finest diamonds set in gold, she showed it to me, and bade me value it. I valued it at 800 crowns. Then she said that I had very nearly hit the mark, and asked me

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whether I felt capable of setting the stones really well. I said that I should much like to do so, and began before her eyes to make a little sketch for it, working all the better because of the pleasure I took in conversing with so lovely and agreeable a gentlewoman. When the sketch was finished, another Roman lady of great beauty joined us; she had been above. and now descending to the ground-floor, asked Madonna Porzia what she was doing there. She answered with a smile: "I am amusing myself by watching this worthy young man at his drawing; he is as good as he is handsome." I had by this time acquired a trifle of assurance, mixed, however, with some honest bashfulness; so I blushed and said: "Such as I am, lady, I shall ever be most ready to serve you." The gentlewoman, also slightly blushing, said: "You know well that I want you to serve me;" and reaching me the lily, told me to take it away; and gave me besides twenty golden crowns which she had in her bag, and added: "Set me the jewel after the fashion you have sketched, and keep for me the old gold in which it is now set." On this the Roman lady observed: "If I were in that young man's body, I should go off without asking leave." Madonna Porzia replied that virtues rarely are at home with vices, and that if I did such a thing, I should strongly belie my good looks of an honest man. Then turning round, she took the Roman lady's hand, and with a pleasant smile said: "Farewell, Benvenuto." I stayed on a short while at the drawing I was making, which was a copy of a Jove by Raffaello. When I had finished it and left the house, I set myself to making a little model of wax, in order to show how the jewel would look when it was completed. This I took to Madonna Porzia, whom I found with the same Roman lady. Both of them were highly satisfied with my work, and treated me so kindly that, being somewhat emboldened, I promised the jewel should be twice as good as the model. Accordingly I set hand to it, and in twelve days I finished it in the form of a fleur-de-lys, as I have said above, ornamenting it with little masks, children, and animals, exquisitely enamelled, whereby the diamonds which formed the lily were more than doubled in effect.

XX

While I was working at this piece, Lucagnolo, of whose ability I have before spoken, showed considerable discontent, telling me over and over again that I might acquire far more profit and honour by helping him to execute large plate, as I had done at first. I made him answer that, whenever I chose, I should always be capable of working at great silver pieces; but that things like that on which I was now engaged were not commissioned every day; and beside their bringing no less honour than large silver plate, there was also more profit to be made by them. He laughed me in the face, and said: "Wait and see, Benvenuto; for by the time that you have finished that work of yours, I will make haste to have finished this vase, which I took in hand when you did the jewel; and then experience shall teach you what profit I shall get from my vase, and what you will get from your ornament." I answered that I was very glad indeed to enter into such a competition with so good a craftsman as he was, because the end would show which of us was mistaken. Accordingly both the one and the other of us, with a scornful smile upon our lips, bent our heads in grim earnest to the work, which both were now desirous of accomplishing; so that after about ten days, each had finished his undertaking with great delicacy and artistic skill.

Lucagnolo's was a huge silver piece, used at the table of Pope Clement, into which he flung away bits of bone and the rind of divers fruits, while eating; an object of ostentation rather than necessity. The vase was adorned with two fine handles, together with many masks, both small and great, and masses of lovely foliage, in as exquisite a style of elegance as could be imagined; on seeing which I said it was the most beautiful vase that ever I set eyes on. Thinking he had convinced me, Lucagnolo replied: "Your work seems to me no less beautiful, but we shall soon perceive the difference between the two." So he took his vase and carried it to the Pope, who was very well pleased with it, and ordered at once that he should be paid at the ordinary rate of such large plate. Meanwhile I carried mine to Madonna Porzia, who looked at it with astonishment, and told me I had far surpassed my promise. Then she bade me ask for my reward whatever I liked; for it seemed to her my desert was so great that if I craved a castle she could hardly recompense me; but since that was not in her hands to bestow, she added laughing that I must beg what lay within her power. I answered that the greatest reward I could desire for my labour was to have satisfied her ladyship. Then, smiling in my turn, and bowing to her, I took my leave, saying I wanted no reward but that. She turned to the Roman lady and said: "You see that the qualities we discerned in him are companied by virtues, and not They both expressed their admiration, and then Madonna Porzia continued: "Friend Benvenuto, have you never heard it said that when the poor give to the rich, the devil laughs?" I replied: "Quite true! and yet, in the midst of all his troubles, I should like this time to see him laugh;" and as I took my leave, she said that this time she had no will to bestow on him that favour.

When I came back to the shop, Lucagnolo had the money for his vase in a paper packet; and on my arrival he cried out: "Come and compare the price of your jewel with the price of my plate." I said that he must leave things as they were till the next day, because I hoped that even as my work in its kind was not less excellent than his, so I should be able to show him quite an equal price for it.

XXI

On the day following, Madonna Porzia sent a major-domo of hers to my shop, who called me out, and putting into my hands a paper packet full of money from his lady, told me that she did not choose the devil should have his whole laugh out: by which she hinted that the money sent me was not the entire payment merited by my industry, and other messages were added worthy of so courteous a lady. Lucagnolo, who was burning to compare his packet with mine, burst into the shop; then in the presence of twelve journeymen and some neighbours, eager to behold the result of this competition, he seized his packet, scornfully exclaiming "Ou! ou!" three or four times, while he poured his money on the counter with a great noise. They were twenty-five crowns in giulios; and he fancied that mine would be four or five crowns di moneta. I for my part. stunned and stifled by his cries, and by the looks and smiles of the bystanders, first peeped into my packet; then, after seeing that it contained nothing but gold, I retired to one end of the counter, and, keeping my eyes lowered and making no noise at all, I lifted it with both hands suddenly above my head, and emptied it like a mill hopper. My coin was twice as much as his; which caused the onlookers, who had

fixed their eyes on me with some derision, to turn round suddenly to him and say: "Lucagnolo, Benvenuto's pieces, being all of gold and twice as many as yours, make a far finer effect." I thought for certain that, what with jealousy and what with shame, Lucagnolo would have fallen dead upon the spot; and though he took the third part of my gain, since I was a journeyman (for such is the custom of the trade. two-thirds fall to the workman and one-third to the masters of the shop), yet inconsiderate envy had more power in him than avarice: it ought indeed to have worked quite the other way, he being a peasant's son from Iesi. He cursed his art and those who taught it him, vowing that thenceforth he would never work at large plate, but give his whole attention to those whoreson gewgaws, since they were so well paid. Equally enraged on my side, I answered that every bird sang its own note; that he talked after the fashion of the hovels he came from; but that I dared swear that I should succeed with ease in making his lubberly lumber, while he would never be successful in my whoreson gewgaws. Thus I flung off in a passion, telling him that I would soon show him that I spoke truth. The bystanders openly declared against him, holding him for a lout, as indeed he was, and me for a man, as I had proved myself.

XXII

Next day, I went to thank Madonna Porzia, and told her that her ladyship had done the opposite of what she said she would; for that while I wanted to make the devil laugh, she had made him once more deny God. We both laughed pleasantly at this, and she gave me other commissions for fine and substantial work.

Meanwhile, I contrived, by means of a pupil of Raffaello da Urbino, to get an order from the Bishop of Salamanca for one of those great water-vessels called acquereccia, which are used for ornaments to place on sideboards. He wanted a pair made of equal size; and one of them he intrusted to Lucagnolo, the other to me. Giovan Francesco, the painter I have mentioned, gave us the design. Accordingly I set hand with marvellous good-will to this piece of plate, and was accommodated with a part of his workshop by a Milanese named Maestro Giovan Piero della Tacca. Having made my preparations, I calculated how much money I should need for certain affairs of my own, and sent all the rest to assist my poor father.

It so happened that just when this was being paid to him in Florence, he stumbled upon one of those Radicals who were in the Eight at the time when I got into that little trouble there. It was the very man who had abused him so rudely, and who swore that I should certainly be sent into the country with the lances. Now this fellow had some sons of very bad morals and repute; wherefore my father said to him: "Misfortunes can happen to anybody, especially to men of choleric humour when they are in the right, even as it happened to my son; but let the rest of his life bear witness how virtuously I have brought him up. Would God, for your well-being, that your sons may act neither worse nor better toward you than mine do to me. God rendered me able to bring them up as I have done; and where my own lower could not reach, 'twas He who rescued them, against your expectation, out of your violent hands." On leaving the man, he wrote me all this story, begging me for God's sake to practise music at times, in order that I might not lose the fine accomplishment which he had taught me with such trouble. The letter so overflowed with expressions of the tenderest fatherly affection, that I was moved to tears of filial piety, resolving, before he died, to gratify him amply with regard to music. Thus God grants us those lawful blessings which we ask in prayer, nothing doubting.

XXIII

While I was pushing forward Salamanca's vase, I had only one little boy as help, whom I had taken at the entreaty of friends, and half against my own will, to be my workman. He was about fourteen years of age, bore the name of Paulino, and was son to a Roman burgess, who lived upon the income of his property. Paulino was the best-mannered, the most honest, and the most beautiful boy I ever saw in my whole life. His modest ways and actions, together with his superlative beauty and his devotion to myself, bred in me as great an affection for him as a man's breast can hold. This passionate love led me oftentimes to delight the lad with music; for I observed that his marvellous features, which by complexion wore a tone of modest melancholy, brightened up, and when I took my cornet, broke into a smile so lovely and so sweet, that I do not marvel at the silly stories which the Greeks have written about the deities of heaven. Indeed, if my boy had lived in those times, he would probably have turned their heads still more. He had a sister, named Faustina, more beautiful, I verily believe, than that Faustina about whom the old books gossip so. Sometimes he took me to their vineyard, and, so far as I could judge, it struck me that Paulino's good father would have welcomed me as a son-in-law. This affair led me to play more than I was used to do.

It happened at that time that one Giangiacomo of Cesena, a musician in the Pope's band, and a very excellent performer, sent word through Lorenzo, the trumpeter of Lucca, who is now in our Duke's service, to inquire whether I was inclined to help them at the Pope's Ferragosto, playing soprano with my cornet in some motets of great beauty selected by them for that occasion. Although I had the greatest desire to finish the vase I had begun, yet, since music has a wondrous charm of its own, and also because I wished to please my old father, I consented to join them. During eight days before the festival we practised two hours a day together; then on the first of August we went to the Belvedere, and while Pope Clement was at table, we played those carefully studied motets so well that his Holiness protested he had never heard music more sweetly executed or with better harmony of parts. He sent for Giangiacomo, and asked him where and how he had procured so excellent a cornet for soprano, and inquired particularly who I was. Giangiacomo told him my name in full. Whereupon the Pope said: "So, then, he is the son of Maestro Giovanni?" On being assured I was, the Pope expressed his wish to have me in his service with the other bandsmen. Giangiacomo replied: "Most blessed Father, I cannot pretend for certain that you will get him, for his profession, to which he devotes himself assiduously, is that of a goldsmith, and he works in it miraculously well, and earns by it far more than he could do by playing." To this the Pope added: "I am the better inclined to him now that I find him possessor of a talent more than I expected. See that he obtains the same salary as the rest of you; and tell him from me to join my service, and that I will find work enough by the day for him to do in his other trade." Then stretching out his hand, he gave him a hundred golden crowns of the Camera in a handkerchief, and said: "Divide these so

that he may take his share."

When Giangiacomo left the Pope, he came to us, and related in detail all that the Pope had said; and after dividing the money between the eight of us, and giving me my share, he said to me: "Now I am going to have you inscribed among our company." I replied: "Let the day pass; to-morrow I will give my answer." When I left them, I went meditating whether I ought to accept the invitation, inasmuch as I could not but suffer if I abandoned the noble studies of my art. The following night my father appeared to me in a dream. and begged me with tears of tenderest affection, for God's love and his, to enter upon this engagement. Methought I answered that nothing would induce me to do so. In an instant he assumed so horrible an aspect as to frighten me out of my wits. and cried: "If you do not, you will have a father's curse; but if you do, may you be ever blessed by me!" When I woke. I ran, for very fright, to have myself inscribed. Then I wrote to my old father, telling him the news, which so affected him with extreme joy that a sudden fit of illness took him, and well-nigh brought him to death's door. In his answer to my letter, he told me that he too had dreamed nearly the same as I had.

XXIV

Knowing now that I had gratified my father's honest wish, I began to think that everything would prosper with me to a glorious and honourable end. Accordingly, I set myself with indefatigable industry to the completion of the vase I had begun for Salamanca. That prelate was a very extraordinary man, extremely rich, but difficult to please. He sent daily to learn what I was doing; and when his messenger did not find me at home, he broke into fury, saving that he would take the work out of my hands and give it to others to finish. This came of my slavery to that accursed music. Still I laboured diligently night and day, until, when I had brought my work to a point when it could be exhibited, I submitted it to the inspection of the Bishop. This so increased his desire to see it finished, that I was sorry I had shown it. At the end of three months I had it ready, with little animals and foliage and masks, as beautiful as one could hope to see. No sooner was it done than I sent it by the hand of my workman, Paulino, to show that able artist Lucagnolo, of whom I have spoken above. Paulino, with the grace and beauty which belonged to him, spoke as follows: "Messer Lucagnolo, Benvenuto bids me say that he has sent to show you his promises and your lumber, expecting in return to see from you his gewgaws." This message given, Lucagnolo took up the vase, and carefully examined it; then he said to Paulino: "Fair boy, tell your master that he is a great and able artist, and that I beg him to be willing to have me for a friend, and not to engage in aught else." The mission of that virtuous and marvellous lad caused me the greatest joy; and then the vase was carried to Salamanca, who ordered it to be valued. Lucagnolo took part in the valuation, estimating and praising it far above my own opinion. Salamanca, lifting up the vase, cried like a true Spaniard: "I swear by God that I will take as long in paying him as he has lagged in making it." When I heard this, I was exceedingly put out, and fell to cursing all Spain and every one who wished well to it.

Amongst other beautiful ornaments, this vase had a handle, made all of one piece, with most delicate mechanism, which, when a spring was touched, stood upright above the mouth of it. While the prelate was one day ostentatiously exhibiting

my vase to certain Spanish gentlemen of his suite, it chanced that one of them, upon Monsignor's quitting the room, began roughly to work the handle, and as the gentle spring which moved it could not bear his loutish violence, it broke in his hand. Aware what mischief he had done, he begged the butler who had charge of the Bishop's plate to take it to the master who had made it, for him to mend, and promised to pay what price he asked, provided it was set to rights at once. So the vase came once more into my hands, and I promised to put it forthwith in order, which indeed I did. It was brought to me before dinner; and at twenty-two o'clock the man who brought it returned, all in a sweat, for he had run the whole way, Monsignor having again asked for it to show to certain other gentlemen. The butler, then, without giving me time to utter a word, cried: "Quick, quick, bring the vase." I, who wanted to act at leisure and not to give it up to him, said that I did not mean to be so quick. The serving-man got into such a rage that he made as though he would put one hand to his sword, while with the other he threatened to break the shop open. To this I put a stop at once with my own weapon, using therewith spirited language, and saying: "I am not going to give it to you! Go and tell Monsignor, your master, that I want the money for my work before I let it leave this shop." When the fellow saw he could not obtain it by swaggering, he fell to praying me, as one prays to the Cross, declaring that if I would only give it up, he would take care I should be paid. These words did not make me swerve from my purpose; but I kept on saying the same thing. At last, despairing of success, he swore to come with Spaniards enough to cut me in pieces. Then he took to his heels; while I, who inclined to believe partly in their murderous attack, resolved that I would defend myself with courage. So I got an admirable little gun ready, which I used for shooting game, and muttered to myself: "He who robs me of my property and labour may take my life too, and welcome." While I was carrying on this debate in my own mind, a crowd of Spaniards arrived, led by their major-domo, who, with the headstrong rashness of his race, bade them go in and take the vase and give me a good beating. Hearing these words, I showed them the muzzle of my gun, and prepared to fire, and cried in a loud voice: "Renegade Jews, traitors, is it thus that one breaks into houses and shops in our city of Rome? Come as many of you thieves as like, an inch nearer to this wicket, and I'll blow all their brains out with my gun." Then I turned the muzzle toward their major-domo, and making as though I would discharge it, called out: "And you big thief, who are egging them on, I mean to kill you first." He clapped spurs to the jennet he was riding, and took flight headlong. The commotion we were making stirred up all the neighbours, who came crowding round, together with some Roman gentlemen who chanced to pass, and cried: "Do but kill the renegades, and we will stand by you." These words had the effect of frightening the Spaniards in good earnest. They withdrew, and were compelled by the circumstances to relate the whole affair to Monsignor. Being a man of inordinate haughtiness, he rated the members of his household, both because they had engaged in such an act of violence, and also because, having begun, they had not gone through with it. At this juncture the painter, who had been concerned in the whole matter, came in, and the Bishop bade him go and tell me that if I did not bring the vase at once, he would make mincemeat of me; but if I brought it, he would pay its price down. These threats were so far from terrifying me, that I sent him word I was going immediately to lay my case before the Pope.

LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI

In the meantime, his anger and my fear subsided; whereupon, being guaranteed by some Roman noblemen of high degree that the prelate would not harm me, and having assurance that I should be paid, I armed myself with a large poniard and my good coat of mail, and betook myself to his palace, where he had drawn up all his household. I entered, and Paulino followed with the silver vase. It was just like passing through the Zodiac, neither more nor less; for one of them had the face of the lion, another of the scorpion, a third of the crab. However, we passed onward to the presence of the rascally priest, who spouted out a torrent of such language as only priests and Spaniards have at their command. In return I never raised my eyes to look at him, nor answered word for word. That seemed to augment the fury of his anger; and causing paper to be put before me, he commanded me to write an acknowledgment to the effect that I had been amply satisfied and paid in full. Then I raised my head, and said I should be very glad to do so when I had received the money. The Bishop's rage continued to rise; threats and recriminations were flung about; but at last the money was paid, and I wrote the receipt. Then I departed, glad at heart and in high spirits.

