

MAN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND RELIGION – READINGS, VOLUME II



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READINGS, VOLUME II

SELECTED FOR USE WITH THE TWELFTH EDITION

OF THE SYLLABUS FOR

MAN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND RELIGION

SECOND EDITION 1980
(Revised 1982)

Edited by

Fred W. Neal

and

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READINGS, VOLUME II

MAN IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND RELIGION

PREFACE TO THE 1980 REVISION SECOND PRINTING 1982

The sheer bulk of source material has made necessary the expansion of our *Readings* to three volumes. Major additions to the source material will be found in Volume III yet to be published. Volume II covers the period from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the Rise of Modern Science.

There have been no major changes in content. Professor Tucker has, however, made revisions in his translation of selections from Dante's *Divine Comedy* and added explanatory notes to the text. Grateful thanks are due again to Mr. Perry Dement, Student Assistant to the "Man" Staff for his assistance in the preparation of this volume.

Fred W. Neal, and
The Man Course Staff

PREFACE TO THE 1980 REVISION

We have discovered, in our concern to lead our students to a consideration of primary sources, that discussion was enhanced if students could bring personal copies of the source material to their colloquium sections, and that understanding was increased if wide margins on the page made possible extensive notations by the students. Experimenting first, in the Ninth Edition (1967), with a few mimeographed materials added to the *Syllabus*, we published a separate volume of readings in 1973, which was extended to two volumes of readings in 1975 and revised in 1976.

The preparation of the Twelfth Edition of the syllabus for *Man in the Light of History and Religion* has made necessary some revision in our books of readings. Some readings have been omitted. Two notable additions have been made: Chapter One, "The Historian and His Facts," from *What is History?* by Edward Hallett Carr (1961); and a translation of portions of Dante's *Divine Comedy* made especially for this edition by Professor Donald W. Tucker of the "Man" Course Staff. This selection extends our study of the *Divine Comedy* beyond Hell to Purgatory and to Paradise.

This edition of readings, as also the accompanying *Syllabus*, is exploratory and experimental in anticipation of the publication next year of an edition to serve the course for the next five years.

Special thanks are due to Professor Tucker for his lucid translation of Dante, to Professor Wood for a helpful synopsis of Vercors', *Murder of the Missing Link*, which appears in the *Syllabus* and for a translation of a portion of Cicero's *Laws* and *The Republic* with which he is currently engaged for next year's edition.

My gratitude is also extended to Perry Dement, Lesa Halfacre, and Katherine Klyce who have put many hours preparing the edition, and to the colleagues of the "Man" Staff whose creativity and loyalty make the continuing effectiveness of the "Man" course possible.

Fred W. Neal

PREFACE TO THE 1975 EDITION

The publication of this second book of readings in the "Man" Course brings into reality the long-held hope to complete our set of readings to accompany the *Syllabus*. This first volume of readings appeared two years ago and has amply showed its usefulness. We then relied for additional materials upon the excellent selections in *Heritage of Western Civilization* by John Beatty and Oliver Johnson. However, since extensive changes in their latest edition did not correspond to the design of our syllabus, we found it necessary to produce a second volume of readings immediately.

Professor James W. Jobes and I, as Co-editors, spent the major part of the summer preparing the present volume. We profited, of course, from the years of regular team-work of the staff in constant modification and enhancement of the course. We are grateful to Professor Donald W. Tucker for his careful translation of an excerpt from *The Prince* by Machiavelli. Special gratitude is due to Professor Jobes for not only his major responsibility of selection of texts--a laborious job done with his usual meticulous and expert care--but also, in a time of emergency, supervising the final assembly and publication of this volume.

We are deeply appreciative of the work of Mrs. W. E. Edwards and Miss Suzanne Phelps of the Southwestern Duplicating Office, who have printed this volume with their customary skill and extraordinary good nature in spite of heavy additional duties. And we are grateful beyond measure to Miss Linda Faye Brown and Miss Ella Perino, two indispensable members of our team, who put in many onerous hours preparing texts and assembling the volume.

Fred W. Neal

PREFACE TO THE 1976 REVISION

The printing of our second volume of readings in the "Man" course quickly proved its value. The present revision rearranges some of the selections and includes some readings which were added to our Eleventh Edition of the *Syllabus*.

Our thanks go again to Miss Shelia Hill, who has been of great assistance in the preparation and assembly of this volume.

A table of references will be found in the first volume.

Fred W. Neal

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

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.

¹ 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 investitures.

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 becometh 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.

Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV

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 man — to 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.¹ . . .

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:

Henry
IV's violent
reply to
Gregory.

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

Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV

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 excom-
munication
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.

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:

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

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.

² The countess of Tuscany, to whom the castle of Canossa belonged.

Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV

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

Letter
of Greg-
ory VII to
the Bishop
of Metz
(March, 1082).

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

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. . . .

Cases of
churchmen
excommuni-
cating kings.

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

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 no 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

Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV

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 slightly of spiritual ones; the latter, sedulously meditating upon heavenly things, despise the things of earth.

THE MEDIEVAL 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 bridegroom 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

Bull
Unam Sanctam of Boni-
face VIII
(1302).

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 no one. 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 after 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,

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

LET 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

Of Humility

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.

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WHETHER THE MONKS ARE TO HAVE
ANYTHING OF THEIR OWN

ABOVE 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.

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OF THE OBSERVANCE OF LENT

ALTHOUGH 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

Of the Observance of Lent

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

Heresy and the Friars

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, unhopd 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'
sermon to
the birds.
(From
Thomas of
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 before his death.

The
will of
St. Francis.

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 me.

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 brotherhood, 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.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS

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 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 sacraments 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

An account of the seven sacraments, written for the Armenians by Pope Eugene IV (1438).

The indelible characters.

Baptism.

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," according 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.

Transubstantiation of the bread and the wine.

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.

Penance and its three parts.

The fifth sacrament is extreme unction, and the material 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."

Extreme unction.

The sixth sacrament is ordination. The material for the priesthood is the cup with the wine and the paten with the bread; for the diaconate, the books of the Gospel; for the subdiaconate, 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

Ordination.

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 triune. 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.

[3] 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.

[3] 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

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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

themselves to the active or contemplative virtues would find much sweeter enjoyment in the taste of these higher goods.

[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

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.

[4] 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.

2. SCG, II, ch. 23.

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 nonetheless 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 intellectual 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,¹ 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.⁴ Therefore, it was necessary for man tending to perfect beatitude that God become man.

3. SCG, III, ch. 147 and 152.

4. See Pseudo-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*, IV (PG, 3, col. 713).

[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. SCC, 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.

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: (1) 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 1. 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. 1 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. 1, 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. 1. Those things that are not in themselves, exist with God, inasmuch as they are foreknown and pre-ordained 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 1. 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 necessities. 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. 1 ad 1), 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. 1); 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

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. 1). 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 *all things are most orderly*, as Augustine states (*De Lib. Arb.* i. 6). Therefore the natural law suffices for the ordering of all human affairs. Consequently there is no need for a human law.

Obj. 2. Further, a law bears the character of a measure, as stated above (Q. XC., A. 1). But human reason is not a 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 our 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. 1, 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 (Eccles. 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.

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. 1. 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.

THE COMEDY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI

TRANSLATED BY
DONALD W. TUCKER

HELL <L'INFERNO>

CANTO I

Midway through the road of our life
I discovered myself in a dark forest,
for I had lost the right way.

4 Ah, what a hard thing it is to describe
this savage, uncultivated and thick forest,
and it renews my fear to think about it!

7 So bitter is it that death is scarcely more so;
but to deal with the good that I found there,
I shall speak of other things that I discovered.

10 I am unable to say how I entered there;
I was so lethargic at that time
that I abandoned the true way.

13 But when I had arrived at the foot of a hill,
there at the end of that valley
which had overwhelmed my heart with fear,

16 I looked upward and saw its bank,
already adorned with the rays of the planet
which leads one straight down every road.

19 Then the fear subsided a bit
after it had lasted in the lake of my heart
during the night I had spent so pitifully.

22 And like the one who, with labored breath,
has escaped from the ocean to the shore,
turns to look at the dangerous water,

25 Similarly did my spirit, which was still fleeing,
turn to look back at the place
which never before let anyone escape alive.

28 As soon as I had rested my weary body a little
I started to climb up the deserted shore,
always making sure to plant my lower foot firmly.

The Divine Comedy presents a medieval, Christian allegory of the three abodes of the dead: hell, purgatory and paradise. Hell is for souls who have died outside the grace of God. With the exception of souls in limbo, the first level of hell, the souls in hell are there by choice. Hell is divided into three major divisions: incontinence, violence and fraud, with fraud being the worst because it entails the willful use of unique human faculties for evil purposes. Treachery is the worst form of fraud and is punished in the lowest level of hell. Dante makes the journey through hell for the purpose of understanding evil and consequently undertaking his Christian rehabilitation. He and his guide, the Latin poet Virgil, enter hell on the evening of Good Friday and depart on Easter Sunday morning.

13. The hill is the mountain of righteousness, which Dante endeavors to climb.

31 And behold! Almost at the beginning of the ascent
there appeared a light and agile leopard
whose hide was covered with spots.

34 And he did not depart from before me;
rather he so blocked my path
that I repeatedly turned another way.

37 It was an early hour of the morning
and the sun was ascending with those stars
which were with it when divine love

40 First moved those beautiful things,
so that I had reason to be hopeful
concerning that beast with the elegant hide.

43 The time of day and the sweet season
did not prevent my being fearful
when I saw a lion appear before me.

46 The latter seemed to come toward me
with head held high and appetite so ravenous
that even the air seemed to fear him.

49 Then there was a female wolf, whose gauntness
made her appear to harbor every desire
with which she renders people wretched.

52 This last one burdened me so heavily
with the intimidation of her appearance
that I lost hope of climbing the mountain.

55 And like the man who is happy while winning
but weeps and moans in all his thoughts
when time comes for him to lose;

58 So did the belligerent beast affect me
when I, finding myself facing him,
was forced to retreat to where the sun is silent.

61 While I was grovelling around in a low place
there appeared before my eyes
one who seemed weakened by long silence.

64 When I saw this one in the great wilderness
I shouted to him, "Have mercy on me,
whatever you may be, soul or living man."

67 He replied to me, "Not a man now, but a man I was,
and my parents were Lombards,
both from the city of Mantua.

70 I was born late during the reign of Caesar
and lived in Rome under the good Augustus,
during the time of lies and false gods.

73 I was a poet and sang of the honorable
son of Anchises, who came from Troy
after proud Ilion was burned.

32. The leopard, the first of three animals to accost Dante during his ascent, probably symbolizes incontinence, the lack of control of natural appetites.

45. The lion probably symbolizes violence.

49. The wolf, which overcomes Dante, probably symbolizes fraud. The animals represent the three division of hell.

73. The poet is Virgil, whom Dante considered to be the paragon of classical wisdom, reason and poetic skill.

76 But why do you come back to such an unpleasant place?
Why do you not climb the delightful mountain,
which is the foundation and reason of all joy?"

79 "So, are you Virgil, that fountain
that pours forth such a broad river of speech?"
I answered him with an abashed countenance.

82 "Oh honor and light of other poets;
May I be assisted by the long study and great love
which have caused me to seek out your work!

85 You are my teacher and my author;
you alone are the one from whom I took
the beautiful style that has done me honor.

88 Look at the beast which drove me back-
help me with her, famous sage,
for she makes both my veins and arteries tremble."

91 "You need to take a different journey,"
he replied after seeing me weep,
"if you want to escape from this savage place.

91. Virgil knows that an understanding of evil must precede reform, so he recommends that Dante undertake a journey through hell.

94 This beast, the cause of your affliction,
does not allow anyone to pass along her way,
but prevents it with even mortal consequences.

97 She has such an evil and perverse nature
that she never satisfies her voracious appetite
and after eating is hungrier than before.

100 Many are the animals with whom she mates,
and there will still be more, until the Hound
comes and makes her die a fearful death.

101. The Hound represents an unidentified redeemer, perhaps Cangrande della Scala. Dante hoped he would establish a just empire in Italy.

103 This man's sustenance will come from neither earth nor money,
but knowledge, love and virtue,
and his nation will be from Feltro to Montefeltro.

106 He will bring health to humble Italy
for whom the virgin Camilla,
Euryalus, Turnus and Nisus died of wounds.

109 This man will hunt her down in every town
until he has driven her back into hell,
from where envy first released her.

112 Now, given your situation, I believe it best
that you follow me and I shall be your guide,
leading you from here through the eternal place,

115 Where you will hear the desperate cries;
you will see the ancient suffering souls,
each one of whom cries for the second death.

119. Those who are happy in the fire are the souls in purgatory which Dante and Virgil will visit after completing their journey through hell.

118 And you will see those who are happy
in the fire, because they expect to be united,
at some future time, with the blessed people,

- 121 and if you wish to ascend to these,
there will be a soul more worthy than I,
and I shall leave you with her and depart.
- 124 That Emperor who reigns on high
does not allow me to lead anyone into His city
because I was rebellious to His law.
- 127 Everywhere He is in command and there He rules;
that is His city and His exalted seat;
Oh, happy is the one whom He elects to be there."
- 130 And I to him, "Poet, I implore
in the name of that God whom you did not know,
in order that I may escape from this evil, or worse,
- 133 that you lead me to the place you have described,
so that I may see the door of Saint Peter
and those whom you refer to as wretched."
- 136 Then he moved and I followed behind.

CANTO II

The day was ending and the dark sky
was removing the animals that dwell on earth
from their chores; and I alone

- 4 Was preparing myself to enter conflict
against both physical and emotional rigors,
which my unflinching memory will now recall.
- 7 Oh muses, oh high genius, help me now!
Oh memory, which recorded what I saw,
here your nobility will be manifest.
- 10 I began, "Poet, you who guide me,
consider whether my strength is capable
before you entrust me with the high undertaking.
- 13 You tell of the father of Sylvius, who,
while still in mortal flesh, went with
all his senses to the eternal world.
- 16 But if the Adversary of all evil was
cooperative, considering who and what he was
and the high purpose that he was to accomplish,
- 19 It does not seem implausible to the reflective man
that he was selected in the Emyrean heaven
to be father of revered Rome and her empire,
- 22 Both of which, to tell the truth,
were established as a holy place,
the seat of the successor of the great Peter.
- 25 On this journey, for which you give him praise,
he learned things that became the foundation
for his victory and for the papal mantle.

123. Virgil is a pagan and will
not be allowed to enter paradise.

1. Dante and Virgil enter hell on
the evening of Good Friday.

13. Aeneas, the father of Sylvius,
descends to hades in Book VI of
The Aeneid.

28 Later, the Chosen Vessel went there
in order to bring comfort to that faith
which is the beginning of the way to salvation.

31 But why should I go there? Who endorses it?
I am neither Aeneas nor Paul--
neither I nor anyone else deems me so worthy.

34 Because if I allow myself to go,
I fear that the journey may be foolish;
you are wise and understand better than I reason."

37 And like one who reconsiders what he desires
and because of new thoughts changes plans,
withdrawing completely from what he has begun,

40 So did I behave on that dark coast
because, by thinking, I turned against the enterprise
which I had earlier undertaken so promptly.

43 "If I have understood your words correctly,"
that magnanimous shadow responded,
"your courage has been dulled by cowardice,

46 Which many times detracts man,
so that he turns away from honorable tasks,
the same way imperfect vision causes an animal to shy.

49 In order that I may remove your fear from you,
I shall tell you why I came and what I heard
when I initially felt compassion for you.

52 I was among those who are suspended,
and I was called by a lady so beautiful and blessed
that I asked her to command me.

55 Her eyes shone more than the stars,
and she began to speak to me softly and gently
with angelic voice and these words:

58 'Oh courteous Mantuan soul,
whose fame still lasts in the world,
and will last as long as the world does,

61 My friend, who is not befriended by good fortune,
is so obstructed on the deserted shore
that he has turned fearfully in the wrong direction,

64 And I fear that he is already so wayward
that I am late in coming to his aid,
according to what I have heard about him in heaven.

67 Now go and with your eloquent word,
and with anything else required for your task,
assist him so that I may be consoled.

70 I, who ask you to go, am Beatrice.
I come from the place to which I wish to return;
love moved me to act and speak.

28. The Chosen Vessel is St. Paul,
who preached in Rome.

52. Virgil's soul was in limbo
when Beatrice came from paradise
to ask him to undertake this
mission.

73 When I am in the presence of my Lord
I shall often commend you to Him.'
She was then silent, and I began,

76 'Oh lady of virtue, through whom alone
the human species exceeds all that is found
in that heaven of the smallest circles,

79 Your command pleases me so much that,
even had I already obeyed it, I would feel slow;
you have only to open to me your will.

82 But tell me why you were not reluctant
to descend here below to this circle
from the spacious place to which you long to return.'

85 'Since you wish to know so much
I shall tell you briefly,' she answered me,
'why I did not fear to come down here.

88 One should fear only those things
which have the power of doing harm,
not other things, for they are not fearful.

91 I am made by the mercy of God in such a way
that your affliction does not affect me,
nor does a flame of this fire assail me.

94 There is a gentle lady in heaven whose mercy is
so aroused by this mission which I assign to you,
and she can even bend stern justice.

97 She made her request to Lucy
and said, "Your faithful servant now has need
of you, and I commend him to you."

100 Lucy, an adversary of all cruelty,
was moved and came to where I was
seated beside ancient Rachel.

103 She said, "Beatrice, true praise of God,
why do you not assist him who loved you so,
that for you he rose above the common herd?

106 Do you not hear his plaintive cry?
Do you not see the death which threatens him
on the river which rivals the sea?"

109 In the world there was never a person so eager
to seek his own good or flee from danger
as I, having heard these words.

112 I came down here from my blessed seat,
trusting in your honest speech,
which honors you and those who have heard it.'

115 After she had explained this
she turned with tears in her shining eyes,
which made me the more anxious to come.

94. The gentle lady is the Virgin Mary.

97. St. Lucy was a Christian martyr of the third century. Here she is the symbol of illuminating grace.

- 118 And I came to you as she desired,
 liberating you from the presence of that beast
 who deprived you of the short path up the beautiful mountain.
- 121 So then, what is it? Why, why hesitate?
 Why harbor so much cowardice in your heart?
 Why do you not have boldness and forthrightness?
- 124 Since three such blessed ladies
 care for you in the court of heaven
 and my speech promises you so much good?"
- 127 Just as little flowers on a frosty night,
 bent and closed, stand erect on their stalk
 when the sun strikes them,
- 130 So did I revive my weary spirit
 and so much good courage flowed into my heart
 that I began like a bold person:
- 133 "Oh merciful is she who has assisted me,
 and you are courteous for obeying so promptly
 the truthful words that she spoke to you.
- 136 With your words you have so inspired
 in my heart the desire to go
 that I have returned to my original purpose.
- 139 Now go, for we both have a single will--
 you the leader, you the lord, and you the master."
 Thus I spoke to him, and when he moved
- 142 I undertook the steep and difficult journey.

CANTO III

THROUGH ME ONE ENTERS THE PAINFUL CITY;
 THROUGH ME ONE ENTERS ETERNAL PAIN;
 THROUGH ME ONE FOLLOWS THE LOST PEOPLE.

1. The first three tercets in this canto present the warning sign which is located above the entrance to hell.

- 4 JUSTICE MOVED MY HIGH MAKER;
 I WAS CREATED BY DIVINE POWER;
 SUPREME WISDOM AND ORIGINAL LOVE.
- 7 BEFORE ME ONLY ETERNAL THINGS WERE
 CREATED, AND I SHALL ENDURE ETERNALLY.
 ABANDON ALL HOPE YOU WHO ENTER HERE.
- 10 These words of dark meaning
 were seen written over the door
 whereupon I, "Master their meaning is hard for me."
- 13 And he to me, like a perceptive person,
 "Here you must abandon all mistrust;
 here cowardice must be put to death.

16 We have come to the place of which I spoke,
where you will see the suffering people
who have lost the good of the intellect."

19 And after he had placed his hand on mine
with a smiling face, which comforted me,
he led me into the secret things.

22 There sighs, weeping and other lamentations
resound through the starless air,
so that at first I began to shed tears.

25 Different languages, horrible utterances,
words of pain, accents of rage,
loud and weak voices, and sounds of hard blows

28 All created a tumult, which moves
forever in that timeless atmosphere
like sand when stirred by a whirlwind.

31 And I, whose head was bound in horror,
said, "What is that which I hear?
And who are these people who seem so overcome with pain?"

34 And he to me, "This miserable condition
belongs to the wretched souls of those
who lived without infamy and without praise.

37 They are mixed with that bad crowd
of angels who were neither rebellious against God
nor loyal to Him, but were for themselves.

40 Heaven expels them lest they detract from its beauty,
nor will the depth of hell accept them,
for the truly wicked would feel superior to them."

43 And I, "Master, what is so vexatious
to them, that makes them complain so loudly?"
He answered, "I shall tell you briefly.

46 These have no hope of death
and their blind life is so abject
that they are envious of every other condition.

49 The world does not allow them any fame;
mercy and justice disdain them.
Let us not speak of them, but look and pass."

52 And I, who looked again, saw a banner
which was moving and weaving so quickly
that it seemed opposed to any fixed position.

55 And behind there followed such a long crowd
of people that I would not have believed
that death had destroyed so many.

58 After I had examined them somewhat
I saw and recognized the shadow of the one
who for cowardice made the great refusal.

18. The highest good is the know-
ledge of ultimate truth: the
vision of God which all souls in
paradise enjoy for eternity. Souls
in hell have lost this good.

34. This is hell's vestibule, the
eternal abode of neutral souls,
those who failed on earth to take
a stand for good or evil. They do
not deserve a place in hell proper.

60. This unidentified soul is
thought to be Pope Celestine V,
whose resignation made way for
Boniface VIII, who caused Dante's
exile from Florence.

61 Immediately I understood, and I was right,
that this was the sect of evil souls which
is abhorrent both to God and His enemies.

64 These wretches, who were never truly alive,
were nude and being stung
by flies and wasps which were there.

67 Their faces were bathed in blood,
which, mixed with tears, was consumed
by foul vermin at their feet.

70 And before I could look again
I saw people at the edge of a great river,
which caused me to say, "Master, now grant

71. The first of four rivers in
hell is the Acheron, the river of
death.

73 That I may know who they are and what
makes them eager to cross over,
as I discern in the faint light."

76 And he to me, "Those things will be told you
when we halt our steps
on the sad shore of the Acheron."

79 Then, with my eyes lowered in shame
and fearing that my speech might offend him,
I refrained from speaking until we reached the river.

82 And behold! There came toward us on a boat
an old man whose hair was white with age
shouting, "Woe unto you, depraved souls.

83. The boatman who ferries damned
souls across the Acheron is Cha-
ron, whom the poet borrowed from
The Aeneid. Many figures in this
poem are borrowed from classical
literature and mythology.

85 Do not hope ever to see heaven!
I come to carry you to the other shore,
into eternal darkness, heat and cold.

88 And you who stand there, living soul,
move away from those who are dead!"
But when he saw that I did not leave

91 He said, "Another way, by other doors
must you go to reach the shore, not here;
you must travel in a lighter boat."

94 And the leader said, "Charon, do not be churlish;
this is willed there where willing and
doing are the same, so keep silent."

97 The livid swamp's ferryman,
whose eyes were encircled with flaming wheels,
then relaxed his woolly cheeks.

100 But those souls, which were weary and nude,
changed color and gnashed their teeth
as soon as they heard the crude words.

103 They cursed God and their parents,
the human species and the place, time and seed
of their conception and their birth.

- 106 Then all of them gathered together,
weeping bitterly, on the evil shore
which awaits every man who does not fear God.
- 109 The demon Charon, with burning eyes,
called them, gathering them all together
and striking with his oar anyone who tarried.
- 112 In autumn the leaves fall
one after another, until the branch
sees all its spoils on the ground.
- 115 Similarly the bad seed of Adam
hasten from that shore one at a time,
by signs, like a falcon being recalled.
- 118 Thus they go over the murky waves
and before they have landed on the other shore
a new crowd assembles on this side.
- 121 "My son," said the courteous master,
"those who die in the wrath of God
all assemble here from every country,
- 124 And they are ready to cross the river
because divine justice spurs them,
turning their fear into desire.
- 127 A good soul never passes this way;
consequently Charon complains about you and
you can understand why his speech sounds as it does."
- 130 When he had finished, the country
trembled so violently that my mind
is still bathed in sweat from the fright.
- 133 A blast of wind crossed the tearful land,
as did a flash of vermillion light
which overwhelmed all of my senses.
- 136 And I collapsed as a man overcome by sleep.

CANTO IV

The deep sleep in my head was broken
by a loud thunder, so that I was shaken
like one who is rudely awakened

- 4 And I moved my rested eyes around,
after standing up, and I looked carefully
to determine the place where I was.
- 7 The truth is that I found myself on the brink
of the painful, abysmal valley
which contains the thunder of infinite woes.
- 10 Dark and deep it was, and so foggy
that in aiming my vision at the bottom
I could not distinguish any thing.

1. Dante does not regain consciousness until Charon has transported him and Virgil across the Acheron.

- 13 "Now let us descend here into the blind world,"
began the poet all pale,
"I shall go first and you go second."
- 16 And I, who had noticed his color,
said, "How can I go if you are frightened?
You are the one who usually relieves my doubts."
- 19 And he to me, "The anguish of the people
who are down here causes my face to express
the pity which you take for fear.
- 22 Let us go, for the lengthy way compels us."
So he set off, making me enter
the first circle which surrounds the abyss.
- 25 There, as far as one could judge by listening,
there was no complaint, but only sighing,
which caused the eternal air to tremble.
- 28 That resulted from the sadness without pain
experienced by the very large crowds
of children, women and men who were there.
- 31 The good master to me, "Do you not wonder
who are these souls which you see?
Now I want you to know, before you travel on,
- 34 That they were not sinners, but any merit
they had was insufficient, since they lacked baptism,
which is the door of the faith which you hold.
- 37 And because they lived before Christianity,
they did not worship God properly;
I myself belong to this group.
- 40 For such shortcomings, and for no other evil,
we are lost and punished only
in that we live in desire without hope."
- 43 A great grief gripped my heart when I heard it,
because I knew people of much worth
who were suspended in that limbo.
- 46 "Tell me, my master, tell me, sire,"
I began, because I want to be sure
of that faith that conquers every error.
- 49 "Did anyone, either through personal merit
or that of another, ever leave here and attain blessedness?"
And he, understanding my veiled words,
- 52 Replied, "I was new in this condition
when I saw a Powerful One come
crowned with the sign of victory.
- 55 He carried away the soul of the first parent,
of Abel his son and that of Noah,
of obedient Moses, the lawgiver.

34. The travelers are now in limbo, the first level of hell. Although Virgil was contemptuous of the vestibule, he is anxious to talk about limbo.

53. Following his crucifixion Christ descended into hell and removed the saints of the Old Testament.

- 58 The patriarch Abraham and King David,
Jacob with his father and his sons,
and with Rachel, for whom he did so much,
- 61 And many others, who were made blessed.
And I want you to know that, before them,
no human soul was saved."
- 64 We did not stop walking while he spoke,
rather we continued to pass through the forest,
I mean the forest crowded with souls.
- 67 We had not travelled far on our way
since my fainting when I saw a fire
which illuminated the hemisphere of darkness.
- 70 We were still a good distance away,
but not so far that I could not distinguish
that honorable people belonged to that place.
- 73 "Oh you who honor learning and art,
who are these that have so much honor
that it separates them from the others?"
- 76 And he to me, "The honored reputation,
which is spread abroad about them in your world
attains grace for them in heaven, thus benefitting them."
- 79 Meanwhile I heard a voice say,
"Honor the highest poet,
his soul, which had departed, now returns."
- 82 As soon as the voice was quiet and still,
I saw four great souls approaching us--
their countenance was neither sad nor happy.
- 85 The good master began to say,
"Look at the one with the sword in his hand;
he comes in front of the other three as a leader.
- 88 That is the sovereign poet Homer
the other who comes is the satirist Horace,
Ovid is the third and Lucan the last.
- 91 Since each one shares with me
the name which the single voice pronounced,
they do me honor and consequently do well."
- 94 Thus I saw assembled the beautiful school
of the lord of the highest song;
he who soars like an eagle over all the rest.
- 97 After they had spoken together briefly
they turned to me with hospitable expression
and my master smiled at that,
- 100 And even greater honor did they offer me
by letting me join their group,
so that I was the sixth among so much wisdom.

- 103 In that manner we walked as far as the light,
speaking of things which were fitting there,
but are better left unsaid here.
- 106 We reached the foot of a noble castle
surrounded seven times by high walls;
protected all around by a beautiful stream.
- 109 We crossed this as over dry land.
I entered through seven doors with these sages,
and we came to a fresh green meadow.
- 112 The people there had heavy and serious eyes,
with great authority in their expression;
they spoke rarely and with gentle voice.
- 115 Then we withdrew to one side
in an open place, high and well lighted,
so that everything was clearly visible.
- 118 There, erect on the green enamel,
the great spirits were shown to me,
and I am still excited for having seen them.
- 121 I saw Electra with many companions,
among whom I recognized Hector and Aeneas
and armed Caesar with eyes like a hawk.
- 124 I saw Camilla and Penthesilea;
on the other side I saw the Latin king,
who was sitting with his daughter Lavinia.
- 127 I saw Brutus who expelled Tarquin,
Lucretia, Julia, Marcia and Cornelia,
and alone, to one side, I saw Saladin.
- 130 When I raised my eyebrows slightly
I saw the master of those who know
seated among the family of philosophers.
- 133 They all looked at him, rendering him honor;
there I saw Socrates and Plato,
who stood closer to him than the others.
- 136 Democritus, who thought the world to be fortuitous;
Diogenes, Anaxagoras and Thales,
Empedocles, Heraclitus and Zeno.
- 139 And I saw the good compiler of plants,
I mean Dioscorides, and I saw Orpheus,
Tully, Linus, and moral Seneca.
- 142 The geometer Euclid and Ptolomy,
Hippocrates, Avicenna, and Galen,
Averroes, who wrote the great commentary.
- 145 I cannot recall them all fully;
my long theme so compels me to continue
that often my words fall short of the facts.
106. Pagan poets, heroes, scholars
and philosophers are assigned a
privileged place in limbo. Their
castle is protected by a moat
(eloquence) and seven walls (lib-
eral arts). Their learning dimly
illuminates their environment.
121. The presence of pagan and fic-
titious figures indicates Dante's
view of the universality of his-
tory and moral law.
127. This Brutus expelled the last
king of Rome in 509 B.C. and estab-
lished the Roman Republic.
131. The master is Aristotle.

- 148 The company of six is reduced to two;
My wise leader leads me on another road,
leaving tranquility and entering the trembling air,
151 And I come to a place where nothing shines.

CANTO V

Thus I descended from the first circle
down into the second, which embraces less area
but so much more pain that it evokes sorrow.

