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The City of God

AUGUSTINE

De Civitate Dei

The City of God

Part One: Books I–V

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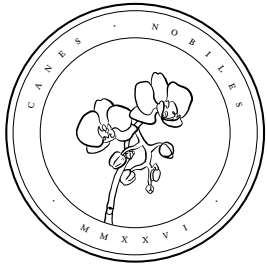
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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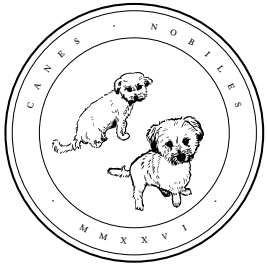

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Hoffmann prints u for consonantal v, as do the manuscripts.
The chapters are his; their titles are the press's own.

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BOOK I

PREFACE

Augustine undertakes, for Marcellinus, whom he calls his dearest son, to defend the most glorious city of God, whether as it sojourns by faith among the ungodly in this course of time or as it awaits its eternal seat, against those who prefer their gods to its founder. The work is great and hard, for the proud must be persuaded of the power of humility; God resists the proud and gives grace to the humble. He will also speak of the earthly city, which, seeking to dominate, is itself dominated by the lust of dominating.

Gloriosissimam ciuitatem Dei siue in hoc temporum
the-most-glorious city of-God whether in this of-times
cursu, cum inter inpios peregrinatur ex fide uiuens, siue
course when among the-ungodly it-sojourns by faith living or
in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae, quam nunc expectat per
in that stability of-the-seat eternal which now it-awaits through
patientiam, quoadusque iustitia conuertatur in iudicium,
patience until justice be-turned into judgment
deinceps adeptura per excellentiam uictoria ultima et
thereafter about-to-obtain through excellence by-victory final and
pace perfecta, hoc opere ad te instituto et mea promissione
by-peace perfect this in-work to you undertaken and by-my promise
debito defendere aduersus eos, qui conditori eius deos suos
owed to-defend against those who to-the-founder its gods their
praeferunt, fili carissime Marcelline, suscepi, magnum
prefer O-son dearest Marcellinus I-have-undertaken a-great
opus et arduum, sed Deus adiutor noster est. Nam scio
work and arduous but God helper our is for I-know
quibus uiribus opus sit, ut persuadeatur superbis quanta
with-what strength need there-is that it-be-persuaded to-the-proud how-great

sit uirtus humilitatis, qua fit ut omnia terrena
is the-virtue of-humility by-which it-comes-about that all earthly
cacumina temporali mobilitate nutantia non humano usurpata
summits by-temporal mutability tottering not by-human usurped
fastu, sed diuina gratia donata celsitudo transcendat. Rex
pride but by-divine grace granted loftiness surpasses the-King
enim et conditor ciuitatis huius, de qua loqui instituimus,
for and founder of-city this about which to-speak we-have-undertaken
in scriptura populi sui sententiam diuinae legis aperuit, qua
in the-scripture of-people his the-sentence of-divine law has-opened in-which
dictum est: Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat
said it-is God the-proud resists to-the-humble but gives
gratiam. Hoc uero, quod Dei est, superbae quoque animae
grace this indeed which of-God is of-the-proud also soul
spiritus inflatus adfectat amatque sibi in laudibus dici:
the-spirit puffed-up affects and-loves to-itself in praises to-be-said

Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
to-spare the-subjected and to-war-down the-proud

Unde etiam de terrena ciuitate, quae cum dominari
whence also about the-earthly city which when to-dominate
adpetit, etsi populi seruiant, ipsa ei dominandi libido
it-seeks though peoples serve itself it of-dominating the-lust
dominatur, non est praetereundum silentio quidquid dicere
dominates not is to-be-passed-over in-silence whatever to-say
suscepti huius operis ratio postulat et facultas datur.
of-the-undertaken of-this work the-plan demands and the-means is-given

I · THE ENEMIES WHOM THE BARBARIANS SPARED

From the earthly city come the enemies of the city of God, many of whom will yet become its citizens. Some who now revile Christ escaped the sack of Rome only because they fled to the martyrs' shrines and the apostles' basilicas, where the enemy's fury stopped, or because they pretended to be Christ's servants. They blame Christ for the City's sufferings and credit their fate, not Christ's name, for their lives, when they should credit providence, which corrects morals by wars, tests the just by afflictions, and then takes them to better things or keeps them here.

Ex hac namque existunt inimici, aduersus quos defendenda
from this for arise the-enemies against whom to-be-defended
est Dei ciuitas, quorum tamen multi correcto inpietatis
is of-God the-city of-whom yet many corrected of-ungodliness
errore ciues in ea fiunt satis idonei; multi uero in
the-error citizens in it become sufficiently fit many but against
eam tantis exardescunt ignibus odiorum tamque manifestis
it with-such burn fires of-hatreds and-so to-manifest
beneficiis redemtoris eius ingrati sunt, ut hodie contra eam
benefits of-the-redeemer its ungrateful are that today against it
linguas non mouerent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes in
tongues not they-would-move unless the-sword hostile fleeing in
sacratis eius locis uitam, de qua superbiunt, inuenirent.
the-consecrated its places the-life about which they-are-proud they-had-found
An non etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti
or not even those Romans of-Christ to-the-name hostile
sunt, quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt?
are whom on-account-of Christ the-barbarians spared
Testantur hoc martyrum loca et basilicae apostolorum,
bear-witness-to this of-the-martyrs the-places and the-basilicas of-the-apostles
quae in illa uastatione Urbis ad se confugientes
which in that devastation of-the-City to themselves fleeing

suos alienosque receperunt. Huc usque cruentus saeuiebat
their-own and-strangers received hither as-far the-bloody raged
inimicus, ibi accipiebat limitem trucidatoris furor, illo
enemy there received (its)-limit of-the-butcher the-fury thither
ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra
were-led by the-pitying enemies whom even outside
ipsa loca pepercerant, ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem
the-very places they-had-spared lest on them they-should-fall-upon who like
misericordiam non habebant. Qui tamen etiam ipsi alibi
mercy not had who yet even themselves elsewhere
truces adque hostili more saeuientes posteaquam ad loca
savage and in-hostile manner raging after to places
illa ueniebant, ubi fuerat interdictum quod alibi belli
those they-came where it-had-been forbidden what elsewhere by-war's
iure licuisset, tota feriendi refrenabatur inmanitas et
right had-been-allowed the-whole of-striking was-reined-in savagery and
captiuandi cupiditas frangebatur. Sic euaserunt multi, qui
of-taking-captive the-greed was-broken thus escaped many who
nunc Christianis temporibus detrahunt et mala, quae illa
now on-Christian times disparage and the-evils which that
ciuitas pertulit, Christo inputant; bona uero, quae in
city endured to-Christ impute the-good-things but which on
eos ut uiuerent propter Christi honorem facta sunt, non
them that they-might-live on-account-of of-Christ the-honor done were not
inputant Christo nostro sed fato suo, cum potius deberent,
they-impute to-Christ our but to-fate their-own when rather they-ought
si quid recti saperent, illa, quae ab hostibus aspera
if anything of-right they-had-sense those-things which from the-enemies harsh
et dura perpessi sunt, illi prouidentiae diuinae tribuere,
and hard suffered they-have to-that providence divine to-attribute
quae solet corruptos hominum mores bellis emendare adque
which is-wont corrupted of-men the-morals by-wars to-correct and

conterere itemque uitam mortalium iustam adque laudabilem
to-crush and-likewise the-life of-mortals just and laudable
talibus adflictionibus exercere probatamque uel in meliora
by-such afflictions to-exercise and-proved either into better-things
transferre uel in his adhuc terris propter usus alios
to-transfer or in these still lands on-account-of uses other
detinere: illud uero, quod eis uel ubicumque propter
to-detain that indeed that to-them either anywhere on-account-of
Christi nomen uel in locis Christi nomini dicatissimis
of-Christ the-name or in places of-Christ to-the-name most-dedicated
et amplissimis ac pro largiore misericordia ad capacitatem
and most-ample and for more-liberal mercy for the-capacity
multitudinis electis praeter bellorum morem truculenti
of-the-multitude chosen beyond of-wars the-custom the-ferocious
barbari pepercerunt, hoc tribuere temporibus Christianis, hinc
barbarians spared this to-attribute to-times Christian hence
Deo agere gratias, hinc ad eius nomen ueraciter currere,
to-God to-give thanks hence to his name truly to-run
ut effugiant poenas ignis aeterni, quod nomen multi
that they-may-escape the-punishments of-fire eternal which name many
eorum mendaciter usurparunt, ut effugerent poenas
of-them falsely usurped that they-might-escape the-punishments
praesentis exitii. Nam quos uides petulanter et procaciter
of-present destruction for those-whom you-see insolently and impudently
insultare seruis Christi, sunt in eis plurimi, qui illum
to-insult the-servants of-Christ there-are among them very-many who that
interitum clademque non euasissent, nisi seruos Christi
destruction and-slaughter not would-have-escaped unless servants of-Christ
se esse finxissent. Et nunc ingrata superbia adque
themselves to-be they-had-feigned and now with-ungrateful pride and
inpiissima insania eius nomini resistunt corde peruerso, ut
most-ungodly madness his name they-resist with-heart perverse that

sempiternis tenebris puniantur, ad quod nomen ore
with-everlasting darkness they-may-be-punished to which name with-mouth
uel subdolo confugerunt, ut temporali luce fruerentur.
even deceitful they-fled that temporal light they-might-enjoy

II · NO WAR SPARED THE CONQUERED FOR THE CONQUERORS' GODS

No history tells of a city taken where the victors spared those who fled to the temples of the conquered's gods. At Troy, as Vergil tells it, Priam was slain at the altar, and Diomedes and Ulysses seized the goddess's sacred image with bloody hands. Troy did not fall because it lost Minerva: Minerva fell first, losing her guards, for the image was kept by men, not the men by the image.

Tot bella gesta conscripta sunt uel ante conditam
so-many wars waged written-down have-been either before the-founding
Romam uel ab eius exortu et imperio: legant et
of-Rome or from its rise and empire let-them-read and
proferant sic ab alienigenis aliquam captam esse
let-them-bring-forward thus by foreigners any captured to-have-been
ciuitatem, ut hostes, qui ceperant, parcerent eis, quos ad
a-city that the-enemies who had-captured-it spared those whom to
deorum suorum templa confugisse compererant, aut aliquem
of-gods their-own the-temples to-have-fled they-had-learned or any
ducem barbarorum praecepisse, ut inrupto oppido nullus
leader of-the-barbarians to-have-commanded that broken-into the-town no-one

feriretur, qui in illo uel illo templo fuisset inuentus.
should-be-struck who in that or that temple had been-found
Nonne uidit Aeneas Priamum per aras
surely saw Aeneas Priam through the-altars

sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignes?
with-blood defiling which himself had-consecrated fires

Nonne Diomedes et Ulixes
surely Diomedes and Ulysses

caesis summae custodibus arcis
slain of-the-highest the-guards citadel
corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis
seized the-sacred image and-with-hands bloody
uirgineas ausi diuae contingere uittas?
the-virgin dared of-the-goddess to-touch fillets

Nec tamen quod sequitur uerum est:
nor yet what follows true is

Ex illo fluere ac retro sublabsa referri
from that-time to-flow and back slipping to-be-borne
spes Danaum.
the-hope of-the-Danaans

Postea quippe uicerunt, postea Troiam ferro ignibusque
afterward for they-conquered afterward Troy with-sword and-fires
deleuerunt, postea confugientem ad aram Priamum
destroyed afterward fleeing to the-altar Priam
obtruncauerunt. Nec ideo Troia periit, quia Mineruam
they-butchered nor for-that-reason Troy perished because Minerva

perdidit. Quid enim prius ipsa Minerua perdiderat, ut
it-lost what for before herself Minerva had-lost that
periret? an forte custodes suos? Hoc sane uerum est;
she-should-perish or perhaps the-guardians her-own this indeed true is
illis quippe interemtis potuit auferri. Neque enim homines
them for slain it-could to-be-carried-off nor for men
a simulacro, sed simulacrum ab hominibus seruabatur. Quo
by the-image but the-image by men was-preserved in-what
modo ergo colebatur, ut patriam custodiret et ciues,
manner then was-it-worshiped that the-fatherland it-might-guard and the-citizens
quae suos non ualuit custodire custodes?
which its-own not was-able to-guard guardians

III · THE CONQUERED GODS OF TROY

The Romans rejoiced to entrust their City to such gods, and the schoolboys learn it from Vergil, where Juno calls the Trojan household gods conquered and Panthus carries them in flight, so that the gods were entrusted to a man rather than men to them. To worship conquered gods as guardians is folly; Rome would sooner have kept them than they Rome. Those who blame Christ for their deserved sufferings will not see that they were spared for his sake, and turn against his name the tongues with which they claimed it.

Ecce qualibus dis Urbem Romani seruandam se
behold to-what gods the-City the-Romans to-be-preserved themselves
commisisse gaudebant! O nimium miserabilem errorem! Et
to-have-entrusted rejoiced O exceedingly wretched error and
nobis suscensent, cum de dis eorum talia dicimus;
with-us they-are-angry when about the-gods their such-things we-say
nec suscensent auctoribus suis, quos ut ediscerent
nor are-they-angry with-the-authors their-own whom that they-might-learn-by-heart

mercedem dederunt doctoresque ipsos insuper et salario
a-fee they-gave and-the-teachers themselves besides both by-a-salary
publico et honoribus dignissimos habuerunt. Nempe aput
public and by-honors most-worthy they-held surely in
Vergilium, quem propterea paruuli legunt, ut uidelicet
Vergil whom for-this-reason little-children read that namely
poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus adque optimus
the-poet great and-of-all most-renowned and best
teneris ebibitus animis non facile obliuione possit aboleri,
by-tender drunk-in minds not easily by-forgetfulness can to-be-abolished
secundum illud Horatii:
according-to that of-Horace

Quo semel est inbuta recens seruabit odorem
with-what once is imbued new will-keep the-scent
testa diu
the-jar long

— aput hunc ergo Vergilium nempe Iuno inducitur infesta
in this therefore Vergil surely Juno is-brought-in hostile
Troianis Aeolo uentorum regi aduersus eos inritando
to-the-Trojans to-Aeolus of-the-winds king against them by-provoking
dicere:
to-say

Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum nauigat aequor
a-race hostile to-me the-Tyrrhenian sails sea
Ilium in Italiam portans uictosque penates.
Ilium into Italy carrying and-conquered household-gods

Itane istis penatibus uictis Romam, ne uinceretur,
so-then to-these household-gods conquered Rome lest it-should-be-conquered
prudentes commendare debuerunt? Sed haec Iuno dicebat
the-wise to-entrust ought but these-things Juno said
uelut irata mulier, quid loqueretur ignorans. Quid Aeneas
as-if an-angry woman what she-was-saying not-knowing what Aeneas
ipse, pius totiens appellatus, nonne ita narrat:
himself devout so-often called surely thus he-narrates

Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,
Panthus son-of-Othrys of-the-citadel and-of-Phoebus the-priest
sacra manu uictosque deos paruumque nepotem
the-sacred-things in-hand and-the-conquered gods and-small grandson
ipse trahit cursuque amens ad limina tendit?
himself drags and-in-running frantic to the-threshold makes-for

Nonne deos ipsos, quos uictos non dubitat dicere, sibi
surely the-gods themselves whom conquered not he-hesitates to-call to-himself
potius quam se illis perhibet commendatos, cum ei
rather than himself to-them he-declares entrusted when to-him
dicitur:
it-is-said

Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penates?
the-sacred-things and-her-own to-you entrusts Troy household-gods

Si igitur Vergilius tales deos et uictos dicit et, ut uel
if then Vergil such gods both conquered calls and that even
uicti quoquo modo euaderent, homini commendatos: quae
conquered in-some way they-might-escape to-a-man entrusted what
dementia est existimare his tutoribus Romam sapienter
madness is to-think to-these guardians Rome wisely

fuisse commissam et nisi eos amisisset non potuisse
to-have-been entrusted and unless them it-had-lost not to-have-been-able
uastari? Immo uero uictos deos tamquam praesides ac
to-be-laid-waste rather indeed conquered gods as protectors and
defensores colere, quid est aliud quam tenere non numina
defenders to-worship what is other than to-hold not divinities
bona, sed nomina mala? Quanto enim sapientius creditur, non
good but names bad how-much for more-wisely is-it-believed not
Romam ad istam cladem non fuisse uenturam, nisi prius
Rome to this disaster not to-have-been about-to-come unless first
illi periissent, sed illos potius olim fuisse perituros, nisi
those had-perished but those rather long-ago to-have-been about-to-perish unless
eos quantum potuisset Roma seruasset! Nam quis non,
them as-far-as it-had-been-able Rome had-preserved for who not
cum aduerterit, uideat quanta sit uanitate praesumtum
when he-has-noticed would-see with-how-great is vanity presumed
non posse uinci sub defensoribus uictis et ideo
not to-be-able to-be-conquered under defenders conquered and for-that-reason
periisse, quia custodes perdidit deos, cum uel sola esse
to-have-perished because the-guardians it-lost the-gods when even the-sole to-be
potuerit causa pereundi custodes habere uoluisse perituros?
could the-cause of-perishing guardians to-have to-have-wished about-to-perish
Non itaque, cum de dis uictis illa conscriberentur
not and-so when about the-gods conquered those-things were-written
adque canerentur, poetas libebat mentiri, sed cordatos
and were-sung the-poets it-pleased to-lie but sensible
homines cogebat ueritas confiteri. Verum ista opportunius
men compelled the-truth to-confess but these-things more-opportunely
alio loco diligenter copioseque tractanda sunt: nunc,
in-another place carefully and-copiously to-be-treated are now
quod institueram de ingratis hominibus dicere, parumper
what I-had-undertaken about ungrateful men to-say for-a-little

expediam ut possum, qui ea mala, quae pro suorum
let-me-set-out as I-can who those evils which for of-their-own
morum peruersitate merito patiuntur, blasphemantes Christo
morals the-perversity deservedly they-suffer blaspheming to-Christ
inputant; quod autem illis etiam talibus propter Christum
impute that but they even such on-account-of Christ
parcitur, nec dignantur adtendere et eas linguas aduersus
are-spared not-even do-they-deign to-attend and those tongues against
eius nomen dementia sacrilegae peruersitatis exercent, quibus
his name with-madness of-sacrilegious perversity they-exercise with-which
linguis usurpauerunt mendaciter ipsum nomen, ut uiuerent,
tongues they-usurped falsely the-very name that they-might-live
uel quas linguas in locis ei sacratis metuendo presserunt, ut
or which tongues in places to-him consecrated in-fearing they-held-back that
illic tuti adque muniti, ubi propter eum inlaesi ab hostibus
there safe and fortified where on-account-of him unharmed by the-enemies
fuerunt, inde in eum maledictis hostilibus prosilirent.
they-were thence against him with-curses hostile they-might-leap-forth

IV · JUNO'S ASYLUM AND THE APOSTLES' BASILICAS

Troy could not shield its citizens in its gods' temples. In Juno's asylum, as Vergil tells it, Phoenix and Ulysses guarded the plunder and the captives stood in line, so that the shrine of so great a goddess was chosen to shut captives in, not to free them. Compare the basilicas of the apostles, where what belonged to those places was brought back with honor and the conquered found freedom, by the mercy and humility even of savage barbarians. Nor did Vergil lie about the Greeks: he described the custom of enemies who overturn cities.

Ipsa, ut dixi, Troia, mater populi Romani, sacratis locis
itself as I-said Troy the-mother of-the-people Roman by-the-consecrated places
deorum suorum munire non potuit ciues suos ab ignibus
of-gods its-own to-fortify not could citizens its-own from the-fires
ferroque Graecorum, eosdem ipsos deos colentium; quin etiam
and-sword of-the-Greeks the-same very gods worshiping nay even

Iunonis asylo
of-Juno in-the-asylum
custodes lecti, Phoenix et dirus Ulixes,
guards chosen Phoenix and dread Ulysses
praedam adseruabant; huc undique Troia gaza
the-plunder were-watching here from-everywhere the-Trojan treasure
incensis erepta adytis mensaeque deorum
from-burned snatched shrines and-the-tables of-the-gods
crateresque auro solidi captiuaque uestis
and-bowls of-gold solid and-captive raiment
congeritur. Pueri et pauidae longo ordine matres
is-heaped-up boys and fearful in-long line mothers
stant circum.
stand around

Electus est uidelicet locus tantae deae sacratus, non
chosen was namely a-place to-so-great a-goddess consecrated not
unde captiuos non liceret educere, sed ubi captiuos
whence captives not it-was-allowed to-lead-out but where captives
liberet includere. Conpara nunc asylum illud non cuiuslibet
it-pleased to-shut-in compare now asylum that not of-any-whatever
dei gregalis uel de turba plebis, sed Iouis ipsius
god of-the-common-herd or from the-crowd of-the-plebs but of-Jupiter himself
sororis et coniugis et reginae omnium deorum cum
of-the-sister and of-the-wife and of-the-queen of-all the-gods with
memoriis nostrorum apostolorum. Illuc incensis templis
the-memorials of-our apostles thither from-burned temples
et dis erepta spolia portabantur, non donanda
and from-the-gods snatched spoils were-carried not to-be-given-back
uictis, sed diuidenda uictoribus; huc autem et
to-the-conquered but to-be-divided among-the-conquerors hither moreover even
quod alibi ad ea loca pertinere conpertum est cum honore
what elsewhere to these places to-belong discovered was with honor
et obsequio religiosissimo reportatum est. Ibi amissa,
and deference most-religious brought-back was there lost
hic seruata libertas; ibi clausa, hic interdicta captiuitas;
here preserved liberty there shut-in here forbidden captivity
ibi possidendi a dominantibus hostibus premebantur, huc
there to-be-possessed by domineering enemies they-were-pressed hither
liberandi a miserantibus ducebantur: postremo illud Iunonis
to-be-freed by pitying-ones they-were-led finally that of-Juno
templum sibi elegerat auaritia et superbia leuium
temple for-itself had-chosen the-avarice and pride of-the-fickle
Graeculorum, istas Christi basilicas misericordia et humilitas
little-Greeks these of-Christ basilicas the-mercy and humility
etiam inmanium barbarorum. Nisi forte Graeci quidem in
even of-savage barbarians unless perhaps the-Greeks indeed in

illa sua uictoria templis deorum communium pepercerunt
that their victory the-temples of-the-gods common spared
adque illo confugientes miseros uictosque Troianos ferire
and there fleeing wretched and-conquered Trojans to-strike
uel captiuare non ausi sunt, sed Vergilius poetarum
or to-take-captive not dared have but Vergil of-poets
more illa mentitus est. Immo uero morem hostium
in-the-manner those-things lied has rather indeed the-custom of-enemies
ciuitates euertentium ille descripsit.
cities overturning he described

V · CATO'S SPEECH ON THE CUSTOM OF WAR

Sallust reports that in the senate, during the debate on Catiline's conspirators, Cato set out the custom of war: maidens and boys seized, children torn from their parents, matrons outraged, fanes and houses despoiled, and all filled with slaughter and fire. Had he left out the fanes, we might think enemies spared the gods' seats. Roman temples feared these things not from foreigners but from Catiline and his allies, noble senators and Roman citizens.

Quem morem etiam Cato, sicut scribit Sallustius, nobilitatae
which custom even Cato as writes Sallust of-renowned
ueritatis historicus, sententia sua, quam de coniuratis
truthfulness a-historian in-the-opinion his-own which about the-conspirators
in senatu habuit, conmemorare non praetermittit: "rapi
in the-senate he-delivered to-mention not omits to-be-seized
uirgines pueros, diuelli liberos a parentum conplexu,
maidens boys to-be-torn-away children from of-parents the-embrace
matres familiarum pati quae uictoribus conlibuisset, fana
mothers of-families to-suffer what to-the-victors had-pleased fanes
adque domos spoliari, caedem incendia fieri: postremo
and houses to-be-despoiled slaughter fires to-be-made finally

armis cadaueribus cruore adque luctu omnia conpleri".
with-arms with-corpses with-gore and with-grief all-things to-be-filled
Hic si fana tacuisset, deorum sedibus solere hostes
here if about-fanes he-had-been-silent of-the-gods to-the-seats to-be-wont enemies
parcere putaremus. Et haec non ab alienigenis hostibus,
to-spare we-would-think and these-things not from foreign enemies
sed a Catilina et sociis eius, nobilissimis senatoribus
but from Catiline and the-allies his most-noble senators
et Romanis ciuibus, Romana templa metuebant. Sed hi
and Roman citizens the-Roman temples feared but these
uidelicet perditi et patriae parricidae.
namely abandoned-men and of-the-fatherland parricides

VI · THE ROMANS SPARED NO TEMPLES

The Romans themselves, praised for sparing the subjected and warring down the proud, are never read to have spared those who fled to the temples of the many cities they stormed. Marcellus wept over Syracuse and forbade the outrage of free persons, yet the city fell by the custom of war. Fabius at Tarentum, asked about the statues, joked that they should leave the Tarentines their angry gods. Their historians, who recorded such clemency, would not have omitted a temple that saved the fugitives.

Quid ergo per multas gentes, quae inter se bella
why then through many nations which among themselves wars
gesserunt et nusquam uictis in deorum suorum
waged and nowhere the-conquered in of-gods their-own
sedibus pepercerunt, noster sermo discurrat? Romanos
seats spared our discourse should-run-about the-Romans

ipsos uideamus, ipsos, inquam, recolamus respiciamusque
themselves let-us-see themselves I-say let-us-recall and-let-us-look-back-at
Romanos, de quorum praecipua laude dictum est:
the-Romans about whose chief praise said it-is

Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos,
to-spare the-subjected and to-war-down the-proud

et quod accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant:
and that received an-injury to-pardon than to-pursue they-preferred
quando tot tantasque urbes, ut late dominarentur,
when so-many and-so-great cities that widely they-might-dominate
expugnatas captasque euerterunt, legatur nobis quae templa
stormed and-captured they-overturned let-it-be-read to-us what temples
excipere solebant, ut ad ea quisquis confugisset liberaretur.
to-receive were-wont that to them whoever had-fled might-be-freed
An illi faciebant et scriptores earundem rerum gestarum
or those did-it and the-writers of-the-same things done
ista reticebant? Ita uero, qui ea quae laudarent
these-things kept-silent so indeed those-who the-things which they-might-praise
maxime requirebant, ista praeclarissima secundum ipsos
most sought these most-illustrious according-to themselves
pietatis indicia praeterirent? Egregius Romani nominis
of-devotion signs would-pass-over the-eminent of-the-Roman name
Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas urbem ornatissimam
Marcus Marcellus who Syracuse a-city most-adorned
cepit, refertur eam prius fleuisse ruituram et ante eius
captured is-reported it first to-have-wept about-to-fall and before its
sanguinem suas illi lacrimas effudisse. Gessit et curam
blood his-own to-it tears to-have-poured-out he-took also care
pudicitiae etiam in hoste seruandae. Nam priusquam
of-chastity even in an-enemy to-be-preserved for before

oppidum uictor iussisset inuadi, constituit edicto, ne quis
the-town the-victor had-ordered to-be-invaded he-decreed by-edict lest anyone
corpus liberum uiolaret. Euersa est tamen ciuitas more
a-body free should-violate overturned was yet the-city by-the-custom
bellorum, nec uspiam legitur ab imperatore tam casto
of-wars nor anywhere is-it-read by a-commander so chaste
adque clementi fuisse praeceptum, ut quisquis ad illud
and merciful to-have-been commanded that whoever to that
uel illud templum fugisset haberetur inlaesus. Quod utique
or that temple had-fled should-be-held unharmed which assuredly
nullo modo praeteriretur, quando nec eius fletus nec quod
in-no way would-be-passed-over when neither his weeping nor what
edixerat pro pudicitia minime uiolanda potuit taceri.
he-had-decreed for chastity not-at-all to-be-violated could to-be-kept-silent
Fabius, Tarentinae urbis euersor, a simulacrorum
Fabius of-the-Tarentine city the-overturner from of-images
depraedatione se abstinuisse laudatur. Nam cum ei
plundering himself to-have-abstained is-praised for when to-him
scriba suggessisset quid de signis deorum, quae multa
the-clerk had-suggested what about the-statues of-the-gods which many
capta fuerant, fieri iuberet, continentiam suam etiam
captured had-been to-be-done he-would-order restraint his even
iocando condiuit. Quaesiuit enim cuius modi essent, et cum
by-joking he-seasoned he-asked for of-what kind they-were and when
ei non solum multa grandia, uerum etiam renuntiarentur
to-him not only many large-ones but also were-reported
armata, “relinquamus”, inquit “Tarentinis deos iratos”. Cum
armed let-us-leave he-says to-the-Tarentines gods angry since
igitur nec illius fletum nec huius risum, nec illius
then neither that-one's weeping nor this-one's laughter nor of-that-one's
castam misericordiam nec huius facetam continentiam
chaste mercy nor of-this-one's witty restraint

Romanarum rerum gestarum scriptores tacere potuerint:
of-Roman things done the-writers to-be-silent-about could
quando praetermitteretur, si aliquibus hominibus in honorem
when would-it-be-passed-over if to-some men in honor
cuiuspiam deorum suorum sic pepercissent, ut in quoquam
of-some-one of-gods their-own thus they-had-spared that in any
templo caedem uel captiuitatem fieri prohiberent?
temple slaughter or captivity to-be-done they-forbade

VII · THE NEW MERCY IS CHRIST'S

The devastation, slaughter, plundering, and burning of the recent disaster were the custom of war. What was new, that barbarian savagery appointed the largest basilicas as places where no one should be struck or seized, is to be credited to Christ's name and to Christian times. Whoever does not see it is blind, whoever does not praise it ungrateful. God, who promised through the prophet to visit their sins with the rod without withdrawing his mercy, terrified and tempered those savage minds.

Quidquid ergo uastationis trucidationis depraedationis
whatever therefore of-devastation of-slaughter of-plundering
concremationis adflictionis in ista recentissima Romana clade
of-burning of-affliction in this most-recent Roman disaster
commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum; quod autem
committed was did this the-custom of-wars that but
nouo more factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie inmanitas
in-new manner done was that in-unaccustomed of-things aspect the-savagery
barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimae basilicae inplendae
barbarian so mild appeared that the-most-ample basilicas to-be-filled
populo cui parceretur eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi
with-the-people which should-be-spared were-chosen and were-appointed where

nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi
no-one should-be-struck whence no-one should-be-seized whither to-be-freed
multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captiuandi
many by pitying enemies should-be-led whence to-be-made-captive
ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi
any not-even by cruel enemies should-be-led-away this to-Christ's
nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non
name this to-the-Christian time to-be-attributed whoever not
uidet, caecus, quisquis uidet nec laudat, ingratus, quisquis
sees is-blind whoever sees and-not praises is-ungrateful whoever
laudanti reluctatur, insanus est. Absit, ut prudens quisquam
the-one-praising resists insane is far-be-it that prudent anyone
hoc feritati inputet barbarorum. Truculentissimas et
this to-the-ferocity should-impute of-the-barbarians the-most-ferocious and
saeuissimas mentes ille terruit, ille frenauit, ille mirabiliter
most-savage minds he terrified he reined-in he wondrously
temperauit, qui per prophetam tanto ante dixit: Visitabo
tempered who through the-prophet so-long before said I-will-visit
in uirga iniquitates eorum et in flagellis peccata eorum;
with the-rod the-iniquities their and with scourges the-sins their
misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eis.
mercy but my not I-will-scatter from them

Why did this mercy reach the ungodly and ungrateful too? Because God makes his sun rise on the good and the evil and rains on the just and the unjust; his patience invites the wicked to repentance and his scourge trains the good. He has reserved future goods for the just and evils for the ungodly, but made temporal goods and evils common, so that the good may neither crave them nor shamefully flee them. What matters is not what is suffered but who suffers it: under one fire gold glows and chaff smokes.

Dicet aliquis: "Quur ergo ista diuina misericordia etiam ad
will-say someone why then this divine mercy even to
inpios ingratosque peruenit?" Quur putamus, nisi quia eam
the-ungodly and-ungrateful has-come why do-we-think unless because it
ille praebuit, qui cottidie facit oriri solem suum super bonos
he offered who daily makes to-rise the-sun his over the-good
et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos? Quamuis enim
and the-evil and rains on the-just and the-unjust although for
quidam eorum ista cogitantes paenitendo ab inpietate
some of-them these-things pondering by-repenting from ungodliness
se corrigant, quidam uero, sicut apostolus dicit, diuitias
themselves may-correct some but as the-apostle says the-riches
bonitatis et longanimitatis Dei contemnentes secundum
of-the-goodness and of-the-long-suffering of-God despising according-to
duritiam cordis sui et cor inpaenitens thesaurizent
the-hardness of-heart their-own and heart impenitent may-store-up
sibi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii
for-themselves wrath in the-day of-wrath and of-the-revelation of-the-just judgment
Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera eius: tamen
of-God who will-render to-each according-to the-works his yet
patientia Dei ad paenitentiam inuitat malos, sicut flagellum
the-patience of-God to repentance invites the-evil as the-scourge

Dei ad patientiam erudit bonos; itemque misericordia Dei
of-God to patience trains the-good and-likewise the-mercy of-God
fouendos amplectitur bonos, sicut seueritas Dei puniendos
to-be-cherished embraces the-good as the-severity of-God to-be-punished
corripit malos. Placuit quippe diuinae prouidentiae praeparare
chastises the-evil it-pleased for to-divine providence to-prepare
in posterum bona iustis, quibus non fruentur iniusti,
in the-future good-things for-the-just which not shall-enjoy the-unjust
et mala inpiis, quibus non excruciabuntur boni;
and evil-things for-the-ungodly by-which not shall-be-tormented the-good
ista uero temporalia bona et mala utrisque uoluit
these but temporal good-things and evil-things to-both it-willed
esse communia, ut nec bona cupidius adpetantur,
to-be common that neither the-good-things more-greedily be-sought
quae mali quoque habere cernuntur; nec mala turpiter
which the-evil also to-have are-seen nor the-evil-things shamefully
euitentur, quibus et boni plerumque adficiuntur.
be-avoided by-which even the-good mostly are-affected

Interest autem plurimum, qualis sit usus uel earum
it-matters moreover very-much what-kind be the-use either of-those
rerum, quae prosperae, uel earum, quae dicuntur aduersae.
things which prosperous or of-those which are-called adverse
Nam bonus temporalibus nec bonis extollitur nec malis
for the-good-man by-temporal neither goods is-lifted-up nor by-evils
frangitur; malus autem ideo huiusce modi infelicitate
is-broken the-evil-man but for-this-reason by-this kind-of unhappiness
punitur, quia felicitate corrumpitur. Ostendit tamen Deus
is-punished because by-happiness he-is-corrupted shows yet God
saepe etiam in his distribuendis euidentius operationem
often even in these to-be-distributed more-evidently working
suam. Nam si nunc omne peccatum manifesta plecteret
his-own for if now every sin manifest were-to-strike

poena, nihil ultimo iudicio seruari putaretur; rursus
punishment nothing for-the-final judgment to-be-reserved would-be-thought again
si nullum nunc peccatum puniret aperta diuinitas, nulla esse
if no now sin punished open divinity no to-be
diuina prouidentia crederetur. Similiter in rebus secundis, si
divine providence would-be-believed similarly in things prosperous if
non eas Deus quibusdam petentibus euidentissima largitate
not them God to-some asking with-most-evident largess
concederet, non ad eum ista pertinere diceremus;
he-granted not to him these-things to-belong we-would-say
itemque si omnibus eas petentibus daret, non nisi propter
and-likewise if to-all them asking he-gave not except on-account-of
talia praemia seruiendum illi esse arbitraremur, nec pios
such rewards to-be-served him to-be we-would-judge nor devout
nos faceret talis seruitus, sed potius cupidos et auaros.
us would-make such servitude but rather greedy and avaricious
Haec cum ita sint, quicumque boni et mali pariter
these-things since so are whoever good and evil alike
adflicti sunt, non ideo ipsi distincti non sunt, quia
afflicted have-been not therefore themselves distinguished not are because
distinctum non est quod utrique perpessi sunt. Manet enim
distinguished not is what both suffered have remains for
dissimilitudo passorum etiam in similitudine passionum,
the-unlikeness of-the-sufferers even in the-likeness of-the-sufferings
et licet sub eodem tormento non est idem uirtus et
and although under the-same torment not is the-same virtue and
uitium. Nam sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat palea fumat,
vice for as under one fire gold glows chaff smokes
et sub eadem tribula stipulae comminuuntur frumenta
and under the-same threshing-sledge the-straws are-crushed the-grains
purgantur, nec ideo cum oleo amurca confunditur, quia
are-cleansed nor therefore with oil the-lees is-mixed because

eodem praeli pondere exprimitur: ita una eademque
by-the-same of-the-press weight it-is-pressed-out so one and-the-same
uis inruens bonos probat purificat eliquat, malos damnat
force rushing-in the-good proves purifies refines the-evil damns
uastat exterminat. Unde in eadem adflictione mali Deum
lays-waste exterminates whence in the-same affliction the-evil God
detestantur adque blasphemant, boni autem precantur et
detest and blaspheme the-good but pray and
laudant. Tantum interest, non qualia, sed qualis quisque
praise so-much it-matters not what-things but what-kind each
patiatur. Nam pari motu exagitatum et exhalat horribiliter
suffers for by-equal motion stirred both exhales horribly
caenum et suauiter fragrat unguentum.
filth and sweetly smells ointment

IX · WHY THE GOOD ARE SCOURGED WITH THE WICKED

The Christians who suffered can see why. None is so free of sin as not to deserve temporal punishment, and many good men fail to rebuke the wicked, from love of their own comfort, reputation, or safety, or dread of offending them, not from the counsel of charity. They suffer together because they love this temporal life together, though not equally. Pastors who keep silent have the graver fault. There is also Job's reason: that the soul may learn how freely it loves God.

Quid igitur in illa rerum uastitate Christiani passi sunt,
what then in that of-things devastation the-Christians suffered have
quod non eis magis fideliter ista considerantibus ad
which not to-them more faithfully these-things considering to
prouectum ualeret? Primum quod ipsa peccata, quibus
advancement would-avail first that the-very sins by-which
Deus indignatus inpleuit tantis calamitatibus mundum,
God indignant filled with-so-great calamities the-world

humiliter cogitantes, quamuis longe absint a
humbly pondering although far they-are-removed from
facinerosis flagitiosis adque inpiis, tamen non usque adeo
the-criminal the-shameful and the-ungodly yet not to-such a-degree
se a delictis deputant alienos, ut nec temporalia pro
themselves from offenses they-reckon strangers that not temporal for
eis mala perpeti se iudicent dignos. Excepto enim quod
them evils to-suffer themselves they-judge worthy except for that
unusquisque quamlibet laudabiliter uiuens cedit in quibusdam
each-one however laudably living yields in some-things
carnali concupiscentiae, etsi non ad facinorum inmanitatem
to-carnal concupiscence though not to of-crimes the-enormity
et gurgitem flagitiorum adque inpietatis abominationem, ad
and the-whirlpool of-shameful-deeds and of-ungodliness the-abomination to
aliqua tamen peccata uel rara uel tanto crebriora, quanto
some yet sins either rare or so-much more-frequent as
minora — hoc ergo excepto quis tandem facile reperitur,
smaller this then excepted who pray easily is-found
qui eosdem ipsos, propter quorum horrendam superbiam
who those very-men on-account-of whose horrible pride
luxuriamque et auaritiam adque execrabiles iniquitates et
and-luxury and avarice and execrable iniquities and
inpietates Deus, sicut minando praedixit, conterit terras,
ungodlinesses God as by-threatening foretold crushes the-lands
sic habeat, ut habendi sunt? sic cum eis uiuat, ut cum
so holds as to-be-held they-are so with them lives as with
talibus est uiuendum? Plerumque enim ab eis docendis ac
such-men it-is to-be-lived for-the-most-part for from them to-be-taught and
monendis, aliquando etiam obiurgandis et corripiendis male
to-be-admonished sometimes even to-be-rebuked and to-be-corrected wrongly
dissimulatur, uel cum laboris piget, uel cum os eorum
it-is-dissembled either when of-the-labor it-irks or when the-face their

uerecundamur offendere, uel cum inimicitias deuitamus, ne
we-are-ashamed to-offend or when enmities we-avoid lest
inpediant et noceant in istis temporalibus rebus, siue quas
they-hinder and harm in these temporal things either which
adipisci adhuc adpetit nostra cupiditas, siue quas amittere
to-obtain still seeks our greed or which to-lose
formidat infirmitas, ita ut, quamuis bonis malorum
dreads (our)-weakness so that although to-the-good of-the-evil
uita displiceat et ideo cum eis non incidant in illam
the-life displeases and therefore with them not they-fall into that
damnationem, quae post hanc uitam talibus praeparatur,
damnation which after this life for-such-men is-prepared
tamen, quia propterea peccatis eorum damnabilibus parcunt,
yet because for-this-reason the-sins their damnable they-spare
dum eos in suis licet leuibus et ueniabilibus, metuunt,
while them in their-own although light and venial they-fear
iure cum eis temporaliter flagellantur, quamuis in aeternum
rightly with them temporally they-are-scourged although into eternity
minime puniantur, iure istam uitam, quando diuinitus
not-at-all they-are-punished rightly this life when divinely
adfliguntur cum eis, amaram sentiunt, cuius amando
they-are-afflicted with them bitter they-feel whose by-loving
dulcedinem peccantibus eis amari esse noluerunt.
the-sweetness sinning to-them bitter to-be they-were-unwilling

Nam si propterea quisque obiurgandis et corripiendis male
for if for-this-reason anyone in-rebuking and correcting badly
agentibus parcit, quia opportunius tempus inquirit uel
those-acting spares because a-more-opportune time he-seeks or
eisdem ipsis metuit, ne deteriores ex hoc efficiantur,
for-the-same very-ones he-fears lest worse from this they-be-made
uel ad bonam uitam et piam erudiendos inpediant alios
or to a-good life and devout to-be-trained they-may-hinder others

infirmos et premant adque auertant a fide: non uidetur
weak and press and turn-away from faith not it-seems
esse cupiditatis occasio, sed consilium caritatis. Illud est
to-be of-greed the-occasion but the-counsel of-charity that is
culpabile, quod hi, qui dissimiliter uiuunt et a malorum
blameworthy that these who differently live and from of-the-evil
factis abhorrent, parcunt tamen peccatis alienis, quae dedocere
the-deeds shrink spare yet sins of-others which to-unteach
aut obiurgare deberent, dum eorum offensiones cauent, ne
or to-rebuke they-ought while their offenses they-beware lest
sibi noceant in his rebus, quibus licite boni adque
to-themselves they-may-harm in these things which lawfully the-good and
innocenter utuntur, sed cupidius, quam oportebat eos, qui
innocently use but more-greedily than it-was-proper for-them who
in hoc mundo peregrinantur et spem supernae patriae prae
in this world are-sojourning and the-hope of-the-heavenly fatherland before
se gerunt. Non solum quippe infirmiores, uitam ducentes
them bear not only for the-weaker life leading
coniugalem, filios habentes uel habere quaerentes, domos ac
conjugal children having or to-have seeking houses and
familias possidentes, (quos apostolus in ecclesiis adloquitur
households possessing whom the-apostle in the-churches addresses
docens et monens quem ad modum uiuere debeant et
teaching and admonishing in-what to manner to-live they-ought both
uxores cum maritis et mariti cum uxoribus, et filii cum
wives with husbands and husbands with wives and children with
parentibus et parentes cum filiis, et serui cum dominis
parents and parents with children and slaves with masters
et domini cum seruis) multa temporalia, multa terrena
and masters with slaves many temporal-things many earthly-things
libenter adipiscuntur et moleste amittunt, propter
gladly acquire and with-vexation lose on-account-of

quae non audent offendere homines, quorum sibi uita
which not they-dare to-offend men whose to-them life
contaminatissima et conscelerati ssima displicet; uerum etiam
most-contaminated and most-criminal displeases but also
hi, qui superiorem uitae gradum tenent nec coniugalibus
these who the-higher of-life step hold nor in-conjugal
uinculis inretiti sunt et uictu paruo ac tegimento utuntur,
bonds entangled are and with-food scanty and covering make-do
plerumque, suae famae ac saluti dum insidias adque
for-the-most-part for-their-own reputation and for-safety while the-plots and
impetus malorum timent, ab eorum reprehensione sese
assaults of-the-wicked they-fear from their reproof themselves
abstinent, et quamuis non in tantum eos metuant, ut
they-abstain and although not to such-a-degree them they-fear that
ad similia perpetranda quibuslibet eorum terroribus adque
to similar-things to-be-perpetrated by-any-whatever their terrors and
inprobitatibus cedant, ea ipsa tamen, quae cum eis non
wickednesses they-yield those very-things yet which with them not
perpetrant, nolunt plerumque corripere, cum fortasse
they-perpetrate they-are-unwilling for-the-most-part to-rebuke when perhaps
possint aliquos corripiendo corrigere, ne, si non potuerint,
they-might some by-rebuking to-correct lest if not they-should-succeed
sua salus ac fama in periculum exitiumque peruenia t,
their safety and reputation into danger and-destruction should-come
nec ea consideratione, qua suam famam ac salutem
nor by-that consideration by-which their reputation and safety
uident esse necessariam utilitati erudiendorum hominum,
they-see to-be necessary to-the-benefit to-be-taught of-men
sed ea potius infirmitate, qua delectat lingua blandiens
but by-that rather weakness by-which delights the-tongue flattering
et humanus dies et reformidatur uulgi iudicium et
and the-human day and is-dreaded of-the-crowd the-judgment and

carnis excruciatio uel peremtio, hoc est propter quaedam
of-the-flesh the-torment or killing that is on-account-of certain
cupiditatis uincula, non propter officia caritatis.
of-greed bonds not on-account-of the-duties of-charity

Non mihi itaque uidetur haec parua esse causa, quare cum
not to-me and-so it-seems this small to-be the-cause why with
malis flagellentur et boni, quando Deo placet perditos mores
the-evil are-scourged also the-good when to-God it-pleases depraved morals
etiam temporalium poenarum adflictione punire. Flagellantur
even of-temporal punishments by-the-affliction to-punish they-are-scourged
enim simul, non quia simul agunt malam uitam, sed quia
for together not because together they-lead a-bad life but because
simul amant temporalem uitam, non quidem aequaliter,
together they-love the-temporal life not indeed equally
sed tamen simul, quam boni contemnere deberent, ut illi
but yet together which the-good to-despise ought that those
correpti adque correcti consequerentur aeternam, ad quam
rebuked and corrected might-attain the-eternal to which
consequendam si nollent esse socii, ferrentur et
to-be-attained if they-refused to-be companions they-would-be-borne and
diligerentur inimici, quia donec uiuunt semper incertum est
would-be-loved as-enemies because while they-live always uncertain it-is
utrum uoluntatem sint in melius mutaturi. Qua in re
whether the-will they-are into better about-to-change which in matter
non utique parem, sed longe grauiorem habent causam,
not assuredly an-equal but far heavier have cause
quibus per prophetam dicitur: Ille quidem in suo peccato
those-to-whom through the-prophet it-is-said he indeed in his sin
morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu speculatoris
shall-die the-blood but his from the-hand of-the-watchman
requiram. Ad hoc enim speculatores, hoc est populorum
I-will-require to this for watchmen that is of-peoples

praepositi, constituti sunt in ecclesiis, ut non parcant
the-overseers appointed have-been in the-churches that not they-may-spare
obiurgando peccata. Nec ideo tamen ab huius modi culpa
by-rebuking sins nor therefore yet from this kind-of fault
penitus alienus est, qui, licet praepositus non sit, in eis
wholly a-stranger is he-who although an-overseer not he-be in those
tamen, quibus uitae huius necessitate coniungitur, multa
yet with-whom of-life this by-necessity he-is-joined many-things
monenda uel arguenda nouit et neglegit, deuitans eorum
to-be-warned or to-be-rebuked knows and neglects avoiding their
offensiones propter illa quibus in hac uita non indebitis
offenses on-account-of those-things which in this life not undue
utitur, sed plus quam debuit delectatur. Deinde habent aliam
he-uses but more than he-ought takes-delight then have another
causam boni, quare temporalibus adfligantur malis, qualem
cause the-good why with-temporal they-be-afflicted evils such-as
habuit Iob: ut sibi ipse humanus animus sit probatus
had Job that to-itself it-itself the-human mind may-be proved
et cognitus, quanta uirtute pietatis gratis Deum diligat.
and known with-how-great virtue of-devotion freely God it-loves

X · THE SAINTS LOST NOTHING IN LOSING THEIR GOODS

Nothing befell the faithful that God did not turn to good. Those who lost their goods lost neither faith nor devotion, the riches of the inner man; those who held them as Job did could say that the Lord gave and the Lord took away, and those who clung to them learned by losing what sin there was in loving them. Paulinus of Nola, made poor by choice, prayed under the barbarians not to be tortured for gold he had stored in heaven. Torture taught others what to love; hunger taught others to fast.

Quibus recte consideratis adque perspectis adtende utrum
which-things rightly considered and examined attend whether
aliquid mali acciderit fidelibus et piis, quod eis
anything of-evil has-befallen the-faithful and devout which for-them
non in bonum uerteretur, nisi forte putandum est
not into good was-turned unless perhaps to-be-thought it-is
apostolicam illam uacare sententiam, ubi ait: Scimus quia
apostolic that to-be-empty sentence where he-says we-know that
diligentibus Deum omnia cooperatur in bonum. Amiserunt
for-those-loving God all-things work-together for good they-lost
omnia quae habebant. Numquid fidem? numquid pietatem?
all-things which they-had surely-not faith surely-not devotion
numquid interioris hominis bona, qui est ante Deum
surely-not of-the-inner man the-goods which is before God
diues? Hae sunt opes Christianorum, quibus opulentus
rich these are the-riches of-the-Christians by-which wealthy
dicebat apostolus: Est autem quaestus magnus pietas cum
said the-apostle is but gain great devotion with
sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, sed
sufficiency nothing for we-brought into this world but
nec auferre aliquid possumus. Habentes autem uictum
neither to-carry-off anything we-can having but food

et tegumentum his contenti sumus. Nam qui uolunt
and covering with-these content we-are for those-who wish
diuites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum et
rich to-become fall into temptation and a-snare and
desideria multa stulta et noxia, quae mergunt homines
desires many foolish and harmful which plunge men
in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim est omnium
into destruction and perdition the-root for is of-all
malorum auaritia, quam quidam adpetentes a fide
evils avarice which some seeking from the-faith
pererrauerunt et inseruerunt se doloribus multis.
have-strayed and have-inserted themselves in-sorrows many

Quibus ergo terrenae diuitiae in illa uastatione perierunt,
to-whom therefore earthly riches in that devastation perished
si eas sic habebant, quem ad modum ab isto foris
if them so they-had in-what to manner from that outwardly
paupere, intus diuite audierant, id est, si mundo
poor-man inwardly rich-man they-had-heard that is if the-world
utebantur tamquam non utentes, potuerunt dicere, quod ille
they-used as-though not using they-could to-say what he
grauiter tentatus et minime superatus: Nudus exiui de
heavily tempted and not-at-all overcome naked I-came-out from
utero matris meae, nudus reuertar in terram. Dominus
the-womb of-mother my naked I-shall-return into the-earth the-Lord
dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit, ita factum
gave the-Lord took-away as to-the-Lord it-pleased so done
est; sit nomen Domini benedictum; ut bonus seruus
it-was may-be the-name of-the-Lord blessed that the-good servant
magnas facultates haberet ipsam sui Domini uoluntatem,
great means might-have the-very of-his-own Lord will
cui pedisequus mente ditesceret, nec contristaretur
which as-attendant in-mind he-might-grow-rich nor might-he-be-saddened

eis rebus uiuens relictus, quas cito fuerat moriens
at-those things living left which soon he-had-been dying
relicturus. Illi autem infirmiores, qui terrenis his bonis,
about-to-leave those but weaker who to-earthly these goods
quamuis ea non praeponerent Christo, aliquantula tamen
although them not they-put-before Christ with-some-small yet
cupiditate cohaerebant, quantum haec amando peccauerint,
greed clung how-much these-things by-loving they-had-sinned
perdendo senserunt. Tantum quippe doluerunt, quantum
by-losing they-felt so-much for they-grieved as-much-as
se doloribus inseruerant, sicut apostolum dixisse supra
themselves in-sorrows they-had-inserted as the-apostle to-have-said above
commemoraui. Oportebat enim ut eis adderetur etiam
I-have-mentioned it-was-fitting for that to-them should-be-added also
experimentorum disciplina, a quibus tam diu fuerat neglecta
of-experiences the-discipline by whom so long had-been neglected
uerborum. Nam cum dixit apostolus: Qui uolunt diuites
of-words for when said the-apostle those-who wish rich
fieri, incidunt in tentationem et cetera, profecto in
to-become fall into temptation and the-rest assuredly in
diuitiis cupiditatem reprehendit, non facultatem, quoniam
riches the-greed he-reproves not the-means since
praecepit alibi dicens: Praecipe diuitibus huius mundi
he-commanded elsewhere saying command the-rich of-this world
non superbe sapere neque sperare in incerto diuitiarum,
not proudly to-be-wise nor to-hope in the-uncertainty of-riches
sed in Deo uiuo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter
but in God living who supplies to-us all-things abundantly
ad fruendum; bene faciant, diuites sint in operibus
for enjoying well let-them-do rich let-them-be in works
bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi
good easily let-them-give let-them-share let-them-store-up for-themselves

fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut adprehendant ueram
a-foundation good for the-future that they-may-lay-hold-of true
uitam. Haec qui de suis diuitiis faciebant, magnis
life these-things who from their-own riches did with-great
sunt lucris leuia damna solati plusque laetati ex his, quae
have gains light losses consoled and-more delighted by these which
facile tribuendo tutius seruauerunt, quam contristati ex his,
easily by-giving more-safely they-preserved than saddened by these
quae timide retinendo facilius amiserunt. Hoc enim potuit
which timidly by-retaining more-easily they-lost this for could
in terra perire, quod piguit inde transferre. Nam qui
on earth to-perish which it-irked thence to-transfer for those-who
receperunt consilium Domini sui dicentis: Nolite uobis
received the-counsel of-Lord their saying do-not for-yourselves
condere thesauros in terra, ubi tinea et rubigo exterminant
store-up treasures on earth where moth and rust destroy
et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur; sed thesaurizate
and where thieves dig-through and steal but store-up
uobis thesaurum in caelo, quo fur non accedit neque
for-yourselves treasure in heaven where a-thief not approaches nor
tinea corrumpit; ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, illic erit
moth corrupts where for is treasure your there will-be
et cor tuum, tribulationis tempore probauerunt quam recte
also heart your of-tribulation in-the-time they-proved how rightly
sapuerint non contemnendo ueracissimum praeceptorem
they-had-been-wise not by-despising a-most-truthful teacher
et thesauri sui fidelissimum inuictissimumque custodem.
and of-treasure their-own a-most-faithful and-most-invincible guardian
Nam si multi gauisi sunt ibi se habuisse diuitias suas,
for if many rejoiced have there themselves to-have-had riches their
quo contigit ut hostis non accederet: quanto certius
where it-happened that the-enemy not approached how-much more-surely

et securius gaudere potuerunt, qui monitu Dei sui
and more-securely to-rejoice could those-who by-the-warning of-God their
illuc migrauerunt, quo accedere omnino non posset! Unde
thither migrated where to-approach at-all not he-could whence
Paulinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo diuite
Paulinus our of-Nola bishop from a-most-opulent rich-man
uoluntate pauperrimus et copiosissime sanctus, quando et
by-will most-poor and most-abundantly holy when also
ipsam Nolam barbari uastauerunt, cum ab eis teneretur,
the-very Nola the-barbarians laid-waste when by them he-was-held
sic in corde suo, ut ab eo postea cognouimus, precabatur:
thus in heart his-own as from him afterward we-learned prayed
"Domine, non excrucier propter aurum et argentum;
O-Lord not may-I-be-tortured on-account-of gold and silver
ubi enim sint omnia mea, tu scis." Ibi enim habebat omnia
where for are all-things mine you know there for he-had all-things
sua, ubi eum condere et thesaurizare ille monstrauerat,
his where him to-store and to-treasure-up he had-shown
qui haec mala mundo uentura praedixerat. Ac per hoc
who these evils to-the-world about-to-come had-foretold and through this
qui Domino suo monenti oboedierant, ubi et quo modo
those-who to-Lord their warning had-obeyed where and in-what manner
thesaurizare deberent, nec ipsas terrenas diuitias barbaris
to-store-up they-ought not-even the-very earthly riches to-the-barbarians
incursantibus amiserunt. Quos autem non oboedisse paenituit,
invading lost whom but not to-have-obeyed it-repented
quid de talibus rebus faciendum esset, si non praecedente
what about such things to-be-done was if not with-preceding
sapientia, certe consequente experientia didicerunt.
wisdom at-least with-following experience they-learned

At enim quidam boni etiam Christiani tormentis excruciati
but indeed some good-men even Christians by-tortures tormented
sunt, ut bona sua hostibus proderent. Illi uero nec
were that goods their to-the-enemies they-might-betray those indeed neither
prodere nec perdere potuerunt bonum, quo ipsi boni
to-betray nor to-lose could the-good by-which they-themselves good
erant. Si autem torqueri quam mammona iniquitatis prodere
were if but to-be-tortured than the-mammon of-iniquity to-betray
maluerunt, boni non erant. Admonendi autem fuerant,
they-preferred good-men not they-were to-be-admonished but they-had-been
qui tanta patiebantur pro auro, quanta essent sustinenda
who so-much suffered for gold as-much-as would-be to-be-endured
pro Christo, ut eum potius diligere discerent, qui pro
for Christ that him rather to-love they-might-learn who for
se passos aeterna felicitate ditaret, non aurum et
himself those-having-suffered with-eternal happiness would-enrich not gold and
argentum, pro quo pati miserrimum fuit, seu mentiendo
silver for which to-suffer most-wretched was whether by-lying
occultaretur, seu uerum dicendo proderetur. Namque inter
it-were-hidden or the-truth by-telling it-were-betrayed for among
tormenta nemo Christum confitendo amisit, nemo aurum nisi
tortures no-one Christ by-confessing lost no-one gold except
negando seruauit. Quocirca utiliora erant fortasse tormenta,
by-denying preserved wherefore more-useful were perhaps the-tortures
quae bonum incorruptibile amandum docebant, quam illa bona,
which a-good incorruptible to-be-loved taught than those goods
quae sine ullo utili fructu dominos sui amore torquebant.
which without any useful fruit the-owners of-themselves by-love tortured
Sed quidam etiam non habentes quod proderent, dum
but some even not having what they-might-betray while
non creduntur, torti sunt. Et hi forte habere cupiebant
not they-are-believed tortured were and these perhaps to-have desired

nec sancta uoluntate pauperes erant; quibus demonstrandum
nor by-holy will poor they-were to-whom to-be-shown
fuit non facultates, sed ipsas cupiditates talibus dignas
it-was not the-means but the-very desires of-such worthy
esse cruciatibus. Si uero uitae melioris proposito reconditum
to-be tortures if but of-life of-better by-the-resolve hidden
aurum argentumque non habebant, nescio quidem utrum
gold and-silver not they-had I-know-not indeed whether
cuiquam talium acciderit, ut dum habere creditur
to-any of-such it-happened that while to-have he-was-believed
torqueretur: uerum tamen etiamsi accidit, profecto, qui
he-was-tortured but yet even-if it-happened assuredly he-who
inter illa tormenta paupertatem sanctam confitebatur,
among those tortures poverty holy confessed
Christum confitebatur. Quapropter etsi non meruit ab
Christ confessed wherefore although not he-deserved by
hostibus credi, non potuit tamen sanctae paupertatis
the-enemies to-be-believed not he-could yet of-holy poverty
confessor sine caelesti mercede torqueri.
the-confessor without heavenly reward to-be-tortured

Multos, inquiunt, etiam Christianos fames diuturna uastauit.
many they-say even Christians famine long-lasting laid-waste
Hoc quoque in usus suos boni fideles pie tolerando
this also into uses their-own the-good faithful devoutly by-enduring
uerterunt. Quos enim fames necauit, malis uitae
turned those-whom for famine killed from-the-evils of-life
huius, sicut corporis morbus, eripuit: quos autem non
this as of-the-body a-disease snatched those-whom but not
necauit, docuit parcius uiuere, docuit productius ieiunare.
it-killed it-taught more-sparingly to-live it-taught longer to-fast

Many Christians were killed, and by many foul kinds of death, but death is common to all born into this life, and it makes no difference by what death a life ends, since one who dies is not compelled to die again. It is better to suffer one death in dying than to fear all of them in living. A death preceded by a good life is not to be thought evil; only what follows death makes it so. The poor man among the dogs died better than the rich man in purple.

Sed enim multi etiam Christiani interfecti sunt, multi
but indeed many even Christians killed have-been many
multarum mortium foeda uarietate consumti. Hoc si aegre
of-many of-deaths by-a-foul variety consumed this if hard
ferendum est, omnibus, qui in hanc uitam procreati sunt,
to-be-borne it-is for-all who into this life begotten have-been
utique commune est. Hoc scio, neminem fuisse mortuum,
assuredly common it-is this I-know no-one to-have-been dead
qui non fuerat aliquando moriturus. Finis autem uitae tam
who not had-been sometime about-to-die the-end moreover of-life as
longam quam breuem uitam hoc idem facit. Neque enim aliud
long as short life this same makes nor for one
melius et aliud deterius, aut aliud maius et aliud breuius
better and another worse or one greater and another shorter
est, quod iam pariter non est. Quid autem interest, quo
is which already equally not is what but does-it-matter by-what
mortis genere uita ista finiatur, quando ille, cui finitur,
of-death kind life this be-ended when he to-whom it-is-ended
iterum mori non cogitur? Cum autem unicuique mortalium
again to-die not is-compelled since moreover to-each of-mortals
sub cottidianis uitae huius casibus innumerabiles mortes
under the-daily of-life this chances innumerable deaths
quodam modo comminentur, quamdiu incertum est quaenam
in-a-certain way threaten as-long-as uncertain it-is which

earum uentura sit, quaero utrum satius sit unam perpeti
of-them about-to-come is I-ask whether better it-be one to-suffer
moriendo an omnes timere uiuendo. Nec ignoro quam
in-dying or all to-fear in-living nor am-I-unaware how
citius eligatur diu uiuere sub timore tot mortium
more-readily is-chosen long to-live under the-fear of-so-many deaths
quam semel moriendo nullam deinceps formidare. Sed aliud
than once by-dying none thereafter to-dread but one-thing
est quod carnis sensus infirmiter pauidus refugit, aliud quod
it-is what of-the-flesh the-sense weakly fearful shrinks-from another what
mentis ratio diligenter enucleata conuincit. Mala mors
of-the-mind the-reason carefully elucidated proves an-evil death
putanda non est, quam bona uita praecesserit. Neque enim
to-be-thought not is which a-good life has-preceded nor for
facit malam mortem, nisi quod sequitur mortem. Non itaque
makes an-evil death except what follows death not and-so
multum curandum est eis, qui necessario morituri sunt, quid
much to-be-cared it-is by-those who necessarily about-to-die are what
accidat ut moriantur, sed moriendo quo ire cogantur.
happens that they-may-die but by-dying whither to-go they-are-compelled
Cum igitur Christiani nouerint longe meliorem fuisse
since then Christians know far better to-have-been
religiosi pauperis mortem inter lingentium canum linguas
of-the-religious poor-man the-death among of-licking dogs the-tongues
quam inpii diuitis in purpura et bysso, horrenda illa
than of-the-ungodly rich-man in purple and fine-linen horrible those
genera mortium quid mortuis obfuerunt, qui bene uixerunt?
kinds of-deaths what to-the-dead did-they-harm who well lived

Many bodies could not be buried, but faith fears no beast that devours bodies destined to rise, of which not a hair shall perish. Christ's words, fear not those who kill the body, would be false if their enemies could harm them by what they did to corpses. Funeral care consoles the living rather than aiding the dead; the angels carried the ulcerous poor man to Abraham's bosom. The pagans' own philosophers and armies despised burial, and their poet says that heaven covers him who has no urn.