THE PRINCE

Niccolo Machiavelli

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI TO THE MAGNIFICENT LORENZO DE MEDICI:

People who wish to win the favor of a prince usually approach him with those things which they hold most dear or which they expect to delight him most, so we often see him presented with horses, weapons, draperies of gold, precious stones and similar ornaments worthy of his grandeur. Now that I desire to offer myself to Your Magnificence with some testimony of my servitude, I have found among my possessions no object which I hold dearer or in greater esteem than my knowledge of the deeds of great men learned by me through long experience of modern affairs and a constant study of ancient ones. Having carefully and diligently examined and pondered these matters and reduced them to one small volume, I submit them to Your Magnificence. And although I judge this work to be unworthy to come before you, I am quite confident that it will be graciously accepted, considering that I can make no greater gift to you than to offer you the means of understanding in a short time all that I, through so many years of toil and danger, have come to know and understand.

I have not embellished the book with ornate clauses and fancy words or any other superfluous ornaments like those which many writers employ to decorate their works, because I wish that it be held in esteem only for the variety of its content and the gravity of its subject. Lest I should gain the reputation of being presumptuous, as a man of low birth who runs the risk of criticizing the government of princes, I offer this explanation: just as those who draw the landscape place themselves on a low plane in order to view the mountains and high places, and in order to view low places set themselves high on mountains; likewise, to know the nature of common people one must be a prince and to know that of princes one must belong to the people.

May it please Your Magnificence to receive this small gift in the spirit which inspires me to send it. If you read and consider it diligently you will discern in it my great desire that you attain that greatness which fortune and your personal qualities promise. And if Your Magnificence, from the apex of your success, should ever turn your eyes in this low direction, you will see how I am undeservedly afflicted with a constantly malignant fortune.

Chapter 14

ON THAT WHICH BEHOOVES A PRINCE CONCERNING MILITARY AFFAIRS

A prince should have no object or thought, nor cultivate any art, except warfare and the ordinances and discipline related to it, because that is the only art which befits a ruler. The art of warfare is of such great merit that it not only sustains those who are princes by birth, but also often enables private citizens to achieve princely rank. On the other hand, one can observe princes who have lost their status because they thought about pleasures more than arms. The prime cause of losing status is

neglect of arms, and the cause of gaining it is military proficiency.

Francesco Sforza, because he was strong in arms, began as a private citizen and became Duke of Milan, while his children, who neglected arms, lost their duchy and returned to the condition of common citizens. Among the various ways in which being disarmed can damage a prince, one is that it makes him contemptible, and this is one of the infamies against which a prince must guard himself, as will be explained later. There is no comparison between being armed and being unarmed, and it is not plausible that an armed man should willingly obey an unarmed man or that an unarmed man could be secure among his armed subjects. Because of contempt on one side and suspicion on the other there is no possibility of their working well together. Consequently, a prince who knows nothing about warfare, in addition to the other problems which he faces, cannot be respected by his soldiers, nor can he trust them.

The prince, consequently, must never disregard the exercise of war, and in time of peace he should cultivate his military skills even more than in time of war. He can accomplish this in two ways: with deeds and with the mind. As for his deeds, besides keeping his men well trained and disciplined, he should always cultivate hunting, by means of which he conditions his body to tolerate hardships and also becomes familiar with the landscape: the rise of the mountains, the dip of the valleys, the lie of the plains, the rivers and the marshlands. To this he should devote major concern, for this knowledge is useful in two respects: first he becomes familiar with his own country and its natural defenses, and then, through his familiarity and use of those places, he can easily assess any other area which he may need to reconnoiter. The hills, valleys, plains, rivers and marshlands which are located in Tuscany, for example, have a certain similarity with those of other provinces, so that a familiarity with one place facilitates becoming familiar with others. Any prince who lacks this skill does not possess the first thing which a leader needs, because this knowledge enables him to find the enemy, select campsites, lead armies, plan battles, and lay siege to cities to his advantage. Philipomenes, prince of Achaia, among the other praises bestowed on him by writers, followed the custom of thinking only about warfare even in time of peace. When he was in the country with friends he would often stop and discuss with them as follows: "If our enemies were on that hill and we were here with our army, who would have the advantage? How could we safely advance on them? If we wanted to retreat, how should we do so? If they were to retreat, how should we pursue them?" And while walking along he would pose to them all the situations in which an army might find itself; he listened to their opinions, expressed his own, supported it with reasons, so that by these considerations he always had a solution for whatever military difficulty might occur while he was leading an army.

With regard to the exercise of the mind, the prince should read history and therein ponder the actions of great men, seeing how they conduct themselves in war, examining the causes of their victories and defeats so as to emulate the former and avoid the latter. Especially should he follow the example of great men

who have imitated the laudable and glorious feats of others, keeping their example always in mind. It is said that Alexander the Great imitated Achilles, Caesar followed Alexander and Scipio emulated Cyrus. Anybody who reads the life of Cyrus written by Xenophon will then see in the life of Scipio how greatly that imitation redounded to his glory. Scipio conformed closely to the modesty, affability, humanity and generosity which Xenophon attributes to Cyrus. A wise prince should observe these ways, never remaining idle in peaceful times but alertly taking advantage of them in order to prepare himself for adversity, so that when fortune changes it will find him ready to withstand its blows.

Chapter 15

CONCERNING THOSE THINGS WHICH CAUSE MEN, ESPECIALLY PRINCES, TO BE PRAISED OR CRITICIZED

We must now consider how a prince ought to conduct himself towards his subjects and friends. And because I know that many others have written on this topic, I suspect that, in writing about it now, I shall be considered presumptuous if I depart in my treatment from the opinions of others. However, since I intend to write something useful for those who can understand it, it has seemed to me appropriate to seek out the truth of the matter rather than employ imagination. Many people have imagined republics and principalities which have never been seen or known to exist in reality, and since the way people live is so far removed from the way they ought to live, a person who ignores what is done in favor of what ought to be done learns how to ruin himself rather than preserve himself. A man who desires to act as a good man in all things will necessarily come to ruin among so many who are not good. Hence it is necessary for a prince who wishes to protect himself to learn how not to be good and to use this knowledge, or not use it, expediently. Leaving behind the things imagined about a prince and considering those which are real, I say that all men, when one talks about them, and especially about princes (because they are in higher places), are known for some quality or another which brings them either criticism or praise. Some men are held to be generous, others stingy; some are philanthropic, others are rapacious; some are cruel, others merciful; some treacherous and others faithful; some pusillanimous and effeminate, others ferocious and brave; some humane and others arrogant; some lascivious and others chaste; some honorable and others crafty; some hard and others easy; some serious and others frivolous; some religious and others incredulous, and such things. I know that everybody would find it wonderful for a prince to possess all of the aforementioned qualities (those which are considered good qualities), but since the human condition precludes complete adherence to them, it behooves a prince to be prudent and avoid the infamy of those vices which might cause him to lose his state. Moreover, he should refrain, insofar as possible, from those practices which would not jeopardize his state; but if he should be unable to abstain altogether, he may indulge in these with less compunction. Nor should he worry about incurring the infamy of those vices which are necessary for the protection of his state, because, with careful reflection, one realizes that some things which

appear virtuous will cause his ruin while other things, which appear to be vices, will enhance his security and well-being.

Chapter 16

CONCERNING GENEROSITY AND STINGINESS

To begin with consideration of the first of the qualities mentioned above I say that it would be good to have the reputation of generosity. However, generosity practised in such a way as to gain one a reputation is damaging. If one practises it morally, as it should be practised, it will not be known and he will suffer the infamy of the contrary vice. Rather, he who wishes to enjoy among men the reputation of generosity must not fail to display every kind of lavishness. As a result, any prince so disposed will exhaust in such endeavors all of his wealth and will be finally compelled, if he wishes to keep his reputation of generosity, to impose heavy taxation on his people, be inquisitorial, and do everything possible to get money. All of this will begin to render him odious among his subjects and little esteemed by anyone when he is poor. Consequently, having with his generosity offended the many and rewarded the few, he now begins to feel uneasy and exposed to every danger. If, having recognized his plight, he tries to extricate himself from it he runs the risk of being called stingy.

A prince, then, cannot without damage to himself practise the virtue of generosity in a way that it will be known. He ought, if he is wise, not to worry about being considered stingy because he will eventually gain the reputation of generosity. If he practises parsimony his regular revenue will be sufficient for him to defend himself in time of war and undertake projects without taxing his people. As it turns out, he is actually being generous toward all of those from whom he takes nothing, who are many, and stingy to all of those to whom he gives nothing, who are few. In our time we have seen great things accomplished only by those who are considered stingy. All others are exhausted. Pope Julius II, who cultivated the reputation of generosity in order to win the papacy, subsequently abandoned that reputation in order to wage war on the king of France, and has conducted many wars without levying any new taxes on his subjects because his long parsimony has provided him with the means to pay his extraordinary expenses. If the present king of Spain had the reputation of generosity he would not have achieved so much success. Hence, a prince should not fear the reputation of stinginess, for it is one of the vices which enable him to rule while refraining from robbing his subjects but maintaining his ability to defend himself without becoming impoverished, abject, and rapacious.

If anyone says that Caesar won an empire with generosity and many others have climbed to high stations by force of generosity, I respond that one is either already a ruler or in the process of becoming one. In the former case generosity is detrimental; in the latter case it is guite necessary to culti-

vate the reputation of generosity. Caesar was one of those who wanted to gain the rule of Rome, but, having gained it, had he survived without tempering his spending, he would have destroyed the empire. If anyone should object that there have been many princes who have done great things with armies and are considered most generous, I respond that a prince spends either his own wealth and that of his subjects or that which belongs to somebody else. In the former case he should be frugal; in the latter he should not hesitate to be generous. The prince who goes with his armies, if he supports himself with booty, plunder and loot and deals with the wealth of others, must be generous; otherwise his soldiers will refuse to follow him. Concerning the wealth which belongs neither to him nor to his soldiers he can be a liberal donor, as were Cyrus, Caesar and Alexander, because spending other people's money does not jeopardize one's reputation, but enhances it. It is only spending your own money that injures you.

Nothing is so self-consuming as generosity; as you practise it you lose your capacity to practise it and either you become impecunious or contemptible or, to escape poverty, you become rapacious and odious. Among all things that a prince must guard against, one is to be held in scorn and contempt, and generosity leads to both of these things. Consequently, it is wiser to have the name of stingy, which bestows infamy without hatred, than to seek the fame of generosity and incur the name of rapacious, which bestows infamy with hatred.

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CONCERNING CRUELTY AND CLEMENCY AND WHETHER IT IS BETTER TO BE LOVED OR FEARED

Proceeding to the other qualities just mentioned, I claim that every prince ought to cultivate the reputation of mercy and not that of cruelty. Nonetheless, he ought to guard against misusing this mercy. Caesare Borgia was considered cruel, but, notwithstanding his cruelty, he united Romagna, establishing peace and loyalty there. He who reflects carefully will see that action to be much more merciful than what the people of Florence did when they, endeavoring to avoid the name of cruelty, allowed Pistoia to be destroyed. A prince should not avoid the onus of cruelty if the union and loyalty of his subjects require it, because with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who, through misquided mercy, allow disorders to continue so that murder and rapine result. The latter usually injure an entire population, while those measures taken by the prince injure only individuals. The new prince, of all rulers, will find it most difficult to avoid the reputation of cruelty because new states are full of dangers. Hence Virgil excuses inhumanity in Dido's kingdon, which is new, by having Dido say:

My difficult position and the newness of my kingdom constrain me to adopt such stringent measures and defend my boundaries with guards on every side.

However, he ought to be cautious in believing and acting, not timorous, but able to proceed in a temperate way with prudence

and humanity. He should not allow overconfidence to cause him to be careless nor excessive distrust to render him intolerable.

All of this raises a question: is it better to be loved or feared? Most people answer that they would desire both, but because it is hard to cultivate them together, it is safer to be feared than loved when a choice between them is inevitable. The following may be said of men in general: they are ungrateful. unreliable, dissemblers, anxious to avoid danger and greedy. long as you benefit them they are yours, offering you their blood. possessions, life and children, provided the need is remote, as I said before, but when the need draws near they renege. The prince who has relied on their words, being without any other preparation, is ruined, because friendship which is acquired with money instead of grandeur and nobility of spirit is not to be trusted and eventually proves to be worthless. Men are less reluctant to offend one who inspires love than one who inspires fear, because love is thought to be a bond of obligation which, because men are wretched, is broken on every occasion of personal need, but fear is sustained by a dread of punishment which never abandons a person.

Nevertheless, the prince should make himself feared in such a way that even if he does not inspire love he will avoid provoking hatred. The prince can very well be feared without being hated, especially if he does not meddle with the property and the women of his subjects. When he is forced to take action against the life of someone, he should do so with manifest cause and clear justification, but he should be most careful to respect the property of the other. Men sooner forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony. Besides, reasons for confiscating someone's property are never hard to find, and he who begins to live by rapine can always find a reason for taking that which belongs to somebody else. On the other hand, reasons for taking a person's life are rarer and hence harder to find.

When the prince is with his armies and has a multitude of soldiers in his command he must not fear the reputation of cruelty, because without such a reputation it is impossible to keep an army united or willing to undertake action. Among the remarkable achievements of Hannibal one must consider that within his extremely large army composed of a great variety of men and led to wage war in foreign lands there never sprang up any dissension, neither among the men nor against their leader, whether their fortunes were good or ill. This could have resulted only from his inhuman cruelty, which together with his many talents always made him, in the eyes of his soldiers, respected and terrible. Without his cruelty his other qualities would not have sufficed to achieve this effect. There are thoughtless writers who on the one hand admire his actions but on the other condemn the principal reason for his success. Proof that his other qualities would not have sufficed is found in the case of Scipio, who was unique both in his own time and in all of recorded history. The revolt of his armies in Spain resulted from nothing more than his excessive mercy, which permitted his soldiers more license than is appropriate to military discipline. For this he was censured in the senate by Fabius Maximus and called a corruptor of the Roman army. When the Locrians were destroyed by a lieutenant of Scipio the

latter did nothing to discipline him nor was the lieutenant's insolence ever corrected, all of which resulted from Scipio's indulgent nature. The case was so egregious that when a member of the senate sought to excuse Scipio he did so by saying that he was one of many men who know how to avoid errors better than they know how to rectify errors committed by others. This trait would eventually have tarnished the fame and glory of Scipio had he persevered in it under the empire, but, living under the authority of the senate, this detrimental quality was not only suppressed but redounded to his glory.

I conclude, then, in returning to the question of being feared and loved, that men love at their own discretion and fear at the discretion of the prince. A wise prince should establish himself on what he can control and not on what is controlled by others. He should only strive to avoid hatred, as has been said.

Chapter 18

IN WHAT WAY PRINCES SHOULD KEEP THEIR FAITH

Everyone knows that it is praiseworthy for a prince to keep his faith and live with integrity instead of cunning. However, experience in our time shows us that those princes who have done great things have concerned themselves little with keeping faith. Rather, they have astutely managed to confuse the minds of men, and ultimately they have gotten the better of those who have trusted their loyalty.

You ought to know that there are two ways to do battle: one with laws and the other with force. The former is proper to man and the latter to beasts, but since the former is often not sufficient, it is appropriate to employ the latter. Consequently, a prince needs to know how to act as both man and beast. This point was taught covertly to rulers by ancient writers, who described how Achilles and many other ancient princes were given to Chiron the centaur to be reared and nurtured in his custody. Having as preceptor one who is half beast and half man means that a prince needs to know how to use both natures, for the one is not durable without the other.

Needing to know how to act as a beast, the prince should imitate the fox and the lion, because the lion is unable to defend himself against traps and the fox is unable to defend himself against wolves. It is advisable, then, to be a fox to recognize traps and a lion to frighten wolves. Those who are simply lions do not understand this. Therefore, a prudent man cannot and should not keep his word when such compliance works against him and when the reasons which caused him to pledge his word are exhausted. If men were all good this precept would not be good, but since they are wretched and will not keep their word to you, you have no obligation to keep yours to them. Never is a prince without legitimate reasons with which to disguise the breaking of his pledge. Infinite modern examples could be given of this: it could be shown how often peace has been violated and how many promises have been invalidated by the infidelity of a prince, and he who knows how to act the fox comes out best. But it is important to disguise this nature and to be a great dissembler;

men are so simple and they obey the needs of the moment so much that anyone who deceives will always find another who will let himself be deceived.

There is one recent example I do not wish to conceal.

Alexander VI never did or thought about anything but deceiving men and he always found a victim. There never was a man who gave assurances more convincingly or who could declare something with greater oath while disregarding his commitments. Even so, his deceits always produced the desired results because he was very adept at this sort of thing.

A prince does not need to possess all of the aforementioned qualities, but he needs the appearance of possessing them. dare to say that they are detrimental to him who possesses and always practises them but useful to him who appears to possess them. He ought to appear to be merciful, loyal, humane, pious and honest. Actually having these qualities is good, but one should be ready, when circumstances require it, to change to the contrary. It should be understood that a prince, especially a new prince, cannot observe all those things for which men are considered good since it is often expedient, for the maintenance of his state, to work contrary to faith, contrary to charity, contrary to humanity and contrary to religion. Therefore, he must have a spirit ready to change according to the winds of fortune and the variations in those things which govern them, and, as I said above, to avoid, whenever possible, departing from goodness, but to know how to practise evil when required. A prince, then, must exercise great care that nothing ever leaves his mouth except that which is full of the foregoing five virtues. He should be seen and heard to express all mercy, loyalty, humanity, integrity and religion. And nothing is more necessary than to appear to have the last quality, because men in general are impressed more by the visible than by the tangible. Everyone has the capacity to see, but very few possess true discernment. Everyone sees what you appear to be, but very few discern what you really are, and these few do not dare oppose the opinion of the many, who have the majesty of the state to support them. In the actions of all men, and especially of princes, against whom there is no court of appeal, it is the final outcome which matters. Let the prince concentrate his efforts on winning and maintaining the state, and the means will always be judged honorable and praised by all, because the common man is always a captive of appearances and final outcomes. The world is made up mostly of common men, and the minority can never prevail while the majority have support. A certain prince of the present age, whom it would not be good to name, preaches nothing but peace and loyalty although he is an adversary of both. And if he had observed them they would have cost him both his reputation and his state.