- 4 Minos is there horrible and snarling;
he examines the offences at the entrance,
judges and assigns each one by girding himself.
- 7 I mean that when the ill-born soul
comes before him, he confesses everything,
and that expert on sin
- 10 Decides what place in hell is appropriate,
wrapping himself with his tail as many times
as the number of levels the soul must descend.
- 13 There are always many in front of him,
going in turn to their judgement;
they speak and hear and then they are sent down.
- 16 "Oh you, who come to the painful abode,"
Minos said to me when he saw me,
interrupting the performance of his duty.
- 19 "Beware of how you enter and whom you trust--
Do not let the width of the entrance deceive you!"
And my leader to him, "Why are you grumbling?"
- 22 Do not obstruct his necessary journey;
this is willed there where willing and
doing are the same, so keep silent."
- 25 Then the painful sounds began
to reach my ears; now I have come
to where numerous cries afflict me.
- 28 I entered a place bereft of all light,
one that roars as does a stormy sea
when it is beaten by contrary winds.
- 31 The infernal blast, which never ceases,
drives the souls with its force,
afflicting them with jolts and gusts.
- 34 When they arrive in front of the fault
they break into screams, tears and moaning;
blaspheming the Divine Power.

4. Minos is here a hideous demon who acts as symbolic judge of the damned souls, indicating how deep in hell they are to descend by the number of times he encircles his body with his tail. Actually, though, damned souls seek their own level in hell.

23. Virgil observes that this voyage is approved in paradise.

37 I learned that to such punishment
the carnal sinners have been damned,
for they submit reason to desire.

40 And as starlings are borne on their wings
in cold weather, in broad, thick flocks,
so that wind treats the evil souls.

43 Here and there, up and down it pushes them;
no hope of comfort do they ever have,
neither of rest, nor even of less discomfort.

46 And as cranes go singing their lays
forming a long line in the air,
so I saw approaching, bringing woe,

49 Souls borne by the aforementioned wind.
Whereupon I said, "Master, who are those
people whom the black air punishes so?"

52 "The first of those about whom you want
to hear news," he said to me then,
"was an empress of many peoples.

55 She was so broken by the vice of lust
that she decreed lawful acceptance to passion
in order to reduce the opprobrium of her own life.

58 She is Semiramis, about whom one reads that
she was the wife of Ninus, whom she succeeded.
She held the land now ruled by the Sultan.

61 The other is the woman who killed herself for love
and broke faith with Sichaeus' ashes;
then there is lustful Cleopatra.

64 Behold Helen, for whom so much evil
time elapsed, and also great Achilles,
whose final battle was with love.

67 See Paris; Tristan," and he showed me
more than a thousand men, pointing them out,
whom love had removed from our life.

70 When I had heard my teacher
name the ancient ladies and knights
pity overtook me and I was almost overcome.

73 I began, "I would happily
speak with those two who are together
and appear to be so light on the wind."

76 And he to me, "Look, when they are
closer to us, you can appeal to them
by that love that leads them, and they will come."

79 As soon as the wind brought them near us,
I moved my voice, "O beleaguered souls,
come speak to us if nothing prevents it."

39. The travelers are now on level
two, where lust is punished. Being
a sin of incontinence, lust is
less serious than violence or
fraud.

61. The reference is to Dido, who
is punished in hell for lust, not
suicide.

82 Like doves summoned by desire
with wings raised and firm, that come
to the sweet nest, carried by will through the air.

85 So they left the flock where Dido is
and came to us through the malignant air,
so magnetic was my affectionate request.

88 "Oh gracious and benign creature,
who goes through the lost region visiting
us who stained the world with blood,

91 If the King of the universe were our friend
we would pray to Him for your peace,
since you take pity on our perverse evil.

94 Concerning that which you wish to speak and hear,
we shall hear and speak with you
as long as the wind continues to be calm.

97 The place where I was born sits
on the bank where the Po descends
to join peacefully with its tributaries.

100 Love, which is quickly ignited in the gentle heart,
captured this man with the lovely body
that I have now lost, and the manner still grieves me.

103 Love, which exempts no beloved one from loving in return,
captured me so firmly with its joy
that, as you see, it has not released me yet.

106 Love led us to a single death
Caina awaits him who extinguished our life."
These words were delivered to us from them.

109 When I understood those punished souls
I lowered my eyes and held them down so long
that the poet finally asked me, "What are you thinking?"

112 I began to reply with, "Alas,
how many sweet thoughts, how much desire
led them to this painful condition!"

115 Then I turned to speak to them,
beginning, "Francesca, your afflictions
inspire in me a tearful pity."

118 But tell me, "in the days of your sweet sighing,
how did love make known to you
your dubious desires?"

121 And she to me, "There is no pain greater
than recalling happy times when one
is miserable; and your teacher knows that.

124 But if you are so eager to know
the first root of our love,
I shall tell you through my tears.

88. The gentle soul who freely
tells her story is Francesca
Rimini, who loved her brother-in-
law, Paolo.

107. Paolo and Francesca were
murdered by the latter's husband,
whose soul will go to lowest hell
with traitors to family.

- 127 One day we were reading for pleasure
about Lancelot and how love constrained him;
we were alone and without any preoccupation.
- 130 Frequently that reading caused our eyes
to meet and our faces to blush;
but only one passage it was that conquered us.
- 133 When we read how the lovely smile
was kissed by such a great lover,
this man, who will never be separated from me,
- 136 kissed my mouth all trembling.
The pander was the book and he who wrote it;
that day we read no further.
- 139 While the one soul said this,
the other one wept, so that pity
caused me to faint as if dead,
- 142 and I collapsed as a dead man collapses.

CANTO VII

"Pape Satan, pape Satan, aleppe."
Plutus began with a clucking voice
and that gentle sage, who knew everything,

- 4 Said to comfort me, "Do not be distressed
by fear, for whatever power he may have
cannot prevent our descending this rock."
- 7 Then he turned to that inflated face
and said, "Silence, damned wolf,
may your anger consume you within.
- 10 This journey to the pit is not without justification;
it is willed on high, there where Michael
took vengeance on the arrogant infidelity."
- 13 As sails swollen by the wind
collapse when the mast breaks,
so did the cruel beast fall to earth.
- 16 Then we descended into the fourth level,
taking more of the painful slope
which contains all the evil of the universe.
- 19 Ah, justice of God! Who puts together
all the new tribulations and pains that I saw?
And why is our guilt so self-destructive?
- 22 Just as the waves there over Charybdis
break when they collide with each other,
so must the people here clash.

Canto VI (not included here) gives
an account of level III, where
gluttony is punished. The souls
of gluttons are like swine in a
pigsty.

2. Plutus, the guardian of the
avaricious and prodigal on level
IV, is a fat-faced, inarticulate
and ill-tempered monster.

11. The Archangel Michael led the
war against the rebellious angels
in heaven.

25 Here I saw more people than elsewhere
on each of two sides pushing with
great howls weights, using the strength of their chests.

28 They collide with each other, and then
each one turns around and, looking back,
shouts, "Why hoard?" and "Why squander?"

31 So they move around the dark circle
on each side to the opposite point,
shouting at each other their vituperative remarks;

34 Then each one turns around when he arrives
to the extreme of his semi-circle.
And I, whose heart was distraught,

37 Said, "My master, now show me who
are these people and whether all the tonsured
ones on our left were clergymen?"

40 And he to me, "All of them were so mentally
one-eyed in the first life that
they practised no constraint in spending.

43 Here their voices bark loudly
when they come to the two points on the circle
where opposite faults separate them.

46 These were clergymen, whose head is bare
of hair, both cardinals and popes
in whom avarice works its damage."

49 And I, "Master, among such as these
I should recognize someone who
was guilty of these evils."

52 And he to me, "You harbor a vain thought;
the indiscriminating life that made them obscure
now obliterates any memory of them.

55 For eternity they will collide with each other;
these will arise from the tomb
with a closed fist; these with short hair

58 Have been robbed of the beautiful world by
wrong giving and taking; they are placed here to quarrel
or whatever--I devote no more words to them.

61 Now you can see, my son, the brief mockery
of the wealth that is controlled by fortune,
because of which people struggle against each other.

64 All the gold that is under the moon
and that ever was, would not suffice
to satisfy these weary souls."

67 "Master," I said to him, "now tell me also,
what is this fortune to which you refer;
how does it hold the wealth of the world in its grasp?"

39. The author obviously associated clergymen with avarice.

50. Although the travelers normally recognize at least one soul on each level of hell, they recognize no one on level IV.

- 70 And he to me, "Oh foolish creatures,
what ignorance is that which afflicts you?
Now I want you to swallow my judgement.
- 73 He whose knowledge transcends everything
made the heavens and gave them guides,
so that every part shines equally,
- 76 Distributing light equally.
With regard to the splendor of the world,
He also ordained a general supervisor and ruler,
- 79 Who periodically changes the vain wealth
from some people to others, one family to another,
beyond the realm of human striving,
- 82 Because of which some people prosper while others languish,
according to the influence of fortune,
which is concealed like a snake in the grass.
- 85 Your knowledge is no match for her;
she provides, judges and maintains
her kingdom as the angels do theirs.
- 88 Her changes occur without respite;
necessity forces her to work fast,
so often does a different person have a turn.
- 91 She is the one who is so frequently vilified,
even by those who ought to praise her,
wrongly complaining and cursing her.
- 94 But she is so blessed that she does not hear it.
Happy with the other primal creatures,
she turns her wheel and enjoys blessedness.
- 97 Now let us descend to even greater misery,
for every star is declining that was ascending
when I started out; undue delays are forbidden."
- 100 We crossed the circle to the other bank,
passing a boiling spring that flows out
through a ditch leading from it.
- 103 The water was darker than any color
and we, accompanied by murky waves,
went downward by a different path.
- 106 Into the marsh, which is called Styx,
flows this miserable creek when it has
reached the foot of the malignant gray shore.
- 109 And I, who was intent upon looking,
saw muddy people in that slimy place,
all naked and with hostile appearance.
- 112 They were hitting each other not only with their hands,
but with their heads, and chests and feet,
tearing each other to pieces with their teeth.

79. Virgil describes personified Fortune as commissioned by God to shift at random material wealth to and fro among the people of the earth.

106. The Styx is the second river of hell and contains the souls of the angry and sullen. The travelers are now on level V of hell.

115 The good master said, "Son, now you see
the souls of those whom anger conquered.
And I also want you to know

118 That under the water there are people who sigh,
making bubbles rise to the surface of the water,
as your eye tells you wherever it turns.

121 Caught in the slime they say, "We were sullen
in the sweet air which the sun brightens,
because we carried within us a virulent humor.

124 Now we are sullen in the black mire."
They gargle this hymn in their throats,
for they cannot say it with whole words.

127 So we went around a large arc
of the filthy pond between the dry shore and the wet part
with our eyes turned to those choking in the mud;

130 Finally we came to the foot of a tower.

130. This tower is part of the wall which surrounds lower hell (City of Dis), which the travelers approach as they cross the marshy Styx.

CANTO VIII

I saw, in continuing, that considerably before
we reached the foot of the high tower
our eyes were attracted to the top

4 By two small lights that we saw placed there
and another returned the signal from
so far away that we could scarcely distinguish it.

7 And I turned to the sea of all understanding,
saying, "What does this signal mean? And what
does that other signal answer? And who are those that send them?"

10 And he to me, "Over the murky waves
you can make out that which awaits us,
provided the fog of the marsh does not conceal it."

13 No string ever shot from itself an arrow
through the air so quickly as
I saw a very small boat

16 Coming toward us across the water
under the command of a single oarsman
who shouted, "So now you are caught, wicked soul."

19 "Phlegys, Phlegys, you shout in vain,"
said my master, "this time you will
have us only while we cross the mire."

22 Like one who hears that a great deceit
has been practised on him and resents it,
so did Phlegys behave in his pent-up anger.

19. In mythology, Phlegys became angry with Apollo and set fire to the temple at Delphi. Here Phlegys is both the guardian of the angry and sullen and the boatman of the Styx.

25 My leader got into the boat
and then directed me to get in after him,
and only when I was in did it seem loaded.

28 As soon as the leader and I were in the boat,
the old prow started off, cutting deeper
into the water than was its custom with others.

31 While we were crossing the stagnant water
in front of me there appeared one covered with mud
and said, "Who are you that comes here now?"

34 And I to him, "If I come I shall not stay;
but who are you who have become so foul?"
He replied, "You see that I am one who cries."

37 And I to him, "With crying and grieving,
damned soul, remain;
for I know you, even though you are filthy."

40 Then he extended both hands to the boat,
whereupon my wary master pushed him away
saying, "Get over there with the other dogs."

43 Then he embraced my neck with his arms;
kissed my face and said, "Indignant soul,
blessed is she who gave you birth.

46 That fellow was an arrogant person on earth;
there is no goodness to embellish his memory,
consequently his soul is furious here.

46. The angry soul who challenges
Dante here is Filippo Argenti, a
Florentine who had a reputation
for his hot temper.

49 How many above consider themselves great kings,
who will be here like pigs in the mud,
leaving horrible indictments of themselves."

52 And I, "Master, I would be very happy
to see him stew in this broth
before we leave the lake."

55 And he to me, "Before we come within view
of the shore, you will be satisfied;
it is fitting that you fulfill that wish."

58 Shortly thereafter I saw the muddy people
work such havoc on that one
that I still praise and thank God for it.

61 They all shouted, "Get Filippo Argenti;"
and the irritable Florentine spirit
turned on himself with his teeth.

64 Here we left him so that I say no more of him,
but a painful sound struck my ears,
which caused me to look ahead with eager eyes.

67 The good master said, "Now, my son,
we are approaching the city that is called Dis,
with its heinous citizens and great fortress."

70 And I, "Master, I already see its mosques
distinctly within the valley
red as if they had just come from the fire."

73 And he to me, "The eternal fire
which burns within them makes them red
as you see in this lower hell."

76 We arrived within the deep moats
that defend that disconsolate land,
whose walls seemed to me made of iron.

79 Not without first making a wide maneuver
we came to the place where the boatman cried
loudly, "Get out, here is the entrance."

82 I saw above the gates more than a thousand
fallen from heaven, who asked
angrily, "Who is that who goes

85 Without death through the kingdom of the dead?"
and my wise master made a gesture
that he wished to speak with them in secret.

88 Then they reduced somewhat their great resentment
and said, "You come alone and make the other one leave,
for he has been bold to enter this kingdom.

91 Let him go back alone by the insane paths;
let him try, if he can, for you, his escort
on the dark course, will remain here."

94 Imagine, reader, whether I was upset by
the sound of the cursed words,
for I did not believe I would get back here ever.

97 "Oh my dear leader, who more than seven
times has provided me security and extricated
me from high danger which threatened me.

100 Do not leave me," I said, "so undone,
and if continuing on is denied to us,
let us retrace our steps together quickly."

103 And that man who had led me there
said to me, "Do not worry, for no one
can prevent our continuing, considering Who granted it.

106 But wait here for me, and comfort your weary
spirit, nourishing it with good hope,
for I shall not leave you in the low world."

109 So the sweet father departs, abandoning
me there, and I stand perplexed
with no and yes struggling in my head.

112 I could not hear what he posed to them,
but he did not stay long with them,
when each one ran inward at full speed.

70. Medieval Christians considered Islam to be an arrogant rebellion against Christianity, so mosques symbolize the "architecture" of the city of Dis.

115 Those adversaries of ours slammed the gates
in the face of my lord, who remained outside
and returned to me with slow steps.

118 With his eyes toward the ground and displaying no boldness
on his forehead, he said with a sigh,
"Who are they to exclude me from the painful abodes?"

121 And to me he said, "Because I am frustrated,
do not become discouraged, for I shall win the contest
no matter what is done inside to stop us.

124 This insolence of theirs is not new;
for they earlier displayed it at a less secret gate,
which still stands without a bolt.

127 Over that one you saw the mortal words
and even now there is one who descends the stairway,
passing through the circles without escort,

130 Who will open the city for us."

115. Virgil is unable to overcome
the irrational insolence of the
guardians of Dis.

125. The demons of Dis had earlier
tried unsuccessfully to prevent
Christ's descent into hell.

128. An angel comes to force open
the gates of Dis. There are times
when Virgil is unable to cope with
the forces of evil.

CANTO XVII

"Behold the beast with the sharp-pointed tail
who passes mountains and breaks walls and arms;
behold the one who infects the whole world."

4 In that way did my leader begin to speak to me
and he signaled to him to come to the ledge
near the edge of the rocky passage.

7 And that foul image of fraud
drew near, exposing his head and upper body,
but without bringing his tail onto the ledge.

10 His face was the face of an honest man;
his body was covered with benign fur
and the rest of his trunk was that of a serpent.

13 His two arms were hairy up to the armpits;
his back, chest and both sides
were covered with knots and circles.

16 Fabrics of more colorful woof and warp
were never woven by Tartars or Turks,
nor such cloth ever designed by Arachne.

19 As some times boats rest at shore,
partly in the water and partly on land,
and as among the gluttonous Germans

22 The beaver takes position to hunt his prey,
likewise the horrible beast placed himself
on the rocky edge which borders the sand.

1. In this translation, there is
a long hiatus between the previous
canto and this one. The travelers
have reached the far edge of level
VII (violence) and are preparing
to descend to level VIII. Trans-
portation is provided on the back
of Geryon, the guardian of level
VIII and embodiment of fraud.

25 His entire tail was trembling in the void,
twisting upward the venomous sting
which armed the end like that of a scorpion.

28 The leader said, "Now we must change
our direction a little until we reach
that malicious beast who is resting there."

31 Consequently we descended to the right
and took ten steps close to the edge
in order to avoid the sand and fire.

34 And as we drew near to him
a little further along I saw people
seated on the sand next to the precipice.

37 Whereupon the master: "So that you may
derive full experience from this circle,"
he said to me, "go and see them closely.

40 Let your conversation there be brief.
While you are away I shall speak with this beast
so that he will lend us his strong back."

43 So I walked all alone continuing near the edge
of that seventh circle
where the wretched people sat.

46 Their pain burst outward through their eyes;
here and there they protected themselves with their hands,
first against the vapor, then against the hot ground.

49 Not very differently do dogs behave in the summer
either with their snout or paws when they are bitten
by fleas, flies or gnats.

52 When I looked closely at the face of certain ones,
onto whom the painful fire was falling,
I did not recognize any, but I did perceive

55 That there hung from the neck of each one
a purse, which had a certain color and appearance
and thereupon each one seemed to fix his eyes.

58 And when I arrived among them, looking around I saw
a yellow purse with blue insignia
that had the face and form of a lion.

61 Then, continuing the course of my examination,
I saw another that was blood red,
displaying a goose whiter than butter.

64 And one, whose white bag displayed an emblem
of a pregnant blue sow,
said to me, "What are you doing in this pit?"

67 Now get moving, and since you are still alive,
I tell you that my neighbor Vitaliano
will have a seat here on my left side.

33. This part of level VII is
hot, sandy plain onto which
falling a rain of fire, the symbol
of God's wrath.

45. The wretched people on
edge of level VII are usurers
They are violent souls in that
they lived parasitically from
labor of others, thus violating
God's commandment to be fruitful
Their proximity to level VIII
significant.

60. The lion on the purse is
family coat of arms.

- 70 I am a Paduan among these Florentines,
who often deafen my ears
shouting, "Let us see the sovereign knight,
- 73 Who will bring the purse with the three goats."
Here he twisted his mouth and stuck out
his tongue, as do oxen licking their nose.
- 76 And I, fearing that my delay would offend him
who had warned me not to tarry,
turned away from the weary souls.
- 79 I found my leader, who had already
climbed onto the back of the fierce animal,
and he said to me, "Now be strong and brave.
- 82 Now we are going to descend by this stairway;
mount in front, for I want to be between
you and the tail, so that it cannot harm you."
- 85 Like one who has a chill of quartan fever,
so that even his fingernails are blue
and he trembles at the mere sight of shade.
- 88 So was I affected by the spoken words,
but then I felt the threat of shame,
which strengthens a servant before a good master.
- 91 I seated myself on those huge shoulders;
although my voice did not sound as I intended,
I tried to say, "Be sure you hold me."
- 94 But he, who another time had protected me
in other danger, grasped and held me
with his arms as soon as I mounted,
- 97 And he said, "Start moving now in
wide circles and make your descent slow;
remember the new rider you have."
- 100 As a little boat backs slowly
out of dock, so did he back up
and when he felt himself in open space
- 103 He turned his tail to where his chest had been
and, with that extended, he moved like an eel,
gathering in the air with his paws.
- 106 I think there was no greater fear
when Phaeton released the reins, causing
the scorching of the heavens, as can still be seen,
- 109 Or when miserable Icarus felt his wings fall
from his sides when the wax was overheated
and his father shouted, "Your direction is wrong!"
- 112 Than was mine when I saw myself surrounded
by air on all sides and I found
nothing within sight except the beast.

84. Virgil recognizes fraud for
what it is and treats it with
caution.

- 115 It went floating slowly, descending in
wide circles, but I sensed nothing
but the wind blowing in my face and from below.
- 118 Then I heard the torrent below us on
the right side making a horrible roar,
whereupon I turned my head, looking down;
- 121 Later I was even more afraid to descend
because I saw fires and heard laments,
which made me tremble and hold on tightly.
- 124 I became aware then, but not before,
of our descent and circling because of the great
torments that were drawing near on all sides.
- 127 Like the falcon that has been long in flight
without sighting lure or bird and makes
the falconer say, "Alas, you are stopping."
- 130 As he descends wearily in a hundred circles
where he once moved quickly, and lands
far from his master, angry and sullen,
- 133 so did Geryon sit down on the bottom,
right at the foot of the jagged rock
and, having unloaded our persons,
- 136 He darted off like an arrow from the string.

CANTO XXXIV

- "The banners of the king of hell advance
toward us; therefore look to see,"
said my master, "whether you can discern him."
- 4 As when a heavy cloud approaches
or when night falls on our hemisphere,
there was something like a windmill turning in the wind.
- 7 I thought I saw a structure of that sort;
then the wind forced me to draw back
to my leader, for there was no other shelter there.
- 10 By then I was (and with fear I express it in verse)
there where souls are completely covered
and show through like straw in glass.
- 13 Some are lying; others are erect;
some are upside down; others are upright;
some are bent with their faces touching their feet.
- 16 When we advanced far enough that
it pleased my master to show me
the creature who formerly had the beautiful face.

1. There is another long hiatus between the previous canto and this one, the last canto of hell. The travelers have now reached the bottom, level IX, where they find the souls of traitors in an icy lake (Cocytus). Souls who betrayed family, country, guests and benefactors (in ascending order of gravity) are here.

19 He removed himself from in front of me, making me stop.
"Behold Dis," he said, "and behold the place
where you must arm yourself with courage."

22 Do not ask, reader, how cold and weak
I became then, for I cannot describe it,
and any description would be inadequate.

25 I neither died nor remained alive;
think now for yourself, if you have any understanding,
what I became, deprived of both.

28 The emperor of the painful kingdom
had his chest half protruding from the ice,
and I am closer in size to a giant

28. Satan is a captive of his own
evil.

31 Than are giants when compared to his arms.
Imagine now how large the whole must be
if it is proportionate to that part.

34 If his former beauty was as great as his present ugliness
and he raised his eyebrow against his Maker,
with good reason does all sorrow come from him.

37 Oh what a great wonder it seemed to me
when I saw three faces on his head;
the one in front--that one was red;

38. Satan is both a fallen angel
and a repugnant travesty of the
Holy Trinity.

40 The other two, which joined the first,
were just above the middle of each shoulder
and were connected at the crown;

43 The one on the right seemed to be yellowish-white,
and the left one was similar in appearance to
the people who come from where the Nile flows.

46 Under each one protruded two great wings
that were fitting to such a bird;
I never saw sails as large on the ocean.

49 They had no feathers, but were like those
of a bat, and he flapped them
so as to produce three winds from them;

52 All of which caused Cocytus to freeze over.
He wept with all six eyes, and the tears
and bloody mucous dripped from the point of his chin.

55 In each mouth he was breaking a sinner
with his teeth, using a grinding manner
so as to keep the three of them in pain.

58 The biting of the one in front did not compare
with the clawing, so that at times
his back was stripped bare of skin.

61 "That soul up there which has the most pain,"
said the master, "is Judas Iscariot,
whose head is inside while his legs dangle outside.

- 64 Of the other two whose heads are lower,
the one hanging from the black snout is Brutus--
notice how he squirms without saying a word.
- 67 And the other is Cassius, who seems so robust.
But night is advancing and it is
time to depart, for we have seen everything."
- 70 As he suggested, I embraced his neck,
and he watched for the time and place
when the wings were wide open enough and
- 73 He grasped the furry flanks,
climbing down from tuft to tuft
between the thick hair and icy crusts.
- 76 When we arrived to the turning of the
thigh, just above the swelling of the haunch,
the leader, laboriously,
- 79 Turned his head to where his legs had been
and struggled with the hair like a man who is climbing,
so that I thought we were returning to hell.
- 82 "Hold on firmly, for by this ladder
we must remove ourselves from so much evil,"
said the master, panting from exertion.
- 85 After he gained exit through the hole in the stone,
he placed me seated on the edge
and then drew near to me with cautious step.
- 88 I raised my eyes, expecting to see
Lucifer as I had left him,
and I saw his legs held upward.
- 91 Let the dull people judge whether I then
became perplexed, for they may not see
what point I had just passed.
- 94 "Lift yourself up," said the master, "onto your feet;
the way is long and the road is rough
and the sun is already indicating the second hour after sunrise."
- 97 The path we were following was
not palatial, but a natural dungeon,
which had a rough floor and poor light.
- 100 "Before I depart from the abyss,"
I said when I was standing,
"master, speak and clarify my confusion.
- 103 Where is the ice? And how is this creature
turned upside down? And how, in so little time,
has the sun passed from night to morning?"
- 106 And he to me: "You still imagine that we are
on the other side of the center, where I grabbed
the hair of the criminal worm that pierces the world.

84. Lodged at the center of the earth, Satan seems to be the source of gravity. His body protrudes both above and below the ice, which he keeps frozen with the flapping of his wings.

108. Dante must grasp the body of Satan before he can begin his ascent.

- 109 You were on that side while I climbed down;
when I turned you crossed the point
to which weights are drawn from everywhere.
- 112 You have now arrived under the hemisphere
which is opposite to that one covered by
the great desert and under the zenith of which
- 115 Was crucified the man who was born and lived without sin.
You are standing on the little sphere
which forms the other side of Judecca.
- 118 It is morning here when it is night there
and he whose hair made a ladder for us
is in the same position as he was before.
- 121 He fell down to this place from heaven
and the land, which previously extended to this side,
used the sea as a veil for fear of him,
- 124 And contracted to our hemisphere
and fled upwards perhaps to escape from him,
leaving the large void that appears here."
- 127 There is a place down there remote from
Beelzebub, at the far end of his tomb,
which is not known by sight, but by the sound
- 130 Of a little stream that flows down here
through a hollow in the rock, which it has worn
with its winding course and gradual descent.
- 133 The leader and I set out to return to
the bright world by that hidden path
and without concern for resting ourselves
- 136 We climbed upward--he first and I second--
until I saw through a round opening
some of the beautiful things that heaven offers,
- 139 And then we climbed out to see the stars again.

109. Virgil explains why it is necessary for Dante to turn upside down before ascending to purgatory, which is located opposite Jerusalem on the earth's surface.

130. The passage by which they return to the earth's surface is made by a stream which flows from the top of purgatory to the pit of hell.

PURGATORY

<IL PURGATORIO>

Dante's purgatory is an island-mountain located in the Atlantic Ocean, directly opposite Jerusalem. It serves as a place of rehabilitation for souls who have gained salvation but are not yet worthy of the presence of God. Purgatory has ten levels, the first two of which are for souls who were on earth negligent, slow to repent, or excommunicated. They need the prayers of others before they can begin to make progress. Levels three through nine correspond to the seven mortal sins (pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony and lust) and each level provides appropriate physical and psychological therapy to enable the souls to purge themselves of their sinful nature. After a long and arduous purgation every soul in purgatory is restored to its original innocence and consequently rises to the top of the mountain, the Garden of Eden. Eden contains two rivers in which all souls bathe: the Lethe, which washes away the remorse of past sins, and the Eunoe, which renews the pleasant memory of good works accomplished. The soul is then ready to ascend to its appropriate place in paradise.

CANTO X

When we were within the threshold of the door
which the soul's erroneous love neglects
by making the crooked way appear straight,

- 4 I heard the sound of it closing
and, if I had turned my eyes in that direction,
what could have been a worthy excuse for my error?
- 7 We were climbing up through a cleft in the rock,
which turned first one way and then another,
as does a wave with its ebb and flow.
- 10 "Here one needs to use a little skill,"
my leader began, "in staying close
to the wall wherever it turns."
- 13 And this made our steps so short
that the waning moon
retired once again to its bed
- 16 Before we had come out of that needle's eye.
But when we were free and in the open
higher, where the mountain grows smaller,
- 19 I, weary, and both of us uncertain
of our way, we stood upon a plain
which was lonelier than desert trails.
- 22 From its edge, which is confined by a void,
to the foot of the high bank which goes straight up,
it would measure three times a human body;

1. The travelers are now on the third level or terrace of purgatory, where pride is purged. Pride is the most serious and fundamental of sins. Works of sculpture along the terrace represent beautiful examples of humility or ugly examples of pride.

- 25 And as far as my eye could wing its flight
on both the left and right side,
this terrace seemed the same to me.
- 28 Our feet had not moved thereon
when I perceived that the circling bank,
so steep that it was impossible to scale,
- 31 Was of white marble and adorned
with such carvings that not only Polycletus,
but even nature, would suffer by comparison.
- 34 The angel who came to earth with the decree
of peace, which had long been wept for
and which opened heaven of its long interdict,
- 37 Appeared before us so life-like,
carved here in a gentle manner,
that he did not seem to be a silent image.
- 40 One would have sworn that he was saying, "Hail"
because there was also represented the one
who turned the key to open the highest love,
- 43 And in her expression she had these words:
"Behold the handmaid of God" as clear as
a figure stamped in wax.
- 46 "Do not fix your attention on one place,"
said the sweet master, who had me
on that side where people have their heart.
- 49 Consequently I turned my face and saw
behind Mary, on that side
where stood the one who guided me,
- 52 Another story impressed on the rock,
whereupon I passed Virgil and drew nearer
so that it would be better displayed to my eyes.
- 55 There was carved in the rock itself
the cart and the oxen bringing the sacred ark
which inspires fear of uncommissioned tasks.
- 58 In front there were people, and all,
divided into seven choirs, confused two of my senses,
making one say "no" while the other sang "yes."
- 61 Likewise, to the smoke of the incense
that was depicted there, my eyes and nose
produced contradictory "yes" and "no."
- 64 Preceding the blessed vessel,
girt and dancing, was the humble Psalmist,
who was both more and less than king on that occasion.
- 67 Opposite, portrayed at the window
of a great palace, Michal observed
like a sad and spiteful woman.
32. Polycletus--Greek sculptor.
34. The angel is Gabriel, who is represented in sculpture as a paragon of humility.
41. The one who turned the key is the Virgin Mary, a second beautiful example of humility.
56. This image represents the cart bearing the Ark of the Covenant, before which King David danced. (2 Samuel vi.)
57. Uzzah was struck dead for touching the Ark without "commission."
68. Michal--King David's wife, who is here an ugly example for scorning her husband's humility.