At enim in tanta strage cadauerum nec sepeliri potuerunt.
but indeed in so-great a-slaughter of-corpses not-even to-be-buried they-could
Neque istud pia fides nimium reformidat, tenens praedictum
nor this devout faith too-much dreads holding foretold
nec absumentes bestias resurrecturis corporibus obfuturas,
not-even devouring beasts to-about-to-rise bodies about-to-harm
quorum capillus capitis non peribit. Nullo modo diceret
of-whom a-hair of-the-head not shall-perish in-no way would-say
ueritas: Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem
the-truth do-not fear those who the-body kill the-soul but
non possunt occidere, si quicquam obesset futurae uitae,
not are-able to-kill if anything should-hinder the-future life
quidquid inimici de corporibus occisorum facere uoluissent.
whatever the-enemies with the-bodies of-the-slain to-do had-wished
Nisi forte quispiam sic absurdus est, ut contendat eos,
unless perhaps anyone so absurd is that he-should-contend those
qui corpus occidunt, non debere timeri ante mortem, ne
who the-body kill not to-be-bound to-be-feared before death lest
corpus occidant, et timeri debere post mortem, ne corpus
the-body they-kill and to-be-feared to-be-bound after death lest the-body
occisum sepeliri non sinant. Falsum est ergo quod ait:
slain to-be-buried not they-allow false is therefore what he-says

Qui corpus occidunt, et postea non habent quid faciant, si
who the-body kill and afterward not have what they-may-do if
habent tanta, quae de cadaueribus faciant. Absit, ut falsum
they-have so-much which with the-corpses they-may-do far-be-it that false
sit quod ueritas dixit. Dictum est enim aliquid eos facere cum
be what the-truth said said it-is for something them to-do when
occidunt, quia in corpore sensus est occidendo; postea uero
they-kill because in the-body sense there-is in-the-killing afterward but
nihil habere quod faciant, quia nullus sensus est in corpore
nothing to-have which they-may-do because no sense is in the-body
occiso. Multa itaque corpora Christianorum terra non texit,
slain many and-so bodies of-Christians the-earth not covered
sed nullum eorum quisquam a caelo et terra separauit,
but none of-them anyone from heaven and earth has-separated
quam totam inplet praesentia sui, qui nouit unde
which whole fills by-the-presence of-himself he-who knows whence
resuscitet quod creauit. Dicitur quidem in psalmo: Posuerunt
he-may-raise what he-created it-is-said indeed in the-psalm they-have-set
mortalia seruorum tuorum escas uolatilibus caeli, carnes
the-mortal-remains of-servants your as-food for-the-birds of-heaven the-flesh
sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae; effuderunt sanguinem
of-saints your for-the-beasts of-the-earth they-have-poured-out the-blood
eorum sicut aquam in circuitu Hierusalem, et non erat
their as water in the-circuit of-Jerusalem and not there-was
qui sepeliret, sed magis ad exaggerandam crudelitatem
who would-bury but rather for heightening the-cruelty
eorum, qui ista fecerunt, non ad eorum infelicitatem, qui
of-those who these-things did not for their unhappiness who
ista perpessi sunt. Quamuis enim haec in conspectu
these-things suffered have although for these-things in the-sight
hominum dura et dira uideantur, sed pretiosa in conspectu
of-men hard and dire may-seem yet precious in the-sight

Domini mors sanctorum eius. Proinde ista omnia, curatio
of-the-Lord the-death of-saints his accordingly these all-things the-care
funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis
of-the-funeral the-arrangement of-burial the-pomp of-obsequies more
sunt uiuorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum. Si aliquid
are of-the-living consolations than aids of-the-dead if at-all
prodest inpio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio
it-profits to-the-ungodly-man a-burial costly will-harm to-the-devout-man
uilis aut nulla. Praeclaras exequias in conspectu hominum
a-cheap-one or none splendid obsequies in the-sight of-men
exhibuit purpurato illi diuiti turba famulorum, sed
displayed purple-clad to-that rich-man the-crowd of-servants but
multo clariores in conspectu Domini ulceroso illi pauperi
much more-glorious in the-sight of-the-Lord ulcerous to-that poor-man
ministerium praebuit angelorum, qui eum non extulerunt in
the-ministry offered of-the-angels who him not carried-out into
marmoreum tumulum, sed in Abrahae gremium sustulerunt.
a-marble tomb but into Abraham's bosom lifted

Rident haec illi, contra quos defendendam suscepimus
laugh-at these-things they against whom to-be-defended we-have-undertaken
ciuitatem Dei. Verum tamen sepulturae curam etiam eorum
the-city of-God but yet of-burial the-care even their
philosophi contemserunt. Et saepe uniuersi exercitus, dum
philosophers have-despised and often whole armies while
pro terrena patria morerentur, ubi postea iacerent uel
for the-earthly fatherland they-died where afterward they-would-lie or

quibus bestiis esca fierent, non curarunt, licuitque
to-what beasts food they-would-become not they-cared and-it-was-allowed
de hac re poetis plausibiliter dicere:
about this matter to-the-poets with-applause to-say

Caelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.
by-heaven is-covered who not has an-urn

Quanto minus debent de corporibus insepultis insultare
how-much less ought-they about the-bodies unburied to-insult
Christianis, quibus et ipsius carnis membrorumque
the-Christians to-whom both of-the-very flesh and-of-the-limbs
omnium reformatio non solum ex terra, uerum etiam
all the-reformation not only out-of the-earth but also
ex aliorum elementorum secretissimo sinu, quo
out-of of-the-other elements from-the-most-secret bosom into-which
dilapsa cadauera recesserunt, in temporis puncto reddenda
fallen-apart corpses have-withdrawn in of-time a-point to-be-restored
et redintegranda promittitur.
and to-be-made-whole is-promised

Yet the bodies of the just are not to be despised, for the Spirit used them as instruments of every good work, and they belong to our nature more closely than any garment. So the patriarchs cared for their burials, Tobias pleased God by burying the dead, and the woman who anointed Christ and those who took him from the cross are praised. Such duties show God's providence and confirm faith in the resurrection. If lack of food does not break the good, lack of burial does not make the dead wretched.

Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abicienda sunt corpora
nor therefore yet to-be-despised and to-be-cast-away are the-bodies
defunctorum maximeque iustorum adque fidelium, quibus
of-the-dead and-especially of-the-just and faithful which
tamquam organis et uasis ad omnia bona opera sancte
as organs and vessels for all good works holily
usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna uestis et anulus, ac si
used has the-Spirit if for a-father's garment and ring and if
quid huius modi, tanto carius est posteris, quanto erga
anything of-this kind so-much dearer is to-descendants as toward
parentes maior adfectus: nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt
parents greater the-affection in-no way themselves to-be-spurned are
corpora, quae utique multo familiarius adque coniunctius
the-bodies which assuredly much more-intimately and more-closely
quam quaelibet indumenta gestamus. Haec enim non ad
than any garments we-wear these for not to
ornamentum uel adiutorium, quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed
ornament or aid which is-applied from-without but
ad ipsam naturam hominis pertinent. Unde et antiquorum
to the-very nature of-man belong whence also of-the-ancient
iustorum funera officiosa pietate curata sunt et exsequiae
just the-funerals with-dutiful devotion cared-for were and obsequies

celebratae et sepultura prouisa, ipsique cum uiuerent
celebrated and burial provided and-themselves while they-lived
de sepeliendis uel etiam transferendis suis corporibus
about to-be-buried or even to-be-transferred their bodies
filiis mandauerunt, et Tobias sepeliendo mortuos Deum
to-(their)-sons gave-charge and Tobias by-burying the-dead God
promeruisse teste angelo commendatur. Ipse quoque
to-have-won-favor-of as-witness an-angel is-commended himself also
Dominus die tertio resurrecturus religiosae mulieris
the-Lord on-the-day third about-to-rise of-a-religious woman
bonum opus praedicat praedicandumque commendat, quod
the-good work proclaims and-to-be-proclaimed commends that
unguentum pretiosum super membra eius effuderit adque hoc
an-ointment precious over limbs his she-poured and this
ad eum sepeliendum fecerit. Et laudabiliter commemorantur
for him to-be-buried did and laudably are-mentioned
in euangelio qui corpus eius de cruce acceptum
in the-gospel those-who the-body his from the-cross received
diligenter adque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque
carefully and honorably to-be-covered and-to-be-buried
curarunt. Verum istae auctoritates non hoc admonent, quod
saw-to but these authorities not this teach that
insit ullus cadaueribus sensus, sed ad Dei prouidentiam,
there-is any in-corpses sense but to of-God the-providence
cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque
to-whom are-pleasing even such of-devotion duties the-bodies also
mortuorum pertinere significant propter fidem resurrectionis
of-the-dead to-belong they-signify on-account-of the-faith of-the-resurrection
adstruendam. Ubi et illud salubriter discitur, quanta possit
to-be-established where also that wholesomely is-learned how-great can
esse remuneratio pro elemosynis, quas uiuentibus et
to-be the-remuneration for alms which to-the-living and

sentientibus exhibemus, si neque hoc aput Deum perit, quod
feeling we-show if not-even this with God perishes what
exanimis hominum membris officii diligentiaeque persoluitur.
to-the-lifeless of-men limbs of-duty and-of-diligence is-paid
Sunt quidem et alia, quae sancti patriarchae de
there-are indeed also other-things which the-holy patriarchs about
corporibus suis uel condendis uel transferendis prophetico
bodies their-own either to-be-laid-up or to-be-transferred by-prophetic
spiritu dicta intellegi uoluerunt; non autem hic locus
spirit spoken to-be-understood wished not but here the-place
est, ut ea pertractemus, cum sufficiant ista, quae
is that them we-should-treat-thoroughly since suffice these-things which
diximus. Sed si ea, quae sustentandis uiuentibus sunt
we-have-said but if those-things which for-sustaining the-living are
necessaria, sicut uictus et amictus, quamuis cum graui
necessary as food and clothing although with heavy
adflictione desint, non frangunt in bonis perferendi
affliction they-be-lacking not they-break in the-good of-bearing
tolerandique uirtutem nec eradicant ex animo pietatem, sed
and-of-enduring the-virtue nor uproot from the-mind devotion but
exercitatam faciunt fecundiorem: quanto magis, cum desunt
exercised make more-fruitful how-much more when are-lacking
ea, quae curandis funeribus condendisque corporibus
those-things which for-caring-for funerals and-for-laying-up the-bodies
defunctorum adhiberi solent, non efficiunt miseros in
of-the-dead to-be-applied are-wont not they-make wretched in
occultis piorum sedibus iam quietos! Ac per hoc quando
the-hidden of-the-devout seats already at-rest and through this when
ista cadaueribus Christianorum in illa magnae urbis
these-things to-the-corpses of-the-Christians in that of-the-great city
uel etiam aliorum oppidorum uastatione defuerunt, nec
or even of-other towns devastation were-lacking neither

uiuorum culpa est, qui non potuerunt ista praebere,
of-the-living the-fault it-is who not were-able these-things to-provide
nec poena mortuorum, qui non possunt ista sentire.
nor the-punishment of-the-dead who not are-able these-things to-feel

XIV · ON THE CAPTIVITY OF THE SAINTS

Many Christians were led away captive. This would be wretched if they could be led anywhere their God was not, but the scriptures console them: the three boys, Daniel, and other prophets were captives, and God did not desert them, as he did not desert the prophet in the belly of the beast. The pagans mock this, yet believe their own story of Arion carried ashore on a dolphin. Jonah's story is more incredible because more wonderful, and more wonderful because the work of greater power.

Sed multi, inquiunt, Christiani etiam captiui ducti sunt. Hoc
but many they-say Christians even captive led were this
sane miserrimum est, si aliquo duci potuerunt, ubi Deum
indeed most-wretched is if anywhere to-be-led they-could where God
suum non inuenerunt. Sunt in scripturis sanctis huius etiam
their not they-found there-are in the-scriptures holy of-this even
cladis magna solacia. Fuerunt in captiuitate tres pueri, fuit
disaster great consolations there-were in captivity three boys there-was
Daniel, fuerunt alii prophetae; nec Deus defuit consolator.
Daniel there-were other prophets nor God was-lacking as-consoler
Sic ergo non deseruit fideles suos sub dominatione gentis,
thus therefore not he-deserted faithful his-own under the-domination of-a-race
licet barbarae, tamen humanae, qui prophetam non deseruit
although barbarian yet human who the-prophet not deserted
nec in uisceribus beluae. Haec quoque illi, cum quibus
not-even in the-bowels of-the-beast these-things also they with whom

agimus, malunt inridere quam credere, qui tamen suis
we-deal prefer to-mock than to-believe who yet in-their-own
litteris credunt Arionem Methymnaeum, nobilissimum
literature believe Arion of-Methymna the-most-noble
citharistam, cum esset deiectus e naui, exceptum
lyre-player when he-had-been thrown-down from the-ship caught
delphini dorso et ad terras esse peruectum. Verum
on-a-dolphin's back and to land to-have-been carried but
illud nostrum de Iona propheta incredibilius est. Plane
that our-(story) about Jonah the-prophet more-incredible is plainly
incredibilius quia mirabilius, et mirabilius quia potentius.
more-incredible because more-wonderful and more-wonderful because more-powerful

XV · REGULUS, A CAPTIVE FOR HIS GODS

The pagans have their own noble example in Marcus Regulus, who, sent from Carthage under oath to treat for an exchange of captives, persuaded the senate against it and returned to be killed with unheard-of tortures. He had sworn by the gods whose worship they say keeps such disasters away; if they willed or permitted this for one who kept his oath, what could they do to a perjurer? His example shows the gods give their worshipers no temporal happiness, so a city that worships them can suffer as he did. Much less is the Christian name to blame for the captivity of its saints, who know themselves pilgrims even at home.

Habent tamen isti de captiuitate religionis causa etiam
they-have yet these about captivity of-religion for-the-sake even
sponte toleranda et in suis praeclaris uiris nobilissimum
voluntarily to-be-endured even in their-own illustrious men a-most-noble
exemplum. M. Regulus, imperator populi Romani,
example Marcus Regulus commander of-the-people Roman
captiuus aput Carthaginienses fuit. Qui cum sibi
a-captive among the-Carthaginians was who when to-themselves

mallent a Romanis suos reddi quam eorum tenere
they-preferred by the-Romans their-own to-be-returned than of-them to-hold
captiuos, ad hoc inpetrandum etiam istum praecipue
the-captives for this to-be-obtained even this-man especially
Regulum cum legatis suis Romam miserunt, prius
Regulus with envoys their-own to-Rome they-sent first
iuratione constrictum, si quod uolebant minime peregisset,
by-oath bound if what they-wanted not-at-all he-had-accomplished
rediturum esse Carthaginem. Perrexit ille adque in senatu
about-to-return to-be to-Carthage went he and in the-senate
contraria persuasit, quoniam non arbitrabatur utile esse
the-contrary persuaded since not he-judged useful to-be
Romanae rei publicae mutare captiuos. Nec post hanc
for-the-Roman thing public to-exchange captives nor after this
persuasionem a suis ad hostes redire conpulsus est, sed
persuasion by his-own to the-enemies to-return compelled was-he but
quia iurauerat, id sponte conpleuit. At illi eum excogitatis
because he-had-sworn it voluntarily he-fulfilled but they him with-devised
adque horrendis cruciatibus necauerunt. Inclusum quippe
and horrible tortures killed shut-in for
angusto ligno, ubi stare cogeretur, clauisque acutissimis
in-a-narrow wooden-box where to-stand he-was-compelled and-with-nails most-sharp
undique confixo, ut se in nullam eius partem sine
on-all-sides pierced that himself to no of-it part without
poenis atrocissimis inclinaret, etiam uigilando peremerunt.
punishments most-atrocious he-could-lean even by-keeping-awake they-killed-him
Merito certe laudant uirtutem tam magna infelicitate
deservedly surely they-praise the-virtue so great than-misfortune
maiorem. Et per deos ille iurauerat, quorum cultu prohibito
greater and by the-gods he had-sworn whose worship forbidden
has generi humano clades isti opinantur infligi. Qui
these on-the-race human disasters they think to-be-inflicted those-who

ergo propterea colebantur, ut istam uitam prosperam
then for-this-reason were-worshiped that this life prosperous
redderent, si uerum iuranti has inrogari poenas
they-might-render if the-truth to-one-swearing these to-be-inflicted punishments
seu uoluerunt seu permiserunt, quid periuro grauius irati
either they-willed or permitted what to-a-perjurer heavier angry
facere potuerunt? Sed quur non ratiocinationem meam
to-do could-they but why not reasoning my
potius ad utrumque concludam? Deos certe ille sic coluit,
rather to both-sides should-I-conclude the-gods surely he so worshiped
ut propter iuris iurandi fidem nec maneret in
that on-account-of of-the-oath sworn the-faith neither he-would-remain in
patria, nec inde quolibet ire, sed ad suos acerrimos
the-fatherland nor thence anywhere-whatever to-go but to his-own most-bitter
inimicos redire minime dubitaret. Hoc si huic uitae utile
enemies to-return not-at-all he-hesitated this if for-this life useful
existimabat, cuius tam horrendum exitum meruit, procul
he-thought of-which so horrible an-end he-earned beyond
dubio fallebatur. Suo quippe docuit exemplo nihil deos
doubt he-was-deceived by-his-own for he-taught example nothing the-gods
ad istam temporalem felicitatem suis prodesse cultoribus,
for that temporal happiness to-their-own to-profit worshipers
quando quidem ille eorum deditus cultui et uictus et
since indeed he their devoted to-the-worship both conquered and
captiuus abductus et, quia noluit aliter quam per
captive led-away and because he-was-unwilling otherwise than by
eos iurauerat facere, nouo ac prius inaudito nimiumque
them he-had-sworn to-act by-new and before unheard-of and-exceedingly
horribili supplicii genere cruciatus extinctus est. Si autem
horrible of-punishment kind tortured killed was if but
deorum cultus post hanc uitam uelut mercedem reddit
of-the-gods the-worship after this life as-if as-wages renders

felicitatem, quur calumniantur temporibus Christianis, ideo
happiness why do-they-slander times Christian therefore
dicentes Urbi accidisse illam calamitatem, quia deos
saying to-the-City to-have-befallen that calamity because gods
suos colere destitit, cum potuerit etiam illos diligentissime
its-own to-worship it-ceased since it-could even them most-diligently
colens tam infelix fieri, quam ille Regulus fuit? Nisi
worshiping as unhappy to-become as that Regulus was unless
forte contra clarissimam ueritatem tanta quisquam
perhaps against the-most-clear truth with-so-great anyone
dementia mirae caecitatis obnititur, ut contendere audeat
madness of-wondrous blindness strives that to-contend he-dare
uniuersam ciuitatem deos colentem infelicem esse non
that-a-whole city the-gods worshiping unhappy to-be not
posse, unum uero hominem posse, quod uidelicet potentia
to-be-able one but man to-be-able because namely the-power
deorum suorum multos potius sit idonea conseruare quam
of-gods their many rather be fit to-preserve than
singulos, cum multitudo constet ex singulis.
individuals since a-multitude consists of individuals

Si autem dicunt M. Regulum etiam in illa captiuitate
if but they-say that-Marcus Regulus even in that captivity
illisque cruciatibus corporis animi uirtute beatum esse
and-those tortures of-the-body by-the-mind's virtue happy to-be
potuisse, uirtus potius uera quaeratur, qua beata esse
to-have-been-able virtue rather true let-be-sought by-which happy to-be
possit et ciuitas. Neque enim aliunde beata ciuitas,
can also a-city not for from-one-source happy a-city
aliunde homo, cum aliud ciuitas non sit quam concors
from-another a-man since other a-city not is than a-concordant
hominum multitudo. Quam ob rem nondum interim
of-men multitude which on-account-of thing not-yet meanwhile

disputo, qualis in Regulo uirtus fuerit; sufficit nunc, quod
I-discuss what-kind in Regulus the-virtue was it-suffices now that
isto nobilissimo exemplo coguntur fateri non propter
by-this most-noble example they-are-compelled to-confess not on-account-of
corporis bona uel earum rerum, quae extrinsecus homini
of-the-body the-goods or of-those things which from-without to-a-man
accidunt, colendos deos, quando quidem ille carere his
befall to-be-worshiped the-gods since indeed he to-lack these
omnibus maluit quam deos per quos iurauit offendere.
all preferred than the-gods by whom he-swore to-offend
Sed quid faciamus hominibus, qui gloriantur se talem
but what are-we-to-do with-men who boast themselves such
habuisse ciuem, qualem timent habere ciuitatem? Quod
to-have-had a-citizen as they-fear to-have a-city but
si non timent, tale ergo aliquid, quale accidit Regulo,
if not they-fear such therefore something as befell Regulus
etiam ciuitati tam diligenter quam ille deos colenti
even to-a-city as diligently as he the-gods worshiping
accidere potuisse fateantur et Christianis temporibus
to-befall to-have-been-able let-them-confess and the-Christian times
non calumnientur. Verum quia de illis Christianis orta
not let-them-slander but because about those Christians arisen
quaestio est, qui etiam captiuati sunt, hoc intueantur
the-question has who also taken-captive were this let-them-consider
et taceant, qui saluberrimae religioni hinc inpudenter
and let-them-be-silent who the-most-wholesome religion hence impudently
adque inprudenter inludunt, quia, si dis eorum probro
and imprudently mock because if to-the-gods their a-disgrace
non fuit, quod adtentissimus cultor illorum, dum eis
not it-was that the-most-attentive worshiper of-them while to-them
iuris iurandi fidem seruaret, patria caruit, cum aliam
of-the-oath sworn the-faith he-kept the-fatherland lacked since another

non haberet, captiuusque aput hostes per longam mortem
not he-had and-captive among enemies through a-long death
supplicio nouae crudelitatis occisus est, multo minus nomen
by-a-punishment of-new cruelty killed was much less the-name
criminandum est Christianum in captiuitate sacratorum
to-be-accused is Christian in the-captivity of-the-consecrated
suorum, qui supernam patriam ueraci fide expectantes
its-own who the-heavenly fatherland with-true faith awaiting
etiam in suis sedibus peregrinos se esse nouerunt.
even in their-own seats pilgrims themselves to-be know

XVI · THE VIOLATION OF CONSECRATED WOMEN

The pagans also charge the Christians with the outrages committed on wives, maidens, and even consecrated virgins. Here faith and chastity are not in question, but a discussion between shame and reason. Let it be established first that the virtue by which one lives rightly rules the body from the seat of the mind, and that the body is holy while the will is holy; what another does to the body that cannot be avoided without one's own sin is no fault of the sufferer, though it strikes shame lest consent be believed.

Magnum sane crimen se putant obicere Christianis,
a-great indeed accusation themselves they-think to-throw-at the-Christians
cum eorum exaggerantes captiuitatem addunt etiam stupra
when their exaggerating captivity they-add also outrages
commissa, non solum in aliena matrimonia uirginesque
committed not only on others' marriages and-(on)-maidens
nupturas, sed etiam in quasdam sanctimoniales. Hic uero
about-to-marry but also on certain consecrated-virgins here indeed
non fides, non pietas, non ipsa uirtus, quae castitas dicitur,
not faith not devotion not the-very virtue which chastity is-called

sed nostra potius disputatio inter pudorem adque rationem
but our rather discussion between modesty and reason
quibusdam coartatur angustiis. Nec tantum hic curamus
by-certain is-hemmed-in straits nor so-much here do-we-care
alienis responsionem reddere, quantum ipsis nostris
to-strangers an-answer to-render as to-the-very ours
consolationem. Sit igitur in primis positum adque
consolation let-it-be therefore in the-first-place set-down and
firmatum uirtutem, qua recte uiuitur, ab animi sede
established that-the-virtue by-which rightly it-is-lived from of-the-mind the-seat
membris corporis imperare sanctumque corpus usu fieri
the-members of-the-body to-command and-that-a-holy body by-the-use to-become
sanctae uoluntatis, qua inconcussa ac stabili permanente,
of-a-holy will which unshaken and stable remaining
quidquid alius de corpore uel in corpore fecerit, quod
whatever another with the-body or in the-body shall-have-done which
sine peccato proprio non ualeat euitari, praeter culpam esse
without sin of-one's-own not can to-be-avoided beyond the-fault to-be
patientis. Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, uerum etiam
of-the-sufferer but because not only what to pain but also
quod ad libidinem pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari
what to lust pertains on a-body of-another to-be-perpetrated
potest: quidquid tale factum fuerit, etsi retentam
can whatever such done shall-have-been even-if retained
constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, tamen pudorem
with-most-constant mind chastity not it-shakes-out yet shame
incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam uoluntate,
it-strikes-in lest it-be-believed done with of-the-mind also the-will
quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliqua uoluptate non potuit.
which to-be-done perhaps without of-the-flesh some pleasure not could

Who would not pardon the women who killed themselves to escape such outrage? Yet whoever blames those who would not kill themselves is a fool. If it is not lawful to kill even a guilty man by private authority, one who kills himself is a homicide, and the guiltier the more innocent he is. Judas, by hanging himself, added to his crime by despairing of mercy. Why should one who has done no evil kill an innocent man, himself, lest he suffer another's guilt?

Ac per hoc et quae se occiderunt, ne quidquam huius
and through this both those-who themselves killed lest anything of-this
modi paterentur, quis humanus adfectus eis nolit
kind they-should-suffer what human feeling to-them would-be-unwilling
ignosci? et quae se occidere noluerunt, ne suo
to-be-pardoned and those-who themselves to-kill were-unwilling lest by-their-own
facinore alienum flagitium deuitarent, quisquis hoc crimini
crime another's shameful-deed they-should-avoid whoever this as-a-charge
dederit, ipse crimen insipientiae non cauebit. Nam
shall-have-made himself the-charge of-folly not will-avoid for
utique si non licet priuata potestate hominem occidere
assuredly if not it-is-lawful by-private authority a-man to-kill
uel nocentem, cuius occidendi licentiam lex nulla concedit,
even a-guilty-one of-whom of-killing the-license law no grants
profecto etiam qui se ipsum occidit homicida est, et
assuredly also he-who him himself kills a-homicide is and
tanto fit nocentior cum se occiderit, quanto innocentior
so-much becomes more-guilty when himself he-has-killed as more-innocent
in ea causa fuit, qua se occidendum putauit. Nam
in that cause he-was for-which himself to-be-killed he-thought for
si Iudae factum merito detestamur eumque ueritas iudicat,
if of-Judas the-deed deservedly we-detest and-him the-truth judges
cum se laqueo suspendit, sceleratae illius traditionis
when himself with-a-noose he-hanged of-wicked that betrayal

auxisse potius quam expiasse commissum, quoniam
to-have-increased rather than to-have-expiated the-commission since
Dei misericordiam desperando exitiabiliter paenitens nullum
of-God the-mercy by-despairing destructively repenting no
sibi salubris paenitentiae locum reliquit: quanto magis
to-himself of-wholesome repentance place he-left how-much more
a sua nece se abstinere debet, qui tali supplicio
from his-own slaughter himself to-abstain ought he-who with-such punishment
quod in se puniat non habet. Iudas enim cum se
what in himself he-may-punish not has Judas for when himself
occidit, sceleratum hominem occidit, et tamen non solum
he-killed a-wicked man killed and yet not only
Christi, uerum etiam suae mortis reus finiuit hanc uitam,
of-Christ but also of-his-own death guilty he-ended this life
quia licet propter suum scelus alio suo scelere
because although on-account-of his-own crime by-another his-own crime
occisus est. Quur autem homo, qui mali nihil fecit, sibi
killed he-was why but a-man who of-evil nothing did to-himself
malefaciat et se ipsum interficiendo hominem interficiat
should-do-evil and him himself by-killing a-man should-kill
innocentem, ne alium patiatur nocentem, adque in se
innocent lest another he-suffer guilty and on himself
perpetret peccatum proprium, ne in eo perpetretur alienum?
should-perpetrate a-sin of-his-own lest on him be-perpetrated another's

Some fear that another's lust pollutes them, but if it is another's it will not pollute. Chastity is a virtue of the mind, and no one has it in his power what is done to his flesh, only what his mind assents to. A body is not holy because its members are intact; a midwife destroyed a virgin's integrity, whether by malice, ignorance, or chance, and no one thinks the virgin's bodily holiness lost. A woman who goes willingly to her seducer has lost holiness though her body is untouched. So a woman violated without consent has nothing to punish by death, still less before the deed, lest a certain homicide be committed for an uncertain crime.

At enim, ne uel aliena polluat libido, metuitur. Non
but indeed lest even another's should-pollute lust it-is-feared not
polluet, si aliena erit; si autem polluet, aliena non erit.
it-will-pollute if another's it-will-be if but it-will-pollute another's not it-will-be
Sed cum pudicitia uirtus sit animi comitemque habeat
but since chastity a-virtue is of-the-mind and-as-companion has
fortitudinem, qua potius quaelibet mala tolerare quam malo
fortitude by-which rather any evils to-endure than to-evil
consentire decernit, nullus autem magnanimus et pudicus in
to-consent it-decides no but great-souled and chaste-man in
potestate habeat, quid de sua carne fiat, sed tantum quid
(his)-power has what with his-own flesh is-done but only what
adnuat mente uel renuat: quis eadem sana mente
he-may-assent-to with-the-mind or refuse who with-the-same sound mind
putauerit perdere se pudicitiam, si forte in adprehensa et
would-think to-lose himself chastity if perhaps on seized and
oppressa carne sua exerceatur et expleatur libido non sua?
overpowered flesh his-own be-exercised and be-satisfied a-lust not his-own
Si enim hoc modo pudicitia perit, profecto pudicitia uirtus
if for in-this manner chastity perishes assuredly chastity a-virtue
animi non erit, nec pertinebit ad ea bona, quibus bene
of-the-mind not will-be nor it-will-pertain to those goods by-which well

uiuitur, sed in bonis corporis numerabitur, qualia sunt
it-is-lived but among the-goods of-the-body will-be-counted such-as are
uires pulchritudo saneualetudo, ac si quid huius modi est;
strength beauty good-health and if anything of-this kind is
quae bona, etiamsi minuantur, bonam iustamque uitam
which goods even-if they-be-diminished a-good and-just life
omnino non minuunt. Quod si tale aliquid est pudicitia,
at-all not diminish but if such something is chastity
ut quid pro illa, ne amittatur, etiam periculo corporis
that why for it lest it-be-lost even at-the-peril of-the-body
laboratur? Si autem animi bonum est, etiam obpresso
is-it-labored if but of-the-mind a-good it-is even with-overpowered
corpore non amittitur. Quin etiam sanctae continentiae
body not it-is-lost nay even of-holy continence
bonum cum inmunditiae carnalium concupiscentiarum non
the-good when to-the-uncleanness of-carnal concupiscences not
cedit, et ipsum corpus sanctificatur, et ideo, cum eis
it-yields also the-very body is-sanctified and therefore when to-them
non cedere inconcussa intentione persistit, nec de ipso
not to-yield with-unshaken purpose it-persists not-even from the-very
corpore perit sanctitas, quia eo sancte utendi perseuerat
body perishes holiness because it holily of-using persists
uoluntas et, quantum est in ipso, etiam facultas.
the-will and as-far-as there-is in itself also the-means

Neque enim eo corpus sanctum est, quod eius membra
nor for by-this the-body holy is that its members
sunt integra, aut eo, quod nullo contrectantur adtactu, cum
are intact or by-this that by-no they-are-handled touch since
possint diuersis casibus etiam uulnerata uim perpeti, et
they-can by-diverse accidents even wounded violence to-suffer and
medici aliquando saluti opitulantes haec ibi faciant, quae
doctors sometimes to-health bringing-help these-things there do which

horret aspectus. Obstetrix uirginis cuiusdam integritatem
shudders-at the-sight a-midwife of-a-virgin certain the-integrity
manu uelut explorans siue maleuolentia siue inscitia
with-the-hand as-if examining whether by-malice or by-ignorance
siue casu, dum inspicit, perdidit. Non opinor quemquam
or by-chance while she-inspects destroyed not I-think anyone
tam stulte sapere, ut huic perisse aliquid existimet
so foolishly to-be-wise that to-this-one to-have-perished anything he-would-judge
etiam de ipsius corporis sanctitate, quamuis membri
even from of-the-very body the-holiness although of-member
illius integritate iam perdita. Quocirca proposito animi
that the-integrity now destroyed wherefore the-resolve of-the-mind
permanente, per quod etiam corpus sanctificari meruit,
remaining through which even the-body to-be-sanctified deserved
nec ipsi corpori aufert sanctitatem uiolentia libidinis
nor from-the-very body takes-away holiness the-violence of-lust
alienae, quam seruat perseuerantia continentiae suae. An uero
another's which preserves the-perseverance of-continence her-own or indeed
si aliqua femina mente corrupta uiolatoque proposito, quod
if any woman with-mind corrupted and-violated resolve which
Deo uouerat, pergat uitianda ad deceptorem suum, ad hoc
to-God she-had-vowed goes to-be-defiled to deceiver her at this
eam pergentem sanctam uel corpore dicimus, ea sanctitate
her going holy even in-body do-we-call with-that holiness
animi, per quam corpus sanctificabatur, amissa adque
of-the-mind through which the-body was-sanctified lost and
destructa? Absit hic error et hinc potius admoneamur ita
destroyed far-be this error and hence rather let-us-be-admonished thus
non amitti corporis sanctitatem manente animi sanctitate
not to-be-lost of-the-body the-holiness remaining of-the-mind the-holiness
etiam corpore obpresso, sicut amittitur et corporis sanctitas
even with-the-body overpowered as is-lost also of-the-body the-holiness

uiolata animi sanctitate etiam corpore intacto. Quam
violated of-the-mind the-holiness even with-the-body untouched which
ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea
on-account-of thing not she-has what on herself by-death voluntary
puniat femina sine ulla sua consensione uiolenter
she-may-punish a-woman without any her-own consent violently
obpressa et alieno conpressa peccato; quanto minus
overpowered and by-another's crushed sin how-much less
antequam hoc fiat! ne admittatur homicidium certum, cum
before this be-done lest be-admitted homicide certain while
ipsum flagitium, quamuis alienum, adhuc pendet incertum.
the-very shameful-deed although another's still hangs uncertain

XIX · LUCRETIA

The pagans praise Lucretia, who, outraged by Tarquin's son, revealed the crime to her husband and kinsman and killed herself. A declaimer said that two were there and one committed adultery; yet she was punished more heavily than the adulterer, who was only exiled. If chaste, she was a murderess; if she consented, an adulteress; there is no way out. She killed herself from Roman shame, fearing to be thought a willing partner. Christian women who suffered the same still live, with the testimony of their conscience before God.

An forte huic perspicuae rationi, qua dicimus corpore
or perhaps to-this clear reasoning by-which we-say with-the-body
obpresso nequaquam proposito castitatis ulla in malum
overpowered not-at-all the-resolve of-chastity by-any to evil
consensione mutato illius tantum esse flagitium, qui
consent changed of-him only to-be the-shameful-deed who
obprimens concubuerit, non illius, quae obpressa concumbenti
overpowering has-lain-with not of-her who overpowered to-the-one-lying-with

nulla uoluntate consenserit, contradicere audebunt hi, contra
by-no will has-consented to-contradict will-they-dare these against
quos feminarum Christianarum in captiuitate obpressarum
whom of-women Christian in captivity overpowered
non tantum mentes, uerum etiam corpora sancta defendimus?
not only the-minds but also the-bodies holy we-defend
Lucretiam certe, matronam nobilem ueteremque Romanam,
Lucretia surely a-matron noble and-ancient Roman
pudicitiae magnis efferunt laudibus. Huius corpore cum
for-chastity with-great they-extol praises her body when
uiolenter obpresso Tarquinii regis filius libidinose potitus
violently overpowered of-Tarquin the-king the-son lustfully possessed
esset, illa scelus inprobissimi iuuenis marito Collatino
had she the-crime of-the-most-wicked youth to-(her)-husband Collatinus
et propinquo Bruto, uiris clarissimis et fortissimis,
and to-(her)-kinsman Brutus men most-illustrious and most-brave
indicauit eosque ad uindictam constrinxit. Deinde foedi
revealed and-them to vengeance bound then of-the-foul-deed
in se commissi aegra adque inpatiens se peremit. Quid
on her committed sick and not-bearing herself she-killed what
dicemus? Adultera haec an casta iudicanda est? Quis
shall-we-say an-adulteress this-woman or chaste to-be-judged is-she who
in hac controuersia laborandum putauerit? Egregie quidam
in this controversy to-be-labored would-think excellently someone
ex hoc ueraciterque declamans ait: “Mirabile dictu, duo
from this and-truly declaiming says wonderful to-say two
fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit.” Splendide adque
there-were and adultery one committed splendidly and
uerissime. Intuens enim in duorum corporum commixtione
most-truly looking for into of-two bodies the-mingling
unius inquinatissimam cupiditatem, alterius castissimam
of-one the-most-defiled lust of-the-other the-most-chaste

uoluntatem, et non quid coniunctione membrorum, sed
will and not what by-the-joining of-members but
quid animorum diuersitate ageretur adtendens: "Duo,
what of-minds by-the-difference was-done attending two
inquit, fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit."
he-says there-were and adultery one committed

Sed quid est hoc, quod in eam grauius uindicatur,
but what is this that on her more-heavily vengeance-is-taken
quae adulterium non admisit? Nam ille patria cum
who adultery not committed for he from-the-fatherland with
patre pulsus est, haec summo est mactata supplicio.
(his)-father driven was she with-the-highest was slain punishment
Si non est illa inpudicitia qua inuita obprimitur,
if not is that unchastity by-which unwilling she-is-overpowered
non est haec iustitia qua casta punitur. Vos appello,
not is this justice by-which chaste she-is-punished you I-call-on
leges iudicesque Romani. Nempe post perpetrata facinora
laws and-judges Roman surely after perpetrated crimes
nec quemquam scelestum indemnatum inpune uoluistis
not-even anyone wicked uncondemned with-impunity you-wished
occidi. Si ergo ad uestrum iudicium quisquam deferret hoc
to-be-killed if then to your judgment anyone should-bring this
crimen uobisque probaretur non solum indemnatam, uerum
charge and-to-you it-were-proved not only uncondemned but
etiam castam et innocentem interfectam esse mulierem,
also chaste and innocent killed to-have-been a-woman
nonne eum, qui id fecisset, seueritate congrua plecteretis?
surely him who it had-done with-severity fitting would-you-strike
Hoc fecit illa Lucretia; illa, illa sic praedicata Lucretia
this did that Lucretia that that so proclaimed Lucretia
innocentem, castam, uim perpessam Lucretiam insuper
the-innocent chaste violence having-suffered Lucretia besides

interemit. Proferte sententiam. Quod si propterea non
killed pronounce the-sentence but if for-this-reason not
potestis, quia non adstat quam punire possitis, quur
you-can because not is-present she-whom to-punish you-might-be-able why
interfectricem innocentis et castae tanta praedicatione
the-slayer of-an-innocent and chaste-woman with-so-much proclamation
laudatis? Quam certe aput infernos iudices etiam tales,
do-you-praise whom surely before the-infernal judges even such
quales poetarum uestrorum carminibus cantitantur, nulla
as of-poets your in-the-songs are-sung by-no
ratione defenditis, constitutam inter illos scilicet,
reason do-you-defend placed among those namely

qui sibi letum
who for-themselves death
insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi
guiltless brought-forth by-hand and-the-light hating
proiecere animas;
threw-away (their)-souls

cui ad superna redire cupienti
to-whom to the-heights to-return desiring

fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae
divine-law stands-in-the-way and-the-sad marsh of-unlovely water
adligat.
binds

An forte ideo ibi non est, quia non insontem, sed
or perhaps for-this-reason there not is-she because not guiltless but
male sibi consciam se peremit? Quid si enim (quod
badly to-herself conscious herself she-killed what if for which

ipsa tantummodo nosse poterat) quamuis iuueni uiolenter
she-alone only to-know could although to-the-youth violently
inruenti etiam sua libidine inlecta consensit idque in
rushing-in even by-her-own lust enticed she-consented and-this in
se puniens ita doluit, ut morte putaret expiandum?
herself punishing so she-grieved that by-death she-thought it-to-be-expiated
Quamquam ne sic quidem se occidere debuit, si fructuosam
although not so even herself to-kill she-ought if fruitful
posset aput deos falsos agere paenitentiam. Verum tamen
she-could before gods false to-make repentance but yet
si forte ita est falsumque est illud, quod duo fuerunt
if perhaps so it-is and-false is that that two there-were
et adulterium unus admisit, sed potius ambo adulterium
and adultery one committed but rather both adultery
commiserunt, unus manifesta inuasione, altera latente
committed one by-manifest assault the-other by-hidden
consensione, non se occidit insontem, et ideo potest a
consent not herself she-killed guiltless and therefore it-can by
litteratis eius defensoribus dici non esse aput inferos inter
learned her defenders to-be-said not to-be among the-dead among
illos, “qui sibi letum insontes peperere manu.” Sed ita
those who for-themselves death guiltless brought-forth by-hand but so
haec causa ex utroque latere coartatur, ut, si extenuatur
this case from each side is-hemmed-in that if is-extenuated
homicidium, adulterium confirmetur; si purgatur adulterium,
the-homicide the-adultery is-confirmed if is-cleared the-adultery
homicidium cumuletur; nec omnino inuenitur exitus, ubi
the-homicide is-heaped-up nor at-all is-found a-way-out where
dicitur: “Si adulterata, quur laudata; si pudica, quur occisa?”
it-is-said if adulterous why praised if chaste why killed

Nobis tamen hoc tam nobili feminae huius exemplo ad
for-us yet this of-so noble woman this by-example for
istos refutandos, qui Christianis feminis in captiuitate
these to-be-refuted who the-Christian women in captivity
conpressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant,
violated strangers to every thought of-holiness insult
sufficit quod in praeclaris eius laudibus dictum est: "Duo
it-suffices that in the-illustrious her praises said it-is two
fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit." Talis enim ab eis
there-were and adultery one committed such for by them
Lucretia magis credita est, quae se nullo adulterino
Lucretia rather believed was who herself by-no adulterous
potuerit maculare consensu. Quod ergo se ipsam, quoniam
could to-stain consent that therefore her herself since
adulterum pertulit, etiam non adultera occidit, non est
an-adulterer she-endured even not an-adulteress she-killed not is
pudicitiae caritas, sed pudoris infirmitas. Puduit enim
of-chastity the-love but of-shame the-weakness was-ashamed for
eam turpitudinis alienae in se commissae etiamsi non
her of-the-baseness another's on her committed even-if not
secum, et Romana mulier, laudis auida nimium, uerita
with-herself and the-Roman woman of-praise greedy excessively feared
est ne putaretur, quod uiolenter est passa cum uiueret,
has lest it-be-thought that-what violently she-has suffered when she-lived
libenter passa si uiueret. Unde ad oculos hominum
willingly she-had-suffered if she-lived whence to the-eyes of-men
testem mentis suae illam poenam adhibendam putauit,
as-witness of-mind her-own that punishment to-be-applied she-thought
quibus conscientiam demonstrare non potuit. Sociam quippe
to-whom (her)-conscience to-show not she-could as-partner for
facti se credi erubuit, si, quod alius in ea
of-the-deed herself to-be-believed she-blushed if what another on her

fecerat turpiter, ferret ipsa patienter. Non hoc fecerunt
had-done basely she-should-bear herself patiently not this did
feminae Christianae, quae passae similia uiuunt tamen
the-women Christian who having-suffered like-things live yet
nec in se ultae sunt crimen alienum, ne aliorum
nor on themselves avenged they-have a-crime another's lest to-others'
sceleribus adderent sua, si, quoniam hostes in eis
crimes they-should-add their-own if because the-enemies on them
concupiscendo stupra commiserant, illae in se ipsis
by-lusting outrages had-committed they on them themselves
homicidia erubescendo committerent. Habent quippe intus
homicides by-blushing should-commit they-have for within
gloriam castitatis, testimonium conscientiae; habent autem
the-glory of-chastity the-testimony of-conscience they-have moreover
coram oculis Dei sui nec requirunt amplius, ubi quid recte
before the-eyes of-God their nor they-seek more where what rightly
faciant non habent amplius, ne deuient ab auctoritate legis
they-may-do not they-have more lest they-stray from the-authority of-law
diuinae, cum male deuitant offensionem suspicionis humanae.
divine when badly they-avoid the-offense of-suspicion human

Nowhere in the canonical books are we commanded or permitted to kill ourselves, to gain immortality or to escape any evil. The commandment "You shall not kill" adds no "your neighbor," as the law against false witness does, and as false witness against oneself is forbidden, so is killing oneself. Some extend the commandment to beasts and cattle; then why not to plants, as the Manichees err? We take it of man, since irrational creatures share no reason with us. Neither another, then, nor yourself.

Neque enim frustra in sanctis canonicis libris nusquam
nor for in-vain in the-holy canonical books nowhere
nobis diuinitus praeceptum permissumue reperiri potest, ut
to-us divinely commanded or-permitted to-be-found can that
uel ipsius adipiscendae inmortalitatis uel ullius cauendi
either of-the-very to-be-obtained immortality or of-any to-be-avoided
carendiue mali causa nobismet ipsis necem inferamus.
or-escaped evil for-the-sake on-us ourselves death we-should-inflict
Nam et prohibitos nos esse intellegendum est, ubi lex
for both forbidden us to-be to-be-understood it-is where the-law
ait: Non occides, praesertim quia non addidit: "proximum
says not you-shall-kill especially because not it-added neighbor
tuum", sicut falsum testimonium cum uetaret: Falsum,
your as false witness when it-forbade false
inquit, testimonium non dices aduersus proximum tuum.
it-says witness not you-shall-speak against neighbor your
Nec ideo tamen si aduersus se ipsum quisquam falsum
nor therefore yet if against him himself anyone false
testimonium dixerit, ab hoc crimine se putauerit
witness shall-have-spoken from this charge himself he-would-think
alienum, quoniam regulam diligendi proximum a semet
a-stranger since the-rule of-loving the-neighbor from him

ipso dilector accepit, quando quidem scriptum est: Diliges
himself the-lover received since indeed written it-is you-shall-love
proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum. Porro si falsi testimonii
neighbor your as you yourself further if of-false witness
non minus reus est qui de se ipso falsum fatetur, quam
not less guilty is he-who about him himself falsehood confesses than
si aduersus proximum hoc faceret, cum in eo praecepto,
if against (his)-neighbor this he-did since in that precept
quo falsum testimonium prohibetur, aduersus proximum
by-which false witness is-forbidden against a-neighbor
prohibeatur possitque non recte intellegentibus uideri non
it-is-forbidden and-it-could not rightly to-those-understanding to-seem not
esse prohibitum, ut aduersus se ipsum quisque falsus
to-be forbidden that against him himself anyone a-false
testis adsistat: quanto magis intellegendum est non licere
witness should-stand how-much more to-be-understood it-is not to-be-lawful
homini se ipsum occidere, cum in eo, quod scriptum est:
for-a-man him himself to-kill since in that which written it-is
Non occides, nihilo deinde addito, nullus, nec ipse utique
not you-shall-kill nothing then added no-one not-even himself assuredly
cui praecipitur, intellegatur exceptus! Unde quidam hoc
to-whom it-is-commanded may-be-understood excepted whence some this
praeceptum etiam in bestias ac pecora conantur extendere,
precept even to beasts and cattle try to-extend
ut ex hoc nullum etiam illorum liceat occidere. Quur
so-that from this none even of-them be-lawful to-kill why
ergo non et herbas et quicquid humo radicitus alitur
then not also plants and whatever in-the-soil by-the-root is-nourished
ac figitur? Nam et hoc genus rerum, quamuis non sentiat,
and is-fixed for also this kind of-things although not it-feels
dicitur uiuere ac per hoc potest et mori, proinde etiam,
is-said to-live and through this can also to-die accordingly also

cum uis adhibetur, occidi. Unde et apostolus, cum de huius
when force is-applied to-be-killed whence also the-apostle when about this
modi seminibus loqueretur: Tu, inquit, quod seminas non
kind of-seeds he-spoke you he-says what you-sow not
uiuificatur, nisi moriatur; et in psalmo scriptum est: Occidit
is-quickened unless it-die and in the-psalm written it-is he-killed
uites eorum in grandine. Num igitur ob hoc, cum
the-vines their with hail surely-not then on-account-of this when
audimus: Non occides, uirgultum uellere nefas ducimus
we-hear not you-shall-kill a-shrub to-pluck sin do-we-consider
et Manichaeorum errori insanissime adquiescimus? His
and of-the-Manichees to-the-error most-insanely do-we-assent these
igitur deliramentis remotis cum legimus: Non occides,
therefore ravings removed when we-read not you-shall-kill
si propterea non accipimus hoc dictum de frutectis esse,
if for-this-reason not we-take this said of shrubs to-be
quia nullus eis sensus est, nec de inrationabilibus
because no to-them sense there-is nor of irrational
animantibus, uolatilibus natatilibus, ambulatilibus reptilibus,
animals the-flying the-swimming the-walking the-creeping
quia nulla nobis ratione sociantur, quam non eis
because by-no with-us reason they-are-associated which not to-them
datum est nobiscum habere communem (unde iustissima
given it-is with-us to-have in-common whence by-the-most-just
ordinatione creatoris et uita et mors eorum nostris
ordinance of-the-creator both the-life and the-death their to-our
usibus subditur): restat ut de homine intellegamus, quod
uses is-subjected it-remains that of man we-understand what
dictum est: Non occides, nec alterum ergo nec te.
said it-is not you-shall-kill neither another therefore nor you
Neque enim qui se occidit aliud quam hominem occidit.
nor for he-who himself kills other than a-man kills

The same divine authority made certain exceptions: those whom God commands to be killed, by a general law or a particular command. He who serves such a command does not himself kill, as the sword does not; so those who waged wars on God's authority or punished the wicked by public law did not break the commandment. Abraham was praised for being willing to sacrifice his son, and Samson is excused only because the Spirit secretly commanded what he did. Otherwise whoever kills a man, himself included, is guilty of homicide.

Quasdam uero exceptiones eadem ipsa diuina fecit auctoritas,
certain indeed exceptions the-same very divine has-made authority
ut non liceat hominem occidi. Sed his exceptis, quos Deus
that not it-be-lawful a-man to-be-killed but these excepted whom God
occidi iubet siue data lege siue ad personam pro tempore
to-be-killed orders either by-given law or to a-person for a-time
expressa iussione, (non autem ipse occidit, qui ministerium
by-express command not but himself kills he-who ministry
debet iubenti, sicut adminiculum gladius utenti;
owes to-the-one-ordering as a-tool the-sword to-the-one-using
et ideo nequaquam contra hoc praeceptum fecerunt, quo
and therefore not-at-all against this precept acted by-which
dictum est: Non occides, qui Deo auctore bella gesserunt
said it-is not you-shall-kill who with-God as-author wars waged
aut personam gerentes publicae potestatis secundum eius
or the-person bearing of-public power according-to its
leges, hoc est iustissimae rationis imperium, sceleratos
laws that is of-most-just reason the-command the-wicked
morte punierunt; et Abraham non solum non est culpatus
with-death punished and Abraham not only not was blamed
crudelitatis crimine, uerum etiam laudatus est nomine
of-cruelty with-the-charge but also praised was with-the-name

pietatis, quod uoluit filium nequaquam scelerate, sed
of-devotion because he-was-willing (his)-son not-at-all wickedly but
oboedienter occidere; et merito quaeritur utrum pro iussu
obediently to-kill and rightly it-is-asked whether for the-command
Dei sit habendum, quod Iephte filiam, quae patri
of-God it-is to-be-held that Jephthah (his)-daughter who (her)-father
occurrit, occidit, cum id se uouisset immolaturum Deo,
met killed since that himself he-had-vowed about-to-sacrifice to-God
quod ei redeunti de proelio uictori primitus occurrisset; nec
which him returning from battle a-victor first should-have-met nor
Samson aliter excusatur, quod se ipsum cum hostibus ruina
Samson otherwise is-excused that him himself with the-enemies by-the-ruin
domus obpressit, nisi quia spiritus latenter hoc iusserat,
of-the-house he-crushed unless because the-spirit secretly this had-commanded
qui per illum miracula faciebat) — his igitur exceptis,
which through him miracles did these therefore excepted
quos uel lex iusta generaliter uel ipse fons iustitiae Deus
whom either a-law just generally or the-very fount of-justice God
specialiter occidi iubet, quisquis hominem uel se ipsum
specially to-be-killed orders whoever a-man either him himself
uel quemlibet occiderit, homicidii crimine innectitur.
or anyone-whatever shall-have-killed of-homicide in-the-charge is-entangled

XXII · THAT SUICIDE IS NEVER GREATNESS OF SOUL

Those who killed themselves may be admired for greatness of mind but not praised for soundness of wisdom; it is weakness not to bear hardship or the crowd's opinion, and greater mind to endure a wretched life. Theombrotus, having read Plato's book on the immortality of the soul, threw himself from a wall; yet Plato himself did not do it and would have forbidden it. Many killed themselves to escape enemies, but the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles did not, and Christ told his disciples to flee from city to city.

Et quicumque hoc in se ipsis perpetrauerunt, animi
and whoever this on them themselves have-perpetrated of-mind
magnitudine fortasse mirandi, non sapientiae sanitate
for-greatness perhaps to-be-wondered-at not of-wisdom for-the-soundness
laudandi sunt. Quamquam si rationem diligentius consulas,
to-be-praised are although if reason more-carefully you-consult
ne ipsa quidem animi magnitudo recte nominabitur,
not that-itself even of-mind greatness rightly will-be-named
ubi quisque non ualendo tolerare uel quaeque aspera
where each not by-being-able to-endure either any harsh-things
uel aliena peccata se ipse interemerit. Magis enim
or another's sins himself he-himself shall-have-killed more for
mens infirma deprehenditur, quae ferre non potest uel
a-mind weak is-detected which to-bear not can either
duram sui corporis seruitutem uel stultam uulgi
the-hard of-its-own body slavery or the-foolish of-the-crowd
opinionem, maiorque animus merito dicendus est, qui uitam
opinion and-a-greater mind rightly to-be-called it-is which a-life
aerumnosam magis potest ferre quam fugere et humanum
full-of-hardship rather can to-bear than to-flee and human
iudicium maximeque uulgare, quod plerumque caligine erroris
judgment and-especially the-vulgar which mostly in-the-fog of-error

inuoluitur, prae conscientiae luce ac puritate contemnere.
is-wrapped before of-conscience the-light and purity to-despise
Quam ob rem si magno animo fieri putandum est,
which on-account-of thing if with-great mind to-be-done to-be-thought it-is
cum sibi homo ingerit mortem, ille potius Theobrotus
when on-himself a-man brings death that rather Theombrotus
in hac animi magnitudine reperitur, quem ferunt lecto
in this of-mind greatness is-found whom they-say having-read
Platonis libro, ubi de inmortalitate animae disputauit,
of-Plato the-book where about the-immortality of-the-soul he-disputed
se praecipitem dedisse de muro adque ita ex hac
himself headlong to-have-thrown from a-wall and so from this
uita emigrasse ad eam, quam credidit esse meliorem. Nihil
life to-have-departed to that which he-believed to-be better nothing
enim urguebat aut calamitatis aut criminis seu uerum
for was-pressing either of-calamity or of-crime whether true
seu falsum, quod non ualendo ferre se auferret; sed
or false which not by-being-able to-bear himself he-might-remove but
ad capessendam mortem adque huius uitae suauia uincla
for seizing death and of-this life the-sweet bonds
rumpenda sola adfuit animi magnitudo. Quod tamen
to-be-broken alone was-present of-mind greatness which yet
magne potius factum esse quam bene testis ei esse
greatly rather done to-have-been than well a-witness to-him to-be
potuit Plato ipse quem legerat, qui profecto id praecipue
could Plato himself whom he-had-read who assuredly it especially
potissimumque fecisset uel etiam praecepisset, nisi
and-above-all would-have-done or even would-have-commanded unless
ea mente, qua inmortalitatem animae uidit, nequaquam
with-that mind by-which the-immortality of-the-soul he-saw not-at-all
faciendum, quin etiam prohibendum esse iudicasset.
to-be-done nay even to-be-forbidden to-be he-had-judged

At enim multi se interemerunt, ne in manus hostium
but indeed many themselves killed lest into the-hands of-the-enemies
peruenirent. Non modo quaerimus utrum sit factum,
they-should-come not now we-ask whether it-was done
sed utrum fuerit faciendum. Sana quippe ratio etiam
but whether it-was to-be-done sound for reason even
exemplis anteponenda est, cui quidem et exempla
to-examples to-be-preferred is with-which indeed also examples
concordant, sed illa, quae tanto digniora sunt imitatione,
agree but those which so-much more-worthy are of-imitation
quanto excellentiora pietate. Non fecerunt patriarchae, non
as more-excellent in-devotion not did-(it) the-patriarchs not
prophetae, non apostoli, quia et ipse Dominus Christus,
the-prophets not the-apostles because even himself the-Lord Christ
quando eos, si persecutionem paterentur, fugere admonuit
when them if persecution they-suffered to-flee warned
de ciuitate in ciuitatem, potuit admonere ut sibi
from city to city he-could to-warn that on-themselves
manus inferrent, ne in manus persequentium peruenirent.
hands they-should-lay lest into the-hands of-the-persecutors they-should-come
Porro si hoc ille non iussit aut monuit, ut eo modo
further if this he not commanded or warned that in-this manner
sui ex hac uita emigrarent, quibus migrantibus mansiones
his-own from this life should-depart for-whom departing mansions
aeternas praeparaturum esse se promisit, quaelibet exempla
eternal to-prepare to-be himself he-promised whatever examples
proponant gentes, quae ignorant Deum, manifestum est
may-propose the-nations which know-not God manifest it-is
hoc non licere colentibus unum uerum Deum.
this not to-be-lawful for-those-worshiping the-one true God

XXIII · CATO AT UTICA

Besides Lucretia, the pagans can cite only Cato, who killed himself at Utica, a learned and upright man. Even his learned friends judged the deed weakness, not strength. Cato himself showed it so: if it was shameful to live under Caesar's victory, why did he bid his son hope for everything from Caesar's kindness, and not take him with him in death? Torquatus killed his son for victory against orders; Cato spared his. Cato, it seems, begrudged Caesar the glory of sparing him.

Sed tamen etiam illi praeter Lucretiam, de qua supra
but yet even they besides Lucretia about whom above
quod uidebatur diximus, non facile reperiunt de cuius
what seemed-good we-have-said not easily find of whose
auctoritate praescribant, nisi illum Catonem, qui se
authority they-may-prescribe unless that Cato who himself
Uticae occidit; non quia solus id fecit, sed quia uir
at-Utica killed not because alone this he-did but because a-man
doctus et probus habebatur, ut merito putetur etiam
learned and upright he-was-held so-that rightly it-be-thought also
recte fieri potuisse uel posse quod fecit. De cuius
rightly to-be-done to-have-been-able or to-be-able what he-did about whose
facto quid potissimum dicam, nisi quod amici eius etiam
deed what above-all should-I-say unless that friends his even
docti quidam uiri, qui hoc fieri prudentius dissuadebant,
learned certain men who this to-be-done more-prudently dissuaded
inbecillioris quam fortioris animi facinus esse censuerunt,
of-a-weaker than of-a-braver mind a-deed to-be judged
quo demonstraretur non honestas turpia praecauens,
by-which would-be-shown not honor shameful-things guarding-against
sed infirmitas aduersa non sustinens? Hoc et ipse Cato in
but weakness adverse-things not sustaining this also himself Cato in
suo carissimo filio iudicauit. Nam si turpe erat sub uictoria
his-own dearest son judged for if shameful it-was under the-victory

Caesaris uiuere, quur auctor huius turpitudinis filio fuit,
of-Caesar to-live why author of-this shame to-(his)-son was-he
quem de Caesaris benignitate omnia sperare praecepit?
whom from Caesar's kindness all-things to-hope he-commanded
Quur non et illum secum coegit ad mortem? Nam si
why not also him with-himself did-he-compel to death for if
eum filium, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnauerat,
that son who against the-command against the-enemy had-fought
etiam uictorem laudabiliter Torquatus occidit, quur uictus
even victorious laudably Torquatus killed why conquered
uicto filio pepercit Cato, qui non pepercit sibi? An
conquered (his)-son spared Cato who not spared himself or
turpius erat contra imperium esse uictorem, quam contra
more-shameful was-it against the-command to-be victor than against
decus ferre uictorem? Nullo modo igitur Cato turpe esse
honor to-bear a-victor in-no way therefore Cato shameful to-be
iudicauit sub uictore Caesare uiuere; alioquin ab hac
judged under victorious Caesar to-live otherwise from this
turpitudine paterno ferro filium liberaret. Quid ergo,
shame with-the-father's sword (his)-son he-would-have-freed why then
nisi quod filium quantum amauit, cui parci a Caesare
unless that the-son as-much-as he-loved for-whom to-be-spared by Caesar
et sperauit et uoluit, tantum gloriae ipsius Caesaris,
both he-hoped and wished so-much the-glory of-the-very Caesar
ne ab illo etiam sibi parceretur, ut ipse Caesar dixisse
lest by him even himself he-be-spared as himself Caesar to-have-said
fertur, inuidit — ut aliquid nos mitius dicamus, erubuit?
is-reported he-begrudged that something we more-mildly may-say he-blushed-for

The pagans will not let us prefer Job or our captive saints to Cato, but from their own writings Regulus is greater. Cato had never conquered Caesar and would not be subjected to him; Regulus had conquered the Carthaginians, yet, conquered by them, chose to serve them rather than escape by dying, and returned to them under oath. If such men, who could have killed their conquered enemies, would not kill themselves when conquered, how much more will Christians refrain, subjected for a time to enemies by God's ordering.