Chapter 25

HOW FAR FORTUNE DETERMINES HUMAN AFFAIRS AND TO WHAT DEGREE IT MAY
BE RESISTED

It is no secret to me that many have held and still hold the opinion that the affairs of the world are in some measure governed by fortune and by God, that men can do nothing to change them

with their own wits; rather that no recourse at all is available. Consequently it could be concluded that there is no need to exert much effort in affairs, but let things be governed by chance. This opinion has been held more in our times because of the great vicissitudes in things which have been seen and are still seen today beyond all human expectation. Having occasionally thought about it, I am in some ways inclined to share this opinion. However, in order that our free will not be reduced to naught, I judge it plausible that fortune may be the arbiter of half of our actions while still leaving the other half, or slightly less, to us. I compare fortune to those violent rivers which, when they become swollen, inundate plains, destroying trees and buildings, removing earth from one side the placing it on the other. Everyone flees before them, everything yields to their impetus, being unable to offer any resistance. Notwithstanding the nature of rivers, during periods of calm men are able to make provisions against them with dikes and dams so that when they become swollen they will either be confined to a channel or their force will be reduced and less destructive. Fortune operates in like manner, manifesting its power where there is no virtue disposed to resist it, directing its fury wherever no barriers or dams exist to resist it. And if you consider Italy, which is the seat of these vicissitudes and the place that has given them birth, you will see that it is a country without dikes or barriers. But if it were fortified with the proper virtues like Germany, Spain and France the flood would not have occurred or else it would not have caused such great havoc. I hope to have said enough about resisting fortune in general.

Limiting myself to particulars I observe how a prince can prosper today and be destroyed tomorrow without his changing character or manner in any way. I believe that this results from the reasons which I have discussed at length: that prince who relies solely on his fortune is destroyed when it turns against him. I claim that he is fortunate who finds the way to adapt his actions to the nature of the times, and likewise he is unfortunate whose actions are ill adapted to the times. Men are seen to proceed in different ways in their efforts to attain their desired goals, namely wealth and glory: one with caution and another with boldness, one with violence and another with skill, one with patience and another with its opposite; and each one can attain his end with these diverse methods. It is possible to observe two cautious men, one of whom reaches his goal while the other does not. Likewise, two men may be equally successful while employing different methods, one being cautious and the other impetuous. All of this depends on whether the nature of the circumstances conforms with their mode of activity. I have already pointed out that two who work differently may achieve the same goal, while, when two men work alike, one may be successful and the other a failure. Variations in prosperity also depend on this, because a man who conducts his affairs with caution and patience is rewarded only if circumstances favor that sort of conduct, but if times and conditions change he will be ruined if he does not adopt new techniques. There is no man so prudent that he knows how to adjust to new conditions, both because he is unable to deviate from that to which his nature inclines him and because, having always prospered by following one way, he cannot be persuaded to abandon it. The cautious man is ruined because he does not know how to be bold when the circumstances require it. If he could change his nature with times and conditions, he would not be so afflicted.

Pope Julius II always acted impetuously and he found the times and circumstances favorable to that mode of action, so that his efforts were crowned with success. Consider the first military assault which he launched against Bologna, during the life of Giovanni Bentivogli. The Venetians were not happy about it, neither was the king of Spain, and the assault even provoked a discussion with France. Nevertheless, he personally undertook the campaign with such ferocity and boldness that he stunned and immobilized Spain and the Venetians, the latter through fear and the former because of her desire to regain the kingdom of Naples. On the other hand, the king of France supported him because, having seen Julius' moves he, desiring to win his friendship against the Venetians, concluded that he could not refuse Julius his men without clearly offending him. Hence Julius carried out with his bold move what no other pontiff with human prudence would have achieved, because if he had waited to depart from Rome until he had everything arranged and ordered, as any other pontiff would have done, he would never have succeeded. For the king of France would have found a thousand excuses and the others would have found a thousand means of intimidation. I wish to leave aside his other accomplishments, all of which were similar and successful, for the brevity of his life did not allow him to experience the contrary. If there had come times which had required cautious action his ruin would have resulted, because he would never have deviated from those ways to which nature inclined him.

I conclude, then, that since fortune varies and men remain the same in their methods, men succeed when there is harmony between their methods and fortune and fail when harmony is lacking. I judge that it is better to be bold than cautious, because fortune is a woman and it is necessary, if you wish to tame her, to take her by force. It is clear that she lets herself be conquered more by the impetuous than by those who act coldly. As a woman, she is fond of young men, who are less cautious, bolder, and master her with audacity.

Chapter 26

EXHORTATION TO FREE ITALY FROM THE BARBARIANS

Having considered all of the things discussed above and wondering whether the times are propitious for honoring a new prince, and whether this is a good occasion for a prudent and able man to introduce here a new order which would honor him and benefit all of mankind, it appears to me that so many things lend themselves favorably to a new prince that I know of no other time more auspicious than this one. And if, as I have already mentioned, it was necessary for the people of Israel to be enslaved in order for Moses' ability to manifest itself, and for the Persians to be oppressed by the Medes so that Cyrus could display his grandeur of spirit, and for the Athenians to be dispersed before the excellence of Theseus could be revealed: so in the present age, in order that the virtue of the Italian spirit could make itself known, it was first necessary for Italy to be reduced to her present extremities: for her to be more enslaved than the Hebrews, more servile than the Persians, more dispersed than the Athenians,

without a leader, without order, beaten, ravaged, lacerated, persecuted and forced to endure all sorts of ruin. Although heretofore there has been a ray of hope in one individual whom one could judge to be ordained by God for Italy's redemption, nonetheless he has been rejected by fate at the apex of his career, so that Italy remains lifelessly awaiting the one who can heal her wounds, put an end to the pillaging of Lombardy, the rapacity and extortion in Naples and Tuscany, and treat her sores, which have festered for too long. See how she implores God to send someone who will redeem her from these cruel and insolent abuses. See her ready and willing to follow a standard provided someone raise it. Nor is there presently within view any illustrious family more able to inspire her hope than your own which, with its ability and good fortune, favored by God and by the Church, which it now controls, can become the leader of this redemption. This should not be difficult if you will keep in mind the actions and lives of men whom I have already mentioned. And even though such men are rare and marvelous, they were, after all, men, and each of them had less opportunity than is presently available, because their undertaking was no more just than this one, nor easier, nor did God favor them more than you. Here the justice is great because that war is just which is necessary, and the use of weapons is righteous when it offers the only hope. Here the conditions are most favorable, and where conditions are favorable there can be no difficulty provided the examples which I have set down are followed. Besides, marvelous and unequalled wonders of God have been seen: the sea has been opened, a cloud has revealed the way, rock has shed water, manna has rained from heaven; everything favors your greatness: you must do the rest.

God chooses not to do everything in order not to deprive us of free will and the share of glory which belongs to us. It is no surprise that none of the aforementioned Italians has been able to accomplish that which is expected of your family. In so many revolutions in Italy and in so many military engagements it always seems that her military ability is exhausted, but this is because they utilized old ways which were not good and there was nobody capable of finding new ways. Nothing honors a new man as much as the new laws and new ordinances established by him. These things, when they are well founded and have greatness in them, make him respected and admired, and in Italy the conditions are favorable for the introduction of every form.

There is virtue here in the members even though it is absent from the head. Observe that in duels and private contests the Italians are superior in strength, skill, and cleverness. But when it is a question of armies, they do not show up well because of the weakness of their leadership. Those who know how to do things are not submissive and each one thinks he knows best, since there has been nobody who has distinguished himself by his ability and fortune to the degree that others yield to him. Hence it results that for a long time, in so many wars fought in the last twenty years, when the army has been all Italian it has performed poorly, proof of which is given first in Taro, then at Alexandria, Capua, Genoa, Vaila, Bologna and Mestri. If your illustrious family wishes to emulate those excellent men who redeemed their lands, it is necessary first of all, as the true

foundation of every military enterprise, to provide yourself with your own army, because you cannot find more loyal, truer, or better soldiers. And although each one of them is good, they all together will become better when they find themselves commanded, honored and rewarded by their own prince. Hence it is necessary to prepare this army if you desire to employ Italian skill to defend yourself against foreigners.

Although the Swiss and Spanish infantries are deemed formidable, each has its defect, so that a third force could not only oppose them, but expect to defeat them. The Spanish cannot resist cavalry and the Swiss are afraid of infantry when they find it as determined as they. It has been seen and will be seen by experience that the Spanish cannot resist the French cavalry and the Swiss are defeated by the Spanish infantry. Although the latter observation has not been demonstrated by experience, a similar case occurred at the battle of Ravenna, when the Spanish infantry did battle with German troops who were deployed in the Swiss alignment. With their agility of body and the aid of their bucklers, the Spanish broke through behind their pikes and were in position to decimate the Germans without the latter's being able to defend themselves. If their cavalry had not rescued them they would have been destroyed. Knowing the weakness of each of these infantries, it would be feasible to organize a new one which could resist cavalry and not fear other infantry. This would not be achieved by the creation of new weapons but by a change in leadership. And these are the things which give grandeur and reputation to a new prince.

We must not allow this occasion to pass, so that Italy may finally after so long, see her redeemer. Nor can I express with what display of love, loyalty, thirst for revenge, piety and tears he would be welcomed by all of those provinces which have suffered under foreign invasions. What doors would be closed to him? What people would deny him obedience? What envy would be directed against him? What Italian would refuse to pay him homage? The barbarous yoke is vexatious to us all. May your illustrious family assume this responsibility with that spirit and hope which are appropriate to just causes, so that this country may be vindicated under your emblem and under your auspices these words of Petrarch may be verified:

Virtue will take arms against fury and the combat will be brief: for the ancient valor is not dead in Italian hearts.

(Translated by Donald W. Tucker.)

FRANCOIS RABELAIS

GARGANTUA

INTRODUCTION: Francois Rabelais (1494-1553) entered a Benedictine monastery as a young man but soon found the religious life vexatious. After escaping from the cloister at age 30 he studied law, Greek, and medicine, eventually becoming a prominent physician. Rabelais distinguished himself for his classical erudition and love of learning, his free thinking in matters of religion, his high opinion of human nature and rejection of the doctrine of original sin, and his general enthusiasm for the earthly existence. He and Montaigne best exemplify the spirit of the Renaissance in France. Rabelais wrote two satirical books, Gargantua and Pantagruel, which may loosely be described as novels. In desultory fashion they describe the humorous and fantastic adventures of the two giants for whom the books are named. The excerpt from Gargantua provided below deals with the building of a new monastery according to Rabelaisian ideals. This monastery, or Abbey of Theleme (from Greek word meaning "desire" or "will,") is established by Gargantua as a reward to a certain monk for his assistance in time of war.

Chapter 52

It was now necessary to provide for the monk. Gargantua wanted to appoint him abbot of Seuilly, but the monk refused. He wanted to give him the abbey of Bourgueil, or of Saint-Florent, whichever might suit him better, or both if that pleased him, but the monk replied emphatically that he did not want control or responsibility over other monks. "How," he asked, "can I govern someone else when I don't even know how to govern my own life?" "If you think that I have rendered you, or may in the future render you, helpful assistance, allow me to establish an abbey according to my own design." This request pleased Gargantua, and he offered him his entire country of Theleme down to the Loire River, two leagues from the great forest of Port Huault. And the monk requested that Gargantua establish his convent or monastery just the opposite of all others. "To begin with," said Gargantua, "we must not build any walls around it, for all other abbeys are tightly contained within walls." "True," said the monk, "and not without cause where there is a wall, both in front and behind, there is necessarily grumbling, frustration and scheming." Furthermore, since it is the custom in certain monasteries of this world if any woman (I mean decent and proper woman) should enter, the place through which she passed is cleaned, it was ordered that if a monk or nun should enter by accident it would be necessary to clean carefully any place through which they might pass. And since in all religions of the world everything is contained, limited and regulated by schedules it was decided that there should be no clock or timepiece anywhere; rather all work was to be done at a convenient time. Because, said Gargantua, the biggest waste of time that he knew was that of counting hours. "What good comes from it? And the most foolish thing in the world is to regulate one's life by the sound of a bell instead of by the dictates of good sense and intelligence."

Item: In those times the only women who took religious vows were one-eyed, lame, hunchbacked, ugly, bedraggled, nuts, silly, witches, and blemished; and the men were all runny-nosed, low-born, stupid and trouble makers. ("By the way," said the monk, "of what value is a woman if she is not good looking?" "Only good for a convent," replied Gargantua. "True," said the monk, "and to make shirts.") It was decided that in Theleme only beautiful women of good disposition would be admitted. Likewise, only handsome, urbane men be accepted.

Item: Whereas in traditional convents of nuns men could enter only on the sly, it was decreed that women could live at Theleme only if men were present also.

Item: Whereas both men and women, having entered a traditional religious community, after one year of probation, are forced and constrained to remain there for the rest of their lives, it was established that both sexes could freely depart from Theleme whenever they might choose to do so.

Item: Whereas ordinarily monks and nuns take three vows, namely: chastity, poverty, and obedience, it was agreed that there one could get married honorably, everyone would be wealthy, and liberty would prevail. With regard to the lawful age of entering, women would be received between the ages of ten and fifteen and men from twelve to eighteen.

Chapter 53

Gargantua made available two million seven hundred thousand eight hundred thirty-one gold coins for the construction and furnishings of the abbey, and for each year until all was completed he provided one million six hundred sixty-nine thousand gold coins. For its endowment he gave two million three hundred sixty-nine thousand five hundred fourteen "rose" coins in guaranteed annual income.

The building had the shape of a hexagon in such a way that at each corner there was a big round tower sixty feet in diameter. All towers were identical in size and shape. The Loire River ran along the northern side of the property. One of the towers, named Artique (Arctic), stood by the river. Going clockwise there was another tower named Calaer (Fine Air). The next was Anatole (Eastern), then Mesembrine (Southern), followed by Hesperie (Western) and Cryere (Icy).

Between each tower there was distance 312 feet. The building had six stories, counting the subterranean passages as one. The second story was vaulted in the shape of a basket handle. The rest were stuccoed in the form of lamp bottoms. The roof was covered with fine slate, with the ridge sheathing of lead in the shape of small mannikins and animal figures, well matched and gilded. The gutters, which extended out from the walls between the windows, were painted blue and gold and ran to the ground where they emptied into large channels leading under the building to the river.

The edifice was a hundred times more magnificent than Bonivet, Chambord or Chantilly, for it had 9,332 rooms, each provided with a dressing room, study, closet, altar and an exit into the main hall. Between each tower, in the middle of the main building, there was a spiral staircase, the steps of which were made partly of porphery, partly of red marble and partly of green marble. The steps were twenty-two feet wide and three fingers thick, there being twelve steps between each landing. On each landing were two beautiful old-style arches which permitted light to enter and which opened into a room having walls and ceiling of lattice work and being of the same width as the stairway. The stairway itself went all the way to the roof and opened onto a pavillion. From the stairs one could enter on all sides into a great hall, and from the hall into smaller rooms. Between the Arctic and Icy towers there were magnificent libraries in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian, and Spanish divided among the different floors according to the languages. In the middle was a marvelous stairway which had an entrance outside the building under an archway thirty-six feet wide. It was designed large enough for six men-at-arms with their lances at rest to ride abreast all the way to the top of the building. Between the Eastern and Southern towers were large and beautiful galleries which contained fresco paintings of ancient deeds of prowess, history and geography. In the center was a stairway and a door similar to the ones we have described on the side of the river.

[There follows a long poetic inscription which prohibits the entry of hypocrites, bigots, lawyers, misers, money lenders, syphilitics and vexatious types in general. At the same time it welcomes cultivated gentlemen, preachers of the Gospel (!) and good-looking sophisticated women. Rabelais then devoted two chapters to further description of the abbey, including recreational facilities (horsemanship, swimming, tennis, archery, falconry and others) and a detailed account of the sartorial splendor of the occupants.]

Chapter 57

Their whole life was governed not by laws, statues or rules, but according to their wishes and free will. They arose from bed when they felt like it, drank, ate, worked, and slept when they so desired. Nobody woke them up, nobody forced them to drink or eat or do anything at all. That's the way Gargantua established it. Their rule was a simple one: "Do what you wish," because free, well-born, cultivated human beings who are accustomed to decent company have a natural instinct which motivates them to do good deeds and refrain from vice. This instinct is called honor. These same people, when they are bound by regulations and restraints, use their honorable inclination to rebel against and throw off yokes of servitude. Man always seeks after forbidden things and desires that which is denied him.

As a result of this freedom they devoted themselves to the laudable emulation of doing as a group whatever they thought would please a single member. If anyone said, "Let's play," they all played. If he said, "Let's go have fun in the fields," they all went. If it was falconry or hunting, the ladies rode beautiful steeds with a hawk, lanneret or merlin on their finely gloved wrists. The men carried the other birds.

So cultivated were all of them that there was no one who could not read, write, sing, play musical instruments, speak five or six languages, writing both prose and verse in these languages. Never were knights so proud, so gallant, so skillful on foot and horseback, more vigorous or more adept at handling weapons of all sorts. Never were ladies so well-groomed, so dainty, so delightful, more skilled in doing handwork or needlework and every proper feminine activity.