- 70 I moved my feet from the place where I stood
in order to examine closely another story
that stood out brightly behind Michal.
- 73 Here was represented the high glory
of the Roman prince whose virtue
moved Gregory to his great victory --
- 76 I refer to the emperor Trajan,
and a little widow was at his bridle,
distraught with tears and pain.
- 79 The area around him appeared trampled by
many horsemen, and golden eagles
moved visibly above them in the wind.
- 82 The wretched woman among them all
seemed to say, "Lord, avenge
my son, now dead, for whom I grieve."
- 85 And he answered her, "Now wait
a while until I return." And she,
like a person whose pain is pressing, "My Lord,
- 88 What if you do not return?" And he, "He who
replaces me will do it." And she, "Another's goodness
does you no good if you neglect your own."
- 91 Then he, "Now take comfort, for I must
do my duty before I depart;
justice requires it and compassion constrains me."
- 94 He who never saw anything new
produced this visible speech, which is
unfamiliar to us because it is not found on earth.
- 97 While I took delight in seeing
the images of so much humility,
precious to view because of their Sculptor,
- 100 "Over here, taking slow steps,"
murmured the poet, "are many people
who will direct us to the other steps."
- 103 My eyes, which were happy to look,
eagerly sought the new sights and
were not slow in turning to him.
- 106 But I do not wish, reader, that you weaken
in your good intention to learn
how God requires the debt to be paid.
- 109 Do not dwell on the form of the punishment:
Consider the outcome; remember that at worst
the punishment cannot last beyond the final judgement.
- 112 I began, "Master, that which I see
moving toward us does not appear human,
and I know not what it is--so confused is my sight."

75. Tradition relates that St. Gregory arranged for the salvation of Trajan's soul.

94. He who--God.

- 115 And he to me, "The serious condition
of their punishment bends them to earth,
so that my eyes at first were uncertain of them.
- 118 But look closely there and discern
those who walk laden with those rocks.
You can now see how each one strikes himself."
- 121 Oh proud Christians, weary wretches,
who are sick in mental outlook,
you put your trust in backward steps.
- 124 Do you not understand that we are worms
born to form the angelic butterfly
which flies to justice without defense?
- 127 Tell why your pride flies so high,
since you are like defective insects,
just worms whose development is incomplete.
- 130 In support of a roof or ceiling
a statue at times appears as a corbel
with its knees pressed against its chest,
- 133 Which, though unreal, causes a real grief
to be born in him who sees it--shaped thus
I saw those when I looked with care.
- 136 It is true that they were more or less bent
according to the weight on their back,
and he who moved most patiently
- 139 Seemed to say crying, "I am exhausted."

CANTO XI

"Our Father, who art in heaven,
not circumscribed, but out of greater love
that Thou hast for Thy first works on high,

- 4 May Thy name and Thy worth
be praised by every creature, as is fitting
to give thanks for Thy sweet goodness.
- 7 May the peace of Thy kingdom come to us,
for we cannot attain it by ourselves
with all our ability, unless it comes to us.
- 10 As Thy angels of their own will
make sacrifice to Thee, singing Hosanna,
so may men do of their own.
- 13 Give us today our daily manna,
without which he who labors most loses ground
in travelling through this harsh desert.
- 16 And as we forgive others for the evil

115. Virgil describes the painful
process by which these proud souls
learn humility.

1. The proud souls pray a para-
phrased form of the Lord's Prayer
as they go about learning to be
humble.

106 Before a thousand years pass, which is
shorter compared to eternity than is an eyebrow's wink
compared to the slowest circle in heaven.

109 He who makes so little progress
in front of me was once acclaimed in all Tuscany
and now he is scarcely mentioned in Siena,

112 Where he was lord when there occurred the destruction of
the Florentine rabble, which was as arrogant
in that time as it now is prostituted.

115 Your reputation is the color of grass
that goes and comes, and the same power withers it
which causes it to spring from the bitter earth."

118 And I to him, "Your truthful words inspire
in me a great humility and reduce a great swelling,
but who is that of whom you were just speaking?"

121 "That," he answered, "is Provenzan Salvani,
and he is here for presuming
to bring all Siena under his control.

124 Behold him there; he goes without rest
since his death--by this means does he render
satisfaction for having been too bold previously."

127 And I, "If that spirit who waits for
the end of life before repenting
remains down below and does not ascend this far

130 Without the aid of good prayers
until as much time passes as he lived,
how was his arrival here possible?"

133 "When he was living gloriously," he said,
"he freely took his stand in the field of Siena,
having set aside all compunction

136 And there, to free a friend of his from the pain
that he was suffering in the prison of Charles
he brought himself to tremble in every vein.

139 I shall say no more, although I know that I speak obscurely.
But within a short time your neighbors
will make it possible for you to explain it.

142 This deed released him from those restrictions."

CANTO XXX

When Ursa Minor of the first heaven,
which never experienced rising or setting
nor the veil of any cloud except guilt,

4 And which made each man aware
of his duty, as the lowest star guides
the helmsman safely into port,

121. Provenzan Salvani was arrogant in his use of political power. Because Provenzan repented only shortly before his death Dante is surprised that his soul is not still among those of the late repentant on terrace II of purgatory.

136. Oderisi explains that Provenzan, shortly before his death, mortified himself in order to gain the freedom of a friend who had been incarcerated by Charles of Anjou. This act of humility shortened the time he was required to spend on terrace II of purgatory.

1. The travelers have reached the summit of purgatory, where souls have regained their original innocence.

7 When it stood still, the truthful people,
having come between it and the Griffon,
turned to the car as to their peace.

9. This allegorical scene has sacramental quality. The Griffon half-lion and half-eagle, symbolizes the dual nature of Christ.

10 And one of them, like a heavenly messenger,
sang out three times, "Come from Lebanon,
my spouse," and all the others followed him.

13 As the blessed, at the final trumpet call,
will all arise quickly from their graves
with their renewed voices singing Hallelujah,

16 Likewise on the divine vehicle there were
raised the voices of a hundred ministers and messengers
of eternal life, following the lead of one great elder.

16. The divine vehicle conveys the consecrated Host of the Eucharist.

19 They all said, "Blessed is he who comes."
and casting flowers above and around,
"Oh, give lilies with full hands."

22 I saw then at the beginning of the day
the eastern sky all rose-colored
and the other sky beautiful and serene,

25 and the face of the rising sun so shadowed
by tempering vapors that
the eye could look at it for a long time.

28 Thus within a cloud of flowers
which rose from angelic hands
and fell on all sides

31 Over a clear veil, girt with olive,
a lady appeared to me, under a green mantle
and dressed in the color of living flame.

32. The lady is Beatrice, who appears to Dante for the first time within the poem.

34 And my spirit, which had not been
awe-struck for so long a time,
trembled in her presence and

37 Without my eyes giving me further knowledge,
through a hidden virtue which emanates from her,
I again felt the great power of my old love.

40 As soon as my sight was struck
by the lofty virtue which had pierced me
before I was out of childhood

43 I turned to the left with the confidence
of a child who runs to his mother
when he is afraid or in distress,

46 And I said to Virgil, "I scarcely have
a drop of blood which is not trembling;
I recognize the signs of the old flame."

49 But Virgil had departed from me;
Virgil, sweetest father,
Virgil, to whom I gave myself for my salvation.

- 52 Not all that our first mother lost
could prevent my dew-cleaned cheeks
from being covered again by tears.
- 55 "Dante, do not weep now because
Virgil has departed, do not lament that;
rather you should cry for another reason."
- 58 Like an admiral who goes from stem
to stern to see the sailors who work on
the other ships and encourage them to do well,
- 61 On the left side of the carriage,
when I turned at the sound of my name,
(which is necessarily recorded here)
- 64 I saw the lady, who first appeared to me
veiled under the angelic festival,
direct her eyes toward me from beyond the stream.
- 67 The entire veil which descended from her head,
encircled by Minerva's leaves,
prevented her from being seen clearly.
- 70 Still regal and stern in her bearing,
she continued as one who speaks
while holding back the most heated words.
- 73 "Look at me well! I am indeed Beatrice.
How did you dare to climb the mountain?
Do you not know that man is happy here?"
- 76 My eyes fell down into the clear fountain,
but, seeing my reflection, I shifted them to the grass
to avoid seeing the shame engraved on my forehead.
- 79 Just as the mother seems stern to the child,
so did she seem to me, because the taste
of stern pity is bitter.
- 82 She became quiet and the angels suddenly
sang, "In Thee, O Lord, have I hope,"
but they did not sing beyond, "my feet."
- 85 As the snow among the living limbs
freezes along the back of Italy
when blown and packed by Slavic winds,
- 88 Then, melted, it runs down,
if only the shadowless land breathes,
acting as fire melting a candle.
- 91 Likewise was I tearless and sighless
before the angels who sing always
in harmony with the music of the spheres.
- 94 But when I heard in their sweet notes
their pity for me--more than if they
had said, "Madame, why do you rebuke him so?"

- 97 The ice which had gripped my heart
turned to air and water, and poured from my breast
through my mouth and eyes.
- 100 She, still standing firmly on the same side
of the car, then directed her words
to the merciful angelic creatures,
- 103 "You stand watch over the eternal day,
so that neither night nor sleep steals from you
a step the world makes on its course;
- 106 Consequently my reply is made more carefully,
so that he who weeps over there may hear me,
adjusting his sorrow to fit his sin.
- 109 Not only through the working of the great wheels,
which direct each seed to some end,
just as the stars are appropriately arranged,
- 112 But through the generosity of divine grace,
whose rain is such a high vapor
that our vision cannot perceive it,
- 115 This man had in his early life
such potential that every proper habit
would have had a marvelous demonstration in him.
- 118 But land, if it is naturally fertile and productive,
becomes so much more wild and troublesome
when sown with bad seed or left uncultivated.
- 121 For some time I sustained him with my countenance,
showing my youthful eyes to him,
I even led him with me along the right path.
- 124 As soon as I was on the threshold
of my second age and changed life,
this man abandoned me and gave himself to another.
- 127 When I had ascended from flesh to spirit
and my beauty and virtue were enhanced
I was not so cherished or appreciated by him,
- 130 And he turned his steps down a false road,
pursuing false images of good
which do not fulfill their promise.
- 133 Nor did it avail me to grant him inspiration,
with which I summoned him in dreams and
by other means, so little did he notice them.
- 136 He fell so low that all appeals to
his salvation were ineffective,
except for showing him the lost souls.
- 139 For this purpose I visited the threshold of the ~~dead~~
and delivered my prayers, pleading
to the one who has brought him up here.

115. Beatrice explains her reason
for rebuking Dante.

126. It is not clear in what sense
Dante "gave himself to another."

142 A high decree of God would be broken
if anyone passed Lethe and its waters
were drunk without any payment

145 Of repentance which sheds tears."

CANTO XXXI

"Oh you, who are on the other side of the sacred stream,"
directing toward me her words,
which even obliquely had seemed harsh enough,

4 She began again, continuing without delay,
"Say, say whether this is true, for your confession
must be offered to meet such accusations."

7 My faculties were so confused
that my voice moved and was spent before
it was released from my organs.

10 She waited a little, then said, "What are you thinking?
Answer me, for the unpleasant memories in you
have not yet been destroyed by the water."

13 Confusion and fear mixed together
forced from my mouth such a "yes"
that it could not be heard without being seen.

16 As the bow and string of a crossbow
are broken when subjected to excessive tension,
so that the arrow strikes the target with less force,

19 Likewise did I break under the heavy stress,
pouring out tears and sighs,
and my voice grew weak in the process.

19. Beatrice's rebuke has brought
Dante to full contrition and repen-
tance.

22 Whereupon she said to me, "Among your desires for me
which led you to love the good,
beyond which there is nothing to hope for,

25 What pitfalls did you cross and what chains
did you find which forced you to abandon
your hope of achieving your good?

28 And what attractive features and advantages
revealed themselves on the face of other things,
so that you had to pursue them?"

31 After heaving a bitter sigh
I scarcely had a voice with which to answer,
and my lips functioned with difficulty.

34 I said while weeping, "Present things
with their false pleasure turned my steps
as soon as your face was hidden from me."

37 And she, "Even had you remained silent or denied
what you have confessed, your guilt would be
no less manifest--by such a judge is it known.

- 40 But when confession of the sin comes from
the mouth of the accused, in our court
the wheel turns against the cutting edge.
- 43 Still, so that you will bear the full shame
of your error, and be stronger when
you hear the sirens the next time,
- 46 Put aside the cause of your tears and listen;
you will hear how my entombed body
should have moved you in a contrary direction.
- 49 Never did nature or art present to you
as much pleasure as did the beautiful form
of my body, which is now scattered in the dust.
- 52 And if you lost the supreme pleasure
when I died, what mortal thing could
have inspired desire in you?
- 55 At the first shaft of false things
you should have raised yourself up
after me, for I was not false.
- 58 No young girl or other ephemeral vanity
should have turned your feathers downward
to wait for further blows.
- 61 A young bird succumbs to two or three chances,
but arrows are shot and nets cast in vain
before the eyes of a full-grown bird."
- 64 Like children who, ashamed and silent,
stand staring at the ground, listening and
repenting of their acknowledged misdeeds,
- 67 So was I, as she said, "If just hearing
grieves you so, raise your chin
and you will find greater vexation in seeing."
- 70 With less resistance is a sturdy oak
uprooted, whether by a north wind or
the one from the land of Iarbas,
- 73 Than was required for me to raise my chin upon command,
and when she asked for my face by the chin,
I well recognized the sting of her argument.
- 76 And when my face was exposed
my eyes perceived those primal creatures
resting from scattering their flowers,
- 79 And my lights, still uncertain,
saw Beatrice turn to the beast
that is one person in two natures.

72. Iarbas--in the Aeneid, king of
Libya.

80. beast--griffon.

- 82 Beneath her veil and beyond the river
she seemed to transcend her former self more
than she surpassed others on earth.
- 85 The thorn of remorse so pricked me that
the very things which bent me to love them
most were now most hateful to me.
- 88 Such awareness bit at my heart,
so that I fell in a faint, and what happened next
is known by her who put me in that condition.
- 91 Then, when my heart restored my outward faculties,
I saw over me the lady whom I had found
alone and she was saying, "Cling to me, cling to me!"
- 94 She had transported me into the water up to my neck,
and pulling me along behind her she was
moving over the water lightly as a boat.
- 97 When I arrived near the blessed shore
I heard, "Purge me" more sweetly
than I can remember or express in writing.
- 100 The beautiful lady opened her arms,
clasping my head and submerging me,
so that I was forced to swallow the water.
- 103 Then she brought me up and led me bathed
into the dance of the four beauties,
each of whom covered me with her arm.
- 106 "Here we are nymphs and in heaven we are stars;
before Beatrice descended to the world
we were assigned to be her handmaidens.
- 109 We shall lead you to her eyes,
for whose joyous light yours will be prepared
by the three ladies there, who discern more deeply."
- 112 Thus they began to sing, and then they
accompanied me to the breast of the griffon,
where Beatrice stood facing us.
- 115 They said, "Do not spare your eyes,
since we have brought you before the emeralds
whence love once fired its arrows at you."
- 118 A thousand desires hotter than flame
bound my vision to her shining eyes,
which were fixed upon the griffon.
- 121 Exactly as the sun shines on a mirror,
the double-natured animal was reflected there,
first with one, then with the other, appearance.
- 124 Imagine, reader, whether I was amazed
when I saw the object remain motionless
while its image was transformed.

92. lady--Matilda, guardian of Eden. She bathes Dante in the Lethe so that he may be freed of his remorse for his sins.

104. four beauties--cardinal virtues: prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice.

111. three ladies--theological virtues: faith, hope and love.

124. The transformation of the image of the Griffon is a mystical representation of Christ's incarnation.

- 127 Meanwhile my soul, joyous and filled
with wonder, savored that food
which satisfies while causing even more hunger.
- 130 Showing themselves to be of a higher order
by their behavior, the other three moved forward,
dancing to the rhythm of their angelic measure.
- 133 "Turn, Beatrice, turn your holy eyes,"
was their song, "to your faithful one,
who has travelled so many steps to see you."
- 136 Show us the grace of revealing to him
your smile, so that he may discern
the second beauty which is hidden in you.
- 139 Oh splendor of living, eternal light,
who has turned so pale under the shadow
of Parnassus or drunk from its fountain
- 142 That the mind would not seem cloudy
in trying to describe you as you appeared
there, where harmonious heaven is your only veil
- 145 When you revealed yourself in the open air?

PARADISE

<IL PARADISO>

Following Ptolemaic astronomy, Dante conceived the heavens to be ten concentric spheres surrounding the earth. The heaven of the moon is the lowest, followed by that of Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile and finally, the heaven which embraces all others, the Empyrean. Each soul is assigned a specific place in one of the heavens according to its spiritual merits, but all souls share fully in the presence of God. There is no change in paradise; souls there spend eternity enjoying ultimate truth. It is Dante's special tribute to Beatrice that her soul has already gained paradise, even though her death occurred in 1290, only ten years before his vision.

CANTO III

That sun which first warmed my breast with love
had revealed to me, by testing and refuting,
that sweet aspect of beautiful truth;

4 And I raised my head as seemed appropriate
in order to speak more erectly
and confess myself corrected and apprised;

7 But a vision appeared that so
captured my attention, forcing me to look,
that I forgot my confession.

10 Just as smooth and transparent glass
or clear and tranquil waters,
shallow enough for the bottom to be visible,

13 Reflect the outlines of our faces
so weakly that a pearl on a white forehead
strikes our pupils quite distinctly;

16 So did I see faces ready to speak,
which caused me to make an error opposite to
the one that inspired love between the man and the fountain.

19 As soon as I was aware of them,
believing them to be only reflected images,
I turned my eyes to see whose they were,

22 And I saw nothing, so I looked forward again,
straight into the light of the sweet guide
who, smiling, had a glow in her holy eyes.

25 "Do not be surprised that I smile,"
she said, "in the presence of your childish thought,
which does not yet stand confidently on the truth,

13. Dante, the traveler, is not yet accustomed to the fact that all is spirit and light in paradise, so he mistakenly believes faces of souls to be only reflections.

18. the man--Narcissus, who fell in love with his reflected face.

28 But customarily turns you around to empty space.
Those are real souls that you see,
assigned here for failure to keep their vows.

31 In any event, speak with them and listen and believe,
for the true light which guides them
does not let them take a false step."

34 And to the soul that seemed most eager
to speak to me, I began
almost like one overcome by desire.

37 "Oh well created spirit, delighting in
the sweet rays of eternal life,
which can be understood only if experienced,

40 You will do me a kindness if you tell me
your name and your condition."
Whereupon she, willing and with laughing eyes,

43 "Our charity closes no doors
to just desires, nor does that One
that wants its entire court to be like itself.

46 I was a virgin nun in the world,
and if you look well into your memory,
my remarkable beauty will not be hidden from you;

49 You will recognize me as Piccarda,
who, placed here with these other blessed souls,
am happy in the slowest of the spheres.

52 Our affections, which are enflamed only
in the pleasure of the Holy Spirit,
rejoice in being conformed to His will.

55 And this situation of ours which seems so low,
is assigned to us because we neglected
our vows, voiding them in some respect."

58 And I to her, "In your marvellous countenance
a mysterious divine quality
transforms you from your earlier appearance;

61 Consequently I was not prompt in recalling you.
But now what you say helps me
so that remembering is easier.

64 But tell me, you who are so happy here,
do you not desire a higher place in order
to see better and make more friends?"

67 She smiled slightly to the other souls
and then answered me so joyfully
that she seemed to burn in the first fire of love.

30. Beatrice explains that they are now in the heaven of the moon, the lowest sphere. The souls assigned here were inconstant in life.

49. Piccarda Donati, a relative of Dante's wife, was a nun taken from her convent and forced to marry against her will.

65. Dante's naive question indicates how little he understands the joyful love of every soul in paradise.

- 70 "Brother, the power of love
makes our wills calm, causing us to
desire only what we have and long for nothing else.
- 73 If we desired to be exalted
our desires would be in discord
with the will of the One who assigns us here,
- 76 And you will see, that does not belong in these circles,
when you recall well the nature
of charity, which is here a necessity.
- 79 Rather, it befits this blessed condition
to adhere closely to the divine will,
so that all of our wills may become one.
- 82 And our being at different levels
throughout this kingdom pleases both the entire kingdom
and the King whose will encompasses ours.
- 85 In His will is our peace:
it is the sea which attracts everything,
whether created by God or nature."
- 88 It was clear to me then that every place
in heaven is paradise, although the grace
of the highest good does not rain there equally.
- 91 But as it happens that one food satisfies,
while the hunger for another food lingers,
we are grateful for the former and request more of the latter.
- 94 So did I by word and deed,
that I might learn what thread
she had failed to draw completely through the shuttle.
- 97 "A perfect life and high merit place higher in
heaven a lady whose rule is followed
on earth by women taking the habit and veil,
98. lady--St. Clare, founder of
the order to which Piccarda be-
longed.
- 100 So that until death they may spend waking and
sleeping hours with the Bridegroom who accepts every vow
that charity conforms to His pleasure.
- 103 I fled from the world as a young girl
in order to follow her and I clothed myself in her habit
and promised to follow the life of her order.
- 106 Then men, more given to evil than to good,
kidnapped me from the sweet cloister;
God knows what happened to my life then.
- 109 And this other splendor, which you can see
on my right, is illuminated
with all the light of our sphere and
- 112 Applies to herself what I say of myself
she was a nun, and the shadow of
the sacred veil was also taken from her.

115 But although she was returned to the world
against her will and against proper custom,
she was never deprived of the veil over her heart.

118 This is the light of the great Constance
who, from the second wind of Swabia,
conceived the third and final power."

118. Constance--nun taken by force
from the convent; mother of Em-
peror Frederick II.

121 Having spoken to me thus, she began to sing
"Hail Mary" and disappeared singing
like a heavy object in water.

124 My sight, which followed her as far
as possible until it lost her,
then turned to the symbol of greater desire

127 And concentrated entirely on Beatrice,
but she dazzled my gaze so much
that at first my eyes could not bear it,

130 And that made me slower in making inquiries.

CANTO XXXIII

"Virgin Mother, daughter of your Son,
more humble and exalted than any creature,
fixed point of eternal counsel,

1. In this final canto of the poem
Dante and Beatrice have reached
the highest heaven, the infinite
Empyrean. The canto begins with a
long prayer to the Virgin given
by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

4 You are the one who so ennobled
human nature that its Maker
did not disdain to assume its form.

7 In your womb was rekindled the love
whose warmth caused the germination of
this flower of eternal peace.

10 Here you are the noonday light of
charity for us, and among mortals below
you are the living fountain of hope.

13 Lady, your worth and grandeur are so great
that he who hopes for grace without turning to you
is trying to fly without wings.

16 Your mercy is not only available to him
who asks, but many times
freely anticipates the supplication.

19 In you is mercy, in you is pity,
in you is magnificence, in you is combined
all goodness of any creature.

22 Now this man, who from the lowest pit
of the universe to here has seen
spiritual lives one by one,

- 25 Prayerfully asks you graciously to grant
him the virtue of raising his eyes
even higher to the ultimate salvation.
- 28 And I, who never burned for my own vision
more than I do now for his, offer you all
my supplication, praying that it be sufficient,
- 31 And that you remove every cloud of his
mortality with your prayers,
so that the supreme bliss be revealed to him.
- 34 Moreover I pray, Queen, who can do
whatever you wish, that you preserve his
affections sound after he has seen so much
- 37 May your care control his human movements;
look upon Beatrice with so many blessed souls
who clasp their hands for my prayers."
- 40 Her eyes, which God both enjoys and venerates,
were fixed on the supplicant, demonstrating
how much devout prayers give her joy.
- 43 Then they were directed to the Eternal Light,
into which it is not plausible that the eye
of any creature can penetrate so clearly.
- 46 I was approaching the consummation
of all my desires, so the
ardor of my craving was fittingly reduced.
- 49 Bernard signaled to me with a smile to
look upward, but I was already
doing what he indicated.
- 52 And my sight, becoming pure,
penetrated more and more into the ray
of the supreme light, which of itself is true.
- 55 From that moment on my vision was greater
than our speech, which yields to such a view
as memory yields to ineffability.
- 58 Like him who has a vision while dreaming
and retains an impression afterwards,
while all the rest escapes from the mind,
- 61 So am I, for my vision has almost completely
vanished, but the sweetness derived from it
still flows through my heart.
- 64 Likewise does the snow melt in the sunlight;
and the prophecy of Sybil which was lost
on the light leaves of the wind.

49. St. Bernard directs Dante's
view upward so that he may partake
of the beatific vision, the su-
preme experience of paradise.

- 67 Oh Supreme Light, which lifts itself so far
above human understanding, restore to my
mind a little of that which you revealed
- 70 And make my tongue so powerful
that it may leave even a spark
of your glory to future generations.
- 73 So that, in returning to my memory
and being proclaimed a little in these verses,
your victory will be better conceived.
- 76 I believe that, because of the brilliance of the
living ray which I experienced, I would have been blinded
if my eyes had turned to look elsewhere.
- 79 And I recall that, on that account, I was
so eager to concentrate thereon that I joined
my gaze with the infinite Goodness.
- 82 Oh abundant grace, which allowed me to
fix my vision on the eternal light
so long that I became blind to all else!
- 85 In its depth I saw that it contained,
bound with love in one volume,
what is spread throughout the universe;
- 88 Substances and accidents are there
as if fused together in such a manner
that all that I describe is one simple light.
- 91 I believe that I saw the universal form
of this complex union, because I feel
my joy increase in describing it.
- 94 A single moment causes me to forget more
than did twenty-five centuries obscure the event
which caused Neptune to admire the shadow of Argo.
- 97 So my mind, all suspended, was looking
intently and without motion
ever renewing its zeal in looking.
- 100 One is so transformed in that light
that it becomes impossible ever to consent
to turn from it to see another sight,
- 103 Because the good, which is the object of the will,
is gathered therein, and what is perfect there
is defective elsewhere.
- 106 Henceforth my speech will be shorter--
even about things which I recall--than that of an
infant still nursing at his mother's breast.
- 109 Not because the Living Light at which I was gazing
had more than a simple aspect, for
it is always the same as it was before,

96. Argo--the first ship, which
surprised Neptune. Dante forgot
more in a moment than did mankind
in 2500 years.

- 112 But because my sight grew in strength as
I looked, an unchanging appearance
seemed to be transformed because I changed.
- 115 In the deep and clear background
of the supreme light there appeared to me three circles
of three colors and one dimension. 116. three circles--Persons of the
Trinity.
- 118 And the first seemed a reflection of the second,
as from rainbow to rainbow, and the third resembled fire
issuing forth from the other two.
- 121 Oh how inadequate is language and how feeble
for my purpose, and this, to what I saw,
is so great that saying "little" is insufficient.
- 124 Oh eternal light which alone abides in yourself,
alone knows yourself, and being known by yourself
and knowing yourself, loves and pleases yourself.
- 127 That movement in circles, which, so generated,
seemed like a reflected light in you,
after my eyes had surveyed it somewhat,
- 130 Appeared within its own essence and color
to depict our image, thus
attracting my sight to be fixed upon it.
- 133 Like the geometer who zealously devotes himself
to squaring the circle, but does not find
in his thought the principle that he needs,
- 136 So was I before the new sight;
I wished to see how the image fits
into the circle and finds its place therein,
- 139 But my own wings were inadequate for the task,
except that my mind was struck by
a flash of light by which it attained its wish.
- 142 Here power failed my loftiest expression,
but now my desire and will were being turned,
like a wheel that rotates evenly,
- 145 By the love that moves the sun and the other stars.

THE LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI

BOOK FIRST

I

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 Fiorino 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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VII

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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 indulge 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 deep-drawn sighs of satisfaction. My filial piety often made me give him that contentment, and induced me to pretend that I enjoyed the music too.

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XII

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 wood-carver, 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 finished 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,

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 Tasse, 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 (*chiavacuore*), 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. There I 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 Salvatore 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.

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XIX

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 master-goldsmith 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

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 vices." 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 power 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, saying 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.

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 quite 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.

Chapter 17

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 misguided 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 kingdom, 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. As 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. I 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 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.

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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

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 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 a distance of 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 porphyry, 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 LEVERMORE 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 Aesclepius 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 shebaolh*," 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 allurements, 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 wild 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) toil 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.

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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.



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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 delightful? 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 were for 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 companions. Thus Homer makes aged 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 stupidity 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; . . .

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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.

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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 close-linked 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 abstruse difficulties in physics, without the least demur or hesitation, as if they had been admitted into the cabinet council of nature,

or had been eye-witnesses to all the accurate methods of creation; though alas nature does but laugh at all their puny conjectures; for they never yet made one considerable discovery, as appears in that they are unani-



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 themselves 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 undertaking 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 Omni-



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 immersed 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 proficient 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's-breadth 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 girding 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 salvation 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?

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. . . 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 supream 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 unfrught ; and taking the resemblance of goodness to themselves, turn over the truth and reality of it to others. They think themselves mighty happy in

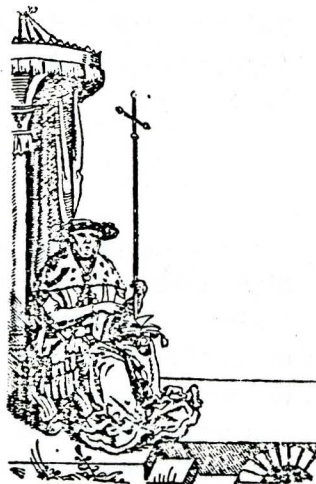
that they can call the king master, and be allowed the familiarity of talking with him ; that they can volubly rehearse his several titles of august highness, supereminent excellence, and most serene majesty, that they can boldly usher in any discourse, and that they have the complete knack of insinuation 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 jostle 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 anyone 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.

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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 ἀνὴρ 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 μνάμοναν 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 jolly!*

A TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

MARTIN LUTHER

Faith 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 everlasting, 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.

John 4:14

**Liberty
and
Bondage**

That I may make the way easier for the unlearned—for 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 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 time free and a servant, at the same time in the form of God and in the form of a servant.

I Cor. 9:19
Rom. 13:8

Gal. 4:4
Phil. 2:6f.

Here

**Com-
mands
reveal
Weak-
ness**

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 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, "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.

Ex. 20:17

Hos. 13:9

But when a man through the commands has learned to know his weakness, and has become troubled as to how he 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 declare the glory of God and say, “If you wish to fulfil the 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 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, even to them that believe on His Name.”

From what has been said it is easily seen whence 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.” 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 unites the soul with Christ as a bride is united with her bridegroom. And by this mystery, as the Apostle teaches, Christ and the soul become one flesh. And if they are one flesh and there is between them a true marriage, nay, by far

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 glory 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 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 says.

Eph. 5:27

Hos.
2:19 f.

Faith the
Fulfi-
ment of
the Law

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 source, 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 man. Here we shall answer all those who, misled by the 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 greater portion, even the fulness of the spirit, in the future. 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 is possible, we shall see.

The
Outward
Man

Rom.
8: 23

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.

Needs
to do
Works

In doing these works, however, we must not think that a man is justified before God by them: for that erroneous 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.

Works
do not
Justify

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.

Matt.
7:18

Works
of Love

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 converse with men, as Christ also, being made in the likeness of men, was found in form as a man, and conversed with men, as Baruch iii says.

Rom.
14:7 f.