Nolunt autem isti, contra quos agimus, ut sanctum
are-unwilling but these against whom we-deal that the-holy
uirum Iob, qui tam horrenda mala in sua carne perpeti
man Job who so horrible evils in his-own flesh to-suffer
maluit quam inlata sibi morte omnibus carere
preferred than with-inflicted on-himself death all to-lack
cruciatibus, uel alios sanctos ex litteris nostris summa
tortures or other saints from writings our in-highest
auctoritate celsissimis fideque dignissimis, qui captiuitatem
authority most-exalted and-of-faith most-worthy who captivity
dominationemque hostium ferre quam sibi necem
and-domination of-the-enemies to-bear than on-themselves death
inferre maluerunt, Catoni praeferamus; sed ex litteris eorum
to-inflict preferred to-Cato we-should-prefer but from writings their
eundem illum M. Catoni Regulum praeferam. Cato enim
the-same that Marcus to-Cato Regulus I-would-prefer Cato for
numquam Caesarem uicerat, cui uictus dedignatus est
never Caesar had-conquered to-whom conquered disdained he-has
subici et, ne subiceretur, a se ipso elegit occidi:
to-be-subjected and lest he-should-be-subjected by him himself he-chose to-be-killed
Regulus autem Poenos iam uicerat imperioque
Regulus but the-Carthaginians already had-conquered and-for-the-empire

Romano Romanus imperator non ex ciuibus dolendam,
Roman a-Roman commander not over citizens to-be-lamented
sed ex hostibus laudandam uictoriam reportauerat; ab eis
but over enemies to-be-praised a-victory had-brought-back by them
tamen postea uictus maluit eos ferre seruiendo quam
yet afterward conquered he-preferred them to-bear by-serving than
eis se auferre moriendo. Proinde seruauit et sub
from-them himself to-remove by-dying accordingly he-kept both under
Carthaginiensium dominatione patientiam et in Romanorum
of-the-Carthaginians the-domination patience and in of-the-Romans
dilectione constantiam, nec uictum auferens corpus ab
the-love constancy neither the-conquered taking-away body from
hostibus nec inuictum animum a ciuibus. Nec quod se
the-enemies nor the-unconquered mind from the-citizens nor that himself
occidere noluit, uitae huius amore fecit. Hoc probauit,
to-kill he-was-unwilling of-life this from-love he-did this he-proved
cum causa promissi iurisque iurandi ad eosdem hostes,
when for-the-sake of-the-promise and-of-the-oath sworn to the-same enemies
quos grauius in senatu uerbis quam bello armis offenderat,
whom more-heavily in the-senate by-words than in-war by-arms he-had-offended
sine ulla dubitatione remeauit. Tantus itaque uitae huius
without any doubt he-returned so-great and-so of-life this
contemtor, cum saeuientibus hostibus per quaslibet poenas
a-despiser when by-raging enemies through any punishments
eam finire quam se ipse perimere maluit, magnum
it to-end than himself he-himself to-kill he-preferred a-great
scelus esse, si se homo interimat, procul dubio iudicauit.
crime to-be if himself a-man kill beyond doubt he-judged
Inter omnes suos laudabiles et uirtutis insignibus
among all their-own praiseworthy and of-virtue by-the-distinctions
inlustres uiros non proferunt Romani meliorem, quem
illustrious men not bring-forward the-Romans a-better whom

neque felicitas corruperit, nam in tanta uictoria mansit
neither happiness corrupted for in so-great a-victory he-remained
pauperrimus, nec infelicitas fregerit, nam ad tanta exitia
most-poor nor adversity broke for to so-great deaths
reuertit intrepidus. Porro si fortissimi et praeclarissimi uiri
he-returned undaunted further if most-brave and most-illustrious men
terrenae patriae defensores deorumque licet falsorum, non
of-the-earthly fatherland defenders and-of-gods although false not
tamen fallaces cultores, sed ueracissimi etiam iuratores, qui
yet deceitful worshipers but most-truthful even swearers who
hostes uictos more ac iure belli ferire potuerunt, hi ab
enemies conquered by-the-custom and right of-war to-strike were-able these by
hostibus uicti se ipsos ferire noluerunt et, cum mortem
enemies conquered them themselves to-strike were-unwilling and though death
minime formidarent, uictores tamen dominos ferre quam eam
not-at-all they-dreaded the-victors yet as-masters to-bear than it
sibi inferre maluerunt: quanto magis Christiani, uerum
on-themselves to-inflict preferred how-much more the-Christians the-true
Deum colentes et supernae patriae suspirantes, ab hoc
God worshiping and for-the-heavenly fatherland sighing from this
facinore temperabunt, si eos diuina dispositio uel probandos
crime will-refrain if them the-divine disposition either to-be-proved
uel emendandos ad tempus hostibus subiugauerit, quos in
or to-be-corrected for a-time to-the-enemies shall-have-subjugated whom in
illa humilitate non deserit, qui propter eos tam humiliter
that humility not he-deserts who on-account-of them so humbly
altissimus uenit, praesertim quos nullius militaris potestatis
the-most-high came especially whom of-no military power
uel talis militiae iura constringunt ipsum hostem ferire
or of-such service the-laws constrain the-very the-enemy to-strike
superatum. Quis ergo tam malus error obrepit, ut homo
overcome what then so bad an-error creeps-in that a-man

se occidat, uel quia in eum peccauit, uel ne in
himself should-kill either because against him has-sinned or lest against
eum peccet inimicus, cum uel peccatorem uel peccaturum
him should-sin an-enemy when either the-sinner or one-about-to-sin
ipsum occidere non audeat inimicum?
the-very to-kill not he-dares the-enemy

XXV · NO SIN TO BE AVOIDED BY SIN

Some fear that the body subjected to lust may entice the mind to consent, and say one should kill oneself before sinning. But a mind subject to God will not consent to the lust stirred in its flesh, and if self-killing is a damnable crime, no one is so foolish as to commit certain murder now to avoid a possible adultery later, which can be healed by repentance. If the disobedience of the members moves without the will, it is without fault in the unconsenting, as in one asleep.

At enim timendum est et cauendum, ne libidini
but indeed to-be-feared it-is and to-be-guarded-against lest to-lust
subditum corpus inlecebrosissima uoluptate animum adliciat
subjected the-body by-most-alluring pleasure the-mind should-entice
consentire peccato. Proinde, inquiunt, non iam propter
to-consent to-sin accordingly they-say not now on-account-of
alienum, sed propter suum peccatum, antequam hoc
another's but on-account-of his-own sin before this
quisque committat, se debet occidere. Nullo modo
anyone commit himself he-ought to-kill in-no way
quidem hoc faciet animus, ut consentiat libidini carnis
indeed this will-do the-mind that it-consent to-the-lust of-flesh
suae aliena libidine concitatae, qui Deo potius eiusque
its-own by-another's lust stirred which to-God rather and-his
sapientiae quam corpori eiusque concupiscentiae subiectus
to-wisdom than to-the-body and-its to-concupiscence subjected

est. Verum tamen si detestabile facinus et damnabile
is but yet if a-detestable crime and a-damnable
scelus est etiam se ipsum hominem occidere, sicut ueritas
wickedness it-is even him himself a-man to-kill as the-truth
manifesta proclamat, quis ita desipiat ut dicat: "Iam
manifest proclaims who so is-foolish that he-would-say now
nunc perpetremus homicidium, ne postea forte incidamus
at-once let-us-perpetrate homicide lest afterward perhaps we-fall
in adulterium"? Nonne si tantum dominatur iniquitas, ut
into adultery surely if so-much dominates iniquity that
non innocentia, sed peccata potius eligantur, satius est
not innocence but sins rather be-chosen better is
incertum de futuro adulterium quam certum de praesenti
an-uncertain from the-future adultery than a-certain from the-present
homicidium? Nonne satius est flagitium committere, quod
homicide surely better is-it a-shameful-deed to-commit which
paenitendo sanetur, quam tale facinus, ubi locus salubris
by-repenting may-be-healed than such a-crime where a-place of-wholesome
paenitentiae non relinquitur? Haec dixi propter eos
repentance not is-left these-things I-have-said on-account-of those
uel eas, quae non alieni, sed proprii peccati deuitandi
or those-women who not another's but their-own sin to-be-avoided
causa, ne sub alterius libidine etiam excitatae suae forte
for-the-sake lest under another's lust even stirred their-own perhaps
consentiant, uim sibi, qua moriantur, inferendam
they-should-consent violence on-themselves by-which they-may-die to-be-inflicted
putant. Ceterum absit a mente Christiana, quae Deo
think for-the-rest far-be-it from the-mind Christian which in-God
suo fidit in eoque spe posita eius adiutorio nititur, absit,
its-own trusts in and-him with-hope placed his on-help leans far-be-it
inquam, ut mens talis quibuslibet carnis uoluptatibus ad
I-say that a-mind such to-any of-the-flesh pleasures to

consensum turpitudinis cedat. Quod si illa concupiscentialis
consent of-baseness should-yield but if that concupiscential
inoboedientia, quae adhuc in membris moribundis habitat,
disobedience which still in limbs moribund dwells
praeter nostrae uoluntatis legem quasi lege sua mouetur,
beyond of-our will the-law as-if by-law its-own is-moved
quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis,
how-much more without fault is-it in the-body not of-one-consenting
si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis!
if without fault it-is in the-body of-one-sleeping

XXVI · THE HOLY WOMEN WHO KILLED THEMSELVES

Some holy women in persecution drowned themselves to escape their pursuers, and the church honors their martyrdoms. Augustine dares not judge them; perhaps they acted by divine command, as Samson did. When God commands, obedience is no crime, as a soldier who kills on lawful orders is no murderer. But no one should kill himself to escape temporal troubles, others' sins, his own past sins, or from desire for a better life, since a better life does not receive those guilty of their own death.

Sed quaedam, inquiunt, sanctae feminae tempore persecutionis,
but certain they-say holy women in-the-time of-persecution
ut insectatores suae pudicitiae deuitarent, in rapturum
that the-pursuers of-their chastity they-might-avoid into about-to-carry-them-off
adque necaturum se fluuium proiecerunt eoque modo
and about-to-kill themselves the-river threw and-in-that manner
defunctae sunt earumque martyria in catholica ecclesia
died have and-their martyrdoms in the-catholic church
ueneratione celeberrima frequentantur. De his nihil temere
with-veneration most-crowded are-frequented about these nothing rashly

audeo iudicare. Utrum enim ecclesiae aliquibus fide dignis
I-dare to-judge whether for to-the-church by-some of-faith worthy
testificationibus, ut earum memoriam sic honoret, diuina
testimonies that their memory so it-should-honor divine
persuaserit auctoritas, nescio; et fieri potest ut ita sit.
has-persuaded authority I-know-not and to-be-done it-can that so it-be
Quid si enim hoc fecerunt, non humanitus deceptae, sed
what if for this they-did not humanly deceived but
diuinitus iussae, nec errantes, sed oboedientes? sicut de
divinely commanded nor erring but obeying as about
Samsone aliud nobis fas non est credere. Cum autem Deus
Samson other to-us right not it-is to-believe when but God
iubet seque iubere sine ullis ambagibus intimat, quis
commands and-himself to-command without any ambiguities intimates who
oboedientiam in crimen uocet? quis obsequium pietatis
obedience into a-charge would-call who the-compliance of-devotion
accuset? Sed non ideo sine scelere facit, quisquis Deo
would-accuse but not therefore without crime does-it whoever to-God
filium immolare decreuerit, quia hoc Abraham etiam
(his)-son to-sacrifice shall-have-decided because this Abraham even
laudabiliter fecit. Nam et miles cum oboediens potestati,
laudably did for also a-soldier when obeying to-the-power
sub qualibet legitime constitutus est, hominem occidit,
under whichever lawfully appointed he-is a-man kills
nulla ciuitatis suae lege reus est homicidii, immo, nisi
by-no of-the-city his-own law guilty is of-homicide rather unless
fecerit, reus est imperii deserti adque contemti; quod
he-shall-have-done-it guilty he-is of-command deserted and despised but
si sua sponte adque auctoritate fecisset, crimen effusi
if on-his-own initiative and authority he-had-done-it the-charge of-shed
humani sanguinis incidisset. Itaque unde punitur si
human blood he-would-have-incurred and-so whence he-is-punished if

fecit iniussus, inde punietur nisi fecerit iussus.
he-did-it unbidden thence he-will-be-punished unless he-shall-have-done-it bidden
Quod si ita est iubente imperatore, quanto magis iubente
but if so it-is ordering a-commander how-much more ordering
creatore! Qui ergo audit non licere se occidere,
the-creator he-who therefore hears not to-be-lawful himself to-kill
faciat, si iussit cuius non licet iussa contemnere;
let-him-do-it if he-has-ordered whose not it-is-lawful commands to-despise
tantummodo uideat utrum diuina iussio nullo nutet incerto.
only let-him-see whether the-divine command by-no wavers uncertainty
Nos per aurem conscientiam conuenimus, occultorum
we through the-ear conscience meet of-hidden-things
nobis iudicium non usurpamus. Nemo scit quid agatur in
for-ourselves the-judgment not we-usurp no-one knows what is-done in
homine nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est. Hoc dicimus,
a-man except the-spirit of-the-man which in him is this we-say
hoc adserimus, hoc modis omnibus adprobamus, neminem
this we-assert this in-ways all we-approve no-one
spontaneam mortem sibi inferre debere uelut fugiendo
voluntary death on-himself to-inflict ought as-if by-fleeing
molestias temporales, ne incidat in perpetuas; neminem
troubles temporal lest he-fall into perpetual-ones no-one
propter aliena peccata, ne hoc ipse incipiat habere
on-account-of another's sins lest this himself he-begin to-have
grauissimum proprium, quem non polluebat alienum; neminem
most-heavy his-own whom not polluted another's no-one
propter sua peccata praeterita, propter quae magis hac
on-account-of his-own sins past on-account-of which more of-this
uita opus est, ut possint paenitendo sanari; neminem uelut
life need there-is that they-can by-repenting to-be-healed no-one as-if

desiderio uitae melioris, quae post mortem speratur, quia
from-desire of-a-life better which after death is-hoped because
reos suae mortis melior post mortem uita non suscipit.
the-guilty of-their-own death a-better after death life not receives

XXVII · WHETHER TO DIE TO ESCAPE SIN

One reason remains: to kill oneself lest one fall into sin. If that were right, the newly baptized, washed of all their sins, should be urged to kill themselves at once, before sinning again, rather than exhorted to virginity, widowhood, or conjugal fidelity. Whoever would advise this is not foolish but mad. If no reason could be juster than this one, and this is not just, there is none.

Restat una causa, de qua dicere coeperam, qua utile
there-remains one cause about which to-speak I-had-begun for-which useful
putatur ut se quisque interficiat, scilicet ne in peccatum
it-is-thought that himself each should-kill namely lest into sin
inruat uel blandiente uoluptate uel dolore saeuiente.
he-rush either by-flattering pleasure or by-pain raging
Quam causam si uoluerimus admittere, eo usque
which cause if we-shall-have-wished to-admit to-that point
progressa perueniet, ut hortandi sint homines tunc se
advanced it-will-come that to-be-exhorted are men then themselves
potius interimere, cum lauacro sanctae regenerationis abluti
rather to-kill when in-the-laver of-holy regeneration washed
uniuersorum remissionem acceperint peccatorum. Tunc
of-all the-remission they-have-received of-sins then
enim tempus est cauendi omnia futura peccata, cum
for the-time is of-guarding-against all future sins when
sunt omnia deleta praeterita. Quod si morte spontanea recte
are all destroyed the-past which if by-death voluntary rightly

fit, quur non tunc potissimum fit? Quur baptizatus
it-is-done why not then above-all is-it-done why baptized
sibi quisque parcit? Quur liberatum caput tot rursus
himself each spares why a-freed head to-so-many again
uitae huius periculis inserit, cum sit facillimae potestatis
of-life this perils does-he-insert when it-be of-the-easiest power
inlata sibi nece omnia deuitare scriptumque sit: Qui
by-inflicted on-himself death all-things to-avoid and-written it-be he-who
amat periculum, incidet in illud? Quur ergo amantur
loves danger shall-fall into it why then are-loved
tot et tanta pericula uel certe, etiamsi non amantur,
so-many and so-great dangers or surely even-if not they-are-loved
suscipiuntur, cum manet in hac uita, cui abscedere
are-they-undertaken when he-remains in this life to-whom to-depart
licitum est? An uero tam insulsa peruersitas cor euertit
lawful it-is or indeed so tasteless perversity the-heart overturns
et a consideratione ueritatis auertit, ut, si se quisque
and from the-consideration of-truth turns-away that if himself each
interimere debet, ne unius captiuantis dominatu conruat in
to-kill ought lest of-one taking-captive by-the-domination he-collapse into
peccatum, uiuendum sibi existimet, ut ipsum perferat
sin to-be-lived for-himself he-should-judge that the-very he-may-endure
mundum per omnes horas tentationibus plenum, et talibus,
world through all hours with-temptations full and with-such
qualis sub uno domino formidatur, et innumerabilibus
as under one master is-dreaded and with-innumerable
ceteris, sine quibus haec uita non ducitur? Quid igitur causae
others without which this life not is-led what then of-cause
est, quur in eis exhortationibus tempora consumamus,
is-there why in those exhortations the-times we-should-consume
quibus baptizatos adloquendo studemus accendere siue ad
by-which the-baptized by-addressing we-strive to-kindle whether to

uirginalem integritatem siue ad continentiam uidualem siue
virginal integrity or to continence widowly or
ad ipsam tori coniugalis fidem, cum habeamus meliora
to the-very of-the-couch conjugal fidelity when we-have better-things
et ab omnibus peccandi periculis remota conpendia, ut,
and from all of-sinning perils removed short-cuts that
quibuscumque post remissionem recentissimam peccatorum
whomever after the-remission most-recent of-sins
adripiendam mortem sibique ingerendam persuadere
to-be-seized death and-on-themselves to-be-inflicted to-persuade
potuerimus, eos ad Dominum saniores purioresque mittamus?
we-could them to the-Lord healthier and-purer we-should-send
Porro si, quisquis hoc adgrediendum et suadendum putat,
further if anyone this to-be-attempted and to-be-urged thinks
non dico desipit, sed insanit: qua tandem fronte homini
not I-say he-is-foolish but he-is-mad with-what pray face to-a-man
dicit: "Interfice te, ne paruis tuis peccatis adicias
does-he-say kill yourself lest to-small your sins you-add
grauius, dum uiuis sub domino barbaris moribus inpudico",
a-graver-one while you-live under a-master of-barbarian morals unchaste
qui non potest nisi sceleratissime dicere: "Interfice te
who not can except most-wickedly to-say kill yourself
peccatis tuis omnibus absolutis, ne rursus talia uel etiam
with-sins your all absolved lest again such-things or even
peiora committas, dum nimis in mundo tot inpuris
worse you-commit while too-much in a-world with-so-many impure
uoluptatibus inlecebroso, tot nefandis crudelitatibus
pleasures alluring with-so-many abominable cruelties
furioso, tot erroribus et terroribus inimico"? Hoc
raging with-so-many errors and terrors hostile this
quia nefas est dicere, nefas est profecto se occidere.
because sin it-is to-say sin it-is assuredly oneself to-kill

Nam si hoc sponte faciendi ulla causa iusta esse posset,
for if this voluntarily of-doing any cause just to-be could
procul dubio iustior quam ista non esset. Quia uero
beyond doubt a-juster than this not there-would-be because but
nec ista est, ergo nulla est.
not-even this is-there therefore none is-there

XXVIII · WHY GOD PERMITTED THE OUTRAGE

Let the faithful women not weary of life if their chastity was a sport to the enemy; they have the consolation of a conscience that did not consent. If they ask why it was permitted, God's providence is deep, but let them ask whether they took pride in their chastity or envied others, and so lost the human praise they sought while keeping what cannot be shown to men. Those who were humble may have had a hidden weakness that prosperity would have swollen. Some learned that holiness is not lost when the body is handled.

Non itaque uobis, o fideles Christi, sit taedio uita
not and-so to-you O faithful of-Christ let-there-be weariness life
uestra, si ludibrio fuit hostibus castitas uestra. Habetis
your if a-sport it-was to-the-enemies chastity your you-have
magnam ueramque consolationem, si fidam conscientiam
a-great and-true consolation if a-faithful conscience
retinetis non uos consensisse peccatis eorum, qui in
you-retain not you to-have-consented to-the-sins of-those who against
uos peccare permissi sunt. Quod si forte, quur permissi
you to-sin permitted were but if perhaps why permitted
sint, quaeritis, alta quidem est prouidentia creatoris
they-were you-ask deep indeed is the-providence of-the-creator
mundi adque rectoris, et inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius
of-the-world and ruler and inscrutable are judgments his

et inuestigabiles uiae eius; uerum tamen interrogate
and unsearchable ways his but yet question
fideliter animas uestras, ne forte de isto integritatis et
faithfully souls your lest perhaps about this of-integrity and
continentiae uel pudicitiae bono uos inflatius extulistis
of-continence or of-chastity good you too-inflatedly have-exalted-yourselves
et humanis laudibus delectatae in hoc etiam aliquibus
and with-human praises delighted in this even some
inuidistis. Non accuso quod nescio, nec audio quod
you-envied not I-accuse what I-know-not nor do-I-hear what
uobis interrogata uestra corda respondent. Tamen si ita
to-you questioned your hearts answer yet if so
esse responderint, nolite admirari hoc uos amisisse,
to-be they-shall-have-answered do-not to-wonder this you to-have-lost
unde hominibus placere gestistis, illud uobis remansisse,
whence to-men to-please you-longed that to-you to-have-remained
quod ostendi hominibus non potest. Si peccantibus non
which to-be-shown to-men not can if to-those-sinning not
consensistis, diuinae gratiae, ne amitteretur, diuinum accessit
you-consented to-the-divine grace lest it-be-lost divine came
auxilium; humanae gloriae, ne amaretur, humanum successit
help to-human glory lest it-be-loved human followed
obprobrium. In utroque consolamini, pusillanimes, illinc
reproach in both be-consoled faint-hearted-ones there
probatae hinc castigatae, illinc iustificatae hinc emendatae.
proved here chastised there justified here corrected
Quarum uero corda interrogata respondent numquam
of-whom but the-hearts questioned answer never
se de bono uirginitatis uel uiduitatis uel coniugalis
themselves about the-good of-virginity or of-widowhood or of-conjugal
pudicitiae superbisse, sed humilibus consentiendo de
chastity to-have-been-proud but with-the-humble by-consenting about

dono Dei cum tremore exultasse, nec inuidisse cuiquam
the-gift of-God with trembling to-have-exulted nor to-have-envied anyone
paris excellentiam sanctitatis et castitatis, sed humana
of-equal the-excellence of-holiness and of-chastity but human
laude postposita, quae tanto maior deferri solet, quanto
praise set-aside which so-much greater to-be-offered is-wont as
est bonum rarius quod exigit laudem, optasse potius
is the-good rarer which demands praise to-have-wished rather
ut amplior earum numerus esset, quam ut ipsae in
that greater their number be than that they-themselves in
paucitate amplius eminerent: nec istae, quae tales sunt, si
fewness more should-stand-out neither these who such are if
earum quoque aliquas barbarica libido conpressit, permissum
of-them also some barbarian lust has-violated permitted
hoc esse causentur, nec ideo Deum credant ista
this to-have-been let-them-complain nor therefore God let-them-believe these-things
neglegere, quia permittit quod nemo inpune committit.
to-neglect because he-permits what no-one with-impunity commits
Quaedam enim ueluti pondera malarum cupiditatum et
certain for as-it-were weights of-evil desires both
per occultum praesens diuinum iudicium relaxantur et
through hidden present divine judgment are-released and
manifesto ultimo reseruantur. Fortassis autem istae, quae
for-the-manifest last are-reserved perhaps but these who
bene sibi sunt consciae non se ex isto castitatis
well to-themselves are conscious not themselves from this of-chastity
bono cor inflatum extulisse, et tamen uim hostilem in
good the-heart puffed-up to-have-lifted and yet violence hostile in
carne perpessae sunt, habebant aliquid latentis infirmitatis,
the-flesh suffered have they-had something of-hidden weakness
quae posset in superbiae fastum, si hanc humilitatem in
which might into of-pride the-haughtiness if this humility in

uastatione illa euasissent, extolli. Sicut ergo quidam morte
devastation that they-had-escaped to-be-lifted as therefore some by-death
rapti sunt, ne malitia mutaret intellectum eorum, ita
snatched-away were lest malice should-change understanding their so
quiddam ab istis ui raptum est, ne prosperitas mutaret
something from these by-force snatched was lest prosperity should-change
modestiam earum. Utrisque igitur, quae de carne sua,
modesty their to-both therefore who about flesh their-own
quod turpem nullius esset perpessa contactum, uel iam
because base of-no-one it-had suffered touch either already
superbiebant uel superbire, si nec hostium uiolentia
were-proud or to-be-proud if not-even of-the-enemies by-the-violence
contrectata esset, forsitan poterant, non ablata est castitas,
handled had-been perhaps they-could not taken-away was chastity
sed humilitas persuasa; illarum tumori succursum est
but humility persuaded of-those to-the-swelling help-brought was
inmanenti, istarum occursum est inminenti.
remaining of-these help-met was impending

Quamquam et illud non sit tacendum, quod quibusdam,
although also that not be to-be-passed-over that to-some
quae ista perpessae sunt, potuit uideri continentiae bonum
who these-things suffered have it-could to-seem of-continence the-good
in bonis corporalibus deputandum et tunc manere, si
among goods bodily to-be-reckoned and then to-remain if
nullius libidine corpus adtrectaretur; non esse autem positum
by-no-one's lust the-body were-handled not to-be but placed
in solo adiuto diuinitus robore uoluntatis, ut sit sanctum
in the-sole helped divinely strength of-the-will that it-be holy
et corpus et spiritus; nec tale bonum esse, quod inuito
both body and spirit nor such a-good to-be which with-unwilling
animo non possit auferri; qui error eis fortasse
mind not can to-be-taken-away which error from-them perhaps

sublatus est. Cum enim cogitant, qua conscientia Deo
taken-away has-been when for they-reflect with-what conscience God
seruierint, et fide inconcussa non de illo sentiunt, quod
they-have-served and with-faith unshaken not of him they-think that
ita sibi seruientes eumque inuocantes deserere ullo modo
so to-himself serving and-him calling-on to-desert in-any way
potuerit, quantumque illi castitas placeat dubitare non
he-could and-how-much to-him chastity is-pleasing to-doubt not
possunt, uident esse consequens nequaquam illum fuisse
they-can they-see to-be consequent not-at-all him to-have-been
permissurum, ut haec acciderent sanctis suis, si eo modo
about-to-permit that these-things should-befall saints his if in-that manner
perire posset sanctitas, quam contulit eis et diligit in eis.
to-perish could the-holiness which he-conferred on-them and loves in them

XXIX · THE ANSWER OF GOD'S HOUSEHOLD

The whole household of God has its own consolation, founded not on the hope of things that totter, and uses earthly goods as a pilgrim, proved or corrected by evils. To those who ask where its God is when it suffers, it answers that its God is everywhere present and whole, enclosed nowhere, who tests merits or chastises sins and keeps an eternal reward for evils borne devoutly. Let them say where their gods are, when they suffer what they worship them to avoid.

Habet itaque omnis familia summi et ueri Dei
has and-so the-whole household of-the-highest and true God
consolationem suam, non fallacem nec in spe rerum
consolation its-own not deceitful nor on the-hope of-things
nutantium uel labentium constitutam, uitamque etiam ipsam
tottering or slipping founded and-life even itself
temporalem minime paenitendam, in qua eruditur ad aeternam,
temporal not-at-all to-be-regretted in which it-is-trained for the-eternal

bonisque terrenis tamquam peregrina utitur nec capitur, malis
and-goods earthly as a-pilgrim it-uses nor it-is-captured by-evils
autem aut probatur aut emendatur. Illi uero, qui probitati
but either it-is-proved or it-is-corrected those indeed who the-uprightness
eius insultant eique dicunt, cum forte in aliqua temporalia
its insult and-to-it say when perhaps into some temporal
mala deuenerit: Ubi est Deus tuus? ipsi dicant, ubi sint
evils it-has-come where is God your they-themselves let-them-say where are
di eorum, cum talia patiuntur, pro quibus euitandis eos
gods their when such-things they-suffer for which to-be-avoided them
uel colunt uel colendos esse contendunt. Nam ista
either they-worship or to-be-worshiped to-be contend for this-(household)
respondet: Deus meus ubique praesens, ubique totus, nusquam
answers God my everywhere present everywhere whole nowhere
inclusus, qui possit adesse secretus, abesse non motus; ille
enclosed who can to-be-present hidden to-be-absent not moved he
cum me aduersis rebus exagitat, aut merita examinat aut
when me by-adverse things he-harasses either (my)-merits examines or
peccata castigat mercedemque mihi aeternam pro toleratis pie
(my)-sins chastises and-a-reward for-me eternal for endured devoutly
malis temporalibus seruat; uos autem qui estis, cum quibus
evils temporal keeps you but who are with whom
loqui dignum sit saltem de dis uestris, quanto minus
to-speak worthy it-may-be at-least about gods your how-much less
de Deo meo, qui terribilis est super omnes deos, quoniam
about God my who terrible is above all gods since
di gentium daemonia, Dominus autem caelos fecit.
the-gods of-the-nations (are)-demons the-Lord but the-heavens made

XXX · SCIPIO NASICA AND THE FEAR OF CARTHAGE

If Scipio Nasica were living, the best man chosen by the whole senate to receive the Phrygian rites, he would restrain this impudence. The pagans complain of Christian times because they want their luxury secure. Nasica opposed Cato's call to destroy Carthage, judging fear a fit guardian for weak minds. He was proved right: once Carthage fell, concord was broken by seditions and civil wars, and the lust of dominating prevailed among the powerful few, who oppressed the rest under the yoke of slavery.

Si Nasica ille Scipio uester quondam pontifex uiueret, quem
if Nasica that Scipio your once pontiff were-living whom
sub terrore belli Punici in suscipiendis Phrygiis sacris, cum
under the-terror of-the-war Punic in to-be-received Phrygian rites when
uir optimus quaereretur, uniuersus senatus elegit, cuius os
a-man best was-sought the-whole senate chose whose face
fortasse non auderetis aspicere, ipse uos ab hac inpudentia
perhaps not you-would-dare to-look-at himself you from this impudence
cohiberet. Quur enim adflicti rebus aduersis de temporibus
he-would-restrain why for afflicted by-things adverse about the-times
querimini Christianis, nisi quia uestram luxuriam cupitis
do-you-complain Christian unless because your luxury you-desire
habere securam et perditissimis moribus remota omni
to-have secure and with-most-abandoned morals removed every
molestiarum asperitate diffluere? Neque enim propterea
of-troubles harshness to-dissolve nor for for-this-reason
cupitis habere pacem et omni genere copiarum abundare,
you-desire to-have peace and with-every kind of-supplies to-abound
ut his bonis honeste utamini, hoc est modeste sobrie,
that these goods honorably you-may-use that is modestly soberly
temperanter pie, sed ut infinita uarietas uoluptatum insanis
temperately devoutly but that infinite variety of-pleasures with-insane

effusionibus exquiratur, secundisque rebus ea mala oriantur
outpourings be-sought-out and-from-prosperous things those evils arise
in moribus, quae saeuientibus peiora sunt hostibus. At ille
in morals which than-raging worse are enemies but that
Scipio pontifex maximus uester, ille iudicio totius
Scipio pontiff greatest your that-man by-the-judgment of-the-whole
senatus uir optimus, istam uobis metuens calamitatem
senate a-man best this for-you fearing calamity
nolebat aemulam tunc imperii Romani Carthaginem
was-unwilling the-rival then of-the-empire Roman Carthage
dirui et decernenti ut dirueretur contradicebat Catoni,
to-be-destroyed and to-(him)-decreeing that it-be-destroyed he-spoke-against to-Cato
timens infirmis animis hostem securitatem, et tamquam
fearing for-weak minds an-enemy security and as-if
pupillis ciuibus idoneum tutorem necessarium uidens esse
for-wards citizens a-fit guardian necessary seeing to-be
terrorem. Nec eum sententia fefellit: re ipsa probatum
terror nor him (his)-opinion deceived by-the-thing itself proved
est quam uerum diceret. Deleta quippe Carthagine magno
it-was how true he-spoke destroyed for Carthage great
scilicet terrore Romanae rei publicae depulso et extincto
namely the-terror of-the-Roman thing public driven-off and extinguished
tanta de rebus prosperis orta mala continuo subsecuta sunt,
such from things prosperous arisen evils immediately followed have
ut corrupta diruptaque concordia prius saeuis cruentisque
that corrupted and-broken concord first by-savage and-bloody
seditionibus, deinde mox malarum conexione causarum bellis
seditions then soon by-the-evil linking of-causes by-wars
etiam ciuilibus tantae strages ederentur, tantus sanguis
even civil such slaughters were-produced such blood
effunderetur, tanta cupiditate proscriptionum ac rapinarum
was-shed with-such greed of-proscriptions and plunderings

ferueret inmanitas, ut Romani illi, qui uita integriore mala
seethed savagery that the-Romans those who with-life more-upright evils
metuebant ab hostibus, perdita integritate uitae crudeliora
feared from the-enemies lost the-uprightness of-life crueler-things
paterentur a ciuibus; eaque ipsa libido dominandi, quae inter
suffered from the-citizens and-that very lust of-dominating which among
alia uitia generis humani meracior inerat uniuerso populo
other vices of-the-race human purer was-inherent in-the-whole people
Romano, postea quam in paucis potentioribus uicit, obtritos
Roman after that in a-few more-powerful conquered the-crushed
fatigatosque ceteros etiam iugo seruitutis obpressit.
and-wearied rest even with-the-yoke of-slavery it-oppressed

XXXI · THE LUST OF DOMINATING

That lust could rest only in royal power, which needed continued honors, ambition, and a people corrupted by avarice and luxury, the prosperity Nasica feared. The same Nasica persuaded the senate not to build a theater, lest Greek luxury creep into Roman morals, and his words moved the senate to forbid even the benches already set up for the games. He would have removed the theatrical games themselves had he dared resist those he thought gods, not yet knowing them to be harmful demons, for the heavenly doctrine had not yet freed men from them.

Nam quando illa quiesceret in superbissimis mentibus, donec
for when it would-rest in most-proud minds until
continuatis honoribus ad potestatem regiam peruenireť?
by-continued honors to power royal it-reached
Honorum porro continuandorum facultas non esset,
of-honors further to-be-continued the-means not there-would-be
nisi ambitio praeualeret. Minime autem praeualeret ambitio,
unless ambition prevailed not-at-all but would-prevail ambition

nisi in populo auaritia luxuriaque corrupto. Auarus uero
except in a-people by-avarice and-luxury corrupted avaricious indeed
luxuriosusque populus secundis rebus effectus est, quas Nasica
and-luxurious the-people by-prosperous things made was which Nasica
ille prouidentissime cauendas esse censebat, quando
that most-providently to-be-guarded-against to-be judged when
ciuitatem hostium maximam fortissimam opulentissimam
the-city of-the-enemies greatest bravest most-opulent
nolebat auferri, ut timore libido premeretur, libido
he-was-unwilling to-be-removed that by-fear lust might-be-pressed lust
pressa non luxuriaretur luxuriaque cohibita nec auaritia
pressed not might-run-riot and-luxury restrained nor avarice
grassaretur; quibus uitiis obseratis ciuitati utilis uirtus
might-stalk which vices barred to-the-city useful virtue
floreret et cresceret eique uirtuti libertas congrua
might-flourish and grow and-to-that virtue liberty fitting
permaneret. Hinc etiam erat et ex hac prouidentissima
might-remain hence also it-was and from this most-provident
patriae caritate ueniebat, quod idem ipse uester pontifex
of-the-fatherland love it-came that the-same himself your pontiff
maximus, a senatu illius temporis (quod saepe dicendum est)
greatest by the-senate of-that time which often to-be-said it-is
electus sine ulla sententiarum discrepantia uir optimus,
chosen without any of-opinions disagreement a-man best
caueam theatri senatum construere molientem ab hac
the-auditorium of-a-theater the-senate to-build undertaking from this
dispositione et cupiditate conpescuit persuasitque oratione
plan and desire checked and-persuaded by-a-speech
grauissima, ne Graecam luxuriam uirilibus patriae
most-weighty lest Greek luxury on-the-manly of-the-fatherland
moribus paterentur obrepere et ad uirtutem labefactandam
morals they-should-allow to-creep and for virtue to-be-shaken

eneruandamque Romanam peregrinae consentire nequitiae,
and-to-be-unnerved Roman to-foreign to-consent wickedness
tantumque auctoritate ualuit, ut uerbis eius commota
and-so-much by-authority he-prevailed that by-the-words his moved
senatoria prouidentia etiam subsellia, quibus ad horam
the-senatorial providence even the-benches which for the-hour
congestis in ludorum spectaculo iam uti ciuitas coeperat,
heaped-up in of-the-games the-spectacle already to-use the-city had-begun
deinceps prohiberet adponi. Quanto studio iste ab urbe
thenceforth forbade to-be-set-up with-how-much zeal he from the-city
Roma ludos ipsos scaenicos abstulisset, si auctoritati
of-Rome the-games themselves theatrical would-have-removed if the-authority
eorum, quos deos putabat, resistere auderet, quos esse
of-those whom gods he-thought to-resist he-had-dared whom to-be
noxios daemones non intellegebat aut, si intellegebat,
harmful demons not he-understood or if he-understood
placandos etiam ipse potius quam contemnendos existimabat.
to-be-placated even himself rather than to-be-despised he-judged
Nondum enim fuerat declarata gentibus superna doctrina,
not-yet for had-been declared to-the-nations the-heavenly doctrine
quae fide cor mundans ad caelestia uel supercaelestia
which by-faith the-heart cleansing for heavenly or supercelestial-things
capessenda humili pietate humanum mutaret adfectum
to-be-grasped with-humble devotion human might-change feeling
et a dominatu superborum daemonum liberaret.
and from the-domination of-proud demons might-free

The theatrical games were established at Rome not by men's vices but by the gods' command. The gods ordered them to allay a pestilence of bodies; the pontiff forbade a stage to guard against a pestilence of souls. The bodily plague did not end because of the games but in its due course, and the spirits, foreseeing that, used the occasion to send a graver one into morals, blinding men so that even now refugees from sacked Rome went mad over actors in the theaters of Carthage.

Verum tamen scitote, qui ista nescitis et qui uos
but yet know you-who these-things know-not and you-who yourselves
scire dissimulatis, aduertite, qui aduersus liberatorem
to-know pretend-not attend you-who against the-liberator
a talibus dominis murmuratis: ludi scaenici, spectacula
from such masters murmur the-games theatrical spectacles
turpitudinum et licentia uanitatum, non hominum uitiis,
of-baseness and license of-vanities not of-men by-vices
sed deorum uestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt.
but of-gods your by-commands at-Rome established were
Tolerabilius diuinos honores deferretis illi Scipioni quam
more-tolerably divine honors you-would-confer on-that Scipio than
deos huius modi coleretis. Neque enim erant illi di
gods of-this kind you-would-worship nor for were those gods
suo pontifice meliores. Ecce adtendite, si mens tam
than-their pontiff better behold attend if the-mind so
diu potatis erroribus ebria uos aliquid sanum cogitare
long by-quaffed errors intoxicated you anything sound to-think
permittit! Di propter sedandam corporum pestilentiam
permits the-gods on-account-of to-be-allayed of-bodies a-pestilence
ludos sibi scaenicos exhiberi iubebant; pontifex
the-games for-themselves theatrical to-be-exhibited ordered the-pontiff
autem propter animorum cauendam pestilentiam ipsam
but on-account-of of-souls to-be-guarded-against pestilence the-very

scaenam constitui prohibebat. Si aliqua luce mentis animum
stage to-be-set-up forbade if by-any light of-mind the-soul
corpori praeponitis, eligite quem colatis! Neque enim
to-the-body you-prefer choose whom you-may-worship nor for
et illa corporum pestilentia ideo conquieuit, quia
also that of-bodies pestilence for-this-reason subsided because
populo bellicoso et solis antea ludis circensibus adsueto
to-a-people warlike and to-the-sole formerly games of-the-circus accustomed
ludorum scaenicorum delicata subintrauit insania; sed astutia
of-the-games theatrical the-delicate crept-in madness but the-cunning
spirituum nefandorum praeuidens illam pestilentiam iam fine
of-spirits abominable foreseeing that pestilence already at-end
debito cessaturam aliam longe grauiorem, qua plurimum
due about-to-cease another far heavier in-which most
gaudet, ex hac occasione non corporibus, sed moribus
it-rejoices on this occasion not to-bodies but to-morals
curauit inmittere, quae animos miserorum tantis obcaecauit
took-care to-send-in which the-minds of-the-wretched with-such blinded
tenebris, tanta foedauit deformitate, ut etiam modo (quod
darkness with-such defiled deformity that even just-now what
incredibile forsitan erit, si a nostris posteris audietur)
incredible perhaps will-be if by our descendants it-shall-be-heard
Romana urbe uastata, quos pestilentia ista possedit
the-Roman city laid-waste those-whom pestilence this possessed
adque inde fugientes Carthaginem peruenire potuerunt, in
and thence fleeing to-Carthage to-arrive could in
theatris cottidie certatim pro histrionibus insanirent.
the-theaters daily in-rivalry for the-actors went-mad

O minds out of their minds: while the eastern peoples mourned Rome's destruction, its refugees filled the theaters. This was the plague Scipio feared when he forbade theaters, thinking a republic not happy whose walls stand and morals fall. The demons' seduction prevailed over the prudent men's precautions. The pagans seek not a peaceful republic but unpunished luxury; neither prosperity nor adversity corrected them, and they have lost the profit of calamity.

O mentes amentes! quis est hic tantus non error, sed
O minds out-of-their-minds what is this so-great not error but
furor, ut exitium uestrum, sicut audiuimus, plangentibus
frenzy that the-destruction your as we-have-heard lamenting
orientalibus populis et maximis ciuitatibus in remotissimis
the-eastern peoples and the-greatest cities in the-most-remote
terris publicum luctum maeroremque ducentibus uos theatra
lands a-public mourning and-grief keeping you the-theaters
quaereretis intraretis inpleretis, et multo insaniora quam
sought entered filled and much more-insane-things than
fuerant antea faceretis? Hanc animorum labem ac pestem,
they-had-been before did this of-souls taint and plague
hanc probitatis et honestatis euersionem uobis Scipio
this of-uprightness and of-honor overthrow for-you Scipio
ille metuebat, quando construi theatra prohibebat, quando
that feared when to-be-built theaters he-forbade when
rebus prosperis uos facile corrumpi adque euerti
by-things prosperous you easily to-be-corrupted and to-be-overturned
posse cernebat, quando uos securos esse ab hostili terrore
to-be-able he-discerned when you secure to-be from hostile terror
nolebat. Neque enim censebat ille felicem esse rem
he-was-unwilling nor for judged he happy to-be the-thing
publicam stantibus moenibus, ruentibus moribus. Sed in
public with-standing walls with-falling morals but in

uobis plus ualuit quod daemones inpii seduxerant, quam
you more prevailed what demons ungodly had-seduced than
quod homines prouidi praecauerunt. Hinc est quod mala,
what men provident guarded-against hence it-is that the-evils
quae facitis, uobis inputari non uultis, mala uero, quae
which you-do to-you to-be-imputed not you-wish the-evils but which
patimini, Christianis temporibus inputatis. Neque enim
you-suffer to-Christian times you-impute nor for
in uestra securitate pacatam rem publicam, sed luxuriam
in your security a-pacified thing public but luxury
quaeritis inpunitam, qui deprauati rebus prosperis nec
you-seek unpunished you-who depraved by-things prosperous not-even
corrigi potuistis aduersis. Volebat uos ille Scipio
to-be-corrected could-you by-adverse-ones wished you that Scipio
terreri ab hoste, ne in luxuriam flueretis: nec contriti
to-be-terrified by the-enemy lest into luxury you-should-flow nor crushed
ab hoste luxuriam repressistis, perdidistis utilitatem
by the-enemy luxury you-have-repressed you-have-lost the-benefit
calamitatis, et miserrimi facti estis et pessimi permansistis.
of-calamity and most-wretched made you-are and worst you-have-remained

That they live at all is God's mercy, who spared them to be corrected by repentance and let them escape the enemy under the name of his servants or in the martyrs' shrines. Romulus and Remus are said to have founded an asylum to increase their city's numbers; a wonderful example to Christ's honor followed, when the City's destroyers did what its founders had done, not to fill up citizens but to save a multitude of enemies.

Et tamen quod uiuitis Dei est, qui uobis parcendo admonet,
and yet that you-live of-God it-is who you by-sparing admonishes
ut corrigamini paenitendo; qui uobis etiam ingratis praestitit,
that you-be-corrected by-repenting who to-you even ungrateful granted
ut uel sub nomine seruorum eius uel in locis martyrum
that either under the-name of-servants his or in the-places of-martyrs
eius hostiles manus euaderetis. Romulus et Remus asylum
his hostile hands you-should-escape Romulus and Remus an-asylum
constituisse perhibentur, quo quisquis confugeret ab
to-have-established are-reported whither whoever should-flee from
omni noxa liber esset, augere quaerentes creandae
every guilt free should-be to-increase seeking of-the-to-be-created
multitudinem ciuitatis. Mirandum in honorem Christi processit
the-multitude city a-wonderful to the-honor of-Christ proceeded
exemplum. Hoc constituerunt euersores Urbis, quod
example this established the-overturners of-the-City which
constituerant antea conditores. Quid autem magnum, si hoc
had-established before the-founders what but great if this
fecerunt illi, ut ciuium suorum numerus subpleretur, quod
did they that of-citizens their-own the-number should-be-filled-up what
fecerunt isti, ut suorum hostium numerositas seruaretur?
did these that of-their-own enemies the-numerousness should-be-preserved

The redeemed household of Christ may answer its enemies so, remembering that future citizens lie hidden among them, while the city of God has with it, joined in the sacraments, some who will not share the saints' eternal lot, who murmur against God with his enemies and fill theaters and churches by turns. The two cities are entangled and mingled in this world until the last judgment separates them; their rise, progress, and ends Augustine will set out.

Haec et talia, si qua uberius et commodius potuerit,
these-things and such if any more-copiously and more-fittingly it-shall-be-able
respondeat inimicis suis redemta familia domini Christi
let-it-answer to-enemies its-own the-redeemed household of-the-Lord Christ
et peregrina ciuitas regis Christi. Meminerit sane in
and the-pilgrim city of-the-king Christ let-it-remember indeed in
ipsis inimicis latere ciues futuros, ne infructuosum
the-very enemies to-lie-hidden citizens future lest fruitless
uel aput ipsos putet, quod, donec perueniat ad confessos,
even among them it-think that until it-come to the-confessing
portat infensos; sicut ex illorum numero etiam Dei
it-bears the-hostile as from their number also of-God
ciuitas habet secum, quamdiu peregrinatur in mundo,
the-city has with-itself as-long-as it-sojourns in the-world
conexos communione sacramentorum, nec secum futuros in
joined by-communion of-the-sacraments not with-itself to-be in
aeterna sorte sanctorum, qui partim in occulto, partim in
the-eternal lot of-the-saints who partly in secret partly in
aperto sunt, qui etiam cum ipsis inimicis aduersus Deum,
the-open are who even with the-very enemies against God
cuius sacramentum gerunt, murmurare non dubitant, modo
whose sacrament they-bear to-murmur not hesitate now
cum illis theatra, modo ecclesias nobiscum replentes. De
with them theaters now churches with-us filling about

correctione autem quorundam etiam talium multo minus est
the-correction but of-some even such much less it-is
desperandum, si aput apertissimos aduersarios praedestinati
to-be-despaired if among the-most-open adversaries predestined
amici latitant, adhuc ignoti etiam sibi. Perplexae quippe
friends lie-hidden still unknown even to-themselves entangled for
sunt istae duae ciuitates in hoc saeculo inuicemque permixtae,
are these two cities in this world and-mutually intermingled
donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur; de quarum exortu et
until by-the-last judgment they-be-separated about whose rise and
procursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum
progress and due ends what to-be-said I-judge as-far-as
diuinitus adiuuabor, expediam propter gloriam ciuitatis
divinely I-shall-be-helped I-shall-set-out on-account-of the-glory of-the-city
Dei, quae alienis a contrario comparatis clarius eminebit.
of-God which with-others from the-contrary compared more-clearly will-stand-out

XXXVI · THE PLAN OF THE WORK

More must be said against those who blame Rome's disasters on the religion that forbids sacrifice to their gods: the evils Rome suffered before that ban, the morals for which the true God helped increase the empire, and how the false gods harmed by deceiving. Then he will answer those who worship the gods for the life after death, a harder dispute with the philosophers nearest Christian belief. Here the first book ends.

Sed adhuc mihi quaedam dicenda sunt aduersus eos, qui
but still by-me certain-things to-be-said are against those who
Romanae rei publicae clades in religionem nostram referunt,
of-the-Roman thing public the-disasters to religion our refer
qua dis suis sacrificare prohibentur. Commemoranda
by-which to-gods their to-sacrifice they-are-forbidden to-be-recalled

sunt enim quae et quanta occurrere potuerint uel satis
are for what and how-great to-occur could or enough
esse uidebuntur mala, quae illa ciuitas pertulit uel ad
to-be shall-seem evils which that city endured or to
eius imperium prouinciae pertinentes, antequam eorum
its empire the-provinces belonging before their
sacrificia prohibita fuissent; quae omnia procul dubio nobis
sacrifices forbidden had-been which all beyond doubt to-us
tribuerent, si iam uel illis clareret nostra religio, uel
they-would-attribute if already either to-them shone our religion or
ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet. Deinde monstrandum
so them from rites sacrilegious forbade then to-be-shown
est, quos eorum mores et quam ob causam Deus
it-is what their morals and what on-account-of cause God
uerus ad augendum imperium adiuuare dignatus est, in cuius
the-true for increasing the-empire to-help deigned has in whose
potestate sunt regna omnia, quamque nihil eos adiuuerint
power are kingdoms all and-how nothing them have-helped
hi, quos deos putant, et potius quantum decipiendo et
these whom gods they-think and rather how-much by-deceiving and
fallendo nocuerint. Postremo aduersus eos dicetur, qui
cheating they-have-harmed finally against those it-shall-be-said who
manifestissimis documentis confutati adque conuicti conantur
by-most-manifest proofs refuted and convicted try
adserere non propter uitae praesentis utilitatem, sed
to-assert not on-account-of of-life present the-benefit but
propter eam, quae post mortem futura est, colendos
on-account-of that which after death about-to-be is to-be-worshiped
deos. Quae, nisi fallor, quaestio multo erit operosior et
the-gods which unless I-am-mistaken question much will-be more-laborious and
subtiliore disputatione dignior, ut et contra philosophos in
of-subtler discussion more-worthy so-that both against the-philosophers in

ea disseratur, non quoslibet, sed qui aput illos excellentissima
it it-be-argued not any-whatever but who among them with-most-excellent
gloria clari sunt et nobiscum multa sentiunt, et de
glory renowned are and with-us many-things think both about
animae inmortalitate et quod Deus uerus mundum condiderit
of-the-soul the-immortality and that God the-true the-world founded
et de prouidentia eius, qua uniuersum quod condidit
and about providence his by-which the-universe which he-founded
regit. Sed quoniam et ipsi in illis, quae contra nos
he-rules but since even they in those-things which against us
sentiunt, refellendi sunt, deesse huic officio non debemus,
they-think to-be-refuted are to-be-lacking to-this duty not we-ought
ut refutatis inpiis contradictionibus pro uiribus, quas
that refuted ungodly contradictions according-to the-strength which
Deus impertiet, adseramus ciuitatem Dei ueramque pietatem
God shall-impart we-may-assert the-city of-God and-true devotion
et Dei cultum, in quo uno ueraciter sempiterna beatitudo
and of-God the-worship in which alone truly everlasting blessedness
promittitur. Hic itaque modus sit huius uoluminis, ut
is-promised here and-so the-measure let-be of-this volume that
deinceps disposita ab alio sumamus exordio.
next the-things-arranged from another we-may-take beginning

BOOK II

I · THE MEASURE OF DISPUTATION

If the weak sense of human habit did not resist plain reason, little discourse would be needed to refute error; but the foolish defend their irrational motions as if they were reason and truth, so clear things must be said at length. Yet there would be no end if every reply had to be answered, since some cannot understand and others will not obey. Augustine asks Marcellinus and his other readers not to be like those who always demand an answer to every contradiction.

Si rationi perspicuae ueritatis infirmus humanae
if to-the-reason of-clear truth the-weak of-human
consuetudinis sensus non auderet obsistere, sed doctrinae
habit sense not dared to-resist but to-doctrine
salubri languorem suum tamquam medicinae subderet, donec
wholesome languor its-own as to-medicine submitted until
diuino adiutorio fide pietatis inpetrante sanaretur, non
by-divine help with-faith of-devotion obtaining-it it-were-healed not
multo sermone opus esset ad conuincendum quemlibet
of-much discourse need there-would-be for refuting any-whatever
uanae opinationis errorem his, qui recte sentiunt et
of-vain opinion the-error for-those who rightly think and
sensa uerbis sufficientibus explicant. Nunc uero quoniam
the-thoughts in-words sufficient unfold now but since
ille est maior et taetrior insipientium morbus animorum,
that is the-greater and fouler of-the-foolish disease of-minds
quo inrationabiles motus suos, etiam post rationem plene
by-which irrational motions their-own even after reason fully
redditam, quanta homini ab homine debetur, siue nimia
rendered as-much-as to-a-man from a-man is-owed whether by-excessive
caecitate, qua nec aperta cernuntur, siue obstinatissima
blindness by-which not-even open-things are-discerned or by-most-obstinate

peruicacia, qua et ea quae cernuntur non feruntur,
stubbornness by-which also those-things which are-discerned not are-borne
tamquam ipsam rationem ueritatemque defendunt, fit
as-if the-very reason and-truth they-defend there-arises
necessitas copiosius dicendi plerumque res claras, uelut
the-necessity more-copiously of-speaking for-the-most-part things clear as-if
eas non spectantibus intuendas, sed quodam modo tangendas
them not to-those-looking to-be-gazed-at but in-a-certain way to-be-touched
palpantibus et coniuentibus offeramus. Et tamen quis
to-the-groping and to-those-shutting-their-eyes we-should-offer and yet what
disceptandi finis erit et loquendi modus, si respondendum
of-disputing end will-there-be and of-speaking measure if to-be-answered
esse respondentibus semper existimemus? Nam qui uel non
to-be to-the-answerers always we-judge for those-who either not
possunt intellegere quod dicitur, uel tam duri sunt aduersitate
can to-understand what is-said or so hard are by-perversity
mentis, ut, etiamsi intellexerint, non oboediant, respondent,
of-mind that even-if they-have-understood not they-obey answer
ut scriptum est, et loquuntur iniquitatem adque infatigabiliter
as written it-is and speak iniquity and tirelessly
uani sunt. Quorum dicta contraria si totiens uelimus refellere,
vain are whose sayings contrary if as-often we-wish to-refute
quotiens obnixa fronte statuerint non cogitare quid dicant,
as with-set brow they-have-resolved not to-think what they-say
dum quocumque modo nostris disputationibus contradicant,
so-long-as in-whatever way our disputations they-may-contradict
quam sit infinitum et aerumnosum et infructuosum uides.
how it-is infinite and laborious and fruitless you-see
Quam ob rem, nec te ipsum, fili Marcelline, nec
which on-account-of thing neither you yourself O-son Marcellinus nor
alios, quibus hic labor noster in Christi caritate utiliter ac
others to-whom this labor our in of-Christ charity usefully and

liberaliter seruit, tales meorum scriptorum uelim iudices,
liberally serves such of-my writings I-would-wish judges
qui responsionem semper desiderent, cum his quae
who an-answer always desire when to-these-things which
leguntur audierint aliquid contradici, ne fiant similes
are-read they-hear something to-be-contradicted lest they-become like
earum muliercularum, quas commemorat apostolus semper
to-those silly-women whom mentions the-apostle always
discentes et numquam ad ueritatis scientiam peruenientes.
learning and never to of-truth the-knowledge arriving

II · WHAT THE FIRST BOOK SETTLED

The first book answered those who blame the wars and the sack of Rome on the religion that forbids sacrifice to demons, when they should credit Christ for the barbarians' mercy; it asked why such benefits reached the ungodly and why the devout suffered with them, consoled the violated women, and rebuked those who insult them, degenerate from the Romans whose glory they oppose. Now he will tell what evils that city suffered from its origin, evils they would blame on Christianity had the gospel then preached against their gods.

Superiore itaque libro, cum de ciuitate Dei dicere
in-the-previous and-so book when about the-city of-God to-speak
instituissem, unde hoc uniuersum opus illo adiuuante in
I-had-undertaken whence this whole work with-him helping into
manus sumtum est, occurrit mihi resistendum esse primitus
hands taken has it-occurred to-me to-be-resisted to-be first
eis, qui haec bella, quibus mundus iste conteritur, maximeque
those who these wars by-which world this is-crushed and-especially
Romanae urbis recentem a barbaris uastationem Christianae
of-the-Roman city the-recent by the-barbarians devastation to-the-Christian

religioni tribuunt, qua prohibentur nefandis sacrificiis
religion attribute by-which they-are-forbidden by-abominable sacrifices
seruire daemonibus, cum potius hoc tribuere deberent Christo,
to-serve demons when rather this to-attribute they-ought to-Christ
quod propter eius nomen contra institutum moremque
that on-account-of his name against the-institution and-custom
bellorum eis, quo confugerent, religiosa et amplissima
of-wars to-them whither they-might-flee religious and most-ample
loca barbari libera praebuerunt, adque in multis famulatum
places the-barbarians free offered and in many the-service
deditum Christo non solum uerum, sed etiam timore
devoted to-Christ not only true but even through-fear
confictum sic honorauerunt, ut, quod in eos belli iure
feigned so they-honored that what on them of-war by-right
fieri licuisset, inlicitum sibi esse iudicarent. Inde
to-be-done had-been-lawful unlawful for-themselves to-be they-judged thence
incidit quaestio, quur haec diuina beneficia et ad inpios
fell-in the-question why these divine benefits both to the-ungodly
ingratosque peruenerint, et quur itidem illa dura, quae
and-ungrateful came and why likewise those hard-things which
hostiliter facta sunt, pios cum inpiis pariter adflixerint?
hostilely done were the-devout with the-ungodly alike afflicted
Quam quaestionem per multa diffusam (in omnibus
which question through many-things spread-out in all
enim cottidianis uel Dei muneribus uel hominum cladibus,
for daily either of-God gifts or of-men disasters
quorum utraque bene ac male uiuentibus permixte
of-which both to-those-well and badly living mingled
adque indiscrete saepe accidunt, solet multos mouere) ut
and indiscriminately often befall it-is-wont many to-move that
pro suscepti operis necessitate dissoluerem, aliquantum
for of-the-undertaken work the-necessity I-might-resolve somewhat

inmoratus sum maxime ad consolandas sanctas feminas
delayed I-have especially for consoling the-holy women
et pie castas, in quibus ab hoste aliquid perpetratum
and devoutly chaste on whom by the-enemy something perpetrated
est, quod intulit uerecundiae dolorem, etsi non abstulit
was which brought to-modesty pain though not it-took-away
pudicitiae firmitatem, ne paeniteat eas uitae, quas non est
of-chastity the-firmness lest it-repent them of-life whom not there-is
unde possit paenitere nequitiae. Deinde pauca dixi in
whence it-can to-repent of-wickedness then a-few-things I-said against
eos, qui Christianos aduersis illis rebus adfectos et praecipue
those who the-Christians by-adverse those things affected and especially
pudorem humiliatarum feminarum quamuis castarum adque
the-shame of-the-humiliated women although chaste and
sanctarum proteruitate inpudentissima exagitant, cum sint
holy with-insolence most-impudent harass since they-are
nequissimi et inreuerentissimi, longe ab eis ipsis Romanis
most-worthless and most-irreverent far from those very Romans
degeneres, quorum praeclara multa laudantur et litterarum
degenerate whose illustrious many-deeds are-praised and of-letters
memoria celebrantur, immo illorum gloriae uehementer
by-the-memory are-celebrated rather of-those to-the-glory vehemently
aduersi. Romam quippe partam ueterum auctamque
opposed Rome for brought-forth of-the-ancients and-increased
laboribus foediorem stantem fecerant quam ruentem,
by-the-labors more-foul standing they-had-made than falling
quando quidem in ruina eius lapides et ligna, in istorum
since indeed in the-ruin of-it stones and timbers in of-these
autem uita omnia non murorum, sed morum munimenta
but the-life all not of-walls but of-morals the-fortifications
adque ornamenta ceciderunt, cum funestioribus eorum corda
and ornaments fell when with-more-deadly their hearts

cupiditatibus quam ignibus tecta illius urbis arderent.
with-desires than with-fires the-roofs of-that city burned
Quibus dictis primum terminaui librum. Deinceps itaque
which-things said the-first I-ended book next and-so
dicere institui, quae mala ciuitas illa perpessa sit ab origine
to-say I-undertook what evils city that suffered has from origin
sua siue aput se ipsam siue in prouinciis sibi iam
its-own whether within it itself or in the-provinces to-itself already
subditis, quae omnia Christianae religioni tribuerent, si
subject which all to-the-Christian religion they-would-attribute if
iam tunc euangelica doctrina aduersus falsos et fallaces
already then the-gospel doctrine against false and deceitful
eorum deos testificatione liberrima personaret.
their gods with-testimony most-free were-resounding

III · ROME'S DISASTERS BEFORE CHRIST

He argues still against the unlearned, from whose ignorance came the proverb: no rain, the Christians are the cause. The educated know their history but feign ignorance, persuading the crowd that the disasters the human race suffers at intervals come from the Christian name. Let them recall with him the calamities that crushed Rome before Christ came, and defend their gods, if they are worshiped so that their worshipers may not suffer such things.

Memento autem me ista commemorantem adhuc contra
remember but me these-things recounting still against
inperitos agere, ex quorum inperitia illud quoque ortum
the-unlearned to-be-dealing from whose ignorance that also arisen
est uulgare prouerbium: Pluuia defit, causa Christiani sunt.
has common proverb rain fails the-cause Christians are
Nam qui eorum studiis liberalibus instituti amant historiam,
for those-who of-them in-studies liberal trained love history

facillime ista nouerunt; sed ut nobis ineruditorum turbas
most-easily these-things know but that for-us of-the-uneducated the-crowds
infestissimas reddant, se nosse dissimulant adque hoc
most-hostile they-may-render themselves to-know they-pretend-not and this
aput uulgus confirmare nituntur, clades, quibus per
among the-crowd to-confirm they-strive that-the-disasters by-which through
certa interualla locorum et temporum genus humanum
certain intervals of-places and of-times the-race human
oportet adfligi, causa accidere nominis Christiani, quod
must to-be-afflicted by-the-cause to-befall of-the-name Christian which
contra deos suos ingenti fama et praeclarissima celebritate
against gods their with-huge fame and most-brilliant renown
per cuncta diffunditur. Recolant ergo nobiscum, antequam
through all-things is-spread let-them-recall therefore with-us before
Christus uenisset in carne, antequam eius nomen ea,
Christ had-come in the-flesh before his name with-that
cui frustra inuident, gloria populis innotesceret, quibus
which in-vain they-envy glory to-the-peoples became-known by-what
calamitatibus res Romanae multipliciter uarieque contritae
calamities the-things Roman manifoldly and-variously crushed
sint, et in his defendant, si possunt, deos suos, si propterea
were and in these let-them-defend if they-can gods their if for-this-reason
coluntur, ne ista mala patiantur cultores eorum; quorum si
they-are-worshiped lest these evils should-suffer the-worshipers their of-which if
quid nunc passi fuerint, nobis inputanda esse contendunt.
anything now suffered they-shall-have to-us to-be-imputed to-be they-contend
Quur enim ea, quae dicturus sum, permiserunt accidere
why for those-things which about-to-tell I-am did-they-permit to-befall
cultoribus suis, antequam eos declaratum Christi nomen
to-worshipers their-own before them the-declared of-Christ name
offenderet eorumque sacrificia prohiberet?
offended and-their sacrifices forbade

First, why did the gods not care that their worshipers had the worst morals? The true God rightly neglected those who did not worship him, but the gods should have taught their own people, openly through seers, how to live. Nothing such ever sounded in their temples. As a youth Augustine watched the games for the Heavenly Virgin and Berecynthia, mother of all, where actors sang before her litter what no actor's mother could decently hear: if these are rites, what is sacrilege?