For this reason, when the time came for anyone to wish to depart from the abbey, whether by request of his relatives or for other causes, he carried with him one of the ladies, the one who had taken special devotion for him, and the two of them were married. And if they had lived at Theleme in devotion and friendship, then all the better did they observe these qualities in marriage; living together until the end of their days as they had lived as newly-weds.

(Translated by Donald W. Tucker.)

OF THE DIGNITY OF MAN

ORATION OF GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, COUNT OF CONCORDIA
TRANSLATED BY ELIZABETH LIVERMORE FORBES*

- 1. I have read in the records of the Arabians, worshipful Fathers, that Abdala the Saracen, when questioned as to what on this stage of the world. as it were, should be considered most worthy of wonder, replied: "There is nothing to be seen more wonderful than Man," with which opinion the saying of Hermes Trismegistus agrees: "A great miracle, Asclepius, is Man." But when I weighed the reason for these maxims, the many excellences reported of human nature by many men did not satisfy me-that Man is the intermediary between creatures, the intimate of the gods, king of the lower beings, by the acuteness of his senses, by the discernment of his reason and the light of his intelligence the interpreter of nature, the interval between fixed eternity and fleeting time, and (as the Persians say), the bond, nay rather the marriage-song of the world, on David's testimony but little lower than the angels. Admittedly great though these be, they are not the principal reasons, that is to say, those which may rightfully claim for themselves the privilege of the highest admiration. For why should we not admire more the angels themselves and the blessed choirs of Heaven? At last, it seems to me, I have come to understand why Man is the most fortunate of beings, and consequently worthy of all admiration, and what precisely is that rank which is his lot in the universal chain of Being, and which is to be envied not only by brutes but even by the stars, by minds more than earthly. It is a matter past faith, and a wondrous one. Why should it not be? For on this very account Man is rightly both called a great miracle, and judged a wonderful being indeed.
- 2. But hear, Fathers, exactly what is this rank, and, as kindly auditors, conformably to your cultivation, forbear to punish me for this work. God the Father, the Supreme Architect, had already built this earthly home we behold of his Godhead, as his most sacred temple, by the laws of his mysterious wisdom. The supercelestial region He had adorned with intelligences, the heavenly spheres He had quickened with eternal souls, and the excrementary and filthy parts of the lower world He had filled with a multitude of creatures of every kind. But when the work was finished the Artist kept wishing that there were someone to ponder the rationality of so great a work, to love its beauty, and to wonder at its vastness. Therefore when everything was done (as Moses and Timaeus bear witness) He finally took thought concerning the creation of Man. But there was not among his archetypes that from which He could fashion a new offspring, nor was there in his treasure-houses anything He might bestow on his new son as an inheritance, nor was there in the courts of all the world a place where the latter might sit as contemplator of the universe. All was now complete, all things had been assigned to the highest, the middle, and the lowest orders. But in its final creation it was not the part of the Father's power to fail as though exhausted. It was not the part of his wisdom to waver in a case of need through poverty of counsel. It was not the intention of his kindly love that he who was to praise God's divine generosity in regard to others, should be compelled to condemn it in regard to himself

- 3. At last the Best of Artisans ordained that that creature to whom he had been able to give nothing proper to himself should have joint possession of whatever had been the peculiar characteristics of the different creatures. He therefore accorded to Man the function of a form not set apart, and a place in the middle of the world, and addressed him thus: "I have given thee neither a fixed abode nor a form that is thine alone nor any function peculiar to thyself, Adam, to the end that, according to thy longing and according to thy judgment, thou mayest have and possess that abode, that form, and those functions which thou thyself shalt desire. The nature of all other things is limited and constrained within the bounds of laws prescribed by me: thou, coerced by no necessity, shalt ordain for thyself the limits of thy nature in accordance with thine own free will, in whose hand I have placed thee. I have set thee at the world's center, that thou mayest from thence more easily observe whatever is in the world. I have made thee neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, so that thou mayest with greater freedom of choice and with more honor, as though the maker and moulder of thyself, fashion thyself in whatever shape thou shalt prefer. Thou shalt have the power to degenerate into the lower forms of life, which are animal; thou shalt have the power, out of thy soul's judgment, to be reborn into the higher forms of life, which are divine."
- 4. O supreme generosity of God the Father, O highest and most marvellous felicity of Man! to whom it is granted to have that which he chooses, to be that which he wills. Beasts as soon as they are born (so says Lucilius) bring with them from their mother's womb that which they will possess for ever; spiritual beings, either from the beginning or soon thereafter, become what they are to be for ever and ever. On Man when he came into life the Father conferred the seeds of all good and the germs of every form of life. Whatever seeds each man cultivates, those seeds will grow to maturity and bear in him their own fruit. If they be vegetative, he will be like a plant. If sensual, he will become brutish. If rational, he will issue as a heavenly being. If intellectual, he will be an angel and the son of God. And if, happy in the lot of no created thing, he withdraws into the center of his own unity, his spirit made one with God in the solitary darkness of God who is set above all things, he shall surpass them all. Who will not admire this our chameleon? Or who could more greatly admire aught else whatever? It is Man who Asclepius of Athens, arguing from his mutability of character and from his self-transforming nature, on just grounds says was symbolized by Proteus in the mysteries. Hence those metamorphoses renowned among the Hebrews and the Pythagoreans.
- 5. For the more secret theology of the Hebrews sometimes transforms the holy Enoch into an angel of divinity, whom they call "Mal'akh Adonay shebaoth," and sometimes transforms others into other divinities. The Pythagoreans degrade impious men into brutes and, if one is to believe Empedocles, even into plants. Mohammed, in imitation of such ideas, often had this saying on his tongue: "They who have deviated from Divine law have become beasts," and surely he spoke justly. For its bark does not make the plant, but its senseless and insentient nature; neither does its hide make the beast of burden, but its irrational, sensual soul; neither does its orbed form make the sky, but its undeviating rationality; nor does his sundering from body but his spiritual intelligence make the angel. For if you see one abandoned to his appetites crawling on the ground, it is a plant and not a man that you see; if you see one blinded by the vain illusions of imagery, as it were of a Calypso, and, worn down by their gnawing allurement, delivered over to his senses, it is a beast and not a man that you see. If you see a philosopher determining all things by means of right reason, him you shall reverence: he is a heavenly and not an earthly being. If you see a pure con-

templator, one unaware of the body and given over to the inward parts of the mind, he is neither an earthly nor a heavenly being: he is a more reverend divinity vested with human flesh.

6. Are there any who would not admire Man, who is, in the sacred writings of Moses and the Christians, not without reason described sometimes by the name of "all flesh," sometimes by that of "every creature," in as much as he himself moulds, fashions, and changes himself into the form of all flesh and into the character of every creature? For this reason the Persian Euanthes, in describing the Chaldaean religion, writes that Man has no semblance that is inborn and his very own, but many that are external and foreign to him; whence this saying of the Chaldaeans: "Hanorish tharah sharinas," that is, Man is a being of varied, manifold, and inconstant nature. But to what end is this so? To the end that, after we have been born to this condition, we may understand that we may become that which we will to be. We should have especial care to this, that it should never be said against us, that although born to a privileged position, we failed to recognize it and became like unto wiid animals and senseless beasts of burden; but that rather the saying of Asaph the Prophet should apply: "Ye are all angels and sons of the Most High"; and that we may not by abusing the most indulgent generosity of the Father, that freedom of choice He has given, make for ourselves something harmful out of what is salutary. Let a certain holy ambition invade our souls, so that, not content with the mediocre, we shall pant after the highest, and (since we may if we wish) teil with all our strength to follow it.

7. Let us disdain earthly things, strive for heavenly things, and finally, esteeming less whatever is of the world, hasten to that court which is beyond the world and nearest to the Godhead. There, as the sacred mysteries relate, Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones hold the first places; let us, incapable of yielding to them and intolerant of a lower place, emulate both their dignity and their glory. Since we have willed it, we shall be second to them in nothing.

AND THE REAL PROPERTY OF THE P

Desiderius Erasmus

IN PRAISE OF FOLLY

AN ORATION, OF FEIGNED MATTER, SPOKEN BY
FOLLY IN HER OWN PERSON

How slightly soever I am esteemed in the common vogue of the world, (for I well know how disingenuously Folly is decried, even by those who are themselves the

greatest fools,) yet it is from my influence alone that the whole universe receives her ferment of mirth and jollity: of which this may be urged as a convincing argument, in that as soon as I appeared to speak before this numerous assembly, all their



countenances were gilded over with a lively sparkling pleasantness: you soon welcomed me with so encouraging a look, you spurred me on with so cheerful a hum, that truly in all appearance, you seem now flushed with a good dose of reviving nectar, when as just before you sate drowsy and melancholy, as if you were lately come out of some hermit's cell. But as it is usual, that as soon as the sun peeps from her eastern bed, and draws back the curtains of the darksome night; or as when, after a hard winter, the restorative spring breathes a more enlivening air, nature forthwith changes her apparel, and all things seem to renew their age; so at the first sight of me you all unmask, and appear in more lively colours.

Why,

can any one be said properly to live to whom pleasure is denied? You will give me your

assent; for there is none I know among you so wise shall I say, or so silly, as to be of a contrary opinion. The Stoics indeed contemn, and pretend to banish pleasure; but this is only a dissembling trick, and a putting the vulgar out of conceit with it, that they may more quietly engross it to themselves: but I dare them now to confess what one stage of life is not melancholy, dull, tiresome, tedious, and uneasy, unless we spice it with pleasure, that hautgoust of Folly. Of the truth whereof the never enough to be commended Sophocles is sufficient authority, who gives me the highest character in that sentence of his,

To know nothing is the sweetest life.

Yet abating from this, let us examine the case more narrowly. Who knows not that the first scene of infancy is far the most pleasant and delightsome? What then is it in children that makes us so kiss, hug, and play with them, and that the bloodiest enemy can scarce have the heart to hurt them; but their ingredients of innocence and Folly, of which nature out of Providence did purposely compound and blend their tender infancy, that by a frank return of pleasure they might make some sort of amends for their parents' trouble, and give in caution as it werefor the discharge of a future education; the next advance from childhood is youth, and how favourably is this dealt with; how kind, courteous, and respectful are all to it? and how ready to become serviceable upon all occasions? And whence reaps it this happiness? Whence indeed, but from me only, by whose procurement it is furnished with little of wisdom, and so with the less of disquiet? And when once lads begin to grow up, and attempt to write man, their prettiness does then soon decay, their briskness flags, their humours stagnate, their jollity ceases, and their blood grows cold; and the farther they proceed in years, the more they grow backward in the enjoyment of themselves, till waspish old age comes on, a burden to itself as well as others, and that so heavy and oppressive, as none would bear the weight of, unless out of pity to their sufferings. I again intervene, and lend a

helping-hand, assisting them at a dead lift, in the same method the poets feign their gods to succour dying men, by transforming them into new creatures, which I do by bringing them back, after they have one foot in the grave, to their infancy again; so as there is a great deal of truth couched in that old proverb, Once an old man, and twice a child. Now if any one be curious to understand what course I take to effect this alteration my method is this: I bring them to my well of forgetfulness, (the fountain whereof is in the Fortunate Islands, and the river Lethe in hell but a small stream of it), and when they have there filled their bellies full, and washed down care, by the virtue and operation whereof they become young again. Ay, but (say you) they merely dote, and play the fool: why yes, this is what I mean by growing young again: for what else is it to be a child than to be a fool and an idiot? It is the being such that makes that age so acceptable: for who does not esteem it somewhat ominous to see a boy endowed with the discretion of a man, and therefore for the curbing of too forward parts we have a disparaging proverb, Soon ripe, soon rotten? And farther, who would keep company or have anything to do with such an old blade, as, after the wear and harrowing of so many years should yet continue of as clear a head and sound a judgment as he had at any time been in his middle-age; and therefore it is great kindness of me that old men grow fools, since it is hereby only that they are freed from such vexations as would torment them if they were more wise: they can drink briskly, bear up stoutly, and lightly pass over such infirmities, as a far stronger constitution could scarce master. Sometime, with the old fellow in Plautus, they are brought back to their horn-book again, to learn to spell their fortune in love. Most wretched would they needs be if they had but wit enough to be sensible of their hard condition; but by my assistance, they carry off all well, and to their respective friends approve themselves good, sociable, jolly Thus Homer makes aged companions. Nestor famed for a smooth oily-tongued orator, while the delivery of Achilles was

but rough, harsh, and hesitant; and the same poet elsewhere tells us of old men that sate on the walls, and spake with a great deal of flourish and elegance. And in this point indeed they surpass and outgo children, who are pretty forward in a softly, innocent prattle, but otherwise are too much tonguetied, and want the other's most acceptable embellishment of a perpetual talkativeness. Add to this, that old men love to be playing with children, and children delight as much in them, to verify the proverb, that Birds of a feather flock together. And indeed what difference can be discerned between them, but that the one is more furrowed with wrinkles, and has seen a little more of the world than the other? For otherwise their whitish hair, their want of teeth, their smallness of stature, their milk diet, their bald crowns, their prattling, their playing, their short memory, their heedlessness, and all their other endowments, exactly agree; and the more they advance in years, the nearer they come back to their cradle, till like children indeed, at last they depart the world, without any remorse at the loss of life, or sense of the pangs of death.

And now let any one compare the excellency of my metamorphosing power to that which Ovid attributes to the gods; their strange feats in some drunken passions we will omit for their credit sake and instance only in such persons as they pretend great kindness for; these they transformed into trees, birds, insects, and sometimes serpents; but alas, their very change into somewhat else argues the destruction of what they were before; whereas I can restore the same numerical man to his pristine state of youth, health and strength; yea, what is more, if men would

but so far consult their own interest, as to discard all thoughts of wisdom, and entirely resign themselves to my guidance and conduct, old age should be a paradox, and each perpetual spring.



man's years a

Now therefore, like Homer's wandering muse, I will take my leave of heaven, and come down again here below, where we shall find nothing happy, nay, nothing tolerable, without my presence and assistance. And in the first place consider how providently nature has took care that in all her works there should be some piquant smack and relish of Folly: for since the Stoics define wisdom to be conducted by reason, and folly nothing else but the being hurried by passion, lest our life should otherwise have been too dull and inactive, that creator, who out of clay first tempered and made us up, put into the composition of our humanity more than a pound of passions to an ounce of reason; and reason he confined within the narrow cells of the brain, whereas he left passions the whole body to range in. Farther, he set up two sturdy champions to stand perpetually on the guard, that reason might make no assault, surprise, nor inroad: anger, which keeps its station in the fortress of the heart; and lust, which like the signs Virgo and Scorpio, rules the belly and secret members. Against the forces of these two warriors how unable is reason to bear up and withstand, every day's experience does abundantly witness; while let reason be never so importunate in urging and reinforcing her admonitions to virtue, yet the passions bear all before them, and by the least offer of curb or restraint grow but more imperious, till reason itself, for quietness sake, is forced to desist from all further remonstrance.

But because it seemed expedient that man, who was born for the transaction of business, should have so much wisdom as should fit and capacitate him for the discharge of his duty herein, and yet lest such a measure as is requisite for this purpose might prove too dangerous and fatal, I was advised with for an antidote, who prescribed this infallible receipt of taking a wife, a



creature so harmless and silly, and yet so useful and convenient, as might mollify and make pliable the stiffness and morose humour of man. Now that which made Plato doubt under what genus to rank woman, whether among brutes or rational creatures, was only meant to denote the extreme stupidness and Folly of that sex, a sex so unalterably simple, that for any of them to thrust forward, and reach at the name of wise, is but to make themselves the more remarkable fools, such an endeavour. being but a swimming against the stream. nay, the turning the course of nature, the bare attempting whereof is as extravagant as the effecting of it is impossible: for as it is a trite proverb, That an ape will be an ape. though clad in purple; so a woman will be a woman, i.e., a fool, whatever disguise she takes up. And yet there is no reason women should take it amiss to be thus charged; for if they do but rightly consider they will find it is to Folly they are beholden for those endowments, wherein they so far surpass and excel man; as first, for their unparalleled beauty, by the charm whereof they tyrannize over the greatest tyrants; for what is it but too great a smatch of wisdom that makes men so tawny and thick-skinned, so rough and prickly-bearded, like an emblem of winter or old age, while women have such dainty smooth cheeks, such a low gentle voice, and so pure a complexion, as if nature had drawn them for a standing pattern of all symmetry and comeliness? Beside, what greater or juster aim and ambition have they than to please their husbands? In order whereunto they garnish themselves with paint, washes, curls, perfumes, and all other mysteries of ornament; yet after all they become acceptable to them only for their Folly. Wives are always allowed their humour, yet it is only in exchange for titillation and pleasure, which indeed are but other names for Folly;...