Phil. 2:7
Bar. 3:38

Do not
Save

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 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 be sons of God, each caring for and working for the other, bearing one another's burdens, and so fulfilling the law of Christ. Lo, this is a truly Christian life, here faith is truly 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.

Eph. 4:28

Gal. 6:2

Gal. 5:6
Grow out
of Faith

Faith
and Love

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, distributing all things to all men richly and freely, causing

Matt.
5:45

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.

Conclu-
sion

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 old 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 else, I fear, except that France, the Germans and Venice relied

Ps. 33:16

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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
De-
scribed**

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 sham-battles. 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 Tem-
poral**

**I Cor.
12:12 ff.**

**The
Priest-
hood
of Be-
lievers**

I Pet. 2:9

Rev. 5:10

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.

Matt.
18:4
Luke 9:48

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?

John 6:45

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 further power of the keys they arrogate to themselves is mere invention. But Christ's word to Peter, "I have prayed 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, 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?

John
20:22 ff.

Luke
22:32

John
17: 9, 20

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?

1 Cor.
2:15

2 Cor.
4:13

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All these and many other texts should make us bold and free, and we should not allow the Spirit of liberty, as Paul
2 Cor. 3:17 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 better. In the olden days Abraham had to listen to his
Gen. 21:12 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. 2:11 ff. Therefore it behooves every Christian to espouse the cause of the faith, to understand and defend it, and to rebuke all errors.

The Third Wall— Pope and Council

Matt. 18:15

The third wall falls of itself when the first two are down. For when the pope acts contrary to the 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, "fellow-spirituals," 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 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.

2 Cor.
10:3

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 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, through the power of Satan, be mighty in lying wonders.

Matt.
24:24

2 Thess.
2:9

Let us, therefore, hold fast to this: No Christian authority can do anything against Christ; as St. Paul says, "We can do 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 Cor.
13:8

^{s Thess.} ^{2:0 f.} 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 wonders.

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 believe.

^{Worldliness of the pope} 1. It is a horrible and frightful thing that the ruler of 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." ^{1 Thess. 5:21} ^{Rom. 12:17} 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,

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 go beyond his lord's. Moreover he is not the vicar of the glorified, but of the crucified Christ, as Paul says, "I was willing to know nothing among you save Christ, and Him only as the Crucified"; and in Philippians ii, "So think of 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." 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.

John

17:36

1 Cor. 2:2

Phil. 2:5

1 Cor.

1:23

2. What is the use in Christendom of those people who are 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 prelaties, and so overthrowing the worship of God. For this reason we now see Italy a very wilderness—monasteries in ruins, bishoprics devoured, the prelaties 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.

The Cardinals

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 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 prelaties 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 g u l d e n ; that of Bamberg, something; Mainz, Trier and the others, something more; and so from one to ten thousand g u l d e n might be got together, in order that a cardinal might live at Rome like a rich king.

Dan.

11:39, 43

"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 Würzburg 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.'"

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 guldens 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
Curia

3. If ninety-nine parts of the papal court were done away 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!...

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*[In twenty-seven numbered sections Luther lists concrete actions by which the princes should reform the church. Selections from the first four sections will give an indication of the force of the proposals.]

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,

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 their subjects to pay the annates to Rome and should abolish 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, and even the canon law in Case 16, Question 7, de filiis. Thus it has come about that men are saying 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.

Abolition
of An-
nates

Rom. 13:4
1 Pet.
2:14

2. Since the pope with his Roman practices—his commends, adjutories; reservations, *gratia expectativa*, papal months, incorporations, unions, *pallia*; rules in chancery, and such like knavery—usurps 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:

Prohib-
ition of
Roman
Appoint-
ments

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

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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?

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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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Summary of the Christian Life.

Self-Denial

BY

JOHN CALVIN

ALTHOUGH the Divine law contains a most excellent and well-arranged plan for the regulation of life, yet it has pleased the heavenly Teacher to conform men by a more accurate doctrine to the rule which he had prescribed in the law. And the principle of that doctrine is this—that it is the duty of believers to “present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God;” (b) and that in this consists the legitimate worship of him. Hence is deduced an argument for exhorting them, “Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that will of God.” This is a very important consideration, that we are consecrated and dedicated to God; that we may not hereafter think, speak, meditate, or do any thing but with a view to his glory. For that which is sacred cannot, without great injustice towards him, be applied to unholy uses. If we are not our own, but the Lord’s, it is manifest both what error we must avoid, and to what end all the actions of our lives are to be directed. We are not our own; therefore neither our reason nor our will should predominate in our deliberations and actions. We are not our own; therefore let us not propose it as our end, to seek what may be expedient for us according to the flesh. We are not our own; therefore let us, as far as possible, forget ourselves and all things that are ours. On the contrary, we are God’s; to him, therefore, let us live and die. We are God’s; therefore let his wisdom and will preside in all our actions. We are God’s; towards him, therefore, as our only legitimate end, let every part of our lives be directed. O, how great a proficiency has that man made, who, having been taught that he is not his own, has taken the sovereignty and government of himself from his own reason, to surrender it to God! For as compliance with their own inclinations leads men most effectually to ruin, so to place no dependence on our own knowledge or will, but merely to follow the guidance of the Lord, is the only way of safety. Let this, then, be the first step, to depart from ourselves, that we may apply all the vigour of our faculties to the service of the Lord. By service I mean, not that only which consists in verbal obedience, but that by which the human mind, divested of its natural carnality, resigns itself wholly to the direction of the Divine Spirit. Of this transformation, which Paul styles a renovation of the mind, (c) though it is the first entrance into life, all the philosophers were ignorant. For they set up Reason as the sole directress of man; they think that she is exclusively to be attended to; in short, to her alone they assign the government of the conduct. But the Christian philosophy commands her to give place and submit to the Holy Spirit; so that now the man himself lives not, but carries about Christ living and reigning with him. (d)

II. Hence also that other consequence, that we should seek not our own things, but those which are agreeable to the will of the Lord, and conducive to the promotion of his glory. This also argues a great proficiency, that almost forgetting ourselves, and certainly neglecting all selfish regards, we endeavour faithfully to devote our attention to God and his commandments. For when the Scripture enjoins us to discard all private and selfish considerations, it not only erases from our minds the cupidity of wealth, the lust of power, and the favour of men, but also eradicates ambition and all appetite after human glory, with other more secret plagues. Indeed, a Christian man ought to be so disposed and prepared, as to reflect that he has to do with God every moment of his life. Thus, as he will measure all his actions by his will and determination, so he will refer the whole bias of his mind religiously to him. For he who has learned to regard God in every undertaking, is also raised above every vain imagination. This is that denial of ourselves, which Christ, from the commencement of their course, so diligently enjoins on his disciples; which, when it has once obtained the government of the heart, leaves room neither for pride, haughtiness, or ostentation, nor for avarice, libidinousness, luxury, effeminacy, or any other evils which are the offspring of self-love. On the contrary, wherever it does not reign, there either the grossest vices are indulged without the least shame; or, if there exist any appearance of virtue, it is vitiated by a depraved passion for glory. Show me, if you can, a single individual, who, unless he has renounced himself according to the command of the Lord, is voluntarily disposed to practise virtue among men. For all who have not been influenced by this disposition, have followed virtue merely from the love of praise. And even those of the philosophers who have ever contended that virtue is desirable for its own sake, have been inflated with so much arrogance, that it is evident they desired virtue for no other reason than to furnish them occasion for the exercise of pride. But God is so far from being delighted, either with those who are ambitious of popular praise, or with hearts so full of pride and presumption, that he pronounces "they have their reward" in this world, and represents harlots and publicans as nearer to the kingdom of heaven than such persons. But we have not yet clearly stated the number and magnitude of the obstacles by which a man is impeded in the pursuit of that which is right, as long as he has refrained from all self-denial. For it is an ancient and true observation, that there is a world of vices concealed in the soul of men. Nor can you find any other remedy than to deny yourself and discard all selfish considerations, and to devote your whole attention to the pursuit of those things which the Lord requires of you, and which ought to be pursued for this sole reason, because they are pleasing to him.

V. How extremely difficult it is for you to discharge your duty in seeking the advantage of your neighbour! Unless you quit all selfish considerations, and, as it were, lay aside yourself, you will effect nothing in this duty. For how can you perform those which Paul inculcates as works of charity, unless you renounce yourself, and devote yourself wholly to serve others? "Charity," says he, "suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily pro-

voked," &c. (*h*) If this be all that is required, that we seek not our own, yet we must do no small violence to nature, which so strongly inclines us to the exclusive love of ourselves, that it does not so easily permit us to neglect ourselves and our own concerns in order to be vigilant for the advantage of others, and even voluntarily to recede from our right, to resign it to another. But the Scripture leads us to this, admonishes us, that whatever favours we obtain from the Lord, we are intrusted with them on this condition, that they should be applied to the common benefit of the Church; and that, therefore, the legitimate use of all his favours, is a liberal and kind communication of them to others. There cannot be imagined a more certain rule. or a more powerful exhortation to the observance of it, than when we are taught, that all the blessings we enjoy are Divine deposits, committed to our trust on this condition, that they should be dispensed for the benefit of our neighbours. But the Scripture goes still further, when it compares them to the powers with which the members of the human body are endued. For no member has its power for itself, nor applies it to its private use; but transfuses it among its fellow members, receiving no advantage from it but what proceeds from the common convenience of the whole body. So, whatever ability a pious man possesses, he ought to possess it for his brethren, consulting his own private interest in no way inconsistent with a cordial attention to the common edification of the Church. Let this, then, be our rule for benignity and beneficence,—that whatever God has conferred on us, which enables us to assist our neighbour, we are the stewards of it, and must one day render an account of our stewardship; and that the only right dispensation of what has been committed to us, is that which is regulated by the law of love. Thus we shall not only always connect the study to promote the advantage of others with a concern for our own private interests, but shall prefer the good of others to our own.

VI. Moreover, that we may not be weary of doing good, which otherwise would of necessity soon be the case, we must add also the other character mentioned by the apostle, that "charity suffereth long, and is not easily provoked." The Lord commands us to do "good unto all men," (*k*) universally, a great part of whom, estimated according to their own merits, are very undeserving; but here the Scripture assists us with an excellent rule, when it inculcates, that we must not regard the intrinsic merit of men, but must consider the image of God in them, to which we owe all possible honour and love; but that this image is most carefully to be observed in them "who are of the household of faith," (*l*) inasmuch as it is renewed and restored by the Spirit of Christ. Whoever, therefore, is presented to you that needs your kind offices, you have no reason to refuse him your assistance. Say that he is a stranger; yet the Lord has impressed on him a character which ought to be familiar to you; for which reason he forbids you to despise your own flesh. (*m*) Say that he is contemptible and worthless; but the Lord shows him to be one whom he has deigned to grace with his own image. Say that you are obliged to him for no services; but God has made him, as it were, his substitute, to whom you acknowledge yourself to be under obligations for numerous and important benefits. Say that he is unworthy of your making the smallest exertion on his account; but the image of God, by which he is recommended to

you, deserves your surrender of yourself and all that you possess. If he not only has deserved no favour, but, on the contrary, has provoked you with injuries and insults,—even this is no just reason why you should cease to embrace him with your affection, and to perform to him the offices of love. He has deserved, you will say, very different treatment from me. But what has the Lord deserved? who, when he commands you to forgive men all their offences against you, certainly intends that they should be charged to himself. This is the only way of attaining that which is not only difficult, but utterly repugnant to the nature of man—to love them who hate us, (*n*) to requite injuries with kindnesses, and to return blessings for curses. (*o*) We should remember, that we must not reflect on the wickedness of men, but contemplate the Divine image in them; which, concealing and obliterating their faults, by its beauty and dignity allures us to embrace them in the arms of our love.

The Right Use of the Present Life and Its Supports

BY

JOHN CALVIN

BY SUCH principles, the Scripture also fully instructs us in the right use of terrestrial blessings—a thing that ought not to be neglected in a plan for the regulation of life. For if we must live, we must also use the necessary supports of life; nor can we avoid even those things which appear to subserve our pleasures rather than our necessities. It behooves us, therefore, to observe moderation, that we may use them with a pure conscience, whether for necessity or for pleasure. This the Lord prescribes in his word, when he teaches us, that to his servants the present life is like a pilgrimage, in which they are travelling towards the celestial kingdom. If we are only to pass through the earth, we ought undoubtedly to make such a use of its blessings as will rather assist than retard us in our journey. It is not without reason, therefore, that Paul advises us to use this world as though we used it not, and to buy with the same disposition with which we sell. (*f*) But as this is a difficult subject, and there is danger of falling into one of two opposite errors, let us endeavour to proceed on safe ground, that we may avoid both extremes. For there have been some, in other respects good and holy men, who, seeing that intemperance and luxury, unless restrained with more than ordinary severity, would perpetually indulge the most extravagant

excesses, and desiring to correct such a pernicious evil, have adopted the only method which occurred to them, by permitting men to use corporeal blessings no further than their necessity should absolutely require. This advice was well intended, but they were far too austere. For they committed the very dangerous error of imposing on the conscience stricter rules than those which are prescribed to it by the word of the Lord. By restriction within the demands of necessity, they meant an abstinence from every thing from which it is possible to abstain; so that, according to them, it would scarcely be lawful to eat or drink any thing but bread and water. Others have discovered still greater austerity, like Crates the Theban, who is said to have thrown his wealth into the sea, from an apprehension that, unless it were destroyed, he should himself be destroyed by it. On the contrary, many in the present day, who seek a pretext to excuse intemperance in the use of external things, and at the same time desire to indulge the licentiousness of the flesh, assume as granted, what I by no means concede to them, that this liberty is not to be restricted by any limitation; but that it ought to be left to the conscience of every individual to use as much as he thinks lawful for himself. I grant, indeed, that it is neither right nor possible to bind the conscience with the fixed and precise rules of law in this case; but since the Scripture delivers general rules for the lawful use of earthly things, our practice ought certainly to be regulated by them.

II. It must be laid down as a principle, that the use of the gifts of God is not erroneous, when it is directed to the same end for which the Creator himself has created and appointed them for us; since he has created them for our benefit, not for our injury. Wherefore, no one will observe a more proper rule, than he who shall diligently regard this end. Now, if we consider for what end he has created the various kinds of aliment, we shall find that he intended to provide not only for our necessity, but likewise for our pleasure and delight. So in clothing, he has had in view not mere necessity, but propriety and decency. In herbs, trees, and fruits, beside their various uses, his design has been to gratify us by graceful forms and pleasant odours. For if this were not true, the Psalmist would not recount among the Divine blessings, "wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine;" (g) nor would the Scriptures universally declare, in commendation of his goodness, that he has given all these things to men. And even the natural properties of things sufficiently indicate for what end, and to what extent, it is lawful to use them. But shall the Lord have endued flowers with such beauty, to present itself to our eyes, with such sweetness of smell, to impress our sense of smelling; and shall it be unlawful for our eyes to be affected with the beautiful sight, or our olfactory nerves with the agreeable odour? What! has he not made such a distinction of colours as to render some more agreeable than others? Has he not given to gold and silver, to ivory and marble, a beauty which makes them more precious than other metals or stones? In a word, has he not made many things worthy of our estimation, independently of any necessary use?

III. Let us discard, therefore, that inhuman philosophy which, allowing no use of the creatures but what is absolutely necessary, not only malignantly deprives us of the lawful enjoyment of the Divine beneficence, but which cannot be embraced till it has

despoiled man of all his senses, and reduced him to a senseless block. But, on the other hand, we must, with equal diligence, oppose the licentiousness of the flesh; which, unless it be rigidly restrained, transgresses every bound. And, as I have observed, it has its advocates, who, under the pretext of liberty, allow it every thing. In the first place, it will be one check to it, if it be concluded, that all things are made for us, in order that we may know and acknowledge their Author, and celebrate his goodness towards us by giving him thanks. What will become of thanksgiving, if you overcharge yourself with dainties or wine, so as to be stupefied or rendered unfit for the duties of piety and the business of your station? Where is any acknowledgment of God, if your body, in consequence of excessive abundance, being inflamed with the vilest passions, infects the mind with its impurity, so that you cannot discern what is right or virtuous? Where is gratitude towards God for clothing, if, on account of our sumptuous apparel, we admire ourselves and despise others? if with the elegance and beauty of it, we prepare ourselves for unchastity? Where is our acknowledgment of God, if our minds be fixed on the splendour of our garments? For many so entirely devote all their senses to the pursuit of pleasure, that the mind is, as it were, buried in it; many are so delighted with marble, gold, and pictures, that they become like statues, are, as it were, metamorphosed into metal, and resemble painted images. The flavour of meats, or the sweetness of odours, so stupefies some, that they have no relish for any thing spiritual. The same may be observed in other cases. Wherefore it is evident, that this principle lays some restraint on the license of abusing the Divine bounties, and confirms the rule given us by Paul, that we "make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof;" (*i*) which, if they are allowed too much latitude, will transgress all the bounds of temperance and moderation.

IV. But there is no way more certain or concise, than what we derive from a contempt of the present life, and meditation on a heavenly immortality. For thence follow two rules. The first is, "that they that have wives be as though they had none; and they that buy, as though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as not abusing it;" (*k*) according to the direction of Paul: the second, that we should learn to bear penury with tranquillity and patience, as well as to enjoy abundance with moderation. He who commands us to use this world as though we used it not, prohibits not only all intemperance in eating and drinking, and excessive delicacy, ambition, pride, haughtiness, and fastidiousness in our furniture, our habitations, and our apparel, but every care and affection, which would either seduce or disturb us from thoughts of the heavenly life, and attention to the improvement of our souls. Now, it was anciently and truly observed by Cato, That there is a great concern about adorning the body, and a great carelessness about virtue; and it is an old proverb, That they who are much engaged in the care of the body, are generally negligent of the soul. Therefore, though the liberty of believers in external things cannot be reduced to certain rules, yet it is evidently subject to this law, That they should indulge themselves as little as possible; that, on the contrary, they should perpetually and resolutely exert themselves to retrench all superfluities and to restrain luxury; and that they should diligently beware lest they pervert into impediments things which were given for their assistance.

V. The other rule will be, That persons whose property is small should learn to be patient under their privations, that they may not be tormented with an immoderate desire of riches. They who observe this moderation, have attained no small proficiency in the school of the Lord, as he who has made no proficiency in this point can scarcely give any proof of his being a disciple of Christ. For besides that an inordinate desire of earthly things is accompanied by most other vices, he who is impatient under penury, in abundance generally betrays the opposite passion. By this I mean, that he who is ashamed of a mean garment, will be proud of a splendid one; he who, not content with a slender meal, is disquieted with the desire of a more sumptuous one, would also intemperately abuse those dainties, should they fall to his lot; he who bears a private and mean condition with discontent and disquietude, would not abstain from pride and arrogance, should he rise to eminence and honours. Let all, therefore, who are sincere in the practice of piety, earnestly endeavour to learn, after the apostolic example, "both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need." (l) The Scripture has also a third rule, by which it regulates the use of earthly things; of which something was said, when we treated of the precepts of charity. For it states, that while all these things are given to us by the Divine goodness, and appointed for our benefit, they are, as it were, deposits intrusted to our care, of which we must one day give an account. We ought, therefore, to manage them in such a manner that this alarm may be incessantly sounding in our ears, "Give an account of thy stewardship." (m) Let it also be remembered by whom this account is demanded; that it is by him who has so highly recommended abstinence, sobriety, frugality, and modesty; who abhors profusion, pride, ostentation, and vanity; who approves of no other management of his blessings, than such as is connected with charity; who has with his own mouth already condemned all those pleasures which seduce the heart from chastity and purity, or tend to impair the understanding.

VI. Lastly, it is to be remarked, that the Lord commands every one of us, in all the actions of life, to regard his vocation. For he knows with what great inquietude the human mind is inflamed, with what desultory levity it is hurried hither and thither, and how insatiable is its ambition to grasp different things at once. Therefore, to prevent universal confusion being produced by our folly and temerity, he has appointed to all their particular duties in different spheres of life. And that no one might rashly transgress the limits prescribed, he has styled such spheres of life *vocations*, or *callings*. Every individual's line of life, therefore, is, as it were, a post assigned him by the Lord, that he may not wander about in uncertainty all his days. And so necessary is this distinction, that in his sight all our actions are estimated according to it, and often very differently from the sentence of human reason and philosophy. There is no exploit esteemed more honourable, even among philosophers, than to deliver our country from tyranny; but the voice of the celestial Judge openly condemns the private man who lays violent hands on a tyrant. It is not my design, however, to stay to enumerate examples. It is sufficient if we know that the principle and foundation of right conduct in every case is the vocation of the Lord, and that he who disregards it will never keep the right way in the duties of

his station. He may sometimes, perhaps, achieve something apparently laudable; but however it may appear in the eyes of men, it will be rejected at the throne of God; besides which, there will be no consistency between the various parts of his life. Our life, therefore, will then be best regulated, when it is directed to this mark; since no one will be impelled by his own temerity to attempt more than is compatible with his calling, because he will know that it is unlawful to transgress the bounds assigned him. He that is in obscurity will lead a private life without discontent, so as not to desert the station in which God has placed him. **It will also be no small alleviation of his cares, labours, troubles, and other burdens, when a man knows that in all these things he** has God for his guide. The magistrate will execute his office with greater pleasure, the father of a family will confine himself to his duty with more satisfaction, and all, in their respective spheres of life, will bear and surmount the inconveniences, cares, disappointments, and anxieties which befall them, when they shall be persuaded that every individual has his burden laid upon him by God. Hence also will arise peculiar consolation, since there will be no employment so mean and sordid (provided we follow our vocation) as not to appear truly respectable, and be deemed highly important in the sight of God.

ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT

VIII. And for private men, who have no authority to deliberate on the regulation of any public affairs, it would surely be a vain occupation to dispute which would be the best form of government in the place where they live. Besides, this could not be simply determined, as an abstract question, without great impropriety, since the principle to guide the decision must depend on circumstances. And even if we compare the different forms together, without their circumstances, their advantages are so nearly equal, that it will not be easy to discover of which the utility preponderates. The forms of civil government are considered to be of three kinds: Monarchy, which is the dominion of one person, whether called a king, or a duke, or any other title; Aristocracy, or the dominion of the principal persons of a nation; and Democracy, or popular government, in which the power resides in the people at large. It is true that the transition is easy from monarchy to despotism; it is not much more difficult from aristocracy to oligarchy, or the faction of a few; but it is most easy of all from democracy to sedition. Indeed, if these three forms of government, which are stated by philosophers, be considered in themselves, I shall by no means deny, that either aristocracy, or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, far excels all others; and that indeed not of itself, but because it very rarely happens that kings regulate themselves so that their will is never at variance with justice and rectitude; or, in the next place, that they are endued with such penetration and prudence, as in all cases to discover what is best. The vice or imperfection of men therefore renders it safer and more tolerable for the government to be in the hands of many, that they may afford each other mutual assistance and admonition, and that if any one arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition. This has always been proved by experience, and the Lord confirmed it by his authority, when he established a government of this kind among the people of

Israel, with a view to preserve them in the most desirable condition, till he exhibited in David a type of Christ. And as I readily acknowledge that no kind of government is more happy than this, where liberty is regulated with becoming moderation, and properly established on a durable basis, so also I consider those as the most happy people, who are permitted to enjoy such a condition; and if they exert their strenuous and constant efforts for its preservation and retention, I admit that they act in perfect consistence with their duty. And to this object the magistrates likewise ought to apply their greatest diligence, that they suffer not the liberty, of which they are constituted guardians, to be in any respect diminished, much less to be violated: if they are inactive and unconcerned about this, they are perfidious to their office, and traitors to their country. But if those, to whom the will of God has assigned another form of government, transfer this to themselves so as to be tempted to desire a revolution, the very thought will be not only foolish and useless, but altogether criminal. If we limit not our views to one city, but look round and take a comprehensive survey of the whole world, or at least extend our observations to distant lands, we shall certainly find it to be a wise arrangement of Divine Providence that various countries are governed by different forms of civil polity; for they are admirably held together with a certain inequality, as the elements are combined in very unequal proportions. All these remarks, however, will be unnecessary to those who are satisfied with the will of the Lord. For if it be his pleasure to appoint kings over kingdoms, and senators or other magistrates over free cities, it is our duty to be obedient to any governors whom God has established over the places in which we reside.

XXVII. But the most remarkable and memorable passage of all is in the Prophecy of Jeremiah, which, though it is rather long, I shall readily quote, because it most clearly decides the whole question: "I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me. And now I have given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant. And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come. And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same king of Babylon, that nation will I punish with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence. Therefore serve the king of Babylon and live." (x) We see what great obedience and honour the Lord required to be rendered to that pestilent and cruel tyrant, for no other reason than because he possessed the kingdom; and it was by the heavenly decree that he was seated on the throne of the kingdom, and exalted to that regal majesty, which it was not lawful to violate. If we have this constantly present to our eyes and impressed upon our hearts, that the most iniquitous kings are placed on their thrones by the same decree by which the authority of all kings is established, those seditious thoughts will never enter our minds, that a king is to be treated according to his merits, and that it is not reasonable for us to be subject to a king who does not on his part perform towards us those duties which his office requires.

XXX. And here is displayed his wonderful goodness, and power, and providence; for sometimes he raises up some of his servants as public avengers, and arms them with his commission to punish unrighteous domination, and to deliver from their distressing calamities a people who have been unjustly oppressed: sometimes he accomplishes this end by the fury of men who meditate and attempt something altogether different. Thus he liberated the people of Israel from the tyranny of Pharaoh by Moses; from the oppression of Chusan by Othniel; and from other yokes by other kings and judges. Thus he subdued the pride of Tyre by the Egyptians; the insolence of the Egyptians by the Assyrians; the haughtiness of the Assyrians by the Chaldeans; the confidence of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, after Cyrus had subjugated the Medes. The ingratitude of the kings of Israel and Judah, and their impious rebellion, notwithstanding his numerous favours, he repressed and punished, sometimes by the Assyrians, sometimes by the Babylonians. These were all the executioners of his vengeance, but not all in the same manner. The former, when they were called forth to the performance of such acts by a legitimate commission from God, in taking arms against kings, were not chargeable with the least violation of that majesty with which kings are invested by the ordination of God; but, being armed with authority from Heaven, they punished an inferior power by a superior one, as it is lawful for kings to punish their inferior officers. The latter, though they were guided by the hand of God in such directions as he pleased, and performed his work without being conscious of it, nevertheless contemplated in their hearts nothing but evil.

XXXI. But whatever opinion be formed of the acts of men, yet the Lord equally executed his work by them, when he broke the sanguinary sceptres of insolent kings, and overturned tyrannical governments. Let princes hear and fear. But, in the meanwhile, it behoves us to use the greatest caution, that we do not despise or violate that authority of magistrates, which is entitled to the greatest veneration, which God has established by the most solemn commands, even though it reside in those who are most unworthy of it, and who, as far as in them lies, pollute it by their iniquity. For though the correction of tyrannical domination is the vengeance of God, we are not, therefore, to conclude that it is committed to us, who have received no other command than to obey and suffer. This observation I always apply to private persons. For if there be, in the present day, any magistrates appointed for the protection of the people and the moderation of the power of kings, such as were, in ancient times, the Ephori, who were a check upon the kings among the Lacedæmonians, or the popular tribunes upon the consuls among the Romans, or the Demarchi upon the senate among the Athenians; or with power such as perhaps is now possessed by the three estates in every kingdom when they are assembled; I am so far from prohibiting them, in the discharge of their duty, to oppose the violence or cruelty of kings, that I affirm, that if they connive at kings in their oppression of their people, such forbearance involves the most nefarious perfidy, because they fraudulently betray the liberty of the people, of which they know that they have been appointed protectors by the ordination of God.

XXXII. But in the obedience which we have shown to be due to the authority of governors, it is always necessary to make one exception, and that is entitled to our first attention,—that it do not seduce us from obedience to him, to whose will the desires of all kings ought to be subject, to whose decrees all their commands ought to yield, to whose majesty all their sceptres ought to submit. And, indeed, how preposterous it would be for us, with a view to satisfy men, to incur the displeasure of him on whose account we yield obedience to men! The Lord, therefore, is the King of kings; who, when he has opened his sacred mouth, is to be heard alone, above all, for all, and before all; in the next place, we are subject to those men who preside over us; but no otherwise than in him. If they command any thing against him, it ought not to have the least attention; nor, in this case, ought we to pay any regard to all that dignity attached to magistrates; to which no injury is done when it is subjected to the unrivalled and supreme power of God. On this principle Daniel denied that he had committed any crime against the king in disobeying his impious decree; (*i*) because the king had exceeded the limits of his office, and had not only done an injury to men, but, by raising his arm against God, had degraded his own authority. On the other hand, the Israelites are condemned for having been too submissive to the impious edict of their king. For when Jeroboam had made his golden calves, in compliance with his will, they deserted the temple of God and revolted to new superstitions. Their posterity conformed to the decrees of their idolatrous kings with the same facility. The prophet severely condemns them for having “willingly walked after the commandment:” (*k*) so far is any praise from being due to the pretext of humility, with which courtly flatterers excuse themselves and deceive the unwary, when they deny that it is lawful for them to refuse compliance with any command of their kings; as if God had resigned his right to mortal men when he made them rulers of mankind; or as if earthly power were diminished by being subordinated to its author, before whom even the principalities of heaven tremble with awe. I know what great and present danger awaits this constancy, for kings cannot bear to be disregarded without the greatest indignation; and “the wrath of a king,” says Solomon, “is as messengers of death.” (*l*) But since this edict has been proclaimed by that celestial herald, Peter, “We ought to obey God rather than men,” (*m*)—let us console ourselves with this thought, that we truly perform the obedience which God requires of us, when we suffer any thing rather than deviate from piety. And that our hearts may not fail us, Paul stimulates us with another consideration—that Christ has redeemed us at the immense price which our redemption cost him, that we may not be submissive to the corrupt desires of men, much less be slaves to their impiety. (*n*)

CANONS AND DECREES

OF THE

COUNCIL OF TRENT

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DECREE TOUCHING THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL.

Doth it please you,—unto the praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; for the increase and exaltation of the Christian faith and religion; for the extirpation of heresies; for the peace and union of the Church; for the reformation of the Clergy and Christian people; for the depression and extinction of the enemies of the Christian name,—to decree and declare that the sacred and general council of Trent do begin, and hath begun?

They answered: It pleaseth us.

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DECREE CONCERNING THE CANONICAL SCRIPTURES.

The sacred and holy, œcumenical, and general Synod of Trent,—lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, the same three legates of the Apostolic See presiding therein,—keeping this always in view, that, errors being removed, the purity itself of the Gospel be preserved in the Church; which (Gospel), before promised through the prophets in the holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first promulgated with His own mouth, and then commanded to be preached by His Apostles to every creature, as the fountain of all, both saving truth, and moral discipline;^(*) and seeing clearly that this truth and discipline are contained in the written books, and the unwritten traditions which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even unto us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand; (the Synod) following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with an equal affection of piety, and reverence,^(h) all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions, as well those appertaining to faith as to morals, as having been dictated, either by Christ's own word of mouth, or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continuous succession. . . .

DECREE CONCERNING THE EDITION, AND THE USE, OF THE SACRED BOOKS.