Primo ipsos mores ne pessimos haberent, quare di
first the-very morals lest most-wicked they-should-have why the-gods
eorum curare noluerunt? Deus enim uerus eos, a quibus
their to-care-for were-unwilling God for the-true them by whom
non colebatur, merito neglexit; di autem illi, a quorum
not he-was-worshiped deservedly neglected the-gods but those from whose
cultu se prohiberi homines ingratissimi conqueruntur,
worship themselves to-be-forbidden men most-ungrateful complain
cultores suos ad bene uiuendum quare nullis legibus
worshipers their-own for well living why by-no laws
adiuuerunt? Utique dignum erat, ut, quo modo isti illorum
did-they-help assuredly fitting it-was that in-what manner these their
sacra, ita illi istorum facta curarent. Sed respondetur, quod
rites so those of-these the-deeds should-care-for but it-is-answered that
uoluntate propria quisque malus est. Quis hoc negauerit?
by-will his-own each evil is who this would-deny
Verum tamen pertinebat ad consultores deos uitae bonae
but yet it-belonged to counselor gods of-life good
praecepta non occultare populis cultoribus suis, sed clara
the-precepts not to-hide from-the-peoples worshipers their-own but by-clear
praedicatione praebere, per uates etiam conuenire adque
proclamation to-offer through seers also to-meet and
arguere peccantes, palam minari poenas male agentibus,
to-rebuke sinners openly to-threaten punishments to-those-badly acting

praemia recte uiuentibus polliceri. Quid umquam tale
rewards to-those-rightly living to-promise what ever such
in deorum illorum templis prompta et eminenti uoce
in of-gods those the-temples with-ready and eminent voice
concrepuit? Veniebamus etiam nos aliquando adulescentes ad
resounded we-came also we sometime as-youths to
spectacula ludibriaque sacrilegiorum, spectabamus arrepticios,
the-spectacles and-sports of-sacrileges we-watched the-possessed
audiebamus synphoniacos, ludis turpissimis, qui dis
we-heard the-musicians in-the-games most-shameful which to-gods
deabusque exhibebantur, oblectabamur, Caelesti uirgini et
and-goddesses were-exhibited we-were-delighted to-the-Heavenly virgin and
Berecynthiae matri omnium, ante cuius lecticam die
to-the-Berecynthian mother of-all before whose litter on-the-day
sollemni lauationis eius talia per publicum cantitabantur
solemn of-the-washing her such-things through the-public were-sung
a nequissimis scaenicis, qualia, non dico matrem deorum,
by most-worthless actors such-as not I-say the-mother of-the-gods
sed matrem qualiumcumque senatorum uel quorumlibet
but the-mother of-any-whatever senators or of-any
honestorum uirorum, immo uero qualia nec matrem
honorable men rather indeed such-as not-even the-mother
ipsorum scaenicorum deceret audire. Habet enim quiddam
of-the-very actors would-befit to-hear has for something
erga parentes humana uerecundia, quod nec ipsa nequitia
toward parents human modesty which not-even the-very wickedness
possit auferre. Illam proinde turpitudinem obscenorum
can to-take-away that therefore baseness of-obscene
dictorum adque factorum scaenicos ipsos domi suae
words and deeds the-actors themselves at-home their-own
proludendi causa coram matribus suis agere puderet,
of-rehearsing for-the-sake before mothers their-own to-perform would-shame

quam per publicum agebant coram deum matre
which through the-public they-performed before of-the-gods the-mother
spectante adque audiente utriusque sexus frequentissima
watching and listening of-both sexes by-a-most-crowded
multitudine. Quae si inlecta curiositate adesse potuit
multitude which if enticed by-curiosity to-be-present it-could
circumfusa, saltem offensa castitate debuit abire confusa.
poured-around at-least offended in-chastity it-ought to-depart confounded
Quae sunt sacrilegia, si illa sunt sacra? aut quae inquinatio, si
what are sacrileges if those are rites or what defilement if
illa lauatio? Et haec fercula appellabantur, quasi celebraretur
that a-washing and these dishes were-called as-if was-celebrated
conuiuium, quo uelut suis epulis inmunda daemonia
a-banquet at-which as-if with-their-own feasts unclean demons
pascerentur. Quis enim non sentiat cuius modi spiritus
were-fed who for not would-perceive of-what kind spirits
talibus obscenitatibus delectentur, nisi uel nesciens, utrum
with-such obscenities are-delighted unless either not-knowing whether
omnino sint ulli inmundi spiritus deorum nomine
at-all there-are any unclean spirits of-gods by-the-name
decipientes, uel talem agens uitam, in qua istos potius
deceiving or such leading a-life in which these rather
quam Deum uerum et optet propitios et formidet iratos?
than God the-true both he-wishes propitious and dreads angry

He would make Scipio Nasica, the best man, who received that goddess's image into the City, the judge. Would he wish his own mother made a goddess if she were to be honored with such filth? He would rather she lay dead without sense. A senator who forbade a theater in Rome could not wish his mother worshiped with rites that would offend a matron. That goddess sought the best man not to make him better but to deceive him, as Scripture's adulteress hunts men's precious souls.

Nequaquam istos, qui flagitiosissimae consuetudinis uitiis
by-no-means these who of-most-shameful custom by-the-vices
oblectari magis quam obluctari student, sed illum
to-be-delighted rather than to-struggle-against strive but that
ipsum Nasicam Scipionem, qui uir optimus a senatu
very Nasica Scipio who a-man best by the-senate
electus est, cuius manibus eiusdem daemonis simulacrum
chosen was whose by-hands of-the-same demon the-image
susceptum est in Urbemque peruectum, habere de hac
received was into and-the-City carried to-have about this
re iudicem uellem. Diceret nobis, utrum matrem suam
matter as-judge I-would-wish he-would-say to-us whether mother his-own
tam optime de re publica uellet mereri, ut ei
so excellently of the-thing public he-would-wish to-deserve that to-her
diuini honores decernerentur; sicut et Graecos et Romanos
divine honors should-be-decreed as both the-Greeks and the-Romans
aliasque gentes constat quibusdam decreuisse mortalibus,
and-other nations it-is-agreed to-certain to-have-decreed mortals
quorum erga se beneficia magnipenderant, eosque
whose toward themselves benefits they-had-valued-highly and-them
inmortales factos adque in deorum numerum receptos esse
immortal made and into of-gods the-number received to-be
credideran t. Profecto ille tantam felicitatem suae matri, si
they-had-believed assuredly he such happiness for-his-own mother if

fieri posset, optaret. Porro si ab illo deinde quaereremus,
to-be-done it-could would-wish further if from him then we-were-to-ask
utrum inter eius diuinos honores uellet illa turpia
whether among her divine honors he-would-wish those base-things
celebrari: nonne se malle clamaret, ut sua mater sine
to-be-celebrated surely himself to-prefer he-would-cry that his mother without
ullo sensu mortua iaceret, quam ad hoc dea uiueret,
any sense dead lay than for this a-goddess lived
ut illa libenter audiret? Absit, ut senator populi
that those-things gladly she-might-hear far-be-it that a-senator of-the-people
Romani ea mente praeditus, qua theatrum aedificari
Roman with-that mind endowed by-which a-theater to-be-built
in urbe fortium uirorum prohibuit, sic uellet coli
in the-city of-brave men he-forbade so would-wish to-be-worshiped
matrem suam, ut talibus dea sacris propitiaretur, qualibus
mother his-own that with-such a-goddess rites be-propitiated with-such-as
matrona uerbis offenderetur. Nec ullo modo crederet
a-matron by-words would-be-offended nor in-any way would-he-believe
uerecundiam laudabilis feminae ita in contrarium diuinitate
that-the-modesty of-a-laudable woman so into the-contrary by-divinity
mutari, ut honoribus eam talibus aduocarent cultores
to-be-changed that with-honors her such would-invoke the-worshipers
sui, qualibus conuiciis in quempiam iaculatis, cum inter
her with-such-as insults against anyone hurled while among
homines uiueret, nisi aures clauderet seseque subtraheret,
men she-lived unless (her)-ears she-closed and-herself withdrew
erubescerent pro illa et propinqui et maritus et liberi.
would-blush for her both kinsmen and husband and children
Proinde talis mater deum, qualem habere matrem puderet
accordingly such a-mother of-the-gods as to-have as-mother would-shame
quemlibet etiam pessimum uirum, Romanas occupatura
any even the-worst man the-Roman about-to-seize

mentes quaesiuit optimum uirum, non quem monendo
minds sought the-best man not whom by-admonishing
et adiuuando faceret, sed quem fallendo deciperet,
and helping she-might-make but whom by-cheating she-might-deceive
ei similis de qua scriptum est: Mulier autem uirorum
to-her like about whom written it-is a-woman but of-men
pretiosas animas captat, ut ille magnae indolis animus hoc
the-precious souls captures that that of-great nature mind by-this
uelut diuino testimonio sublimatus et uere se optimum
as-if divine testimony exalted and truly himself best
existimans ueram pietatem religionemque non quaereret, sine
judging true devotion and-religion not should-seek without
qua omne quamuis laudabile ingenium superbia uanescit
which every although laudable talent by-pride vanishes
et decidit. Quo modo igitur nisi insidiose quaereret dea
and falls-away in-what manner then unless treacherously would-seek goddess
illa optimum uirum, cum talia quaerat in suis sacris,
that the-best man when such-things she-seeks in her-own rites
qualia uiri optimi abhorrent suis adhibere conuiuiis?
as men best shrink-from at-their-own to-apply banquets

The gods never cared about the life and morals of the cities that worshiped them, permitting the worst evils not in their fields and houses but in their minds without any prohibition. Let them not boast of secrets whispered to a few; let them show places where the people heard the gods' precepts on curbing avarice, ambition, and luxury, and learned what Persius bids the wretched learn, the causes of things, what we are, and what place God gave us in human affairs, as Christians hear in the churches.

Hinc est quod de uita et moribus ciuitatum adque
hence it-is that about the-life and morals of-the-cities and
populorum a quibus colebantur illa numina non curarunt, ut
peoples by whom were-worshiped those divinities not they-cared that
tam horrendis eos et detestabilibus malis non in agro et
with-so horrible them and detestable evils not in field and
uitibus, non in domo adque pecunia, non denique in ipso
vines not in house and money not finally in the-very
corpore, quod menti subditur, sed in ipsa mente, in ipso
body which to-the-mind is-subjected but in the-very mind in the-very
rectore carnis animo, eos inpleri ac pessimos fieri sine
ruler of-the-flesh the-soul them to-be-filled and worst to-become without
ulla sua terribili prohibitione permitterent. Aut si prohibebant,
any their terrible prohibition they-permitted or if they-forbade
hoc ostendatur potius, hoc probetur. Nec nobis nescio
this let-it-be-shown rather this let-it-be-proved nor to-us I-know-not
quos susurros paucissimorum auribus anhelatos et arcana
what whispers of-very-few into-the-ears breathed and secrets
uelut religione traditos iactent, quibus uitae probitas
as-if by-religion handed-down let-them-boast by-which of-life uprightness
castitasque discatur; sed demonstrentur uel commemorentur
and-chastity be-learned but let-there-be-shown or mentioned

loca talibus aliquando conuenticulis consecrata, non ubi ludi
places to-such sometime gatherings consecrated not where games
agerentur obscenis uocibus et motibus histrionum, nec ubi
were-performed with-obscene voices and gestures of-actors nor where
Fugalia celebrantur effusa omni licentia turpitudinum (et
the-Fugalia are-celebrated poured-out with-every license of-baseness and
uere Fugalia, sed pudoris et honestatis); sed ubi populi
truly a-Fugalia but of-modesty and of-honor but where the-peoples
audirent quid di praeciperent de cohibenda auaritia,
might-hear what the-gods commanded about restraining avarice
ambitione frangenda, luxuria refrenanda, ubi discerent
ambition breaking luxury curbing where they-might-learn
miseri, quod discendum Persius increpat dicens:
wretched-ones what to-be-learned Persius rebukes saying

Discite, o miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum,
learn O wretched-ones and the-causes know of-things
quid sumus et quidnam uicturi gignimur, ordo
what we-are and what about-to-live we-are-begotten order
quis datus aut metae qua mollis flexus et unde,
what is-given or of-the-turning-post where gentle the-bend and whence
quis modus argenti, quid fas optare, quid asper
what the-measure of-silver what right to-wish what rough
utile nummus habet, patriae carisque propinquis
use the-coin has for-the-fatherland and-for-dear kinsmen
quantum largiri deceat, quem te Deus esse
how-much to-bestow befits whom you God to-be
iussit et humana qua parte locatus es in re.
commanded and human in-what part placed you-are in affairs

Dicatur in quibus locis haec docentium deorum solebant
let-it-be-said in what places these of-teaching gods were-wont
praecepta recitari et a cultoribus eorum populis frequenter
precepts to-be-recited and by the-worshipers their the-peoples frequently
audiri, sicut nos ostendimus ad hoc ecclesias institutas,
to-be-heard as we show for this churches established
quaqua uersum religio Christiana diffunditur.
wherever turned religion Christian is-spread

VII · THE PHILOSOPHERS ARE NOT THE GODS

They may point to the philosophers' schools, but these are Greek, and the discoveries of men, not the gods' precepts, some true as far as God helped them, some erring. If the philosophers found what suffices for a good life, they deserved divine honors more, and a temple to Plato, where his books were read, would be better than the demons' temples, where eunuch priests are made. Worshipers of such gods look to what Jupiter did rather than what Plato taught; in Terence a young man excuses his lust by a painting of Jupiter and Danae.

An forte nobis philosophorum scholas disputationesque
or perhaps to-us of-the-philosophers the-schools and-disputations
memorabunt? Primo haec non Romana, sed Graeca sunt;
will-they-mention first these-things not Roman but Greek are
aut si propterea iam Romana, quia et Graecia facta est
or if for-this-reason now Roman because also Greece made has-been
Romana prouincia, non deorum praecepta sunt, sed hominum
a-Roman province not of-the-gods precepts they-are but of-men
inuenta, qui utcumque conati sunt ingeniis acutissimis
discoveries who in-whatever-way tried have by-talents most-acute
praediti ratiocinando uestigare, quid in rerum natura latitaret,
endowed by-reasoning to-track-down what in of-things the-nature lay-hidden

quid in moribus adpetendum esset adque fugiendum, quid in
what in morals to-be-sought was and to-be-fled what in
ipsis ratiocinandi regulis certa conexione traheretur, aut quid
the-very of-reasoning rules by-sure connection was-drawn or what
non esset consequens uel etiam repugnaret. Et quidam eorum
not was consequent or even was-contradictory and some of-them
quaedam magna, quantum diuinitus adiuti sunt, inuenerunt;
certain great-things as-far-as divinely helped they-were found
quantum autem humanitus inpediti sunt, errauerunt, maxime
as-far-as but humanly hindered they-were erred especially
cum eorum superbiae iuste prouidentia diuina resisteret, ut
when their pride justly providence divine resisted that
uiam pietatis ab humilitate in superna surgentem etiam
the-way of-devotion from humility to the-heights rising even
istorum conparatione monstraret; unde postea nobis erit
of-these by-the-comparison it-might-show whence afterward for-us there-will-be
in Dei ueri Domini uoluntate disquirendi ac disserendi
in of-God the-true Lord the-will of-inquiring and discussing
locus. Verum tamen si philosophi aliquid inuenerunt, quod
a-place but yet if the-philosophers anything found which
agendae bonae uitae beataeque adipiscendae satis esse possit:
for-leading a-good life and-a-happy for-obtaining enough to-be can
quanto iustius talibus diuini honores decernerentur! Quanto
how-much more-justly to-such divine honors would-be-decreed how-much
melius et honestius in Platonis templo libri eius legerentur,
better and more-honorably in Plato's temple books his would-be-read
quam in templis daemonum Galli absciderentur, molles
than in the-temples of-demons the-Galli be-castrated the-effeminate
consecrarentur, insani secarentur, et quidquid aliud uel
consecrated the-insane gashed and whatever else either
crudele uel turpe, uel turpiter crudele uel crudeliter turpe
cruel or base or basely cruel or cruelly base

in sacris talium deorum celebrari solet! Quanto satius
in the-rites of-such gods to-be-celebrated is-wont how-much better
erat ad erudiendam iustitia iuuentutem publice recitari
was-it for training by-justice the-youth publicly to-be-recited
leges deorum quam laudari inaniter leges adque instituta
the-laws of-the-gods than to-be-praised emptily the-laws and institutions
maiorum! Omnes enim cultores talium deorum, mox ut
of-the-ancestors all for the-worshipers of-such gods as-soon as
eos libido perpulerit feruenti, ut ait Persius, tincta ueneno,
them lust has-driven with-burning as says Persius dipped in-poison
magis intuentur quid Iuppiter fecerit, quam quid docuerit
rather consider what Jupiter did than what taught
Plato uel censuerit Cato. Hinc aput Terentium flagitiosus
Plato or judged Cato hence in Terence a-shameful
adulescens spectat tabulam quandam pictam in pariete,
youth looks-at a-picture a-certain painted on the-wall

ubi inerat pictura haec, Iouem
where was-in-it painting this Jupiter
quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium
in-what manner to-Danae to-have-sent they-say once into (her)-lap
imbrem aureum,
a-shower golden

adque ab hac tanta auctoritate adhibet patrocinium
and from this so-great authority he-applies patronage
turpitudini suae, cum in ea se iactat imitari deum.
to-the-baseness his-own when in it himself he-boasts to-imitate a-god

At quem deum! inquit;
but what god he-says

qui templa caeli summo sonitu concutit.
who the-temples of-heaven with-highest sound shakes

Ego homuncio id non facerem? Ego uero illud feci ac libens.
I a-little-man this not would-do I indeed that have-done and gladly

VIII · THE GODS ORDERED THE GAMES

They say these things belong to the poets' fables, not the rites. But history shows that the gods themselves exacted the theatrical games, first established at Rome by the pontiffs during a pestilence. Who would not follow what is acted in games set up by divine authority rather than what is written in laws made by human counsel? If the poets lied about Jupiter's adulteries, chaste gods should have been angry and avenged it. And these are the more tolerable plays, comedies and tragedies free of obscene words, which old men make boys read at school.

At enim non traduntur ista sacris deorum, sed fabulis poetarum. Nolo dicere illa mystica quam ista theatrica esse turpiora; hoc dico, quod negantes conuincit historia, eosdem illos ludos, in quibus regnant figmenta poetarum, non per inperitum obsequium sacris deorum
but indeed not are-handed-down these-things in-the-rites of-the-gods but in-the-fables of-the-poets I-am-unwilling to-say those mystic-things than these theatrical to-be more-base this I-say what them-denying refutes history the-same those games in which reign the-fictions of-the-poets not through ignorant deference into-the-rites of-gods

suorum intulisse Romanos, sed ipsos deos, ut sibi
their-own to-have-brought the-Romans but the-very gods that for-themselves
sollemniter ederentur et honori suo consecrarentur,
solemnly they-be-exhibited and to-honor their-own be-consecrated
acerbe imperando et quodam modo extorquendo fecisse;
harshly by-commanding and in-a-certain manner by-extorting to-have-done
quod in primo libro breui commemoratione perstrinxi.
which in the-first book by-brief mention I-touched-upon
Nam ingrauescente pestilentia ludi scaenici auctoritate
for growing-heavier pestilence the-games theatrical by-the-authority
pontificum Romae primitus instituti sunt. Quis igitur in
of-the-pontiffs at-Rome first established were who then in
agenda uita non ea sibi potius sectanda arbitretur,
leading life not those-things for-himself rather to-be-followed would-judge
quae actitantur ludis auctoritate diuina institutis, quam
which are-acted in-games by-authority divine established than
ea, quae scriptitantur legibus humano consilio promulgatis?
those which are-written in-laws by-human counsel promulgated
Adulterum Iouem si poetae fallaciter prodiderunt, di
an-adulterous Jupiter if the-poets falsely published the-gods
utique casti, quia tantum nefas per humanos ludos
assuredly chaste because so-great a-crime through human games
confictum est, non quia neglectum, irasci ac uindicare
feigned was not because neglected to-be-angry and to-avenge
debuerunt. Et haec sunt scaenicorum tolerabiliora ludorum,
they-ought and these are of-theatrical the-more-tolerable games
comoediae scilicet et tragoediae, hoc est fabulae poetarum
the-comedies namely and tragedies that is the-fables of-poets
agendae in spectaculis multa rerum turpitudine, sed nulla
to-be-acted in spectacles with-much of-things baseness but with-no
saltem, sicut alia multa, uerborum obscenitate conpositae;
at-least as other many of-words obscenity composed

quas etiam inter studia, quae honesta ac liberalia uocantur,
which even among the-studies which honorable and liberal are-called
pueri legere et discere coguntur a senibus.
boys to-read and to-learn are-compelled by old-men

IX · WHAT THE ANCIENT ROMANS THOUGHT OF THE STAGE

Cicero's books On the Republic show that Scipio held comedy could never have won the theaters' approval for its shameful deeds unless custom allowed. The Greeks let comedy name anyone, even Pericles, but the Twelve Tables made it a capital crime to compose a song bringing infamy on another, judging that life should be exposed to the magistrates' courts, not to the poets. The Greeks were more consistent: their gods enjoyed the reproaches against themselves, so they spared no man either.

Quid hinc autem senserint Romani ueteres, Cicero testatur
what hence moreover thought the-Romans ancient Cicero testifies
in libris, quos de re publica scripsit, ubi Scipio
in the-books which about the-thing public he-wrote where Scipio
disputans ait: "Numquam comoediae, nisi consuetudo uitae
disputing says never the-comedies unless the-custom of-life
pateretur, probare sua theatris flagitia potuissent".
allowed to-approve their in-the-theaters shameful-deeds could-have
Et Graeci quidem antiquiores uitiosae suae opinionis
and the-Greeks indeed more-ancient of-vicious their opinion
quandam conuenientiam seruarunt, aput quos fuit etiam
a-certain consistency preserved among whom it-was even
lege concessum, ut quod uellet comoedia, de quo uellet,
by-law conceded that what it-wished comedy about whom it-wished
nominatim diceret. Itaque, sicut in eisdem libris loquitur
by-name should-say and-so as in the-same books speaks

Africanus, “quem illa non adtigit, uel potius quem non
Africanus whom it not touched or rather whom not
uexauit? cui pepercit? Esto, populares homines inprobos, in
harassed whom spared granted popular men wicked in
re publica seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum
the-thing public seditious Cleon Cleophon Hyperbolus
laesit. Patiamur, inquit, etsi eius modi ciues a censore
it-hurt let-us-suffer-it he-says although of-this kind citizens by the-censor
melius est quam a poeta notari. Sed Periclen, cum iam
better it-is than by the-poet to-be-branded but Pericles when already
suae ciuitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi
his-own city with-highest authority very-many years at-home
et belli praefuisset, uiolari uersibus et eos agi in
and in-war had-led to-be-outraged in-verses and them to-be-acted on
scaena non plus decuit, quam si Plautus, inquit, noster
the-stage not more was-fitting than if Plautus he-says our
uoluisset aut Naeuius Publio et Gn. Scipioni aut Caecilius
had-wished or Naevius Publius and Gnaeus Scipio or Caecilius
Marco Catoni maledicere.” Dein paulo post: “Nostrae,
Marcus Cato to-revile then a-little after our
inquit, contra duodecim tabulae cum perpaucas res
he-says on-the-contrary Twelve Tables though very-few things
capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam
by-death-penalty they-had-sanctioned among these this also to-be-sanctioned
putauerunt, si quis occentauisset siue carmen condidisset,
they-thought if anyone had-sung-against or a-song had-composed
quod infamiam faceret flagitiumue alteri. Praeclare.
which infamy would-cause or-disgrace to-another excellently
Iudiciis enim magistratuum, disceptationibus legitimis
to-the-judgments for of-magistrates to-disputations lawful
propositam uitam, non poetarum ingeniis habere debemus,
exposed life not of-poets to-the-talents to-have we-ought

nec probrum audire nisi ea lege, ut respondere liceat
nor reproach to-hear except on-that condition that to-reply be-allowed
et iudicio defendere." Haec ex Ciceronis quarto de
and in-court to-defend these-things from Cicero's fourth on
re publica libro ad uerbum excerpenda arbitratus sum,
the-thing public book to the-word to-be-excerpted judged I-have
nonnullis propter faciliorem intellectum uel praetermissis
some on-account-of easier understanding either passed-over
uel paululum commutatis. Multum enim ad rem pertinet,
or slightly changed much for to the-matter pertains
quam molior explicare, si potero. Dicit deinde alia
which I-labor to-unfold if I-shall-be-able he-says then other-things
et sic concludit hunc locum, ut ostendat ueteribus
and thus concludes this passage that he-may-show to-the-ancient
displicuisse Romanis uel laudari quemquam in scaena
to-have-displeased Romans either to-be-praised anyone on the-stage
uiuum hominem uel uituperari. Sed, ut dixi, hoc Graeci
a-living man or to-be-censured but as I-said this the-Greeks
quamquam inuerecundius, tamen conuenientius licere
although more-shamelessly yet more-consistently to-be-allowed
uoluerunt, cum uiderent dis suis accepta et grata esse
wished since they-saw to-gods their-own welcome and pleasing to-be
obprobria non tantum hominum, uerum et ipsorum deorum
the-reproaches not only of-men but also of-the-very gods
in scaenicis fabulis, siue a poetis essent illa conficta,
in theatrical fables whether by the-poets were those-things fabricated
siue flagitia eorum uera commemorarentur et agerentur
or the-shameful-deeds their true were-recalled and were-acted
in theatris adque ab eorum cultoribus utinam solo risu,
in the-theaters and by their worshipers would-that of-mere laughter
ac non etiam imitatione digna uiderentur. Nimis enim
and not also of-imitation worthy they-might-seem excessively for

superbum fuit famae parcere principum ciuitatis et
proud it-was the-fame to-spare of-the-leading-men of-the-city and
ciuium, ubi suae famae parci numina noluerunt.
of-citizens where their-own fame to-be-spared the-divinities were-unwilling

X · LIES ABOUT THE GODS SERVE THE DEMONS

To plead that the crimes told of the gods are false makes it worse; a reproach against a good ruler is the more unworthy the more remote from the truth. But the malign spirits wish even false crimes told of them, to entangle human minds and drag them to punishment, as if heaven itself gave authority to wickedness. So the Greeks, servants of such divinities, thought the poets need not spare them either, fearing to provoke the gods by seeking better fame for themselves.

Nam quod adfertur pro defensione, non illa uera
for what is-brought-forward for defense not those-things true
in deos dici, sed falsa adque conficta, id ipsum
against the-gods to-be-said but false and fabricated that very
est scelestius, si pietatem consulas religionis; si autem
is more-wicked if devotion you-consult of-religion if but
malitiam daemonum cogites, quid astutius ad decipiendum
the-malice of-demons you-ponder what more-cunning for deceiving
adque callidius? Cum enim probrum iacitur in principem
and more-crafty when for reproach is-hurled at the-leading-man
patriae bonum adque utilem, nonne tanto est indignius,
of-the-fatherland good and useful surely so-much is-it more-unworthy
quanto a ueritate remotius et a uita illius alienius?
as from the-truth more-remote and from the-life of-him more-alien
Quae igitur supplicia sufficiunt, cum deo fit ista tam
what then punishments suffice when to-a-god is-done this so
nefaria, tam insignis iniuria? Sed maligni spiritus, quos isti
wicked so notable injury but malign spirits whom these

deos putant, etiam flagitia, quae non admiserunt, de
gods think even shameful-deeds which not they-committed about
se dici uolunt, dum tamen humanas mentes his
themselves to-be-said wish so-long-as only human minds with-these
opinionibus uelut retibus induant et ad praedestinatum
opinions as-if with-nets they-may-entangle and to the-predestined
supplicium secum trahant, siue homines ista
punishment with-themselves may-drag whether men these-things
commiserint, quos deos haberi gaudent, qui humanis
committed whom gods to-be-held they-rejoice who in-(the)-human
erroribus gaudent, pro quibus se etiam colendos
errors rejoice for which themselves even to-be-worshiped
mille nocendi fallendique artibus interponunt; siue etiam
by-a-thousand of-harming and-of-deceiving arts they-interpose or even
non ullorum hominum illa crimina uera sint, quae tamen
not of-any men those crimes true be which yet
de numinibus fingi libenter accipiunt fallacissimi spiritus,
about divinities to-be-feigned gladly they-accept most-deceitful spirits
ut ad scelesta ac turpia perpetranda uelut ab ipso caelo
that for wicked and base-things to-be-perpetrated as-if from the-very heaven
traduci in terras satis idonea uideatur auctoritas.
to-be-brought-over to the-lands sufficiently fit may-seem authority
Cum igitur Graeci talium numinum seruos se esse
since therefore the-Greeks of-such divinities slaves themselves to-be
sentirent, inter tot et tanta eorum theatrica obprobria
felt among so-many and so-great their theatrical reproaches
parcendum sibi a poetis nullo modo putauerunt, uel
to-be-spared to-themselves by the-poets in-no way they-thought either
dis suis etiam sic consimilari adpetentes, uel metuentes,
to-gods their-own even so to-be-made-like seeking or fearing

ne honestiorem famam ipsi requirendo et eis se
lest more-honorable fame they-themselves by-seeking and to-them themselves
hoc modo praeferendo illos ad iracundiam prouocarent.
in-this manner preferring those to anger they-should-provoke

XI · THE GREEKS HONORED THEIR ACTORS

Consistently, the Greeks held actors worthy of honor: Aeschines took up public life after acting tragedies, and Aristodemus was sent as envoy to Philip. Since the gods enjoyed the plays, the men who performed them could not be infamous; they honored actors as they honored priests, for the gods demanded both. Labeo distinguished good divinities, pleased by games and banquets, from bad ones placated by slaughter, but the Greeks honored both priests and actors lest they wrong any god.

Ad hanc conuenientiam pertinet, quod etiam scaenicos actores
to this consistency belongs that also theatrical actors
earundem fabularum non paruo ciuitatis honore dignos
of-the-same fables not of-small of-the-city honor worthy
existimarunt, si quidem, quod in eo quoque de re
they-judged if indeed what in that also about the-thing
publica libro commemoratur, Aeschines Atheniensis, uir
public book is-mentioned Aeschines the-Athenian a-man
eloquentissimus, cum adulescens tragoedias actitauisset, rem
most-eloquent when a-youth tragedies he-had-acted the-thing
publicam capessiuit et Aristodemum, tragicum item actorem,
public took-up and Aristodemus a-tragic likewise actor
maximis de rebus pacis ac belli legatum ad Philippum
the-greatest about things of-peace and of-war as-envoy to Philip
Athenienses saepe miserunt. Non enim consentaneum
the-Athenians often sent not for consistent

putabatur, cum easdem artes eosdemque scaenicos ludos
it-was-thought when the-same arts and-the-same theatrical games
etiam dis suis acceptos uiderent, illos, per quos
even to-gods their-own acceptable they-saw those through whom
agerentur, infamium loco ac numero deputare. Haec
they-were-acted of-the-infamous in-the-place and number to-reckon these-things
Graeci turpiter quidem, sed sane dis suis omnino
the-Greeks basely indeed but certainly with-gods their-own altogether
congruenter, qui nec uitam ciuium lacerandam linguis
consistently who not-even the-life of-the-citizens to-be-torn by-the-tongues
poetarum et histrionum subtrahere ausi sunt, a quibus
of-poets and of-actors to-withdraw dared have by whom
cernebant deorum uitam eisdem ipsis dis uolentibus et
they-saw of-the-gods the-life by-the-same very gods willing and
libentibus carpi, et ipsos homines, per quos ista
glad to-be-carped-at and the-very men through whom these-things
in theatris agebantur, quae numinibus quibus subditi erant
in the-theaters were-acted which to-the-divinities to-whom subject they-were
grata esse cognouerant, non solum minime spernendos in
pleasing to-be they-had-learned not only not-at-all to-be-spurned in
ciuitate, uerum etiam maxime honorandos putarunt. Quid
the-city but even most to-be-honored they-thought what
enim causae reperire possent, quur sacerdotes honorarent,
for of-cause to-find they-could why priests they-should-honor
quia per eos uictimas dis acceptabiles offerebant, et
because through them victims to-the-gods acceptable they-offered and
scaenicos probrosos haberent, per quos illam uoluptatem
actors disgraceful should-hold through whom that pleasure
siue honorem dis exhiberi petentibus et, nisi fieret,
or honor to-the-gods to-be-exhibited demanding and unless it-were-done
irascentibus eorum admonitione didicerant? cum praesertim
being-angry by-their admonition they-had-learned since especially

Labeo, quem huiusce modi rerum peritissimum praedicant,
Labeo whom of-this kind of-things most-skilled they-proclaim
numina bona a numinibus malis ista etiam cultus
divinities good from divinities bad by-this even of-worship
diuersitate distinguat, ut malos deos propitiari caedibus
difference distinguishes so-that the-bad gods to-be-propitiated by-slaughters
et tristibus supplicationibus adserat, bonos autem obsequiis
and by-sad supplications he-asserts the-good but by-observances
laetis adque iucundis, qualia sunt, ut ipse ait, ludi conuiuia
joyful and pleasant such-as are as he-himself says games banquets
lectisternia. Quod totum quale sit, postea, si Deus
couches-spread-for-the-gods which whole of-what-kind it-is afterward if God
iuuerit, diligentius disseremus. Nunc ad rem praesentem
shall-help more-carefully we-shall-discuss now to the-matter present
quod adtinet, siue omnibus omnia tamquam bonis
as-far-as pertains whether to-all all-things as-if to-good
permixte tribuantur (neque enim esse decet deos malos,
mingled be-attributed nor for to-be it-is-fitting gods bad
cum potius isti, quia inmundi sunt spiritus, omnes sint
when rather these because unclean they-are spirits all are
mali), siue certa discretione, sicut Labeoni uisum est, illis
bad or by-sure discrimination as to-Labeo seemed it-has to-those
illa, istis ista distribuantur obsequia, conpetentissime Graeci
those to-these these be-distributed observances most-fittingly the-Greeks
utrosque honori ducunt, et sacerdotes, per quos uictimae
both to-honor reckon both the-priests through whom victims
ministrantur, et scaenicos, per quos ludi exhibentur,
are-ministered and the-actors through whom games are-exhibited
ne uel omnibus dis suis, si et ludi omnibus grati
lest either to-all gods their-own if also the-games to-all pleasing

sunt, uel, quod est indignius, his, quos bonos putant, si
are or what is more-unworthy to-these whom good they-think if
ludi ab eis solis amantur, facere conuincantur iniuriam.
the-games by them alone are-loved to-do they-be-convicted wrong

XII · THE ROMANS PROTECTED THEMSELVES, NOT THEIR GODS

The Romans, Scipio boasts, would not let their own lives be exposed to the poets, making such songs capital, but let their gods be torn by the same insults in the very rites. Does Scipio praise a law that forbade the poets to reproach any Roman, while sparing none of the gods? Was the senate's reputation dearer than the Capitol's, Rome's than heaven's? Plautus might not revile the Scipios, but Terence might stir up youths by Jupiter's crime.

At Romani, sicut in illa de re publica disputatione Scipio
but the-Romans as in that about the-thing public disputation Scipio
gloriatur, probris et iniuriis poetarum subiectam uitam
boasts to-the-reproaches and injuries of-poets subjected life
famamque habere noluerunt, capite etiam sancientes, tale
and-reputation to-have were-unwilling by-death-penalty even sanctioning such
carmen condere si quis auderet. Quod erga se quidem
a-song to-compose if anyone should-dare which toward themselves indeed
satis honeste constituerunt, sed erga deos suos superbe
sufficiently honorably they-established but toward gods their-own proudly
et inreligiose; quos cum scirent non solum patienter, uerum
and irreligiously whom though they-knew not only patiently but
etiam libenter poetarum probris maledictisque lacerari,
even gladly of-poets by-the-reproaches and-curses to-be-torn
se potius quam illos huiusce modi iniuriis indignos esse
themselves rather than them of-this kind injuries unworthy to-be
duxerunt seque ab eis etiam lege munierunt, illorum
they-judged and-themselves against them even by-law they-fortified their

autem ista etiam sacris sollemnitatibus miscuerunt. Itane
but these-things even with-sacred solemnities they-mingled so-then
tandem, Scipio, laudas hanc poetis Romanis negatam esse
pray Scipio do-you-praise this to-the-poets Roman denied to-be
licentiam, ut cuiquam obprobrium infligerent Romanorum,
license that on-any reproach they-should-inflict of-the-Romans
cum uideas eos nulli deorum pepercisse uestrorum? Itane
when you-see them none of-the-gods to-have-spared your so-then
pluris tibi habenda est existimatio curiae uestrae quam
of-more for-you to-be-held is the-reputation of-senate-house your than
Capitolii, immo Romae unius quam caeli totius, ut
of-the-Capitol rather of-Rome alone than of-heaven whole that
linguam maledicam in ciues tuos exercere poetae etiam
the-tongue cursing against citizens your to-exercise the-poets even
lege prohiberentur, et in deos tuos securi tanta conuicia
by-law were-forbidden and against gods your secure such insults
nullo senatore nullo censore, nullo principe nullo pontifice
with-no senator with-no censor with-no chief with-no pontiff
prohibente iacularentur? Indignum uidelicet fuit, ut Plautus
forbidding they-might-hurl unworthy doubtless it-was that Plautus
aut Naeuius Gn. Scipioni aut Caecilius M. Catoni
or Naevius Gnaeus Scipio or Caecilius Marcus Cato
malediceret, et dignum fuit, ut Terentius uester flagitio
should-revile and worthy it-was that Terence your by-the-shameful-deed
Iouis optimi maximi adulescentium nequitiam concitaret?
of-Jupiter best greatest of-youths the-wickedness should-stir-up

Scipio might answer that the gods themselves wanted the plays. Then they should have been seen not to be true gods. The Romans, mindful of their dignity, did not honor actors as the Greeks did but struck them from their tribe; praiseworthy, but inconsistent, for the actor through whom a god is worshiped is cast out. Let the Greeks and Romans contend: the Greeks say such gods must be worshiped, so such men honored; the Romans that such men must not be honored; the Christians conclude that such gods must not be worshiped.

Sed responderet mihi fortasse, si uiueret: Quo modo nos
but he-would-answer me perhaps if he-were-living in-what manner we
ista inpunita esse nollemus, quae ipsi di sacra
these-things unpunished to-be should-be-unwilling which themselves the-gods sacred
esse uoluerunt, cum ludos scaenicos, ubi talia celebrantur
to-be wished since games theatrical where such-things are-celebrated
dictitantur actitantur, et Romanis moribus inuexerunt
are-recited are-acted both into-the-Roman morals they-brought-in
et suis honoribus dicari exhiberique iusserunt?
and to-their-own honors to-be-dedicated and-to-be-exhibited ordered
Quur non ergo hinc magis ipsi intellecti sunt non
why not then hence rather they-themselves understood were not
esse di ueri nec omnino digni, quibus diuinos honores
to-be gods true nor at-all worthy to-whom divine honors
deferret illa res publica? Quos enim coli minime
should-confer that thing public whom for to-be-worshiped not-at-all
deceret minimeque oporteret, si ludos expeterent agendos
it-befitted and-not-at-all it-behooved if games they-demanded to-be-acted
conuiciis Romanorum, quo modo quaeso colendi putati
with-insults of-the-Romans in-what manner I-ask to-be-worshiped thought
sunt, quo modo non detestandi spiritus intellecti, qui
were-they in-what manner not to-be-detested spirits understood who

cupiditate fallendi inter suos honores sua celebrari
from-desire of-deceiving among their-own honors their-own to-be-celebrated
crimina poposcerunt? Itemque Romani, quamuis iam
crimes demanded and-likewise the-Romans although already
superstitione noxia premerentur, ut illos deos colerent,
by-superstition harmful they-were-pressed that those gods they-should-worship
quos uidebant sibi uoluisse scaenicas turpitudines
whom they-saw for-themselves to-have-wished theatrical basenesses
consecrari, suae tamen dignitatis memores ac pudoris
to-be-consecrated of-their-own yet dignity mindful and of-shame
actores talium fabularum nequaquam honorauerunt more
the-actors of-such fables in-no-way honored in-the-manner
Graecorum, sed, sicut aput Ciceronem idem Scipio loquitur,
of-the-Greeks but as in Cicero the-same Scipio speaks
"cum artem ludicram scaenamque totam in probro ducerent,
since the-art of-play and-the-stage whole in disgrace they-reckoned
genus id hominum non modo honore ciuium reliquorum
kind that of-men not only the-honor of-the-citizens other
carere, sed etiam tribu moueri notatione censoria
to-lack but even from-(their)-tribe to-be-removed by-mark censorial
uoluerunt." Praeclara sane et Romanis laudibus adnumeranda
they-wished excellent truly and to-Roman praises to-be-numbered
prudentia; sed uellem se ipsa sequeretur, se imitaretur.
prudence but I-would-wish itself it-itself it-followed itself it-imitated
Ecce enim recte, quisquis ciuium Romanorum esse scaenicus
behold for rightly whoever of-citizens Roman to-be an-actor
elegisset, non solum ei nullus ad honorem dabatur locus,
had-chosen not only to-him no to honor was-given place
uerum etiam censoris nota tribum tenere propriam minime
but even by-the-censor's mark (his)-tribe to-hold own not-at-all
sinebatur. O animum ciuitatis laudis auidum germaneque
he-was-allowed O mind of-a-city for-praise greedy and-genuinely

Romanum! Sed respondeatur mihi: qua consentanea ratione
Roman but let-it-be-answered to-me by-what consistent reason
homines scaenici ab omni honore pelluntur, et ludi
men theatrical from every honor are-driven and the-games
scaenici deorum honoribus admiscentur? Illas theatricas artes
theatrical of-the-gods with-honors are-mingled those theatrical arts
diu uirtus Romana non nouerat, quae si ad oblectamentum
long virtue Roman not had-known which if for the-amusement
uoluptatis humanae quaererentur, uitio morum inreperent
of-pleasure human they-were-sought by-the-vice of-morals would-creep-in
humanorum. Di eas sibi exhiberi petierunt: quo
human the-gods them for-themselves to-be-exhibited demanded in-what
modo ergo abicitur scaenicus, per quem colitur Deus?
manner then is-cast-off the-actor through whom is-worshiped God
et theatricae illius turpitudinis qua fronte notatur actor,
and theatrical of-that baseness with-what face is-branded the-actor
si adoratur exactor? In hac controuersia Graeci Romanique
if is-adored the-exactor in this controversy the-Greeks and-Romans
concertent. Graeci putant recte se honorare homines
may-contend the-Greeks think rightly themselves to-honor men
scaenicos, quia colunt ludorum scaenicorum flagitatores
theatrical because they-worship of-games theatrical the-demanders
deos; Romani uero hominibus scaenicis nec plebeiam tribum,
gods the-Romans indeed by-men theatrical not-even the-plebeian tribe
quanto minus senatoriam curiam dehonestari sinunt. In hac
how-much less the-senatorial senate-house to-be-dishonored do-allow in this
disceptatione huiusce modi ratiocinatio summam quaestionis
dispute of-this kind reasoning the-sum of-the-question
absoluit. Proponunt Graeci: Si di tales colendi sunt,
resolves propose the-Greeks if gods such to-be-worshiped are
profecto etiam tales homines honorandi. Adsumunt Romani:
assuredly also such men to-be-honored add the-Romans

Sed nullo modo tales homines honorandi sunt. Concludunt
but in-no way such men to-be-honored are conclude
Christiani: Nullo modo igitur di tales colendi sunt.
the-Christians in-no way therefore gods such to-be-worshiped are

XIV · PLATO BETTER THAN THE GODS

Why are the poets who write such fables not dishonored with the actors? Plato, shaping the ideal city, banished the poets as enemies of truth. Labeo ranks him a demigod with Hercules and Romulus, but he deserves preference even over the gods, and Roman law came near his teaching. Christians compare him with no saint, yet prefer him, if not to Romulus and Hercules, then to Priapus, a Cynocephalus, or Fever. Gods who sowed such vices through the theaters could never forbid or uproot them, and Cicero cries out in vain against the poets.

Deinde quaerimus, ipsi poetae talium fabularum
next we-ask themselves the-poets of-such fables
conpositores, qui duodecim tabularum lege prohibentur
the-composers who of-the-Twelve Tables by-the-law are-forbidden
famam laedere ciuium, tam probrosa in deos conuicia
the-reputation to-hurt of-citizens so disgraceful against the-gods insults
iaculantes quur non ut scaenici habeantur inhonesti.
hurling why not like the-actors they-are-held dishonorable
Qua ratione rectum est, ut poeticorum figmentorum et
by-what reason right is-it that of-poetic fictions and
ignominiosorum deorum infamentur actores, honorentur
of-ignominious gods be-defamed the-actors be-honored
auctores? An forte Graeco Platoni potius palma danda
the-authors or perhaps to-the-Greek Plato rather the-palm to-be-given
est, qui cum ratione formaret, qualis esse ciuitas debeat,
is who when by-reason he-shaped of-what-kind to-be a-city ought

tamquam aduersarios ueritatis poetas censuit urbe
as adversaries of-truth the-poets judged from-the-city
pellendos? Iste uero et deorum iniurias indigne tulit et
to-be-driven he indeed both of-the-gods the-injuries indignantly bore and
fucari corrumpique figmentis animos ciuium noluit.
to-be-painted and-corrupted by-fictions the-minds of-the-citizens was-unwilling
Confer nunc Platonis humanitatem a ciuibus decipiendis
compare now Plato's humanity from the-citizens to-be-deceived
poetas urbe pellentem cum deorum diuinitate honori
the-poets from-the-city driving with of-the-gods the-divinity for-honor
suo ludos scaenicos expetente. Ille, ne talia uel
its-own games theatrical demanding he lest such-things even
scriberentur, etsi non persuasit disputando, tamen suasit
be-written although not he-persuaded by-disputing yet he-urged
leuitati lasciuiaeque Graecorum; isti, ut talia etiam
to-the-levity and-wantonness of-the-Greeks these that such-things even
agerentur, iubendo extorserunt grauitati et modestiae
be-acted by-commanding extorted from-the-gravity and modesty
Romanorum. Nec tantum haec agi uoluerunt, sed
of-the-Romans nor only these-things to-be-acted they-wished but
sibi dicari, sibi sacrari, sibi sollemniter
to-themselves to-be-dedicated to-themselves to-be-consecrated to-themselves solemnly
exhiberi. Cui tandem honestius diuinos honores
to-be-exhibited to-whom pray more-honorably divine honors
decerneret ciuitas? utrum Platoni haec turpia et nefanda
should-decree the-city whether to-Plato these base and abominable-things
prohibenti, an daemonibus hac hominum deceptione
forbidding or to-the-demons in-this of-men deception
gaudentibus, quibus ille uera persuadere non potuit?
rejoicing to-whom he the-truth to-persuade not could

Hunc Platonem Labeo inter semideos commemorandum
this Plato Labeo among the-demigods to-be-mentioned
putauit, sicut Herculem, sicut Romulum. Semideos autem
thought as Hercules as Romulus the-demigods moreover
heroibus anteponit; sed utrosque inter numina conlocat.
to-the-heroes he-puts-before but both among the-divinities he-places
Verum tamen istum, quem appellat semideum, non heroibus
but yet this-one whom he-calls a-demigod not to-the-heroes
tantum, sed etiam dis ipsis praeferendum esse non
only but even to-the-gods themselves to-be-preferred to-be not
dubito. Propinquant autem Romanorum leges disputationibus
I-doubt approach moreover of-the-Romans the-laws to-the-disputations
Platonis, quando ille cuncta poetica figmenta condemnat, isti
of-Plato since he all poetic fictions condemns these
autem poetis adimunt saltem in homines maledicendi
but from-the-poets take-away at-least against men of-cursing
licentiam; ille poetas ab urbis ipsius habitatione, isti
the-license he the-poets from of-the-city itself the-habitation these
saltem actores poeticarum fabularum remouent a societate
at-least the-actors of-poetic fables remove from the-society
ciuitatis; et si contra deos ludorum scaenicorum expeditores
of-the-city and if against the-gods of-games theatrical the-providers
aliquid auderent, forte undique remouerent. Nequaquam
anything should-dare perhaps from-everywhere would-remove in-no-way
igitur leges ad instituendos bonos aut corrigendos malos
therefore laws for to-be-established good or to-be-corrected bad
mores a dis suis possent accipere seu sperare Romani,
morals from gods their-own could to-receive or to-hope the-Romans
quos legibus suis uincunt adque conuincunt. Illi enim
whom by-laws their-own they-surpass and convict they for
honori suo deposcunt ludos scaenicos, isti ab honoribus
for-honor their-own demand games theatrical these from honors

omnibus repellunt homines scaenicos; illi celebrari sibi
all repel men theatrical they to-be-celebrated for-themselves
iubent figmentis poeticis obprobria deorum, isti ab obprobriis
order by-fictions poetic the-reproaches of-the-gods these from the-reproaches
hominum deterrent inpudentiam poetarum. Semideus autem
of-men deter the-impudence of-the-poets the-demigod but
ille Plato et talium deorum libidini restitit, et ab indole
that Plato both of-such gods the-lust resisted and from the-nature
Romanorum quid perficiendum esset ostendit, qui poetas
of-the-Romans what to-be-accomplished was showed who the-poets
ipsos uel pro arbitrio mentientes uel hominibus
themselves either according-to (their)-whim lying or to-men
miseris quasi deorum facta pessima imitanda proponentes
wretched as-if of-the-gods the-deeds worst to-be-imitated proposing
omnino in ciuitate bene instituta uiuere noluit. Nos
at-all in a-city well established to-live was-unwilling we
quidem Platonem nec deum nec semideum perhibemus,
indeed Plato neither a-god nor a-demigod declare
nec ulli sancto angelo summi Dei nec ueridico prophetae
nor to-any holy angel of-the-highest God nor to-a-truthful prophet
nec apostolo alicui nec cuilibet Christi martyri nec cuiquam
nor to-an-apostle any nor to-any of-Christ martyr nor to-any
Christiano homini conparamus; cuius nostrae sententiae
Christian man do-we-compare of-which our opinion
ratio Deo prosperante suo loco explicabitur. Sed
the-reason with-God prospering-it in-its-own place will-be-explained but
eum tamen, quando quidem ipsi uolunt fuisse
him yet since indeed they-themselves wish to-have-been
semideum, praeferendum esse censemus, si non Romulo et
a-demigod to-be-preferred to-be we-judge if not to-Romulus and
Herculi (quamuis istum nec fratrem occidisse, nec aliquod
to-Hercules although that-one neither a-brother to-have-killed nor any

perpetrasse flagitium quisquam historicorum uel poetarum
to-have-perpetrated shameful-deed any of-the-historians or of-poets
dixit aut finxit), certe uel Priapo uel alicui Cynocephalo,
said or feigned surely either to-Priapus or to-some Cynocephalus
postremo uel Febri, quae Romani numina partim peregrina
finally or to-Fever which the-Romans divinities partly foreign
receperunt, partim sua propria sacrauerunt. Quo modo
received partly their-own proper consecrated in-what manner
igitur tanta animi et morum mala bonis praeceptis et
then such of-mind and of-morals evils by-good precepts and
legibus uel inminentia prohiberent, uel insita extirpanda
laws either impending they-would-forbid or implanted to-be-uprooted
curarent di tales, qui etiam seminanda et augenda
they-would-see-to the-gods such who even to-be-sown and to-be-increased
flagitia curauerunt, talia uel sua uel quasi sua facta
shameful-deeds saw-to such either their-own or as-if their-own deeds
per theatricas celebritates populis innotescere cupientes,
through theatrical celebrations to-the-peoples to-become-known desiring
ut tamquam auctoritate diuina sua sponte nequissima
that as-if by-authority divine by-its-own accord most-wicked
libido accenderetur humana, frustra hoc exclamante Cicerone,
lust might-be-kindled human in-vain this exclaiming Cicero
qui cum de poetis ageret: “Ad quos cum accessit, inquit,
who when about the-poets he-treated to whom when has-come he-says
clamor et adprobatio populi quasi cuiusdam magni
the-shouting and approval of-the-people as-if of-some great
et sapientis magistri, quas illi obducunt tenebras, quos
and wise teacher what they bring-over darkness what
inuehunt metus, quas inflammant cupiditates!”
they-bring-in fears what they-inflame desires

The Romans thought Plato, who labored to keep souls from corruption, worthy of no shrine, yet set Romulus above many gods, giving him one of the three flamens they established, the Dialis for Jupiter, the Martialis for Mars, and the Quirinalis for Romulus, called Quirinus after being received into heaven. So Romulus was preferred even to Neptune, Pluto, and Saturn, sharing with Jupiter an honor perhaps given to Mars only for his son's sake.

Quae autem illic eligendorum deorum etiam ipsorum
what but there of-chosen gods even of-the-very
falsorum ratio ac non potius adulatio est? quando istum
false-ones the-reasoning and not rather flattery is-it when this
Platonem, quem semideum uolunt, tantis disputationibus
Plato whom a-demigod they-wish with-such disputations
laborantem, ne animi malis, quae praecipue cauenda
laboring lest of-the-mind by-the-evils which especially to-be-guarded-against
sunt, mores corrumperentur humani, nulla sacra aedicula
are the-morals be-corrupted human of-no sacred shrine
dignum putarunt, et Romulum suum dis multis
worthy they-thought and Romulus their-own to-gods many
praetulerunt, quamuis et ipsum semideum potius quam
they-preferred although even him a-demigod rather than
deum uelut secretior eorum doctrina commendet. Nam
a-god as-if more-secret their doctrine commends for
etiam flaminem illi instituerunt, quod sacerdotii genus
even a-flamen to-him they-established which of-priesthood kind
adeo in Romanis sacris testante apice excelluit, ut tres solos
so in Roman rites testifying the-cap excelled that three only
flamines haberent tribus numinibus institutos, Dialem Ioui,
flamens they-had to-three divinities established the-Dialis to-Jupiter
Martialem Marti, Quirinalem Romulo. Nam beneuolentia
the-Martialis to-Mars the-Quirinalis to-Romulus for by-the-goodwill

ciuium uelut receptus in caelum Quirinus est postea
of-the-citizens as-if received into heaven Quirinus he-was afterward
nominatus. Ac per hoc et Neptuno et Plutoni, fratribus
named and through this both than-Neptune and than-Pluto the-brothers
Iouis, et ipsi Saturno, patri eorum, isto Romulus
of-Jupiter and than-the-very Saturn father their in-that Romulus
honore praelatus est, ut pro magno sacerdotium, quod
honor preferred was that as a-great-thing the-priesthood which
Ioui tribuerant, hoc etiam huic tribuerent, et Marti
to-Jupiter they-had-given this also to-this-one they-gave and to-Mars
tamquam patri eius forsitan propter ipsum.
as father his perhaps on-account-of himself

XVI · ROME'S LAWS CAME FROM ATHENS

Had the Romans been able to receive laws of living from their gods, they would not have borrowed Solon's laws from Athens some years after the founding, and tried to improve them. Lycurgus claimed Apollo's authority for Sparta's laws, which the Romans prudently did not believe. Numa, who established many rites, is not said to have received his laws from the gods. So the gods did nothing to keep from their worshipers the evils of soul and morals by which, the learned say, republics perish while their cities stand.

Si autem a dis suis Romani uiuendi leges accipere
if but from gods their-own the-Romans of-living laws to-receive
potuissent, non aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab
had-been-able not some years after Rome founded from
Atheniensibus mutuarentur leges Solonis, quas tamen non
the-Athenians they-would-borrow the-laws of-Solon which yet not
ut acceperunt tenuerunt, sed meliores et emendatiores
as they-received-them they-held but better and more-correct

facere conati sunt, quamuis Lycurgus Lacedaemoniis leges
to-make tried have although Lycurgus for-the-Lacedaemonians laws
ex Apollinis auctoritate se instituisse confinxerit, quod
by Apollo's authority himself to-have-established pretended which
prudenter Romani credere noluerunt, propterea non inde
prudently the-Romans to-believe were-unwilling for-this-reason not thence
acceperunt. Numa Pompilius, qui Romulo successit in regnum,
they-received Numa Pompilius who to-Romulus succeeded in the-kingdom
quasdam leges, quae quidem regendae ciuitati nequaquam
certain laws which indeed for-ruling the-city by-no-means
sufficerent, condidisse fertur, qui eis multa etiam sacra
sufficed to-have-founded is-reported who for-them many also rites
constituit; non tamen perhibetur easdem leges a numinibus
established not yet he-is-declared the-same laws from divinities
accepisse. Mala igitur animi, mala uitae, mala morum,
to-have-received the-evils therefore of-the-mind the-evils of-life the-evils of-morals
quae ita magna sunt, ut his doctissimi eorum uiri etiam
which so great are that by-these the-most-learned their men even
stantibus urbibus res publicas perire confirment, di
with-standing cities things public to-perish affirm the-gods
eorum, ne suis cultoribus acciderent, minime curarunt.
their lest to-their-own worshipers they-should-befall not-at-all cared

Perhaps, as Sallust says, right and good prevailed among them by nature rather than law. By this right the Sabine women were seized at a spectacle rather than received from their parents, and an unjust war was waged on the angry fathers. By this right Brutus drove his good colleague Collatinus from the city for his name, and Camillus, who saved Rome from Veii, was condemned by envious tribunes and went into exile, to free his ungrateful city from the Gauls again. Many such things followed in the struggles of patricians and plebs.

An forte populo Romano propterea leges non sunt
or perhaps for-the-people Roman for-this-reason laws not were
a numinibus constitutae, quia, sicut Sallustius ait, "ius
by divinities established because as Sallust says right
bonumque aput eos non legibus magis quam natura
and-good among them not by-laws more than by-nature
ualebat"? Ex hoc iure ac bono credo raptas Sabinas.
prevailed from this right and good I-suppose the-seized Sabine-women
Quid enim iustius et melius quam filias alienas fraude
what for more-just and better than daughters of-others by-the-deceit
spectaculi inductas non a parentibus accipi, sed ui, ut
of-a-spectacle led-in not from the-parents to-be-received but by-force as
quisque poterat, auferri? Nam si inique facerent Sabini
each could to-be-carried-off for if unjustly they-acted the-Sabines
negare postulatas, quanto fuit iniquius rapere non datas?
to-refuse those-asked how-much was-it more-unjust to-seize those-not given
Iustius autem bellum cum ea gente geri potuit, quae
more-justly but war with that race to-be-waged could which
filias suas ad matrimonium conregionalibus et confinalibus
daughters its-own for marriage to-fellow-countrymen and neighbors
suis negasset petitas, quam cum ea, quae repetebat
its-own had-refused when-asked than with that which was-demanding-back

ablatas. Illud ergo potius fieret; ibi Mars filium
them-carried-off that therefore rather should-have-been-done there Mars son
suum pugnantem iuuaret, ut coniugiorum negatorum
his-own fighting should-have-helped that of-marriages refused
armis ulcisceretur iniuriam, et eo modo ad feminas,
by-arms he-might-avenge the-injury and in-that manner to the-women
quas uoluerat, peruenirent. Aliquo enim fortasse iure belli
whom he-had-wished he-might-come by-some for perhaps right of-war
iniuste negatas iuste uictor auferret; nullo autem iure
the-unjustly refused justly the-victor would-carry-off by-no but right
pacis non datas rapuit et iniustum bellum cum earum
of-peace those-not given he-seized and an-unjust war with their
parentibus iuste suscensentibus gessit. Hoc sane utilius
parents justly angry he-waged this indeed more-usefully
feliciusque successit, quod, etsi ad memoriam fraudis
and-more-happily succeeded that although to the-memory of-the-deceit
illius circensium spectaculum mansit, facinoris tamen in
that of-the-circus the-spectacle remained of-the-crime yet in
illa ciuitate et imperio non placuit exemplum, faciliusque
that city and empire not pleased the-example and-more-easily
Romani in hoc errauerunt, ut post illam iniquitatem
the-Romans in this erred that after that iniquity
deum sibi Romulum consecrarent, quam ut in feminis
a-god for-themselves Romulus they-consecrated than that in women
rapiendis factum eius imitandum lege ulla uel more
to-be-seized deed his to-be-imitated by-law any or custom
permitterent. Ex hoc iure ac bono post expulsum cum
they-permitted from this right and good after the-expelled with
liberis suis regem Tarquinium, cuius filius Lucretiam stupro
children his-own king Tarquin whose son Lucretia by-outrage
uiolenter obpresserat, Iunius Brutus consul L. Tarquinium
violently had-overpowered Junius Brutus consul Lucius Tarquinius

Conlatinum, maritum eiusdem Lucretiae, collegam suum,
Collatinus the-husband of-the-same Lucretia colleague his-own
bonum adque innocentem uirum, propter nomen et
a-good and innocent man on-account-of the-name and
propinquitatem Tarquiniorum coegit magistratu se
kinship of-the-Tarquins compelled from-the-magistracy himself
abdicare nec uiuere in ciuitate permisit. Quod scelus fauente
to-resign nor to-live in the-city permitted which crime with-favoring
uel patiente populo fecit, a quo populo consulatum idem
or tolerating people he-did from which people the-consulship the-same
Conlatinus sicut etiam ipse Brutus acceperat. Ex hoc iure
Collatinus as also himself Brutus had-received from this right
ac bono M. Camillus, illius temporis uir egregius, qui
and good Marcus Camillus of-that time a-man eminent who
Veientes, grauissimos hostes populi Romani, post decennale
the-Veientes most-grievous enemies of-the-people Roman after a-ten-year
bellum, quo Romanus exercitus totiens male pugnando
war in-which the-Roman army so-often badly by-fighting
grauiter adflictus est, iam ipsa Roma de salute
heavily afflicted was when-already itself Rome about safety
dubitante adque trepidante facillime superauit eorumque
doubting and trembling most-easily overcame and-their
urbem opulentissimam cepit, obtrectatorum inuidia uirtutis
city most-opulent captured of-the-detractors by-the-envy of-virtue
suae et insolentia tribunorum plebis reus factus est
his-own and by-the-insolence of-the-tribunes of-the-plebs a-defendant made was
tamque ingratam sensit quam liberauerat ciuitatem, ut de
and-so ungrateful felt which he-had-freed the-city that of
sua damnatione certissimus in exilium sponte discederet
his-own condemnation most-certain into exile voluntarily he-departed
et decem milia aeris absens etiam damnaretur, mox
and ten thousand of-bronze absent even was-condemned soon

iterum a Gallis uindex patriae futurus ingratae.
again from the-Gauls the-avenger of-the-fatherland about-to-be ungrateful
Multa commemorare iam piget foeda et iniusta, quibus
many-things to-recount now irks foul and unjust by-which
agitabatur illa ciuitas, cum potentes plebem sibi subdere
was-agitated that city when the-powerful the-plebs to-themselves to-subject
conarentur plebsque illis subdi recusaret, et utriusque
tried and-the-plebs to-them to-be-subjected refused and of-each
partis defensores magis studiis agerent amore uincendi,
party the-defenders more by-zeal acted from-love of-conquering
quam aequum et bonum quidquam cogitarent.
than just and good anything they-thought-of

XVIII · SALLUST ON ROMAN MORALS

Sallust praised the time after the kings when Rome grew, yet admitted that dissensions began soon after; the best morals between the second and last Carthaginian wars came from fear, not love of justice. Equity lasted only while Tarquin's war was feared; then the fathers treated the plebs like slaves, the plebs seceded and won tribunes, and the strife ended only with the second Punic war. After Carthage fell, the republic became the worst. All this came before Christ, so why blame him, who gathers his household from a failing world into an eternal city?