It is indeed almost incredible to relate what mirth, what sport, what diversion, the grovelling inhabitants here on earth give to the above-seated gods in heaven: for these exalted deities spend their fasting sober hours in listening to those petitions that

are offered up, and in succouring such as they are appealed to by for redress; but when they are a little entered at a glass of nectar, they then throw off all serious concerns, and go and place themselves on the ascent of some promontory in heaven, and from thence survey the little mole-hill of earth. And trust me, there cannot be a more delightsome prospect, than to view such a theatre so stuffed and crammed with swarms of fools. One falls desperately in love, and the more he is slighted the more does his spaniel-like passion increase; another is wedded to wealth rather than to a wife; a third pimps for his own spouse, and is content to be a cuckold so he may wear his horns gilt; a fourth is haunted with a jealousy of his visiting neighbours; another sobs and roars, and plays the child, for the death of a friend or relation; and lest his own tears should not rise high enough to express the torrent of his grief, he hires other mourners to accompany the corpse to the grave, and sing its requiem in sighs and lamentations; another hypocritically weeps at the funeral of one whose death at heart he rejoices for; here a gluttonous cormorant, whatever he can scrape up, thrusts all into his guts to pacify the cryings of a hungry stomach; there a lazy wretch sits yawning and stretching, and thinks nothing so desirable as sleep and idleness; some are extremely industrious in other's men's business, and sottishly neglectful of their own; some think themselves rich because their credit is great, though they can never pay, till they break, and compound for their debts; one is so covetous that he lives poor to die rich; one for a little uncertain gain will venture to cross the roughest seas, and expose his life for the purchase of a livelihood; another will depend on the plunders of war, rather than on the honest gains of peace; some will close with and humour such warm old blades as have a good estate, and no children of their own to bestow it upon; others practise the same art of wheedling upon good old women, that have hoarded and coffered up more bags than they know how to dispose of; both of these sly flatteries make fine sport for the gods, when they are beat at their own weapons, and (as oft happens) are gulled by those very persons they intended to make a prey of. There is

another sort of base scoundrels in gentility, such scraping merchants, who although, for the better vent of their commodities they lie, swear, cheat and practise all the intrigues of dishonesty, yet think themselves no way inferior to persons of the highest quality, only because they have raked together a plentiful estate; and there are not wanting such insinuating hangers-on, as shall caress and compliment them with the greatest respect, in hopes to go snacks in some of their dishonest gains; there are others so infected with the philosophical paradox of banishing property, and having all things in common, that they make no conscience of fastening on, and purloining whatever they can get, and converting it to their own use and possession; there are some who are rich only in wishes, and yet while they barely dream of vast mountains of wealth, they are as happy as if their imaginary fancies commenced real truths; some put on the best side outermost, and starve themselves at home to appear gay and splendid abroad; one with an open-handed freedom spends all he lays his fingers on; another with a logic-fisted gripingness . catches at and grasps all he can come within the reach of; one apes it about in the streets to court popularity; another

consults his ease, and sticks to the confinement of a chimney-corner; many others are tugging hard at law for a trifle, and drive on an endless suit, only to enrich a deferring judge, or a knavish advocate; one is for new-



modelling a settled government; another is for some notable heroical attempt; and a third by all means must travel a pilgrim to Rome, Jerusalem, or some shrine of a saint elsewhere, though he have no other business than the paying of a formal impertinent visit, leaving his wife and children to fast, while he himself forsooth is gone to pray. In short, if (as Lucian fancies Menippus to have done heretofore) any man could

now again look down from the orb of the moon, he would see thick swarms as it were of flies and gnats, that were quarrelling with each other, justling, fighting, fluttering, skipping, playing, just new produced, soon after decaying, and then immediately vanishing; and it can scarce be thought how many tumults and tragedies so inconsiderate a creature as man does give occasion to, and that in so short a space as the small span of life; subject to so many casualties, that the sword, pestilence, and other epidemic accidents, shall many times sweep away whole thousands at a brush.

But hold; I should but expose myself too far, and incur the guilt of being roundly laughed at, if I proceed to enumerate the several kinds of the folly of the vulgar. I shall confine therefore my following discourse only to such as challenge the repute of wisdom, and seemingly pass for men of the soundest intellectuals.

Nay, even the learned and more judicious, that have wit enough to laugh at the other's folly, are very much beholden to my goodness; which (except ingratitude have drowned their ingenuity) they must be ready upon all occasions to confess. Among these I suppose the lawyers will shuffle in for precedence, and they of all men have the greatest conceit of their own abilities. They will argue as confidently as if they spoke gospel instead of law; they will cite you six hundred several

precedents, though not one of them come near to the case in hand; they will muster up the authority of judgments, deeds, glosses, and reports, and tumble over so many musty records, that they make their employ, though in itself easy, the greatest slavery



imaginable; always accounting that the best plea which they have took most pains for.

To these, as bearing great resemblance to

them, may be added logicians and sophisters, fellows that talk as much by rote as a parrot; who shall run down a whole gossiping of old women, nay, silence the very noise of a belfry, with louder clappers than those of the steeple; and if their unappeasable clamorousness were their only fault it would admit of some excuse; but they are at the same time so fierce and quarrelsome, that they will wrangle bloodily for the least trifle, and be so over intent and eager, that they many times lose their game in the chase and fright



away that truth they are hunting for. Yet self-conceit makes these nimble disputants such doughty champions, that armed with three or four closelinked syllogisms, they shall enter the lists with the greatest masters

of reason, and not question the foiling of them in an irresistible baffle: nay, their obstinacy makes them so confident of their being in the right, that all the arguments in the world shall never convince them to the contrary.

Next to these come the philosophers in their long beards and short cloaks, who esteem themselves the only favourites of wisdom, and look upon the rest of mankind as the dirt and rubbish of the creation: yet these men's happiness is only a frantic craziness of brain; they build castles in the air, and infinite worlds in a vacuum. They will give you to a hair's-breadth the dimensions of the sun, moon, and stars, as easily as they would do that of a flagon or pipkin: they will give a punctual account of the rise of thunder, of the origin of winds, of the nature of eclipses, and of all the other abstrusest difficulties in physics, without the least demur or hesitation, as if they had been admitted into the cabinet council of nature,

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creation; though alas
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mously agreed in no one point of the smallest moment; nothing so plain or evident but what by some or other is opposed and contradicted. But though they are ignorant of the artificial contexture of the least insect, they vaunt however, and brag that they know all things, when indeed they are unable to construe the mechanism of their own body: nay, when they are so purblind as not to be able to see a stone's cast before them, yet they shall be as sharp-sighted as possible in spying out ideas, universals,



separate forms, first matters, quiddities, formalities, and a hundred such like niceties, so diminutively small, that were not their eyes extremely magnifying, all the art of optics could never make them discernible. But they then

most despise the low grovelling vulgar when they bring out their parallels, triangles, circles, and other mathematical figures, drawn up in battalia, like so many spells and charms of conjuration in muster, with letters to refer to the explication of the several problems: hereby raising devils as it were, only to have the credit of laying them, and amusing the ordinary spectators into wonder, because they have not wit enough to understand the juggle. Of these some undertake to profess themselves judicial astrologers, pretending to keep correspondence with the stars, and so from their information can resolve any query; and though it is all but a presumptuous imposture, yet

some to be sure will be so great fools as to believe them.

The divines present them-selves next; but it may perhaps be most safe to pass them by, and not to touch upon so harsh a string as this subject would afford. Beside, the under-



taking may be very hazardous; for they are a sort of men generally very hot and passionate; and should I provoke them, I doubt not would set upon me with a full cry, and force me with shame to recant, which if I stubbornly refuse to do, they will presently brand me for a heretic, and thunder out an excommunication, which is their spiritual weapon to wound such as lift up a hand against them. It is true, no men own a less dependence on me, yet have they reason to confess themselves indebted for no small obligations. For it is by one of my properties, self-love, that they fancy themselves, with their elder brother Paul, caught up into the third heaven, from whence, like shepherds indeed, they look down upon their flock, the laity, grazing as it were, in the vales of the world below. They fence themselves in with so many surrounders of magisterial definitions, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicit and implicit, that there is no falling in with them; or if they do chance to be urged to a seeming non-plus, yet they find out so many evasions, that all the art of man can never bind them so fast, but that an easy distinction shall give them a starting-hole to escape the scandal of being baffled. They will cut asunder the toughest argument with as much ease as Alexander did the gordian knot; they will thunder out so many rattling terms as shall fright an adversary into conviction. They are exquisitely dexterous in unfolding the most intricate mysteries; they will tell you to a tittle all the successive proceedings of Omnior had been eye-witnesses to all the accurate methods of
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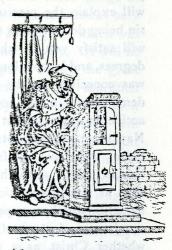


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potence in the creation of the universe; they will explain the precise manner of original sin being derived from our first parents; they will satisfy you in what manner, by what degrees, and in how long a time, our Saviour was conceived in the Virgin's womb, and demonstrate in the consecrated wafer how accidents may subsist without a subject. Nay, these are accounted trivial, easy questions; they have yet far greater difficulties behind, which notwithstanding they solve with as much expedition as the former; as namely, whether supernatural generation requires any instant of time for its acting? whether Christ, as a son, bears a double specifically distinct relation to God the Father, and his virgin mother? whether this proposition is possible to be true, the first person of the Trinity hated the second? whether God, who took our nature upon him in the form of a man, could as well have become a woman, a devil, a beast, a herb, or a stone? and were it so possible that the Godhead had appeared in any shape of an inanimate substance, how he should then have preached his gospel? or how have been nailed to the cross? whether if St. Peter had celebrated the eucharist at the same time our Saviour was hanging on the cross, the consecrated bread would have been transubstantiated into the same body that remained on the tree? whether in Christ's corporal presence in the sacramental wafer, his humanity be not abstracted from his Godhead? whether after the resurrection we shall carnally eat and drink as we do in this life?

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The next to these are another sort of brain-sick fools, who style themselves monks and of religious orders, though they assume both titles very unjustly: for as to the last, they have very little religion in them; and as to the former, the etymology of the word monk implies a solitariness, or being alone; whereas they are so thick abroad that we cannot pass any street or alley without meeting them. Now I cannot imagine what one degree of men would be more hopelessly wretched, if I did not stand their friend, and

buoy them up in that lake of misery, which by the engagements of a holy vow they have voluntarily immerged themselves in. But when these sort of men are so unwelcome to others, as that the very sight of them is thought ominous, I yet make them highly in love with themselves, and fond admirers of their own happiness. The first step whereunto they esteem a profound ignorance, thinking carnal knowledge a great enemy to their spiritual welfare, and seem confident of becoming greater proficients in divine mysteries the less they are poisoned with any human learning. They imagine that they bear a sweet consort with the heavenly choir, when they tone out their daily tally of psalms, which they rehearse only by rote, without permitting their understanding or affections to go along with their voice. Among these some make a good profitable trade of beggary, going about from house to house, not like the apostles, to break, but to beg, their bread; nay, thrust into all public-houses, come aboard the passage-boats, get into the travelling waggons, and omit no opportunity of time or place for the craving people's charity; doing a great deal of injury to common highway beggars by interloping in their traffic of alms. And when they are thus voluntarily poor, destitute, not provided with two coats, nor with any money in their purse, they have the impudence to pretend that they imitate the first disciples, whom their master expressly sent out in such an equipage. It is pretty to observe how they regulate all their actions as it were by weight and measure to so exact a proportion, as if the whole loss of their religion depended upon the omission of the least punctilio. Thus they must be very critical in the precise number of knots to the tying on of their sandals; what distinct colours their respective habits, and what stuff made of; how broad and long their girdles; how big, and in what fashion, their hoods; whether their bald crowns be to a hair'sbreadth of the right cut; how many hours they must sleep, at what minute rise to prayers, etc. And these several customs are altered according to the humours of

different persons and places. While they are sworn to the superstitious observance of these trifles, they do not only despise all others, but are very inclinable to fall out among themselves; for though they make profession of an apostolic charity, yet they will pick a quarrel, and be implacably passionate for such poor provocations, as the girting on a coat the wrong way, for the wearing of clothes a little too darkish coloured, or any such nicety not worth the speaking of. Some are so obstinately superstitious that they will wear their upper garment of some coarse dog's hair stuff, and that next their skin as soft as silk: but others on the contrary will have linen frocks outermost, and their shirts of wool, or hair. Some again will not touch a piece of money, though they make no scruple of the sin of drunkenness, and the lust of the flesh. All their several orders are mindful of nothing more than of their being distinguished from each other by their different customs and habits. They seem indeed not so careful of becoming like Christ, and of being known to be his disciples, as the being unlike to one another, and distinguishable for followers of their several founders. A great part of their religion consists in their title: some will be called cordeliers, and these subdivided into capuchines, minors, minims, and mendicants; some again are styled Benedictines, others of the order of St.

Bernard, others of that of St. Bridget; some are Augustin monks, some Willielmites, and others Jacobists, as if the common name of Christian were too mean and vulgar. Most of them place their greatest stress for salva-



tion on a strict conformity to their foppish ceremonies, and a belief of their legendary traditions; wherein they fancy to have acquitted themselves with so much of supererogation, that one heaven can never be a condign reward for their meritorious life; little thinking that the Judge of all the earth at the last day shall put them off.

with a Who hath required these things at your hands? and call them to account only for the stewardship of his legacy, which was the precept of love and charity. It will be pretty to hear their pleas before the great tribunal: one will brag how he mortified his carnal appetite by feeding only upon



fish: another will urge that he spent most of his time on earth in the divine exercise of singing psalms: a third will tell how many days he fasted, and what severe penance he imposed on himself

for the bringing his body into subjection: another shall produce in his own behalf as many ceremonies as would load a fleet of merchantmen: a fifth shall plead that in threescore years he never so much as touched a piece of money, except he fingered it through a thick pair of gloves: a sixth, to testify his former humility, shall bring along with him his sacred hood, so old and nasty, that any seaman had rather stand bare headed on the deck, than put it on to defend his ears in the sharpest storms: the next that comes to answer for himself shall plead, that for fifty years together, he had lived like a sponge upon the same place, and was content never to change his homely habitation: another shall whisper softly, and tell the judge he has lost his voice by a continual singing of holy hymns and anthems: the next shall confess how he fell into a lethargy by a strict, reserved, and sedentary life: and the last shall intimate that he has forgot to speak, by having always kept silence, in obedience to the injunction of taking heed lest he should have offended with his tongue. But amidst all their fine excuses our Saviour shall interrupt them with this answer, Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, verily I know you not; I left you but one precept of loving one another, which I do not hear any one plead he has faithfully discharged: I told you plainly in my gospel, without any parable, that my father's kingdom was

prepared not for such as should lay claim to it by austerities, prayers, or fastings, but for those who should render themselves worthy of it by the exercise of faith, and the offices of charity: I cannot own such as depend on their own merits without a reliance on my mercy: as many of you therefore as trust to the broken reeds of your own deserts may even go search out a new heaven, for you shall never enter into that, which from the foundations of the world was prepared only for such as are true of heart. When these monks and friars shall meet with such a shameful repulse, and see that ploughmen and mechanics are admitted into that kingdom, from which they themselves are shut out, how sneakingly will they look, and how pitifully slink away?

...but

these stage-divines, not less ungrateful disowners of their obligations to folly, than they are impudent pretenders to the profession of piety, I willingly take my leave of, and pass now to kings, princes, and courtiers, who paying me a devout acknowledgment, may justly challenge back the respect of being mentioned and taken notice of by me. And first, had they wisdom enough to make a true judgment of things, they would find their own condition to be more despicable and slavish than that of the most menial subjects. For certainly none can esteem perjury or parricide a cheap purchase for a crown, if he does but seriously reflect on that weight of cares a princely diadem is loaded with. He that sits at the helm of government acts in a public capacity, and so must sacrifice all private interest to the attainment of the common good; he must himself be conformable to those laws his prerogative exacts, or else he can expect no obedience paid them from others; he must have a strict eye over all his inferior magistrates and officers, or otherwise it is to be doubted they will but carelessly discharge their respective duties. Every king, within his own territories, is placed for a shining example as it were in the firmament of

his widespread dominions, to prove either a glorious star of benign influence, if his behaviour be remarkably just and innocent, or else to impend as a threatening comet, if his blazing power be pestilent and hurtful. Subjects move in a darker sphere, and so their wanderings and failings are less discernible; whereas princes, being fixed in a more exalted orb, and encompassed with a brighter dazzling lustre, their spots are more apparently visible, and their eclipses, or other defects, influential on all that is inferior to them. Kings are baited with so many temptations and opportunities to vice and immorality, such as are high feeding, liberty, flattery, luxury, and the like, that they must stand perpetually on their guard, to fence off those assaults that are always ready to be made upon them. In fine, abating from treachery, hatred, dangers, fear, and a thousand other mischiefs impending on crowned heads, however uncontrollable they are this side heaven, yet after their reign here they must appear before a supremer judge, and there be called to an exact account for the discharge of that great stewardship which was committed to their trust. If princes did but seriously consider (and consider they would if they were but wise) these many hardships of a royal life, they would be so perplexed in the result of their thoughts thereupon, as scarce to eat or sleep in quiet. But now by my assistance they leave all these cares to the gods, and mind only their own ease and pleasure, and therefore will admit none to their attendance but who will divert them with sport and mirth, lest they should otherwise be seized and damped with the surprisal of sober thoughts. They think they have sufficiently acquitted themselves in the duty of governing, if they do but ride constantly a-hunting, breed up good race-horses, sell places and offices to those of the courtiers that will give most for them, and find out new ways for invading of their people's property, and hooking in a larger revenue to their own exchequer; for the procurement whereof they will always have some pretended claim and title; that though it be manifest extortion, yet it may bear the show

of law and justice: and then they daub over their oppression with a submissive, flattering carriage, that they may so far insinuate into the affections of the vulgar, as they may not tumult nor rebel, but patiently crouch to burdens and exactions. Let us feign now a person ignorant of the laws and constitutions of that realm he lives in, an enemy to the public good, studious only for his own private interest, addicted wholly to pleasures and delights, a hater of learning, a professed enemy to liberty and truth, careless and unmindful of the common concerns,



taking all the measures of justice and honesty from the false beam of self-interest and advantage, after this hang about his neck a gold chain, for an intimation that he ought to have all virtues

linked together; then set a crown of gold and jewels on his head, for a token that he ought to overtop and outshine others in all commendable qualifications; next, put into his hand a royal sceptre for a symbol of justice and integrity; lastly, clothe him with purple, for an hieroglyphic of a tender love and affection to the commonwealth. If a prince should look upon this portraiture, and draw a comparison between that and himself, certainly he would be ashamed of his ensigns of majesty, and be afraid of being laughed out of them.