Moreover, the same sacred and holy Synod,—considering that no small utility may accrue to the Church of God, if it be

(*) *Tamquam fontem omnis, et salutaris veritatis, et morum disciplinæ.*

(h) *Pari pietatis affectu (sentiment), ac reverentia.*

made known which out of all the Latin editions, now in circulation, of the sacred books, is to be held as authentic,—ordains and declares, that the said old and vulgate edition, which, by the lengthened usage of so many years, has been approved of in the Church, be, in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions, held as authentic; and that no one is to dare, or presume to reject it under any pretext whatever.

Furthermore, in order to restrain petulant spirits, It decrees, that no one, relying on his own skill, shall,—in matters of faith, and of morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine,—wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, presume to interpret the said sacred Scripture contrary to that sense which holy mother Church,—whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures,—hath held and doth hold; or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers; even though such interpretations were never (intended) to be at any time published. . . .

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DECREE CONCERNING ORIGINAL SIN.

That our Catholic *faith, without which it is impossible to please God,*⁽¹⁾ may, errors being purged away, continue in its own perfect and spotless integrity, and that the Christian people may not *be carried about with every wind of doctrine;*^(m) whereas that old serpent, the perpetual enemy of mankind, amongst the very many evils with which the Church of God is in these our times troubled, has also stirred up not only new, but even old, dissensions touching original sin, and the remedy thereof; the sacred and holy, œcumenical and general Synod of Trent,—lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, the three same legates of the Apostolic See presiding therein,—wishing now to come to the reclaiming of the erring, and the confirming of the wavering,—following the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures, of the holy Fathers, of the most approved councils, and the judgment and consent of the Church itself, ordains, confesses, and declares these things touching the said original sin:

1. If any one does not confess that the first man, Adam, when he had transgressed the commandment of God in Paradise, immediately lost the holiness and justice wherein he had been constituted; and that he incurred, through the offence of that prevarication, the wrath and indignation of God, and consequently death, with which God had previously threatened him, and, together with death, captivity under his power who thenceforth *had the empire of death, that is to say, the devil,*⁽ⁿ⁾ and that the entire Adam, through that offence of prevarication, was changed, in body and soul, for the worse; let him be anathema.

2. If any one asserts, that the prevarication of Adam injured himself alone, and not his posterity; and that the holiness and justice, received of God, which he lost, he lost for himself alone, and not for us also; or that he, being defiled by the sin of disobedience, has only transfused death, and pains of the body, into the whole human race, but not sin also, which is the death of the soul; let him be anathema:—whereas he contradicts the

(1) Hebr. xi. 6.

(m) Ephes. iv. 14.

(n) Hebr. ii. 14.

apostle who says; *By one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death, and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned.*(^o)

3. If any one asserts, that this sin of Adam,—which in its origin is one, and being transfused into all by propagation, not by imitation, is in each one as his own,(^p)—is taken away either by the powers of human nature, or by any other remedy than the merit of the *one mediator, our Lord Jesus Christ,*(^q) *who hath reconciled us to God in his own blood, made unto us justice, sanctification, and redemption;*(^r) or if he denies that the said merit of Jesus Christ is applied, both to adults and to infants, by the sacrament of baptism rightly administered in the form of the church; let him be anathema: *For there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved.*(^s) Whence that voice; *Behold the lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sins of the world;*(^t) and that other; *As many as have been baptized, have put on Christ.*(^v). . .

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That a rash presumptuousness in the matter of Predestination is to be avoided.

No one, moreover, so long as he is in this mortal life, ought so far to presume as regards the secret mystery of divine predestination, as to determine for certain that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate; as if it were true, that he that is justified, either cannot sin any more, or, if he do sin, that he ought to promise himself an assured repentance; for except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto Himself.

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ON THE SACRAMENTS IN GENERAL.

CANON I.—If any one saith, that the sacraments of the New Law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ, our Lord; or, that they are more, or less, than seven, to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament; let him be anathema.

CANON II.—If any one saith, that these said sacraments of the New Law do not differ from the sacraments of the Old Law, save that the ceremonies are different, and different the outward rites; let him be anathema.

CANON III.—If any one saith, that these seven sacraments are in such wise equal to each other, as that one is not in any way more worthy than another; let him be anathema.

CANON IV.—If any one saith, that the sacraments of the New Law are not necessary unto salvation, but superfluous; and that, without them, or without the desire thereof, men obtain of God, through faith alone, the grace of justification;—though all (the sacraments) are not indeed necessary for every individual; let him be anathema.

(^o) Rom. v. 12.

(^p) *Inest unicuique proprium.*

(^q) 1 Tim. ii. 5.

(^r) 1 Cor. i. 30.

(^s) Acts iv. 2.

(^t) John i. 29.

CANON V.—If any one saith, that these sacraments were instituted for the sake of nourishing faith alone; let him be anathema.

CANON VI.—If any one saith, that the sacraments of the New Law do not contain the grace which they signify; or, that they do not confer that grace on those who do not place an obstacle thereunto; as though they were merely outward signs of grace or justice received through faith, and certain marks of the Christian profession, whereby believers are distinguished amongst men from unbelievers; let him be anathema.

CANON VII.—If any one saith, that grace, as far as God's part is concerned, is not given through the said sacraments, always, and to all men, even though they receive them rightly, but (only) sometimes, and to some persons; let him be anathema.

CANON VIII.—If any one saith, that by the said sacraments of the New Law grace is not conferred through the act performed,^(*) but that faith alone in the divine promise suffices for the obtaining of grace; let him be anathema.

CANON IX.—If any one saith, that, in the three sacraments, Baptism, to wit, Confirmation, and Order, there is not imprinted in the soul a character, that is, a certain spiritual and indelible sign, on account of which they cannot be repeated; let him be anathema.

CANON X.—If any one saith, that all Christians have power to administer the word, and all the sacraments; let him be anathema.

CANON XI.—If any one saith, that, in ministers, when they effect,^(†) and confer the sacraments, there is not required the intention at least of doing what the Church does; let him be anathema.

CANON XII.—If any one saith, that a minister, being in mortal sin,—if so be that he observe all the essentials which belong to the effecting,^(‡) or conferring of, the sacrament,—neither effects, nor confers the sacrament; let him be anathema.

CANON XIII.—If any one saith, that the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, wont to be used in the solemn administration of the sacraments, may be contemned, or without sin be omitted at pleasure by the ministers, or be changed, by every pastor of the churches, into other new ones; let him be anathema.

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On the real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist.

In the first place, the holy Synod teaches, and openly and simply professes, that, in the august^(w) sacrament of the holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the species of those sensible things. For neither are these things mutually repugnant,—that our Saviour Himself always sitteth at the right hand of the Father in heaven, according to the natural mode of existing, and that, nevertheless, He be, in many other places, sacramentally present

(*) Ex opere operato.

(†) Conficiunt, make.

(‡) Conficiendum.

(w) Almo.

to us in his own substance, by a manner of existing, which, though we can scarcely express it in words, yet can we, by the understanding illuminated by faith, conceive, and we ought most firmly to believe, to be possible unto God: for thus all our forefathers, as many as were in the true Church of Christ, who have treated of this most holy Sacrament, have most openly professed, that our Redeemer instituted this so admirable a sacrament at the last supper, when, after the blessing of the bread and wine, He testified, in express and clear words, that He gave them His own very Body, and His own Blood; words which,—recorded by the holy Evangelists, and afterwards repeated by Saint Paul, whereas they carry with them that proper and most manifest meaning in which they were understood by the Fathers,—it is indeed a crime the most unworthy that they should be wrested, by certain contentions and wicked men, to fictitious and imaginary tropes, whereby the verity of the flesh and blood of Christ is denied, contrary to the universal sense of the Church, which, as *the pillar and ground of truth*, has detested, as satanical, these inventions devised by impious men; she recognising, with a mind ever grateful and unforgetting, this most excellent benefit of Christ.

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ON THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST.

CANON I.—If any one denieth, that, in the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist, are contained truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently the whole Christ; but saith that He is only therein as in a sign, or in figure, or virtue; let him be anathema.

CANON II.—If any one saith, that, in the sacred and holy sacrament of the Eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine remains conjointly with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and denieth that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood—the species only of the bread and wine remaining—which conversion indeed the Catholic Church most aptly calls Transubstantiation; let him be anathema.

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CANON IX.—If any one denieth, that all and each of Christ's faithful of both sexes are bound, when they have attained to years of discretion, to communicate every year, at least at Easter, in accordance with the precept of holy Mother Church; let him be anathema.

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CANON XI.—If any one saith, that faith alone is a sufficient preparation for receiving the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist; let him be anathema. And for fear lest so great a sacrament may be received unworthily, and so unto death and

condemnation, this holy Synod ordains and declares, that sacramental confession, when a confessor may be had,⁽⁷⁾ is of necessity to be made beforehand, by those whose conscience is burthened with mortal sin, how contrite even soever they may think themselves. But if any one shall presume to teach, preach, or obstinately to assert, or even in public disputation to defend the contrary, he shall be thereupon⁽⁸⁾ excommunicated.

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On the Ecclesiastical hierarchy, and on Ordination.

But, forasmuch as in the sacrament of Order, as also in Baptism and Confirmation, a character is imprinted, which can neither be effaced nor taken away; the holy Synod with reason condemns the opinion of those, who assert that the priests of the New Testament have only a temporary power; and that those who have once been rightly ordained, can again become laymen, if they do not exercise the ministry of the word of God. And if any one affirm, that all Christians indiscriminately are priests of the New Testament, or that they are all mutually endowed with an equal spiritual power, he clearly does nothing but confound the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is *as an army set in array*;⁽⁴⁾ as if, contrary to the doctrine of blessed Paul, *all were apostles, all prophets, all evangelists, all pastors, all doctors.*⁽⁵⁾ Wherefore, the holy Synod declares that, besides the other ecclesiastical degrees, bishops, who have succeeded to the place of the apostles, principally belong to this hierarchial order; that they are *placed*, as the same apostle says, *by the Holy Ghost, to rule the Church of God*;⁽⁶⁾ that they are superior to priests; administer the sacrament of Confirmation; ordain the ministers of the Church; and that they can perform very many other things; over which functions others of an inferior order have no power. Furthermore, the sacred and holy Synod teaches, that, in the ordination of bishops, priests, and of the other orders, neither the consent, nor vocation, nor authority, whether of the people, or of any civil power or magistrate whatsoever, is required in such wise as that, without this, the ordination is invalid: yea rather doth It decree, that all those who, being only called and instituted by the people, or by the civil power and magistrate, ascend to the exercise of these ministrations, and those who of their own rashness assume them to themselves, are not ministers of the church, but are to be looked upon as *thieves and robbers, who have not entered by the door.*⁽⁸⁾ These are the things which it hath seemed good to the sacred Synod to teach the faithful in Christ, in general terms, touching the sacrament of Order. . . .

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(7) *Habita copia confessoris.*

(4) *Cant. vi. 3.*

(5) *Acts xx. 28.*

(8) *Eo ipso, by that very act.*

(6) *Ephes. vi. 11, 12.*

(8) *John x. 1.*

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CANON IX.—If any one saith, that clerics constituted in sacred orders, or Regulars, who have solemnly professed chastity, are able to contract marriage, and that being contracted it is valid, notwithstanding the ecclesiastical law, or vow; and that the contrary is nothing else than to condemn marriage; and, that all who do not feel that they have the gift of chastity, even though they have made a vow thereof, may contract marriage; let him be anathema: seeing that God refuses not that gift to those who ask for it rightly, neither does *He suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able.*⁽ⁿ⁾

CANON X.—If any one saith, that the marriage state is to be placed above^(o) the state of virginity, or of celibacy, and that it is not better and more blessed to remain in virginity, or in celibacy, than to be united in matrimony; let him be anathema.

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ON THE INVOCATION, VENERATION, AND RELICS, OF SAINTS,
AND ON SACRED IMAGES.

The holy Synod enjoins on all bishops, and others who sustain the office and charge of teaching, that, agreeably to the usage of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, received from the primitive times of the Christian religion, and agreeably to the consent of the holy Fathers, and to the decrees of sacred Councils, they especially instruct the faithful diligently concerning the intercession and invocation of saints; the honour (paid) to relics; and the legitimate use of images: teaching them, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, (and) help⁽¹⁾ for obtaining benefits from God, through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour; but that they think impiously, who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invocated; or who assert either that they do not pray for men; or, that the invocation of them to pray for each of us even in particular, is idolatry; or, that it is repugnant to the word of God; and is opposed to the honour of the *one mediator of God and men, Christ Jesus;*^(m) or, that it is foolish to supplicate, vocally, or mentally,⁽ⁿ⁾ those who reign in heaven. Also, that the holy bodies of holy martyrs, and of others now living with Christ,—which bodies were the living members of Christ, and *the temple of the Holy Ghost,*^(o) and which are by Him to be raised unto eternal life, and to be glorified,—are to be venerated by the faithful; through which (bodies) many benefits are bestowed by God on men; so that they who affirm that veneration and honour are

⁽ⁿ⁾ 1 Cor. x. 13.

^(o) Antepoenendum, preferred before.

⁽¹⁾ Ad eorum orationes, opem, auxilium confugere.

^(m) 1 Tim. ii. 5.

⁽ⁿ⁾ Voce, vel mente.

^(o) 1 Cor. iii. 6.

not due to the relics of saints ; or, that these, and other sacred monuments, are uselessly honoured by the faithful ; and that the places dedicated to the memories of the saints are in vain visited with the view of obtaining their aid ; are wholly to be condemned, as the Church has already long since condemned, and now also condemns them.

Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had^(p) and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them ; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped ;^(q) or that anything is to be asked of them ; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols ; but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent ; in such wise that by^(r) the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ ; and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear : as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of Nicæa, has been defined against the opponents of images. . . .

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Cardinals and all Prelates of the churches shall be content with modest furniture and a frugal table: they shall not enrich their relatives or domestics out of the property of the Church.

It is to be wished, that those who undertake the office of a bishop should understand what their portion is ; and comprehend that they are called, not to their own convenience,^(s) not to riches or luxury, but to labours and cares for the glory of God. For it is not to be doubted, that the rest of the faithful also will be more easily excited to religion and innocence, if they shall see those who are set over them, not fixing their thoughts on the things of this world, but on the salvation of souls, and on their heavenly country. Wherefore the holy Synod, being minded that these things are of the greatest importance towards restoring ecclesiastical discipline, admonishes all bishops, that, often meditating thereon, they show themselves conformable to their office, by their actual deeds, and the actions of their lives ; which is a kind of perpetual sermon ; but above all that they so order their whole conversation, as that others may thence be able to derive examples of frugality, modesty, continency, and of that holy humility which so much recommends us to God.

Wherefore, after the example of our fathers in the Council of Carthage, It not only orders that bishops be content with modest furniture, and a frugal table and diet, but that they also give heed that in the rest of their manner of living, and in their whole house, there be nothing seen that is alien from this holy institution, and which does not manifest simplicity, zeal towards God,

^(p) Habendas.

^(q) Colenda.

^(r) Per.

^(s) Commoda, advantage, or interests.

and a contempt of vanities. Also, It wholly forbids them to strive to enrich their own kindred or domestics out of the revenues of the church: seeing that even the canons of the Apostles forbid them to give to their kindred the property of the church, which belongs to God; but if their kindred be poor, let them distribute to them thereof as poor, but not misapply, or waste, it for their sakes: yea, the holy Synod, with the utmost earnestness, admonishes them completely to lay aside all this human and carnal affection towards brothers, nephews and kindred, which is the seed-plot of many evils in the church. And what has been said of bishops, the same is not only to be observed by all who hold ecclesiastical benefices, whether Secular or Regular, each according to the nature of his rank, but the Synod decrees that it also regards the cardinals of the holy Roman Church; for whereas, upon their advice to the most holy Roman Pontiff, the administration of the universal Church depends, it would seem to be a shame, if they did not at the same time shine so pre-eminent in virtue and in the discipline of their lives, as deservedly to draw upon themselves the eyes of all men.

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DECREE CONCERNING INDULGENCES.

Whereas the power of conferring Indulgences was granted by Christ to the Church; and she has, even in the most ancient times, used the said power,^(*) delivered unto her of God; the sacred holy Synod teaches, and enjoins, that the use of Indulgences, for the Christian people most salutary, and approved of by the authority of sacred Councils, is to be retained in the Church; and It condemns with anathema those who either assert, that they are useless; or who deny that there is in the Church the power of granting them. In granting them, however, It desires that, in accordance with the ancient and approved custom in the Church, moderation be observed; lest, by excessive facility, ecclesiastical discipline be enervated. And being desirous that the abuses which have crept therein, and by occasion of which this honourable^(*) name of Indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, be amended and corrected, It ordains generally by this decree, that all evil gains for the obtaining thereof,—whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst the Christian people has been derived,—be wholly abolished. But as regards the other abuses which have proceeded from superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or from whatsoever other source, since, by reason of the manifold corruptions in the places and provinces where the said abuses are committed, they cannot conveniently be specially prohibited; It commands all bishops, diligently to collect, each in his own church, all abuses of this nature, and to report them in the first provincial Synod; that, after having been reviewed by the opinions of the other bishops also, they may forthwith be referred to the Sovereign Roman Pontiff, by whose authority and prudence that which may be expedient for the universal Church will be ordained; that this the gift of holy Indulgences may be dispensed to all the faithful, piously, holily, and incorruptly.

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(*) Hujusmodi potestate, this kind of power.

(*) Insigne, excellent.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Paul, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual memorial of this matter :

. . . Of late we have learned that our beloved sons Ignatius de Loyola, Peter Faber, James Laynez, Claude le Jay, Pasquier Brouet, Francis Xavier, Alfonzo Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, John Codure, and Nicholas de Boabdilla, priests, masters of arts, and graduates of the University of Paris, and students of some years' standing in theology, inspired, as they piously believe, by the Holy Spirit, assembled together and, forming an association, forsook the allurements of the age to dedicate their lives to the perpetual service of our Lord Jesus Christ and of ourselves and our successors, the Roman pontiffs.

Now for many years they have labored nobly in the vineyard of the Lord, publicly preaching the word of God under a tentative license, privately exhorting the faithful to a good and blessed life and stimulating them to holy thoughts, assisting in hospitals, instructing the young and ignorant in the truths essential for the development of a Christian, and performing all these offices of charity and acts for the consolation of souls with great approbation in whatever lands they have visited.

Then, gathering in this beautiful city and remaining within its confines in order to complete and preserve the union of their society in Christ, they have drawn up a rule of life in accordance with the principles which they have learned by experience will promote their desired ends, and in conformity with evangelical precepts and the canonical sanctions of the fathers. The tenor of the aforesaid rule is as follows:

He who desires to fight for God under the banner of the cross in our society, — which we wish to distinguish by the name of Jesus, — and to serve God alone and the Roman pontiff, his vicar on earth, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, shall set this thought before his mind, that he is a part of a society founded for the especial purpose of providing for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith through public preaching and the ministry of the word of God, spiritual exercises and deeds of charity, and in particular through the training of the young and ignorant in Christianity and through the spiritual consolation of the faithful of Christ in hearing confessions; and he shall take care to keep first God and next the purpose of this organization always before his eyes. . . .

All the members shall realize, and shall recall daily, as long as they live, that this society as a whole and in every part is fighting for God under faithful obedience to one most holy lord, the pope, and to the other Roman pontiffs who succeed him. And although we are taught in the gospel and through the orthodox faith to recognize and steadfastly profess that all the faithful of Christ are subject to the Roman pontiff as their head and as the vicar of Jesus Christ, yet we have adjudged that, for the special promotion of greater humility in our society and the perfect mortification of every individual and the sacrifice of our own wills,

278. The first approval of the Society of Jesus by Paul III. (Condensed.)

The rule of the Jesuits.

Purposes of the society.

Special obedience to the pope.

we should each be bound by a peculiar vow, in addition to the general obligation, that whatever the present Roman pontiff, or any future one, may from time to time decree regarding the welfare of souls and the propagation of the faith, we are pledged to obey without evasion or excuse, instantly, so far as in us lies, whether he send us to the Turks or any other infidels, even to those who inhabit the regions men call the Indies; whether to heretics or schismatics, or, on the other hand, to certain of the faithful.

Wherefore those who come to us shall reflect long and deeply, before they take this burden upon their shoulders, as to whether they have among their goods enough spiritual treasure to enable them, according to the Lord's precept, to carry out their enterprise, — that is, whether the Holy Spirit who impels them promises them so much grace that they may hope to support the weight of this profession with his aid; then, after they have, under God's inspiration, been enrolled in this army of Jesus Christ, day and night must they have their loins girded and themselves in readiness for the payment of their mighty obligation. Nor shall there be amongst us any ambition or rivalry whatsoever for missions and provinces. . . . Subordinates shall, indeed, both for the sake of the wide activities of the order and also for the assiduous practice, never sufficiently to be commended, of humility, be bound always to obey the commander in every matter pertaining to the organization of the society, and shall recognize Christ as present in him, and shall do him reverence as far as is seemly. . . .

Implicit obedience to the head of the society.

Vow of perpetual poverty.

Whereas, moreover, we have found that the happier, purer, and more edifying life is that removed as far as possible from all contagion of avarice and modeled as nearly as may be upon evangelical poverty, and whereas we know that our Lord Jesus Christ will furnish the necessities of food and clothing to his servants who seek only the kingdom of God, therefore each and every member shall vow perpetual poverty, declaring that neither individually, nor even in common for the support or use of the society, will he acquire any civil right over any permanent property, rents, or incomes whatever, but that he will be content with the use only of such articles as shall be given him to meet his necessities. They may, however, maintain in universities a college or colleges with means or possessions to be applied to the needs and exigencies of the students; all control or supervision of any sort over the said colleges and students being vested in the commander and the society. . . .

The foregoing is what, by the permission of our said Lord Paul and of the apostolic see, we have been allowed to set forth as a general ideal for our profession. We have taken this step at this time in order that by this brief document we might inform the persons who are inquiring now about our way of life, and also posterity, — if, by God's will, there shall be those to follow us in the path upon which (attended though it be by many grave difficulties) we have entered. We have further judged it expedient to prescribe that no one shall be received into this society until he has been long and thoroughly tried; but when he has proved himself wise in Christ as well as in doctrine, and exalted in the purity of the Christian life, then at length he shall be admitted into the army of Jesus Christ. May he deign to prosper our feeble undertaking to the glory of God the Father, to whom alone be ever praise and honor throughout the ages. Amen.

Whereas nothing may be discovered in the foregoing which is not pious or devout, in order that these associates who have made their humble application to us may be the better forwarded in their religious plan of life for feeling themselves included in the grace of the apostolic see and finding their projects meeting our approval, we do, through apostolic authority, approve, confirm, bless, and fortify with a bulwark of everlasting power the whole and every part of the aforesaid organization, and we take these associates under the protection of ourselves and this holy apostolic see;

The pope's sanction of the rule of the Jesuits.

To no man whatsoever be it permitted to infringe or violate this statement of our approbation, benediction, and justification. If any one shall presume to attempt it, let him be assured that he incurs the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed Peter and Paul, his apostles.

Given at St. Mark's in Rome, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1540, September 27, in the sixth year of our pontificate.

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

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Explanation of the nature of union with God. An illustration.

6. Here is an example that will provide a better understanding of this explanation. A ray of sunlight shining upon a smudgy window is unable to illumine that window completely and transform it into its own light. It could do this if the window were cleaned and polished. The less film and stain are wiped away, the less the window will be illumined; and the cleaner the window is, the brighter will be its illumination. The extent of illumination is not dependent upon the ray of sunlight but upon the window. If the window is totally clean and pure, the sunlight will so transform and illumine it that to all appearances the window will be identical with the ray of sunlight and shine just as the sun's ray. Although obviously the nature of the window is distinct from that of the sun's ray (even if the two seem identical), we can assert that the window is the ray or light of the sun by participation.

The soul upon which the divine light of God's being is ever shining, or better, in which it is always dwelling by nature, is like this window, as we have affirmed.

7. A man makes room for God by wiping away all the smudges and smears of creatures, by uniting his will perfectly to God's; for to love is to labor to divest and deprive oneself for God of all that is not God. When this is done the soul will be illumined by and transformed in God. And God will so communicate His supernatural being to it that it will appear to be God Himself and will possess all that God Himself has.

When God grants this supernatural favor to the soul, so great a union is caused that all the things of both God and the soul become one in participant transformation, and the soul appears to be God more than a soul. Indeed, it is God by participation. Yet truly, its being (even though transformed) is naturally as distinct from God's as it was before, just as the window, although illumined by the ray, has an existence distinct from the ray.

8. Consequently, we understand with greater clarity that the preparation for this union, as we said, is not an understanding by the soul, nor the taste, feeling, or imagining of God or any other object, but purity and love, which is the stripping off and perfect renunciation of all these experiences for God alone. Also we clearly see how perfect transformation is impossible without perfect purity, and how the illumination of the soul and its union with God corresponds to the measure of its purity. The illumination will not be perfect until the soul is entirely cleansed, clear, and perfect.

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FRANCIS BACON

THE NEW ORGANON

APHORISMS

CONCERNING

THE INTERPRETATION OF NATURE

AND

THE KINGDOM OF MAN.

APHORISM

I.

MAN, being the servant and interpreter of Nature, can do and understand so much and so much only as he has observed in fact or in thought of the course of nature: beyond this he neither knows anything nor can do anything.

II.

Neither the naked hand nor the understanding left to itself can effect much. It is by instruments and helps that the work is done, which are as much wanted for the understanding as for the hand. And as the instruments of the hand either give motion or guide it, so the instruments of the mind supply either suggestions for the understanding or cautions.

III.

Human knowledge and human power meet in one; for where the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced. Nature to be commanded must be obeyed; and that which in contemplation is as the cause is in operation as the rule.

IV.

Towards the effecting of works, all that man can do is to put together or put asunder natural bodies. The rest is done by nature working within.

VI.

It would be an unsound fancy and self-contradictory to expect that things which have never yet been done can be done except by means which have never yet been tried.

XI.

As the sciences which we now have do not help us in finding out new works, so neither does the logic which we now have help us in finding out new sciences.

XII.

The logic now in use serves rather to fix and give stability to the errors which have their foundation in commonly received notions than to help the search after truth. So it does more harm than good.

XVIII.

The discoveries which have hitherto been made in the sciences are such as lie close to vulgar notions, scarcely beneath the surface. In order to penetrate into the inner and further recesses of nature, it is necessary that both notions and axioms be derived from things by a more sure and guarded way; and that a method of intellectual operation be introduced altogether better and more certain.

XIX.

There are and can be only two ways of searching into and discovering truth. The one flies from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms, and from these principles, the truth of which it takes for settled and immoveable, proceeds to judgment and to the discovery of middle axioms. And this way is now in fashion. The other derives axioms from the senses and particulars, rising by a gradual and unbroken ascent, so that it arrives at the most general axioms last of all. This is the true way, but as yet untried.

XXII.

Both ways set out from the senses and particulars, and rest in the highest generalities; but the difference between them is infinite. For the one just glances at experiment and particulars in passing, the other dwells duly and orderly among them. The one, again, begins at once by establishing certain abstract and useless generalities, the other rises by gradual steps to that which is prior and better known in the order of nature.

XXXI.

It is idle to expect any great advancement in science from the superinducing and engrafting of new things upon old. We must begin anew from the very foundations, unless we would revolve for ever in a circle with mean and contemptible progress.

XXXV.

It was said by Borgia of the expedition of the French into Italy, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark out their lodgings, not with arms to force their way in. I in like manner would have my doctrine enter quietly into the minds that are fit and capable of receiving it; for confutations cannot be employed, when the difference is upon first principles and very notions and even upon forms of demonstration.

XXXVI.

One method of delivery alone remains to us; which is simply this: we must lead men to the particulars themselves, and their series and order; while men on their side must force themselves for awhile to lay their notions by and begin to familiarise themselves with facts.

XXXVII.

The doctrine of those who have denied that certainty could be attained at all, has some agreement with my way of proceeding at the first setting out; but they end in being infinitely separated and opposed. For the holders of that doctrine assert simply that nothing can be known; I also assert that not much can be known in nature by the way which is now in use. But then they go on to destroy the authority of the senses and understanding; whereas I proceed to devise and supply helps for the same.

XXXVIII.

The idols and false notions which are now in possession of the human understanding, and have taken deep root therein, not only so beset men's minds that truth can hardly find entrance, but even after entrance obtained, they will again in the very instauration of the sciences meet and trouble us, unless men being forewarned of the danger fortify themselves as far as may be against their assaults.

XXXIX.

There are four classes of Idols which beset men's minds. To these for distinction's sake I have assigned names, — calling the first class *Idols of the Tribe*; the second, *Idols of the Cave*; the third, *Idols of the Market-place*; the fourth, *Idols of the Theatre*.

XL.

The formation of ideas and axioms by true induction is no doubt the proper remedy to be applied for the keeping off and clearing away of idols. To point them out, however, is of great use; for the doctrine of Idols is to the Interpretation of Nature what the doctrine of the refutation of Sophisms is to common Logic.

XLI.

The Idols of the Tribe have their foundation in human nature itself, and in the tribe or race of men. For it is a false assertion that the sense of man is the measure of things. On the contrary, all perceptions as well of the sense as of the mind are according to the measure of the individual and not according to the measure of the universe. And the human understanding is like a false mirror, which, receiving rays irregularly, distorts and discolours the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it.

XLII.

The Idols of the Cave are the idols of the individual man. For every one (besides the errors common to human nature in general) has a cave or den of his own, which refracts and discolours the light of nature; owing either to his own proper and peculiar nature; or to his education and conversation with others; or to the reading of books, and the authority of those whom he esteems and admires; or to the differences of impressions, accordingly as they take place in a mind preoccupied and predisposed or in a mind indifferent and settled; or the like. So that the spirit of man (according as it is meted out to different individuals) is in fact a thing variable and full of perturbation, and governed as it were by chance. Whence it was

well observed by Heraclitus that men look for sciences in their own lesser worlds, and not in the greater or common world.

XLIII.

There are also Idols formed by the intercourse and association of men with each other, which I call Idols of the Market-place, on account of the commerce and consort of men there. For it is by discourse that men associate; and words are imposed according to the apprehension of the vulgar. And therefore the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding. Nor do the definitions or explanations wherewith in some things learned men are wont to guard and defend themselves, by any means set the matter right. But words plainly force and overrule the understanding, and throw all into confusion, and lead men away into numberless empty controversies and idle fancies.

XLIV.

Lastly, there are Idols which have immigrated into men's minds from the various dogmas of philosophies, and also from wrong laws of demonstration. These I call Idols of the Theatre; because in my judgment all the received systems are but so many stage-plays, representing worlds of their own creation after an unreal and scenic fashion. Nor is it only of the systems now in vogue, or only of the ancient sects and philosophies, that I speak; for many more plays of the same kind may yet be composed and in like artificial manner set forth; seeing that errors the most widely different have nevertheless causes for the most part alike. Neither again do I mean this only of entire systems, but also of many principles and axioms in science, which by tradition, credulity, and negligence have come to be received.

But of these several kinds of Idols I must speak more largely and exactly, that the understanding may be duly cautioned.

XLV.