Itaque habebo modum et ipsum Sallustium testem potius
and-so I-shall-keep measure and the-very Sallust as-witness rather
adhibebo, qui cum in laude Romanorum dixisset, unde
I-shall-bring who when in praise of-the-Romans he-had-said whence
nobis iste sermo ortus est: "Ius bonumque aput eos
for-us this discourse arisen has right and-good among them
non legibus magis quam natura ualebat", praedicans illud
not by-laws more than by-nature prevailed proclaiming that

tempus, quo expulsis regibus incredibiliter ciuitas breui
time in-which expelled the-kings incredibly the-city in-a-short
aetatis spatio plurimum creuit, idem tamen in primo
of-time space most grew the-same-(man) yet in the-first
historiae suae libro adque ipso eius exordio fatetur etiam
of-history his book and the-very its beginning confesses even
tunc, cum ad consules a regibus esset translata res
then when to consuls from kings had-been transferred the-thing
publica, post paruum interuallum iniurias ualidiorum et
public after a-short interval injuries of-the-stronger and
ob eas discessionem plebis a patribus aliasque in
on-account-of them secession of-the-plebs from the-fathers and-other in
Urbe dissensiones fuisse. Nam cum optimis moribus et
the-City dissensions to-have-been for when with-the-best morals and
maxima concordia populum Romanum inter secundum et
greatest concord the-people Roman between the-second and
postremum bellum Carthaginiense commemorasset egisse
the-last war Carthaginian he-had-recalled to-have-lived
causamque huius boni non amorem iustitiae, sed stante
and-the-cause of-this good not the-love of-justice but standing
Carthagine metum pacis infidae fuisse dixisset (unde
Carthage the-fear of-a-peace untrustworthy to-have-been he-had-said whence
et Nasica ille ad reprimendam nequitiam seruandosque istos
also Nasica that for to-be-repressed wickedness and-to-be-preserved those
mores optimos, ut metu uitia cohiberentur, Carthaginem
morals best that by-fear vices might-be-restrained Carthage
nolebat euerti): continuo subiecit idem Sallustius et
was-unwilling to-be-overturned immediately added the-same Sallust and
ait: “At discordia et auaritia adque ambitio et cetera
says but discord and avarice and ambition and the-other
secundis rebus oriri sueta mala post Carthaginis excidium
in-prosperous things to-arise accustomed evils after Carthage's destruction

maxime aucta sunt", ut intellegeremus etiam ante oriri
most increased were that we-might-understand even before to-arise
solere et augeri: Unde subnectens quur hoc dixerit:
to-be-wont and to-be-increased whence adding why this he-has-said
"Nam iniuriae, inquit, ualidiorum et ob eas discessio
for the-injuries he-says of-the-stronger and on-account-of them the-secession
plebis a patribus aliaeque dissensiones domi fuere iam
of-the-plebs from the-fathers and-other dissensions at-home were already
inde a principio, neque amplius quam regibus exactis,
thence from the-beginning nor longer than the-kings expelled
dum metus a Tarquinio et bellum graue cum Etruria
until fear from Tarquin and a-war heavy with Etruria
positum est, aequo et modesto iure agitatum." Vides quem
set-aside was by-equal and moderate law it-was-conducted you-see in-what
ad modum etiam illo breui tempore, ut regibus exactis, id
to manner even that short time that the-kings expelled that
est eiectis, aliquantum aequo et modesto iure ageretur,
is cast-out somewhat by-equal and moderate law it-was-conducted
metum dixit fuisse causam, quoniam metuebatur bellum,
fear he-said to-have-been the-cause since was-feared the-war
quod rex Tarquinius regno adque Urbe pulsus
which the-king Tarquin from-kingdom and the-City driven
Etruscis sociatus contra Romanos gerebat. Adtende itaque
to-the-Etruscans allied against the-Romans waged attend and-so
quid deinde contexat: "Dein, inquit, seruili imperio patres
what then he-weaves-on then he-says with-slavish command the-fathers
plebem exercere, de uita adque tergo regio more consulere,
the-plebs to-harass about life and back in-kingly manner to-decide
agro pellere et ceteris expertibus soli in imperio agere.
from-land to-drive and the-others having-no-share alone in power to-act
Quibus saeuitiis et maxime faenore obpressa plebes cum
by-which savageries and especially by-usury oppressed the-plebs when

adsiduis bellis tributum et militiam simul toleraret,
with-continual wars tribute and military-service together it-bore
armata montem sacrum adque Auentinum insedit, tumque
armed the-mount sacred and Aventine occupied and-then
tribunos plebis et alia iura sibi parauit. Discordiarum et
tribunes of-the-plebs and other rights for-itself obtained of-discords and
certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum Punicum bellum."
of-contest on-both-sides the-end was the-second Punic war
Cernis ex quo tempore, id est paruo interuallo post reges
you-see from what time that is a-short interval after kings
exactos, quales Romani fuerint, de quibus ait: "Ius
expelled what-kind the-Romans were about whom he-says right
bonumque aput eos non legibus magis quam natura ualebat."
and-good among them not by-laws more than by-nature prevailed
Porro si illa tempora talia reperiuntur, quibus pulcherrima
further if those times such are-found in-which most-beautiful
adque optima fuisse praedicatur Romana res publica,
and best to-have-been is-proclaimed the-Roman thing public
quid iam de consequenti aetate dicendum aut cogitandum
what now about the-following age to-be-said or to-be-thought
arbitramur, cum "paulatim mutata, ut eiusdem historici
do-we-judge when little-by-little changed as of-the-same historian
uerbis utar, ex pulcherrima adque optima pessima ac
the-words I-may-use from most-beautiful and best most-wicked and
flagitiosissima facta est," post Carthaginis uidelicet, ut
most-shameful made it-was after Carthage's namely as
commemorauit, excidium? Quae tempora ipse Sallustius quem
he-recalled destruction which times himself Sallust in-what
ad modum breuiter recolat et describat, in eius historia legi
to manner briefly recalls and describes in his history to-be-read
potest; quantis malis morum, quae secundis rebus exorta
it-can by-how-great evils of-morals which by-prosperous things arisen-forth

sunt, usque ad bella ciuilia demonstret esse peruentum.
have up-to to wars civil he-shows to-have-been come
"Ex quo tempore, ut ait, maiorum mores non paulatim
from which time as he-says of-the-ancestors the-morals not little-by-little
ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati, adeo iuuentus
as before but in-a-torrent's manner were-hurled-headlong so-much the-youth
luxu adque auaritia corrupta, ut merito dicatur genitos
by-luxury and avarice corrupted that rightly it-may-be-said born
esse, qui neque ipsi habere possent res familiares
to-have-been who neither themselves to-have could things of-the-household
neque alios pati." Dicit deinde plura Sallustius de Syllae
nor others to-allow he-says then more-things Sallust about Sulla's
uitiis ceteraque foeditate rei publicae, et alii scriptores
vices and-the-other foulness of-the-thing public and other writers
in haec consentiunt, quamuis eloquio multum inpari.
in these-things agree although in-eloquence much unequal
Cernis tamen, ut opinor, et quisquis aduerterit, facillime
you-see yet as I-think and whoever has-attended most-easily
perspicit, conluuie morum pessimorum quo illa ciuitas
perceives in-the-sewage of-morals most-wicked whither that city
prolapsa fuerit ante nostri superni regis aduentum. Haec
fallen had before of-our heavenly king the-coming these-things
enim gesta sunt non solum antequam Christus in carne
for done were not only before Christ in flesh
praesens docere coepisset, uerum etiam antequam de
present to-teach had-begun but even before from
uirgine natus esset. Cum igitur tot et tanta mala
a-virgin born he-was since then so-many and so-great evils
temporum illorum uel tolerabiliora superius, uel post
of-times those either more-tolerable earlier or after
euersam Carthaginem intoleranda et horrenda dis suis
the-overthrown Carthage intolerable and horrible to-gods their-own

inputare non audeant, opiniones humanis mentibus, unde
to-impute not they-dare opinions into-human minds whence
talia uitia siluescerent, astutia maligna inserentibus: quur
such vices might-grow-wild with-cunning malign implanting why
mala praesentia Christo inputant, qui doctrina saluberrima
the-evils present to-Christ do-they-impute who by-doctrine most-wholesome
et falsos ac fallaces deos coli uetat et istas
both false and deceitful gods to-be-worshiped forbids and these
hominum noxias flagitiosasque cupiditates diuina auctoritate
of-men harmful and-shameful desires by-divine authority
detestans adque condemnans his malis tabescenti ac
detesting and condemning by-these evils wasting-away and
labenti mundo ubique familiam suam sensim subtrahit,
slipping from-the-world everywhere household his-own gradually withdraws
qua condat aeternam et non plausu uanitatis, sed
by-which he-may-found an-eternal and not by-the-applause of-vanity but
iudicio ueritatis gloriosissimam ciuitatem?
by-the-judgment of-truth most-glorious city

The Roman republic, by its own authors, became the worst and most shameful before Christ came, its youth corrupted by luxury and avarice after Carthage fell. The gods gave no precepts against such vices, only shameful demands; the prophets, the gospel, and the apostles thunder against them as from God's clouds. Yet the pagans blame that ruin not on their gods, and their present affliction on Christ. If all heeded him, the republic would be happy here and reign in eternity; meanwhile his servants must endure even the worst republic, earning a place in the heavenly one.

Ecce Romana res publica (quod non ego primus dico, sed
behold the-Roman thing public which not I first say but
auctores eorum, unde haec mercede didicimus, tanto
authors their from-whom these-things for-a-fee we-learned so-long
ante dixerunt ante Christi aduentum) "paulatim mutata ex
before said before of-Christ the-coming little-by-little changed from
pulcherrima adque optima pessima ac flagitiosissima facta
most-beautiful and best most-wicked and most-shameful made
est." Ecce ante Christi aduentum, post deletam Carthaginem
was behold before of-Christ the-coming after destroyed Carthage
"maiorum mores non paulatim, ut antea, sed torrentis modo
of-the-ancestors the-morals not little-by-little as before but in-a-torrent's manner
praecipitati, adeo iuuentus luxu adque auaritia corrupta
were-hurled-headlong so-much the-youth by-luxury and avarice corrupted
est." Legant nobis contra luxum et auaritiam praecepta
was let-them-read to-us against luxury and avarice the-precepts
deorum suorum populo Romano data; cui utinam
of-gods their-own to-the-people Roman given to-which would-that
tantum casta et modesta reticerent, ac non etiam ab illo
only chaste and modest-things they-kept-silent and not even from it
probrosa et ignominiosa deposcerent, quibus per falsam
disgraceful and ignominious-things they-demanded to-which through false

diuinitatem perniciosam conciliarent auctoritatem. Legant
divinity a-pernicious they-might-win authority let-them-read
nostra et per prophetas et per sanctum euangelium,
our-books and through the-prophets and through the-holy gospel
et per apostolicos actus et per epistulas tam multa
and through the-apostolic acts and through the-epistles so many-things
contra auaritiam adque luxuriam ubique populis ad hoc
against avarice and luxury everywhere to-the-peoples for this
congregatis quam excellenter, quam diuine non tamquam
assembled how excellently how divinely not as-if
ex philosophorum concertationibus strepere, sed tamquam
from the-philosophers' contests to-resound but as-if
ex oraculis et Dei nubibus intonare. Et tamen luxu
from the-oracles and of-God the-clouds to-thunder and yet by-luxury
adque auaritia saeuisque ac turpibus moribus ante aduentum
and avarice and-by-savage and base morals before the-coming
Christi rem publicam pessimam ac flagitiosissimam
of-Christ the-thing public most-wicked and most-shameful
factam non inputant dis suis; adflictionem uero eius,
made not they-impute to-gods their-own the-affliction but of-it
quamcumque isto tempore superbia deliciaeque eorum
whatever in-this time the-pride and-delights their
perpessae fuerint, religioni increpitant Christianae. Cuius
suffered have to-the-religion they-reproach Christian whose
praecepta de iustis probisque moribus si simul audirent
precepts about just and-upright morals if together they-heard
adque curarent reges terrae et omnes populi, principes
and cared-for the-kings of-the-earth and all peoples the-princes
et omnes iudices terrae, iuuenes et uirgines, seniores
and all the-judges of-the-earth young-men and maidens the-elders
cum iunioribus, aetas omnis capax et uterque sexus, et
with the-younger age every capable and each sex and

quos baptista Iohannes adloquitur, exactores ipsi
those-whom the-baptist John addresses the-tax-collectors themselves
adque milites: et terras uitae praesentis ornaret sua
and soldiers both the-lands of-the-life present would-adorn with-its-own
felicitate res publica, et uitae aeternae culmen beatissime
happiness the-thing public and of-life eternal the-summit most-blessedly
regnatura conscenderet. Sed quia iste audit, ille
about-to-reign would-ascend but because this-one hears that-one
contemnit, pluresque uitiis male blandientibus quam utili
despises and-more to-vices badly flattering than to-the-useful
uirtutum asperitati sunt amiciores: tolerare Christi famuli
of-virtues harshness are friendlier to-tolerate of-Christ the-servants
iubentur, siue sint reges siue principes siue iudices, siue
are-ordered whether they-be kings or princes or judges or
milites siue prouinciales, siue diuites siue pauperes, siue
soldiers or provincials or rich or poor or
liberi siue serui, utriuslibet sexus, etiam pessimam, si ita
free or slaves of-either sex even a-most-wicked if so
necesse est, flagitiosissimamque rem publicam et in illa
necessary it-is and-most-shameful thing public and in that
angelorum quadam sanctissima adque augustissima curia
of-the-angels a-certain most-holy and most-august senate-house
caelestique re publica, ubi Dei uoluntas lex est,
and-in-the-heavenly thing public where of-God the-will law is
clarissimum sibi locum etiam ista conparare tolerantia.
a-most-illustrious for-themselves place even by-this to-procure tolerance

Such worshipers do not care how wicked the republic is, so long as it stands and flourishes in wealth and peace. Let the poor serve the rich for their bellies, the people applaud those who give pleasures, no one be brought to court except for harming another's property or person, harlots, banquets, and theaters abound, whoever dislikes this happiness be a public enemy, and the gods who secure it be held true. Who in his senses would compare such a republic even to the house of Sardanapalus? To so indulgent a king they would more gladly give a temple than the ancients gave Romulus.

Verum tales cultores et dilectores deorum istorum, quorum
but such worshipers and lovers of-gods those whose
etiam imitatores in sceleribus et flagitiis se esse
even imitators in crimes and shameful-deeds themselves to-be
laetantur, nullo modo curant pessimam ac flagitiosissimam
rejoice in-no way care a-most-wicked and most-shameful
non esse rem publicam. Tantum stet, inquiunt, tantum
not to-be the-thing public only let-it-stand they-say only
floreat copiis referta, uictoriis gloriosa, uel, quod
let-it-flourish with-supplies filled with-victories glorious or what
est felicius, pace secura sit. Et quid ad nos? Immo
is happier in-peace secure let-it-be and what to us rather
id ad nos magis pertinet, si diuitias quisque augeat
that to us more pertains if riches each increase
semper, quae cottidianis effusionibus subpetant, per quas
always which for-daily outpourings may-suffice through which
sibi etiam infirmiores subdat quisque potentior.
to-himself also the-weaker may-subject each more-powerful-one
Obsequantur diuitibus pauperes causa saturitatis adque
let-them-court the-rich the-poor for-the-sake-of satiety and
ut eorum patrociniis quieta inertia perfruantur, diuites
that their by-patronages quiet idleness they-may-enjoy the-rich

pauperibus ad clientelas et ad ministerium sui fastus
the-poor for clienteles and for the-service of-their-own haughtiness
abutantur. Populi plaudant non consultoribus utilitatum
let-them-abuse the-peoples let-them-applaud not the-counselors of-benefits
suarum, sed largitoribus uoluptatum. Non dura iubeantur,
their-own but the-bestowers of-pleasures not hard-things let-be-ordered
non prohibeantur inpura. Reges non curent quam
not let-be-forbidden impure-things kings not let-them-care how
bonis, sed quam subditis regnent. Prouinciae regibus
good but how subject they-may-reign-over the-provinces to-kings
non tamquam rectoribus morum, sed tamquam rerum
not as rulers of-morals but as of-things
dominatoribus et deliciarum suarum prouisoribus seruiant,
lords and of-delights their-own providers let-them-serve
eosque non sinceriter honorent, sed seruiliter timeant. Quid
and-them not sincerely let-them-honor but servilely let-them-fear what
alienae uineae potius quam quid suae uitae quisque
to-another's vine rather than what to-his-own life anyone
noceat, legibus aduertatur. Nullus ducatur ad iudicem,
may-harm by-the-laws let-be-noticed no-one let-be-led to the-judge
nisi qui alienae rei domui saluti uel cuiquam inuito
except be-who to-another's property house safety or to-anyone unwilling
fuerit inportunus aut noxius; ceterum de suis uel
shall-have-been troublesome or harmful for-the-rest with his-own or
cum suis uel cum quibusque uolentibus faciat quisque
with his-own or with any willing let-him-do each
quod libet. Abundent publica scorta uel propter omnes,
what he-pleases let-abound public harlots either for-the-sake-of all
quibus frui placuerit, uel propter eos maxime,
whom to-enjoy it-shall-have-pleased or for-the-sake-of those especially
qui habere priuata non possunt. Exstruantur amplissimae
who to-have private-ones not can let-there-be-built most-ample

adque ornatissimae domus, opipara conuiuia frequententur,
and most-ornate houses sumptuous banquets let-be-thronged
ubi cuique libuerit et potuerit, diu noctuque
where to-each it-shall-have-pleased and he-shall-have-been-able day and-night
ludatur bibatur, uomatur diffluatur.
let-there-be-play let-there-be-drinking let-there-be-vomiting let-there-be-dissolving
Saltationes undique concrepent, theatra inhonestae laetitiae
dances on-all-sides let-them-resound the-theaters of-dishonorable joy
uocibus adque omni genere siue crudelissimae siue
with-voices and with-every kind whether of-most-cruel or
turpissimae uoluptatis exaestuent. Ille sit publicus
of-most-base of-pleasure let-them-boil that-one let-him-be public
inimicus, cui haec felicitas displicet; quisquis eam mutare
enemy to-whom this happiness displeases whoever it to-change
uel auferre tentauerit, eum libera multitudo auertat
or to-take-away shall-have-tried him the-free multitude let-it-turn-away
ab auribus, euertat a sedibus, auferat a uiuentibus.
from (its)-ears let-it-overturn from (his)-seats let-it-remove from the-living
Illi habeantur di ueri, qui hanc adipiscendam populis
those let-them-be-held gods true who this to-be-obtained for-the-peoples
procurauerint adeptamque seruauerint. Colantur ut
shall-have-procured and-obtained shall-have-preserved let-them-be-worshiped as
uoluerint, ludos exposcant quales uoluerint, quos
they-shall-have-wished games let-them-demand such-as they-shall-have-wished which
cum suis uel de suis possint habere cultoribus:
with their-own or from their-own they-can to-have worshipers
tantum efficiant, ut tali felicitati nihil ab hoste,
only let-them-bring-about that for-such happiness nothing from the-enemy
nihil a peste, nihil ab ulla clade timeatur. — Quis
nothing from plague nothing from any disaster be-feared who
hanc rem publicam sanus, non dicam Romano imperio,
this thing public in-his-senses not I-will-say to-the-Roman empire

sed domui Sardanapali conparauerit? qui quondam rex
but to-the-house of-Sardanapalus would-compare who once a-king
ita fuit uoluptatibus deditus, ut in sepulcro suo scribi
so was to-pleasures given that on tomb his-own to-be-written
fecerit ea sola se habere mortuum, quae libido eius,
he-caused those-things alone himself to-have dead which lust his
etiam cum uiueret, hauriendo consumserat. Quem regem si
even when he-lived by-draining had-consumed which king if
isti haberent sibi in talibus indulgentem nec in eis
these had for-themselves in such-things indulgent nor in them
cuiquam ulla seueritate aduersantem, huic libentius quam
anyone with-any severity opposing to-him more-gladly than
Romani ueteres Romulo templum et flaminem consecrarent.
the-Roman ancients to-Romulus a-temple and flamen they-would-consecrate

XXI · CICERO: THE REPUBLIC ALREADY LOST

Cicero, not Sallust, says the republic had perished entirely. In his dialogue Scipio likens a city's concord to harmony in music, which cannot exist without justice; Philus, disowning the view, argues that a republic cannot be governed without injustice, and Laelius that it cannot without great justice. Scipio defines a people as a multitude joined by consent to right and shared interest, so an unjust republic is none, and Cicero, quoting Ennius, confesses that Rome had lost the thing before Christ came. Why did the gods not save it? Augustine promises to show elsewhere that by Cicero's definitions it was never a republic, though by likelier ones it was one after a fashion; true justice is only in the city whose founder is Christ.

Sed si contemnitur qui Romanam rem publicam pessimam
but if is-despised he-who the-Roman thing public most-wicked
ac flagitiosissimam dixit, nec curant isti quanta morum
and most-shameful called nor care these with-how-great of-morals
pessimorum ac flagitiosissimorum labe ac dedecore inpleatur,
most-wicked and most-shameful stain and disgrace it-be-filled

sed tantummodo ut consistat et maneat: audiant eam non,
but only that it-stand and remain let-them-hear it not
ut Sallustius narrat, pessimam ac flagitiosissimam factam,
as Sallust narrates most-wicked and most-shameful made
sed, sicut Cicero disputat, iam tunc prorsus perisse
but as Cicero argues already then utterly to-have-perished
et nullam omnino remansisse rem publicam. Inducit
and none at-all to-have-remained thing public he-brings-in
enim Scipionem, eum ipsum qui Carthaginem extinxerat,
for Scipio him himself who Carthage had-destroyed
de re publica disputantem, quando praesentiebatur
about the-thing public disputing when was-foreseen
ea corruptione, quam describit Sallustius, iam iamque
by-that corruption which describes Sallust already and-already
peritura. Eo quippe tempore disputatur, quo iam unus
about-to-perish at-that for time it-is-disputed when already one
Gracchorum occisus fuit, a quo scribit seditiones graues
of-the-Gracchi killed was from whom writes seditions grave
coepisse Sallustius. Nam mortis eius fit in eisdem libris
to-have-begun Sallust for of-death his there-is in the-same books
commemoratio. Cum autem Scipio in secundi libri fine
mention when moreover Scipio at of-the-second book the-end
dixisset, “ut in fidibus aut tibiis adque cantu ipso ac
had-said as in strings or pipes and in-song itself and
uocibus concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis,
voices a-harmony is a-certain to-be-held from distinct sounds
quem inmutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre
which changed or discordant ears trained to-bear
non possunt, isque concentus ex dissimillimarum uocum
not can and-that harmony from of-most-unlike voices
moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens: sic ex
the-tempering concordant yet is-made and agreeing so from

summis et infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus, ut
the-highest and lowest and the-middle interposed orders as
sonis, moderata ratione ciuitatem consensu dissimillimorum
from-sounds with-tempered reason the-city by-the-consent of-the-most-unlike
concinere, et quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu,
to-sing-together and what harmony by musicians is-called in song
eam esse in ciuitate concordiam, artissimum adque optimum
that to-be in the-city concord the-closest and best
omni in re publica uinculum incolumitatis, eamque sine
every in thing public bond of-safety and-that without
iustitia nullo pacto esse posse," ac deinde cum aliquanto
justice in-no way to-be to-be-able and then when somewhat
latius et uberius disseruisset, quantum prodesset iustitia
more-widely and more-fully he-had-discoursed how-much would-profit justice
ciuitati quantumque obesset, si afuisset, suscepit deinde
the-city and-how-much would-harm if it-were-absent took-up then
Philus, unus eorum qui disputationi aderant, et poposcit,
Philus one of-those who at-the-disputation were-present and demanded
ut haec ipsa quaestio diligentius tractaretur ac de iustitia
that this very question more-carefully be-treated and about justice
plura dicerentur, propter illud, quod iam uulgo
more-things be-said on-account-of that which already commonly
ferebatur rem publicam regi sine iniuria non posse.
was-reported the-thing public to-be-ruled without injustice not to-be-able
Hanc proinde quaestionem discutiendam et enodandam esse
this accordingly question to-be-discussed and to-be-unraveled to-be
adsensus est Scipio responditque nihil esse, quod adhuc
assented has Scipio and-answered nothing to-be which yet
de re publica dictum putaret, quo possent longius
about the-thing public said he-thought by-which they-might further
progredi, nisi esset confirmatum non modo falsum esse
to-proceed unless it-were confirmed not only false to-be

illud, sine iniuria non posse, sed hoc uerissimum esse,
that without injustice not to-be-able but this most-true to-be
sine summa iustitia rem publicam regi non posse.
without highest justice the-thing public to-be-ruled not to-be-able
Cuius quaestionis explicatio cum in diem consequentem
of-which question the-unfolding when to the-day following
dilata esset, in tertio libro magna conflictione res
deferred had-been in the-third book with-great conflict the-matter
acta est. Suscepit enim Philus ipse disputationem
dealt-with was took-up for Philus himself the-disputation
eorum, qui sentirent sine iniustitia geri non posse
of-those who thought without injustice to-be-conducted not to-be-able
rem publicam, purgans praecipue, ne hoc ipse sentire
the-thing public clearing-himself especially lest this himself to-think
crederetur, egitque sedulo pro iniustitia contra iustitiam,
he-be-believed and-he-argued earnestly for injustice against justice
ut hanc esse utilem rei publicae, illam uero inutilem,
so-that this to-be useful to-the-thing public that but useless
ueri similibus rationibus et exemplis uelut conaretur
of-truth by-like reasons and examples as-if be-tried
ostendere. Tum Laelius rogantibus omnibus iustitiam
to-show then Laelius at-the-asking of-all justice
defendere adgressus est adseruitque, quantum potuit, nihil
to-defend undertaken has and-asserted as-much-as be-could nothing
tam inimicum quam iniustitiam ciuitati nec omnino nisi
so hostile as injustice to-a-city nor at-all except
magna iustitia geri aut stare rem publicam.
by-great justice to-be-conducted or to-stand a-thing public

Qua quaestione, quantum satis uisum est, pertractata
which question as-far-as enough seemed it-was having-been-treated
Scipio ad intermissa reuertitur recolitque suam adque
Scipio to the-interrupted-things returns and-recalls his-own and

commendat breuem rei publicae definitionem, qua
commends brief of-the-thing public definition by-which
dixerat eam esse rem populi. Populum autem non
he-had-said it to-be the-thing of-the-people a-people moreover not
omnem coetum multitudinis, sed coetum iuris consensu
every gathering of-a-multitude but a-gathering of-right by-consent
et utilitatis communione sociatum esse determinat. Docet
and of-interest by-community associated to-be he-determines he-teaches
deinde quanta sit in disputando definitionis utilitas, adque
then how-great is in disputing of-definition the-usefulness and
ex illis suis definitionibus colligit tunc esse rem publicam,
from those his-own definitions he-gathers then to-be a-thing public
id est rem populi, cum bene ac iuste geritur siue
that is the-thing of-the-people when well and justly it-is-conducted whether
ab uno rege siue a paucis optimatibus siue ab uniuerso
by one king or by a-few nobles or by the-whole
populo. Cum uero iniustus est rex, quem tyrannum
people when but unjust is the-king whom a-tyrant
more Graeco appellauit, aut iniusti optimates, quorum
in-the-manner Greek he-called or unjust the-nobles whose
consensum dixit esse factionem, aut iniustus ipse populus,
consensus he-said to-be a-faction or unjust itself the-people
cui nomen usitatum non repperit, nisi ut etiam ipsum
for-which a-name usual not he-found except that also it-itself
tyrannum uocaret: non iam uitiosam, sicut pridie
a-tyrant he-should-call not now a-vicious-one as on-the-day-before
fuerat disputatum, sed, sicut ratio ex illis definitionibus
had-been argued but as reason from those definitions
conexa docuisset, omnino nullam esse rem publicam, quoniam
connected had-taught at-all none to-be thing public since
non esset res populi, cum tyrannus eam factioue
not it-was the-thing of-the-people when a-tyrant it or-a-faction

capesseret, nec ipse populus iam populus esset, si esset
seized nor itself the-people any-longer a-people would-be if it-were
iniustus, quoniam non esset multitudo iuris consensu et
unjust since not it-would-be a-multitude of-right by-consent and
utilitatis communione sociata, sicut populus fuerat definitus.
of-interest by-community associated as a-people had-been defined
Quando ergo res publica Romana talis erat, qualem
when therefore the-thing public Roman such was as
illam describit Sallustius, non iam pessima ac flagitiosissima,
it describes Sallust not now most-wicked and most-shameful
sicut ipse ait, sed omnino nulla erat secundum istam
as he-himself says but at-all none it-was according-to that
rationem, quam disputatio de re publica inter magnos
reasoning which the-disputation about the-thing public among the-great
eius tum principes habita patefecit. Sicut etiam ipse
its then leaders held disclosed as also himself
Tullius non Scipionis nec cuiusquam alterius, sed suo
Tully not of-Scipio nor of-anyone other but in-his-own
sermone loquens in principio quinti libri commemorato
discourse speaking in the-beginning of-the-fifth book having-recalled
prius Ennii poetae uersu, quo dixerat:
first of-Ennius the-poet the-verse in-which he-had-said

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque,
by-morals ancient the-thing stands Roman and-by-men

"quem quidem ille uersum, inquit, uel breuitate uel ueritate
which indeed that verse he-says either by-brevity or by-truth
tamquam ex oraculo quodam mihi effatus uidetur. Nam
as-if from an-oracle a-certain to-me uttered seems for
neque uiri, nisi ita morata ciuitas fuisset, neque mores,
neither the-men unless so mannered the-city had-been nor the-morals

nisi hi uiri praefuissent, aut fundare aut tam diu tenere
unless these men had-presided either to-found or so long to-hold
potuissent tantam et tam iuste longe lateque imperantem
could-have so-great and so justly far and-wide ruling
rem publicam. Itaque ante nostram memoriam et mos ipse
a-thing public and-so before our memory both custom itself
patrius praestantes uiros adhibebat, et ueterem morem ac
ancestral outstanding men employed and the-old custom and
maiorum instituta retinebant excellentes uiri. Nostra uero
of-the-ancestors the-institutions retained excellent men our but
aetas cum rem publicam sicut picturam accepisset egregiam,
age when the-thing public like a-picture it-had-received excellent
sed euanescentem uetustate, non modo eam coloribus isdem
but fading with-age not only it with-the-colors same
quibus fuerat renouare neglexit, sed ne id quidem
with-which it-had-been to-renew neglected but not-even this indeed
curauit, ut formam saltem eius et extrema tamquam
cared that the-form at-least its and the-outermost as-it-were
liniamenta seruaret. Quid enim manet ex antiquis
outlines it-should-preserve what for remains from the-ancient
moribus, quibus ille dixit rem stare Romanam, quos ita
morals by-which he said the-thing to-stand Roman which so
obliuione obsoletos uidemus, ut non modo non colantur,
by-oblivion obsolete we-see that not only not are-they-cultivated
sed iam ignorentur? Nam de uiris quid dicam? Mores
but now are-unknown for about the-men what should-I-say the-morals
enim ipsi interierunt uirorum penuria, cuius tanti mali
for themselves have-perished of-men by-the-want of-which so-great evil
non modo reddenda ratio nobis, sed etiam tamquam
not only to-be-rendered an-account by-us but even as-if
reis capitis quodam modo dicenda causa est.
defendants on-a-capital-charge in-a-certain manner to-be-pleaded the-case is

Nostris enim uitiis, non casu aliquo, rem publicam
by-our for vices not by-chance any the-thing public
uerbo retinemus, re ipsa uero iam pridem amisimus."
in-word we-retain in-the-thing itself but already long-ago we-have-lost
Haec Cicero fatebatur, longe quidem post mortem Africani,
these-things Cicero confessed long indeed after the-death of-Africanus
quem in suis libris fecit de re publica disputare,
whom in his-own books he-made about the-thing public to-dispute
adhuc tamen ante aduentum Christi; quae si diffamata
still yet before the-coming of-Christ which if spread-abroad
et praeualescente religione Christiana sentirentur adque
and prevailing religion Christian were-felt and
dicerentur, quis non istorum ea Christianis inputanda esse
were-said who not of-these them to-the-Christians to-be-imputed to-be
censeret? Quam ob rem quur non curarunt di
would-judge which on-account-of thing why not cared the-gods
eorum, ne tunc periret adque amitteretur illa res publica,
their lest then should-perish and be-lost that thing public
quam Cicero longe, antequam Christus in carne uenisset, tam
which Cicero long before Christ in flesh had-come so
lugubriter deplorat amissam? Viderint laudatores eius etiam
mournfully deplores lost let-them-see the-praisers its even
illis antiquis uiris et moribus qualis fuerit, utrum in
with-those ancient men and morals of-what-kind it-was whether in
ea uiguerit uera iustitia an forte nec tunc fuerit uiua
it flourished true justice or perhaps not-even then it-was alive
moribus, sed picta coloribus; quod et ipse Cicero nesciens,
in-morals but painted in-colors which also himself Cicero not-knowing
cum eam praeferret, expressit. Sed alias, si Deus uoluerit,
when it he-praised expressed but elsewhere if God shall-have-willed
hoc uidebimus. Enitar enim suo loco, ut ostendam
this we-shall-see I-shall-strive for in-its-own place that I-may-show

secundum definitiones ipsius Ciceronis, quibus quid sit
according-to the-definitions of-the-very Cicero by-which what is
res publica et quid sit populus loquente Scipione breuiter
the-thing public and what is a-people with-speaking Scipio briefly
posuit (adtestantibus etiam multis siue ipsius siue eorum
he-set-down with-attesting also many either of-himself or of-those
quos loqui fecit in eadem disputatione sententiis), numquam
whom to-speak he-made in the-same disputation opinions never
illam fuisse rem publicam, quia numquam in ea fuerit
that to-have-been a-thing public because never in it was
uera iustitia. Secundum probabiliores autem definitiones
true justice according-to more-probable but definitions
pro suo modo quodam res publica fuit, et melius ab
in its-own manner a-certain a-thing public it-was and better by
antiquioribus Romanis quam a posterioribus administrata est;
the-more-ancient Romans than by the-later administered was
uera autem iustitia non est nisi in ea re publica, cuius
true but justice not is except in that thing public whose
conditor rectorque Christus est, si et ipsam rem publicam
founder and-ruler Christ is if also itself a-thing public
placet dicere, quoniam eam rem populi esse negare
it-pleases to-call since it the-thing of-the-people to-be to-deny
non possumus. Si autem hoc nomen, quod alibi aliterque
not we-can if but this name which elsewhere and-otherwise
uulgatum est, ab usu nostrae locutionis est forte remotius,
spread-abroad is from the-usage of-our speech is perhaps more-remote
in ea certe ciuitate est uera iustitia, de qua scriptura
in that surely city is true justice about which scripture
sancta dicit: Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, ciuitas Dei.
holy says glorious-things said are about you O-city of-God

However praiseworthy, the republic had become the worst, even none, long before Christ came. To save it the gods should have given precepts of life, but the demons cared only to be worshiped, and no law of theirs that the Gracchi, Marius, or Sulla despised can be produced. If the pagans plead, with Vergil, that the gods left their shrines offended by vice, they cannot blame Christianity, since their ancestors' morals drove the gods off long ago; and where were the gods when the Gauls burned Rome and only geese kept watch on the Capitol? If they would not live with a people they had never taught to live well, what kind of gods were they?

Sed quod pertinet ad praesentem quaestionem, quamlibet
but as-to-what pertains to the-present question however-much
laudabilem dicant istam fuisse uel esse rem publicam,
praiseworthy they-may-say that to-have-been or to-be the-thing public
secundum eorum auctores doctissimos iam longe ante
according-to their authors most-learned already long before
Christi aduentum pessima ac flagitiosissima facta erat; immo
of-Christ the-coming most-wicked and most-shameful become had rather
uero nulla erat adque omnino perierat perditissimis moribus.
indeed none it-was and altogether had-perished by-most-abandoned morals
Ut ergo non periret, di custodes eius populo cultori
that therefore not it-should-perish the-gods guardians its to-the-people worshiper
suo dare praecipue uitae ac morum praecepta debuerunt,
their-own to-give especially of-life and of-morals precepts ought
a quo tot templis, tot sacerdotibus et sacrificiorum
by whom with-so-many temples so-many priests and of-sacrifices
generibus, tam multiplicibus uariisque sacris, tot festis
kinds so manifold and-various rites so-many festal
sollemnitatibus, tot tantorumque ludorum celebritatibus
solemnities so-many and-so-great games celebrations
colebantur; ubi nihil daemones nisi negotium suum
they-were-worshiped where nothing the-demons except business their-own

egerunt, non curantes quem ad modum illi uiuerent, immo
did not caring in-what to manner they should-live rather
curantes ut etiam perdite uiuerent, dum tamen honori
caring that even abandonedly they-should-live so-long-as only to-honor
suo illa omnia metu subditi ministrarent. Aut si
their-own those all-things through-fear subject they-supplied or if
dederunt, proferatur ostendatur legatur, quas deorum leges
they-gave let-it-be-produced let-it-be-shown let-it-be-read what of-the-gods laws
illi ciuitati datas contemserint Gracchi, ut seditionibus
to-that city given despised the-Gracchi that by-seditions
cuncta turbarent, quas Marius et Cinna et
all-things they-might-throw-into-confusion what Marius and Cinna and
Carbo, ut in bella etiam progrederentur ciuilia causis
Carbo that into wars even they-might-proceed civil for-causes
iniquissimis suscepta et crudeliter gesta crudeliusque finita,
most-unjust undertaken and cruelly waged and-more-cruelly ended
quas denique Sylla ipse, cuius uitam mores facta describente
what finally Sulla himself whose life morals deeds with-describing
Sallustio aliisque scriptoribus historiae quis non exhorreat?
Sallust and-other writers of-history who not would-shudder-at
quis illam rem publicam non tunc perisse fateatur?
who that thing public not then to-have-perished would-confess

An forte propter huiusce modi ciuium mores Vergilianam
or perhaps on-account-of of-this kind of-citizens morals the-Vergilian
illam sententiam, sicut solent, pro defensione deorum
that saying as they-are-wont for the-defense of-gods
suorum obponere audebunt:
their-own to-oppose they-will-dare

Discessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
departed all from-the-shrines and-the-altars left
di, quibus imperium hoc steterat?
the-gods by-whom empire this had-stood

Primum si ita est, non habent quur querantur de
first if so it-is not they-have why they-should-complain about
religione Christiana, quod hac offensi eos di sui
the-religion Christian that by-this offended them the-gods their
deseruerint, quoniam quidem maiores eorum iam pridem
deserted since indeed the-ancestors their already long-ago
moribus suis ab Urbis altaribus tam multos ac minutos
by-morals their-own from the-City's altars so many and petty
deos tamquam muscas abegerunt. Sed tamen haec numinum
gods as-if flies drove-away but yet this of-divinities
turba ubi erat, cum longe antequam mores corrumperentur
crowd where was-it when long before the-morals were-corrupted
antiqui a Gallis Roma capta et incensa est? An praesentes
ancient by the-Gauls Rome captured and burned was or present
forte dormiebant? Tunc enim tota Urbe in hostium
perhaps were-they-sleeping then for the-whole City into of-the-enemies
potestatem redacta collis solus Capitolinus remanserat, qui
the-power reduced the-hill alone Capitoline had-remained which
etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres dis
even itself would-have-been-captured unless at-least the-geese with-the-gods

dormientibus uigilarent. Unde paene in superstitionem
sleeping had-kept-watch whence almost into the-superstition
Aegyptiorum bestias auesque colentium Roma deciderat, cum
of-the-Egyptians beasts and-birds worshiping Rome had-fallen when
anseri sollemnia celebrabant. Verum de his aduenticiis et
to-the-goose solemnities they-celebrated but about these external and
corporis potius quam animi malis, quae uel ab hostibus
of-the-body rather than of-the-mind evils which either from enemies
uel alia clade accidunt, nondum interim disputo: nunc
or by-another disaster befall not-yet meanwhile do-I-discuss now
ago de labe morum, quibus primum paulatim decoloratis,
I-treat of the-stain of-morals by-which first little-by-little discolored
deinde torrentis modo praecipitatis tanta quamuis integris
then in-a-torrent's manner hurled-headlong so-great although with-intact
tectis moenibusque facta est ruina rei publicae, ut
roofs and-walls made was the-ruin of-the-thing public that
magni auctores eorum eam tunc amissam non dubitent dicere.
great authors their it then lost not hesitate to-say
Recte autem abscesserant, ut amitteretur, omnes adytis
rightly but had-departed that it-might-be-lost all from-the-shrines
arisque relictis di, si eorum de bona uita adque iustitia
and-the-altars left the-gods if their about good life and justice
ciuitas praecepta contemserat. Nunc uero quales, quaeso,
the-city precepts had-despised now but of-what-kind I-ask
di fuerunt, si noluerunt cum populo cultore suo
gods were-they if they-were-unwilling with the-people worshiper their-own
uiuere, quem male uiuentem non docuerant bene uiuere?
to-live whom badly living not they-had-taught well to-live

If the gods did not help Marius, the bloody author of civil wars, to seven consulships and a death in old age, then temporal happiness comes without them; if Regulus, who worshiped them no less, could be tortured to death with the gods friendly, their worship is useless. Nor is the wicked life to be chosen, for Metellus prospered with five consular sons and Catiline died in his crime. The gods did nothing to correct Roman morals and much to corrupt them. Marius' bloody success after Marica's grove came from God's hidden providence: the demons can do only what the Omnipotent permits, so earthly happiness is neither to be prized nor its givers feared.

Quid quod etiam uidentur eorum adfuisse cupiditatibus
what that even they-seem their to-have-been-present-at desires
inplendis, et ostenduntur non praefuisse refrenandis, qui
to-be-satisfied and are-shown not to-have-presided-over (them)-to-be-curbed who
enim Marium nouum hominem et ignobilem, cruentissimum
for Marius a-new man and ignoble the-most-bloody
auctorem bellorum ciuilium adque gestorem, ut septiens
author of-wars civil and executor that seven-times
consul fieret adiuuerunt adque ut in septimo suo
consul he-should-become helped and that in seventh his
consulatu morereturr senex nec in manus Syllae futuri
consulship he-should-die an-old-man nor into the-hands of-Sulla about-to-be
mox uictoris inrueret. Si enim ad haec eum di eorum
soon victor should-rush if for to these-things him the-gods their
non iuuerunt, non parum est quod fatentur etiam non
not helped not little it-is that they-confess even not
propitiis dis suis posse accidere homini istam temporalem,
propitious gods their to-be-able to-befall a-man that temporal
quam nimis diligunt, tantam felicitatem et posse homines,
which too-much they-love so-great happiness and to-be-able men

sicut fuit Marius, salute uiribus, opibus honoribus, dignitate
as was Marius with-health strength wealth honors dignity
longaeuitate cumulari et perfrui dis iratis; posse
longevity to-be-heaped and to-enjoy-(it) with-the-gods angry to-be-able
etiam homines, sicut fuit Regulus, captiuitate seruitute
also men as was Regulus by-captivity slavery
inopia, uigiliis doloribus excruciari et emori dis amicis.
want vigils pains to-be-tortured and to-die with-the-gods friendly
Quod si ita esse concedunt, conpendio nihil eos prodesse et
but if so to-be they-grant in-short nothing them to-profit and
coli superfluo confitentur. Nam si uirtutibus animi
to-be-worshiped superfluously they-confess for if to-virtues of-the-mind
et probitati uitae, cuius praemia post mortem speranda
and to-uprightness of-life of-which the-rewards after death to-be-hoped
sunt, magis contraria ut populus disceret institerunt; si
are rather contrary-things that the-people should-learn they-pressed if
nihil etiam in his transeuntibus et temporalibus bonis uel
nothing even in these passing and temporal goods either
eis quos oderunt nocent, uel eis quos diligunt prosunt,
those whom they-hate do-they-harm or those whom they-love do-they-profit
ut quid coluntur, ut quid tanto studio colendi
to what are-they-worshiped to what with-such zeal to-be-worshiped
requiruntur? Quur laboriosis tristibusque temporibus,
are-they-sought why in-laborious and-sad times
tamquam offensi abscesserint, murmuratur et propter eos
as-if offended they-departed is-it-murmured and on-account-of them
Christiana religio conuiciis indignissimis laeditur? Si autem
the-Christian religion with-insults most-unworthy is-hurt if but
habent in his rebus uel beneficii uel maleficii potestatem,
they-have in these things either of-benefit or of-harm the-power
quur in eis adfuerunt pessimo uiro Mario, et optimo Regulo
why in them they-stood-by the-worst man Marius and the-best Regulus

defuerunt? An ex hoc ipsi intelleguntur iniustissimi
failed or from this they-themselves are-understood most-unjust
et pessimi? Quod si propterea magis timendi et colendi
and worst but if for-this-reason more to-be-feared and to-be-worshiped
putantur, neque hoc putentur; neque enim minus eos
they-are-thought neither this let-them-be-thought nor for less them
inuenitur Regulus coluisse quam Marius. Nec ideo uita
is-found Regulus to-have-worshiped than Marius nor therefore a-life
pessima eligenda uideatur, quia magis Mario quam Regulo
most-wicked to-be-chosen should-seem because more Marius than Regulus
di fauisse existimantur. Metellus enim Romanorum
the-gods to-have-favored are-judged Metellus for of-the-Romans
laudatissimus, qui habuit quinque filios consulares, etiam
most-praised who had five sons consular even
rerum temporalium felix fuit, et Catilina pessimus obpressus
in-things temporal happy was and Catiline most-wicked oppressed
inopia et in bello sui sceleris prostratus infelix, et
by-want and in the-war of-his-own crime laid-low unhappy and
uerissima adque certissima felicitate praepollent boni Deum
in-most-true and most-certain happiness excel the-good God
colentes, a quo solo conferri potest.
worshiping by whom alone to-be-conferred it-can

Illa igitur res publica malis moribus cum periret, nihil
that therefore thing public by-bad morals when it-was-perishing nothing
di eorum pro dirigendis uel pro corrigendis egerunt
the-gods their for to-be-directed or for to-be-corrected did
moribus, ne periret; immo deprauandis et corrumpendis
morals lest it-should-perish rather to-be-depraved and to-be-corrupted
addiderunt moribus, ut periret. Nec se bonos
they-added morals that it-might-perish nor themselves good
fingant, quod uelut offensi ciuium iniquitate discesserint.
let-them-feign because as-if offended by-the-citizens' iniquity they-departed

Prorsus ibi erant; produntur, conuincuntur; nec subuenire
utterly there they-were they-are-betrayed they-are-convicted neither to-help
praecipiendo nec latere tacendo potuerunt. Omitto
by-commanding nor to-be-hidden by-keeping-silent could-they I-pass-over
quod Marius a miserantibus Minturnensibus Maricae deae
that Marius by the-pitying Minturnians to-Marica the-goddess
in luco eius commendatus est, ut ei omnia prosperaret,
in grove her commended was that to-him all-things she-might-prosper
et ex summa desperatione reuersus incolumis in Urbem
and from utmost despair returned safe into the-City
duxit crudelem crudelis exercitum; ubi quam cruenta, quam
he-led a-cruel (he)-cruel army where how bloody how
inciuilis hostilique inmanior eius uictoria fuerit, eos qui
uncivil and-than-an-enemy's more-savage his victory was those who
scripserunt legant qui uolunt. Sed hoc, ut dixi, omitto, nec
have-written let-them-read who wish but this as I-said I-pass-over nor
Maricae nescio cui tribuo Marii sanguineam felicitatem,
to-Marica I-know-not whom do-I-attribute Marius' bloody happiness
sed occultae potius prouidentiae Dei ad istorum ora
but to-the-hidden rather providence of-God for of-these the-mouths
claudenda eosque ab errore liberandos, qui non studiis agunt,
to-be-closed and-them from error to-be-freed who not by-zeal act
sed haec prudenter aduertunt, quia, etsi aliquid in his
but these-things prudently notice because although something in these
rebus daemones possunt, tantum possunt, quantum secreto
things the-demons can so-much they-can as-much-as by-the-secret
omnipotentis arbitrio permittuntur, ne magnipendamus
of-the-omnipotent judgment they-are-permitted lest we-value-highly
terrenam felicitatem, quae sicut Mario malis etiam
earthly happiness which as to-Marius to-the-wicked even
plerumque conceditur, nec eam rursus quasi malam arbitremur,
mostly is-granted nor it again as-if evil we-should-judge

cum ea multos etiam pios ac bonos unius ueri Dei cultores
since with-it many even devout and good of-the-one true God worshipers
inuitis daemonibus praepolluisse uideamus, nec eosdem
against-the-will-of the-demons to-have-excelled we-see nor the-same
inmundissimos spiritus uel propter haec ipsa bona malaue
most-unclean spirits either on-account-of these very goods or-evils
terrena propitiandos aut timendos existimemus, quia, sicut
earthly to-be-propitiated or to-be-feared we-should-judge because as
ipsi mali homines in terra, sic etiam illi non omnia quae
the-very wicked men on earth so also they not all-things which
uolunt facere possunt, nisi quantum illius ordinatione sinitur,
they-wish to-do can except as-much-as by-his ordinance it-is-allowed
cuius plene iudicia nemo conprehendit, iuste nemo reprehendit.
whose fully judgments no-one comprehends justly no-one reprehends

XXIV · THE OMENS THAT PROMISED SULLA VICTORY

When Sulla first moved against Rome, Livy writes, the entrails were so favorable that the soothsayer Postumius offered his life if Sulla's plans failed, and Jupiter twice sent word of victory. At Tarentum a golden crown appeared on a calf's liver, and a slave cried from Bellona that victory was Sulla's and that the Capitol would burn, which it did. The gods foretold his success but never warned him from his crimes; the victory harmed his soul more than it served his dignity, for the demons feared his correction more than his defeat.

Sylla certe ipse, cuius tempora talia fuerunt, ut superiora,
Sulla surely himself whose times such were that the-earlier
quorum uindex esse uidebatur, illorum conparatione
whose avenger to-be he-seemed of-those in-comparison
quaererentur, cum primum ad Urbem contra Marium castra
were-longed-for when first to the-City against Marius camp

mouisset, adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit
he-had-moved so propitious the-entrails to-him-sacrificing to-have-been writes
Liuius, ut custodiri se Postumius haruspex uoluerit capitis
Livy that to-be-guarded himself Postumius the-soothsayer wished capital
supplicium subiturus, nisi ea, quae in animo Sylla
punishment about-to-undergo unless those-things which in mind Sulla
haberet, dis iuuantibus inpleuisset. Ecce non discesserant
had with-the-gods helping he-had-fulfilled behold not had-departed
adytis adque aris relictis di, quando de rerum
from-the-shrines and the-altars left the-gods when about of-things
euentu praedicebant nihilque de ipsius Syllae correctione
the-outcome they-foretold and-nothing about of-the-very Sulla the-correction
curabant. Promittebant praesagando felicitatem magnam nec
they-cared they-promised by-presaging happiness great nor
malam cupiditatem minando frangebant. Deinde cum esset
the-evil greed by-threatening did-they-break then when he-was
in Asia bellum Mithridaticum gerens, per Lucium Titium
in Asia the-war Mithridatic waging through Lucius Titius
ei mandatum est a Ioue, quod esset Mithridatem
to-him commanded it-was by Jupiter that he-was Mithridates
superaturus, et factum est. Ac postea molienti redire
about-to-overcome and done it-was and afterward to-him-undertaking to-return
in Urbem et suas amicorumque iniurias ciuili sanguine
into the-City and his-own and-friends' injuries with-civil blood
ulcisci, iterum mandatum est ab eodem Ioue per
to-avenge again commanded it-was by the-same Jupiter through
militem quendam legionis sextae, prius se de Mithridate
a-soldier certain of-the-legion sixth first himself about Mithridates
praenuntiasse uictoriam, et tunc promittere daturum se
to-have-foretold the-victory and then to-promise about-to-give himself
potestatem, qua recuperaret ab inimicis rem publicam
the-power by-which he-might-recover from (his)-enemies the-thing public

non sine multo sanguine. Tum percontatus Sylla, quae forma
not without much blood then having-inquired Sulla what form
militi uisa fuerit, cum ille indicasset, eam recordatus est,
to-the-soldier seen had-been when he had-indicated it recalled he-has
quam prius ab illo audierat, qui de Mithridatica uictoria
that-which before from him he-had-heard who about the-Mithridatic victory
ab eodem mandata pertulerat. Quid hic responderi potest,
from the-same messages had-brought what here to-be-answered it-can
quare di curauerint uelut felicia ista nuntiare, et
why the-gods cared as-if happy these-things to-announce and
nullus eorum curauerit Syllam monendo corrigere mala tanta
none of-them cared Sulla by-warning to-correct evils so-great
facturum scelestis armis ciuilibus, qualia non foedarent, sed
about-to-do by-wicked arms civil such-as not would-disfigure but
auferrent omnino rem publicam? Nempe intelleguntur
would-take-away altogether the-thing public surely are-understood
daemones, sicut saepe dixi notumque nobis est in litteris
the-demons as often I-have-said and-known to-us it-is in the-letters
sacris resque ipsae satis indicant, negotium suum
sacred and-the-things themselves sufficiently show business their-own
agere, ut pro dis habeantur et colantur, ut ea
to-do that for gods they-may-be-held and may-be-worshiped that those-things
illis exhibeantur, quibus hi qui exhibent sociati unam
to-them be-exhibited by-which these who exhibit associated one
pessimam causam cum eis habeant in iudicio Dei.
most-wicked cause with them may-have in the-judgment of-God

Deinde cum uenisset Tarentum Sylla adque ibi sacrificasset,
then when he-had-come to-Tarentum Sulla and there had-sacrificed
uidit in capite uitulini iecoris similitudinem coronae aureae.
he-saw on the-head of-a-calf's liver the-likeness of-a-crown golden
Tunc Postumius haruspex ille respondit praeclaram significare
then Postumius soothsayer that answered a-splendid to-signify

uictoriam iussitque ut extis illis solus uesceretur. Postea
victory and-ordered that of-entrails those alone he-should-eat afterward
paruo interuallo seruus cuiusdam Lucii Pontii uaticinando
in-a-short interval the-slave of-a-certain Lucius Pontius prophesying
clamauit: "a Bellona nuntius uenio, uictoria tua est, Sylla".
cried from Bellona a-messenger I-come victory yours is Sulla
Deinde adiecit arsurum esse Capitolium. Hoc cum dixisset,
then he-added about-to-burn to-be the-Capitol this when he-had-said
continuo egressus e castris postero die concitatior
immediately having-gone-out from the-camp on-the-next day more-excited
reuersus est et Capitolium arsisse clamauit. Arserat
returned he-has and the-Capitol to-have-burned cried had-burned
autem re uera Capitolium. Quod quidem daemoni et
but in truth the-Capitol which indeed for-a-demon both
praeuidere facile fuit et celerrime nuntiare. Illud sane intende,
to-foresee easy it-was and most-swiftly to-announce that indeed attend-to
quod ad causam maxime pertinet, sub qualibus dis esse
which to the-case most pertains under what-kind gods to-be
cupiant, qui blasphemant Saluatorem uoluntates fidelium a
they-desire who blaspheme the-Savior the-wills of-the-faithful from
dominatu daemonum liberantem. Clamauit homo uaticinando:
the-domination of-demons freeing cried the-man prophesying
"uictoria tua est, Sylla", adque ut id diuino spiritu clamare
victory yours is Sulla and that it by-divine spirit to-cry
crederetur, nuntiauit etiam aliquid et prope futurum et
he-might-be-believed he-announced also something both near about-to-be and
mox factum, unde longe aberat per quem ille spiritus
soon done from-which far he-was-distant through whom that spirit
loquebatur; non tamen clamauit: "ab sceleribus parce, Sylla",
spoke not yet cried-he from crimes refrain Sulla
quae illic uictor tam horrenda commisit, cui corona aurea
which there as-victor so horrible he-committed for-whom a-crown golden

ipsius uictoriae inlustrissimum signum in uitulino iecore
of-that-very victory a-most-illustrious sign on the-calf's liver
apparuit, qualia signa si di iusti dare solerent ac non
appeared such signs if gods just to-give were-wont and not
daemones inpii, profecto illis extis nefaria potius adque
demons ungodly assuredly in-those entrails abominable rather and
ipsi Syllae grauiter noxia mala futura monstrarent. Neque
to-the-very Sulla heavily harmful evils future they-would-show nor
enim eius dignitati tantum profuit illa uictoria, quantum
for to-his dignity so-much profited that victory as-much-as
nocuit cupiditati; qua factum est, ut inmoderatis
it-harmed (his)-greed by-which done it-was that for-immoderate-things
inhians et secundis rebus elatus ac praecipitatus magis
gaping and by-prosperous things elated and hurled-headlong more
ipse periret in moribus, quam inimicos in corporibus
himself he-perished in morals than (his)-enemies in bodies
perderet. Haec illi di uere tristia uereque lugenda non
he-destroyed these-things those gods truly sad and-truly to-be-lamented not
extis, non auguriis, non cuiusquam somnio uel uaticinio
by-entrails not by-auguries not by-anyone's dream or prophecy
praenuntiabant. Magis enim timebant ne corrigeretur quam
they-foretold more for they-feared lest he-be-corrected than
ne uinceretur. Immo satis agebant, ut uictor ciuium
lest he-be-conquered rather enough they-did that the-conqueror of-citizens
gloriosus uictus adque captiuus nefandis uitiis et per
glorious conquered and captive by-abominable vices and through
haec ipsis etiam daemonibus multo obstrictius subderetur.
these to-the-very also demons much more-bindingly should-be-subjected

XXV · GODS SEEN FIGHTING IN CAMPANIA

Before the civil armies clashed in a Campanian plain, the gods were heard and seen fighting there for days, and traces as of men and horses were found. If they truly fought, civil wars are excused; if they feigned it, they did so that Romans already horrified, as by the soldier who killed himself over his brother's corpse, might think civil war no crime, as they confirmed the poets' tales on stage and in the field. Rome's own authors say the republic was lost before Christ came, yet Christ's precepts are blamed and not the gods, who cannot have departed offended by vice, for all their omens show them present.