Next to kings themselves may come their courtiers, who, though they are for the most part a base, servile, cringing, low-spirited sort of flatterers, yet they look big, swell great, and have high thoughts of their honour and grandeur. Their confidence appears upon all occasions; yet in this one thing they are very modest, in that they are content to adorn their bodies with gold, jewels, purple, and other glorious ensigns of virtue and wisdom, but leave their minds empty and unfraught; and taking the resemblance of goodness to themselves, turn over the truth and reality of it to others. They think themselves mighty happy in

that they can call the king master, and be allowed the familiarity of talking with him; that they can volubly rehearse his several titles of august highness, supereminent excellence, and most serene majesty, that they can boldly usher in any discourse, and that they have the complete knack of insinuation and flattery; for these are the arts that make them truly genteel and noble. If you make a stricter enquiry after their other endowments, you shall find them mere sots and dolts. They will sleep generally till noon, and then their mercenary chaplains shall come to their bed-side, and entertain them perhaps with a short morning prayer. As soon as they are drest they must go to breakfast, and when that is done, immediately to dinner. When the cloth is taken away, then to cards, dice, tables, or some such like diversion. After this they must have one or two afternoon banquets, and so in the evening to supper. When they have supped then begins the game of drinking; the bottles are marshalled, the glasses ranked, and round go the healths and bumpers till they are carried to bed. And this is the constant method of passing away their hours, days, months, years, and ages. I have many times took great satisfaction by standing in the court, and seeing how the tawdry butterflies vie upon one another: the ladies shall measure the height of their humours by the length of their trails, which must be borne up by a page behind. The nobles justle one another to get nearest to the king's elbow, and wear gold chains of that weight and bigness as require no less strength to carry than they do wealth to purchase.

And now for some reflections upon popes, cardinals, and bishops, who in pomp and

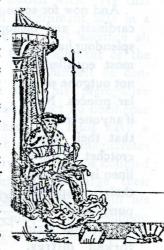
splendour have almost equalled if not outgone secular princes. Now if any one consider that their upper crotchet of white linen is to signify their unspotted purity and innocence; that their forked mitres,



with both divisions tied together by the same knot, are to denote the joint knowledge of the Old and New Testament; that their always wearing gloves, represents their keeping their hands clean and undefiled from lucre and covetousness; that the pastoral staff implies the care of a flock committed to their charge; that the cross carried before them expresses their victory over all carnal affections; he (I say) that considers this, and much more of the like nature, must needs conclude they are entrusted with a very weighty and difficult office. But alas, they think it sufficient if they can but feed themselves; and as to their flock, either commend them to the care of Christ himself or commit them to the guidance of some inferior vicars and curates; not so much as remembering what their name of bishop imports, to wit, labour, pains, and diligence, but by base simoniacal contracts, they are in a profane sense Episcopi, i.e., overseers of their own gain and income.

So cardinals, in like manner, if they did but consider that the church supposes them to succeed in the room of the apostles; that therefore they must behave themselves as their predecessors, and so not be lords, but dispensers of spiritual gifts, of the disposal whereof they must one day render a strict account: or if they would but reflect a little on their habit, and thus reason with themselves, what means this white upper garment, but only an unspotted innocence? What signifies my inner purple, but only an

ardent love and zeal to God? What imports my outermost pall, so wide and long that it covers the whole mule when I ride, nay, should be big enough to cover a camel, but only a diffusive charity, that should spread itself for a succour and protection to all, by teaching, exhorting, comforting, reprov-



ing, admonishing, composing of differences, courageously withstanding wicked princes, and sacrificing for the safety of our flock our life and blood, as well as our wealth and riches; though indeed riches ought not to be at all possessed by such as boast themselves successors to the apostles, who were poor, needy, and destitute: I say, if they did but lay these considerations to heart they would never be so ambitious of being created to this honour, they would willingly resign it when conferred upon them, or at least would be as industrious, watchful and laborious, as the primitive apostles were.

Now as to the popes of Rome, who pretend themselves Christ's vicars, if they



would but imitate his exemplary life, in the being employed in an unintermitted course of preaching; in the being attended with poverty, nakedness, hunger, and a contempt of this world; if they did but consider the

import of the word pope, which signifies a father; or if they did but practise their surname of most holy, what order or degrees of men would be in a worse condition? There would be then no such vigorous making of parties, and buying of votes, in the conclave upon a vacancy of that see: and those who by bribery, or other indirect courses, should get themselves elected, would never secure their sitting firm in the chair by pistol, poison, force, and violence. How much of their pleasure would be abated if they were but endowed with one dram of wisdom? Wisdom, did I say? Nay, with one grain of that salt which our Saviour bid them not lose the savour of. All their riches, all their honour, their jurisdictions, their Peter's patrimony, their offices, their dispensations, their licences, their indulgences, their long train and attendants (see

in how short a compass I have abbreviated all their marketing of religion); in a word, all their perquisites would be forfeited and lost; and in their room would succeed watchings, fastings, tears, prayers, sermons, hard studies, repenting sighs, and a thousand such like severe penalties: nay, what's yet more deplorable, it would then follow, that all their clerks, amanuenses, notaries, advocates, proctors, secretaries, the offices of grooms, ostlers, serving-men, pimps (and somewhat else, which for modesty's sake I shall not mention); in short, all these troops of attendants, which depend on his holiness, would all lose their several employments. This indeed would be hard, but what yet remains would be more dreadful: the very Head of the Church, the spiritual prince, would then be brought from all his splendour to the poor equipage of a scrip and staff. But all this is upon the supposition only that they understood what circumstances they are placed in; whereas now, by a wholesome neglect of thinking, they live as well as heart can wish: whatever of toil and drudgery belongs to their office that they assign over to St. Peter, or St. Paul, who have time enough to mind it; but if there be any thing of pleasure and grandeur, that they assume to themselves, as being hereunto called: so that by my influence no sort of people live more to their own ease and content. They think to satisfy that Master they pretend to serve, our Lord and Saviour, with their great state and magnificence, with the ceremonies of instalments. with the titles of reverence and holiness, and with exercising their episcopal function only in blessing and cursing. The working of miracles is old and out-dated; to teach the people is too laborious; to interpret scripture is to invade the prerogative of the schoolmen; to pray is too idle; to shed tears is cowardly and unmanly; to fast is too mean and sordid; to be easy and familiar is beneath the grandeur of him who, without being sued to and entreated, will scarce give princes the honour of kissing his toe; finally, to die for religion is too self-denying; and to be crucified as their Lord of Life, is base and ignominious. Their only weapons ought

to be those of the Spirit; and of these indeed they are mighty liberal, as of their interdicts, their suspensions, their denunciations, their aggravations, their greater and lesser excommunications, and their roaring bulls, that fright whomever they are thundered against; and these most holy fathers never issue them out more frequently than against those who, at the instigation of the devil, and not having the fear of God before their eyes, do feloniously and maliciously attempt to lessen and impair St. Peter's patrimony: and though that apostle tells our Saviour in the gospel, in the name of all the other disciples, we have left all, and followed you, yet they challenge as his inheritance, fields, towns, treasures, and large



dominions; for the defending whereof, inflamed with a holy zeal, they fight with fire and sword, to the great loss and effusion of Christian blood, thinking they are apostolical maintainers of Christ's spouse, the church,

when they have murdered all such as they call her enemies; though indeed the church has no enemies more bloody and tyrannical than such impious popes, who give dispensations for the not preaching of Christ; evacuate the main effect and design of our redemption by their pecuniary bribes and sales; adulterate the gospel by their forced interpretations, and undermining traditions; and lastly, by their lusts and wickedness grieve the Holy Spirit, and make their Saviour's wounds to bleed anew.

But I doubt I have forgot myself, and have already transgressed the bounds of modesty. However, if I have said anything too confidently or impertinently, be pleased to consider that it was spoke by Folly, and that under the person of a woman; yet at the same time remember the applicableness

of that Greek proverb:-

A fool oft speaks a seasonable truth:

Unless you will be so witty as to object that this makes no apology for me, because the word $\partial v \partial \rho$ signifies a man, not a woman, and consequently my sex debars me from the benefit of that observation.

I perceive now, that, for a concluding treat, you expect a formal epilogue, and the summing up of all in a brief recitation; but I will assure you, you are grossly mistaken if you suppose that after such a hodge-podge medley of speech I should be able to recollect anything I have delivered. Beside, as it is an old proverb, μισῶ μνάμοναν συμπόταν: I hate a pot-companion with a good memory; so indeed I may as truly say, μισῶ μνὰμοναν ἀκροατήν: I hate a hearer that will carry any thing away with him. Wherefore, in short:—

Farewell! live long, drink deep, be jolly, Ye most illustrious votaries of folly!

A TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

MARTIN LUTHER

MANY have thought Christian faith to be an easy thing, and not a few have given it a place among the virtues. This they do because they have had no experience of it, and have never tasted what great virtue there is in faith. For it is impossible that any one should write well of it or well understand what is correctly written of it, unless he has at some time tasted the courage faith gives a man when trials oppress him. But he who has had even a faint taste of it can never write, speak, meditate or hear enough concerning it. For it is a living fountain springing up into life ever-John 4:14 lasting, as Christ calls it in John iv. For my part, although

I have no wealth of faith to boast of and know how scant my store is, yet I hope that, driven about by great and various temptations, I have attained to a little faith, and that I can speak of it, if not more elegantly, certainly more to the point, than those literalists and all too subtile disputants have hitherto done, who have not even understood what they have written.

Liberty

I Cor.

That I may make the way easier for the unlearned-for and Bondage only such do I serve—I set down first these two propositions concerning the liberty and the bondage of the spirit:

A Christian man is a perfectly free

lord of all, subject to none.

A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful

servant of all, subject to all.

Although these two theses seem to contradict each other, yet, if they should be found to fit together they would serve our purpose beautifully. For they are both Paul's own, who says, in I Cor. ix. "Whereas I was free, I Rom. 13:8 made myself the servant of all," and, Rom. xiii, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another." Now love by its very nature is ready to serve and to be subject to him who is loved. So Christ, although Lord of all, was made of a woman, made under the law, and hence was at the same

Gal. 4:4 Phil. 2:66. time free and a servant, at the same time in the form of

God and in the form of a servant.

Commands reveal Weakness

we must point out that all the Scriptures of God are divided into two parts—commands and promises. The commands indeed teach things that are good, but the things taught are not done as soon as taught; for the commands show us what we ought to do, but do not give us the power to do it; they are intended to teach a man to know himself, that through them he may recognize his inability to do good and may despair of his powers. That is why they are called and Ex. 20:17 are the Old Testament. For example: "Thou shalt not

covet" is a command which convicts us all of being sinners, since no one is able to avoid coveting, however much he may struggle against it. Therefore, in order not to covet, and to fulfil the command, a man is compelled to despair of himself, and to seek elsewhere and from some one else the help which he does not find in himself, as is said in Hosea,

Hos. 1339 "Destruction is thy own, O Israel: thy help is only in Me." And as we fare with this one command, so we fare with all; for it is equally impossible for us to keep any one of them.

But when a man through the commands has learned to know his weakness, and has become troubled as to how he Matt. may satisfy the law, since the law must be fulfilled so that not a jot or tittle shall perish, otherwise man will be condemned without hope; then, being truly humbled and reduced to nothing in his own eyes, he finds in himself no means of justification and salvation. Here the second part of the Scriptures stands ready—the promises of God, which Promises declare the glory of God and say, "If you wish to fulfil the Strength law, and not to covet, as the law demands, come, believe in Christ, in Whom grace, righteousness, peace, liberty and all things are promised you; if you believe you shall have all, if you believe not you shall lack all." For what is impossible for you in all the works of the law, many as they are, but all useless, you will accomplish in a short and easy way through faith. For God our Father has made all things depend on faith, so that whoever has faith, shall have all, and whoever has it not, shall have nothing. "For He has Rom. concluded all under unbelief, that He might have mercy on all," Romans xi. Thus the promises of God give what the commands of God ask, and fulfil what the law prescribes, that all things may be of God alone, both the commands and. the fulfilling of the commands. He alone commands, He also alone fulfils. Therefore the promises of God belong to the New Testament, nay, they are the New Testament.

And since these promises of God are holy, true, righteous, free and peaceful words, full of all goodness, it comes to pass that the soul which clings to them with a firm faith, is so united with them, nay, altogether taken up into them, that it not only shares in all their power, but is saturated and made drunken with it. For if a touch of Christ healed, how much more will this most tender touch in the spirit, rather this absorbing of the Word, communicate to the soul all things that are the Word's. This, then, is how through faith alone without works the soul is justified by the Word of God, sanctified, made true and peaceful and free, filled with every blessing and made truly a child of God, as John i says, "To them gave He power to become the sons of God, John 1:12 even to them that believe on His Name."

From what has been said it is easily seen whence faith Faith has such great power, and why no good work nor all good works together can equal it: no work can cling to the Word of God nor be in the soul; in the soul faith alone and the Word have sway. As the Word is, so it makes the soul. as heated iron glows like fire because of the union of fire with it. It is clear then that a Christian man has in his faith all that he needs, and needs no works to justify him. And if he has no need of works, neither does he need the law; and if he has no need of the law, surely he is free from the law, and it is true, "the law is not made for a righteous man." ITim. 1:9 And this is that Christian liberty, even our faith, which does not indeed cause us to live in idleness or in wickedness, but makes the law and works unnecessary for any man's righteousness and salvation.

The third incomparable benefit of faith is this, that it Faith unites the soul with Christ as a bride is united with her Unites bridegroom. And by this mystery, as the Apostle teaches, Christ Christ and the soul become one flesh. And if they are one Eph. flesh and there is between them a true marriage, nay, by far 5:31 f.

the most perfect of all marriages, since human marriages are but frail types of this one true marriage, it follows that all they have they have in common, the good as well as the evil, so that the believing soul can boast of and glorv in whatever Christ has as if it were its own, and whatever the soul has Christ claims as His own. Let us compare these and we shall see things that cannot be estimated. Christ is full of grace, life and salvation; the soul is full of sins, death and condemnation. Now let faith come between them, and it shall come to pass that sins, death and hell are Christ's, and grace, life and salvation are the soul's. For it behooves Him, if He is a bridegroom, to take upon Himself the things which are His bride's, and to bestow upon her the things that are His. For if He gives her His body and His very self, how shall He not give her all that is His? And if He takes the body of the bride, how shall He not take all that is hers?

Lo! here we have a pleasant vision not only of communion, but of a blessed strife and victory and salvation and redemption. For Christ is God and man in one person, Who has neither sinned nor died, and is not condemned, and Who cannot sin, die or be condemned; His righteousness, life and salvation are unconquerable, eternal, omnipotent; and He by the wedding-ring of faith shares in the sins, death and pains of hell which are His bride's, nay, makes them His own, and acts as if they were His own, and as if He Himself had sinned; He suffered, died and descended into hell that He might overcome them all. Now since it was such a one who did all this, and death and hell could not swallow Him up, they were of necessity swallowed up of Him in a mighty duel. For His righteousness is greater than the sins of all men, His life stronger than death, His salvation more invincible than hell. Thus the believing soul by the pledge of its faith is free in Christ, its Bridegroom, from all sins, secure against death and against hell, and is endowed with the eternal righteousness, life and salvation of Eph. 5:27 Christ, its Bridegroom. So He presents to Himself a glorious bride, without spot or wrinkle, cleansing her with the washing in the Word of life, that is, by faith in the Word of life, of righteousness, and of salvation. Thus He marries her to Himself in faith, in loving kindness, and in mercies, in righteousness and in judgment, as Hosea ii

Plos. 2:19 f.

Faith the

From this you see once more why so much is ascribed to faith, that it alone may fulfil the law and justify without works. You see that the First Commandment, which says, "Thou shalt worship one God," is fulfilled by faith alone. For though you were nothing but good works from the sole of your foot to the crown of your head, yet you would not be righteous, nor worship God, nor fulfil the First Commandment, since God cannot be worshiped unless you ascribe to Him the glory of truthfulness and of all goodness, which is due Him. And this cannot be done by works, but only by the faith of the heart. For not by the doing of works, but by believing, do we glorify God and acknowledge that He is truthful. Therefore, faith alone is the righteousness of a Christian man and the fulfilling of all the commandments. For he who fulfils the First, has no difficulty in fulfilling all the rest.

Let this suffice concerning the inward man, his liberty and its sourge, the righteousness of faith,2 which needs neither laws nor good works, nay, is rather injured by them, if a man trusts that he is justified by them.

Now let us turn to the second part, to the outward The man. Here we shall answer all those who, misled by the Outward word "faith" and by all that has been said now saw "If faith word "faith" and by all that has been said, now say: "If faith does all things and is alone sufficient unto righteousness, why then are good works commanded? We will take our ease and do no works, and be content with faith." I answer, Not so, ye wicked men, not so. That would indeed be proper, if we were wholly inward and perfectly spiritual men; but such we shall be only at the last day, the day of the resurrection of the dead. As long as we live in the flesh we only begin and make some progress in that which shall be perfected in the future life. For this reason the Apostle, in Romans viii, calls all that we attain in this life "the first fruits" of the spirit, because, forsooth, we shall receive the

Rom.

Needs

This is the place for that which was said above, that a Christian man is the servant of all and made subject to all. For in so far as he is free he does no works, but in so far as he is a servant he does all manner of works. How this

greater portion, even the fulness of the spirit, in the future.

is possible, we shall see.

Although, as I have said, a man is abundantly justified by faith inwardly, in his spirit, and so has all that he ought to have, except in so far as this faith and riches must grow from day to day even unto the future life: yet he remains in this mortal life on earth, and in this life he must needs govern his own body and have dealings with men. Here the works begin; here a man cannot take his ease; here he must, indeed, take care to discipline his body by fastings, watchings, labors and other reasonable discipline, and to make it subject to the spirit so that it will obey and conform to the inward man and to faith, and not revolt against faith and hinder the inward man, as it is the body's nature to do if it be not held in check. For the inward man, who by faith is created in the likeness of God, is both joyful and happy because of Christ in Whom so many benefits are conferred upon him, and therefore it is his one occupation to serve God joyfully and for naught, in love that is not constrained.