The human understanding is of its own nature prone to suppose the existence of more order and regularity in the world than it finds. And though there be many things in nature which are singular and unmatched, yet it devises for them parallels and conjugates and relatives which do not exist. Hence the fiction that all celestial bodies move in perfect circles; spirals and dragons being (except in name) utterly rejected. Hence too the element of Fire with its orb is brought in, to make up the square with the other three which the sense perceives. Hence also the ratio of density of the so-called elements is arbitrarily fixed at ten to one. And so on of other dreams. And these fancies affect not dogmas only, but simple notions also.

XLVI.

The human understanding when it has once adopted an opinion (either as being the received opinion or as being agreeable to itself) draws all things else to support and agree with it. And though there be a greater number and weight of instances to be found on the other side, yet these it either neglects and despises, or else by some distinction sets aside and rejects; in order that by this great and pernicious pre-

determination the authority of its former conclusions may remain inviolate. And therefore it was a good answer that was made by one who when they showed him hanging in a temple a picture of those who had paid their vows as having escaped shipwreck, and would have him say whether he did not now acknowledge the power of the gods, — “Aye,” asked he again, “but where are they painted that were drowned after their vows?” And such is the way of all superstition, whether in astrology, dreams, omens, divine judgments, or the like; wherein men, having a delight in such vanities, mark the events where they are fulfilled, but where they fail, though this happen much oftener, neglect and pass them by. But with far more subtlety does this mischief insinuate itself into philosophy and the sciences; in which the first conclusion colours and brings into conformity with itself all that come after, though far sounder and better. Besides, independently of that delight and vanity which I have described, it is the peculiar and perpetual error of the human intellect to be more moved and excited by affirmatives than by negatives; whereas it ought properly to hold itself indifferently disposed towards both alike. Indeed in the establishment of any true axiom, the negative instance is the more forcible of the two.

XLVII.

The human understanding is moved by those things most which strike and enter the mind simultaneously and suddenly, and so fill the imagination; and then it feigns and supposes all other things to be somehow, though it cannot see how, similar to those few things by which it is surrounded. But for that going to and fro to remote and heterogeneous instances, by which axioms are tried as in the fire, the intellect is altogether slow and unfit, unless it be forced thereto by severe laws and overruling authority.

XLVIII.

The human understanding is unquiet; it cannot stop or rest, and still presses onward, but in vain. Therefore it is that we cannot conceive of any end or limit to the world; but always as of necessity it occurs to us that there is something beyond. Neither again can it be conceived how eternity has flowed down to the present day; for that distinction which is commonly received of infinity in time past and in time to come can by no means hold; for it would thence follow that one infinity is greater than another, and that infinity is wasting away and tending to become finite. The like subtlety arises touching the infinite divisibility of lines, from the same inability of thought to stop. But this inability interferes more mischievously in the discovery of causes: for although the most general principles in nature ought to be held merely positive, as they are discovered, and cannot with truth be referred to a cause; nevertheless the human understanding being unable to rest still seeks something prior in the order of nature. And then it is that in struggling towards that which is further off it falls back upon that which is more nigh at hand; namely, on final causes: which have relation clearly to the nature of man rather than to the nature of the universe; and from this source have strangely defiled philosophy. But he is no less an unskilled and

shallow philosopher who seeks causes of that which is most general, than he who in things subordinate and subaltern omits to do so.

XLIX.

The human understanding is no dry light, but receives an infusion from the will and affections; whence proceed sciences which may be called "sciences as one would." For what a man had rather were true he more readily believes. Therefore he rejects difficult things from impatience of research; sober things, because they narrow hope; the deeper things of nature, from superstition; the light of experience, from arrogance and pride, lest his mind should seem to be occupied with things mean and transitory; things not commonly believed, out of deference to the opinion of the vulgar. Numberless in short are the ways, and sometimes imperceptible, in which the affections colour and infect the understanding.

L.

But by far the greatest hindrance and aberration of the human understanding proceeds from the dulness, incompetency, and deceptions of the senses; in that things which strike the sense outweigh things which do not immediately strike it, though they be more important. Hence it is that speculation commonly ceases where sight ceases; insomuch that of things invisible there is little or no observation. Hence all the working of the spirits inclosed in tangible bodies lies hid and unobserved of men. So also all the more subtle changes of form in the parts of coarser substances (which they commonly call alteration, though it is in truth local motion through exceedingly small spaces) is in like manner unobserved. And yet unless these two things just mentioned be searched out and brought to light, nothing great can be achieved in nature, as far as the production of works is concerned. So again the essential nature of our common air, and of all bodies less dense than air (which are very many), is almost unknown. For the sense by itself is a thing infirm and erring; neither can instruments for enlarging or sharpening the senses do much; but all the truer kind of interpretation of nature is effected by instances and experiments fit and apposite; wherein the sense decides touching the experiment only, and the experiment touching the point in nature and the thing itself.

LI.

The human understanding is of its own nature prone to abstractions and gives a substance and reality to things which are fleeting. But to resolve nature into abstractions is less to our purpose than to dissect her into parts; as did the school of Democritus, which went further into nature than the rest. Matter rather than forms should be the object of our attention, its configurations and changes of configuration, and simple action, and law of action or motion; for forms are figments of the human mind, unless you will call those laws of action forms.

LII.

Such then are the idols which I call *Idols of the Tribe*; and which take their rise either from the homogeneity of the substance of the human spirit, or from its preoccupation, or from

its narrowness, or from its restless motion, or from an infusion of the affections, or from the incompetency of the senses, or from the mode of impression.

LIII.

The *Idols of the Cave* take their rise in the peculiar constitution, mental or bodily, of each individual; and also in education, habit, and accident. Of this kind there is a great number and variety; but I will instance those the pointing out of which contains the most important caution, and which have most effect in disturbing the clearness of the understanding.

LIV.

Men become attached to certain particular sciences and speculations, either because they fancy themselves the authors and inventors thereof, or because they have bestowed the greatest pains upon them and become most habituated to them. But men of this kind, if they betake themselves to philosophy and contemplations of a general character, distort and colour them in obedience to their former fancies; a thing especially to be noticed in Aristotle, who made his natural philosophy a mere bond-servant to his logic, thereby rendering it contentious and well nigh useless. The race of chemists again out of a few experiments of the furnace have built up a fantastic philosophy, framed with reference to a few things; and Gilbert also, after he had employed himself most laboriously in the study and observation of the loadstone, proceeded at once to construct an entire system in accordance with his favourite subject.

LV.

There is one principal and as it were radical distinction between different minds, in respect of philosophy and the sciences; which is this: that some minds are stronger and apter to mark the differences of things, others to mark their resemblances. The steady and acute mind can fix its contemplations and dwell and fasten on the subtlest distinctions: the lofty and discursive mind recognises and puts together the finest and most general resemblances. Both kinds however easily err in excess, by catching the one at gradations the other at shadows.

LVI.

There are found some minds given to an extreme admiration of antiquity, others to an extreme love and appetite for novelty; but few so duly tempered that they can hold the mean, neither carping at what has been well laid down by the ancients, nor despising what is well introduced by the moderns. This however turns to the great injury of the sciences and philosophy; since these affectations of antiquity and novelty are the humours of partisans rather than judgments; and truth is to be sought for not in the felicity of any age, which is an unstable thing, but in the light of nature and experience, which is eternal. These factions therefore must be abjured, and care must be taken that the intellect be not hurried by them into assent.

LVII.

Contemplations of nature and of bodies in their simple form break up and distract the understanding, while contemplations of nature and bodies in their composition and configuration overpower and dissolve the understanding: a distinction well

seen in the school of Leucippus and Democritus as compared with the other philosophies. For that school is so busied with the particles that it hardly attends to the structure; while the others are so lost in admiration of the structure that they do not penetrate to the simplicity of nature. These kinds of contemplation should therefore be alternated and taken by turns; that so the understanding may be rendered at once penetrating and comprehensive, and the inconveniences above mentioned, with the idols which proceed from them, may be avoided.

LVIII.

Let such then be our provision and contemplative prudence for keeping off and dislodging the *Idols of the Cave*, which grow for the most part either out of the predominance of a favourite subject, or out of an excessive tendency to compare or to distinguish, or out of partiality for particular ages, or out of the largeness or minuteness of the objects contemplated. And generally let every student of nature take this as a rule, —that whatever his mind seizes and dwells upon with peculiar satisfaction is to be held in suspicion, and that so much the more care is to be taken in dealing with such questions to keep the understanding even and clear.

LIX.

But the *Idols of the Market-place* are the most troublesome of all: idols which have crept into the understanding through the alliances of words and names. For men believe that their reason governs words; but it is also true that words react on the understanding; and this it is that has rendered philosophy and the sciences sophistical and inactive. Now words, being commonly framed and applied according to the capacity of the vulgar, follow those lines of division which are most obvious to the vulgar understanding. And whenever an understanding of greater acuteness or a more diligent observation would alter those lines to suit the true divisions of nature, words stand in the way and resist the change. Whence it comes to pass that the high and formal discussions of learned men end oftentimes in disputes about words and names; with which (according to the use and wisdom of the mathematicians) it would be more prudent to begin, and so by means of definitions reduce them to order. Yet even definitions cannot cure this evil in dealing with natural and material things; since the definitions themselves consist of words, and those words beget others: so that it is necessary to recur to individual instances, and those in due series and order; as I shall say presently when I come to the method and scheme for the formation of notions and axioms.

LX.

The idols imposed by words on the understanding are of two kinds. They are either names of things which do not exist (for as there are things left unnamed through lack of observation, so likewise are there names which result from fantastic suppositions and to which nothing in reality corresponds), or they are names of things which exist, but yet confused and ill-defined, and hastily and irregularly derived from realities. Of the former kind are Fortune, the Prime Mover, Planetary Orbits, Element of Fire, and like fictions which owe their origin to false and idle theories. And this class of idols

is more easily expelled, because to get rid of them it is only necessary that all theories should be steadily rejected and dismissed as obsolete.

But the other class, which springs out of a faulty and unskilful abstraction, is intricate and deeply rooted. Let us take for example such a word as *humid*; and see how far the several things which the word is used to signify agree with each other; and we shall find the word *humid* to be nothing else than a mark loosely and confusedly applied to denote a variety of actions which will not bear to be reduced to any constant meaning. For it both signifies that which easily spreads itself round any other body; and that which in itself is indeterminate and cannot solidise; and that which readily yields in every direction; and that which easily divides and scatters itself; and that which easily unites and collects itself; and that which readily flows and is put in motion; and that which readily clings to another body and wets it; and that which is easily reduced to a liquid, or being solid easily melts. Accordingly when you come to apply the word,—if you take it in one sense, flame is humid; if in another, air is not humid; if in another, fine dust is humid; if in another, glass is humid. So that it is easy to see that the notion is taken by abstraction only from water and common and ordinary liquids, without any due verification.

There are however in words certain degrees of distortion and error. One of the least faulty kinds is that of names of substances, especially of lowest species and well-deduced (for the notion of *chalk* and of *mud* is good, of *earth* bad); a more faulty kind is that of actions, as *to generate*, *to corrupt*, *to alter*; the most faulty is of qualities (except such as are the immediate objects of the sense) as *heavy*, *light*, *rare*, *dense*, and the like. Yet in all these cases some notions are of necessity a little better than others, in proportion to the greater variety of subjects that fall within the range of the human sense.

LXI.

But the *Idols of the Theatre* are not innate, nor do they steal into the understanding secretly, but are plainly impressed and received into the mind from the play-books of philosophical systems and the perverted rules of demonstration. To attempt refutations in this case would be merely inconsistent with what I have already said: for since we agree neither upon principles nor upon demonstrations there is no place for argument. And this is so far well, inasmuch as it leaves the honour of the ancients untouched. For they are no wise disparaged—the question between them and me being only as to the way. For as the saying is, the lame man who keeps the right road outstrips the runner who takes a wrong one. Nay it is obvious that when a man runs the wrong way, the more active and swift he is the further he will go astray.

But the course I propose for the discovery of sciences is such as leaves but little to the acuteness and strength of wits, but places all wits and understandings nearly on a level. For as in the drawing of a straight line or a perfect circle, much depends on the steadiness and practice of the hand, if it be done by aim of hand only, but if with the aid of rule or compass, little or nothing; so is it exactly with my plan. But though particular confutations would be of no avail,

yet touching the sects and general divisions of such systems I must say something; something also touching the external signs which show that they are unsound; and finally something touching the causes of such great infelicity and of such lasting and general agreement in error; that so the access to truth may be made less difficult, and the human understanding may the more willingly submit to its purgation and dismiss its idols.

LXII.

Idols of the Theatre, or of Systems, are many, and there can be and perhaps will be yet many more. For were it not that now for many ages men's minds have been busied with religion and theology; and were it not that civil governments, especially monarchies, have been averse to such novelties, even in matters speculative; so that men labour therein to the peril and harming of their fortunes,—not only unrewarded, but exposed also to contempt and envy; doubtless there would have arisen many other philosophical sects like to those which in great variety flourished once among the Greeks. For as on the phenomena of the heavens many hypotheses may be constructed, so likewise (and more also) many various dogmas may be set up and established on the phenomena of philosophy. And in the plays of this philosophical theatre you may observe the same thing which is found in the theatre of the poets, that stories invented for the stage are more compact and elegant, and more as one would wish them to be, than true stories out of history.

In general however there is taken for the material of philosophy either a great deal out of a few things, or a very little out of many things; so that on both sides philosophy is based on too narrow a foundation of experiment and natural history, and decides on the authority of too few cases. For the Rational School of philosophers snatches from experience a variety of common instances, neither duly ascertained nor diligently examined and weighed, and leaves all the rest to meditation and agitation of wit.

There is also another class of philosophers, who having bestowed much diligent and careful labour on a few experiments, have thence made bold to educe and construct systems; wresting all other facts in a strange fashion to conformity therewith.

And there is yet a third class, consisting of those who out of faith and veneration mix their philosophy with theology and traditions; among whom the vanity of some has gone so far aside as to seek the origin of sciences among spirits and genii. So that this parent stock of errors—this false philosophy—is of three kinds; the Sophistical, the Empirical, and the Superstitious.

LXIII.

The most conspicuous example of the first class was Aristotle, who corrupted natural philosophy by his logic: fashioning the world out of categories; assigning to the human soul, the noblest of substances, a genus from words of the second intention; doing the business of density and rarity (which is to make bodies of greater or less dimensions, that is, occupy greater or less spaces), by the frigid distinction of act and

power; asserting that single bodies have each a single and proper motion, and that if they participate in any other, then this results from an external cause; and imposing countless other arbitrary restrictions on the nature of things; being always more solicitous to provide an answer to the question and affirm something positive in words, than about the inner truth of things; a failing best shown when his philosophy is compared with other systems of note among the Greeks. For the Homœomera of Anaxagoras; the Atoms of Leucippus and Democritus; the Heaven and Earth of Parmenides; the Strife and Friendship of Empedocles; Heraclitus's doctrine how bodies are resolved into the indifferent nature of fire, and remoulded into solids; have all of them some taste of the natural philosopher,—some savour of the nature of things, and experience, and bodies; whereas in the physics of Aristotle you hear hardly anything but the words of logic; which in his metaphysics also, under a more imposing name, and more forsooth as a realist than a nominalist, he has handled over again. Nor let any weight be given to the fact, that in his books on animals and his problems, and other of his treatises, there is frequent dealing with experiments. For he had come to his conclusion before; he did not consult experience, as he should have done, in order to the framing of his decisions and axioms; but having first determined the question according to his will, he then resorts to experience, and bending her into conformity with his placets leads her about like a captive in a procession; so that even on this count he is more guilty than his modern followers, the schoolmen, who have abandoned experience altogether.

LXIV.

But the Empirical school of philosophy gives birth to dogmas more deformed and monstrous than the Sophistical or Rational school. For it has its foundations not in the light of common notions, (which though it be a faint and superficial light, is yet in a manner universal, and has reference to many things,) but in the narrowness and darkness of a few experiments. To those therefore who are daily busied with these experiments, and have infected their imagination with them, such a philosophy seems probable and all but certain; to all men else incredible and vain. Of this there is a notable instance in the alchemists and their dogmas; though it is hardly to be found elsewhere in these times, except perhaps in the philosophy of Gilbert. Nevertheless with regard to philosophies of this kind there is one caution not to be omitted; for I foresee that if ever men are roused by my admonitions to betake themselves seriously to experiment and bid farewell to sophistical doctrines, then indeed through the premature hurry of the understanding to leap or fly to universals and principles of things, great danger may be apprehended from philosophies of this kind; against which evil we ought even now to prepare.

LXV.

But the corruption of philosophy by superstition and an admixture of theology is far more widely spread, and does the greatest harm, whether to entire systems or to their parts.

For the human understanding is obnoxious to the influence of the imagination no less than to the influence of common notions. For the contentious and sophistical kind of philosophy ensnares the understanding; but this kind, being fanciful and tumid and half poetical, misleads it more by flattery. For there is in man an ambition of the understanding, no less than of the will, especially in high and lofty spirits.

Of this kind we have among the Greeks a striking example in Pythagoras, though he united with it a coarser and more cumbrous superstition; another in Plato and his school, more dangerous and subtle. It shows itself likewise in parts of other philosophies, in the introduction of abstract forms and final causes and first causes, with the omission in most cases of causes intermediate, and the like. Upon this point the greatest caution should be used. For nothing is so mischievous as the apotheosis of error; and it is a very plague of the understanding for vanity to become the object of veneration. Yet in this vanity some of the moderns have with extreme levity indulged so far as to attempt to found a system of natural philosophy on the first chapter of Genesis, on the book of Job, and other parts of the sacred writings; seeking for the dead among the living: which also makes the inhibition and repression of it the more important, because from this unwholesome mixture of things human and divine there arises not only a fantastic philosophy but also an heretical religion. Very meet it is therefore that we be sober-minded, and give to faith that only which is faith's.

LXVIII.

So much concerning the several classes of Idols, and their equipage: all of which must be renounced and put away with a fixed and solemn determination, and the understanding thoroughly freed and cleansed; the entrance into the kingdom of man, founded on the sciences, being not much other than the entrance into the kingdom of heaven, whereinto none may enter except as a little child.

DESCARTES

DISCOURSE ON METHOD

PART I.

GOOD SENSE is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for every one thinks himself so abundantly provided with it, that those even who are the most difficult to satisfy in everything else, do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken: the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judging aright and of distinguishing Truth from Error, which is properly what is called Good Sense or Reason, is by nature equal in all men; and that the diversity of our opinions, consequently, does not arise from some being endowed with a larger share of Reason than others, but solely from this, that we conduct our thoughts along different ways, and do not fix our attention on the same objects. For to be possessed of a vigorous mind is not enough; the prime requisite is rightly to apply it. The greatest minds, as they are capable of the highest excellencies, are open likewise to the greatest aberrations; and those who travel very slowly may yet make far greater progress, provided they keep always to the straight road, than those who, while they run, forsake it.

For myself, I have never fancied my mind to be in any respect more perfect than those of the generality; on the contrary, I have often wished that I were equal to some others in promptitude of thought, or in clearness and distinctness of imagination, or in fullness and readiness of memory. And besides these, I know of no other qualities that contribute to the perfection of the mind; for as to the Reason or Sense, inasmuch as it is that alone which constitutes us men, and distinguishes us from the brutes, I am disposed to believe that it is to be found complete in each individual; and on this point to adopt the common opinion of philosophers, who say that the difference of greater and less holds only among the ACCIDENTS, and not among the FORMS OR NATURES OF INDIVIDUALS of the same SPECIES.

I will not hesitate, however, to avow my belief that it has been my singular good fortune to have very early in life fallen in with certain tracks which have conducted me to considerations and maxims, of which I have formed a Method that gives me the means, as I think, of gradually augmenting my knowledge, and of raising it by little and little to the highest point which the mediocrity of my talents and the brief duration of my life will permit

me to reach. For I have already reaped from it such fruits, that, although I have been accustomed to think lowly enough of myself, and although when I look with the eye of a philosopher at the varied courses and pursuits of mankind at large, I find scarcely one which does not appear vain and useless, I nevertheless derive the highest satisfaction from the progress I conceive myself to have already made in the search after truth, and cannot help entertaining such expectations of the future as to believe that if, among the occupations of men as men, there is any one really excellent and important, it is that which I have chosen.

After all, it is possible I may be mistaken; and it is but a little copper and glass, perhaps, that I take for gold and diamonds. I know how very liable we are to delusion in what relates to ourselves, and also how much the judgments of our friends are to be suspected when given in our favor. But I shall endeavor in this Discourse to describe the paths I have followed, and to delineate my life as in a picture, in order that each one may be able to judge of them for himself, and that in the general opinion entertained of them, as gathered from current report, I myself may have a new help toward instruction to be added to those I have been in the habit of employing.

My present design, then, is not to teach the Method which each ought to follow for the right conduct of his Reason, but solely to describe the way in which I have endeavored to conduct my own. They who set themselves to give precepts must of course regard themselves as possessed of greater skill than those to whom they prescribe; and if they err in the slightest particular, they subject themselves to censure. But as this Tract is put forth merely as a history, or, if you will, as a tale, in which, amid some examples worthy of imitation, there will be found, perhaps, as many more which it were advisable not to follow, I hope it will prove useful to some without being hurtful to any, and that my openness will find some favor with all.

From my childhood, I have been familiar with letters; and as I was given to believe that by their help a clear and certain knowledge of all that is useful in life might be acquired, I was ardently desirous of instruction. But as soon as I had finished the entire course of study, at the close of which it is customary to be admitted into the order of the learned, I completely changed my opinion. For I found myself involved in so many doubts and errors, that I was convinced I had advanced no farther in all my attempts at learning, than the discovery at every turn of my own ignorance. And yet I was studying in one of the most celebrated Schools in Europe, in which I thought there must be learned men, if such were anywhere to be found. I had been taught all that others learned there; and not contented with the sciences actually taught us, I had, in addition, read all the books that had fallen into my hands, treating of such branches as are esteemed the most curious and rare. I knew the judgment which others had formed of me; and I did not find

that I was considered inferior to my fellows, although there were among them some who were already marked out to fill the places of our instructors. And, in fine, our age appeared to me as flourishing, and as fertile in powerful minds as any preceding one. I was thus led to take the liberty of judging of all other men by myself, and of concluding that there was no science in existence that was of such a nature as I had previously been given to believe.

I still continued, however, to hold in esteem the studies of the Schools. I was aware that the Languages taught in them are necessary to the understanding of the writings of the ancients; that the grace of Fable stirs the mind; that the memorable deeds of History elevate it; and, if read with discretion, aid in forming the judgment; that the perusal of all excellent books is, as it were, to interview with the noblest men of past ages, who have written them, and even a studied interview, in which are discovered to us only their choicest thoughts; that Eloquence has incomparable force and beauty; that Poesy has its ravishing graces and delights; that in the Mathematics there are many refined discoveries eminently suited to gratify the inquisitive, as well as further all the arts and lessen the labor of man; that numerous highly useful precepts and exhortations to virtue are contained in treatises on Morals; that Theology points out the path to heaven; that Philosophy affords the means of discoursing with an appearance of truth on all matters, and commands the admiration of the more simple; that Jurisprudence, Medicine, and the other Sciences, secure for their cultivators honors and riches; and, in fine, that it is useful to bestow some attention upon all, even upon those abounding the most in superstition and error, that we may be in a position to determine their real value, and guard against being deceived.

But I believed that I had already given sufficient time to Languages, and likewise to the reading of the writings of the ancients, to their Histories and Fables. For to hold converse with those of other ages and to travel, are almost the same thing. It is useful to know something of the manners of different nations, that we may be enabled to form a more correct judgment regarding our own, and be prevented from thinking that everything contrary to our customs is ridiculous and irrational,—a conclusion usually come to by those whose experience has been limited to their own country. On the other hand, when too much time is occupied in traveling, we become strangers to our native country; and the over-curious in the customs of the past are generally ignorant of those of the present. Besides, fictitious narratives lead us to imagine the possibility of many events that are impossible; and even the most faithful histories, if they do not wholly misrepresent matters, or exaggerate their importance to render the account of them more worthy of perusal, omit, at least, almost always the meanest and least striking of the attendant circumstances; hence it happens that the re-

mairder does not represent the truth, and that such as regulate their conduct by examples drawn from this source, are apt to fall into the extravagances of the knight-errants of Romance, and to entertain projects that exceed their powers.

I esteemed Eloquence highly, and was in raptures with Poesy, but I thought that both were gifts of nature rather than fruits of study. Those in whom the faculty of Reason is predominant and who most skillfully dispose their thoughts with a view to render them clear and intelligible, are always the best able to persuade others of the truth of what they lay down, though they should speak only in the language of Lower Brittany, and be wholly ignorant of the rules of Rhetoric; and those whose minds are stored with the most agreeable fancies, and who can give expression to them with the greatest embellishment and harmony, are still the best poets, though unacquainted with the Art of Poetry.

I was especially delighted with the Mathematics, on account of the certitude and evidence of their reasonings: but I had not as yet a precise knowledge of their true use; and thinking that they but contributed to the advancement of the mechanical arts, I was astonished that foundations, so strong and solid, should have had no loftier superstructure reared on them. On the other hand, I compared the disquisitions of the ancient Moralists to very towering and magnificent palaces with no better foundation than sand and mud: they laud the virtues very highly, and exhibit them as estimable far above anything on earth; but they give us no adequate criterion of virtue, and frequently that which they designate with so fine a name is but apathy, or pride, or despair, or parricide.

I revered our Theology, and aspired as much as any one to reach heaven: but being given assuredly to understand that the way is not less open to the most ignorant than to the most learned, and that the revealed truths which lead to heaven are above our comprehension, I did not presume to subject them to the impotency of my Reason; and I thought that in order competently to undertake their examination, there was need of some special help from heaven, and of being more than man.

Of Philosophy I will say nothing, except that when I saw that it had been cultivated for many ages by the most distinguished men, and that yet there is not a single matter within its sphere which is not still in dispute, and nothing, therefore, which is above doubt, I did not presume to anticipate that my success would be greater in it than that of others; and further, when I considered the number of conflicting opinions touching a single matter that may be upheld by learned men, while there can be but one true, I reckoned as well-nigh false all that was only probable.

As to the other Sciences, inasmuch as these borrow their principles from Philosophy, I judged that no solid superstructures could be reared on foundations so infirm;

and neither the honor nor the gain held out by them was sufficient to determine me to their cultivation: for I was not, thank Heaven, in a condition which compelled me to make merchandise of Science for the bettering of my fortune; and though I might not profess to scorn glory as a Cynic, I yet made very slight account of that honor which I hoped to acquire only through fictitious titles. And, in fine, of false Sciences I thought I knew the worth sufficiently to escape being deceived by the professions of an alchemist, the predictions of an astrologer, the impostures of a magician, or by the artifices and boasting of any of those who profess to know things of which they are ignorant.

For these reasons, as soon as my age permitted me to pass from under the control of my instructors, I entirely abandoned the study of letters, and resolved no longer to seek any other science than the knowledge of myself, or of the great book of the world. I spent the remainder of my youth in traveling, in visiting courts and armies, in holding intercourse with men of different dispositions and ranks, in collecting varied experience, in proving myself in the different situations into which fortune threw me, and, above all, in making such reflection on the matter of my experience as to secure my improvement. For it occurred to me that I should find much more truth in the reasonings of each individual with reference to the affairs in which he is personally interested, and the issue of which must presently punish him if he has judged amiss, than in those conducted by a man of letters in his study, regarding speculative matters that are of no practical moment, and followed by no consequences to himself, farther, perhaps, than that they foster his vanity the better the more remote they are from common sense; requiring, as they must in this case, the exercise of greater ingenuity and art to render them probable. In addition, I had always a most earnest desire to know how to distinguish the true from the false, in order that I might be able clearly to discriminate the right path in life, and proceed in it with confidence.

It is true that, while busied only in considering the manners of other men, I found here, too, scarce any ground for settled conviction, and remarked hardly less contradiction among them than in the opinions of the philosophers. So that the greatest advantage I derived from the study consisted in this, that, observing many things which, however extravagant and ridiculous to our apprehension, are yet by common consent received and approved by other great nations, I learned to entertain too decided a belief in regard to nothing of the truth of which I had been persuaded merely by example and custom; and thus I gradually extricated myself from many errors powerful enough to darken our Natural Intelligence, and incapacitate us in great measure from listening to Reason. But after I had been occupied several years in thus studying the book of the world, and in essaying to gather some experience, I at length resolved to make myself an object of study, and to employ all the powers of my mind in choosing the paths I ought

to follow; an undertaking which was accompanied with greater success than it would have been had I never quitted my country or my books.

PART II.

I was then in Germany, attracted thither by the wars in that country, which have not yet been brought to a termination; and as I was returning to the army from the coronation of the Emperor, the setting in of winter arrested me in a locality where, as I found no society to interest me, and was besides fortunately undisturbed by any cares or passions, I remained the whole day in seclusion, with full opportunity to occupy my attention with my own thoughts. Of these one of the very first that occurred to me was, that there is seldom so much perfection in works composed of many separate parts, upon which different hands have been employed, as in those completed by a single master. Thus it is observable that the buildings which a single architect has planned and executed, are generally more elegant and commodious than those which several have attempted to improve, by making old walls serve for purposes for which they were not originally built. Thus also, those ancient cities which, from being at first only villages, have become, in course of time, large towns, are usually but ill laid out compared with the regularly constructed towns which a professional architect has freely planed on an open plain; so that although the several buildings of the former may often equal or surpass in beauty those of the latter, yet when one observes their indiscriminate juxtaposition, there a large one and here a small, and the consequent crookedness and irregularity of the streets, one is disposed to allege that chance rather than any human will guided by reason, must have led to such an arrangement. And if we consider that nevertheless there have been at all times certain officers whose duty it was to see that private buildings contributed to public ornament, the difficulty of reaching high perfection with but the materials of others to operate on, will be readily acknowledged. In the same way I fancied that those nations which, starting from a semi-barbarous state and advancing to civilization by slow degrees, have had their laws successively determined, and, as it were, forced upon them simply by experience of the hurtfulness of particular crimes and disputes, would by this process come to be possessed of less perfect institutions than those which, from the commencement of their association as communities, have followed the appointments of some wise legislator. It is thus quite certain that the constitution of the true religion, the ordinances of which are derived from God, must be incomparably superior to that of every other. And, to speak of human affairs, I believe that the past pre-eminence of Sparta was due not to the goodness of each of its laws in particular, for many of these were very strange,

and even opposed to good morals, but to the circumstance that, originated by a single individual, they all tended to a single end. In the same way I thought that the sciences contained in books (such of them at least as are made up of probable reasonings, without demonstrations), composed as they are of the opinions of many different individuals massed together, are farther removed from truth than the simple inferences which a man of good sense using his natural and unprejudiced judgment draws respecting the matters of his experience. And because we have all to pass through a state of infancy to manhood, and have been of necessity, for a length of time, governed by our desires and preceptors (whose dictates were frequently conflicting, while neither perhaps always counseled us for the best), I farther concluded that it is almost impossible that our judgments can be so correct or solid as they would have been, had our Reason been mature from the moment of our birth, and had we always been guided by it alone.