Illinc uero quis non intellegat, quis non uideat, nisi
from-there indeed who not would-understand who not would-see except
qui tales deos imitari magis elegit quam diuina gratia ab
he-who such gods to-imitate rather chose than by-divine grace from
eorum societate separari, quantum moliantur maligni isti
their society to-be-separated how-much strive malign these
spiritus exemplo suo uelut diuinam auctoritatem praebere
spirits by-example their-own as-if divine authority to-offer
sceleribus? quod etiam in quadam Campaniae lata planitie,
to-crimes that also in a-certain of-Campania broad plain
ubi non multo post ciuiles acies nefario proelio
where not much after civil battle-lines in-abominable battle
conflixerunt, ipsi inter se prius pugnare uisi sunt.
clashed they-themselves among themselves first to-fight seen were
Namque ibi auditi sunt primum ingentes fragores, moxque
for there heard were first huge crashes and-soon
multi se uidisse nuntiarunt per aliquot dies duas
many themselves to-have-seen reported through some days two
acies proeliari. Quae pugna ubi destitit, uestigia quoque
battle-lines to-fight which fight when it-ceased the-traces also
uelut hominum et equorum, quanta de illa conflictatione
as-if of-men and of-horses as-many-as from that clash

exprimi poterant, inuenerunt. Si ergo ueraciter inter
to-be-impressed could they-found if then truly among
se numina pugnauerunt, iam bella ciuilia excusantur
themselves the-divinities fought now the-wars civil are-excused
humana; consideretur tamen quae sit talium deorum uel
human let-it-be-considered yet what is of-such gods either
malitia uel miseria: si autem se pugnasse finxerunt,
the-malice or the-misery if but themselves to-have-fought they-feigned
quid aliud egerunt, nisi ut sibi Romani bellando
what else did-they unless that for-themselves the-Romans by-warring
ciuiliter tamquam deorum exemplo nullum nefas admittere
civilly as-if by-the-gods' example no crime to-commit
uiderentur? Iam enim coeperant bella ciuilia, et aliquot
might-seem already for had-begun the-wars civil and some
nefandorum proeliorum strages exsecranda praecesserat. Iam
of-abominable battles the-slaughter execrable had-gone-before already
multos mouerat, quod miles quidam, dum occiso spolia
many had-moved that a-soldier a-certain while from-the-slain spoils
detraheret, fratrem nudato cadauere agnouit ac detestatus
he-was-stripping (his)-brother with-the-bared corpse recognized and having-cursed
bella ciuilia se ipsum ibi perimens fraterno corpori
wars civil him himself there killing to-the-brotherly body
adiunxit. Ut ergo huius tanti mali minime taederet, sed
joined that therefore of-this so-great evil not-at-all it-should-weary but
armorum scelestorum magis magisque ardor incresceret,
of-arms wicked more and-more the-ardor should-increase
noxii daemones, quos illi deos putantes colendos et
the-harmful demons whom they gods thinking to-be-worshiped and
uenerandos arbitrabantur, inter se pugnantes hominibus
to-be-venerated judged among themselves fighting to-men
apparere uoluerunt, ne imitari tales pugnas ciuica trepidaret
to-appear wished lest to-imitate such fights the-civic should-tremble

adfectio, sed potius humanum scelus diuino excusaretur
feeling but rather human crime by-divine should-be-excused
exemplo. Hac astutia maligni spiritus etiam ludos,
example by-this cunning the-malign spirits even the-games
unde multa iam dixi, scaenicos sibi dicari
about-which many-things already I-have-said theatrical to-themselves to-be-dedicated
sacrarique iusserunt, ubi tanta deorum flagitia theatricis
and-consecrated ordered where so-great of-the-gods shameful-deeds in-theatrical
canticis adque fabularum actionibus celebrata et quisquis eos
songs and of-fables in-actings celebrated and whoever them
fecisse crederet et quisquis non crederet, sed tamen illos
to-have-done should-believe and whoever not should-believe but yet them
libentissime sibi talia exhiberi cerneret, securus
most-gladly to-themselves such-things to-be-exhibited should-perceive securely
imitaretur. Ne quis itaque existimaret in deos conuicia
should-imitate lest anyone and-so should-think against the-gods insults
potius quam eis dignum aliquid scriptitasse, ubicumque
rather than to-them worthy anything to-have-written wherever
illos inter se pugnasse poetae commemorarunt, ipsi ad
them among themselves to-have-fought the-poets recorded themselves for
decipiendos homines poetarum carmina firmauerunt, pugnas
deceiving men of-the-poets the-songs confirmed the-fights
uidelicet suas non solum per scaenicos in theatro, uerum
namely their-own not only through actors in the-theater but
etiam per se ipsos in campo humanis oculis exhibentes.
also through them themselves on the-field to-human eyes exhibiting
Haec dicere conpulsi sumus, quoniam pessimis moribus
these-things to-say compelled we-have-been since by-most-wicked morals
ciuium Romanam rem publicam iam antea perditam
of-the-citizens the-Roman thing public already before ruined
fuisse nullamque remansisse ante aduentum Christi Iesu
to-have-been and-none to-have-remained before the-coming of-Christ Jesus

domini nostri auctores eorum dicere et scribere minime
Lord our the-authors their to-say and to-write not-at-all
dubitarunt. Quam perditionem dis suis non inputant, qui
hesitated which ruin to-gods their-own not they-impute who
mala transitoria, quibus boni, seu uiuant seu moriantur,
the-evils transitory by-which the-good whether they-live or they-die
perire non possunt, Christo nostro inputant: cum Christus
to-perish not can to-Christ our impute since Christ
noster tanta frequentet pro moribus optimis praecepta contra
our so-much repeats for morals best precepts against
perditos mores; di uero ipsorum nullis talibus praeceptis
ruined morals the-gods but their-own by-no such precepts
egerint aliquid cum suo cultore populo pro illa re publica,
did anything with their-own worshiper people for that thing public
ne periret; immo eosdem mores uelut suis exemplis
lest it-should-perish rather the-same morals as-if by-their-own examples
auctoritate noxia corrumpendo egerunt potius, ut periret.
by-authority harmful by-corrupting they-acted rather that it-might-perish
Quam non ideo tunc perisse quisquam, ut arbitror,
which not for-this-reason then to-have-perished anyone as I-think
iam dicere audebit, quia "discessere omnes adytis
now to-say will-dare because departed all from-the-shrines
arisque relictis di", uelut amici uirtutibus, cum uitiis
and-the-altars left the-gods as-if friends to-virtues when by-the-vices
hominum offenderentur; quia tot signis extorum
of-men they-were-offended because by-so-many signs of-entrails
auguriorum uaticiniorum, quibus se tamquam praescios
of-auguries of-prophecies by-which themselves as foreknowing
futurorum adiutoresque proeliorum iactare et commendare
future-things and-helpers of-battles to-boast and to-commend
gestiebant, conuincuntur fuisse praesentes; qui si uere
they-longed they-are-convicted to-have-been present who if truly

abscessissent, mitius Romani in bella ciuilia suis
they-had-departed more-mildly the-Romans into wars civil by-their-own
cupiditatibus quam illorum instigationibus exarsissent.
desires than by-their instigations would-have-blazed

XXVI · SECRET PRECEPTS AND THE RITES OF CAELESTIS

Since the gods' crimes were consecrated to them by fixed solemnities, why are the demons said to give good precepts to a chosen few in their shrines? Malice must transform itself into an angel of light: outside, ungodly din resounds; within, feigned chastity barely whispers. Augustine never learned where the consecrated heard such precepts, but he saw the virgin goddess Caelestis adored before her shrine while obscenities were acted, so that a matron carried home from the temple what she was ashamed to watch.

Quae cum ita sint, cum palam aperteque turpitudines
which-things since so they-are since openly and-manifestly basenesses
crudelitatibus mixtae, obprobria numinum et crimina, siue
with-cruelties mingled the-reproaches of-the-divinities and crimes whether
prodita siue conficta, ipsis exposcentibus et nisi fieret
revealed or fabricated themselves demanding and unless it-were-done
irascentibus etiam certis et statis sollemnitatibus consecrata
being-angry even at-fixed and appointed solemnities consecrated
illis et dicata claruerint adque ad omnium oculos
to-them and dedicated have-shone and before of-all the-eyes
ut imitanda proponerentur, spectanda processerint: quid
as to-be-imitated they-were-proposed to-be-watched have-come-forth what
est, quod idem ipsi daemones, qui se huiusce modi
is-it that the-same very demons who themselves of-this kind
uoluptatibus inmundos esse spiritus confitentur, qui suis
by-pleasures unclean to-be spirits confess who by-their-own

flagitiis et facinoribus, siue indicatis siue simulatis,
shameful-deeds and crimes whether revealed or feigned
eorumque sibi celebratione petita ab inpudentibus,
and-their for-themselves celebration sought from the-shameless
extorta a pudentibus auctores se uitae scelestae
extorted from the-modest authors themselves of-life wicked
inmundaeque testantur, perhibentur tamen in adytis suis
and-unclean testify are-said yet in shrines their
secretisque penetralibus dare quaedam bona praecepta de
and-secret inner-sanctuaries to-give certain good precepts about
moribus quibusdam uelut electis sacratis suis? Quod si
morals to-certain as-if chosen consecrated-ones their-own but if
ita est, hoc ipso callidior aduertenda est et conuincenda
so it-is by-this very more-cunning to-be-noticed is and to-be-convicted
malitia spirituum noxiorum. Tanta enim uis est probitatis
the-malice of-spirits harmful so-great for the-force is of-uprightness
et castitatis, ut omnis uel paene omnis eius laude moueatur
and of-chastity that all or almost all by-its praise is-moved
humana natura, nec usque adeo sit turpitudine uitiosa,
human nature nor to-such a-degree is by-baseness vicious
ut totum sensum honestatis amiserit. Proinde malignitas
that the-whole sense of-honor it-has-lost accordingly the-malignity
daemonum, nisi alicubi se, quem ad modum scriptum in
of-the-demons unless somewhere itself in-what to manner written in
nostris litteris nouimus, transfiguret in angelos lucis, non
our letters we-know it-transfigure into angels of-light not
inplet negotium deceptionis. Foris itaque populis celeberrimo
fulfills the-business of-deception outside and-so to-the-peoples with-most-crowded
strepitu inpietas inpura circumsonat, et intus paucis castitas
din ungodliness impure resounds-around and within to-a-few chastity
simulata uix sonat; praebentur propatula pudendis et
feigned scarcely sounds are-offered things-open to-shameful-things and

secreta laudandis; decus latet et dedecus patet; quod
secret-places to-praiseworthy-things honor lies-hidden and dishonor lies-open what
malum geritur omnes conuocat spectatores, quod bonum
evil is-done all calls-together as-spectators what good
dicitur uix aliquos inuenit auditores, tamquam honesta
is-said scarcely some finds as-hearers as-if honorable-things
erubescenda sint et inhonesta glorianda. Sed ubi hoc
to-be-blushed-at were and dishonorable-things to-be-boasted-of but where this
nisi in daemonum templis? ubi nisi in fallaciae deuersoriis?
except in of-demons temples where except in of-deceit the-lodgings
Illud enim fit, ut honestiores, qui pauci sunt, capiantur;
that for is-done that the-more-honorable who few are may-be-caught
hoc autem, ne plures, qui sunt turpissimi, corrigantur.
this but lest the-many who are most-base be-corrected

Ubi et quando sacrati Caelestis audiebant castitatis
where and when the-consecrated-ones of-Caelestis heard of-chastity
praecepta, nescimus; ante ipsum tamen delubrum, ubi
precepts we-know-not before the-very yet shrine where
simulacrum illud locatum conspiciebamus, uniuersi undique
image that placed we-beheld all from-everywhere
confluentes et ubi quisque poterat stantes ludos qui
flocking and where each could standing the-games which
agebantur intentissimi spectabamus, intuentes alternante
were-performed most-intent we-watched gazing with-alternating
conspectu hinc meretriciam pompam, illinc uirginem
view on-this-side a-harlot's procession on-that-side the-virgin
deam: illam suppliciter adorari, ante illam turpia celebrari;
goddess that suppliantly to-be-adored before her base-things to-be-celebrated
non ibi pudibundos mimos, nullam uerecundiorem scaenicam
not there modest mimes no more-bashful actress
uidimus; cuncta obscenitatis inplebantur officia. Sciebatur
did-we-see all of-obscenity were-fulfilled the-duties it-was-known

uirginali numini quid placeret, et exhibebatur quod de
to-the-virginal divinity what pleased and was-exhibited what from
templo domum matrona doctior reportaret. Nonnullae
the-temple home a-matron more-learned might-carry-back some
pudentiores auertebant faciem ab inpuris motibus scaenicorum
more-modest turned-away face from the-impure gestures of-the-actors
et artem flagitii furtiua intentione discebant. Hominibus
and the-art of-shameful-deed with-stealthy attention learned to-men
namque uerecundabantur, ne auderent inpudicos gestus
for they-felt-shame lest they-should-dare unchaste gestures
ore libero cernere; sed multo minus audebant sacra
with-face free to-look-at but much less did-they-dare the-rites
eius, quam uenerabantur, casto corde damnare. Hoc
of-her whom they-venerated with-chaste heart to-condemn this
tamen palam discendum praebebatur in templo, ad quod
yet openly to-be-learned was-offered in the-temple for which
perpetrandum saltem secretum quaerebatur in domo, mirante
to-be-perpetrated at-least secrecy was-sought in the-house wondering
nimium, si ullus ibi erat, pudore mortalium, quod humana
exceedingly if any there was shame of-mortals that human
flagitia non libere homines committerent, quae aput
shameful-deeds not freely men committed which among
deos etiam religiose discerent iratos habituri, nisi etiam
the-gods even religiously they-learned angry about-to-have unless also
exhibere curarent. Quis enim alius spiritus occulto instinctu
to-exhibit they-took-care who for other spirit by-hidden instinct
nequissimas agitans mentes et instat faciendis adulteriis et
most-wicked agitating minds both presses on-to-be-done adulteries and
pascitur factis, nisi qui etiam sacris talibus oblectatur,
is-fed by-the-things-done unless he-who even with-rites such is-delighted
constituens in templis simulacra daemonum, amans in ludis
establishing in temples images of-demons loving in games

simulacra uitiorum, susurrans in occulto uerba iustitiae
images of-vices whispering in secret words of-justice
ad decipiendos etiam paucos bonos, frequentans in aperto
for deceiving even the-few good frequenting in the-open
inuitamenta nequitiae ad possidendos innumerabiles malos?
incitements of-wickedness for possessing innumerable evil-men

XXVII · PLACATING THE GODS WITH GAMES

Tully, about to be aedile, proclaimed that Flora must be placated with games, which are celebrated the more devoutly the more basely; as consul he held games for ten days in the city's danger. It would have been better to provoke such gods by temperance than placate them by luxury, for the enemies they were placated against could have done no worse than the gods did when so placated, warring down virtue in minds to avert harm to bodies. Rome branded the actors infamous, yet the city learned in public what the gods were said to do and enjoy, and believed it should imitate it, not the good taught in secret.

Vir grauis et philosophaster Tullius aedilis futurus clamat
a-man grave and a-would-be-philosopher Tully aedile about-to-be cries
in auribus ciuitatis, inter cetera sui magistratus officia
in the-ears of-the-city among other-things of-his-own magistracy duties
sibi Floram matrem ludorum celebritate placandam; qui
for-himself Flora the-mother of-games with-celebration to-be-placated which
ludi tanto deuotius, quanto turpius celebrari solent. Dicit
games so-much more-devoutly as more-basely to-be-celebrated are-wont he-says
alio loco iam consul in extremis periculis ciuitatis, et
in-another place now consul in extreme perils of-the-city both
ludos per decem dies factos, neque rem ullam quae ad
games for ten days made and-not thing any which to
placandos deos pertineret praetermissam; quasi non satius
placating the-gods pertained omitted as-if not better

erat tales deos inritare temperantia quam placare luxuria, et
it-was such gods to-provoke by-temperance than to-placate by-luxury and
eos honestate etiam ad inimicitias prouocare quam tanta
them by-honor even to enmities to-challenge than by-so-great
deformitate lenire. Neque enim grauius fuerant quamlibet
deformity to-soothe nor for more-heavily would-they-have however
crudelissima inmanitate nocituri homines, propter quos
most-cruel by-savagery about-to-harm men on-account-of whom
placabantur, quam nocebant ipsi, cum uitiositate
they-were-placated than they-harmed they-themselves when by-viciousness
foedissima placarentur. Quando quidem ut auerteretur
most-foul they-were-placated since indeed that might-be-averted
quod metuebatur ab hoste in corporibus, eo modo
what was-feared from the-enemy in bodies in-that manner
di conciliabantur, quo uirtus debellaretur in mentibus,
the-gods were-won by-which virtue was-warred-down in minds
qui non obponerentur defensores obpugnatoribus moenium,
who not would-be-opposed as-defenders to-the-assailants of-the-walls
nisi prius fierent expugnatores morum bonorum. Hanc
unless first they-became the-stormers of-morals good this
talium numinum placationem petulantissimam inpurissimam
of-such divinities placation most-petulant most-impure
inpudentissimam nequissimam inmundissimam, cuius actores
most-impudent most-wicked most-unclean whose actors
laudanda Romanae uirtutis indoles honore priuauit,
the-praiseworthy of-Roman virtue nature of-honor deprived
tribu mouit, agnouit turpes, fecit infames, hanc,
from-(their)-tribe removed acknowledged base made infamous this
inquam, pudendam ueraeque religioni auersandam et
I-say shameful and-to-true religion to-be-shunned and
detestandam talium numinum placationem, fabulas in
to-be-detested of-such divinities placation the-fables against

deos inlecebrosas adque criminosas, haec ignominiosa deorum
the-gods alluring and criminal these ignominious of-the-gods
uel scelerate turpiterque facta uel sceleratius turpiusque
either wickedly and-basely done or more-wickedly and-more-basely
conficta oculis et auribus publicis ciuitas tota discebat, haec
fabricated with-eyes and ears public the-city whole learned these
commissa numinibus placere cernebat, et ideo non solum
committed to-the-divinities to-please it-perceived and therefore not only
illis exhibenda, sed sibi quoque imitanda credebat, non
to-them to-be-exhibited but by-itself also to-be-imitated it-believed not
illud nescio quid uelut bonum et honestum, quod tam
that I-know-not what as-if good and honorable which so
paucis et tam occulte dicebatur (si tamen dicebatur), ut
to-few and so secretly was-said if yet it-was-said that
magis ne innotesceret, quam ne non fieret, timeretur.
more lest it-become-known than lest not it-be-done it-was-feared

XXVIII · THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH

The unjust and ungrateful complain that men are rescued through Christ's name from the hellish yoke of these powers. In the church, with the sexes decently separated, the people hear how to live well here so as to live blessedly forever; holy scripture and the doctrine of justice resound for reward to those who do it and for judgment to those who do not. Even mockers who come are changed or restrained, for nothing base is set before them to be watched or imitated.

Ab istarum inmundissimarum potestatum tartareo iugo et
from of-these most-unclean powers the-hellish yoke and
societate poenali erui per Christi nomen homines et in
fellowship penal to-be-rescued through of-Christ the-name men and into
lucem saluberrimae pietatis ab illa perniciosissimae inpietatis
the-light of-most-wholesome devotion from that of-most-pernicious ungodliness

nocte transferri queruntur et murmurant iniqui et ingrati
night to-be-transferred they-complain and murmur the-unjust and ungrateful
et illo nefario spiritu altius obstrictiusque possessi, quia
and by-that abominable spirit more-deeply and-more-bindingly possessed because
populi confluunt ad ecclesiam casta celebritate, honesta
the-peoples flock to the-church with-chaste concourse honorable
utriusque sexus discretione, ubi audiant quam bene hic ad
of-each sex with-separation where they-may-hear how well here for
tempus uiuere debeant, ut post hanc uitam beate semperque
a-time to-live they-ought that after this life blessedly and-forever
uiuere mereantur, ubi sancta scriptura iustitiaeque doctrina
to-live they-may-deserve where the-holy scripture and-of-justice the-doctrine
de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante et qui
from a-higher place in the-sight of-all resounding both those-who
faciunt audiant ad praemium, et qui non faciunt audiant
do-it may-hear to reward and those-who not do-it may-hear
ad iudicium. Quo etsi ueniunt quidam talium praeceptorum
to judgment whither although come some of-such precepts
inrisores, omnis eorum petulantia aut repentina mutatione
mockers all their petulance either by-sudden change
deponitur, aut timore uel pudore conprimitur. Nihil enim eis
is-laid-down or by-fear or by-shame is-suppressed nothing for to-them
turpe ac flagitiosum spectandum imitandumque proponitur,
base and shameful to-be-watched and-to-be-imitated is-proposed
ubi ueri Dei aut praecepta insinuantur aut miracula
where of-the-true God either the-precepts are-instilled or the-miracles
narrantur, aut dona laudantur aut beneficia postulantur.
are-narrated or the-gifts are-praised or the-benefits are-asked

Augustine urges the praiseworthy Roman nature, the progeny of the Reguli, Scaevolae, Scipios, and Fabricii, to choose the true God, in whom it may be praised without error. Rome had popular glory but lacked true religion; let it awake, as it has in its martyrs, and seek the heavenly fatherland, whose asylum is the remission of sins, where not Vesta's hearth or the Capitoline stone but the one true God gives empire without end. Its gods are malign spirits: Rome barred their actors from honors, and the heavenly city will far less admit such gods. Whether they rule even carnal goods is left for what follows.

Haec potius concupisce, o indoles Romana laudabilis, o
these-things rather covet O nature Roman praiseworthy O
progenies Regulorum Scaeuolarum Scipionum Fabriciorum;
progeny of-the-Reguli the-Scaevolae the-Scipios the-Fabricii
haec potius concupisce, haec ab illa turpissima uanitate
these-things rather covet these-things from that most-base vanity
et fallacissima daemonum malignitate discerne. Si quid in te
and most-deceitful of-demons malignity distinguish if anything in you
laudabile naturaliter eminet, non nisi uera pietate purgatur
praiseworthy naturally stands-out not except by-true devotion it-is-purged
adque perficitur, inpietate autem disperditur et punitur.
and perfected by-ungodliness but it-is-destroyed and punished
Nunc iam elige quid sequaris, ut non in te, sed in Deo
now at-last choose what you-may-follow that not in yourself but in God
uero sine ullo errore lauderis. Tunc enim tibi gloria
true without any error you-may-be-praised then for to-you glory
popularis adfuit, sed occulto diuinae prouidentiae iudicio
popular was-present but by-the-hidden of-divine providence judgment
uera religio quam eligeres defuit. Expergiscere, dies est,
true religion which you-might-choose was-lacking awake day it-is
sicut experrecta es in quibusdam, de quorum uirtute
as awakened you-are in some about whose virtue

perfecta et pro fide uera etiam passionibus gloriamur, qui
perfect and for faith true even in-sufferings we-glory who
usquequaque aduersus potestates inimicissimas confligentes
everywhere against powers most-hostile contending
easque fortiter moriendo uincentes sanguine nobis hanc
and-them bravely by-dying conquering with-blood for-us this
patriam peperere suo. Ad quam patriam te inuitamus
fatherland brought-forth their-own to which fatherland you we-invite
et exhortamur, ut eius adiciaris numero ciuium, cuius
and exhort that its you-be-added to-the-number of-citizens of-which
quodam modo asylum est uera remissio peccatorum. Non
in-a-certain manner the-asylum is true remission of-sins not
audias degeneres tuos Christo Christianisue detrahentes et
hear degenerates your to-Christ or-to-the-Christians detracting and
accusantes uelut tempora mala, cum quaerant tempora, quibus
accusing as-if times evil when they-seek times in-which
non sit quieta uita, sed potius secura nequitia. Haec tibi
not be quiet life but rather secure wickedness these-things to-you
numquam nec pro terrena patria placuerunt. Nunc iam
never not-even for the-earthly fatherland pleased now at-last
caelestem arripe, pro qua minimum laborabis, et in ea
the-heavenly seize for which least you-will-labor and in it
ueraciter semperque regnabis. Illic enim tibi non Vestalis
truly and-forever you-will-reign there for for-you not the-Vestal
focus, non lapis Capitolinus, sed Deus unus et uerus
hearth not the-stone Capitoline but God one and true

nec metas rerum nec tempora ponit,
neither limits of-things nor times sets
imperium sine fine dabit.
empire without end will-give

Noli deos falsos fallacesque requirere; abice potius adque
do-not gods false and-deceitful seek cast-away rather and
contemne in ueram emicans libertatem. Non sunt di,
despise into true flashing-forth freedom not they-are gods
maligni sunt spiritus, quibus aeterna tua felicitas poena
malign they-are spirits to-whom eternal your happiness a-punishment
est. Non tam Iuno Troianis, a quibus carnalem originem
is not so Juno to-the-Trojans from whom fleshly origin
ducis, arces uidetur inuidisse Romanas, quam isti
you-draw the-citadels seems to-have-begrudged Roman as these
daemones, quos adhuc deos putas, omni generi hominum
demons whom still gods you-think to-every kind of-men
sedes inuident sempiternas. Et tu ipsa non parua ex parte
the-seats begrudge everlasting and you yourself not small in part
de talibus spiritibus iudicasti, quando ludis eos placasti
about such spirits have-judged when with-games them you-placated
et per quos homines eosdem ludos fecisti, infames esse
and through whom men the-same games you-made infamous to-be
uoluisti. Patere adseri libertatem tuam aduersus inmundos
you-wished allow to-be-asserted freedom your against unclean
spiritus, qui tuis ceruicibus inposuerant sacrandam sibi et
spirits who on-your necks had-placed to-be-consecrated to-them and
celebrandam ignominiam suam. Actores criminum diuinorum
to-be-celebrated ignominy their-own the-actors of-crimes divine
remouisti ab honoribus tuis: supplica Deo uero, ut a
you-removed from honors your pray to-God true that from
te remoueat illos deos, qui delectantur criminibus suis,
you he-may-remove those gods who are-delighted by-crimes their-own
seu ueris, quod ignominiosissimum est, seu falsis, quod
whether true which most-ignominious is or false which
malitiosissimum. Bene, quod tua sponte histrionibus
most-malicious well that of-your-own accord to-actors

et scaenicis societatem ciuitatis patere noluisti; euigila
and players the-fellowship of-the-city to-lie-open you-were-unwilling awake
plenius! Nullo modo his artibus placatur diuina maiestas,
more-fully in-no way by-these arts is-placated divine majesty
quibus humana dignitas inquinatur. Quo igitur pacto deos,
by-which human dignity is-defiled by-what then agreement gods
qui talibus delectantur obsequiis, haberi putas in numero
who with-such are-delighted observances to-be-held do-you-think in the-number
sanctarum caelestium potestatum, cum homines, per
of-holy heavenly powers when the-men through
quos eadem aguntur obsequia, non putasti habendos in
whom the-same are-performed observances not you-thought to-be-held in
numero qualiumcumque ciuium Romanorum? Incomparabiliter
the-number of-any-whatever citizens Roman incomparably
superna est ciuitas clarior, ubi uictoria ueritas, ubi dignitas
the-heavenly is city brighter where victory truth where dignity
sanctitas, ubi pax felicitas, ubi uita aeternitas. Multo minus
holiness where peace happiness where life eternity much less
habet in sua societate tales deos, si tu in tua tales
does-it-have in its fellowship such gods if you in yours such
homines habere erubuisti. Proinde si ad beatam peruenire
men to-have blushed therefore if to the-blessed to-arrive
desideras ciuitatem, deuita daemonum societatem. Indigne
you-desire city avoid of-demons the-fellowship unworthily
ab honestis coluntur, qui per turpes placantur. Sic
by the-honorable are-worshiped those-who through the-base are-placated so
isti a tua pietate remoueantur purgatione Christiana,
these from your devotion let-be-removed by-purgation Christian
quo modo illi a tua dignitate remoti sunt notatione
in-what manner those from your dignity removed were by-mark
censoria. De bonis autem carnalibus, quibus solis mali
censorial about goods but carnal which alone the-wicked

perfrui uolunt, et de malis carnalibus, quae sola perpeti
to-enjoy wish and about evils carnal which alone to-suffer
nolunt, quod neque in his habeant quam putantur
they-are-unwilling that not-even in these do-they-have what they-are-thought
habere isti daemones potestatem (quamquam si haberent,
to-have these demons power although if they-had
deberemus potius etiam ista contemnere, quam propter
we-ought rather even these-things to-despise than on-account-of
ista illos colere et eos colendo ad illa, quae
these-things them to-worship and them by-worshiping to those-things which
nobis inuident, peruenire non posse), — tamen nec in
to-us they-begrudge to-come not to-be-able yet not-even in
istis eos hoc ualere, quod hi putant, qui propter haec
these them this to-avail which these think who on-account-of these-things
eos coli oportere contendunt, deinceps uidebimus, ut
them to-be-worshiped to-be-right contend next we-shall-see that
hic sit huius uoluminis modus.
here be of-this volume the-measure

BOOK III

I · THE ONLY EVILS THE WICKED FEAR

Enough has been said of the evils of morals, which the false gods did nothing to keep from their people. Now Augustine turns to the only evils the wicked dread: famine, disease, war, plunder, captivity, and slaughter, which they count evils though these do not make men evil, and are more vexed by a bad farm than by a bad life. Before Christ came, when the gods were freely worshiped, the human race was crushed by countless disasters; he will speak only of Rome and its empire.

Iam satis dictum arbitror de morum malis et animorum,
already enough said I-think about of-morals the-evils and of-minds
quae praecipue cauenda sunt, nihil deos falsos
which especially to-be-guarded-against are that-nothing the-gods false
populo cultori suo, quo minus eorum malorum aggere
to-the-people worshiper their-own that less of-those of-evils by-the-heap
premeretur, subuenire curasse, sed potius, ut maxime
it-should-be-pressed to-help cared but rather that most
premeretur, egisse. Nunc de illis malis uideo dicendum,
it-should-be-pressed to-have-acted now about those evils I-see to-be-spoken
quae sola isti perpeti nolunt, qualia sunt fames morbus,
which alone these to-suffer are-unwilling such-as are famine disease
bellum exspoliatio, captiuitas trucidatio, et si qua similia
war despoiling captivity slaughter and if any similar-things
iam in primo libro commemorauimus. Haec enim sola mali
already in the-first book we-have-mentioned these for alone the-wicked
deputant mala, quae non faciunt malos; nec erubescunt inter
reckon evils which not make wicked nor do-they-blush among
bona, quae laudant, ipsi mali esse qui laudant, magisque
the-goods which they-praise themselves wicked to-be who praise and-more
stomachantur, si uillam malam habeant, quam si uitam, quasi
are-vexed if a-farm bad they-have than if a-life as-if

hoc sit hominis maximum bonum, habere bona omnia praeter
this be of-man the-greatest good to-have goods all except
se ipsum. Sed neque talia mala, quae isti sola formidant,
him himself but neither such evils which these alone dread
di eorum, quando ab eis libere colebantur, ne illis
did-the-gods their when by them freely they-were-worshiped lest to-them
acciderent obstiterunt. Cum enim uariis per diuersa
they-should-befall prevent when for at-various through different
temporibus ante aduentum Redemtoris nostri innumerabilibus
times before the-coming of-Redeemer our by-innumerable
nonnullisque etiam incredibilibus cladibus genus contereretur
and-some even incredible disasters the-race was-crushed
humanum, quos alios quam istos deos mundus colebat, excepto
human what others than these gods the-world worshiped except
uno populo Hebraeo et quibusdam extra ipsum populum,
one people the-Hebrew and certain outside that-very people
ubicumque gratia diuina digni occultissimo adque iustissimo
wherever of-grace divine worthy by-the-most-hidden and most-just
Dei iudicio fuerunt? Verum ne nimis longum faciam,
of-God judgment they-were but lest too long I-make-it
tacebo aliarum usquequaque gentium mala grauissima:
I-shall-be-silent-about of-other everywhere nations the-evils most-grievous
quod ad Romam pertinet Romanumque imperium tantum
what to Rome pertains and-the-Roman empire only
loquar, id est ad ipsam proprie ciuitatem et quaecumque
I-shall-speak that is to the-very properly city and whatever
illi terrarum uel societate coniunctae uel condicione subiectae
to-it of-the-lands either by-alliance joined or by-condition subject
sunt, quae sint perpessae ante aduentum Christi, cum
are what they-have suffered before the-coming of-Christ when
iam ad eius quasi corpus rei publicae pertinerent.
already to its as-it-were body of-the-thing public they-belonged

Why was Troy, which had the same gods, conquered and destroyed by the Greeks? The pagans say Priam paid for Laomedon's perjuries. Then Apollo and Neptune served Laomedon for hire and were cheated; a diviner should have known he would refuse their wages, and Neptune, whom Homer makes foretell Aeneas' line, should have known the future. If they believe these fables, let them blush to worship such gods; if not, let them not plead Troy's perjuries while their gods loved Rome's, where Catiline found perjurers in plenty, senators and people swore falsely, and the old oath survived only to add perjury to crime.

Primum ipsa Troia uel Ilium, unde origo est populi
first itself Troy or Ilium whence the-origin is of-the-people
Romani, (neque enim praetereundum aut dissimulandum
Roman nor for to-be-passed-over or to-be-dissembled
est, quod et in primo libro adtigi) eosdem habens deos et
is what also in the-first book I-touched the-same having gods and
colens quur a Graecis uictum, captum adque deletum
worshiping-them why by the-Greeks conquered captured and destroyed
est? "Priamo, inquiunt, sunt reddita Laomedontea paterna
was-it to-Priam they-say were repaid Laomedon's paternal
periuria". Ergo uerum est, quod Apollo adque Neptunus
perjuries then true is-it that Apollo and Neptune
eidem Laomedonti mercennariis operibus seruierunt? Illis
to-the-same Laomedon with-hired labors served for
quippe promisisse mercedem falsumque iurasse perhibetur.
to-them to-have-promised wages and-falsely to-have-sworn he-is-said
Miror Apollinem nominatum diuinatorem in tanto opificio
I-wonder that-Apollo called the-diviner in such-great a-work
laborasse nescientem quod Laomedon fuerat promissa
to-have-labored not-knowing that Laomedon had-been the-promised-things
negaturus. Quamquam nec ipsum Neptunum, patruum eius,
about-to-deny although not-even the-very Neptune the-uncle his

fratrem Iouis, regem maris, decuit ignarum esse futurorum.
the-brother of-Jupiter the-king of-the-sea it-befitted ignorant to-be of-future-things
Nam hunc Homerus de stirpe Aeneae, a cuius posteris
for him Homer about the-stock of-Aeneas from whose descendants
Roma est, cum ante illam urbem conditam idem poeta
Rome is since before that city founded the-same poet
fuisse dicatur, inducit magnum aliquid diuinantem, quem
to-have-been is-said brings-in great something divining whom
etiam nube rapuit, ut dicit, ne ab Achille occideretur,
even in-a-cloud he-snatched as he-says lest by Achilles he-should-be-killed

cuperet cum uertere ab imo,
he-desired though to-overturn from the-bottom

quod aput Vergilium confitetur,
as in Vergil he-confesses

structa suis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.
built by-his-own hands perjured the-walls of-Troy

Nescientes igitur tanti di, Neptunus et Apollo, Laomedontem
not-knowing therefore so-great gods Neptune and Apollo that-Laomedon
sibi negaturum esse mercedem, structores moenium
to-them about-to-deny to-be the-wages builders of-the-walls
Troianorum gratis et ingratis fuerunt. Videant ne grauius
Trojan for-nothing and for-no-thanks were let-them-see lest heavier
sit tales deos credere quam dis talibus peierare. Hoc enim
be-it such gods to-believe than to-gods such to-forswear this for
nec ipse Homerus facile credidit, qui Neptunum quidem
not-even himself Homer easily believed who Neptune indeed
contra Troianos, Apollinem autem pro Troianis pugnantem
against the-Trojans Apollo but for the-Trojans fighting

facit, cum illo periurio ambos fabula narret offensos. Si igitur
makes though by-that perjury both the-fable tells offended if therefore
fabulis credunt, erubescant talia colere numina; si fabulis non
the-fables they-believe let-them-blush such to-worship divinities if the-fables not
credunt, non obtendant Troiana periuria, aut mirentur
they-believe not let-them-put-forward the-Trojan perjuries or let-them-wonder
deos periuria punisse Troiana, amasse Romana. Unde
that-the-gods perjuries to-have-punished Trojan to-have-loved Roman whence
enim coniuratio Catilinae in tanta tamque corrupta ciuitate
for the-conspiracy of-Catiline in so-great and-so corrupt a-city
habuit etiam eorum grandem copiam, quos manus adque lingua
had even of-them a-great supply whom hand and tongue
periurio aut sanguine ciuili alebat? Quid enim aliud totiens
by-perjury or by-blood civil nourished what for else so-often
senatores corrupti in iudiciis, totiens populus in suffragiis uel
senators corrupted in the-courts so-often the-people in votes or
in quibusque causis, quae aput eum contionibus agebantur,
in whatever cases which before it in-assemblies were-pleaded
nisi etiam peierando peccabant? Namque corruptissimis
unless also by-perjuring did-they-sin for in-most-corrupt
moribus ad hoc mos iurandi seruabatur antiquus, non
morals for this the-custom of-swearing was-preserved ancient not
ut ab sceleribus metu religionis prohiberentur, sed ut
that from crimes by-fear of-religion they-might-be-restrained but that
periuria quoque sceleribus ceteris adderentur.
perjuries also to-crimes other might-be-added

Nor can the gods have deserted Troy offended by Paris' adultery, for they teach sins rather than avenge them. Sallust says the Trojans under Aeneas founded Rome; if adultery was to be punished, Rome should have suffered more, since Aeneas' mother Venus committed it with Anchises. Did the gods mind it when Menelaus was indignant but not when Vulcan consented? If Aeneas is Venus' son, Romulus may be Mars'; if one is denied, so is the other, though Roman authority affirmed both.

Nulla itaque causa est, quare di, quibus, ut dicunt,
no and-so cause is why the-gods by-whom as they-say
steterat illud imperium, cum a Graecis praeualentibus
had-stood that empire when by the-Greeks prevailing
probentur uicti, Troianis peierantibus fingantur irati.
they-are-proved conquered with-the-Trojans perjuring should-be-feigned angry
Nec adulterio Paridis, ut rursus a quibusdam defenduntur,
nor by-the-adultery of-Paris as again by some they-are-defended
ut Troiam desererent, suscensuerunt. Auctores enim
that Troy they-should-desert they-were-angry authors for
doctoresque peccatorum esse adsolent, non ultores. "Urbem
and-teachers of-sins to-be they-are-wont not avengers the-City
Romam, inquit Sallustius, sicuti ego accepi, condidere
Rome says Sallust as I have-received founded
adque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce
and held at-the-beginning the-Trojans who with-Aeneas as-leader
profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur". Si ergo adulterium
fugitives with-seats uncertain wandered if therefore the-adultery
Paridis uindicandum numina censuerunt, aut magis in
of-Paris to-be-avenged the-divinities judged either more on
Romanis aut certe etiam in Romanis puniendum fuit, quia
the-Romans or surely also on the-Romans to-be-punished it-was because

Aeneae mater hoc fecit. Sed quo modo in illo illud
of-Aeneas the-mother this did but in-what manner in him that
flagitium oderant, qui in sua socia Venere non oderant
shameful-deed did-they-hate who in their partner Venus not hated
(ut alia omittam) quod cum Anchise commiserat, ex
that other-things I-may-omit what with Anchises she-had-committed from
quo Aenean pepererat? An quia illud factum est indignante
whom Aeneas she-had-borne or because that done was with-indignant
Menelao, illud autem concedente Vulcano? Di enim, credo,
Menelaus that but with-conceding Vulcan the-gods for I-suppose
non zelant coniuges suas usque adeo, ut eas etiam cum
not are-jealous-of wives their to-such a-degree that them even with
hominibus dignentur habere communes. Inridere fabulas
men they-deign to-have in-common to-mock fables
fortassis existimor nec grauiter agere tanti ponderis causam.
perhaps I-am-thought nor gravely to-treat of-so-great weight a-cause
Non ergo credamus, si placet, Aenean esse Veneris filium:
not therefore let-us-believe if it-pleases Aeneas to-be of-Venus the-son
ecce concedo, si nec Romulum Martis. Si autem illud,
behold I-grant-it if not-even Romulus of-Mars if but that
quur non et illud? An deos hominibus feminis, mares
why not also this or that-gods with-human women males
autem homines deabus misceri nefas? Dura uel potius
but men with-goddesses to-be-mingled is-a-sin harsh or rather
non credenda condicio, quod ex iure Veneris in concubitu
not to-be-believed a-condition that from the-right of-Venus in intercourse
Marti licuit, hoc in iure suo ipsi Veneri non
to-Mars was-allowed this in right her-own to-the-very Venus not
licere. At utrumque firmatum est auctoritate Romana.
to-be-allowed but each confirmed has-been by-authority Roman

Neque enim minus credidit recentior Caesar auiam
nor for less believed the-more-recent Caesar that-(his)-grandmother
Venerem quam patrem antiquior Romulus Martem.
(to-be)-Venus than (his)-father the-more-ancient Romulus Mars

IV · VARRO ON USEFUL FALSEHOODS

Augustine does not believe these things, and Varro, their most learned man, almost confesses them false. Yet Varro says it is useful for cities that brave men believe themselves sons of gods, even falsely, so that, trusting in divine descent, they may undertake great things more boldly and accomplish them more happily. This opinion opens a wide door to falsehood, showing how many rites could be fabricated where lies about the gods were thought profitable to citizens.

Dixerit aliquis: Itane tu ista credis? Ego uero ista non
may-say someone so-then you these-things believe I indeed these-things not
credo. Nam et uir doctissimus eorum Varro falsa haec
believe for even a-man most-learned their Varro false these-things
esse, quamuis non audacter neque fidenter, paene tamen
to-be although not boldly nor confidently almost yet
fatetur. Sed utile ciuitatibus esse dicit, ut se uiri fortes,
confesses but useful to-cities to-be he-says that themselves men brave
etiamsi falsum sit, dis genitos esse credant, ut eo modo
even-if false it-be from-gods begotten to-be should-believe that in-that manner
animus humanus uelut diuinae stirpis fiduciam gerens res
the-mind human as-if of-divine stock the-confidence bearing things
magnas adgrediendas praesumat audacius, agat uehementius
great to-be-undertaken should-venture more-boldly should-act more-vehemently
et ob hoc inpleat ipsa securitate felicius. Quae
and on-account-of this should-fulfill by-that-very security more-happily which
Varronis sententia expressa, ut potui, meis uerbis cernis
of-Varro opinion expressed as I-could in-my-own words you-see

quam latum locum aperiat falsitati, ubi intellegamus plura
how broad a-place it-opens to-falsehood where we-may-understand more
iam sacra et quasi religiosa potuisse confingi, ubi
already rites and as-it-were religious-things to-have-been-able to-be-fabricated where
putata sunt ciuibus etiam de ipsis dis prodesse mendacia.
thought were for-the-citizens even about the-very gods to-profit lies

V · THE ADULTERIES OF VENUS AND MARS

Whether Venus could bear Aeneas to Anchises, or Mars beget Romulus on Numitor's daughter, may be left aside, for a like question rises from Scripture, whether fallen angels lay with the daughters of men. If these stories are true, how can adulteries displease the gods? If false, how can gods be angry at true adulteries who enjoy false ones? And if Mars is denied, Romulus' mother was a Vestal priestess, a sacrilege the gods should have avenged on Rome more than Paris' adultery on Troy, as the Romans themselves buried unchaste Vestals alive but never put adulteresses to death.

Sed utrum potuerit Venus ex concubitu Anchisae Aenean
but whether could Venus from the-intercourse of-Anchises Aeneas
parere uel Mars ex concubitu filiae Numitoris Romulum
bear or Mars from the-intercourse of-the-daughter of-Numitor Romulus
gignere, in medio relinquamus. Nam paene talis quaestio
beget in the-middle let-us-leave for almost such a-question
etiam de scripturis nostris oboritur, qua quaeritur, utrum
even about scriptures our arises in-which it-is-asked whether
praeuaricatores angeli cum filiabus hominum concubuerint,
the-transgressing angels with the-daughters of-men lay
unde natis gigantibus, hoc est nimium grandibus ac
whence born giants that is exceedingly great and
fortibus uiris, tunc terra conpleta est. Proinde ad utrumque
strong men then the-earth filled was accordingly to both

interim modo nostra disputatio referatur. Si enim uera sunt,
meanwhile manner our disputation let-be-referred if for true are
quae aput illos de matre Aeneae et de patre
the-things-which among them about the-mother of-Aeneas and about the-father
Romuli lectitantur, quo modo possunt dis adulteria
of-Romulus are-read in-what manner can to-the-gods adulteries
displicere hominum, quae in se ipsis concorditer
to-be-displeasing of-men which among them themselves harmoniously
ferunt? Si autem falsa sunt, ne sic quidem possunt irasci
they-bear if but false they-are not so even they-can to-be-angry
ueris adulteriis humanis, qui etiam falsis delectantur suis.
at-true adulteries human who even by-false are-delighted their-own
Huc accedit, quoniam, si illud de Marte non creditur, ut
to-this is-added since if that about Mars not is-believed so-that
hoc quoque de Venere non credatur, nullo diuini concubitus
this also about Venus not be-believed by-no divine intercourse
obtentu matris Romuli causa defenditur. Fuit autem
pretext of-the-mother of-Romulus the-case is-defended was moreover
sacerdos illa Vestalis, et ideo di magis in Romanos
a-priestess she Vestal and therefore the-gods more on the-Romans
sacrilegum illud flagitium quam in Troianos Paridis adulterium
sacrilegious that shameful-deed than on the-Trojans Paris' adultery
uindicare debuerunt. Nam et ipsi Romani antiqui in
to-avenge ought for even themselves the-Romans ancient in
stupro detectas Vestae sacerdotes uiuas etiam defodiebant,
outrage detected of-Vesta the-priestesses alive even buried
adulteras autem feminas, quamuis aliqua damnatione, nulla
adulterous but women although with-some condemnation with-no
tamen morte plectebant: usque adeo grauius quae putabant
yet death they-punished to-such a-degree more-heavily what they-thought
adyta diuina quam humana cubilia uindicabant.
shrines divine than human beds they-avenged

If the gods punished sins, the murder of Romulus' brother should have moved them against Rome more than a husband's injury against Troy. Whether Romulus ordered or did it, which many deny, doubt, or conceal, his brother was killed by no enemy, and Romulus was more Rome's head than Paris Troy's; if he was innocent, the whole city did it and killed, worse than a brother, a father, for both were founders. Why did the gods desert the ravisher's city and protect the fratricide's? Unless, conquered, they fled to deceive new peoples; or rather they stayed in both, deceiving still in Troy and glorying more in Rome.

Aliud adicio, quia, si peccata hominum illis numinibus
another-thing I-add because if the-sins of-men to-those divinities
displicerent, ut offensi Paridis facto desertam Troiam
were-displeasing so-that offended by-Paris' deed deserted Troy
ferro ignibusque donarent, magis eos contra Romanos
to-sword and-fires they-gave more them against the-Romans
moueret Romuli frater occisus quam contra Troianos Graecus
would-move Romulus' brother killed than against the-Trojans the-Greek
maritus inlusus; magis inritaret parricidium nascentis
husband mocked more would-provoke the-parricide of-the-being-born
quam regnantis adulterium ciuitatis. Nec ad causam,
than of-the-reigning the-adultery of-the-city nor to the-case
quam nunc agimus, interest, utrum hoc fieri Romulus
which now we-plead it-matters whether this to-be-done Romulus
iusserit aut Romulus fecerit, quod multi inpudentia negant,
ordered or Romulus did which many with-impudence deny
multi pudore dubitant, multi dolore dissimulant. Nec nos
many from-shame doubt many from-grief dissemble nor we
itaque in ea re diligentius requirenda per multorum
and-so in that matter more-carefully to-be-investigated through of-many
scriptorum perpensa testimonia demoremur: Romuli fratrem
writers weighed testimonies let-us-delay of-Romulus the-brother

palam constat occisum, non ab hostibus, non ab alienis.
openly it-is-agreed killed not by enemies not by strangers
Si aut perpetrauit aut imperauit hoc Romulus, magis ipse
if either he-perpetrated or he-commanded this Romulus more himself
fuit Romanorum quam Paris Troianorum caput; quur igitur
was of-the-Romans than Paris of-the-Trojans the-head why then
Troianis iram deorum prouocauit ille alienae coniugis
for-the-Trojans the-wrath of-the-gods provoked that of-another's wife
raptor, et eorundem deorum tutelam Romanis inuitauit
the-ravisher and of-the-same gods the-protection for-the-Romans invited
iste sui fratris extinctor? Si autem illud scelus a
this of-his-own brother the-extinguisher if but that crime from
facto imperioque Romuli alienum est: quoniam debuit
the-deed and-command of-Romulus foreign is since it-ought
utique uindicari, tota hoc illa ciuitas fecit, quod tota
assuredly to-be-avenged the-whole this that city did which whole
contemsit, et non iam fratrem, sed patrem, quod est peius,
despised and not now a-brother but a-father which is worse
occidit. Uterque enim fuit conditor, ubi alter scelere ablatus
it-killed each for was founder where the-one by-crime removed
non permissus est esse regnator. Non est, ut arbitror, quod
not permitted was to-be ruler not it-is as I-think what
dicatur quid mali Troia meruerit, ut eam di desererent,
may-be-said what of-evil Troy deserved that it the-gods should-desert
quo posset extingui, et quid boni Roma, ut eam
whereby it-could to-be-extinguished and what of-good Rome that it
di inhabitarent, quo posset augeri; nisi quod uicti
the-gods should-inhabit whereby it-could to-be-increased unless that conquered
inde fugerunt et se ad istos, quos pariter deciperent,
thence they-fled and themselves to these whom equally they-might-deceive
contulerunt; immo uero et illic manserunt ad eos more
betook rather indeed both there they-remained for them in-manner

suo decipiendos, qui rursus easdem terras habitarent, et
their-own to-be-deceived who again the-same lands inhabited and
hic easdem artes fallaciae suae magis etiam exercendo
here the-same arts of-deceit their-own more even by-exercising
maioribus honoribus gloriati sunt.
with-greater honors gloried have

VII · FIMBRIA DESTROYS ILIUM

In the civil wars Fimbria, a Marian, overturned Ilium more cruelly than the Greeks had, sparing no one and burning the city with all its people. Ilium earned this not from the Greeks it had provoked but from the Romans it had begotten, for closing its gates to keep the city for Sulla's better cause. Why did the gods desert so faithful a city, yet promise Sulla so much? Minerva's image alone stood, as Livy writes, not to the gods' praise but so that they could not plead in their defense that they had departed, and they stand convicted of being present and powerless.

Certe enim ciuilibus iam bellis scatentibus quid miserum
surely for with-civil already wars teeming what wretched
commiserat Ilium, ut a Fimbria, Marianarum partium
had-committed Ilium that by Fimbria of-the-Marian party
homine pessimo, euerteretur, multo ferocius adque
a-man most-wicked it-should-be-overturned much more-ferociously and
crudelius quam olim a Graecis? Nam tunc et multi inde
more-cruelly than once by the-Greeks for then both many thence
fugerunt et multi captiuati saltem in seruitute uixerunt;
fled and many taken-captive at-least in slavery lived
porro autem Fimbria prius edictum proposuit, ne cui
further but Fimbria first an-edict set-forth lest anyone
parceretur, adque urbem totam cunctosque in ea homines
be-spared and the-city whole and-all in it men

incendio concremauit. Hoc meruit Ilium non a Graecis
in-fire burned this deserved Ilium not from the-Greeks
quos sua inritauerat iniquitate, sed a Romanis quos
whom by-its-own it-had-provoked iniquity but from the-Romans whom
sua calamitate propagauerat, dis illis communibus
by-its-own calamity it-had-propagated with-gods those common
ad haec repellenda nihil iuuantibus seu, quod uerum
for these-things to-be-repelled nothing helping or what true
est, nihil ualentibus. Numquid et tunc
is nothing availing surely-not also then

abscessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
departed all from-the-shrines and-the-altars left
di,
the-gods

quibus illud oppidum steterat post antiquos Graecorum
by-whom that town had-stood after the-ancient of-the-Greeks
ignes ruinasque reparatum? Si autem abscesserant, causam
fires and-ruins restored if but they-had-departed the-cause
requiro, et oppidanorum quidem quanto inuenio meliorem,
I-seek and of-the-townsmen indeed the-more I-find better
tanto deteriorem deorum. Illi enim contra Fimbriam
the-more worse of-the-gods they for against Fimbria
portas clauserant, ut Syllae seruarent integram ciuitatem;
the-gates had-closed that for-Sulla they-might-keep intact the-city
hinc eos iratus incendit uel potius penitus extinxit.
hence them angry he-burned or rather utterly extinguished
Adhuc autem meliorum partium ciuilium Sylla dux fuit,
still but of-the-better party civil Sulla leader was
adhuc armis rem publicam recuperare moliebatur; horum
still by-arms the-thing public to-recover he-was-striving of-these

bonorum initiorum nondum malos euentus habuit. Quid
good beginnings not-yet bad outcomes he-had what
ergo melius ciues urbis illius facere potuerunt, quid
then better the-citizens of-the-city that to-do could what
honestius, quid fidelius, quid Romana parentela dignius
more-honorable what more-faithful what of-Roman kinship more-worthy
quam meliori causae Romanorum ciuitatem seruare et
than for-the-better cause of-the-Romans the-city to-keep and
contra parricidam Romanae rei publicae portas claudere?
against the-parricide of-the-Roman thing public the-gates to-close
At hoc eis in quantum exitium uerterit, adtendant
but this for-them into how-great destruction it-turned let-them-attend
defensores deorum. Deseruerint di adulteros Iliumque
the-defenders of-the-gods let-them-have-deserted the-gods the-adulterers and-Ilium
flammis Graecorum reliquerint, ut ex eius cineribus Roma
to-the-flames of-the-Greeks let-them-have-left that from its ashes Rome
castior nasceretur: quur et postea deseruerunt eandem
more-chaste might-be-born why also afterward did-they-desert the-same
ciuitatem Romanis cognatam, non rebellantem aduersus
city to-the-Romans kin not rebelling against
Romam nobilem filiam, sed iustioribus eius partibus fidem
Rome (its)-noble daughter but to-the-juster its parties faith
constantissimam piissimamque seruantem, eamque delendam
most-constant and-most-devout keeping and-it to-be-destroyed
reliquerunt non Graecorum uiris fortibus, sed uiro
they-left not of-the-Greeks by-men brave but by-a-man
spurcissimo Romanorum? Aut si displicebat dis causa
most-foul of-the-Romans or if displeased the-gods the-cause
partium Syllanarum, cui seruantes urbem miseri portas
of-the-party Sullan for-which keeping the-city the-wretched the-gates
clauserant: quur eidem Syllae tanta bona promittebant et
had-closed why to-the-same Sulla so-great goods did-they-promise and

praenuntiabant? An et hic agnoscuntur adulatores felicium
foretell or also here are-they-recognized flatterers of-the-fortunate
potius quam infelicium defensores? Non ergo Ilium etiam
rather than of-the-unfortunate defenders not therefore Ilium even
tunc, ab eis cum desereretur, euersum est. Nam daemones
then by them when it-was-deserted overturned was for the-demons
ad decipiendum semper uigilantissimi, quod potuerunt,
for deceiving always most-watchful what they-could
fecerunt. Euersis quippe et incensis omnibus cum oppido
they-did overturned for and burned all with the-town
simulacris solum Mineruae sub tanta ruina templi illius,
images alone Minerva's under so-great a-ruin of-the-temple her
ut scribit Liuius, integrum stetisse perhibetur, non ut
as writes Livy intact to-have-stood is-reported not that

di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,
gods ancestral whose always under divinity Troy is

ad eorum laudem, sed ne diceretur:
to their praise but lest it-be-said

Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
departed all from-the-shrines and-the-altars left
di,
the-gods

ad eorum defensionem. Illud enim posse permissi sunt,
to their defense that for to-be-able permitted they-were
non unde probarentur potentes, sed unde praesentes
not whence they-might-be-proved powerful but whence present
conuincerentur.
they-might-be-convicted

With what prudence was Rome entrusted to the gods of Ilium after Troy's example? Someone may say they had already moved to Rome when Fimbria destroyed Ilium. Then how did Minerva's image stand? And if they were at Rome when Ilium fell, perhaps they were at Ilium when the Gauls took and burned Rome, returning at the goose's cry just in time to guard the Capitoline hill, and too late to defend the rest.

Dis itaque Iliacis post Troiae ipsius documentum
to-the-gods and-so of-Ilium after of-Troy itself the-proof
qua tandem prudentia Roma custodienda commissa est?
with-what pray prudence Rome to-be-guarded entrusted was
Dixerit quispiam iam eos Romae habitare solitos, quando
may-say someone already them at-Rome to-dwell accustomed when
expugnante Fimbria cecidit Ilium. Unde ergo stetit Mineruae
storming Fimbria fell Ilium whence then stood Minerva's
simulacrum? Deinde, si aput Romam erant, quando Fimbria
image then if at Rome they-were when Fimbria
deleuit Ilium, fortasse aput Ilium erant, quando a Gallis ipsa
destroyed Ilium perhaps at Ilium they-were when by the-Gauls itself
Roma capta et incensa est; sed ut sunt auditu acutissimi
Rome captured and burned was but since they-are in-hearing most-acute
motuque celerrimi, ad uocem anseris cito redierunt, ut
and-in-motion swiftest at the-voice of-the-goose quickly they-returned that
saltem Capitolinum collem, qui remanserat, tuerentur;
at-least the-Capitoline hill which had-remained they-might-protect
ceterum ad alia defendenda serius sunt redire commoniti.
for-the-rest for other-things to-be-defended too-late were to-return warned

The gods are believed to have helped Numa keep peace through his reign and close the gates of Janus, because he founded many rites. He should have used that leisure to seek the true God; the gods found him idle and occupied him. Peace is the true God's gift, given even to the ungrateful like sun and rain. If the gods gave it to Numa, why never again, when the rites were established? After Numa's forty-three (or thirty-nine) years of peace, scarcely one year is recorded from the founding to Augustus, after the first Punic war, when Rome could close the gates of war.

Hi etiam Numam Pompilium successorem Romuli adiuuisse
these also Numa Pompilius the-successor of-Romulus to-have-helped
creduntur, ut toto regni sui tempore pacem haberet
are-believed that in-the-whole of-the-reign his time peace he-might-have
et Iani portas, quae bellis patere adsolent, clauderet,
and of-Janus the-gates which in-wars to-stand-open are-wont he-might-close
eo merito scilicet, quia Romanis multa sacra constituit.
by-that desert namely because for-the-Romans many rites he-established
Illi uero homini pro tanto otio gratulandum fuit, si modo
to-that indeed man for so-great leisure to-be-congratulated it-was if only
id rebus salubribus scisset inpendere et perniciosissima
it to-things wholesome he-had-known to-expend and the-most-pernicious
curiositate neglecta Deum uerum uera pietate perquirere.
curiosity neglected God true with-true devotion to-search-for
Nunc autem non ei di contulerunt illud otium, sed
now but not to-him the-gods conferred that leisure but
eum minus fortasse decepissent, si otiosum minime
him less perhaps they-would-have-deceived if idle not-at-all
repperissent. Quanto enim minus eum occupatum inuenerunt,
they-had-found how-much for less him occupied they-found
tanto magis ipsi occupauerunt. Nam quid ille molitus sit
so-much more themselves they-occupied for what he undertaken has

et quibus artibus deos tales sibi uel illi ciuitati consociare
and by-what arts gods such to-himself or to-that city to-associate
potuerit, Varro prodit, quod, si Domino placuerit, suo
he-was-able Varro relates which if to-the-Lord it-shall-have-pleased in-its-own
diligentius disseretur loco. Modo autem quia de beneficiis
more-carefully will-be-discussed place now but since about the-benefits
eorum quaestio est: magnum beneficium est pax, sed Dei
their the-question is a-great benefit is peace but of-God
ueri beneficium est, plerumque etiam sicut sol, sicut
the-true a-benefit it-is for-the-most-part even as the-sun as
pluuia uitaeque alia subsidia super ingratos et nequam. Sed
rain and-of-life other aids upon the-ungrateful and worthless but
si hoc tam magnum bonum di illi Romae uel Pompilio
if this so great good the-gods those to-Rome or to-Pompilius
contulerunt, quur imperio Romano per ipsa tempora
conferred why to-the-empire Roman through those-very times
laudabilia id numquam postea praestiterunt? An utiliora
praiseworthy it never afterward did-they-furnish or more-useful
erant sacra, cum instituerentur, quam cum instituta
were the-rites when they-were-being-established than when established
celebrarentur? Atqui tunc nondum erant, sed ut essent
they-were-celebrated and-yet then not-yet they-were but that they-might-be
addebantur; postea uero iam erant, quae ut prodessent
were-added afterward but already they-were which that they-might-profit
custodiebantur. Quid ergo est, quod illi quadraginta tres
were-guarded what then is-it that those forty three
uel, ut alii uolunt, triginta et nouem anni in tam longa
or as others wish thirty and nine years in so long
pace transacti sunt regnante Numa, et postea sacris
peace spent were reigning Numa and afterward with-the-rites
institutis disque ipsis, qui eisdem sacris fuerant inuitati,
established and-the-gods themselves who by-the-same rites had-been invited

iam praesidibus adque tutoribus uix post tam multos
now as-protectors and guardians scarcely after so many
annos ab Urbe condita usque ad Augustum pro magno
years from the-City founded up to Augustus as a-great
miraculo unus commemoratur annus post primum bellum
miracle one is-mentioned year after the-first war
Punicum, quo belli portas Romani claudere potuerunt?
Punic in-which of-war the-gates the-Romans to-close were-able

X · WHETHER THE EMPIRE HAD TO GROW BY WAR

Was it fit that the empire, to grow so large, should be restless? Better a moderate body with health than a giant's bulk with perpetual afflictions, and better the greedless times Sallust praises than Vergil's age of war's madness. The Romans plead that they resisted aggressors; so be it. But if under Numa enemies were calmed without war, those means could have kept Rome always at peace; if not, its peace lasted as long as its neighbors willed, not its gods. The demons stir evil minds only as far as they are allowed, and Roman history confesses that peace and victory often came against their will.

An respondent, quod nisi adsiduis sibique continuo
or do-they-answer that unless by-continual and-to-one-another continuously
succedentibus bellis Romanum imperium tam longe lateque
succeeding wars the-Roman empire so far and-wide
non posset augeri et tam grandi gloria diffamari?
not could to-be-increased and with-so great glory to-be-spread-abroad
Idonea uero causa! Ut magnum esset imperium, quur
a-fit indeed cause that great might-be the-empire why
esse deberet inquietum? Nonne in corporibus hominum
to-be ought-it restless surely in the-bodies of-men
satius est modicam staturam cum sanitate habere quam ad
better is-it moderate stature with health to-have than to

molem aliquam giganteam perpetuis adflictionibus peruenire,
bulk some gigantic by-perpetual afflictions to-arrive
nec cum perueneris requiescere, sed quanto grandioribus
nor when you-have-arrived to-rest but the-more with-grander
membris, tanto maioribus agitari malis? Quid autem
limbs the-more by-greater to-be-agitated evils what but
mali esset, ac non potius plurimum boni, si ea
of-evil there-would-be and not rather very-much of-good if those
tempora perdurarent, quae perstrinxit Sallustius, ubi ait:
times had-lasted which touched-on Sallust where he-says
"Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id
therefore in-the-beginning kings for on earth the-name of-command that
primum fuit) diuersi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant;
first was differing a-part the-mind others the-body exercised
etiamtum uita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua
even-then the-life of-men without greed was-led their-own
cuique satis placebant". An ut tam multum augeretur
to-each enough pleased or that so much might-be-increased
imperium, debuit fieri quod Vergilius detestatur, dicens:
the-empire ought to-be-done what Vergil detests saying

Deterior donec paulatim et decolor aetas
worse until little-by-little and discolored an-age
et belli rabies et amor successit habendi?
and of-war the-madness and the-love succeeded of-having

Sed plane pro tantis bellis susceptis et gestis iusta defensio
but plainly for such-great wars undertaken and waged a-just defense
Romanorum est, quod inruentibus sibi inportune inimicis
of-the-Romans it-is that rushing-upon them unseasonably enemies
resistere cogebat non auiditas adipiscendae laudis humanae,
to-resist compelled not greed of-to-be-obtained praise human

sed necessitas tuendae salutis et libertatis. Ita sit plane.
but the-necessity of-to-be-protected safety and freedom so be-it plainly
Nam "postquam res eorum, sicut scribit ipse Sallustius,
for after the-affairs their as writes himself Sallust
legibus moribus agris aucta satis prospera satisque
in-laws morals lands increased sufficiently prosperous and-sufficiently
pollens uidebatur, sicut pleraque mortalium habentur, inuidia
powerful seemed as most of-mortal-things are-held envy
ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello
from wealth arisen was therefore kings and-peoples neighboring by-war
tentare; pauci ex amicis auxilio esse, nam ceteri metu
to-try a-few of (their)-friends for-aid to-be for the-rest by-fear
perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque
struck from the-perils kept-away but the-Romans at-home and-in-the-field
intenti festinare parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obuiam
intent to-hasten to-prepare one another to-exhort the-enemies in-the-way
ire, libertatem patriam parentesque armis tegere. Post
to-go freedom fatherland and-parents with-arms to-protect afterward
ubi pericula uirtute propulerant, sociis adque amicis
when the-perils by-valor they-had-driven-back to-allies and friends
auxilia portabant magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis
aid they-brought and-more by-giving than by-receiving benefits
amicitias parabant". Decenter his artibus Roma creuit.
friendships they-gained fittingly by-these arts Rome grew
Sed regnante Numa, ut tam longa pax esset, utrum
but reigning Numa that so long a-peace might-be whether
inruebant inprobi belloque tentabant, an nihil eorum fiebat,
did-rush-in the-wicked and-by-war tried or nothing of-them happened
ut posset pax illa persistere? Si enim bellis etiam tum
that could peace that to-persist if for by-wars even then
Roma lacessebatur nec armis arma obuia ferebantur: quibus
Rome was-provoked nor with-arms arms meeting were-borne by-what

modis agebatur, ut nulla pugna superati, nullo Martio
means it-was-managed that by-no fight overcome by-no Martial
impetu territi sedarentur inimici, his modis semper
assault terrified might-be-calmed the-enemies by-these means always
ageretur et semper Roma clausis Iani portis pacata
it-should-be-managed and always Rome with-closed of-Janus the-gates at-peace
regnaret. Quod si in potestate non fuit, non ergo Roma
should-reign but if in (its)-power not it-was not therefore Rome
pacem habuit, quamdiu di eorum, sed quamdiu homines
peace had as-long-as the-gods their but as-long-as the-men
finitimi circumquaque uoluerunt, qui eam nullo bello
neighboring round-about wished who it by-no war
prouocauerunt; nisi forte di tales etiam id homini uendere
provoked unless perhaps gods such even that to-a-man to-sell
audebunt, quod alius homo uoluit siue noluit. Interest
will-dare which another man willed or willed-not it-matters
quidem iam uitio proprio, malas mentes quatenus sinantur
indeed already by-vice (their)-own evil minds how-far be-allowed
isti daemones uel terrere uel excitare; sed si semper hoc
these demons either to-terrify or to-excite but if always this
possent nec aliud secretiore ac superiore potestate contra
they-could nor anything-else by-more-secret and higher power against
eorum conatum saepe aliter ageretur, semper in potestate
their attempt often otherwise it-were-managed always in (their)-power
haberent paces bellicasque uictorias, quae semper fere
they-would-have peaces and-warlike victories which always almost
per humanorum animorum motus accidunt; quas tamen
through of-human minds the-motions happen which yet
plerumque contra eorum fieri uoluntatem non solae fabulae
mostly against their to-be-done will not alone the-fables

multa mentientes et uix ueri aliquid uel indicantes
many-things lying and scarcely of-truth anything either indicating
uel significantes, sed etiam ipsa Romana confitetur historia.
or signifying but even itself the-Roman confesses history

XI · THE WEEPING APOLLO OF CUMAE

In the war against the Achaeans and King Aristonicus, the Apollo of Cumae was reported to weep for four days. The soothsayers would have thrown the image into the sea, but the old men recalled that it had wept in the wars with Antiochus and Perses, which went well for Rome; soothsayers summoned as more skilled read it as grief for Greece. Then Aristonicus was captured, whose defeat Apollo in truth grieved, as the poets fittingly show demons grieving, Diana for Camilla and Hercules for Pallas. Numa, not knowing who gave his peace, added new gods to the Trojan ones that had kept neither Troy nor Lavinium.