In doing these works, however, we must not think that Works a man is justified before God by them: for that erroneous do not Justify opinion faith, which alone is righteousness before God, cannot endure; but we must think that these works reduce the body to subjection and purify it of its evil lusts, and our whole purpose is to be directed only toward the driving out of lusts. For since by faith the soul is cleansed and made a lover of God, it desires that all things, and especially its own body, shall be as pure as itself, so that all things may join with it in loving and praising God. Hence a man cannot be idle, because the need of his body drives him and he is compelled to do many good works to reduce it to subjection. Nevertheless the works themselves do not justify him before God, but he does the works out of spontaneous love in obedience to God, and considers nothing except the approval of God, Whom he would in all things most scrupulously obey.

IX - 1 - 4

These two sayings, therefore, are true: "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works; evil works do not make a wicked man, but a wicked man does evil works"; so that it is always necessary that the "substance" or person itself be good before there can be any good works, and that good works follow and proceed from the good person, as Christ also says, "A corrupt tree does not bring forth good fruit, a good tree does not bring forth evil fruit." It is clear that the fruits do not bear the tree, nor does the tree grow on the fruits, but, on the contrary, the trees bear the fruits and the fruits grow on the trees. As it is necessary, therefore, that the trees must exist before their fruits, and the fruits do not make trees either good or corrupt, but rather as the trees are so are the fruits they bear; so the person of a man must needs first be good or wicked before he does a good or a wicked work, and his works do not make him good or wicked, but he himself makes his works either good or wicked.

Works of Love

Matt. 7:18

Let this suffice concerning works in general, and at the same time concerning the works which a Christian does for his own body. Lastly, we will also speak of the things which he does toward his neighbor. A man does not live for himself alone in this mortal body, so as to work for it alone, but he lives also for all men on earth, nay, rather, he lives only for others and not for himself. And to this end he brings his body into subjection, that he may the more sincerely and freely serve others, as Paul says in Romans xiv, "No one lives to himself, and no man dies to himself. For he that liveth, liveth unto the Lord, and he that dieth, dieth unto the Lord." Therefore, it is impossible that he should ever in this life be idle and without works toward his neighbors. For of necessity he will speak, deal with and Phil. 2:7 converse with men, as Christ also, being made in the likeness Bar. 3:38 of men, was found in form as a man, and conversed with

Do not SAVE

men, as Baruch iii says. But none of these things does a man need for his righteousness and salvation. Therefore, in all his works he should be guided by this thought and look to this one thing alone, that he may serve and benefit others in all that he does, having regard to nothing except the need and the advantage of his neighbor. Thus, the Apostle commands us to work with our hands that we may give to him who is in need, although he might have said that we should work to Eph. 4:28 support ourselves; he says, however, "that he may have to give to him that needeth." And this is what makes it a Christian work to care for the body, that through its health and comfort we may be able to work, to acquire and to lay by funds with which to aid those who are in need, that in this way the strong member may serve the weaker, and we may Gal. 6:2 be sons of God, each caring for and working for the other,

bearing one another's burdens, and so fulfilling the law of Gal. 5:6 Christ. Lo, this is a truly Christian life, here faith is truly Grow out effectual through love; that is, it issues in works of the freest service cheerfully and lovingly done, with which a man willingly serves another without hope of reward, and for himself is satisfied with the fulness and wealth of his faith.

Faith

Lo, thus from faith flow forth love and joy in the Lord. and from love a joyful, willing and free mind that serves one's neighbor willingly and takes no account of gratitude or ingratitude, of praise or blame, of gain or loss. For a man does not serve that he may put men under obligations. he does not distinguish between friends and enemies, nor does he anticipate their thankfulness or unthankfulness: but most freely and most willingly he spends himself and all that he has, whether he waste all on the thankless or whether he gain a reward. For as his Father does, dis-Matt. tributing all things to all men richly and freely, causing

His sun to rise upon the good and upon the evil, so also the son does all things and suffers all things with that freely bestowing joy which is his delight when through Christ he sees it in God, the dispenser of such great benefits.

Conclusion

We conclude, therefore, that a Christian man lives not in himself, but in Christ and in his neighbor. Otherwise he is not a Christian. He lives in Christ through faith, in his neighbor through love; by faith he is caught up beyond himself into God, by love he sinks down beneath himself into his neighbor; yet he always remains in God and in His love, as

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION

CONCERNING

THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN ESTATE

1520

To

His Most Illustrious and Mighty Imperial Majesty,

and to

the Christian Nobility of the German Nation,

Doctor Martin Luther.

Grace and power from God, Most Illustrious Majesty, and most gracious and dear Lords.

It is not out of sheer frowardness or rashness that I, a single, poor man, have undertaken to address your worships. The distress and oppression which weigh down all the Estates of Christendom, especially of Germany, and which move not me alone, but everyone to cry out time and again, and to pray for help, have forced me even now to cry aloud that God may inspire some one with His Spirit to lend this suffering nation a helping hand. Ofttimes the councils have made some pretence at reformation, but their attempts have been cleverly hindered by the guile of certain men and things have gone from bad to worse. I now intend, by the help of God, to throw some light upon the wiles and wickedness of these men, to the end that when they are known, they may not henceforth be so hurtful and so great a hindrance. God has given us a noble youth to be our head and thereby has awakened great hopes of good in many hearts; wherefore it is meet that we should do our part and profitably use this time of grace.

In this whole matter the first and most important thing is that we take earnest heed not to enter on it trusting in great might or in human reason, even though all power in the world were ours; for God cannot and will not suffer a good work to be begun with trust in our own power or reason. Such works He crushes ruthlessly to earth, as it is written in the xxxiii. Psalm, "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength." On this account, I fear, it came to pass of eld that the good Emperors Frederick I and II, and many other German emperors were shamefully oppressed and trodden under foot by the popes, although all the world feared them. It may be that they relied on their own might more than on God, and therefore they had to fall. In our own times, too, what was it that raised the bloodthirsty Julius II to such heights? Nothing clse, I fear, except that France, the Germans and Venice relied

Ps. 33:16

Judges upon themselves. The children of Benjamin slew 42,000 20:21 Israelites because the latter relied on their own strength.

That it may not so fare with us and our noble young Emperor Charles, we must be sure that in this matter we are dealing not with men, but with the princes of hell, who can fill the world with war and bloodshed, but whom war and bloodshed do not overcome. We must go at this work despairing of physical force and humbly trusting God; we must seek God's help with earnest prayer, and fix our minds on nothing else than the misery and distress of suffering Christendom, without regard to the deserts of evil men. Otherwise we may start the game with great prospect of success, but when we get well into it the evil spirits will stir up such confusion that the whole world will swim in blood, and yet nothing will come of it. Let us act wisely, therefore, and in the fear of God. The more force we use, the greater our disaster if we do not act humbly and in God's fear. The popes and the Romans have hitherto been able, by the devil's help, to set kings at odds with one another, and they may well be able to do it again, if we proceed by our own might and cunning, without God's help.

I. THE THREE WALLS OF THE ROMANISTS

The Three Walls Described

The Romanists, with great adroitness, have built three walls about them, behind which they have hitherto defended themselves in such wise that no one has been able to reform them; and this has been the cause of terrible corruption throughout all Christendom.

First, when pressed by the temporal power, they have made decrees and said that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but, on the other hand, that the spiritual is above the temporal power. Second, when the attempt is made to reprove them out of the Scriptures, they raise the objection that the interpretation of the Scriptures belongs to no one except the pope. Third, if threatened with a council, they answer with the fable that no one can call a council but the pope.

In this wise they have slyly stolen from us our three rods, that they may go unpunished, and have ensconced themselves within the safe stronghold of these three walls, that they may practise all the knavery and wickedness which we now see. Even when they have been compelled to hold a council they have weakened its power in advance by previously binding the princes with an oath to let them remain as they are. Moreover, they have given the pope full authority over all the decisions of the council, so that it is all one whether there are many councils or no councils, except that they deceive us with puppet-shows and shambattles. So terribly do they fear for their skin in a really free council! And they have intimidated kings and princes by making them believe it would be an offence against God not to obey them in all these knavish, crafty deceptions.

Josh. 6:20

Now God help us, and give us one of the trumpets with which the walls of Jericho were overthrown, that we may blow down these walls of straw and paper, and may set free the Christian rods for the punishment of sin, bringing

to light the craft and deceit of the devil, to the end that through punishment we may reform ourselves, and once more attain God's favor.

Against the first wall we will direct our first attack.

It is pure invention that pope, bishops, priests and monks are to be called the "spiritual estate"; princes, lords, artisans, and farmers the "temporal estate." That is indeed a fine bit of lying and hypocrisy. Yet no one should be frightened by it; and for this reason—viz., that all Christians are truly of the "spiritual estate," and there is among them no difference at all but that of office, as Paul says in I Corinthians xii, We are all one body, yet every member has its own work, whereby it serves every other, all because we have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all alike Christians; for baptism, Gospel and faith alone make us "spiritual" and a Christian people.

But that a pope or a bishop anoints, confers tonsures, ordains, consecrates, or prescribes dress unlike that of the laity, —this may make hypocrites and graven images, but it never makes a Christian or "spiritual" man. Through baptism all of us are consecrated to the priesthood, as St. Peter says in I Peter ii, "Ye are a royal priesthood, a priestly kingdom," and the book of Revelation says, "Thou hast made us by Thy blood to be priests and kings." For if we had no higher consecration than pope or bishop gives, the consecration by pope or bishop would never make a priest, nor might anyone either say mass or preach a sermon or give absolution. Therefore when the bishop consecrates it is the same thing as if he, in the place and stead of the whole congregation, all of whom have like power, were to take one out of their number and charge him to use this power for the others; just as though ten brothers, all king's sons and equal heirs, were to choose one of themselves to rule the inheritance for them all,—they would all be kings and equal in power, though one of them would be charged with the duty of ruling.

To make it still clearer. If a little group of pious Christian laymen were taken captive and set down in a wilderness, and had among them no priest consecrated by a bishop, and if there in the wilderness they were to agree in choosing one of themselves, married or unmarried, and were to charge him with the office of baptising, saying mass, absolving and preaching, such a man would be as truly a priest as though all bishops and popes had consecrated him. That is why in cases of necessity any one can baptise and give absolution, which would be impossible unless we were all priests. This great grace and power of baptism and of the Christian Estate they have well-nigh destroyed and caused us to forget through the canon law. It was in the manner aforesaid that Christians in olden days chose from their number bishops and priests, who were afterwards confirmed by other bishops, without all the show which now obtains. It was thus that Sts. Augustine, Ambrose and Cyprian became bishops.

Since, then, the temporal authorities are baptised with the same baptism and have the same faith and Gospel as The First Wall—the Spiritual Estate above the Temporal

1 Cor. 12:12 ff.

The Priesthood of Believers

1 Pet. 2:9

Rev. 5:10

The Temporal Rulers,

we, we must grant that they are priests and bishops, and count their office one which has a proper and a useful place in the Christian community. For whoever comes out of the water of baptism can boast that he is already consecrated priest, bishop and pope, though it is not seemly that every one should exercise the office. Nay, just because we are all in like manner priests, no one must put himself forward and undertake, without our consent and election, to do what is in the power of all of us. For what is common to all, no one dare take upon himself without the will and the command of the community; and should it happen that one chosen for such an office were deposed for malfeasance, he would then be just what he was before he held office. Therefore a priest in Christendom is nothing else than an office-holder. While he is in office, he has precedence; when deposed, he is a peasant or a townsman like the rest. Beyond all doubt, then, a priest is no longer a priest when he is deposed. But now they have invented characteres indelebiles, and prate that a deposed priest is nevertheless something different from a mere layman. They even dream that a priest can never become a layman, or be anything else than a priest. All this is mere talk and man-made law.

The Priest an Officeholder

> From all this it follows that there is really no difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, "spirituals" and "temporals," as they call them, except that of office and work, but not of "estate"; for they are all of the same estate, -true priests, bishops and popes,-though they are not all engaged in the same work, just as all priests and monks have not the same work. This is the teaching of St. Paul in Romans xii and I Corinthians xii, and of St. Peter in I Peter ii, as I have said above, viz., that we are all one body of Christ, the Head, all members one of another. Christ has not two different bodies, one "temporal," the other "spiritual." He is one Head, and He has one body.

Rom. 12:4 ff. r Cor. 12:12 ff. 1 Pet. 2:9

> Therefore, just as those who are now called "spiritual" -priests, bishops or popes—are neither different from other Christians nor superior to them, except that they are charged with the administration of the Word of God and the sacraments, which is their work and office, so it is with the temporal authorities,—they bear sword and rod with which to punish the evil and to protect the good. A cobbler, a smith, a farmer, each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops, and every one by means of his own work or office must benefit and serve every other, that in this way many kinds of work may be done for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community, even as all the members of the body serve one another.

See, now, how Christian is the decree which says that the temporal power is not above the "spiritual estate" and may not punish it. That is as much as to say that the hand shall lend no aid when the eye is suffering. Is it not unnatural, not to say unchristian, that one member should not help another and prevent its destruction? Verily, the more honorable the member, the more should

Rom. 13:4

the others help. I say then, since the temporal power is ordained of God to punish evil-doers and to protect them Rom. 13 that do well, it should therefore be left free to perform its office without hindrance through the whole body of Christendom without respect of persons, whether it affect pope, bishops, priests, monks, nuns or anybody else. For if the mere fact that the temporal power has a smaller place among the Christian offices than has the office of preachers or confessors, or of the clergy, then the tailors, cobblers, masons, carpenters, pot-boys, tapsters, farmers, and all the secular tradesmen, should also be prevented from providing pope, bishops, priests and monks with shoes. clothing, houses, meat and drink, and from paying them tribute. But if these laymen are allowed to do their work unhindered, what do the Roman scribes mean by their laws, with which they withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of the temporal Christian power, only so that they may be free to do evil and to fulfil what St. Peter has said: "There shall be false teachers among you, and through 2 Pet covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you."

On this account the Christian temporal power should exercise its office without let or hindrance, regardless whether it be pope, bishop or priest whom it affects; whoever is guilty, let him suffer. All that the canon law has said to the contrary is sheer invention of Roman presumption. For thus saith St. Paul to all Christians: "Let every Rom. soul (I take that to mean the pope's soul also) be subject unto the higher powers; for they bear not the sword in vain, but are the ministers of God for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well." St. Peter also says: "Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of man , Pet. for the Lord's sake, for so is the will of God." He has also prophesied that such men shall come as will despise the temporal authorities, and this has come to pass through the canon law.

So then, I think this first paper-wall is overthrown, since the temporal power has become a member of the body of Christendom, and is of the "spiritual estate," though its work is of a temporal nature. Therefore its work should extend freely and without hindrance to all the members of the whole body; it should punish and use force whenever guilt deserves or necessity demands, without regard to pope, bishops and priests,-let them hurl threats and bans as much as they will.

This is why guilty priests, if they are surrendered to the temporal law, are first deprived of their priestly dignities, which would not be right unless the temporal sword had previously had authority over them by divine right.

Again, it is intolerable that in the canon law so much importance is attached to the freedom, life and property of the clergy, as though the laity were not also as spiritual and as good Christians as they, or did not belong to the Church. Why are your life and limb, your property and honor so free, and mine not? We are all alike Christians, and have baptism, faith, Spirit and all things alike. If a priest is killed, the land is laid under interdict, -why not

when a peasant is killed? Whence comes this great distinction between those who are equally Christians? Only from human laws and inventions!

Moreover, it can be no good spirit who has invented such exceptions and granted to sin such license and impunity. For if we are bound to strive against the works and words of the evil spirit, and to drive him out in whatever way we can, as Christ commands and His Apostles, ought we, then, to suffer it in silence when the pope or his satellites are bent on devilish words and works? Ought we for the sake of men to allow the suppression of divine commandments and truths which we have sworn in baptism to support with life and limb? Of a truth we should then have to answer for all the souls that would thereby be abandoned and led astray.

It must therefore have been the very prince of devils who said what is written in the canon law: "If the pope were so scandalously bad as to lead souls in crowds to the devil, yet he could not be deposed." On this accursed and devilish foundation they build at Rome, and think that we should let all the world go to the devil, rather than resist their knavery. If the fact that one man is set over others were sufficient reason why he should escape punishment, then no Christian could punish another, since Christ commands that every man shall esteem himself the lowliest and the least.

18:4 Luke 9:48

Matt.

Where sin is, there is no escape from punishment; as St. Gregory also writes that we are indeed all equal, but guilt puts us in subjection one to another. Now we see how they whom God and the Apostles have made subject to the temporal sword deal with Christendom, depriving it of its liberty by their own wickedness, without warrant of Scripture. It is to be feared that this is a game of Antichrist or a sign that he is close at hand.

The Second Wall—
The Pope the Interpreter of Scripture;
Papal Infallibility

The second wall is still more flimsy and worthless. They wish to be the only Masters of the Holy Scriptures, even though in all their lives they learn nothing from them. They assume for themselves sole authority, and with insolent juggling of words they would persuade us that the pope, whether he be a bad man or a good man, cannot err in matters of faith; and yet they cannot prove a single letter of it. Hence it comes that so many heretical and unchristian, nay, even unnatural ordinances have a place in the canon law, of which, however, there is no present need to speak. For since they think that the Holy Spirit never leaves them, be they never so unlearned and wicked, they make bold to decree whatever they will. And if it were true, where would be the need or use of the Holy Scriptures? Let us burn them, and be satisfied with the unlearned lords at Rome, who are possessed of the Holy Spirit,—although He can possess only pious hearts! Unless I had read it myself, I could not have believed that the devil would make such clumsy pretensions at Rome, and find a following.