It is true, however, that it is not customary to pull down all the houses of a town with the single design of rebuilding them differently, and thereby rendering the streets more handsome; but it often happens that a private individual takes down his own with the view of erecting it anew, and that people are even sometimes constrained to this when their houses are in danger of falling from age, or when the foundations are insecure. With this before me by way of example, I was persuaded that it would indeed be preposterous for a private individual to think of reforming a state by fundamentally changing it throughout, and overturning it in order to set it up amended; and the same I thought was true of any similar project for reforming the body of the Sciences, or the order of teaching them established in the Schools; but as for the opinions which up to that time I had embraced, I thought that I could not do better than resolve at once to sweep them wholly away, that I might afterward be in a position to admit either others more correct, or even perhaps the same when they had undergone the scrutiny of Reason. I firmly believed that in this way I should much better succeed in the conduct of my life, than if I built only upon old foundations, and leaned upon principles which, in my youth, I had taken upon trust. For although I recognized various difficulties in this undertaking, these were not, however, without remedy, nor once to be compared with such as attend the slightest reformation in public affairs. Large bodies, if once overthrown, are with great difficulty set up again, or even kept erect when once seriously shaken, and the fall of such is always disastrous. Then if there are any imperfections in the constitutions of states (and that many such exist the diversity of constitutions is alone sufficient to assure us), custom has without doubt materially smoothed their inconveniences, and has even managed to steer altogether clear of, or insensibly corrected, a number which sagacity could not have provided against with equal effect; and, in fine, the defects are almost

always more tolerable than the change necessary for their removal; in the same manner that highways which wind among mountains, by being much frequented, become gradually so smooth and commodious, that it is much better to follow them than to seek a straighter path by climbing over the tops of rocks and descending to the bottoms of precipices.

Hence it is that I cannot in any degree approve of those restless and busy meddlers who, called neither by birth nor fortune to take part in the management of public affairs, are yet always projecting reforms; and if I thought that this Tract contained aught which might justify the suspicion that I was a victim of such folly, I would by no means permit its publication. I have never contemplated anything higher than the reformation of my own opinions, and basing them on a foundation wholly my own. And although my own satisfaction with my work has led me to present here a draft of it, I do not by any means therefore recommend to everyone else to make a similar attempt. Those whom God has endowed with a larger measure of genius will entertain, perhaps, designs still more exalted; but for the many I am much afraid lest even the present undertaking be more than they can safely venture to imitate. The single design to strip oneself of all past beliefs is one that ought not to be taken by everyone. The majority of men is composed of two classes, for neither of which would this be at all a befitting resolution: in the FIRST place, of those who with more than a due confidence in their own powers, are precipitate in their judgments and want the patience requisite for orderly and circumspect thinking; whence it happens, that if men of this class once take the liberty to doubt of their accustomed opinions, and quit the beaten highway, they will never be able to thread the byway that would lead them by a shorter course, and will lose themselves and continue to wander for life; in the SECOND place, of those who, possessed of sufficient sense of modesty to determine that there are others who excel them in the power of discriminating between truth and error, and by whom they may be instructed, ought rather to content themselves with the opinions of such than trust for more correct to their own Reason.

For my own part, I should doubtless have belonged to the latter class, had I received instruction from but one master, or had I never known the diversities of opinion that from time immemorial have prevailed among men of the greatest learning. But I had become aware, even so early as during my college life, that no opinion, however absurd and incredible, can be imagined, which has not been maintained by some one of the philosophers; and afterward in the course of my travels I remarked that all those whose opinions are decidedly repugnant to ours are not on that account barbarians and savages, but on the contrary that many of these nations make an equally good, if not a better, use of their Reason than we do. I took into account also the very different char-

acter which a person brought up from infancy in France or Germany exhibits, from that which, with the same mind originally, this individual would have possessed had he lived always among the Chinese or with savages, and the circumstance that in dress itself the fashion which pleased us ten years ago, and which may again, perhaps, be received into favor before ten years have gone, appears to us at this moment extravagant and ridiculous. I was thus led to infer that the ground of our opinions is far more custom and example than any certain knowledge. And, finally, although such be the ground of our opinions, I remarked that a plurality of suffrages is no guarantee of truth where it is at all of difficult discovery, as in such cases it is much more likely that it will be found by one than by many. I could, however, select from the crowd no one whose opinions seemed worthy of preference, and thus I found myself constrained, as it were, to use my own Reason in the conduct of my life.

But like one walking alone and in the dark, I resolved to proceed so slowly and with such circumspection, that if I did not advance far, I would at least guard against falling. I did not even choose to dismiss summarily any of the opinions that had crept into my belief without having been introduced by Reason, but first of all took sufficient time carefully to satisfy myself of the general nature of the task I was setting myself, and ascertain the true Method by which to arrive at the knowledge of whatever lay within the compass of my powers.

Among the branches of Philosophy, I had, at an earlier period, given some attention to Logic, and among those of the Mathematics to Geometrical Analysis and Algebra,—three Arts or Sciences which ought, as I conceived, to contribute something to my design. But, on examination, I found that, as for Logic, its syllogisms and the majority of its other precepts are of avail rather in the communication of what we already know, or even as the Art of Lully, in speaking without judgment of things of which we are ignorant, than in the investigation of the unknown; and although this Science contains indeed a number of correct and very excellent precepts, there are, nevertheless, so many others, and these either injurious or superfluous, mingled with the former, that it is almost quite as difficult to effect a severance of the true from the false as it is to extract a Diana or a Minerva from a rough block of marble. Then as to the Analysis of the ancients and the Algebra of the moderns, besides that they embrace only matters highly abstract, and, to appearance, of no use, the former is so exclusively restricted to the consideration of figures, that it can exercise the Understanding only on condition of greatly fatiguing the Imagination; and, in the latter, there is so complete a subjection to certain rules and formulas, that there results an art full of confusion and obscurity calculated to embarrass, instead of a science fitted to cultivate the mind. By these considerations I was induced to seek some other Method which would

comprise the advantages of the three and be exempt from their defects. And as a multitude of laws often only hampers justice, so that a state is best governed when, with few laws, these are rigidly administered; in like manner, instead of the great number of precepts of which Logic is composed, I believed that the four following would prove perfectly sufficient for me, provided I took the firm and unwavering resolution never in a single instance to fail in observing them.

The FIRST was never to accept anything for true which I did not clearly know to be such; that is to say, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to comprise nothing more in my judgment than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly as to exclude all ground of doubt.

The SECOND, to divide each of the difficulties under examination into as many parts as possible, and as might be necessary for its adequate solution.

The THIRD, to conduct my thoughts in such order that, by commencing with objects the simplest and easiest to know, I might ascend by little and little, and, as it were, step by step, to the knowledge of the more complex; assigning in thought a certain order even to those objects which in their own nature do not stand in a relation of antecedence and sequence.

At the LAST, in every case to make enumerations so complete, and reviews so general, that I might be assured that nothing was omitted.

The long chains of simple and easy reasonings by means of which geometers are accustomed to reach the conclusions of their most difficult demonstrations, had led me to imagine that all things, to the knowledge of which man is competent, are mutually connected in the same way, and that there is nothing so far removed from us as to be beyond our reach, or so hidden that we cannot discover it, provided only we abstain from accepting the false for the true, and always preserve in our thoughts the order necessary for the deduction of one truth from another. And I had little difficulty in determining the objects with which it was necessary to commence, for I was already persuaded that it must be with the simplest and easiest to know, and considering that of all those who have hitherto sought truth in the Sciences, the mathematicians alone have been able to find any demonstrations, that is, any certain and evident reasons, I did not doubt but that such must have been the rule of their investigations. I resolved to commence, therefore, with the examination of the simplest objects, not anticipating, however, from this any other advantage than that to be found in accustoming my mind to the love and nourishment of truth, and to a distaste for all such reasonings as were unsound. But I had no intention on that account of attempting to master all the particular Sciences commonly denominated Mathematics: but observing that, however different their objects, they all agree in considering only the various relations or proportions subsisting among those objects, I thought it best for my purpose to

consider these proportions in the most general form possible, without referring them to any objects in particular, except such as would most facilitate the knowledge of them, and without by any means restricting them to these, that afterward I might thus be the better able to apply them to every other class of objects to which they are legitimately applicable. Perceiving further, that in order to understand these relations I should sometimes have to consider them one by one, and sometimes only to bear them in mind, or embrace them in the aggregate, I thought that, in order the better to consider them individually, I should view them as subsisting between straight lines, than which I could find no objects more simple, or capable of being more distinctly represented to my imagination and senses; and on the other hand, that in order to retain them in the memory, or embrace an aggregate of many, I should express them by certain characters the briefest possible. In this way I believed that I could borrow all that was best both in Geometrical Analysis and in Algebra, and correct all the defects of the one by help of the other.

And, in point of fact, the accurate observance of these few precepts gave me, I take the liberty of saying, such ease in unraveling all the questions embraced in these two sciences, that in the two or three months I devoted to their examination, not only did I reach solutions of questions I had formerly deemed exceedingly difficult, but even as regards questions of the solution of which I continued ignorant, I was enabled, as it appeared to me, to determine the means whereby, and the extent to which, a solution was possible; results attributable to the circumstance that I commenced with the simplest and most general truths, and that thus each truth discovered was a rule available in the discovery of subsequent ones. Nor in this perhaps shall I appear too vain, if it be considered that, as the truth on any particular point is one, whoever apprehends the truth, knows all that on that point can be known. The child, for example, who has been instructed in the elements of Arithmetic, and has made a particular addition, according to rule, may be assured that he has found, with respect to the sum of the numbers before him, all that in this instance is within the reach of human genius. Now, in conclusion, the Method which teaches adherence to the true order, and an exact enumeration of all the conditions of the thing sought includes all that gives certitude to the rules of Arithmetic.

But the chief ground of my satisfaction with this Method was the assurance I had of thereby exercising my reason in all matters, if not with absolute perfection, at least with the greatest attainable by me: besides, I was conscious that by its use my mind was becoming gradually habituated to clearer and more distinct conceptions of its objects; and I hoped also, from not having restricted this Method to any particular matter, to apply it to the difficulties of the other Sciences, with not less success than to those of Algebra. I should not, however,

on this account have ventured at once on the examination of all the difficulties of the Sciences which presented themselves to me, for this would have been contrary to the order prescribed in the Method, but observing that the knowledge of such is dependent on principles borrowed from Philosophy, in which I found nothing certain, I thought it necessary, first of all to endeavor to establish its principles. And because I observed, besides, that an inquiry of this kind was of all others of the greatest moment, and one in which precipitancy and anticipation in judgment were most to be dreaded, I thought that I ought not to approach it till I had reached a more mature age (being at that time but twenty-three), and had first of all employed much of my time in preparation for the work, as well by eradicating from my mind all the erroneous opinions I had up to that moment accepted, as by amassing variety of experience to afford materials for my reasonings, and by continually exercising myself in my chosen Method with a view to increased skill in its application.

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PART IV.

I AM in doubt as to the propriety of making my first meditations, in the place above mentioned, matter of discourse; for these are so metaphysical, and so uncommon, as not, perhaps, to be acceptable to everyone. And yet, that it may be determined whether the foundations that I have laid are sufficiently secure, I find myself in a measure constrained to advert to them. I had long before remarked that, in relation to practice, it is sometimes necessary to adopt, as if above doubt, opinions which we discern to be highly uncertain, as has been already said; but as I then desired to give my attention solely to the search after truth, I thought that a procedure exactly the opposite was called for, and that I ought to reject as absolutely false all opinions in regard to which I could suppose the least ground for doubt, in order to ascertain whether after that there remained aught in my belief that was wholly indubitable. Accordingly, seeing that our senses sometimes deceive us, I was willing to suppose that there existed nothing really such as they presented to us; and because some men err in reasoning, and fall into paralogisms, even on the simplest matters of Geometry, I, convinced that I was as open to error as any other, rejected as false all the reasonings I had hitherto taken for demonstrations; and finally, when I considered that the very same thoughts (presentations) which we experience when awake may also be experienced when we are asleep, while there is at that time not one of them true, I supposed that all

the objects (presentations) that had ever entered into my mind when awake, had in them no more truth than the illusions of my dreams. But immediately upon this I observed that, whilst I thus wished to think that all was false, it was absolutely necessary that I, who thus thought, should be somewhat; and as I observed that this truth, I THINK, HENCE I AM, was so certain and of such evidence, that no ground of doubt, however extravagant, could be alleged by the Sceptics capable of shaking it, I concluded that I might, without scruple, accept it as the first principle of the Philosophy of which I was in search.

In the next place, I attentively examined what I was, and as I observed that I could suppose that I had no body, and that there was no world nor any place in which I might be; but that I could not therefore suppose that I was not; and that, on the contrary, from the very circumstance that I thought to doubt of the truth of all things, it most clearly and certainly followed that I was; while, on the other hand, if I had only ceased to think, although all the other objects which I had ever imagined had been in reality existent, I would have had no reason to believe that I existed; I thence concluded that I was a substance whose whole essence or nature consists only in thinking, and which, that it may exist, has need of no place, nor is dependent on any material thing; so that "I," that is to say, the mind by which I am what I am, is wholly distinct from the body, and is even more easily known than the latter, and is such, that although the latter were not, it would still continue to be all that it is.

After this I inquired in general into what is essential to the truth and certainty of a proposition; for since I had discovered one which I knew to be true, I thought that I must likewise be able to discover the ground of this certitude. And as I observed that in the words I THINK, HENCE I AM, there is nothing at all which gives me assurance of their truth beyond this, that I see very clearly that in order to think it is necessary to exist, I concluded that I might take, as a general rule, the principle, that all the things which we very clearly and distinctly conceive are true, only observing, however, that there is some difficulty in rightly determining the objects which we distinctly conceive.

In the next place, from reflecting on the circumstance that I doubted, and that consequently my being was not wholly perfect (for I clearly saw that it was a greater perfection to know than to doubt), I was led to inquire whence I had learned to think of something more perfect than myself; and I clearly recognized that I must hold this notion from some Nature which in reality was more perfect. As for the thoughts of many other objects external to me, as of the sky, the earth, light, heat, and a thousand more, I was less at a loss to know whence these came; for since I remarked in them nothing which seemed to render them superior to myself, I could believe that, if these were true, they were dependen-

cies on my own nature, in so far as it possessed a certain perfection, and, if they were false, that I held them from nothing, that is to say, that they were in me because of a certain imperfection of my nature. But this could not be the case with the idea of a Nature more perfect than myself; for to receive it from nothing was a thing manifestly impossible; and, because it is not less repugnant that the more perfect should be an effect of, and dependence on the less perfect, than that something should proceed from nothing, it was equally impossible that I could hold it from myself: accordingly, it but remained that it had been placed in me by a Nature which was in reality more perfect than mine, and which even possessed within itself all the perfections of which I could form any idea: that is to say, in a single word, which was God. And to this I added that, since I knew some perfections which I did not possess, I was not the only being in existence, (I will here, with your permission, freely use the terms of the Schools); but on the contrary, that there was of necessity some other more perfect Being upon whom I was dependent, and from whom I had received all that I possessed; for if I had existed alone, and independently of every other being, so as to have had from myself all the perfection, however little, which I actually possessed, I should have been able, for the same reason, to have had from myself the whole remainder of perfection, of the want of which I was conscious, and thus could of myself have become infinite, eternal, immutable, omniscient, all-powerful, and, in fine, have possessed all the perfections which I could recognize in God. For in order to know the nature of God (whose existence has been established by the preceding reasonings), as far as my own nature permitted, I had only to consider in reference to all the properties of which I found in my mind some idea, whether their possession was a mark of perfection; and I was assured that no one which indicated any imperfection was in him, and that none of the rest was wanting. Thus I perceived that doubt, inconstancy, sadness, and such like, could not be found in God, since I myself would have been happy to be free from them. Besides, I had ideas of many sensible and corporeal things; for although I might suppose that I was dreaming, and that all which I saw or imagined was false, I could not, nevertheless, deny that the ideas were in reality in my thoughts. But because I had already very clearly recognized in myself that the intelligent nature is distinct from the corporeal, and as I observed that all composition is an evidence of dependency, and that a state of dependency is manifestly a state of imperfection, I therefore determined that it could not be a perfection in God to be compounded of these two natures, and that consequently he was not so compounded; but that if there were any bodies in the world, or even any intelligences, or other natures that were not wholly perfect, their existence depended on his power in such a way that they could not subsist without him for a single moment.

I was disposed straightway to search for other truths; and when I had represented to myself the object of the geometers, which I conceived to be a continuous body, or a space indefinitely extended in length, breadth, and height or depth, divisible into divers parts which admit of different figures and sizes, and of being moved or transposed in all manner of ways (for all this the geometers suppose to be in the object they contemplate), I went over some of their simplest demonstrations. And, in the first place, I observed, that the great certitude which by common consent is accorded to these demonstrations, is founded solely upon this, that they are clearly conceived in accordance with the rules I have already laid down. In the next place, I perceived that there was nothing at all in these demonstrations which could assure me of the existence of their object; thus, for example, supposing a triangle to be given, I distinctly perceived that its three angles were necessarily equal to two right angles, but I did not on that account perceive anything which could assure me that any triangle existed; while, on the contrary, recurring to the examination of the idea of a Perfect Being, I found that the existence of the Being was comprised in the idea in the same way that the equality of its three angles to two right angles is comprised in the idea of a triangle, or as in the idea of a sphere, the equidistance of all points on its surface from the center, or even still more clearly; and that consequently it is at least as certain that God, who is this Perfect Being, is, or exists, as any demonstration of Geometry can be.

But the reason which leads many to persuade themselves that there is a difficulty in knowing this truth, and even also in knowing what their mind really is, is that they never raise their thoughts above sensible objects, and are so accustomed to consider nothing except by way of imagination, which is a mode of thinking limited to material objects, that all that is not imaginable seems to them not intelligible. The truth of this is sufficiently manifest from the single circumstance, that the philosophers of the Schools accept as a maxim that there is nothing in the Understanding which was not previously in the Senses, in which however it is certain that the ideas of God and of the soul have never been; and it appears to me that they who make use of their imagination to comprehend these ideas do exactly the same thing as if, in order to hear sounds or smell odors, they strove to avail themselves of their eyes; unless indeed that there is this difference, that the sense of sight does not afford us an inferior assurance to those of smell or hearing; in place of which, neither our imagination nor our senses can give us assurance of anything unless our Understanding intervene.

Finally, if there be still persons who are not sufficiently persuaded of the existence of God and of the soul, by the reasons I have adduced, I am desirous that they should know that all the other propositions, of the truth of which they deem themselves perhaps more assured, as that we have a body, and that there exist stars and an

earth, and such like, are less certain; for, although we have a moral assurance of these things, which is so strong that there is an appearance of extravagance in doubting of their existence, yet at the same time no one, unless his intellect is impaired, can deny, when the question relates to a metaphysical certitude, that there is sufficient reason to exclude entire assurance, in the observation that when asleep we can in the same way imagine ourselves possessed of another body and that we see other stars and another earth, when there is nothing of the kind. For how do we know that the thoughts which occur in dreaming are false rather than those others which we experience when awake, since the former are often not less vivid and distinct than the latter? And though men of the highest genius study this question as long as they please, I do not believe that they will be able to give any reason which can be sufficient to remove this doubt, unless they presuppose the existence of God. . . .

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THOMAS HOBBS

Leviathan

THE INTRODUCTION

Nature, the art whereby God hath made and governs the world, is by the art of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an artificial animal. For seeing life is but a motion of limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within; why may we not say, that all automata (engines that move themselves by springs and wheels as doth a watch) have an artificial life? For what is the heart, but a spring; and the nerves, but so many strings; and the joints, but so many wheels, giving motion to the whole body, such as was intended by the artificer? Art goes yet further, imitating that rational and most excellent work of nature, man. For by art is created that great LEVIATHAN called a COMMONWEALTH, or STATE, in Latin CIVITAS, which is but an artificial man; though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended; and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body; the magistrates, and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and punishment, by which fastened to the seat of the sovereignty every joint and member is moved to perform his duty, are the nerves, that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members, are the strength; salus populi, the people's safety, its business; counsellors, by whom all things needful for it to know are suggested unto it, are the memory; equity, and laws, an artificial reason and will; concord, health; sedition, sickness; and civil war, death. Lastly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that fiat, or the let us make man, pronounced by God in the creation.

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PART ONE

OF MAN

CHAPTER XIII

Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning their Felicity and Misery

NATURE hath made men so equal, in the faculties of the body, and mind; as that though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another; yet when all is reckoned together, the difference between man, and man, is not so considerable, as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not preterd, as well as he. For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination, or by confederacy with others, that are in the same danger with himself.

And as to the faculties of the mind, setting aside the arts grounded upon words, and especially that skill of proceeding upon general, and infallible rules, called science; which very few have, and but in few things; as being not a native faculty, born with us; nor attained, as prudence, while we look after somewhat else, I find yet a greater equality amongst men, than that of strength. For prudence, is but experience; which equal time, equally bestows on all men, in those things they equally apply themselves unto. That which may perhaps make such equality incredible, is but a vain conceit of one's own wisdom, which almost all men think they have in a greater degree, than the vulgar; that is, than all men but themselves, and a few others, whom by fame, or for concurring with themselves, they approve. For such is the nature of men, that howsoever they may acknowledge many others to be more witty, or more eloquent, or more learned; yet they will hardly believe there be many so wise as themselves; for they see their own wit at hand, and other men's at a distance. But this proveth rather that men are in that point equal, than unequal. For there is not ordinarily a greater sign of the equal distribution of any thing, than that every man is contented with his share.

From this equality of ability, ariseth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their end, which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their delectation only, endeavour to destroy, or subdue one another. And from hence it comes to pass, that where an invader hath no more to fear, than another man's single power; if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come prepared with forces united, to dispossess, and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his

labour, but also of his life, or liberty. And the invader again is in the like danger of another.

And from this diffidence of one another, there is no way for any man to secure himself, so reasonable, as anticipation; that is, by force, or wiles, to master the persons of all men he can, so long, till he see no other power great enough to endanger him: and this is no more than his own conservation requireth, and is generally allowed. Also because there be some, that taking pleasure in contemplating their own power in the acts of conquest, which they pursue farther than their security requires; if others, that otherwise would be glad to be at ease within modest bounds, should not by invasion increase their power, they would not be able, long time, by standing only on their defence, to subsist. And by consequence, such augmentation of dominion over men being necessary to a man's conservation, it ought to be allowed him.

Again, men have no pleasure, but on the contrary a great deal of grief, in keeping company, where there is no power able to over-awe them all. For every man looketh that his companion should value him, at the same rate he sets upon himself: and upon all signs of contempt, or undervaluing, naturally endeavours, as far as he dares, (which amongst them that have no common power to keep them in quiet, is far enough to make them destroy each other), to extort a greater value from his contemners, by damage; and from others, by the example.

So that in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. First, competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly, glory.

The first, maketh men invade for gain; the second, for safety; and the third, for reputation. The first use violence, to make themselves masters of other men's persons, wives, children, and cattle; the second, to defend them; the third, for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other sign of undervalue, either direct in their persons, or by reflection in their kindred, their friends, their nation, their profession, or their name.

Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war, as is of every man, against every man. For WAR, consisteth not in battle only, or the act of fighting; but in a tract of time, wherein the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known: and therefore the notion of *time*, is to be considered in the nature of war; as it is in the nature of weather. For as the nature of foul weather, lieth not in a shower or two of rain; but in an inclination thereto of many days together: so the nature of war, consisteth not in actual fighting; but in the known disposition thereto, during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary. All other time is PEACE.

Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of war, where every man is enemy to every man; the same is consequent to the time, wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition,

there is no place for industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no culture of the earth; no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; no instruments of moving, and removing, such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

It may seem strange to some man, that has not well weighed these things; that nature should thus dissociate, and render men apt to invade, and destroy one another: and he may therefore, not trusting to this inference, made from the passions, desire perhaps to have the same confirmed by experience. Let him therefore consider with himself, when taking a journey, he arms himself, and seeks to go well accompanied; when going to sleep, he locks his doors; when even in his house he locks his chests; and this when he knows there be laws, and public officers, armed, to revenge all injuries shall be done him; what opinion he has of his fellow-subjects, when he rides armed; of his fellow citizens, when he locks his doors; and of his children, and servants, when he locks his chests. Does he not there as much accuse mankind by his actions, as I do by my words? But neither of us accuse man's nature in it. The desires, and other passions of man, are in themselves no sin. No more are the actions, that proceed from those passions, till they know a law that forbids them: which till laws be made they cannot know: nor can any law be made, till they have agreed upon the person that shall make it.

It may peradventure be thought, there was never such a time, nor condition of war as this; and I believe it was never generally so, over all the world: but there are many places, where they live so now. For the savage people in many places of America, except the government of small families, the concord whereof dependeth on natural lust, have no government at all; and live at this day in that brutish manner, as I said before. Howsoever, it may be perceived what manner of life there would be, where there were no common power to fear, by the manner of life, which men that have formerly lived under a peaceful government, use to degenerate into, in a civil war.

But though there had never been any time, wherein particular men were in a condition of war one against another; yet in all times, kings, and persons of sovereign authority, because of their independency, are in continual jealousies, and in the state and posture of gladiators; having their weapons pointing, and their eyes fixed on one another; that is, their forts, garrisons, and guns upon the frontiers of their kingdoms; and continual spies upon their neighbours; which is a posture of war. But because they uphold thereby, the industry of their subjects; there does not follow from it, that misery, which accompanies the liberty of particular men.

To this war of every man, against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law: where no law, no injustice. Force, and fraud, are in war the two cardinal virtues. Justice, and injustice are none of the faculties neither of the body, nor mind. If they were, they might be in a man that were alone in the world, as well as his senses, and passions. They are qualities, that relate to men in society, not in solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition, that there be no propriety, no dominion, no *mine* and *thine* distinct; but only that to be every man's, that he can get; and for so long, as he can keep it. And thus much for the ill condition, which man by mere nature is actually placed in; though with a possibility to come out of it, consisting partly in the passions, partly in his reason.

The passions that incline men to peace, are fear of death; desire of such things as are necessary to commodious living; and a hope by their industry to obtain them. And reason suggesteth convenient articles of peace, upon which men may be drawn to agreement. These articles, are they, which otherwise are called the Laws of Nature: whereof I shall speak more particularly, in the two following chapters.

CHAPTER XIV

Of the First and Second Natural Laws, and of Contracts

THE RIGHT OF NATURE, which writers commonly call *jus naturale*, is the liberty each man hath, to use his own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature; that is to say, of his own life; and consequently, of doing any thing, which in his own judgment, and reason, he shall conceive to be the aptest means thereunto.

By LIBERTY, is understood, according to the proper signification of the word, the absence of external impediments: which impediments, may oft take away part of a man's power to do what he would; but cannot hinder him from using the power left him, according as his judgment, and reason shall dictate to him.

A LAW OF NATURE, *lex naturalis*, is a precept or general rule, found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do that, which is destructive of his life, or taketh away the means of preserving the same; and to omit that, by which he thinketh it may be best preserved. For though they that speak of this subject, use to confound *jus*, and *lex*, *right* and *law*: yet they ought to be distinguished; because RIGHT, consisteth in liberty to do, or to forbear; whereas LAW, determineth, and bindeth to one of them: so that law, and right, differ as much, as obligation, and liberty; which in one and the same matter are inconsistent.

And because the condition of man, as hath been declared in the precedent chapter, is a condition of war of every one against every one: in which case every one is governed by his own reason; and there is nothing he can make use of, that may not be a help unto him, in preserving his life against his enemies; it followeth, that in such a condition, every man has a right to every thing; even to one another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural right of every man to every thing endureth, there can be no security to any man, how strong or wise soever he be, of living out the time, which nature ordinarily alloweth men to live, and consequently it is a precept, or general rule of reason, *that every man, ought to endeavour peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it; and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek, and use, all helps, and advantages of war.* The first branch of which rule, containeth the first, and fundamental law of nature; which is, *to seek peace, and follow it.* The second, the sum of the right of nature; which is, *by all means we can, to defend ourselves.*

From this fundamental law of nature, by which men are commanded to endeavour peace, is derived this second law; *that a man be willing, when others are so too, as far-forth, as for peace, and defence of himself he shall think it necessary, to lay down this right to all things; and be contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow other men against himself.* For as long as every man holdeth this right, of doing any thing he liketh; so long are all men in the condition of war. But if other men will not lay down their right, as well as he; then there is no reason for any one, to divest himself of his: for that were to expose himself to prey, which no man is bound to, rather than to dispose himself to peace. This is that law of the Gospel; *whatsoever you require that others should do to you, that do ye to them.* And that law of all men, *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

To lay down a man's right to any thing, is to divest himself of the liberty, of hindering another of the benefit of his own right to the same. For he that renounceth, or passeth away his right, giveth not to any other man a right which he had not before; because there is nothing to which every man had not right by nature: but only standeth out of his way, that he may enjoy his own original right, without hindrance from him; not without hindrance from another. So that the effect which redoundeth to one man, by another man's defect of right, is but so much diminution of impediments to the use of his own right original.

Right is laid aside, either by simply renouncing it; or by transferring it to another. By *simply* RENOUNCING; when he cares not to whom the benefit thereof redoundeth. By TRANSFERRING; when he intendeth the benefit thereof to some certain person, or persons. And when a man hath in either manner abandoned, or granted away his right; then he is said to be OBLIGED, or BOUND, not to hinder those, to whom such right is granted, or aban-

done, from the benefit of it: and that he *ought*, and it is his DUTY, not to make void that voluntary act of his own: and that such hindrance is INJUSTICE, and INJURY, as being *sine jure*; the right being before renounced, or transferred. So that *injury*, or *injustice*, in the controversies of the world, is somewhat like to that, which in the disputations of scholars is called *absurdity*. For as it is there called an absurdity, to contradict what one maintained in the beginning: so in the world, it is called injustice, and injury, voluntarily to undo that, which from the beginning he had voluntarily done. The way by which a man either simply renounceth, or transferreth his right, is a declaration, or signification, by some voluntary and sufficient sign, or signs, that he doth so renounce, or transfer; or hath so renounced, or transferred the same, to him that accepteth it. And these signs are either words only, or actions only; or, as it happeneth most often, both words, and actions. And the same are the BONDS, by which men are bound, and obliged: bonds, that have their strength, not from their own nature, for nothing is more easily broken than a man's word, but from fear of some evil consequence upon that rupture.

Whensoever a man transferreth his right, or renounceth it; it is either in consideration of some right reciprocally transferred to himself; or for some other good he hopeth for thereby. For it is a voluntary act: and of the voluntary acts of every man, the object is some *good to himself*. And therefore there be some rights, which no man can be understood by any words, or other signs, to have abandoned, or transferred. As first a man cannot lay down the right of resisting them, that assault him by force, to take away his life; because he cannot be understood to aim thereby, at any good to himself. The same may be said of wounds, and chains, and imprisonment; both because there is no benefit consequent to such patience; as there is to the patience of suffering another to be wounded, or imprisoned: as also because a man cannot tell, when he seeth men proceed against him by violence, whether they intend his death or not. And lastly the motive, and end for which this renouncing, and transferring of right is introduced, is nothing else but the security of a man's person, in his life, and in the means of so preserving life, as not to be weary of it. And therefore if a man by words, or other signs, seem to despoil himself of the end, for which those signs were intended; he is not to be understood as if he meant it, or that it was his will; but that he was ignorant of how such words and actions were to be interpreted.