Neque enim aliunde Apollo ille Cumanus, cum aduersus
nor for from-elsewhere Apollo that of-Cumae when against
Achiuos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quatriduo fleuisse
the-Achaeans and-king Aristonicus war-was-waged for-four-days to-have-wept
nuntiatus est; quo prodigio haruspices territi cum id
reported was by-which portent the-soothsayers terrified when that
simulacrum in mare putauissent esse proiciendum, Cumani
image into the-sea they-had-thought to-be to-be-thrown the-Cumaean
senes intercesserunt adque rettulerunt tale prodigium et
old-men interposed and reported such a-portent both
Antiochi et Persis bello in eodem apparuisse figmento,
in-Antiochus' and in-Perses' war in the-same to-have-appeared image
et quia Romanis feliciter prouenisset, ex senatus
and because for-the-Romans happily it-had-turned-out by of-the-senate
consulto eidem Apollini suo dona missa esse testati
decree to-the-same Apollo their gifts sent to-have-been testified

sunt. Tunc uelut peritiores acciti haruspices responderunt
they-have then as-if more-skilled summoned soothsayers answered
simulacri Apollinis fletum ideo prosperum esse
of-the-image of-Apollo the-weeping for-this-reason favorable to-be
Romanis, quoniam Cumana colonia Graeca esset, suisque
for-the-Romans since the-Cumaean colony Greek was and-to-its-own
terris, unde accitus esset, id est ipsi Graeciae,
lands whence summoned he-had-been that is to-the-very Greece
luctum et cladem Apollinem significasse plorantem. Deinde
grief and disaster Apollo to-have-signified weeping then
mox regem Aristonicum uictum et captum esse nuntiatum
soon the-king Aristonicus conquered and captured to-be reported
est, quem uinci utique Apollo nolebat et dolebat
it-was whom to-be-conquered assuredly Apollo was-unwilling and grieved
et hoc sui lapidis etiam lacrimis indicabat. Unde
and this of-his-own stone even by-the-tears showed whence
non usquequaque incongrue quamuis fabulosis, tamen
not altogether unfittingly although in-fabulous yet
ueritati similibus mores daemonum describuntur carminibus
to-truth like the-morals of-demons are-described in-the-songs
poetarum. Nam Camillam Diana doluit aput Vergilium
of-the-poets for Camilla Diana grieved-for in Vergil
et Pallantem moriturum Hercules fleuit. Hinc fortassis
and Pallas about-to-die Hercules wept hence perhaps
et Numa Pompilius pace abundans, sed quo donante
also Numa Pompilius in-peace abounding but by-whom bestowing-it
nesciens nec requirens, cum cogitaret otiosus, quibusnam dis
not-knowing nor seeking when he-pondered at-leisure to-what gods
tuendam Romanam salutem regnumque committeret, nec
to-be-protected Roman safety and-the-kingdom he-should-commit nor
uerum illum adque omnipotentem summum Deum curare
true that and omnipotent highest God to-care-for

opinaretur ista terrena, adque recoleret Troianos deos,
he-thought these earthly-things and recalled that-the-Trojan gods
quos Aeneas aduexerat, neque Troianum neque Lauiniense
whom Aeneas had-brought neither the-Trojan nor the-Lavinian
ab ipso Aenea conditum regnum diu conseruare potuisse:
by himself Aeneas founded kingdom long to-preserve to-have-been-able
alios prouidendos existimauit, quos illis prioribus, qui siue
others to-be-provided he-judged whom to-those former-ones who whether
cum Romulo iam Romam transierant, siue quandoque
with Romulus already to-Rome had-crossed or sometime
Alba euersa fuerant transituri, uel tamquam fugitiuis
with-Alba overturned had-been about-to-cross either as to-fugitives
custodes adhiberet uel tamquam inualidis adiutores.
as-guards he-might-add or as to-the-weak as-helpers

XII · THE GODS ROME ADDED

Rome was not content with Numa's rites: Tarquin built the Capitol for Jupiter, Aesculapius came from Epidaurus, the Mother of the gods from Pessinus, and later the Cynocephalus from Egypt, and even the goddess Fever, a citizen. Under the protection of so many gods, native and foreign, heavenly, earthly, infernal, marine, certain and uncertain, Rome ought not to have been so afflicted. Like a ship needing more sailors as it grew, it lived happier with fewer, yet thought more were needed; first, under the kings, came the strife that killed Romulus' brother.

Nec his sacris tamen Roma dignata est esse contenta,
nor with-these rites yet Rome deigned has to-be content
quae tam multa illic Pompilius constituerat. Nam ipsius
which so many there Pompilius had-established for of-himself
summum templum nondum habebat Iouis; rex quippe
the-highest temple not-yet it-had of-Jupiter the-king for

Tarquinius ibi Capitolium fabricauit; Aesculapius autem ab
Tarquin there the-Capitol built Aesculapius but from
Epidauro ambiuit ad Romam, ut peritissimus medicus in
Epidaurus canvassed to Rome that as-a-most-skilled physician in
urbe nobilissima artem gloriosius exerceret; Mater etiam
the-city most-noble (his)-art more-gloriously he-might-exercise the-Mother also
deum nescio unde a Pessinunte. Indignum enim erat,
of-the-gods I-know-not whence from Pessinus unworthy for it-was
ut, cum eius filius iam colli Capitolino praesideret,
that when her son already over-the-hill Capitoline presided
adhuc ipsa in loco ignobili latitaret. Quae tamen si
still she-herself in a-place ignoble lay-hidden who yet if
omnium deorum mater est, non solum secuta est Romam
of-all the-gods the-mother she-is not only followed has Rome
quosdam filios suos, uerum et alios praecessit etiam
certain sons her-own but also others preceded even
secuturos. Miror sane, si ipsa peperit Cynocephalum, qui
about-to-follow I-wonder indeed if she bore Cynocephalus who
longe postea uenit ex Aegypto. Utrum etiam dea Febris
long afterward came from Egypt whether also the-goddess Fever
ex illa nata sit, uiderit Aesculapius pronepos eius; sed
from her born was let-him-see Aesculapius the-great-grandson her but
undecumque nata sit, non, opinor, audebunt eam dicere
from-wherever born she-was not I-think will-dare her to-call
ignobilem di peregrini deam ciuem Romanam. Sub
ignoble the-gods foreign a-goddess citizen Roman under
hoc tot deorum praesidio (quos numerare quis potest,
this of-so-many gods protection whom to-number who can
indigenas et alienigenas, caelites terrestres infernos, marinos
native and foreign heavenly earthly infernal marine
fontanos fluuiales, et, ut Varro dicit, certos adque incertos,
of-springs of-rivers and as Varro says certain and uncertain

in omnibusque generibus deorum, sicut in animalibus,
in and-all kinds of-gods as in animals
mares et feminas?) — sub hoc ergo tot deorum
males and females under this therefore of-so-many gods
praesidio constituta Roma non tam magnis et horrendis
protection established Rome not by-so great and horrible
cladibus, quales ex multis paucas commemorabo, agitari
disasters such-as from many a-few I-shall-recall to-be-agitated
adfligique debuit. Nimis enim multos deos grandi fumo
and-to-be-afflicted ought exceedingly for many gods with-the-great smoke
suo tamquam signo dato ad tuitionem congregauerat,
its-own as-if with-a-signal given for protection it-had-gathered
quibus templa altaria, sacrificia sacerdotes instituendo adque
for-whom temples altars sacrifices priests by-establishing and
praebendo summum uerum Deum, cui uni haec
supplying the-highest true God to-whom alone these-things
rite gesta debentur, offenderet. Et felicior quidem cum
duly done are-owed it-offended and happier indeed with
paucioribus uixit, sed quanto maior facta est, sicut nauis
fewer it-lived but the-more greater made it-was as a-ship
nautas, tanto plures adhibendos putauit; credo, desperans
sailors so-much more to-be-employed it-thought I-suppose despairing
pauciores illos, sub quibus in conparationem peioris uitae
the-fewer those under whom in comparison of-a-worse life
melius uixerat, non sufficere ad opitulandum granditati suae.
better it-had-lived not to-suffice for helping greatness its-own

Primo enim sub ipsis regibus, excepto Numa Pompilio, de
first for under the-very kings except Numa Pompilius about
quo iam supra locutus sum, quantum malum discordiosi
whom already above spoken I-have how-great an-evil of-discordant
certaminis fuit, quod fratrem Romuli coegit occidi!
contest it-was which a-brother of-Romulus compelled to-be-killed

Neither Juno nor Venus could help the Romans win wives honestly; they seized them by guile and then fought their fathers-in-law, so that the women were dowered with their parents' blood. Lucan laments such wars between Caesar and Pompey; these were worse. Bellona or Allecto, not Venus, gave such nuptials; Andromache's captivity was happier. The battle in the forum ended only when the women rushed forth and, prostrate before their fathers, calmed their wrath; Romulus later shared the kingdom with Tatius, then had him killed to reign alone.

Quo modo nec Iuno, quae cum Ioue suo iam fouebat
in-what manner neither Juno who with Jupiter her-own already was-cherishing

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam,
the-Romans of-things the-lords and-the-race toga-clad

nec Venus ipsa Aeneidas suos potuit adiuuare, ut bono
nor Venus herself Aeneas'-sons her-own could to-help that by-good
et aequo more coniugia mererentur, cladesque tanta inruit
and fair custom marriages they-might-win and-a-disaster so-great burst-in
huius inopiae, ut ea dolo raperent moxque conpellerentur
of-this want that them by-guile they-seized and-soon they-were-compelled
pugnare cum soceris, ut miserae feminae nondum
to-fight with (their)-fathers-in-law that the-wretched women not-yet
ex iniuria maritis conciliatae iam parentum
from the-injury to-(their)-husbands reconciled already with-(their)-parents'
sanguine dotarentur? At enim uicerunt in hac conflictione
blood were-dowered but indeed conquered in this clash
Romani uicinos suos. Quantis et quam multis utrimque
the-Romans neighbors their-own with-how-great and how many on-both-sides
uulneribus et funeribus tam propinquorum et confinium
wounds and funerals of-so near and neighboring

istae uictoriae constiterunt! Propter unum Caesarem
these victories cost on-account-of one Caesar
socerum et unum generum eius Pompeium iam mortua
father-in-law and one son-in-law his Pompey already dead
Caesaris filia, uxore Pompei, quanto et quam iusto
Caesar's daughter the-wife of-Pompey with-how-great and how just
doloris instinctu Lucanus exclamat:
of-grief impulse Lucan exclaims

Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos
wars through Emathian more than civil fields
iusque datum sceleri canimus.
and-right given to-crime we-sing

Vicerunt ergo Romani, ut strage socerorum
conquered therefore the-Romans that from-the-slaughter of-fathers-in-law
manibus cruentis ab eorum filiabus amplexus miserabiles
with-hands bloody from their daughters embraces wretched
extorquerent, nec illae auderent flere patres occisos, ne
they-might-extort nor they dared to-weep for-fathers slain lest
offenderent uictores maritos, quae adhuc illis pugnantibus
they-should-offend the-victorious husbands who while-still they fought
pro quibus facerent uota nesciebant. Talibus nuptiis
for whom they-should-make vows knew-not with-such nuptials
populum Romanum non Venus, sed Bellona donauit; aut
the-people Roman not Venus but Bellona presented or
fortassis Allecto illa inferna furia iam eis fauente Iunone
perhaps Allecto that infernal fury already to-them favoring Juno
plus in illos habuit licentiae, quam cum eius precibus
more over them had of-license than when by-her prayers
contra Aenean fuerat excitata. Andromacha felicius
against Aeneas she-had-been roused Andromache more-happily

captiuata est, quam illa conubia Romana nupserunt. Licet
captured was than those marriages Roman were-married although
seruiles, tamen post eius amplexus nullum Troianorum
servile yet after her embraces none of-the-Trojans
Pyrrhus occidit; Romani autem soceros interficiebant
Pyrrhus killed the-Romans but (their)-fathers-in-law killed
in proeliis, quorum iam filias amplexabantur in thalamis.
in battles whose already daughters they-embraced in bedchambers
Illa uictori subdita dolere tantum suorum mortem potuit,
she to-the-victor subjected to-grieve only of-her-own the-death could
non timere; illae sociatae bellantibus parentum suorum
not to-fear they joined to-the-warring of-parents their-own
mortes procedentibus uiris timebant, redeuntibus dolebant,
the-deaths with-going-forth husbands feared with-returning grieved
nec timorem habentes liberum nec dolorem. Nam propter
neither fear having free nor grief for on-account-of
interitum ciuium propinquorum, fratrum parentum aut
the-death of-citizens of-kinsmen of-brothers of-parents either
pie cruciabantur, aut crudeliter laetabantur uictoriis
dutifully they-were-tormented or cruelly rejoiced in-the-victories
maritorum. Huc accedebat, quod, ut sunt alterna
of-(their)-husbands to-this was-added that as are the-alternations
bellorum, aliquae parentum ferro amiserunt uiros, aliquae
of-wars some by-parents' sword lost husbands some
utrorumque ferro et parentes et uiros. Neque enim et
by-both's sword both parents and husbands nor for even
aput Romanos parua fuerunt illa discrimina, si quidem
among the-Romans small were those dangers if indeed
ad obsidionem quoque peruentum est ciuitatis clausisque
to siege also come it-was of-the-city and-with-closed
portis se tuebantur; quibus dolo apertis admissisque
gates themselves they-defended which by-guile opened and-admitted

hostibus intra moenia in ipso foro scelerata et nimis
enemies within the-walls in the-very forum a-wicked and exceedingly
atrox inter generos socerosque pugna commissa est,
atrocious between sons-in-law and-fathers-in-law a-fight joined was
et raptores illi etiam superabantur et crebro fugientes
and the-ravishers those even were-overcome and frequently fleeing
inter domos suas grauius foedabant pristinas, quamuis
among houses their-own more-heavily disfigured former although
et ipsas pudendas lugendasque uictorias. Hic tamen
even themselves shameful and-to-be-lamented victories here yet
Romulus de suorum iam uirtute desperans Iouem orauit
Romulus of his-own-men's now valor despairing Jupiter begged
ut starent, adque ille hac occasione nomen Statoris
that they-might-stand and he on-this occasion the-name of-Stator
inuenit; nec finis esset tanti mali, nisi raptae
found nor end would-there-be of-so-great evil unless the-ravished-women
illae laceratis crinibus emicarent et prouolutae parentibus
those with-torn hair had-rushed-forth and prostrate before-parents
iram eorum iustissimam non armis uictricibus, sed
the-wrath their most-just not with-arms victorious but
supplici pietate sedarent. Deinde Tatium regem Sabinorum
with-suppliant dutifulness had-calmed then Tatius the-king of-the-Sabines
socium regni Romulus ferre conpulsus est, germani
as-partner of-the-kingdom Romulus to-bear compelled was of-a-brother
consortis inpatiens: sed quando et istum diu toleraret, qui
sharer not-enduring but how even this-one long would-he-tolerate who
fratrem geminumque non pertulit? Unde et ipso interfecto,
(his)-brother and-twin not endured whence also he killed
ut maior deus esset, regnum solus obtinuit. Quae sunt
that a-greater god he-might-be the-kingdom alone he-held what are
ista iura nuptiarum, quae inritamenta bellorum, quae foedera
these rights of-nuptials what incitements of-wars what treaties

germanitatis adfinitatis, societatis diuinitatis? quae postremo
of-brotherhood of-kinship of-alliance of-divinity what finally
sub tot dis tutoribus uita ciuitatis? Vides quanta hinc
under so-many gods guardians the-life of-the-city you-see how-much hence
dici et quam multa possent, nisi quae supersunt
to-be-said and how many-things could unless what remain
nostra curaret intentio et sermo in alia festinaret.
our cared-for intention and discourse to other-things hastened

XIV · THE WAR WITH ALBA

After Numa, the Albans were provoked to war, since Numa's long peace had grown cheap, and Alba, Rome's mother, founded by Ascanius, fought its daughter. Of the six triplets only one Horatius returned; he killed his sister for weeping over her betrothed, a grief more human than Rome's joy. The lust of dominating, which Sallust touches on, made this war: father and son as gladiators would be unbearable, yet mother and daughter cities fought before the whole world. Alba, the Trojan gods' third home, was destroyed, and no later king closed the gates of war.

Quid deinde post Numam sub aliis regibus? Quanto malo
what next after Numa under other kings with-how-great evil
non solum suo, sed etiam Romanorum in bellum Albani
not only their-own but also of-the-Romans into war the-Albans
prouocati sunt, quia uidelicet pax Numae tam longa
provoked were because namely the-peace of-Numa so long
uiluerat! Quam crebrae strages Romani Albanique exercitus
had-become-cheap how frequent slaughters the-Roman and-Alban army
fuerunt et utriusque comminutio ciuitatis! Alba namque illa,
were and of-each the-wearing-down of-city Alba for that
quam filius Aeneae creauit Ascanius, Romae mater proprior
which the-son of-Aeneas created Ascanius of-Rome the-mother nearer

ipsa quam Troia, a Tullo Hostilio rege prouocata conflixit,
itself than Troy by Tullus Hostilius the-king provoked clashed
confligens autem et adflicta est et adflixit, donec multorum
clashing but both afflicted was and afflicted until of-many
taederet pari defectione certaminum. Tunc euentum belli
it-wearied with-equal failure of-contests then the-outcome of-the-war
de tergeminis hinc adque inde fratribus placuit experiri;
by triplet on-this-side and on-that brothers it-pleased to-try
a Romanis tres Horatii, ab Albanis autem tres Curiatii
from the-Romans three Horatii from the-Albans but three Curiatii
processerunt; a Curiatiis tribus Horatii duo, ab uno autem
came-forth by the-Curiatii three Horatii two by one but
Horatio tres Curiatii superati et extincti sunt. Ita Roma
Horatius three Curiatii overcome and killed were so Rome
extitit uictrix ea clade etiam in certamine extremo, ut
stood-forth victorious with-that disaster even in the-contest final that
de sex unus rediret domum. Cui damnum in utrisque,
of six one should-return home for-whom loss in both
cui luctus, nisi Aeneae stirpi nisi Ascanii posteris, nisi
for-whom grief except for-Aeneas' stock except for-Ascanius' descendants except
proli Veneris nisi nepotibus Iouis? Nam et hoc
for-the-offspring of-Venus except for-the-grandsons of-Jupiter for also this
plus quam ciuile bellum fuit, quando filia ciuitas cum
more than civil war was when the-daughter city with
ciuitate matre pugnauit. Accessit aliud huic tergeminorum
the-city mother fought there-was-added another to-this of-the-triplets
pugnae ultimae atrox adque horrendum malum. Nam
fight final atrocious and horrible evil for
ut erant ambo populi prius amici (uicini quippe adque
as were both peoples before friends neighbors for and
cognati), uni Curiatiorum desponsata fuerat Horatiorum
kin to-one of-the-Curiatii betrothed had-been of-the-Horatii

soror; haec postea quam sponsi spolia in uictore
the-sister she after when of-(her)-betrothed the-spoils on (her)-victorious
fratre conspexit, ab eodem fratre, quoniam fleuit, occisa
brother she-saw by the-same brother because she-wept killed
est. Humanior huius unius feminae quam uniuersi populi
was more-human of-this one woman than of-the-whole people
Romani mihi fuisse uidetur adfectus. Illa quem uirum
Roman to-me to-have-been seems the-feeling she whom as-husband
iam fide media retinebat, aut forte etiam ipsum fratrem
already by-faith pledged she-held or perhaps even the-very brother
dolens, qui eum occiderat cui sororem promiserat, puto
grieving who him had-killed to-whom (his)-sister he-had-promised I-think
quod non culpabiliter fleuerit. Unde enim aput Vergilium
that not blamably she-wept whence for in Vergil
pius Aeneas laudabiliter dolet hostem etiam sua
the-devout Aeneas laudably grieves-for an-enemy even by-his-own
peremtum manu? Unde Marcellus Syracusanam ciuitatem
killed hand whence Marcellus the-Syracusan city
recolens eius paulo ante culmen et gloriam sub manus
recalling its a-little before summit and glory under hands
suas subito concidisse communem cogitans condicionem
his-own suddenly to-have-fallen the-common pondering condition
flendo miseratus est? Quaeso ab humano inpetremus
by-weeping pitied has I-ask from human let-us-obtain
adfectu, ut femina sponsum suum a fratre suo peremtum
feeling that a-woman betrothed her-own by brother her-own killed
sine crimine fleuerit, si uiri hostes a se uictos etiam
without crime may-have-wept if men enemies by them conquered even
cum laude fleuerunt. Ergo sponso a fratre inlatam
with praise have-wept therefore on-the-betrothed by the-brother inflicted
mortem quando femina illa flebat, tunc se contra matrem
death when the-woman that wept then itself against (its)-mother

ciuitatem tanta strage bellasse et tanta hinc et
city with-so-great slaughter to-have-warred and with-so-great hence and
inde cognati cruoris effusione uicisse Roma gaudebat.
thence of-kindred blood outpouring to-have-conquered Rome rejoiced
Quid mihi obtenditur nomen laudis nomenque uictoriae?
why to-me is-held-out the-name of-praise and-the-name of-victory
Remotis obstaculis insanae opinionis facinora nuda cernantur,
removed the-obstacles of-insane opinion the-crimes naked let-be-seen
nuda pensentur, nuda iudicentur. Causa dicatur Albae,
naked let-be-weighed naked let-be-judged the-cause let-be-stated of-Alba
sicut Troiae adulterium dicebatur. Nulla talis, nulla similis
as of-Troy the-adultery was-stated none such none similar
inuenitur; tantum ut resides moueret
is-found only that the-idle he-might-move

Tullus in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis
Tullus to arms men and now unaccustomed to-triumphs
agmina.
the-ranks

Illo itaque uitio tantum scelus perpetratum est socialis
by-that and-so vice so-great a-crime perpetrated was of-a-social
belli adque cognati, quod uitium Sallustius magnum
war and kindred which vice Sallust great
transeunter adtingit. Cum enim laudans breuiter antiquiora
in-passing touches when for praising briefly the-more-ancient
commemorasset tempora, quando uita hominum sine
he-had-recalled times when the-life of-men without
cupiditate agitabatur et sua cuique satis placebant:
greed was-led and their-own to-each enough pleased
“Postea uero, inquit, quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia
afterward but he-says when in Asia Cyrus in Greece

Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes adque nationes
the-Lacedaemonians and Athenians began cities and nations
subigere, libidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam
to-subdue the-lust of-dominating as-the-cause of-war to-hold the-greatest
gloriam in maximo imperio putare", et cetera quae ipse
glory in the-greatest empire to-think and the-rest which he-himself
instituerat dicere. Mihi huc usque satis sit eius uerba
had-undertaken to-say for-me hither as-far enough let-it-be his words
posuisse. Libido ista dominandi magnis malis agitat et
to-have-set-down lust this of-dominating with-great evils agitates and
conterit humanum genus. Hac libidine Roma tunc uicta
crushes the-human race by-this lust Rome then conquered
Albam se uicisse triumphabat et sui sceleris
Alba itself to-have-conquered triumphed and of-its-own crime
laudem gloriam nominabat, quoniam laudatur, inquit scriptura
the-praise glory named since is-praised says scripture
nostra, peccator in desideriis animae suae et qui iniqua gerit
our the-sinner in the-desires of-soul his and who iniquities does
benedicitur. Fallacia igitur tegmina et deceptoriae dealbationes
is-blessed deceptive therefore coverings and deceitful whitewashings
auferantur a rebus, ut sincero inspiciantur examine.
let-be-taken-away from things that with-sincere they-may-be-examined scrutiny
Nemo mihi dicat: magnus ille adque ille, quia cum
no-one to-me let-say great that-one and that-one because with
illo pugnauit et uicit. Pugnant etiam gladiatores, uincunt
that-one he-fought and conquered fight also gladiators conquer
etiam ipsi, habet praemia laudis et illa crudelitas; sed
also they-themselves has rewards of-praise also that cruelty but
puto esse satius cuiuslibet inertiae poenas luere quam
I-think to-be better of-any-whatever idleness the-penalties to-pay than
illorum armorum quaerere gloriam. Et tamen si in harenam
of-those arms to-seek the-glory and yet if into the-arena

procederent pugnaturi inter se gladiatores, quorum alter
should-come-forth about-to-fight among themselves gladiators of-whom one
filius, alter esset pater, tale spectaculum quis ferret?
a-son the-other were the-father such a-spectacle who would-bear
quis non auferret? Quo modo ergo gloriosum alterius
who not would-take-away in-what manner then glorious of-the-one
matris, alterius filiae ciuitatis inter se armorum potuit
mother of-the-other daughter city among themselves of-arms could
esse certamen? An ideo diuersum fuit, quod harena illa
to-be the-contest or therefore different was-it because arena that
non fuit, et latiores campi non duorum gladiatorum,
not it-was and broader fields not of-two gladiators
sed in duobus populis multorum funeribus inplebantur,
but in two peoples of-many with-the-funerals were-filled
nec amphitheatro cingebantur illa certamina, sed uniuerso
nor by-an-amphitheater were-surrounded those contests but by-the-whole
orbe et tunc uiuis et posteris, quo usque ista fama
world and then to-the-living and to-posterity to-which as-far this fame
porrigitur, inpium spectaculum praebebatur?
extends an-ungodly spectacle was-offered

Vim tamen patiebantur studii sui di illi praesides
force yet suffered of-zeal their-own the-gods those protectors
imperii Romani et talium certaminum tamquam theatrici
of-the-empire Roman and of-such contests as-if theatrical
spectatores, donec Horatiorum soror propter Curiatios tres
spectators until of-the-Horatii the-sister on-account-of the-Curiatii three
peremtos etiam ipsa tertia ex altera parte fraterno ferro
killed even herself as-third from the-other side by-a-brother's sword
duobus fratribus adderetur, ne minus haberet mortium
to-the-two brothers should-be-added lest fewer it-should-have of-deaths
etiam Roma quae uicerat. Deinde ad fructum uictoriae
even Rome which had-conquered then to the-fruit of-victory

Alba subuersa est, ubi post Ilium, quod Graeci euerterunt,
Alba overturned was where after Ilium which the-Greeks overturned
et post Lauinium, ubi Aeneas regnum peregrinum adque
and after Lavinium where Aeneas a-kingdom foreign and
fugitiuum constituerat, tertio loco habitauerant numina
fugitive had-established in-the-third place had-dwelt divinities
illa Troiana. Sed more suo etiam inde iam fortasse
those Trojan but in-manner their-own even thence already perhaps
migrauerant, ideo deleta est. Discesserant uidelicet omnes
had-migrated therefore destroyed it-was had-departed namely all
adytis arisque relictis di, quibus imperium illud steterat.
the-shrines and-the-altars left the-gods by-whom empire that had-stood
Discesserant sane ecce iam tertio, ut eis quarta Roma
had-departed indeed behold now for-the-third-time that to-them as-fourth Rome
prouidentissime crederetur. Displicuerat enim et Alba, ubi
most-providently might-be-entrusted had-displeased for both Alba where
Amulius expulso fratre, et Roma placuerat, ubi Romulus
Amulius having-expelled (his)-brother and Rome had-pleased where Romulus
occiso fratre regnauerat. Sed antequam Alba diruueretur,
having-killed (his)-brother had-reigned but before Alba was-destroyed
transfusus est, inquiunt, populus eius in Romam, ut ex
poured-over was they-say the-people its into Rome that from
utraque una ciuitas fieret. Esto, ita factum sit; urbs
both one city might-be-made be-it so done let-it-be the-city
tamen illa, Ascanii regnum et tertium domicilium Troianorum
yet that Ascanius' kingdom and the-third dwelling of-the-Trojan
deorum, ab urbe filia mater euersa est; ut autem
gods by the-city (its)-daughter mother overturned was that but
belli reliquiae ex duobus populis unum facerent, miserabile
of-the-war the-remnants from two peoples one might-make a-wretched
coagulum multus ante fusus utriusque sanguis fuit. Quid
coagulation much before poured-out of-each blood was what

iam singillatim dicam sub ceteris regibus totiens eadem
now one-by-one should-I-say under the-other kings so-often the-same
bella renouata, quae uictoriis finita uidebantur, et tantis
wars renewed which by-victories ended seemed and with-so-great
stragibus iterum iterumque confecta, iterum iterumque post
slaughters again and-again finished again and-again after
foedus et pacem inter soceros et generos et eorum
treaty and peace between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law and their
stirpem posterosque repetita? Non paruum indicium calamitatis
stock and-posterity resumed not small a-sign of-calamity
huius fuit, quod portas belli nullus clausit illorum. Nullus
this was that the-gates of-war none closed of-them none
ergo illorum sub tot dis praesidibus in pace regnauit.
therefore of-them under so-many gods protectors in peace reigned

XV · HOW THE KINGS DIED

Of the kings' ends: some say Romulus was torn apart by the senate and Proculus suborned to report him a god, amid an eclipse the crowd credited to his merits. Tullus Hostilius was burned by lightning with his house, Priscus Tarquin killed by his predecessor's sons, Servius by his son-in-law Tarquin the Proud, whom the gods let reign; expelled for his son's crime, he grew old in Tusculum. After 243 years Rome held scarcely twenty miles.

Ipsorum autem regum qui exitus fuerunt? De Romulo
of-the-very moreover kings what ends were-there about Romulus
uiderit adulatio fabulosa, qua perhibetur receptus in
let-it-see flattery fabulous by-which he-is-said received into
caelum; uiderint quidam scriptores eorum, qui eum
heaven let-them-see certain writers their who him
propter ferocitatem a senatu discerptum esse dixerunt
on-account-of (his)-ferocity by the-senate torn-apart to-have-been said

subornatumque nescio quem Iulium Proculum, qui eum
and-suborned I-know-not whom Julius Proculus who him
sibi apparuisse diceret eumque per se populo
to-himself to-have-appeared should-say and-him through himself to-the-people
mandasse Romano, ut inter numina coleretur,
to-have-commanded Roman that among the-divinities he-should-be-worshiped
eoque modo populum, qui contra senatum intumescere
and-in-that manner the-people which against the-senate to-swell
coeperat, repressum adque sedatum. Acciderat enim
had-begun to-have-been-repressed and calmed there-had-happened for
et solis defectio, quam certa ratione sui cursus
also of-the-sun an-eclipse which by-the-fixed law of-its-own course
effectam inperita nesciens multitudo meritis Romuli
brought-about the-unskilled not-knowing multitude to-the-merits of-Romulus
tribuebat. Quasi uero si luctus ille solis fuisset, non
attributed as-if indeed if grief that of-the-sun it-had-been not
magis ideo credi deberet occisus ipsumque scelus
rather for-this-reason to-be-believed it-ought killed and-the-very crime
auersione etiam diurni luminis indicatum; sicut re uera
by-the-turning-away even of-the-daily light revealed as in truth
factum est, cum Dominus crucifixus est crudelitate adque
done it-was when the-Lord crucified was by-the-cruelty and
inpietate Iudaeorum. Quam solis obscurationem non ex
ungodliness of-the-Jews which of-the-sun obscuration not from
canonico siderum cursu accidisse satis ostendit, quod
the-regular of-the-stars course to-have-happened sufficiently shows that
tunc erat pascha Iudaeorum; nam plena luna sollemniter
then was the-passover of-the-Jews for at-full moon solemnly
agitur, regularis autem solis defectio non nisi lunae
it-is-celebrated a-regular but of-the-sun eclipse not except at-the-moon's
fine contingit. Satis et Cicero illam inter deos Romuli
end occurs sufficiently also Cicero that among the-gods of-Romulus

receptionem putatam magis significat esse quam factam,
reception thought rather signifies to-be than done
quando et laudans eum in libris de re publica
when also praising him in the-books about the-thing public
Scipionisque sermone: "Tantum est, inquit, consecutus, ut,
and-in-Scipio's discourse so-much has he-says attained that
cum subito sole obscurato non conparuisset, deorum
when suddenly with-the-sun obscured not he-had-appeared of-the-gods
in numero conlocatus putaretur, quam opinionem nemo
in the-number placed he-was-thought which opinion no
umquam mortalis assequi potuit sine eximia uirtutis gloria".
ever mortal to-attain could without exceptional of-virtue glory
(Quod autem dicit eum subito non conparuisse, profecto ibi
that moreover he-says him suddenly not to-have-appeared assuredly there
intellegitur aut uiolentia tempestatis aut caedis facinorisque
is-understood either the-violence of-a-storm or of-slaughter and-crime
secretum; nam et alii scriptores eorum defectioni solis
the-secrecy for also other writers their to-the-eclipse of-the-sun
addunt etiam subitam tempestatem, quae profecto aut
add also a-sudden storm which assuredly either
occasionem sceleri praebuit aut Romulum ipsa consumsit.)
the-occasion to-the-crime offered or Romulus itself consumed
De Tullo quippe etiam Hostilio, qui tertius a Romulo rex
about Tullus for also Hostilius who third from Romulus king
fuit, quia et ipse fulmine absumtus est, dicit in eisdem libris
was because also he by-lightning consumed was says in the-same books
idem Cicero, propterea et istum non creditum in deos
the-same Cicero for-this-reason also this-one not believed into the-gods
receptum tali morte, quia fortasse quod erat in Romulo
received by-such death because perhaps what was in Romulus
probatum, id est persuasum, Romani uulgare noluerunt,
proved that is persuaded the-Romans to-make-common were-unwilling

id est uile facere, si hoc et alteri facile tribueretur.
that is cheap to-make if this also to-another easily were-attributed
Dicit etiam aperte in inuectiuis: "Illum, qui hanc urbem
he-says also openly in the-invectives him who this city
condidit, Romulum ad deos inmortales beniuolentia famaque
founded Romulus to the-gods immortal by-goodwill and-fame
sustulimus", ut non uere factum, sed propter merita
we-have-raised so-that not truly done but on-account-of the-merits
uirtutis eius beniuole iactatum diffamatumque monstraret.
of-virtue his benevolently boasted and-spread-abroad he-might-show
In Hortensio uero dialogo cum de solis canonicis
in the-Hortensius but dialogue when about of-the-sun the-regular
defectionibus loqueretur: "Ut easdem, inquit, tenebras
eclipses he-spoke that the-same he-says darkness
efficiat, quas effecit interitu Romuli, qui obscuratione
it-may-make which it-made at-the-death of-Romulus which by-the-obscuring
solis est factus". Certe hic minime timuit hominis
of-the-sun was made surely here not-at-all he-feared of-the-man
interitum dicere, quia disputator magis quam laudator fuit.
the-death to-mention because a-disputer rather than a-praiser he-was
Ceteri autem reges populi Romani, excepto Numa Pompilio
the-other moreover kings of-the-people Roman except Numa Pompilius
et Anco Marcio, qui morbo interierunt, quam horrendos
and Ancus Marcius who by-disease perished what horrible
exitus habuerunt! Tullus, ut dixi, Hostilius, uictor et
ends they-had Tullus as I-said Hostilius victor and
euersor Albae, cum tota domo sua fulmine concrematus
overturner of-Alba with whole house his-own by-lightning burned
est. Priscus Tarquinius per sui decessoris filios
was Priscus Tarquinius through of-his-own predecessor the-sons
interemtus est. Seruius Tullius generi sui Tarquinii
killed was Servius Tullius of-son-in-law his-own Tarquin

Superbi, qui ei successit in regnum, nefario scelere
the-Proud who to-him succeeded in the-kingdom by-abominable crime
occisus est. Nec "discessere adytis arisque relictis
killed was nor departed from-the-shrines and-the-altars left
di" tanto in optimum illius populi regem parricidio
the-gods so-great against the-best of-that people king parricide
perpetrato, quos dicunt, ut hoc miserae Troiae facerent
perpetrated who they-say that this to-wretched Troy they-should-do
eamque Graecis diruendam exurendamque relinquerent,
and-it to-the-Greeks to-be-destroyed and-to-be-burned should-leave
adulterio Paridis fuisse commotos; sed insuper interfecto
by-the-adultery of-Paris to-have-been moved but besides killed
a se socero Tarquinius ipse successit. Hunc illi di
by himself (his)-father-in-law Tarquin himself succeeded him those gods
nefarium parricidam soceri interfectione regnantem,
the-abominable parricide by-the-father-in-law's killing reigning
insuper multis bellis uictoriisque gloriantem et de manubiis
besides in-many wars and-victories glorying and from the-spoils
Capitolium fabricantem non abscedentes, sed praesentes
the-Capitol building not departing but present
manentesque uiderunt et regem suum Iouem in illo altissimo
and-remaining saw and the-king their Jupiter in that most-high
templo, hoc est in opere parricidae, sibi praesidere
temple that is in the-work of-the-parricide over-them to-preside
adque regnare perpessi sunt. Neque enim adhuc innocens
and to-reign suffered have nor for still innocent
Capitolium struxit et postea malis meritis Urbe pulsus
the-Capitol he-built and afterward for-bad deserts from-the-City driven
est, sed ad ipsum regnum, in quo Capitolium fabricaret,
was but to the-very kingdom in which the-Capitol he-might-build
inmanissimi sceleris perpetratione peruenit. Quod uero
of-a-most-savage crime by-the-perpetration he-came that but

eum regno Romani postea depulerunt ac secluserunt
him from-the-kingdom the-Romans afterward drove and shut-out
moenibus ciuitatis, non ipsius de Lucretiae stupro, sed filii
from-the-walls of-the-city not his-own about Lucretia's outrage but the-son's
peccatum fuit illo non solum nesciente, sed etiam absente
sin was by-him not only not-knowing but even absent
commissum. Ardeam ciuitatem tunc obpugnabat, pro populo
committed Ardea the-city then he-was-besieging for the-people
Romano bellum gerebat: nescimus quid faceret, si
Roman war he-was-waging we-know-not what he-would-have-done if
ad eius notitiam flagitium filii deferretur; et tamen
to his knowledge the-shameful-deed of-the-son had-been-brought and yet
inexplorato iudicio eius et inexperto ei populus ademit
with-unexamined judgment his and untried from-him the-people took-away
imperium et recepto exercitu, a quo deseri iussus
the-command and having-received the-army by which to-be-deserted ordered
est, clausis deinde portis non siuit intrare redeuntem. At
he-was closed then the-gates not it-allowed to-enter him-returning but
ille post bella grauissima, quibus eosdem Romanos concitatis
he after wars most-grievous by-which the-same Romans with-stirred-up
finitimis adtriuit, postea quam desertus ab eis quorum
neighbors he-wore-down afterward when deserted by those whose
fidebat auxilio regnum recipere non eualuit, in oppido
he-trusted in-aid the-kingdom to-recover not he-could in the-town
Tusculo Romae uicino quattuordecim, ut fertur, annos
of-Tusculum to-Rome near fourteen as is-reported years
priuatam uitam quietus habuit et cum uxore consenuit,
a-private life quiet he-had and with (his)-wife grew-old
optabiliore fortassis exitu quam socer eius, generi
with-more-desirable perhaps end than father-in-law his of-son-in-law
sui facinore nec ignorante filia, sicut perhibetur,
his-own by-the-crime nor not-knowing (his)-daughter as is-said

extinctus. Nec tamen istum Tarquinium Romani crudelem aut
extinguished nor yet this Tarquin the-Romans cruel or
sceleratum, sed superbum appellauerunt, fortasse regios eius
wicked but proud called perhaps the-kingly his
fastus alia superbia non ferentes. Nam scelus occisi ab
haughtiness by-other pride not bearing for the-crime of-the-killed by
eo soceri optimi regis sui usque adeo contemserunt,
him father-in-law the-best king their-own to-such a-degree they-despised
ut eum regem suum facerent; ubi miror, si non scelere
that him king their-own they-made where I-wonder if not by-a-crime
grauiore mercedem tantam tanto sceleri reddiderunt. Nec
graver a-reward so-great to-so-great a-crime they-rendered nor
“discessere adytis arisque relictis di”. Nisi forte
departed from-the-shrines and-the-altars left the-gods unless perhaps
quispiam sic defendat istos deos, ut dicat eos ideo
anyone so should-defend these gods that he-say them for-this-reason
mansisse Romae, quo possint magis Romanos punire
to-have-remained at-Rome that they-might more the-Romans to-punish
suppliciis quam beneficiis adiuuare, seducentes eos uanis
with-punishments than with-benefits to-help seducing them with-vain
uictoriis et bellis grauissimis conterentes.
victories and with-wars most-grievous crushing

Haec fuit Romanorum uita sub regibus laudabili
this was of-the-Romans the-life under the-kings in-the-praiseworthy
tempore illius rei publicae usque ad expulsionem Tarquinii
time of-that thing public up to the-expulsion of-Tarquin
Superbi per ducentos ferme et quadraginta et tres annos,
the-Proud for two-hundred about and forty and three years
cum illae omnes uictoriae tam multo sanguine et tantis
when those all victories with-so much blood and by-so-great
emtae calamitatibus uix illud imperium intra uiginti ab
bought calamities scarcely that empire within twenty from

Urbe milia dilatauerint; quantum spatium absit ut saltem
the-City miles extended which space far-be-it that at-least
alicuius Getulae ciuitatis nunc territorio conparetur.
of-some Gaetulian city now with-the-territory be-compared

XVI · THE FIRST CONSULS

Sallust's time of equity lasted only while the Etruscans helped Tarquin seek his throne, so fear, not justice, kept it, and its first consular year was deadly. Brutus drove his innocent colleague Collatinus from the City for his name alone, killed his own sons and his wife's brothers for conspiring with Tarquin, which Vergil praises and shudders at, and died in battle with Tarquin's son, while Tarquin outlived him. Lucretius died of disease; Valerius and Horatius completed that funereal year of five consuls, in which the republic inaugurated its new honor.

Huic tempori adiciamus etiam tempus illud, quo usque
to-this time let-us-add also time that to-which as-far
dicit Sallustius aequo et modesto iure agitatum, dum
says Sallust by-equal and moderate law it-was-conducted until
metus a Tarquinio et bellum graue cum Etruria positum
fear from Tarquin and war heavy with Etruria set-aside
est. Quamdiu enim Etrusci Tarquinio in regnum redire
was as-long-as for the-Etruscans to-Tarquin into the-kingdom to-return
conanti opitulati sunt, graui bello Roma concussa est.
trying helped have with-heavy war Rome shaken was
Ideo dicit aequo et modesto iure gestam rem publicam
therefore he-says by-equal and moderate law conducted the-thing public
metu premente, non persuadente iustitia. In quo breuissimo
with-fear pressing not with-persuading justice in which very-short
tempore quam funestus ille annus fuit, quo primi consules
time how deadly that year was in-which the-first consuls

creati sunt expulsa regia potestate! Annum quippe suum non
created were expelled the-royal power year for its-own not
conpleuerunt. Nam Iunius Brutus exhonoratum eiecit Urbe
they-completed for Junius Brutus dishonored cast-out from-the-City
collegam Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum; deinde mox ipse
(his)-colleague Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus then soon himself
in bello cecidit mutuis cum hoste uulneribus, occisis a
in war fell with-mutual with the-enemy wounds slain by
se primitus filiis suis et uxoris suae fratribus, quod
himself first sons his-own and of-wife his-own the-brothers because
eos pro restituendo Tarquinio coniurasse cognouerat. Quod
them for restoring Tarquin to-have-conspired he-had-learned which
factum Vergilius postea quam laudabiliter commemorauit,
deed Vergil after that laudably he-recorded
continuo clementer exhorruit. Cum enim dixisset:
immediately mercifully shuddered-at when for he-had-said

Natosque pater noua bella mouentes
and-the-sons the-father new wars stirring
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate uocabit,
to punishment fair for liberty will-summon

mox deinde exclamauit et ait:
soon then he-exclaimed and says

Infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores.
unhappy however will-take those deeds posterity

Quomodolibet, inquit, ea facta posteri ferant, id est
however-it-may-be he-says those deeds posterity may-take that is
praeferant et extollant, qui filios occidit, infelix est. Et
may-prefer and extol he-who (his)-sons kills unhappy is and
tamquam ad consolandum infelicem subiungit:
as-if for consoling the-unhappy-man he-adds

Vincit amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido.
conquers the-love of-fatherland and-of-praises immense desire

Nonne in hoc Bruto, qui et filios occidit et a se
surely in this Brutus who both (his)-sons killed and by himself
percusso hosti filio Tarquinii mutuo percussus superuiuere
the-struck enemy the-son of-Tarquin in-turn struck to-survive
non potuit eique potius ipse Tarquinius superuixit,
not could and-him rather himself Tarquin survived
Collatini collegae uidetur innocentia uindicata, qui bonus
of-Collatinus the-colleague seems the-innocence avenged who a-good
ciuis hoc Tarquinio pulso passus est, quod tyrannus ipse
citizen this with-Tarquin driven-out suffered has what the-tyrant himself
Tarquinius? Nam et idem Brutus consanguineus Tarquinii
Tarquin for also the-same Brutus a-blood-relative of-Tarquin
fuisse perhibetur; sed Collatinum uidelicet similitudo
to-have-been is-said but Collatinus namely the-likeness
nominis pressit, quia etiam Tarquinius uocabatur. Mutare
of-the-name pressed because also Tarquinius he-was-called to-change
ergo nomen, non patriam cogeretur; postremo
therefore (his)-name not (his)-fatherland he-should-have-been-compelled finally
in eius nomine hoc uocabulum minus esset, L. Collatinus
in his name this word less should-be Lucius Collatinus
tantummodo uocaretur. Sed ideo non amisit quod
only he-should-be-called but for-this-reason not he-lost what

sine ullo detrimento posset amittere, ut et honore primus
without any loss he-could to-lose that both of-honor the-first
consul et ciuitate bonus ciuis carere iuberetur. Etiamne ista
consul and of-the-city a-good citizen to-lack he-was-ordered even this
est gloria, Iunii Bruti detestanda iniquitas et nihilo utilis
is the-glory of-Junius Brutus a-detestable iniquity and in-nothing useful
rei publicae? Etiamne ad hanc perpetrandam "uicit amor
to-the-thing public even for this to-be-perpetrated conquered the-love
patriae laudumque inmensa cupido"? Iam expulso utique
of-fatherland and-of-praises immense desire already expelled assuredly
Tarquinio tyranno consul cum Bruto creatus est maritus
Tarquin the-tyrant consul with Brutus created was the-husband
Lucretiae L. Tarquinius Collatinus. Quam iuste populus
of-Lucretia Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus how justly the-people
mores in ciue, non nomen adtendit! Quam inpie Brutus
the-morals in a-citizen not the-name regarded how ungodly Brutus
collegam primae ac nouae illius potestatis, quem posset,
(his)-colleague of-the-first and new that power whom he-could
si hoc offendebatur, nomine tantum priuare, et patria
if by-this he-was-offended name only to-deprive both of-fatherland
priuauit et honore! Haec mala facta sunt, haec aduersa
deprived and of-honor these evils done were these adversities
acciderunt, quando in illa re publica "aequo et modesto iure
befell when in that thing public by-equal and moderate law
agitatum est". Lucretius quoque, qui in locum Bruti fuerat
conducted it-was Lucretius also who into the-place of-Brutus had-been
subrogatus, morbo, antequam idem annus terminaretur,
substituted by-disease before the-same year was-ended
absumtus est. Ita P. Valerius, qui successerat Collatino, et
consumed was so Publius Valerius who had-succeeded Collatinus and
M. Horatius, qui pro defuncto Lucretio suffectus fuerat,
Marcus Horatius who for the-deceased Lucretius substituted had-been

annum illum funereum adque tartareum, qui consules quinque
year that funereal and hellish which consuls five
habuit, conpleuerunt, quo anno consulatus ipsius nouum
had completed in-which year of-the-consulship itself the-new
honorem ac potestatem auspicata est Romana res publica.
honor and power inaugurated has the-Roman thing public

XVII · DISASTERS UNDER THE REPUBLIC

Then, Sallust says, the fathers oppressed the plebs, who seceded and won tribunes, and strife lasted until the second Punic war; Rome's own authors say worse than this. Where were the gods when the consul Valerius fell defending the Capitol, when famine and plague wasted the city, when Maelius was killed for feeding the hungry, when the army suffered ten years of defeats at Veii, when the Gauls took Rome, or when the army passed under the yoke at the Caudine Forks? Apollo answered Pyrrhus ambiguously, and in a later plague the Sibylline books won the gods an excuse, not a cure.

Tunc iam deminuto paululum metu, non quia bella
then now diminished a-little fear not because wars
conquieuerant, sed quia non tam graui pondere urgebant,
had-ceased but because not with-so heavy weight they-pressed
finito scilicet tempore, quo aequo iure ac modesto
ended namely the-time in-which by-equal law and moderate
agitatum est, secuta sunt quae idem Sallustius breuiter
conducted it-was followed have what the-same Sallust briefly
explicat: "Dein seruili imperio patres plebem exercere,
sets-forth then with-slavish command the-fathers the-plebs to-harass
de uita adque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere
about life and back in-kingly manner to-decide from-land to-drive
et ceteris expertibus soli in imperio agere. Quibus saeuitiis
and the-others having-no-share alone in power to-act by-which savageries

et maxime faenore obpressa plebes, cum adsiduis bellis
and especially by-usury oppressed the-plebs when with-continual wars
tributum et militiam simul toleraret, armata montem
tribute and military-service together it-bore armed the-mount
sacrum adque Auentinum insedit, tumque tribunos plebis
sacred and Aventine occupied and-then tribunes of-the-plebs
et alia iura sibi parauit. Discordiarum et certaminis
and other rights for-itself obtained of-discords and of-contest
utrimque finis fuit secundum bellum Punicum." Quid itaque
on-both-sides the-end was the-second war Punic why and-so
ego tantas moras uel scribens patiar, uel lecturis adferam?
I such delays either writing should-endure or to-readers should-bring
Quam misera fuerit illa res publica, tam longa aetate per
how wretched was that thing public so long in-an-age through
tot annos usque ad secundum bellum Punicum bellis
so-many years up to the-second war Punic with-wars
forinsecus inquietare non desistentibus et intus discordiis
from-outside to-disturb not ceasing and within by-discords
seditionibusque ciuilibus, a Sallustio breuiter intimatum est.
and-seditions civil by Sallust briefly indicated has-been
Proinde uictoriae illae non solida beatorum gaudia fuerunt,
accordingly victories those not solid of-the-blessed joys were
sed inania solacia miserorum et ad alia adque alia sterilia
but empty consolations of-the-wretched and for other and other barren
mala subeunda inlecebrosa incitamenta minime quietorum.
evils to-be-undergone alluring incitements not-at-all of-the-quiet
Nec nobis, quia hoc dicimus, boni Romani prudentesque
nor with-us because this we-say the-good Romans and-prudent
suscenseant: quamquam de hac re nec petendi sint
let-them-be-angry although about this matter neither to-be-asked are-they
nec monendi, quando eos minime suscensuros esse
nor to-be-admonished since them not-at-all about-to-be-angry to-be

certissimum est. Neque enim grauius uel grauiora dicimus
most-certain it-is nor for more-heavily or heavier-things we-say
auctoribus eorum et stilo et otio multum inpares;
than-the-authors their both in-style and in-leisure much unequal
quibus tamen ediscendis et ipsi elaborauerunt et
in-whom yet to-be-learned-by-heart both themselves they-labored and
filios suos elaborare conpellunt. Qui autem suscensent,
sons their-own to-labor they-compel those-who but are-angry
quando me ferrent, si ego dicerem, quod Sallustius ait?
when me would-they-bear if I should-say what Sallust says
"Plurimae turbae, seditiones et ad postremum bella ciuilia
very-many disturbances seditions and at last wars civil
orta sunt, dum pauci potentes, quorum in gratiam plerique
arisen have while a-few powerful whose into favor most
concesserant, sub honesto patrum aut plebis nomine
had-yielded under the-honorable of-the-fathers or of-the-plebs name
dominationes adfectabant; bonique et mali ciues appellati,
dominations aimed-at and-good and bad citizens called
non ob merita in rem publicam, omnibus pariter
not for merits toward the-thing public all alike
corruptis, sed uti quisque locupletissimus et iniuria ualidior,
corrupted but as each most-wealthy and by-injury stronger
quia praesentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur". Porro
because the-present-things he-defended for good was-reckoned further
si illi scriptores historiae ad honestam libertatem pertinere
if those writers of-history to honorable freedom to-belong
arbitrati sunt mala ciuitatis propriae non tacere, quam
judged have the-evils of-the-city their-own not to-be-silent-about which
multis locis magno praeconio laudare conpulsi sunt, cum
in-many places with-great proclamation to-praise compelled they-were since
aliam ueriorem, quo ciues aeterni legendi sunt, non
another truer in-which citizens eternal to-be-chosen are not

haberent: quid nos facere conuenit, quorum spes quanto in
they-had what we to-do befits whose hope the-more in
Deo melior et certior, tanto maior debet esse libertas, cum
God better and surer the-more greater ought to-be the-freedom when
mala praesentia Christo nostro inputant, ut infirmiores
the-evils present to-Christ our they-impute that the-weaker
imperitioresque mentes alienentur ab ea ciuitate, in qua
and-more-unskilled minds may-be-alienated from that city in which
sola iugiter feliciterque uiuendum est? Nec in deos
alone continuously and-happily to-be-lived it-is nor against gods
eorum horribiliora nos dicimus, quam eorum identidem
their more-horrible-things we say than their repeatedly
auctores, quos legunt et praedicant, quando quidem et ex
authors whom they-read and proclaim since indeed also from
ipsis quae diceremus accepimus, et nullo modo dicere
themselves what we-might-say we-have-received and in-no way to-say
uel talia uel cuncta sufficimus.
either such-things or all-things are-we-sufficient

Ubi ergo erant illi di, qui propter exiguam fallacemque
where then were those gods who on-account-of the-slight and-deceitful
mundi huius felicitatem colendi existimantur, cum Romani,
of-world this happiness to-be-worshiped are-judged when the-Romans
quibus se colendos mendacissima astutia uenditabant,
to-whom themselves as-to-be-worshiped with-most-lying cunning they-sold
tantis calamitatibus uexarentur? Ubi erant, quando
with-so-great calamities were-harassed where were-they when
Valerius consul ab exulibus et seruis inscensum Capitolium
Valerius the-consul by exiles and slaves the-ascended Capitol
cum defensaret occisus est faciliusque ipse prodesse
while he-was-defending killed was and-more-easily he-himself to-profit
potuit aedi Iouis quam illi turba tot numinum
could the-shrine of-Jupiter than to-him the-crowd of-so-many divinities

cum suo maximo adque optimo rege, cuius templum
with their-own greatest and best king whose temple
liberauerat, subuenire? Ubi erant, quando densissimis fatigata
he-had-freed to-help where were-they when by-most-dense wearied
ciuitas seditionum malis, cum legatos Athenas missos
the-city of-seditions evils while envoys to-Athens sent
ad leges mutuandas paululum quieta opperiretur, graui
for laws to-be-borrowed a-little quiet it-awaited by-heavy
fame pestilentiaque uastata est? Ubi erant, quando rursus
famine and-pestilence laid-waste it-was where they-were when again
populus, cum fame laboraret, praefectum annonae
the-people when with-famine it-labored a-prefect of-the-grain-supply
primum creauit, adque illa fame inualescente Spurius Maelius,
first created and that famine growing-strong Spurius Maelius
quia esurienti multitudini frumenta largitus est, regni
because to-the-hungry multitude grain lavished has of-kingship
adfectati crimen incurrit et eiusdem praefecti instantia
aimed-at the-charge incurred and of-the-same prefect by-the-insistence
per dictatorem L. Quintium aetate decrepitum a Quinto
through the-dictator Lucius Quintius in-age decrepit by Quintus
Seruilio magistro equitum cum maximo et periculosissimo
Servilius master of-the-horse with greatest and most-dangerous
tumultu ciuitatis occisus est? Ubi erant, quando pestilentia
uproar of-the-city killed was where were-they when a-pestilence
maxima exorta dis inutilibus populus diu multumque
very-great arisen with-gods useless the-people long and-much
fatigatus noua lectisternia, quod numquam antea fecerat,
wearied new couches-for-the-gods which never before it-had-done
exhibenda arbitratus est? Lecti autem sternebantur in
to-be-exhibited judged has couches moreover were-spread in
honorem deorum, unde hoc sacrum uel potius sacrilegium
honor of-the-gods whence this rite or rather sacrilege

nomen accepit. Ubi erant, quando per decem continuos
the-name received where were-they when through ten continuous
annos male pugnando crebras et magnas clades aput Veios
years badly by-fighting frequent and great disasters at Veii
exercitus Romanus acceperat, nisi per Furium Camillum
the-army Roman had-received unless through Furius Camillus
tandem subueniretur, quem postea ciuitas ingrata damnauit?
at-last it-had-been-helped whom afterward the-city ungrateful condemned
Ubi erant, quando Galli Romam ceperunt spoliauerunt,
where were-they when the-Gauls Rome captured despoiled
incenderunt caedibus inpleuerunt? Ubi erant, cum illa
burned with-slaughters filled where were-they when that
insignis pestilentia tam ingentem stragem dedit, qua et ille
notable pestilence so huge a-slaughter gave in-which also that
Furius Camillus extinctus est, qui rem publicam ingratam
Furius Camillus extinguished was who the-thing public ungrateful
et a Veientibus ante defendit et de Gallis postea
both from the-Veientes before defended and on the-Gauls afterward
uindicauit? In hac pestilentia scaenicos ludos aliam nouam
avenged in this pestilence the-theatrical games another new
pestem non corporibus Romanorum, sed, quod est multo
plague not on-the-bodies of-the-Romans but what is much
perniciosius, moribus intulerunt. Ubi erant, quando alia
more-pernicious on-the-morals they-brought-in where were-they when another
pestilentia grauis de uenenis matronarum exorta credita
pestilence heavy from the-poisons of-matrons arisen believed
est, quarum supra fidem multarum adque nobilium mores
was whose beyond belief of-many and noble the-morals
deprehensi sunt omni pestilentia grauiores? uel quando in
detected were than-every pestilence heavier or when into
Caudinas furculas a Samnitibus obsessi ambo cum exercitu
the-Caudine Forks by the-Samnites besieged both with the-army

consules foedus cum eis foedum facere coacti sunt, ita ut
consuls a-treaty with them foul to-make compelled were so that
equitibus Romanis sescentis obsidibus datis ceteri amissis
knights Roman six-hundred as-hostages given the-rest with-lost
armis aliisque spoliati priuatique tegminibus sub iugum
arms and-other stripped and-deprived of-coverings under the-yoke
hostium in uestimentis singulis mitterentur? uel quando
of-the-enemies in garments single were-sent or when
graui pestilentia ceteris laborantibus multi etiam in exercitu
by-heavy pestilence with-the-rest laboring many even in the-army
icti fulmine perierunt? uel quando item alia intolerabili
struck by-lightning perished or when likewise by-another intolerable
pestilentia Aesculapium ab Epidauro quasi medicum deum
pestilence Aesculapius from Epidaurus as-if a-physician god
Roma aduocare adque adhibere conpulsa est, quoniam regem
Rome to-summon and to-apply compelled was since the-king
omnium Iouem, qui iam diu in Capitolio sedebat, multa
of-all Jupiter who now long on the-Capitol sat many
stupra, quibus adulescens uacauerat, non permiserant
outrages to-which as-a-youth he-had-devoted-himself not had-permitted
fortasse discere medicinam? uel cum conspirantibus uno
perhaps to-learn medicine or when conspiring at-one
tempore hostibus Lucanis, Bruttiis, Samnitibus, Etruscis
time the-enemies the-Lucanians Bruttians Samnites Etruscans
et Senonibus Gallis primo ab eis legati peremti sunt,
and Senonian Gauls first by them the-envoys killed were
deinde cum praetore obpressus exercitus septem tribunis
then with the-praetor overwhelmed the-army seven tribunes
cum illo pereuntibus et militum tredecim milibus? uel
with him perishing and of-soldiers thirteen thousand or
quando post longas et graues Romae seditiones, quibus ad
when after long and grievous at-Rome seditions in-which at

ultimum plebs in Ianiculum hostili diremtione secesserat,
last the-plebs onto the-Janiculum in-hostile separation had-seceded
huius mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut eius rei causa,
of-this evil so dire the-calamity was that of-that thing for-the-sake
quod in extremis periculis fieri solebat, dictator crearetur
which in extreme perils to-be-done was-wont a-dictator was-created
Hortensius, qui plebe reuocata in eodem magistratu
Hortensius who with-the-plebs recalled in the-same magistracy
exspirauit, quod nulli dictatori ante contigerat, et quod
expired which to-no dictator before had-befallen and which
illis dis iam praesente Aesculapio grauius crimen fuit?
to-those gods already with-present Aesculapius a-graver charge was
Tum uero tam multa bella ubique crebruerunt, ut inopia
then indeed so many wars everywhere grew-frequent that from-want
militum proletarii illi, qui eo, quod proli gignendae
of-soldiers the-proletarians those who for-this that for-offspring to-be-begotten
uacabant, ob egestatem militare non ualentes hoc
they-were-free on-account-of poverty to-serve not being-able this
nomen acceperant, militiae conscriberentur. Accitus
name had-received to-military-service were-enrolled summoned
etiam a Tarentinis Pyrrhus, rex Graeciae, tunc ingenti gloria
also by the-Tarentines Pyrrhus king of-Greece then with-huge glory
celebratus, Romanorum hostis effectus est. Cui sane
celebrated of-the-Romans the-enemy made was to-whom indeed
de rerum futuro euentu consulenti satis urbane Apollo
about of-things the-future outcome consulting enough cleverly Apollo
sic ambiguum oraculum edidit, ut, e duobus quidquid
so an-ambiguous oracle issued that of two whatever
accidisset, ipse diuinus haberetur (ait enim: “Dico te,
had-happened he-himself divine should-be-held he-says for I-say you
Pyrrhe, uincere posse Romanos”) adque ita, siue Pyrrhus
Pyrrhus to-conquer to-be-able the-Romans and so whether Pyrrhus

a Romanis siue Romani a Pyrrho uincerentur, securus
by the-Romans or the-Romans by Pyrrhus were-conquered secure
fatidicus utrumlibet expectaret euentum. Quae tunc et quam
the-prophet either-one could-await outcome what then and how
horrenda utriusque exercitus clades! In qua tamen superior
horrible of-each army the-disaster in which yet superior
Pyrrhus extitit, ut iam posset Apollinem pro suo
Pyrrhus stood-forth so-that already he-could Apollo for his-own
intellectu praedicare diuinum, nisi proxime alio proelio
understanding to-proclaim divine had-not next in-another battle
Romani abscederent superiores. Adque in tanta strage
the-Romans withdrawn superior and in so-great a-slaughter
bellorum etiam pestilentia grauis exorta est mulierum. Nam
of-wars also a-pestilence heavy arisen was of-women for
priusquam maturos partus ederent, grauidae moriebantur.
before ripe births they-produced the-pregnant died
Ubi se, credo, Aesculapius excusabat, quod archiatrum,
where himself I-suppose Aesculapius excused because chief-physician
non obstetricem profitebatur. Pecudes quoque similiter
not midwife he-professed-himself cattle also likewise
interibant, ita ut etiam defecturum genus animalium
perished so that even about-to-fail the-race of-animals
crederetur. Quid? hiems illa memorabilis tam incredibili
was-believed what the-winter that memorable with-so incredible
inmanitate saeuiens, ut niuibus horrenda altitudine etiam
savagery raging that with-snows of-horrible depth even
in foro per dies quadraginta manentibus Tiberis quoque
in the-forum for days forty remaining the-Tiber also
glacie duraretur, si nostris temporibus accidisset, quae isti
with-ice was-hardened if in-our times it-had-happened what these
et quanta dixissent! Quid? illa itidem ingens pestilentia,
and how-great they-would-have-said what that likewise huge pestilence

quamdiu saeuiit, quam multos peremit! Quae cum in
how-long it-raged how many it-killed which when into
annum alium multo grauius tenderetur frustra praesente
a-year another much more-heavily was-extended in-vain with-present
Aesculapio, aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos. In quo
Aesculapius recourse was-had to the-books Sibylline in which
genere oraculorum, sicut Cicero in libris de diuinatione
kind of-oracles as Cicero in the-books about divination
commemorat, magis interpretibus ut possunt seu uolunt
recalls rather to-interpreters as they-can or wish
dubia coniectantibus credi solet. Tunc ergo dictum
doubtful-things conjecturing to-be-believed it-is-wont then therefore said
est eam esse causam pestilentiae, quod plurimas aedes
it-was that to-be the-cause of-the-pestilence that very-many shrines
sacras multi occupatas priuatim tenerent: sic interim a
sacred many occupied privately held so meanwhile from
magno inperitiae uel desidiae crimine Aesculapius liberatus
great of-ignorance or of-sloth charge Aesculapius freed
est. Unde autem a multis aedes illae fuerant occupatae
was whence but by many shrines those had-been occupied
nemine prohibente, nisi quia tantae numinum turbae
with-no-one forbidding unless because so-great of-divinities to-the-crowd
diu frustra fuerat supplicatum, adque ita paulatim loca
long in-vain it-had-been supplicated and so little-by-little the-places
deserebantur a cultoribus, ut tamquam uacua sine ullius
were-deserted by worshipers that as-if empty without anyone's
offensione possent humanis saltem usibus uindicari? Namque
offense they-might for-human at-least uses to-be-claimed for
tunc uelut ad sedandam pestilentiam diligenter repetita
then as-if for allaying the-pestilence carefully sought-back
adque reparata nisi postea eodem modo neglecta adque
and repaired unless afterward in-the-same manner neglected and

usurpata latitarent, non utique magnae peritiae Varronis
usurped they-lay-hidden not assuredly to-great skill of-Varro
tribueretur, quod scribens de aedibus sacris tam
it-would-be-attributed that writing about shrines sacred so
multa ignorata commemorat. Sed tunc interim elegans non
many-things unknown he-recalls but then meanwhile an-elegant not
pestilentiae depulsio, sed deorum excusatio procurata est.
of-the-pestilence driving-off but of-the-gods excuse procured was

XVIII · THE PUNIC WARS AND THEIR CALAMITIES

In the Punic wars kingdoms were crushed, cities destroyed, and fleets sunk by battle and storm. Rome in fear renewed the secular games and the games of the underworld, as if the dead, enriched by so many dying, wished to play. Regulus was captured, enslaved, and cruelly killed. At home the Tiber flooded the City, and fire took Vesta's temple, whose fatal rites the half-burned pontiff Metellus saved, so a man helped the gods rather than they him. Since rites that could perish could not keep the city safe, the pagans should blush and change their opinion.