But not to fight them with mere words, we will quote the Scriptures. St. Paul says in I Corinthians xiv:

1 Cor. 14:30

"If to anyone something better is revealed, though he be sitting and listening to another in God's Word, then the first, who is speaking, shall hold his peace and give place." What would be the use of this commandment, if we were only to believe him who does the talking or who has the highest seat? Christ also says in John vi, that all Christians shall be taught of God. Thus it may well happen that the pope and his followers are wicked men, and no true Christians, not taught of God, not having true understanding. On the other hand, an ordinary man may have true understanding; why then should we not follow him? Has not the pope erred many times? Who would help Christendom when the pope errs, if we were not to believe another, who had the Scriptures on his side, more

than the pope? Therefore it is a wickedly invented fable, and they cannot produce a letter in defence of it, that the interpretation of Scripture or the confirmation of its interpretation belongs to the pope alone. They have themselves usurped this power; and although they allege that this power was given to Peter when the keys were given to him, it is plain enough that the keys were not given to Peter alone, but to the whole community. Moreover, the keys were not ordained for doctrine or government, but only for the binding and loosing of sin, and whatever fur- John ther power of the keys they arrogate to themselves is mere invention. But Christ's word to Peter, "I have prayed Luke for thee that thy faith fail not," cannot be applied to the pope, since the majority of the popes have been without faith, as they must themselves confess. Besides, it is not only for Peter that Christ prayed, but also for all Apostles and Christians, as he says in John xvii: "Father, John I pray for those whom Thou hast given Me, and not for these only, but for all who believe on Me through their word." Is not this clear enough?

Only think of it yourself! They must confess that there are pious Christians among us, who have the true faith, Spirit, understanding, word and mind of Christ. Why, then, should we reject their word and understanding and follow the pope, who has neither faith nor Spirit? That would be to deny the whole faith and the Christian Church. Moreover, it is not the pope alone who is always in the right, if the article of the Creed is correct: "I believe one holy Christian Church"; otherwise the prayer must run: "I believe in the pope at Rome," and so reduce the Christian Church to one man,—which would be nothing else than a devilish and hellish error.

Besides, if we are all priests, as was said above, and all have one faith, one Gospel, one sacrament, why should we not also have the power to test and judge what is correct or incorrect in matters of faith? What becomes of the words of Paul in I Corinthians ii: "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man," and II Corinthians iv: "We have all the same Spirit of faith"? Why, then, should not we perceive what squares with faith and what does not, as well as does an unbelieving pope?

John 6:45

I Cor.

2 Cor. 4:13

All these and many other texts should make us bold and 2 Cor. free, and we should not allow the Spirit of liberty, as Paul calls Him, to be frightened off by the fabrications of the popes, but we ought to go boldly forward to test all that they do or leave undone, according to our interpretation of the Scriptures, which rests on faith, and compel them to follow not their own interpretation, but the one that is Gen. better. In the olden days Abraham had to listen to his Sarah, although she was in more complete subjection to him than we are to anyone on earth. Balaam's ass, also, Num. 22:28 was wiser than the prophet himself. If God then spoke by an ass against a prophet, why should He not be able even now to speak by a righteous man against the pope? In like manner St. Paul rebukes St. Peter as a man in error. Gal. Therefore it behooves every Christian to espouse the cause of the faith, to understand and defend it, and to rebuke all errors.

The Third Council

Matt.

The third wall falls of itself when the first two are down. For when the pope acts contrary to the Pope and Scriptures, it is our duty to stand by the Scriptures, to reprove him, and to constrain him, according to the word of Christ in Matthew xviii: "If thy brother sin against thee, go and tell it him between thee and him alone; if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two more; if he hear them not, tell it to the Church; if he hear not the Church, consider him a heathen." Here every member is commanded to care for every other. How much rather should we do this when the member that does evil is a ruling member, and by his evil-doing is the cause of much harm and offence to the rest! But if I am to accuse him before the Church, I must bring the Church together.

> They have no basis in Scripture for their contention that it belongs to the pope alone to call a council or confirm its actions; for this is based merely upon their own laws, which are valid only in so far as they are not injurious to Christendom or contrary to the laws of God. When the pope deserves punishment, such laws go out of force, since it is injurious to Christendom not to punish him by means of a council.

Acts 15:6

Thus we read in Acts xv. that it was not St. Peter who called the Apostolic Council, but the Apostles and elders. If, then, that right had belonged to St. Peter alone, the council would not have been a Christian council, but an heretical conciliabulum. Even the Council of Nicæa-the most famous of all-was neither called nor confirmed by the Bishop of Rome, but by the Emperor Constantine, and many other emperors after him did the like, yet these councils were the most Christian of all. But if the pope alone had the right to call councils, then all these councils must have been heretical. Moreover, if I consider the councils which the pope has created, I find that they have done nothing of special importance.

Therefore, when necessity demands, and the pope is an offence to Christendom, the first man who is able should, as a faithful member of the whole body, do what he can

to bring about a truly free council. No one can do this so well as the temporal authorities, especially since now they also are fellow-Christians, fellow-priests, "fellowspirituals," fellow-lords over all things, and whenever it is needful or profitable, they should give free course to the office and work in which God has put them above every man. Would it not be an unnatural thing, if a fire broke out in a city, and everybody were to stand by and let it burn on and on and consume everything that could burn, for the sole reason that nobody had the authority of the burgomaster, or because, perhaps, the fire broke out in the burgomaster's house? In such case is it not the duty of every citizen to arouse and call the rest? How much more should this be done in the spiritual city of Christ. if a fire of offence breaks out, whether in the papal government, or anywhere else? In the same way, if the enemy attacks a city, he who first rouses the others deserves honor and thanks; why then should he not deserve honor who makes known the presence of the enemy from hell, and awakens the Christians, and calls them together?

But all their boasts of an authority which dare not be opposed amount to nothing after all. No one in Christendom has authority to do injury, or to forbid the resisting of injury. There is no authority in the Church save for edification. Therefore, if the pope were to use his authority to prevent the calling of a free council, and thus became a hindrance to the edification of the Church, we should have regard neither for him nor for his authority; and if he were to hurl his bans and thunderbolts, we should despise his conduct as that of a madman, and relying on God, hurl back the ban on him, and coerce him as best we could. For this presumptuous authority of his is nothing; he has no such authority, and he is quickly overthrown by a text of Scripture; for Paul says to the Corinthians, "God has 2 Cor. given us authority not for the destruction, but for the edification of Christendom." Who is ready to overleap this text? It is only the power of the devil and of Antichrist which resists the things that serve for the edification of Christendom; it is, therefore, in no wise to be obeyed, but is to be opposed with life and goods and all our strength.

Even though a miracle were to be done in the pope's behalf against the temporal powers, or though someone were to be stricken with a plague-which they boast has sometimes happened—it should be considered only the work of the devil, because of the weakness of our faith in God. Christ Himself prophesied in Matthew xxiv: "There shall Matt. come in My Name false Christs and false prophets, and do signs and wonders, so as to deceive even the elect," and Paul says in II Thessalonians ii, that Antichrist shall, 2 Thess. through the power of Satan, be mighty in lying wonders.

Let us, therefore, hold fast to this: No Christian authority can do anything against Christ; as St. Paul says, "We can do 2 Cor. nothing against Christ, but for Christ." Whatever does aught against Christ is the power of Antichrist and of the devil, even though it were to rain and hail wonders and plagues. Wonders and plagues prove nothing, especially

2 Thess. in these last evil times, for which all the Scriptures prophesy false wonders. Therefore we must cling with firm faith to the words of God, and then the devil will cease from

> Thus I hope that the false, lying terror with which the Romans have this long time made our conscience timid and stupid, has been allayed. They, like all of us, are subject to the temporal sword; they have no power to interpret the Scriptures by mere authority, without learning; they have no authority to prevent a council or, in sheer wantonness, to pledge it, bind it, or take away its liberty; but if they do this, they are in truth the communion of Antichrist and of the devil, and have nothing at all of Christ except the name.

II. ABUSES TO BE DISCUSSED IN COUNCILS

We shall now look at the matters which should be discussed in the councils, and with which popes, cardinals,

bishops and all the scholars ought properly to be occupied day and night if they loved Christ and His Church. But if they neglect this duty, then let the laity and the temporal authorities see to it, regardless of bans and thunders; for an unjust ban is better than ten just releases, and an unjust release worse than ten just bans. Let us, therefore, Acts 5:29 awake, dear Germans, and fear God rather than men, that we may not share the fate of all the poor souls who are so lamentably lost through the shameful and devilish rule of the Romans, in which the devil daily takes a larger and larger place,—if, indeed, it were possible that such a hellish rule could grow worse, a thing I can neither conceive nor

Worldli-

1. It is a horrible and frightful thing that the ruler of the pope Christendom, who boasts himself vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter, lives in such worldly splendor that in this regard no king nor emperor can equal or approach him, and that he who claims the title of "most holy" and "most spiritual" is more worldly than the world itself. He wears a triple crown, when the greatest kings wear but a single crown; if that is like the poverty of Christ and of St. Peter, then it is a new kind of likeness. When a word is said against it, they cry out "Heresy!" but that is because they do not wish to hear how unchristian and ungodly such a practice is. I think, however, that if the pope were with tears to pray to God, he would have to lay aside these crowns, for our God can suffer no pride; and his office is nothing else than this,—daily to weep and pray for Christendom, and to set an example of all humility.

> However that may be, this splendor of his is an offence, and the pope is bound on his soul's salvation to lay it aside, because St. Paul says, "Abstain from all outward shows, which give offence," and in Rom. xii, "We should provide good, not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of all men." An ordinary bishop's crown would be enough for the pope; he should be greater than others in wisdom and holiness, and leave the crown of pride to Antichrist,

I Thess.

Rom.

as did his predecessors several centuries ago. They say he is a lord of the world; that is a lie; for Christ, Whose vicar and officer he boasts himself to be, said before Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world," and no vicar's rule can John go beyond his lord's. Moreover he is not the vicar of the glorified, but of the crucified Christ, as Paul says, "I was 1 Cor. 2:2 willing to know nothing among you save Christ, and Him only as the Crucified"; and in Philippians ii, "So think of Phil. 2:5 yourselves as ye see in Christ, Who emptied Himself and took upon Him the appearance of a servant"; and again in I Corinthians i, "We preach Christ, the Crucified." 1 Cor. Now they make the pope a vicar of the glorified Christ in heaven, and some of them have allowed the devil to rule them so completely that they have maintained that the pope is above the angels in heaven and has authority over them. These are indeed the very works of the very Antichrist.

2. What is the use in Christendom of those people who The Carare called the cardinals? I shall tell you. Italy and Germany have many rich monasteries, foundations, benefices, and livings. No better way has been discovered to bring all these to Rome than by creating cardinals and giving them the bishoprics, monasteries and prelacies, and so overthrowing the worship of God. For this reason we now see Italy a very wilderness-monasteries in ruins, bishoprics devoured, the prelacies and the revenues of all the churches drawn to Rome, cities decayed, land and people laid waste, because there is no more worship or preaching. Why? The cardinals must have the income. No Turk could have so devastated Italy and suppressed the worship of God.

Now that Italy is sucked dry, they come into Germany, and begin oh, so gently. But let us beware, or Germany will soon become like Italy. Already we have some cardinals; what the Romans seek by that the "drunken Germans" are not to understand until we have not a bishopric, a monastery, a living, a benefice, a heller or a pfennig left. Antichrist must take the treasures of the earth, as it was prophesied. So it goes on. They Dan. skim the cream off the bishoprics, monasteries and benefices, and because they do not yet venture to turn them all to shameful use, as they have done in Italy, they only practise for the present the sacred trickery of coupling together ten or twenty prelacies and taking a yearly portion from each of them, so as to make a tidy sum after all. The priory of Würzburg yields a thousand gulden; that of Bamberg, something; Mainz, Trier and the others, something more; and so from one to ten thousand gulden might be got together, in order that a cardinal might live at Rome like a rich king.

"After they are used to this, we will create thirty or forty cardinals in a day, and give to one Mount St. Michael at Bamberg and the bishopric of Wurzburg to boot, hang on to these a few rich livings, until churches and cities are waste, and after that we will say, 'We are Christ's vicars and shepherds of Christ's sheep; the mad, drunken Germans must put up with it."

11:39, 43

I advise, however, that the number of the cardinals be reduced, or that the pope be made to keep them at his own expense. Twelve of them would be more than enough, and each of them might have an income of a thousand gulden a year. How comes it that we Germans must put up with such robbery and such extortion of our property, at the hands of the pope? If the Kingdom of France has prevented it, why do we Germans let them make such fools and apes of us? It would all be more bearable if in this way they only stole our property; but they lay waste the churches and rob Christ's sheep of their pious shepherds, and destroy the worship and the Word of God. Even if there were not a single cardinal, the Church would not go under. As it is they do nothing for the good of Christendom; they only wrangle about the incomes of bishoprics and prelacies, and that any robber could do.

The

3. If ninety-nine parts of the papal court were done away Curia and only the hundredth part allowed to remain, it would still be large enough to give decisions in matters of faith. Now, however, there is such a swarm of vermin yonder in Rome, all boasting that they are "papal," that there was nothing like it in Babylon. There are more than three thousand papal secretaries alone; who will count the other offices, when they are so many that they scarcely can be counted? And they all lie in wait for the prebends and benefices of Germany as wolves lie in wait for the sheep. I believe that Germany now gives much more to the pope at Rome than it gave in former times to the emperors. Indeed, some estimate that every year more than three hundred thousand gulden find their way from Germany to Rome, quite uselessly and fruitlessly; we get nothing for it but scorn and contempt. And yet we wonder that princes, nobles, cities, endowments, land and people are impoverished! We should rather wonder that we still have anything to eat!

Since we here come to the heart of the matter, we will pause a little, and let it be seen that the Germans are not quite such gross fools as not to note or understand the sharp practices of the Romans. I do not now complain that at Rome God's command and Christian law are despised; for such is the state of Christendom, and particularly of Rome, that we may not now complain of such high. matters. Nor do I complain that natural or temporal law and reason count for nothing. The case is worse even than that. I complain that they do not keep their own self-devised canon law, though it is, to be sure, mere tyranny, avarice and temporal splendor, rather than law.

Let us see!...

III. PROPOSALS FOR REFORM*

Now, although I am too small a man to make propositions which might effect a reform in this dreadful state of things, nevertheless I may as well sing my fool's song to the end,

*[In twenty-seven numbered sections Luther lists concrete actions by which the princes should reform the Selections from the first four sections will give an indication of the force of the proposals.] and say, so far as I am able, what could and should be done by the temporal authorities or by a general council.

1. Every prince, nobleman and city should boldly forbid Abolition their subjects to pay the annates to Rome and should abolish nates them entirely; for the pope has broken the compact, and made the annates a robbery, to the injury and shame of the whole German nation. He gives them to his friends, sells them for large amounts of money, and uses them to endow offices. He has thus lost his right to them, and deserves punishment. It is therefore the duty of the temporal authorities to protect the innocent and prevent injustice, as Paul teaches in Romans xiii, and St. Peter in I Peter ii, Rom. 13:4 and even the canon law in Case 16, Question 7, de 1 Pet. Thus it has come about that men are saying filiis. to the pope and his followers, Tu ora, "Thou shalt pray"; to the emperor and his followers, Tu protege. "Thou shalt guard"; to the common man, Tu labora, "Thou shalt work." Not, however, as though everyone were not to pray, guard and work; for the man who is diligent in his calling is praying, guarding and working in all that he does, but everyone should have his own especial task.

2. Since the pope with his Roman practices—his com- Prohibmends, adjutories; reservations, gratiae expecta- ition of tivae, papal months, incorporations, unions, pal-Appointlia, rules in chancery, and such like knavery—usurps ments all the German foundations without authority and right, and gives and sells them to foreigners at Rome, who do nothing in German lands to earn them; and since he thereby robs the ordinaries of their rights, makes the bishops mere ciphers and figure-heads, and acts against his own canon law, against nature and against reason, until it has finally gone so far that out of sheer avarice the livings and benefices are sold to gross, ignorant asses and knaves at Rome, while pious and learned folk have no profit of their wisdom and merit, so that the poor people of the German nation have to go without good and learned prelates and thus go to ruin:

Therefore, the Christian nobility should set itself against the pope as against a common enemy and destroyer of Christendom, and should do this for the salvation of the poor souls who must go to ruin through his tyranny. They should ordain, order, and decree, that henceforth no benefice shall be drawn into the hands of Rome, and that hereafter no appointment shall be obtained there in any manner whatsoever, but that the benefices shall be brought out and kept out from under this tyrannical authority; and they should restore to the ordinaries the right and office of ordering these benefices in the German nation as best they may. And if a "courtesan" were to come from Rome, he should receive a strict command either to keep his distance, or else to jump into the Rhine or the nearest river, and take the Roman ban, with its seals and letters, to a cold bath. They would then take note at Rome that the Germans are not always mad and drunken, but that they have really become Christians, and intend to permit no longer the mockery and scorn of the holy name of Christ, under which all this knavery and destruction of souls goes on, but have

more regard to God and His glory than to the authority of men.

Restoration of Local Church Rights 3. An imperial law should be issued, that no bishop's cloak—and no confirmation of any dignity whatsoever shall henceforth be secured from Rome, but that the ordinance of the most holy and most famous Council of Nicaea shall be restored, in which it is decreed that a bishop shall be confirmed by the two nearest bishops or by the archbishop. If the pope will break the statutes of this and of all other councils, what is the use of holding councils; or who has given him the authority thus to despise and break the rules of councils?

Exclusion of Temporal Matters from the Papal Court

4. It should be decreed that no temporal matter shall be taken to Rome, but that all such cases shall be left to the temporal authorities, as the Romans themselves decree in that canon law of theirs, which they do not keep.

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