The mutual transferring of right, is that which men call CONTRACT.

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If a covenant be made, wherein neither of the parties perform presently, but trust one another; in the condition of mere nature, which is a condition of war of every man against every man, upon any reasonable suspicion, it is void: but if there be a common power set over them both, with right and force sufficient to compel performance, it is not void. For he that performeth first, has no assurance the other will perform after; because the bonds of words are too weak to bridle men's ambition, avarice, anger, and other passions, without the fear of some coercive power; which in the condition of mere nature, where all men are equal, and judges of the justness of their own fears, cannot possibly be supposed. And therefore he which performeth first, does but betray himself to his enemy; contrary to the right, he can never abandon, of defending his life, and means of living.

But in a civil estate, where there is a power set up to constrain those that would otherwise violate their faith, that fear is no more reasonable; and for that cause, he which by the covenant is to perform first, is obliged so to do.

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The force of words, being, as I have formerly noted, too weak to hold men to the performance of their covenants; there are in man's nature, but two imaginable helps to strengthen it. And those are either a fear of the consequence of breaking their word; or a glory, or pride in appearing not to need to break it. This latter is a generosity too rarely found to be presumed on, especially in the pursuers of wealth, command, or sensual pleasure; which are the greatest part of mankind. The passion to be reckoned upon, is fear...

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CHAPTER XV

Of Other Laws of Nature

FROM that law of nature, by which we are obliged to transfer to another, such rights, as being retained, hinder the peace of mankind, there followeth a third; which is this, *that men perform their covenants made*: without which, covenants are in vain, and but empty words; and the right of all men to all things remaining, we are still in the condition of war.

And in this law of nature, consisteth the fountain and original of JUSTICE. For where no covenant hath pre-

ceded, there hath no right been transferred, and every man has right to every thing; and consequently, no action can be unjust. But when a covenant is made, then to break it is *unjust*: and the definition of *INJUSTICE*, is no other than *the not performance of covenant*. And whatsoever is not unjust, is *just*.

But because covenants of mutual trust, where there is a fear of not performance on either part, as hath been said in the former chapter, are invalid; though the original of justice be the making of covenants; yet injustice actually there can be none, till the cause of such fear be taken away; which while men are in the natural condition of war, cannot be done. Therefore before the names of just, and unjust can have place, there must be some coercive power, to compel men equally to the performance of their covenants, by the terror of some punishment, greater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their covenant; and to make good that propriety, which by mutual contract men acquire, in recompense of the universal right they abandon: and such power there is none before the erection of a commonwealth. And this is also to be gathered out of the ordinary definition of justice in the Schools: for they say, that *justice is the constant will of giving to every man his own*. And therefore where there is no *own*, that is no propriety, there is no injustice; and where there is no coercive power erected, that is, where there is no commonwealth, there is no propriety; all men having right to all things: therefore where there is no commonwealth, there nothing is unjust. So that the nature of justice, consisteth in keeping of valid covenants: but the validity of covenants begins not but with the constitution of a civil power, sufficient to compel men to keep them: and then it is also that propriety begins.

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PART TWO

OF COMMONWEALTH

CHAPTER XVII

Of the Causes, Generation, and Definition of a Commonwealth

THE final cause, end, or design of men, who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others, in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miser-

able condition of war, which is necessarily consequent, as hath been shown in chapter XIII, to the natural passions of men, when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants, and observation of those laws of nature set down in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters.

For the laws of nature, as *justice, equity, modesty, mercy*, and, in sum, *doing to others, as we would be done to*, of themselves, without the terror of some power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants, without the swords, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all. Therefore notwithstanding the laws of nature, which every one hath then kept, when he has the will to keep them, when he can do it safely, if there be no power erected, or not great enough for our security; every man will, and may lawfully rely on his own strength and art, for caution against all other men. And in all places, where men have lived by small families, to rob and spoil one another, has been a trade, and so far from being reputed against the law of nature, that the greater spoils they gained, the greater was their honour; and men observed no other laws therein, but the laws of honour; that is, to abstain from cruelty, leaving to men their lives, and instruments of husbandry. And as small families did then; so now do cities and kingdoms which are but greater families, for their own security, enlarge their dominions, upon all pretences of danger, and fear of invasion, or assistance that may be given to invaders, and endeavour as much as they can, to subdue, or weaken their neighbours, by open force, and secret arts, for want of other caution, justly; and are remembered for it in after ages with honour.

Nor is it the joining together of a small number of men, that gives them this security; because in small numbers, small additions on the one side or the other, make the advantage of strength so great, as is sufficient to carry the victory; and therefore gives encouragement to an invasion. The multitude sufficient to confide in for our security, is not determined by any certain number, but by comparison with the enemy we fear; and is then sufficient, when the odds of the enemy is not of so visible and conspicuous moment, to determine the event of war, as to move him to attempt.

And be there never so great a multitude; yet if their actions be directed according to their particular judgments, and particular appetites, they can expect thereby no defence, nor protection, neither against a common enemy, nor against the injuries of one another. For being distracted in opinions concerning the best use and application of their strength, they do not help but hinder one another; and reduce their strength by mutual opposition to nothing: whereby they are easily, not only subdued by a very few that agree together; but also when there is no common enemy, they make war upon each other, for

their particular interests. For if we could suppose a great multitude of men to consent in the observation of justice, and other laws of nature, without a common power to keep them all in awe; we might as well suppose all mankind to do the same; and then there neither would be, nor need to be any civil government, or commonwealth at all; because there would be peace without subjection.

Nor is it enough for the security, which men desire should last all the time of their life, that they be governed, and directed by one judgment, for a limited time; as in one battle, or one war. For though they obtain a victory by their unanimous endeavour against a foreign enemy; yet afterwards when either they have no common enemy, or he that by one part is held for an enemy, is by another part held for a friend, they must needs by the difference of their interests dissolve, and fall again into a war amongst themselves.

It is true, that certain living creatures, as bees, and ants, live sociably one with another, which are therefore by Aristotle numbered amongst political creatures; and yet have no other direction, than their particular judgments and appetites; nor speech, whereby one of them can signify to another, what he thinks expedient for the common benefit: and therefore some man may perhaps desire to know, why mankind cannot do the same. To which I answer:

First, that men are continually in competition for honour and dignity, which these creatures are not; and consequently amongst men there ariseth on that ground, envy and hatred, and finally war; but amongst these not so.

Secondly, that amongst these creatures, the common good differeth not from the private; and being by nature inclined to their private, they procure thereby the common benefit. But man, whose joy consisteth in comparing himself with other men, can relish nothing but what is eminent.

Thirdly, that these creatures, having not, as man, the use of reason, do not see, nor think they see any fault, in the administration of their common business; whereas amongst men, there are very many, that think themselves wiser, and abler to govern the public, better than the rest; and these strive to reform and innovate, one this way, another that way; and thereby bring it into distraction and civil war.

Fourthly, that these creatures, though they have some use of voice, in making known to one another their desires, and other affections; yet they want that art of words, by which some men can represent to others, that which is good, in the likeness of evil; and evil, in the likeness of good; and augment, or diminish the apparent greatness of good and evil; discontenting men, and troubling their peace at their pleasure.

Fifthly, irrational creatures cannot distinguish between *injury*, and *damage*; and therefore as long as they be at ease, they are not offended with their fellows: whereas man is then most troublesome, when he is most at ease:

for then it is that he loves to shew his wisdom, and control the actions of them that govern the commonwealth.

Lastly, the agreement of these creatures is natural; that of men, is by covenant only, which is artificial: and therefore it is no wonder if there be somewhat else required, besides covenant, to make their agreement constant and lasting; which is a common power, to keep them in awe, and to direct their actions to the common benefit.

The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is, to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will: which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own, and acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person, shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills, every one to his will, and their judgments, to his judgment. This is more than consent, or concord; it is a real unity of them all, in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man with every man, in such manner, is if every man should say to every man, *I authorize and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner.* This done, the multitude so united in one person, is called a COMMONWEALTH, in Latin CIVITAS. This is the generation of the great LEVIATHAN, or rather, to speak more reverently, of that *mortal god*, to which we owe under the *immortal God*, our peace and defence. For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is enabled to perform the wills of them all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth; which, to define it, is *one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence.*

And he that carrieth this person, is called SOVEREIGN, and said to have *sovereign power*; and every one besides, his SUBJECT.

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JOHN LOCKE

Of Civil Government

The Second Treatise

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION

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. . . I think it may not be amiss to set down what I take to be political power; that the power of a magistrate over a subject may be distinguished from that of a father over his children, a master over his servant, a husband over his wife, and a lord over his slave. All which distinct powers happening sometime together in the same man, if he be considered under these different relations, it may help us to distinguish these powers one from another, and show the difference betwixt a ruler of a commonwealth, a father of a family, and a captain of a galley.

Political power, then, I take to be a right of making laws with penalties of death, and consequently all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws, and in the defence of the commonwealth from foreign injury, and all this only for the public good.

CHAPTER II

OF THE STATE OF NATURE

4. To UNDERSTAND political power aright, and derive it from its original, we must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection, unless the Lord and Master of them all should by any manifest declaration of His will set one above another, and confer on him by an evident and clear appointment an undoubted right to dominion and sovereignty.

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6. But though this be a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of licence; though man in that state have an uncontrollable liberty to dispose of his person or possessions, yet he has not liberty to destroy himself, or so much as any creature in his possession, but where some nobler use than its bare preservation calls for it. The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions. For men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker—all the servants of one sovereign Master, sent into the world by His order, and about His business—they are His property, whose workmanship they are, made to last during His, not one another's pleasure; and being furnished with like faculties, sharing all in one community of nature, there cannot be supposed any such subordination among us, that may authorise us to destroy one another, as if we were made for one another's uses, as the inferior ranks of creatures are for ours. Every one, as he is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his station wilfully, so, by the like reason, when his own preservation comes not in competition, ought he, as much as he can, to preserve the rest of mankind, and not, unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away or impair the life, or what tends to the preservation of the life, the liberty, health, limb, or goods of another.

7. And that all men may be restrained from invading others' rights, and from doing hurt to one another, and the law of nature be observed, which willeth the peace and preservation of all mankind, the execution of the law of nature is in that state put into every man's hand, whereby every one has a right to punish the transgressors of that law to such a degree as may hinder its violation. For the law of nature would, as all other laws that concern men in this world, be in vain if there were nobody that, in the state of nature, had a power to execute that law, and thereby preserve the innocent and restrain offenders. And if any one in the state of nature may punish another for any evil he has done, every one may do so. For in that state of perfect equality, where naturally there is no superiority or jurisdiction of one over another, what any may do in prosecution of that law, every one must needs have a right to do.

8. And thus in the state of nature one man comes by a power over another; but yet no absolute or arbitrary power, to use a criminal, when he has got him in his hands, according to the passionate heats or boundless extravagance of his own will; but only to retribute to him so far as calm reason and conscience dictate what is proportionate to his transgression, which is so much as may serve for reparation and restraint. For these two are the only reasons why one man may lawfully do harm to another, which is that we call punishment. In transgressing the law of nature, the offender declares himself to live by another rule than that of common reason and equity, which is that measure God has set to the actions of men, for their mutual security; and so he becomes dangerous to mankind, the tie which is to secure them from injury and violence being slighted and broken by him. Which, being a trespass against the whole species, and the peace and safety of it, provided for by the law of nature, every man upon this score, by the right he hath to preserve mankind in general, may restrain, or,

where it is necessary, destroy things noxious to them, and so may bring such evil on any one who hath transgressed that law, as may make him repent the doing of it, and thereby deter him, and by his example others, from doing the like mischief. And in this case, and upon this ground, every man hath a right to punish the offender, and be executioner of the law of nature.

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CHAPTER III

OF THE STATE OF WAR

16. THE STATE of war is a state of enmity and destruction; and therefore declaring by word or action, not a passionate and hasty, but a sedate, settled design upon another man's life, puts him in a state of war with him against whom he has declared such an intention, and so has exposed his life to the other's power to be taken away by him, or any one that joins with him in his defence and espouses his quarrel; it being reasonable and just I should have a right to destroy that which threatens me with destruction. For by the fundamental law of nature, man being to be preserved as much as possible, when all cannot be preserved, the safety of the innocent is to be preferred; and one may destroy a man who makes war upon him, or has discovered an enmity to his being, for the same reason that he may kill a wolf or a lion; because they are not under the ties of the common law of reason, have no other rule but that of force and violence, and so may be treated as a beast of prey, those dangerous and noxious creatures that will be sure to destroy him whenever he falls into their power.

17. And hence it is that he who attempts to get another man into his absolute power does thereby put himself into a state of war with him; it being to be understood as a declaration of a design upon his life. For I have reason to conclude that he who would get me into his power without my consent, would use me as he pleased when he had got me there, and destroy me too, when he had a fancy to it; for nobody can desire to have me in his absolute power, unless it be to compel me by force to that which is against the right of my freedom, i.e., make me a slave. To be free from such force is the only security of my preservation; and reason bids me look on him as an enemy to my preservation who would take away that freedom which is the fence to it; so that he who makes an attempt to enslave me, thereby puts himself into a state of war with me. He that in the state of nature would take away the freedom that belongs to any one in that state, must necessarily be supposed to have a design to take away everything else, that freedom being the foundation of all the rest; as he that in the state of society would take away the freedom belonging to those of that society or commonwealth, must be supposed to design to take away from them everything else, and so be looked on as in a state of war.

18. This makes it lawful for a man to kill a thief who has not in the least hurt him, nor declared any design upon his life, any farther than by the use of force so to get him in his power as to take away his money or what he pleases from him; because using force, where he has no right, to get me into his power, let his pretence be what it will, I have no reason to suppose that he who would take away

my liberty would not, when he had me in his power, take away everything else. And therefore it is lawful for me to treat him as one who has put himself into a state of war with me, i.e. kill him, if I can; for to that hazard does he justly expose himself, whoever introduces a state of war and is aggressor in it.

19. And here we have the plain difference between the state of nature and the state of war, which however some men have confounded, are as far distant as a state of peace, good-will, mutual assistance and preservation, and a state of enmity, malice, violence and mutual destruction, are one from another. Men living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth with authority to judge between them, is properly the state of nature. But force, or a declared design of force, upon the person of another, where there is no common superior on earth to appeal to for relief, is the state of war; and 'tis the want of such an appeal gives a man the right of war even against an aggressor, though he be in society and a fellow-subject.

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CHAPTER IV

OF SLAVERY

22. THE NATURAL liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule. The liberty of man in society is to be under no other legislative power but that established by consent in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact according to the trust put in it. Freedom then is not what Sir R. R. tells us, O. A. 55, "a liberty for every one to do what he lists, to live as he pleases, and not to be tied by any laws." But freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power erected in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, where that rule prescribes not; and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man: as freedom of nature is to be under no other restraint but the law of nature.

23. This freedom from absolute arbitrary power is so necessary to, and closely joined with, a man's preservation, that he cannot part with it but by what forfeits his preservation and life together.

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CHAPTER V

OF PROPERTY

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26. God, who hath given the world to men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life and convenience. The earth and all that

is therein is given to men for the support and comfort of their being. And though all the fruits it naturally produces, and beasts it feeds, belong to mankind in common, as they are produced by the spontaneous hand of nature; and nobody has originally a private dominion exclusive of the rest of mankind in any of them as they are thus in their natural state; yet being given for the use of men, there must of necessity be a means to appropriate them some way or other before they can be of any use or at all beneficial to any particular man. The fruit or venison which nourishes the wild Indian, who knows no enclosure, and is still a tenant in common, must be his, and so his, *i.e.*, a part of him, that another can no longer have any right to it, before it can do any good for the support of his life.

27. Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person; this nobody has any right to but himself. The labour of his body and the work of his hands we may say are properly his. Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state that nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state nature placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it that excludes the common right of other men. For this labour being the unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others.

28. He that is nourished by the acorns he picked up under an oak, or the apples he gathered from the trees in the wood, has certainly appropriated them to himself. Nobody can deny but the nourishment is his. I ask, then, When did they begin to be his—when he digested, or when he ate, or when he boiled, or when he brought them home, or when he picked them up? And 'tis plain if the first gathering made them not his, nothing else could. That labour put a distinction between them and common; that added something to them more than Nature, the common mother of all, had done, and so they became his private right. And will any one say he had no right to those acorns or apples he thus appropriated, because he had not the consent of all mankind to make them his? Was it a robbery thus to assume to himself what belonged to all in common? If such a consent as that was necessary, man had starved, notwithstanding the plenty God had given him. We see in commons which remain so by compact that 'tis the taking any part of what is common and removing it out of the state nature leaves it in, which begins the property; without which the common is of no use. And the taking of this or that part does not depend on the express consent of all the commoners. Thus the grass my horse has bit, the turfs my servant has cut, and the ore I have dug in any place where I have a right to them in common with others, become my property without the assignation or consent of anybody. The labour that was mine removing them out of that common state they were in, hath fixed my property in them.

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31. It will perhaps be objected to this, that if gathering the acorns, or other fruits of the earth, &c., makes a right to them, then any one may engross as much as he will. To which I answer, Not so. The same law of nature that does by this means give us property, does also bound that property too. "God has given us all things richly" (1 Tim. vi. 17), is the voice of reason confirmed by inspiration. But how far has He given it to us? To enjoy. As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils, so much he may by his labour fix a property in; whatever is beyond this, is more than his share, and belongs to others. Nothing was made by God for man to spoil or destroy. And thus considering the plenty of natural provisions there was a long time in the world, and the few spenders, and to how small a part of that provision the industry of one man could extend itself, and engross it to the prejudice of others—especially keeping within the bounds, set by reason, of what might serve for his use—there could be then little room for quarrels or contention about property so established.

32. But the chief matter of property being now not the fruits of the earth, and the beasts that subsist on it, but the earth itself, as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest, I think it is plain that property in that, too, is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does as it were enclose it from the common. Nor will it invalidate his right to say, everybody else has an equal title to it; and therefore he cannot appropriate, he cannot enclose, without the consent of all his fellow-commoners, all mankind. God, when He gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labour, and the penury of his condition required it of him. God and his reason commanded him to subdue the earth, i.e., improve it for the benefit of life, and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his labour. He that, in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled, and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him.

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40. Nor is it so strange, as perhaps before consideration it may appear, that the property of labour should be able to overbalance the community of land. For it is labour indeed that puts the difference of value on everything; and let any one consider what the difference is between an acre of land planted with tobacco or sugar, sown with wheat or barley, and an acre of the same land lying in common without any husbandry upon it, and he will find that the improvement of labour makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say that of the products of the earth useful to the life of man nine-tenths are the effects of labour; nay, if we will rightly estimate things as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them—what in them is purely owing to nature, and what to labour—we shall find that in most of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labour.

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CHAPTER VII
OF POLITICAL OR CIVIL SOCIETY

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89. Wherever, therefore, any number of men so unite into one society, as to quit every one his executive power of the law of nature, and to resign it to the public, there, and there only, is a political, or civil society. And this is done wherever any number of men, in the state of nature, enter into society to make one people, one body politic, under one supreme government, or else when any one joins himself to, and incorporates with, any government already made. For hereby he authorises the society, or, which is all one, the legislative thereof, to make laws for him, as the public good of the society shall require, to the execution whereof his own assistance (as to his own decrees) is due. And this puts men out of a state of nature into that of a commonwealth, by setting up a judge on earth with authority to determine all the controversies and redress the injuries that may happen to any member of the commonwealth; which judge is the legislative, or magistrates appointed by it. And wherever there are any number of men, however associated, that have no such decisive power to appeal to, there they are still in the state of nature.

90. Hence it is evident that absolute monarchy, which by some men is counted the only government in the world, is indeed inconsistent with civil society, and so can be no form of civil government at all. For the end of civil society being to avoid and remedy those inconveniences of the state of nature which necessarily follow from every man's being judge in his own case, by setting up a known authority to which every one of that society may appeal upon any injury received or controversy that may arise, and which every one of the society ought to obey; wherever any persons are who have not such an authority to appeal to and decide any difference between them there, those persons are still in the state of nature. And so is every absolute prince, in respect of those who are under his dominion.

91. For he being supposed to have all, both legislative and executive power in himself alone, there is no judge to be found; no appeal lies open to any one who may fairly and indifferently and with authority decide, and from whence relief and redress may be expected of any injury or inconvenience that may be suffered from or by his order; so that such a man, however entitled—Czar, or Grand Seignior, or how you please—is as much in the state of nature, with all under his dominion, as he is with the rest of mankind. For wherever any two men are, who have no standing rule and common judge to appeal to on earth for the determination of controversies of right betwixt them, there they are still in the state of nature, and under all the inconveniences of it, with only this woeful difference to the subject, or rather slave, of an absolute prince: that, whereas in the ordinary state of nature he has a liberty to judge of his right, and according to the best of his power to maintain it, now, whenever his property is invaded by the will and order of his monarch, he has not only no appeal, as those in the society ought to have, but, as if he were degraded from the common state of rational creatures, is

denied a liberty to judge of or to defend his right; and so is exposed to all the misery and inconveniences that a man can fear from one who, being in the unrestrained state of nature, is yet corrupted with flattery, and armed with power.

92. For he that thinks absolute power purifies men's blood, and corrects the baseness of human nature, need read but the history of this or any other age, to be convinced of the contrary. . . .

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CHAPTER VIII

OF THE BEGINNING OF POLITICAL SOCIETIES

95. MEN BEING, as has been said, by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent, which is done by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any that are not of it. This any number of men may do, because it injures not the freedom of the rest; they are left as they were in the liberty of the state of nature. When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest.

96. For when any number of men have, by the consent of every individual, made a community, they have thereby made that community one body, with a power to act as one body, which is only by the will and determination of the majority. For that which acts any community being only the consent of the individuals of it, and it being one body must move one way, it is necessary the body should move that way whither the greater force carries it, which is the consent of the majority; or else it is impossible it should act or continue one body, one community, which the consent of every individual that united into it agreed that it should; and so every one is bound by that consent to be concluded by the majority. And therefore we see that in assemblies empowered to act by positive laws, where no number is set by that positive law which empowers them, the act of the majority passes for the act of the whole, and of course determines, as having by the law of nature and reason the power of the whole.

97. And thus every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic under one government, puts himself under an obligation to every one of that society, to submit to the determination of the majority, and to be concluded by it; or else this original compact, whereby he with others incorporates into one society, would signify nothing, and be no compact, if he be left free and under no other ties than he was in before in the state of nature. . . .

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CHAPTER IX

OF THE ENDS OF POLITICAL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

123. IF MAN in the state of nature be so free, as has been said, if he be absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest, and subject to nobody, why will he part with his freedom, this empire, and subject himself to the dominion and control of any other power? To which, it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasions of others. For all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very unsecure. This makes him willing to quit this condition, which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers; and it is not without reason that he seeks out and is willing to join in society with others, who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates, which I call by the general name, property.

124. The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property; to which in the state of nature there are many things wanting.

First, There wants an established, settled, known law, received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies between them. For though the law of nature be plain and intelligible to all rational creatures; yet men, being biased by their interest, as well as ignorant for want of study of it, are not apt to allow of it as a law binding to them in the application of it to their particular cases.

125. Secondly, In the state of nature there wants a known and indifferent judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law. For every one in that state, being both judge and executioner of the law of nature, men being partial to themselves, passion and revenge is very apt to carry them too far, and with too much heat in their own cases, as well as negligence and unconcernedness, to make them too remiss in other men's.

126. Thirdly, In the state of nature there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right, and to give it due execution. They who by any injustice offend, will seldom fail, where they are able by force to make good their injustice; such resistance many times makes the punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive to those who attempt it.

127. Thus mankind, notwithstanding all the privileges of the state of nature, being but in an ill condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into society. Hence it comes to pass that we seldom find any number of men live any time together in this state. The inconveniences that they are therein exposed to by the irregular and uncertain exercise of the power every man has of punishing the transgressions of others, make them take sanctuary under the established laws of government, and therein seek the preservation of their property. It is this makes them so willingly give up every one his single power of punishing, to be exercised by such alone, as shall be appointed to it amongst them; and by such rules as the community, or those au-

thorised by them to that purpose, shall agree on. And in this we have the original right and rise of both the legislative and executive power, as well as of the governments and societies themselves.

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131. But though men when they enter into society give up the equality, liberty and executive power they had in the state of nature into the hands of the society, to be so far disposed of by the legislative as the good of the society shall require; yet it being only with an intention in every one the better to preserve himself, his liberty and property (for no rational creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse), the power of the society, or legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend farther than the common good, but is obliged to secure every one's property by providing against those three defects above-mentioned that made the state of nature so unsafe and uneasy. And so whoever has the legislative or supreme power of any commonwealth is bound to govern by established standing laws, promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees; by indifferent and upright judges, who are to decide controversies by those laws; and to employ the force of the community at home only in the execution of such laws, or abroad, to prevent or redress foreign injuries, and secure the community from inroads and invasion. And all this to be directed to no other end but the peace, safety, and public good of the people.

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CHAPTER XIII

OF THE SUBORDINATION OF THE POWERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

149. THOUGH in a constituted commonwealth, standing upon its own basis, and acting according to its own nature, that is, acting for the preservation of the community, there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate, yet the legislative being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them; for all power given with trust for the attaining an end, being limited by that end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected or opposed, the trust must necessarily be forfeited, and the power devolve into the hands of those that gave it who may place it anew where they shall think best for their safety and security. And thus the community perpetually retains a supreme power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of any body, even of their legislators whenever they shall be so foolish or so wicked as to lay and carry on designs against the liberties and properties of the subject; for no man or society of men, having a power to deliver up their preservation, or consequently the means of it to the absolute will and arbitrary dominion of another,

whenever any one shall go about to bring them into such a slavish condition they will always have a right to preserve what they have not a power to part with; and to rid themselves of those who invade this fundamental, sacred and unalterable law of self-preservation for which they entered into society; and thus the community may be said in this respect to be always the supreme power. . . .

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CHAPTER XIX

OF THE DISSOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT

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222. The reason why men enter into society is the preservation of their property; and the end why they choose and authorise a legislative is that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society to limit the power and moderate the dominion of every part and member of the society. For since it can never be supposed to be the will of the society that the legislative should have a power to destroy that which every one designs to secure by entering into society, and for which the people submitted themselves to legislators of their own making, whenever the legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any further obedience, and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men against force and violence. Whensoever, therefore, the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves or put into the hands of any other an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands, for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of the new legislative (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society. What I have said here concerning the legislative in general, holds true also concerning the supreme executor, who having a double trust put in him, both to have a part in the legislative and the supreme execution of the law, acts against both when he goes about to set up his own arbitrary will as the law of the society. He acts also contrary to his trust when he either employs the force, treasure, and offices of the society, to corrupt the representatives, and gain them to his purposes; or openly pre-engages the electors, and prescribes to their choice such whom he has by solicitations, threats, promises, or otherwise won to his designs, and employs them to bring in such, who have promised beforehand what to vote and what to enact. Thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new-model the ways of

election, what is it but to cut up the government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of public security? . .

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224. But it will be said, this hypothesis lays a ferment for frequent rebellion. To which I answer:

First, no more than any other hypothesis. For when the people are made miserable, and find themselves exposed to the ill-usage of arbitrary power, cry up their governors as much as you will for sons of Jupiter, let them be sacred and divine, descended, or authorized from heaven, give them out for whom or what you please, the same will happen. The people generally ill-treated, and contrary to right, will be ready upon any occasion to ease themselves of a burden that sits heavy upon them. They will wish and seek for the opportunity, which in the change, weakness, and accidents of human affairs seldom delays long to offer itself. He must have lived but a little while in the world who has not seen examples of this in his time, and he must have read very little who cannot produce examples of it in all sorts of governments in the world.

225. Secondly, I answer, such revolutions happen not upon every little mismanagement in public affairs. Great mistakes in the ruling part, many wrong and inconvenient laws, and all the slips of human frailty will be borne by the people without mutiny or murmur. But if a long train of abuses, prevarications and artifices, all tending the same way, make the design visible to the people—and they cannot but feel what they lie under, and see whither they are going—it is not to be wondered that they should then rouse themselves and endeavour to put the rule into such hands which may secure to them the ends for which government was at first erected, and without which ancient names and specious forms are so far from being better that they are much worse than the state of nature or pure anarchy; the inconveniences being all as great and as near, but the remedy farther off and more difficult.

226. Thirdly, I answer that this power in the people of providing for their safety anew by a new legislative when their legislators have acted contrary to their trust by invading their property, is the best fence against rebellion, and the probablest means to hinder it. For rebellion being an opposition, not to persons, but authority, which is founded only in the constitutions and laws of the government, those whoever they be who by force break through, and by force justify their violation of them, are truly and properly rebels. For when men by entering into society and civil government have excluded force, and introduced laws for the preservation of property, peace, and unity amongst themselves, those who set up force again in opposition to the laws do *rebellare*—that is, bring back again the state of war—and are properly rebels; which they who are in power (by the pretence they have to authority, the temptation of force they have in their hands, and the flattery of those about them) being likeliest to do, the properest way to prevent the evil is to show them the danger and injustice of it who are under the greatest temptation to run into it.

227. In both the fore-mentioned cases, when either the legislative is changed or the legislators act contrary to the end for which they were constituted, those who are guilty are guilty of rebellion. For if anyone by force takes away the

established legislative of any society, and the laws by them made pursuant to their trust, he thereby takes away the umpirage which everyone had consented to for a peaceable decision of all their controversies, and a bar to the state of war amongst them. They who remove or change the legislative, take away this decisive power, which nobody can have but by the appointment and consent of the people, and so destroying the authority which the people did, and nobody else can, set up; and introducing a power which the people hath not authorised, actually introduce a state of war which is that of force without authority. And thus by removing the legislative established by the society (in whose decisions the people acquiesced and united as to that of their own will), they untie the knot and expose the people anew to the state of war. And if those who by force take away the legislative are rebels, the legislators themselves, as has been shown, can be no less esteemed so, when they who were set up for the protection and preservation of the people, their liberties and properties, shall by force invade and endeavour to take them away; and so they, putting themselves into a state of war with those who made them the protectors and guardians of their peace, are properly and with the greatest aggravation *rebellantes* (rebels).

228. But if they who say it lays a foundation for rebellion mean that it may occasion civil wars or intestine broils, to tell the people they are absolved from obedience when illegal attempts are made upon their liberties or properties, and may oppose the unlawful violence of those who were their magistrates when they invade their properties contrary to the trust put in them and that therefore this doctrine is not to be allowed, being so destructive to the peace of the world: they may as well say upon the same ground that honest men may not oppose robbers or pirates because this may occasion disorder or bloodshed. If any mischief come in such cases, it is not to be charged upon him who defends his own right, but on him that invades his neighbour's. If the innocent honest man must quietly quit all he has for peace's sake to him who will lay violent hands upon it, I desire it may be considered what a kind of peace there will be in the world which consists only in violence and rapine, and which is to be maintained only for the benefit of robbers and oppressors. . . .

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232. Whosoever uses force without right, as everyone does in society who does it without law, puts himself into a state of war with those against whom he so uses it, and in that state all former ties are cancelled, all other rights cease, and every one has a right to defend himself and to resist the aggressor. . . .

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