Iam uero Punicis bellis, cum inter utrumque imperium
now indeed in-the-Punic wars when between each empire
uictoria diu anceps adque incerta penderet populique
the-victory long doubtful and uncertain hung and-peoples
duo praeualidi impetus in alterutrum fortissimos et
two very-powerful assaults against one-another most-brave and
opulentissimos agerent, quot minutiora regna contrita
most-opulent drove how-many smaller kingdoms crushed
sunt! quae urbes amplae nobilesque deletae, quot adflictae,
were what cities ample and-noble destroyed how-many afflicted
quot perditae ciuitates! Quam longe lateque tot
how-many ruined cities how far and-wide so-many

regiones terraeque uastatae sunt! Quotiens uicti hinc
regions and-lands laid-waste were how-often the-conquered on-this-side
adque inde uictores! Quid hominum consumtum est uel
and on-that conquerors what of-men consumed was either
pugnantium militum uel ab armis uacantium populorum!
of-fighting soldiers or from arms free of-peoples
Quanta uis nauium marinis etiam proeliis obpressa et
how-great a-mass of-ships in-marine even battles overwhelmed and
diuersarum tempestatum uarietate submersa est! Si enarrare
of-different storms by-the-variety sunk was if to-narrate
uel commemorare conemur, nihil aliud quam scriptores etiam
or to-recount we-try nothing other than writers also
nos erimus historiae. Tunc magno metu perturbata Romana
we shall-be of-history then by-great fear disturbed the-Roman
ciuitas ad remedia uana et ridenda currebat. Instaurati
city to remedies vain and laughable ran renewed
sunt ex auctoritate librorum Sibyllinorum ludi saeculares,
were by the-authority of-the-books Sibylline the-games secular
quorum celebritas inter centum annos fuerat instituta
whose celebration at-intervals-of a-hundred years had-been established
felicioribusque temporibus memoria neglegente perierat.
and-in-happier times with-memory neglecting had-perished
Renouarunt etiam pontifices ludos sacros inferis et
renewed also the-pontiffs games sacred to-the-underworld and
ipsos abolitos annis retrorsum melioribus. Nimirum ergo,
these abolished in-years backward better doubtless therefore
quando renouati sunt, tanta copia morientium ditatos
when renewed they-were with-so-great a-supply of-the-dying enriched
inferos etiam ludere delectabat, cum profecto miseri
the-underworld-gods even to-play it-delighted when assuredly wretched
homines ipsa rabida bella et cruentas animositates funereasque
men these rabid wars and bloody animosities and-funereal

hinc adque inde uictorias magnos agerent ludos daemonum
hence and thence victories great performed games of-demons
et opimas epulas inferorum. Nihil sane miserabilius primo
and rich feasts of-the-underworld nothing indeed more-wretched in-the-first
Punico bello accidit, quam quod ita Romani uicti sunt, ut
Punic war befell than that so the-Romans conquered were that
etiam Regulus ille caperetur, cuius in primo et in altero
even Regulus that was-captured of-whom in the-first and in the-second
libro fecimus mentionem, uir plane magnus et uictor
book we-made mention a-man clearly great and victor
antea domitorque Poenorum, qui etiam ipsum primum
before and-tamer of-the-Carthaginians who even the-very first
bellum Punicum confecisset, nisi auiditate nimia laudis et
war Punic would-have-finished unless from-greed excessive of-praise and
gloriae duriores condiciones, quam ferre possent, fessis
glory harsher conditions than to-bear they-could on-the-weary
Carthaginiensibus imperasset. Illius uiri et captiuitas
Carthaginians he-had-imposed of-that man both the-captivity
inopinatissima et seruitus indignissima, et iuratio fidelissima
most-unexpected and the-slavery most-unworthy and the-oath most-faithful
et mors crudelissima si deos illos non cogit erubescere,
and the-death most-cruel if the-gods those not it-compels to-blush
uerum est quod aerei sunt et non habent sanguinem.
true it-is that of-bronze they-are and not they-have blood

Nec mala illo tempore grauissima intra moenia defuerunt.
nor evils in-that time most-grievous within the-walls were-lacking
Nam exundante nimis ultra morem fluuio Tiberino paene
for overflowing excessively beyond custom the-river Tiber almost
omnia urbis plana subuersa sunt, aliis impetu quasi
all of-the-city level-parts overturned were some by-the-rush as-if
torrentis inpulsis, aliis uelut stagno diuturno madefactis adque
of-a-torrent struck others as-if by-a-pool long-lasting soaked and

sublapsis. Istam deinde pestem ignis perniciosior subsecutus
undermined that then plague fire more-pernicious followed
est, qui correptis circa forum quibusque celsioribus etiam
has which seizing around the-forum each loftier-thing even
templo Vestae suo familiarissimo non pepercit, ubi ei
the-temple of-Vesta its most-familiar not spared where to-it
ueluti uitam perpetuam diligentissima substitutione lignorum
as-if life perpetual by-most-careful replacement of-logs
non tam honoratae quam damnatae uirgines donare
not so-much honored as condemned virgins to-give
consuerant. Tunc uero illic ignis non tantum uiuebat,
had-been-accustomed then indeed there the-fire not only lived
sed etiam saeuiebat. Cuius impetu exterritae uirgines sacra
but even raged whose by-assault terrified the-virgins rites
illa fatalia, quae iam tres, in quibus fuerant, presserant
those fatal which already three in which they-had-been had-crushed
ciuitates, cum ab illo incendio liberare non possent, Metellus
cities when from that fire to-free not they-could Metellus
pontifex suae quodam modo salutis oblitus inruens ea
the-pontiff his-own in-a-certain manner safety forgetting rushing-in them
semiustus abripuit. Neque enim uel ipsum ignis agnouit, aut
half-burned snatched-away nor for even him the-fire recognized or
uero erat ibi numen, quod non etiam, si fuisset, fugisset.
indeed was there a-divinity which not even if it-had-been would-have-fled
Homo igitur potius sacris Vestae quam illa homini prodesse
the-man therefore rather to-the-rites of-Vesta than they to-the-man to-be-of-use
potuerunt. Si autem a se ipsis ignem non repellebant,
could if but from them themselves the-fire not they-repelled
ciuitatem, cuius salutem tueri putabantur, quid contra illas
the-city whose safety to-protect they-were-thought what against those
aquas flammasque poterant adiuuare? sicut etiam res
waters and-flames could-they to-help as even the-matter

ipsa nihil ea prorsus potuisse patefecit. Haec istis
itself nothing them at-all to-have-been-able revealed these-things to-these
nequaquam obicerentur a nobis, si illa sacra dicerent non
not-at-all would-be-objected by us if those rites they-said not
tuendis his bonis temporalibus instituta, sed significandis
for-protecting these goods temporal instituted but for-signifying
aeternis, et ideo, cum ea, quod corporalia uisibiliaque
eternal-things and therefore when them because bodily and-visible
essent, perire contingeret, nihil his rebus minui,
they-were to-perish it-happened nothing to-these things to-be-diminished
propter quas fuerant instituta, et posse ad eosdem usus
on-account-of which they-had-been instituted and to-be-able for the-same uses
denuo reparari. Nunc uero caecitate mirabili eis sacris,
anew to-be-restored now but with-blindness wonderful by-those rites
quae perire possent, fieri potuisse existimant,
which to-perish could to-be-brought-about to-have-been-able they-judge
ut salus terrena et temporalis felicitas ciuitatis perire
that the-safety earthly and temporal happiness of-the-city to-perish
non posset. Proinde cum illis etiam manentibus sacris
not could accordingly when with-those even remaining rites
uel salutis contritio uel infelicitas inruisse monstratur,
either of-safety the-crushing or unhappiness to-have-burst-in is-shown
mutare sententiam, quam defendere nequeunt, erubescunt.
to-change (their)-opinion which to-defend they-cannot they-blush

In the second Punic war, by the admission even of Rome's praisers, the victor was more like the conquered. Hannibal came from Spain over the Pyrenees and the Alps, laying waste and winning battles, while towns defected. After Cannae he is said to have ordered the Romans spared, sending three pecks of gold rings to Carthage. Rome freed slaves and armed them from the temples, and the senators gave their gold for public use, keeping only single rings and amulets. Who could bear the pagans if so reduced, when more is now given to actors than was then given to the legions?

Secundo autem Punico bello nimis longum est commemorare
in-the-second moreover Punic war too long it-is to-recall
clades duorum populorum tam longe secum lateque
the-disasters of-two peoples so far with-each-other and-wide
pugnantium. ita ut his quoque fatentibus, qui non tam
fighting so that by-these also confessing who not so-much
narrare bella Romana quam Romanorum imperium laudare
to-narrate wars Roman as of-the-Romans the-empire to-praise
instituerunt, similior uicto fuerit ille qui uicit.
undertook more-like to-the-conquered was he who conquered
Hannibale quippe ab Hispania surgente et Pyrenaeis
with-Hannibal for from Spain rising and the-Pyrenean
montibus superatis, Gallia transcursa Alpibusque disruptis,
mountains crossed Gaul traversed and-the-Alps broken-through
tam longo circuitu auctis uiribus cuncta uastando aut
so long by-a-circuit with-increased strength all-things by-laying-waste or
subigendo torrentis modo Italiae faucibus inruente quam
subduing of-a-torrent in-the-manner of-Italy into-the-jaws rushing how
cruenta proelia gesta sunt, quotiens Romani superati! quam
bloody battles fought were how-often the-Romans overcome how
multa ad hostem oppida defecerunt, quam multa capta et
many to the-enemy towns defected how many captured and

obpressa! quam dirae pugnae et totiens Hannibali Romana
overpowered how dire fights and so-often for-Hannibal by-Roman
clade gloriosae! De Cannensi autem mirabiliter horrendo
disaster glorious about the-Cannae moreover wondrously horrible
malo quid dicam, ubi Hannibal, cum esset crudelissimus,
evil what should-I-say where Hannibal though he-was most-cruel
tamen tanta inimicorum atrocissimorum clade satiatus
yet with-so-great of-enemies most-atrocious slaughter sated
parci iussisse perhibetur? Unde tres modios anulorum
to-be-spared to-have-ordered is-said whence three pecks of-rings
aureorum Carthaginem misit, quo intellegerent tantam
golden to-Carthage he-sent so-that they-might-understand so-great
in illo proelio dignitatem cecidisse Romanam, ut facilius
in that battle dignity to-have-fallen Roman that more-easily
eam caperet mensura quam numerus, adque hinc strages
it might-take measure than number and hence the-slaughter
turbae ceterae tanto utique numerosioris, quanto infimioris,
of-the-crowd other so-much assuredly more-numerous as lower
quae sine anulis iacebat, conicienda potius quam nuntianda
which without rings lay to-be-conjectured rather than to-be-reported
putaretur. Denique tanta militum inopia secuta est, ut
was-thought finally so-great of-soldiers want followed has that
Romani reos facinorum proposita inpunitate colligerent,
the-Romans defendants of-crimes with-offered impunity collected
seruitia libertate donarent adque illis pudendus non tam
slaves with-freedom presented and by-them a-shameful not so-much
subpleretur quam institueretur exercitus. Seruis itaque,
was-filled-up as was-established army for-the-slaves and-so
immo, ne faciamus iniuriam, iam libertis, pro Romana re
rather lest we-do injury now freedmen for the-Roman thing
publica pugnaturis arma defuerunt. Detracta sunt templis,
public about-to-fight arms were-lacking taken were from-the-temples

tamquam Romani dis suis dicerent: Ponite quae tam diu
as-if the-Romans to-gods their-own should-say put-down what so long
inaniter habuistis, ne forte aliquid utile inde facere possint
uselessly you-have-had lest perhaps something useful thence to-make can
nostra mancipia, unde nostra numina facere non potuistis.
our slaves whence our divinities to-make not you-could
Tunc etiam stipendiis sufficiendis cum defecisset aerarium, in
then also for-pay to-be-supplied when had-failed the-treasury to
usus publicos opes uenere priuatae, adeo unoquoque id quod
uses public wealth came private so-much with-each that which
habuit conferente, ut praeter singulos anulos singulasque
he-had contributing that except single rings and-single
bullas, miserabilia dignitatis insignia, nihil sibi auri
amulets the-wretched of-dignity insignia nothing for-themselves of-gold
senatus ipse, quanto magis ceteri ordines tribusque
the-senate itself how-much more the-other orders and-tribes
relinquerent. Quis ferret istos, si nostris temporibus ad
would-leave who would-bear these if in-our times to
hanc inopiam cogerentur, cum eos modo uix feramus,
this want they-were-driven when them now scarcely we-bear
quando pro superflua uoluptate plura donantur histrionibus,
when for superfluous pleasure more-things are-given to-actors
quam tunc legionibus pro extrema salute conlata sunt?
than then to-the-legions for extreme safety contributed were

Nothing was more wretched than the destruction of Saguntum, Rome's most friendly city in Spain, besieged by Hannibal after he broke the treaty. While Roman envoys went to him and then to Carthage, the starving city, said to have fed on its corpses, built a public pyre and threw itself and its people into the flames rather than be captured. The gods who presided over its treaty did nothing; Saguntum, like Regulus, perished for keeping faith, so either the gods are angered by faith kept or their worship brings no happiness. Christians would have suffered in the hope of eternity.

Sed in his omnibus belli Punici secundi malis nihil
but in these all of-the-war Punic second evils nothing
miserabilius ac miserabili querella dignius quam exitium
more-wretched and of-wretched complaint more-worthy than the-destruction
Saguntinorum fuit. Haec quippe Hispaniae ciuitas amicissima
of-the-Saguntines was this for of-Spain city most-friendly
populi Romani, dum eidem populo fidem seruat, euersa
of-the-people Roman while to-the-same people faith it-keeps overturned
est. Hinc enim Hannibal fracto foedere Romanorum causas
was hence for Hannibal with-broken the-treaty of-the-Romans causes
quaesiuit, quibus eos inritaret ad bellum. Saguntum
sought by-which them he-might-provoke to war Saguntum
ferociter ergo obsidebat. Quod ubi Romae auditum est,
ferociously therefore he-besieged which when at-Rome heard it-was
missi legati ad Hannibalem, ut ab eius obsidione discederet.
sent envoys to Hannibal that from its siege he-should-depart
Contemti Carthaginem pergunt querimoniamque deponunt
despised to-Carthage they-proceed and-the-complaint lodge
foederis rupti infectoque negotio Romam redeunt. Dum
of-the-treaty broken and-with-unfinished business to-Rome return while
hae morae aguntur, misera illa ciuitas opulentissima, suae
these delays are-spent wretched that city most-opulent to-its-own

rei publicae Romanaeque carissima, octauo uel nono
thing public and-to-the-Roman most-dear in-the-eighth or ninth
a Poenis mense deleta est. Cuius interitum legere,
by the-Carthaginians month destroyed was whose destruction to-read
quanto magis scribere, horroris est. Breuiter tamen eum
how-much more to-write of-horror is briefly yet it
commemorabo; ad rem quippe quae agitur multum
I-shall-recall to the-matter for which is-treated much
pertinet. Primo fame contabuit; nam etiam suorum
it-pertains first by-famine it-wasted-away for even of-its-own
cadaueribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur. Deinde omnium
on-the-corpses by some fed it-is-said then of-all
fessa rerum, ne saltem captiua in manus Hannibalis
wearied things lest at-least captive into the-hands of-Hannibal
peruenire t, ingentem rogum publice struxit, in quem
it-should-come a-huge pyre publicly it-built into which
ardentem ferro etiam trucidatos omnes se suosque
burning by-sword even slaughtered all themselves and-their-own
miserunt. Hic aliquid agerent di helluones adque
they-threw here something should-have-done the-gods the-gluttons and
nebulones, sacrificiorum adipibus inhiantes et fallacium
wastrels of-sacrifices at-the-fat gaping and of-deceitful
diuinationum caligine decipientes; hic aliquid agerent,
divinations with-the-fog deceiving here something they-should-have-done
ciuitati populi Romani amicissimae subuenirent, fidei
to-the-city of-the-people Roman most-friendly they-should-have-helped of-faith
conseruatione pereuntem perire non sinerent. Ipsi
by-the-keeping perishing to-perish not they-should-have-allowed themselves
utique medii praefuerunt, cum Romanae rei publicae
assuredly as-mediators presided when to-the-Roman thing public
interiecto foedere copulata est. Custodiens itaque, quod
by-interposed treaty joined it-was guarding and-so what

ipsis praesidibus placito iunxerat, fide uinxerat,
with-themselves as-protectors by-agreement it-had-joined by-faith had-bound
iuratione constrinxerat, a perfido obsessa obpressa
by-oath had-constrained by a-faithless-man besieged overwhelmed
consumta est. Si ipsi di tempestate adque fulminibus
consumed it-was if themselves the-gods by-storm and lightnings
Hannibalem postea Romanis proximum moenibus terruerunt
Hannibal afterward to-the-Roman nearest walls terrified
longeque miserunt: tunc primum tale aliquid facerent.
and-far sent then first such something they-should-have-done
Audeo quippe dicere honestius illos pro amicis Romanorum
I-dare for to-say more-honorably them for the-friends of-the-Romans
ideo periclitantibus, ne Romanis frangerent fidem, et
for-this-reason endangered lest to-the-Romans they-should-break faith and
nullam opem tunc habentibus quam pro ipsis Romanis, qui
no help then having than for the-very Romans who
pro se pugnabant adque aduersus Hannibalem opulenti
for themselves fought and against Hannibal wealthy
erant, potuisse tempestate saeuire. Si ergo tutores essent
were to-have-been-able by-storm to-rage if then guardians they-were
Romanae felicitatis et gloriae, tam graue ab ea crimen
of-Roman happiness and glory so heavy from it the-charge
Saguntinae calamitatis auerterent; nunc uero quam stulte
of-the-Saguntine calamity they-would-avert now indeed how foolishly
creditur, dis illis defensoribus Romam uictore
it-is-believed with-the-gods those as-defenders Rome with-victorious
Hannibale non perisse, qui Saguntinae urbi non potuerunt,
Hannibal not to-have-perished who to-the-Saguntine city not could
ne pro eius periret amicitia, subuenire! Si Saguntinorum
lest for its it-perish friendship help if of-the-Saguntines
Christianus populus esset et huius modi aliquid pro fide
a-Christian people it-were and of-this kind something for faith

euangelica pateretur, quamquam se ipse nec ferro nec
evangelical it-suffered although itself it-itself neither by-sword nor
ignibus corrupisset, sed tamen si pro fide euangelica
by-fires it-would-have-destroyed but yet if for faith evangelical
excidium pateretur: ea spe pateretur, qua in Christum
destruction it-suffered with-that hope it-would-suffer with-which in Christ
crediderat, non mercede breuissimi temporis, sed aeternitatis
it-had-believed not for-the-wage of-a-very-brief time but of-eternity
interminae. Pro istis autem dis, qui propterea coli
unending for these but gods who for-this-reason to-be-worshiped
perhibentur, propterea colendi requiruntur, ut harum
are-said for-this-reason to-be-worshiped are-sought that of-these
labentium adque transeuntium rerum felicitas tuta sit,
slipping and passing things the-happiness safe may-be
quid nobis defensores et excusatores eorum de Saguntinis
what to-us the-defenders and excusers their about the-Saguntines
pereuntibus respondebunt, nisi quod de illo Regulo extincto?
perishing will-answer unless what about that Regulus extinguished
Hoc quippe interest, quod ille unus homo, haec tota
this for is-the-difference that he one man this whole
ciuitas; utriusque tamen interitus causa conseruatio fidei
city of-both yet the-destruction the-cause the-keeping of-faith
fuit. Propter hanc enim ad hostes et redire ille uoluit,
was on-account-of this for to the-enemies both to-return he wished
et noluit ista transire. Conseruata ergo prouocat deorum
and refused that-city to-cross-over kept then provokes the-gods'
iram fides? an possunt et dis propitiis perire non solum
wrath faith or can also with-gods propitious perish not only
quique homines, uerum etiam integrae ciuitates? Utrum
individual men but also whole cities which
uolunt, eligant. Si enim fidei seruatae irascuntur illi di,
they-wish let-them-choose if for at-faith kept are-angry those gods

quaerant perfidos, a quibus colantur; si autem etiam
let-them-seek the-faithless by whom they-may-be-worshiped if but even
illis propitiis multis grauibusque cruciatibus adflicti interire
with-them propitious by-many and-heavy tortures afflicted to-perish
homines ciuitatesque possunt, nullo fructu felicitatis huius
men and-cities can with-no fruit of-happiness this
coluntur. Desinant igitur suscensere, qui sacris deorum
they-are-worshiped let-them-cease therefore to-be-angry who with-the-rites of-gods
suorum perditis se infelices esse factos putant. Possent
their-own lost themselves unhappy to-be made think they-could
enim illis non solum manentibus, uerum etiam fauentibus
for with-them not only remaining but even favoring
non sicut modo de miseria murmurare, sed sicut tunc Regulus
not as now about misery murmur but as then Regulus
et Saguntini excruciati horribiliter etiam penitus interire.
and the-Saguntines tortured horribly even utterly perish

Even in that time of best morals, Scipio, Rome's liberator from Hannibal, yielded to his accusers and died at Liternum, ordering that he not be buried in his ungrateful fatherland; the gods whose temples he saved did not repay him. Then Asiatic luxury came to Rome with Manlius' triumph, and the Voconian law forbade making a woman, even an only daughter, heir, so Sallust praised that age only by comparison. Yet the interval was more tolerable, until Carthage was destroyed and prosperity corrupted morals; later came disasters such as the Numantine treaty, blamed on a bad augury of chickens.

Porro inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginiense,
further between the-second and the-last war Carthaginian
quando Sallustius optimis moribus et maxima concordia
when Sallust with-best morals and greatest concord
dixit egisse Romanos (multa enim praetereo suscepti
said to-have-lived the-Romans many-things for I-pass-over of-the-undertaken
operis modum cogitans), eodem ipso ergo tempore morum
work the-measure considering in-that same therefore time of-morals
optimorum maximaeque concordiae Scipio ille Romae
best and-of-greatest concord Scipio that of-Rome
Italiaeque liberator eiusdemque belli Punici secundi tam
and-of-Italy the-liberator and-of-the-same war Punic second so
horrendi, tam exitiosi, tam periculosi praeclarus mirabilisque
horrible so destructive so dangerous the-illustrious and-wonderful
confector, uictor Hannibalis domitorque Carthaginis, cuius
finisher conqueror of-Hannibal and-tamer of-Carthage whose
ab adulescentia uita describitur dis dedita templisque
from youth the-life is-described to-the-gods devoted and-in-temples
nutrita, inimicorum accusationibus cessit carensque patria,
nourished to-the-enemies' accusations yielded and-lacking the-fatherland
quam sua uirtute saluam et liberam reddidit, in oppido
which by-his-own valor safe and free he-rendered in the-town

Linternensi egit reliquam conpleuitque uitam, post insignem
Liternum spent the-remaining and-completed (his)-life after notable
suum triumphum nullo illius urbis captus desiderio, ita
his triumph by-no of-that city seized longing so
ut iussisse perhibeatur, ne saltem mortuo in ingrata
that to-have-ordered he-is-said lest at-least for-him-dead in the-ungrateful
patria funus fieret. Deinde tunc primum per
fatherland a-funeral should-be-made next then first through
Gn. Manlium proconsulem de Gallograecis triumphantem
Gnaeus Manlius proconsul over the-Gallogreeks triumphing
Asiatica luxuria Romam omni hoste peior inrepsit.
Asiatic luxury into-Rome than-every enemy worse crept
Tunc enim primum lecti aerati et pretiosa stragula
then for first couches bronze-plated and precious coverlets
uisa perhibentur; tunc inductae in conuiuia psaltriae et
seen are-said then brought-in to banquets harp-girls and
alia licentiosa nequitia. Sed nunc de his malis, quae
other licentious wickedness but now about these evils which
intolerabiliter homines patiuntur, non de his, quae libenter
intolerably men suffer not about these which willingly
faciunt, dicere institui. Unde illud magis, quod de Scipione
they-do to-speak I-undertook whence that rather which about Scipio
commemoraui, quod cedens inimicis extra patriam, quam
I-recalled that yielding to-(his)-enemies outside the-fatherland which
liberauit, mortuus est, ad praesentem pertinet disputationem,
he-freed died has to the-present pertains disputation
quod ei Romana numina, a quorum templis auertit
that to-him the-Roman divinities from whose temples he-turned-away
Hannibalem, non reddiderunt uicem, quae propter istam
Hannibal not rendered return which on-account-of this
tantummodo coluntur felicitatem. Sed quia Sallustius eo
only are-worshiped happiness but because Sallust in-that

tempore ibi dixit mores optimos fuisse, propterea hoc de
time there said morals best to-have-been for-this-reason this about
Asiana luxuria commemorandum putaui, ut intellegatur
Asiatic luxury to-be-recalled I-thought that it-may-be-understood
etiam illud a Sallustio in conparationem aliorum temporum
also that by Sallust in comparison of-other times
dictum, quibus temporibus peiores utique in grauissimis
said in-which times worse assuredly in most-grievous
discordiis mores fuerunt. Nam tunc, id est inter secundum
discords the-morals were for then that is between the-second
et postremum bellum Carthaginiense, lata est etiam lex illa
and the-last war Carthaginian carried was also law that
Voconia, ne quis heredem feminam faceret, nec unicam
Voconian lest anyone as-heir a-woman should-make not-even an-only
filiam. Qua lege quid iniquius dici aut cogitari possit,
daughter than-which law what more-unjust to-be-said or to-be-thought could
ignoro. Verum tamen toto illo interuallo duorum bellorum
I-know-not but yet in-the-whole that interval of-the-two wars
Punicorum tolerabilior infelicitas fuit. Bellis tantummodo
Punic more-tolerable the-unhappiness was by-wars only
foris conterebatur exercitus, sed uictoriis consolabatur;
abroad was-crushed the-army but by-victories it-was-consoled
domi autem nullae, sicut alias, discordiae saeuiebant.
at-home but no as at-other-times discords raged
Sed ultimo bello Punico uno impetu alterius Scipionis,
but in-the-last war Punic at-one assault of-the-other Scipio
qui ob hoc etiam ipse Africani cognomen inuenit,
who on-account-of this also himself of-Africanus the-surname found
aemula imperii Romani ab stirpe deleta est, ac deinde
the-rival of-the-empire Roman from the-root destroyed was and then
tantis malorum aggeribus obpressa Romana res publica,
by-so-great of-evils heaps overwhelmed the-Roman thing public

ut prosperitate ac securitate rerum, unde nimium corruptis
that by-the-prosperity and security of-affairs whence excessively corrupted
moribus mala illa congesta sunt, plus nocuisse monstretur
morals evils those heaped-up were more to-have-harmed it-is-shown
tam cito euersa, quam prius nocuerat tam diu aduersa
so quickly overturned than before had-harmed so long adverse
Carthago. Hoc toto tempore usque ad Caesarem Augustum,
Carthage in-this whole time up to Caesar Augustus
qui uidetur non adhuc uel ipsorum opinione gloriosam,
who seems not yet even in-their-own opinion a-glorious
sed contentiosam et exitiosam et plane iam eneruem ac
but a-contentious and destructive and plainly now nerveless and
languidam libertatem omni modo extorsisse Romanis
languid freedom in-every manner to-have-wrested from-the-Romans
et ad regale arbitrium cuncta reuocasse et quasi morbida
and to the-royal will all-things to-have-recalled and as-if by-sickly
uetustate conlapsam ueluti instaurasse ac renouasse
old-age collapsed as-it-were to-have-restored and to-have-renewed
rem publicam; toto ergo isto tempore omitto ex
the-thing public in-the-whole therefore that time I-pass-over from
aliis adque aliis causis etiam adque etiam bellicas clades
other and other causes again and again warlike disasters
et Numantinum foedus horrenda ignominia maculosum;
and the-Numantine treaty with-horrible ignominy stained
uolauerant enim pulli de cauea et Mancino consuli, ut
had-flown for the-chickens from the-cage and for-Mancinus the-consul as
aiunt, augurium malum fecerant; quasi per tot annos,
they-say an-omen bad had-made as-if through so-many years
quibus illa exigua ciuitas Romanum circumsessa exercitum
in-which that small city the-Roman besieged army

adflixerat ipsique Romanae rei publicae terrori esse iam
had-afflicted and-to-the-very Roman thing public a-terror to-be already
coeperat, alii contra eam alio augurio processerunt.
had-begun others against it with-another omen proceeded

XXII · MITHRIDATES' MASSACRE

Augustine cannot pass over Mithridates' order that all Roman citizens found in Asia be killed in one day, and it was done: men slain in fields, roads, houses, temples, and banquets, and hosts compelled to kill their guests. Had these victims also despised the auguries, or did they have no gods to consult before setting out? If they consulted them, what good did it do?

Sed haec, inquam, omitto, quamuis illud nequaquam
but these-things I-say I-pass-over although that by-no-means
tacuerim, quod Mithridates rex Asiae ubique in
I-would-keep-silent that Mithridates the-king of-Asia everywhere in
Asia peregrinantes ciues Romanos adque innumerabili copia
Asia sojourning citizens Roman and in-innumerable number
suis negotiis intentos uno die occidi iussit; et
on-their-own business intent on-one day to-be-killed ordered and
factum est. Quam illa miserabilis rerum facies erat, subito
done it-was how that wretched of-things the-face was suddenly
quemque, ubicumque fuisset inuentus, in agro in uia
each-one wherever he-had-been found in the-field on the-road
in oppido, in domo in uico in foro, in templo in lecto
in the-town in the-house in the-street in the-forum in the-temple in bed
in conuiuio inopinate adque inpie fuisse trucidatum! Quis
at a-banquet unexpectedly and ungodly to-have-been slaughtered what
gemitus morientium, quae lacrimae spectantium, fortasse
the-groans of-the-dying what the-tears of-the-onlookers perhaps

etiam ferientium fuerunt! Quam dura necessitas hospitum
even of-the-strikers were how hard a-necessity of-hosts
non solum uidendi nefarias illas caedes domi suae, uerum
not only of-seeing abominable those slaughters at-home their-own but
etiam perpetrandi, ab illa blanda comitate humanitatis
also of-perpetrating from that pleasant courtesy of-humanity
repente mutatis uultibus ad hostile negotium in pace
suddenly with-changed faces to hostile business in peace
peragendum, mutuis dicam omnino uulneribus, cum
to-be-carried-through with-mutual I-should-say altogether wounds when
percussus in corpore et percussor in animo feriretur!
the-struck in body and the-striker in mind was-smitten
Num et isti omnes auguria contemserant? Num deos et
surely-not also these all auguries had-despised surely-not gods both
domesticos et publicos, cum de sedibus suis ad illam
household and public when from seats their-own to that
inremeabilem peregrinationem profecti sunt, quos consulerent,
unreturning journey set-out have whom they-might-consult
non habebant? Hoc si ita est, non habent quur isti in
not had-they this if so it-is not they-have why these in
hac causa de nostris temporibus conquerantur; olim
this case about our times should-complain long-since
Romani haec uana contemnunt. Si autem consuluerunt,
the-Romans these vain-things despise if but they-consulted
respondeatur, quid ista profuerunt, quando per humanas
let-it-be-answered what these-things profited when through human
dumtaxat leges nemine prohibente licuerunt.
at-least laws with-no-one forbidding they-were-allowed

Worse still were the civil discords, social, servile, and civil wars that poured out Roman blood and laid Italy waste. Before Latium rose against Rome, all the animals subject to men, dogs, horses, asses, and oxen, suddenly turned wild and fled their masters. If this was a sign, how great an evil it portended; if it was not, it was a great evil itself. Had it happened in Christian times, the pagans would rage worse than their animals.

Sed iam illa mala breuiter, quantum possumus,
but now those evils briefly as-far-as we-can
commemoremus, quae quanto interiora, tanto miseriora
let-us-recall which the-more inward the-more wretched
exstiterunt: discordiae ciuiles uel potius inciuiles, nec iam
arose the-discords civil or rather uncivil nor now
seditiones, sed etiam ipsa bella urbana, ubi tantus sanguis
seditions but even the-very wars urban where so-much blood
effusus est, ubi partium studia non contionum dissensionibus
poured-out was where of-parties the-zeals not of-assemblies by-dissensions
uariisque uocibus in alterutrum, sed plane iam ferro
and-various voices against one-another but plainly now with-sword
armisque saeuiebant; bella socialia, bella seruilia, bella ciuilia
and-arms raged wars social wars servile wars civil
quantum Romanum cruorem fuderunt, quantam Italiae
how-much Roman gore poured how-great of-Italy
uastationem desertionemque fecerunt! Namque antequam
devastation and-desolation made for before
se aduersus Romam sociale Latium commoueret, cuncta
itself against Rome the-allied Latium stirred all
animalia humanis usibus subdita, canes equi, asini boues, et
animals to-human uses subjected dogs horses asses oxen and
quaeque alia pecora sub hominum dominio fuerunt, subito
whatever other cattle under of-men the-dominion were suddenly

efferata et domesticae lenitatis oblita relictis tectis libera
turned-wild and of-domestic gentleness forgetful with-left houses free
uagabantur et omnem non solum aliorum, uerum etiam
wandered and every not only of-others but even
dominorum auersabantur accessum, non sine exitio uel
of-(their)-masters shunned approach not without destruction or
periculo audentis, si quis de proximo urgeret. Quanti
danger of-the-one-daring if anyone from near pressed how-great
mali signum fuit, si hoc signum fuit, quod tantum malum
an-evil the-sign was if this a-sign was which so-great an-evil
fuit, si etiam signum non fuit! Hoc si nostris temporibus
was if even a-sign not it-was this if in-our times
accidisset, rabidiores istos quam sua illi animalia pateremur.
it-had-happened more-rabid these than their they animals we-should-suffer

XXIV · THE SEDITIONS OF THE GRACCHI

The beginning of civil evils was the Gracchi's seditions over the agrarian laws, by which they wished to divide among the people the lands the nobility held unjustly. Both brothers were killed, nobles and commoners slain in riots, and the consul Opimius, after killing the second Gracchus, is said to have put three thousand to death by judicial inquiry, so the armed clashes must have killed far more. Gracchus' killer sold his head to the consul for its weight in gold, and Fulvius was killed with his children.

Initium autem ciuilium malorum fuit seditiones Gracchorum
the-beginning moreover of-civil evils was the-seditions of-the-Gracchi
agrariis legibus excitatae. Volebant enim agros populo
by-agrarian laws stirred they-wished for the-lands among-the-people
diuidere, quos nobilitas perperam possidebat. Sed iam
to-divide which the-nobility wrongly possessed but now

uetustam iniquitatem audere conuellere periculosissimum,
an-old iniquity to-dare to-tear-up most-dangerous
immo uero, ut res ipsa docuit, perniciosissimum fuit.
rather indeed as the-matter itself taught most-pernicious was
Quae funera facta sunt, cum prior Gracchus occisus est!
what funerals made were when the-former Gracchus killed was
quae etiam, cum alius frater eius non longo interposito
what also when the-other brother his not long interposed
tempore! Neque enim legibus et ordine potestatum, sed turbis
time nor for by-laws and by-order of-powers but by-mobs
armorumque conflictibus nobiles ignobilesque necabantur.
and-of-arms clashes the-noble and-ignoble were-killed
Post Gracchi alterius interfectionem L. Opimius consul,
after of-Gracchus of-the-other the-killing Lucius Opimius the-consul
qui aduersus eum intra Urbem arma commouerat eoque
who against him within the-City arms had-stirred and-him
cum sociis obpresso et extincto ingentem ciuium stragem
with allies overwhelmed and extinguished a-huge of-citizens slaughter
fecerat, cum quaestionem haberet iam iudiciaria inquisitione
had-made when an-inquiry he-held already by-judicial inquisition
ceteros persequens, tria milia hominum occidisse perhibetur.
the-rest pursuing three thousand men to-have-killed is-said
Ex quo intellegi potest, quantam multitudinem mortium
from which to-be-understood it-can how-great a-multitude of-deaths
habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum, quando tantam
to-have could the-turbulent clash of-arms when so-great
habuit iudiciorum uelut examinata cognitio. Percussor Gracchi
had of-judgments as-if examined the-inquiry the-striker of-Gracchus
ipsius caput, quantum graue erat, tanto auri pondere
his-very head as-much-as heavy it-was for-so-much of-gold weight

consuli uendidit; haec enim pactio caedem praecesserat. In
to-the-consul sold this for bargain the-slaughter had-preceded in
qua etiam occisus est cum liberis M. Fuluius consularis.
which also killed was with (his)-children Marcus Fulvius the-ex-consul

XXV · THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD

The senate built a shrine of Concord on the very place of that slaughter, to strike the haranguers' eyes. Was this not a mockery, to build a temple to a goddess who, had she been in the city, would never have let it be torn apart? Why not a temple to Discord? Labeo distinguishes good gods and bad, and Rome built a temple to Fever. Discord, uninvited, had caused Troy's fall with her golden apple; perhaps, angered to see her rival's shrine, she drove Rome on to civil war.

Eleganti sane senatus consulto eo ipso loco, ubi
by-an-elegant indeed of-the-senate decree in-that very place where
funereus tumultus ille commissus est, ubi tot ciues
funereal uproar that committed was where so-many citizens
ordinis cuiusque ceciderunt, aedes Concordiae facta est,
of-order every fell a-shrine of-Concord made was
ut Gracchorum poenae testis contionantium oculos
that of-the-Gracchi the-punishment as-witness of-the-haranguers the-eyes
feriret memoriamque conpungeret. Sed hoc quid aliud fuit
it-might-strike and-the-memory might-prick but this what else was-it
quam inrisio deorum, illi deae templum construere, quae
than a-mockery of-the-gods to-that goddess a-temple to-build who
si esset in ciuitate, non tantis dissensionibus dilacerata
if she-were in the-city not by-so-great dissensions torn-apart
conrueret? Nisi forte sceleris huius rea Concordia, quia
would-collapse unless perhaps of-crime this guilty Concord because
deseruerat animos ciuium, meruit in illa aede tamquam
she-had-deserted the-minds of-the-citizens deserved in that shrine as-if

in carcere includi. Quur enim, si rebus gestis congruere
in a-prison to-be-shut-in why for if to-things done to-conform
uoluerunt, non ibi potius aedem Discordiae fabricarunt? An
they-wished not there rather a-shrine of-Discord did-they-build or
ulla ratio redditur, quur Concordia dea sit, et Discordia
any reason is-rendered why Concord a-goddess be and Discord
dea non sit, ut secundum Labeonis distinctionem bona sit
a-goddess not be that according-to Labeo's distinction good be
ista, illa uero mala? Nec ipse aliud secutus uidetur
this-one that-one but bad nor himself anything-else followed seems
quam quod aduertit Romae etiam Febri, sicut Saluti, templum
than what he-noticed at-Rome even to-Fever as to-Health a-temple
constitutum. Eo modo igitur non solum Concordiae, uerum
established in-that manner therefore not only to-Concord but
etiam Discordiae constitui debuit. Periculose itaque Romani
also to-Discord to-be-established it-ought dangerously and-so the-Romans
tam mala dea irata uiuere uoluerunt nec Troianum
with-so bad a-goddess angry to-live wished nor the-Trojan
excidium recoluerunt originem ab eius offensione sumsisse.
destruction did-they-recall the-origin from her offense to-have-taken
Ipsa quippe quia inter deos non fuerat inuitata, trium
she for because among the-gods not she-had-been invited of-three
dearum litem aurei mali subpositione commenta est;
goddesses the-quarrel of-the-golden apple by-the-putting-forward devised has
unde rixa numinum et Venus uictrix, et rapta Helena
whence the-brawl of-the-divinities and Venus victorious and seized Helen
et Troia deleta. Quapropter, si forte indignata, quod inter
and Troy destroyed wherefore if perhaps indignant that among
deos in Urbe nullum templum habere meruit, ideo iam
the-gods in the-City no temple to-have she-deserved therefore already
turbabat tantis tumultibus ciuitatem, quanto atrocius
she-was-disturbing with-so-great tumults the-city how-much more-atrociously

potuit inritari, cum in loco illius caedis, hoc est in
could-she to-be-provoked when in the-place of-that slaughter that is in
loco sui operis, aduersariae suae constitutam aedem
the-place of-her-own work of-adversary her established the-shrine
uideret! Haec uana ridentibus nobis illi docti sapientesque
she-saw these vain-things with-laughing us those learned and-wise-men
stomachantur, et tamen numinum bonorum malorumque
are-vexed and yet of-divinities good and-bad
cultores de hac quaestione Concordiae Discordiaeque
the-worshipers from this question of-Concord and-of-Discord
non exeunt, siue praetermiserint harum dearum cultum
not come-out whether they-passed-over of-these goddesses the-worship
eisque Febrem Bellonamque praetulerint, quibus antiqua
and-to-them Fever and-Bellona preferred to-whom ancient
fana fecerunt, siue et istas coluerint, cum sic eos discedente
fanes they-made or also these worshiped when thus them with-departing
Concordia Discordia saeuiens usque ad ciuilia bella perduxerit.
Concord Discord raging up to civil wars led

The shrine of Concord did not stop sedition: the haranguers Saturninus, Servilius, and Drusus sought to surpass the Gracchi, and their seditions brought first slaughters, then the social wars that laid Italy waste. Then came the servile war, which grew from fewer than seventy gladiators into an army that beat Roman commanders and ravaged cities, and the slave revolts in Macedonia and Sicily, and the pirates' robberies and wars.

Praeclarum uero seditionis obstaculum aedem Concordiae,
an-illustrious indeed of-sedition obstacle the-shrine of-Concord
testem caedis suppliciique Gracchorum, contionantibus
as-witness of-the-slaughter and-punishment of-the-Gracchi to-the-haranguers
obponendam putarunt. Quantum ex hoc profecerint, indicant
to-be-opposed they-thought how-much from this they-profited show
secuta peiora. Laborarunt enim deinceps contionatores non
the-following worse-things labored for thereafter the-haranguers not
exemplum deuitare Gracchorum, sed superare propositum,
the-example to-avoid of-the-Gracchi but to-surpass the-design
L. Saturninus tribunus plebis et G. Seruilius praetor
Lucius Saturninus tribune of-the-plebs and Gaius Servilius praetor
et multo post M. Drusus, quorum omnium seditionibus
and much later Marcus Drusus whose all by-seditions
caedes primo iam tunc grauissimae, deinde socialia bella
slaughters first already then most-grievous then social wars
exarserunt, quibus Italia uehementer adflicta et ad uastitatem
blazed-up by-which Italy vehemently afflicted and to devastation
mirabilem desertionemque perducta est. Bellum deinde seruile
wonderful and-desolation brought was the-war then servile
successit et bella ciuilia. Quae proelia commissa sunt, quid
followed and wars civil what battles joined were how-much
sanguinis fusum, ut omnes fere Italae gentes, quibus
of-blood poured that all almost Italian nations over-which

Romanum maxime praepollebat imperium, tamquam saeua
the-Roman most excelled empire as-if a-savage
barbaries domarentur! Iam ex paucissimis, hoc est minus
barbarism were-tamed now from very-few that is less
quam septuaginta, gladiatoribus quem ad modum bellum
than seventy gladiators in-what to manner the-war
seruile contractum sit, ad quantum numerum et quam acrem
servile gathered was to how-great a-number and how keen
ferocemque peruenerit, quos ille numerus imperatores populi
and-ferocious it-came what that number commanders of-the-people
Romani superauerit, quas et quo modo ciuitates regionesque
Roman overcame what and in-what manner cities and-regions
uastauerit, uix qui historiam conscripserunt satis
it-laid-waste scarcely those-who history have-written sufficiently
explicare potuerunt. Neque id solum fuit seruile bellum, sed
to-set-forth could nor that alone was the-servile war but
et Macedoniam prouinciam prius seruitia depopulata sunt
even Macedonia the-province first the-slave-bands plundered have
et deinde Siciliam oramque maritimam. Quanta etiam et
and then Sicily and-the-coast maritime how-great-things also and
quam horrenda commiserint primo latrocinia, deinde ualida
how horrible they-committed first robberies then strong
bella piratarum, quis pro magnitudine rerum ualeat eloqui?
wars of-the-pirates who for the-magnitude of-the-things could speak-out

Marius, bloody with civil blood, fled the City and returned with Cinna, killing its most illustrious men; Sulla's revenge was worse than leaving the crimes unpunished, as Lucan says: the medicine exceeded its measure. In the City corpses filled streets and temples. Octavius' head was set on the rostra, the Caesars and the Crassi were butchered, Baebius and Numitorius dragged by hooks, Catulus took poison, and Merula the flamen of Jupiter opened his veins; Marius had men killed whose greeting he would not return.

Cum uero Marius ciuili sanguine iam cruentus multis
when but Marius with-civil blood already bloody many
aduersarum sibi partium peremtis uictus Urbe
of-adverse to-himself party killed conquered from-the-City
profugisset, uix paululum respirante ciuitate, ut
had-fled scarcely for-a-little-while with-breathing-again the-city that
uerbis Tullianis utar, "superauit postea Cinna cum Mario.
with-words Tullian I-may-use overcame afterward Cinna with Marius
Tum uero clarissimis uiris interfectis lumina ciuitatis
then indeed with-most-illustrious men slain the-lights of-the-city
extincta sunt. Ultus est huius uictoriae crudelitatem postea
extinguished were avenged has of-this victory the-cruelty afterward
Sylla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta deminutione
Sulla not to-be-said even need there-is with-how-great diminution
ciuium et quanta calamitate rei publicae". De hac
of-citizens and with-how-great calamity of-the-thing public about this

enim uindicta, quae perniciosior fuit, quam si scelera quae
for vengeance which more-pernicious was than if the-crimes which
puniebantur inpunita relinquerentur, ait et Lucanus:
were-punished unpunished were-left says also Lucan

Excessit medicina modum nimiumque secuta est,
exceeded the-medicine the-measure and-too-far followed has
qua morbi duxere manum. Periere nocentes;
where the-diseases led the-hand perished the-guilty
sed cum iam soli possent superesse nocentes.
but when now alone could to-survive the-guilty

Illo bello Mariano adque Syllano exceptis his, qui foris
in-that war Marian and Sullan excepted those who outside
in acie ceciderunt, in ipsa quoque Urbe cadaueribus
in the-battle-line fell in the-very also City with-corpses
uici plateae fora, theatra templa conpleta sunt, ut
the-streets squares forums theaters temples filled were so-that
difficile iudicaretur, quando uictores plus funerum ediderint,
hard it-was-judged when the-victors more of-funerals produced
utrum prius ut uincerent, an postea quia uicissent;
whether before that they-might-conquer or afterward because they-had-conquered
cum primum uictoria Mariana, quando de exilio se ipse
when first at-the-victory Marian when from exile himself he
restituit, exceptis passim quaqua uersum caedibus factis caput
restored excepted everywhere wherever turned slaughters done the-head
Octauii consulis poneretur in rostris, Caesares a Fimbria
of-Octavius the-consul was-placed on the-rostra the-Caesars by Fimbria
domibus trucidarentur suis, duo Crassi pater et filius
in-houses were-butchered their-own the-two Crassi father and son
in conspectu mutuo mactarentur, Baebius et Numitorius
in the-sight of-each-other were-slaughtered Baebius and Numitorius

unco tracti sparsis uisceribus interirent, Catulus hausto
by-a-hook dragged with-scattered entrails perished Catulus with-drained
ueneno se manibus inimicorum subtraheret, Merula
poison himself from-the-hands of-(his)-enemies withdrew Merula
flamen Dialis praecisis uenis Ioui etiam suo sanguine
the-flamen of-Jupiter with-cut veins to-Jupiter even with-his-own blood
litaret. In ipsius autem Marii oculis continuo feriebantur,
sacrificed in the-very but of-Marius eyes immediately were-struck-down
quibus salutantibus dexteram porrigere noluisset.
those-to-whom greeting the-right-hand to-extend he-had-refused

XXVIII · SULLA'S VICTORY

Sulla's victory raged more cruelly in peace than in war. Before it, the younger Marius and Carbo filled Rome with slaughter, dragging senators from the senate house; the pontiff Scaevola was killed embracing Vesta's altar. Sulla had seven thousand who surrendered killed, and his men killed whom they pleased until a list of two thousand knights and senators was posted. Some were torn apart alive, others slowly tortured; noble cities were auctioned off, and one was ordered slaughtered whole. Peace outdid war in cruelty.

Syllana uero uictoria secuta, huius uidelicet uindex
the-Sullan indeed victory following of-this namely the-avenger
crudelitatis, post tantum sanguinem ciuium, quo fuso
of-cruelty after so-much blood of-citizens by-which poured
fuerat conparata, finito iam bello inimicitiis uiuentibus
it-had-been obtained ended already the-war with-enmities living
crudelius in pace grassata est. Iam etiam post Marii
more-cruelly in peace stalked has already also after of-Marius
maioris pristinas ac recentissimas caedes additae fuerant aliae
the-elder the-former and most-recent slaughters added had-been others

grauiores a Mario iuuene adque Carbone earundem partium
graver by Marius the-young and Carbo of-the-same party
Marianarum, qui Sylla inminente non solum uictoriam,
Marian who with-Sulla impending not only victory
uerum etiam ipsam desperantes salutem cuncta suis
but also the-very despairing-of safety all-things with-their-own
aliis caedibus inpleuerunt. Nam praeter stragem late per
other slaughters filled for besides the-slaughter widely through
diuersa diffusam obsesso etiam senatu de ipsa curia,
different-places spread besieged even the-senate from the-very senate-house
tamquam de carcere, producebantur ad gladium. Mucius
as-if from a-prison they-were-led-forth to the-sword Mucius
Scaeuola pontifex, quoniam nihil aput Romanos templo
Scaevola the-pontiff since nothing among the-Romans than-the-temple
Vestae sanctius habebatur, aram ipsam amplexus occisus
of-Vesta holier was-held the-altar itself embracing killed
est, ignemque illum, qui perpetua uirginum cura semper
was and-the-fire that which by-the-perpetual of-the-virgins care always
ardebat, suo paene sanguine extinxit. Urbem deinde
burned with-his-own almost blood he-extinguished the-City then
Sylla uictor intrauit, qui in uilla publica non iam bello,
Sulla the-victor entered who in the-villa public not now by-war
sed ipsa pace saeuiente septem milia deditorum
but by-the-very peace raging seven thousand of-the-surrendered
(unde utique inermia) non pugnando, sed iubendo
from-which assuredly unarmed not by-fighting but by-ordering
prostrauerat. In Urbe autem tota quem uellet Syllanus
he-had-laid-low in the-City but whole whom he-wished the-Sullan
quisque feriebat, unde tot funera numerari omnino non
each struck whence so-many funerals to-be-counted at-all not
poterant, donec Syllae suggereretur sinendos esse aliquos
could until to-Sulla it-was-suggested to-be-allowed to-be some

uiuere, ut essent quibus possent imperare qui uicerant.
to-live that there-might-be those-whom they-could to-command who had-conquered
Tunc iam cohibita quae hac adque illac passim furibunda
then now restrained which hither and thither everywhere raging
ferebatur licentia iugulandi, tabula illa cum magna
was-borne the-license of-cutting-throats a-list that with great
gratulatione proposita est, quae hominum ex utroque ordine
rejoicing posted was which of-men from each order
splendido, equestri scilicet adque senatorio, occidendorum ac
splendid equestrian namely and senatorial to-be-killed and
proscribendorum duo milia continebat. Contristabat numerus,
to-be-proscribed two thousand contained saddened the-number
sed consolabatur modus; nec quia tot cadebant tantum
but consoled the-limit nor because so-many fell so-much
erat maeroris, quantum laetitiae quia ceteri non timebant.
was-there of-sorrow as-much-as of-joy because the-rest not feared
Sed in quibusdam eorum, qui mori iussi erant, etiam ipsa
but in some of-them who to-die ordered had-been even itself
licet crudelis ceterorum securitas genera mortium exquisita
although cruel of-the-rest security the-kinds of-deaths sought-out
congemuit. Quendam enim sine ferro laniantium manus
groaned-over a-certain-one for without sword of-the-lacerating the-hands
diripuerunt, inmanius homines hominem uiuum, quam bestiae
tore-apart more-savagely men a-man alive than beasts
solent discerpere cadauer abiectum. Alius oculis effossis et
are-wont to-tear-apart a-corpse thrown-out another with-eyes gouged-out and
particulatim membris amputatis in tantis cruciatibus diu
piece-by-piece with-limbs cut-off in so-great tortures long
uiuere uel potius diu mori coactus est. Subhastatae sunt
to-live or rather long to-die compelled was auctioned were
etiam, tamquam uillae, quaedam nobiles ciuitates; una uero,
also like villas certain noble cities one but

uelut unus reus duci iuberetur, sic tota iussa est
as-if one defendant to-be-led should-be-ordered so whole ordered was
trucidari. Haec facta sunt in pace post bellum, non
to-be-slaughtered these-things done were in peace after the-war not
ut acceleraretur obtinenda uictoria, sed ne contemneretur
that should-be-hastened the-to-be-obtained victory but lest it-should-be-despised
obtenta. Pax cum bello de crudelitate certauit et uicit.
obtained peace with war about cruelty contended and conquered
Illud enim prostrauit armatos, ista nudatos. Bellum erat,
that for laid-low the-armed this the-stripped war it-was
ut qui feriebatur, si posset, feriret; pax autem, non ut
that he-who was-struck if he-could should-strike peace but not that
qui euaserat uiueret, sed ut moriens non repugnaret.
he-who had-escaped should-live but that dying not he-should-resist

XXIX · THE GOTHS GENTLER THAN THE ROMANS

What foreign savagery compares to this victory of citizens over citizens? The Gauls slaughtered what senate they found in the City and sold life to those on the Capitol for gold; the Goths spared so many senators that it is a wonder they killed any. But Sulla, while Marius still lived, sat on the Capitol, safe from the Gauls, to decree slaughters; the Marians did not spare even Scaevola as he clasped the altar, and Sulla's list killed more senators than the Goths could even despoil.

Quae rabies exterarum gentium, quae saeuitia barbarorum
what madness of-foreign nations what savagery of-barbarians
huic de ciuibus uictoriae ciuium conparari potest? Quid
to-this over citizens victory of-citizens to-be-compared can what
Roma funestius taetrius amariusque uidit, utrum olim
has-Rome more-deadly fouler and-more-bitter seen whether long-ago
Gallorum et paulo ante Gothorum inruptionem, an Marii et
of-the-Gauls and a-little before of-the-Goths the-irruption or of-Marius and

Syllae aliorumque in eorum partibus uirorum clarissimorum
of-Sulla and-of-others in their parties of-men most-illustrious
tamquam suorum luminum in sua membra ferocitatem?
as-if of-its-own lights against its-own limbs the-ferocity
Galli quidem trucidauerunt senatum, quidquid eius in Urbe
the-Gauls indeed slaughtered the-senate whatever of-it in the-City
tota praeter arcem Capitolinam, quae sola utcumque defensa
whole except the-citadel Capitoline which alone in-some-way defended
est, reperire potuerunt; sed in illo colle constitutis auro
was to-find they-could but in that hill to-those-stationed for-gold
uitam saltem uendiderunt, quam etsi ferro rapere non
life at-least they-sold which although by-sword to-seize not
possent, possent tamen obsidione consumere: Gothi uero tam
they-could they-could yet by-siege to-consume the-Goths but so
multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit quod
many senators spared that rather wonderful it-be that
aliquos peremerunt. At uero Sylla uiuo adhuc Mario ipsum
some they-killed but indeed Sulla with-living still Marius the-very
Capitolium, quod a Gallis tutum fuit, ad decernendas
Capitol which from the-Gauls safe was for to-be-decreed
caedes uictor insedit, et cum fuga Marius elapsus esset
slaughters as-victor occupied and when in-flight Marius escaped had
ferocior cruentiorque rediturus, iste in Capitolio per
more-ferocious and-more-bloody about-to-return he on the-Capitol through
senatus etiam consultum multos uita rebusque priuauit:
of-the-senate even a-decree many of-life and-property deprived
Marianis autem partibus Sylla absente quid sanctum cui
for-the-Marian but party with-Sulla absent what holy to-which
parcerent fuit, quando Mucio ciui senatori pontifici
they-might-spare was-there when Mucius a-citizen senator pontiff
aram ipsam, ubi erant ut aiunt fata Romana, miseris
the-altar itself where were as they-say the-fates Roman with-wretched

ambienti amplexibus non pepercerunt? Syllana porro tabula
clasping embraces not they-spared the-Sullan further list
illa postrema, ut omittamus alias innumerabiles mortes,
that last that we-may-omit other innumerable deaths
plures iugulauit senatores, quam Gothi uel spoliare potuerunt.
more butchered senators than the-Goths even to-despoil could

XXX · THE CIVIL WARS DOWN TO AUGUSTUS

With what face do they blame Christ, not their gods, for wars so bitter that the republic was judged lost long before he came? From Marius and Sulla to Sertorius and Catiline, Lepidus and Catulus, Pompey and Caesar, and then Augustus, under whom Christ was born, civil wars followed one another. Caesar, merciful in victory, was killed in the senate; Cicero favored the young Caesar against Antony, hoping he would restore liberty, and that youth gave Cicero up to be killed and subjugated the republic.

Qua igitur fronte quo corde, qua inpudentia qua
with-what then face with-what heart with-what impudence with-what
insipientia uel potius amentia illa dis suis non
folly or rather madness those-things to-gods their-own not
inputant, et haec nostro inputant Christo? Crudelia bella
they-impute and these-things to-our impute Christ the-cruel wars
ciuilia, omnibus bellis hostilibus, auctoribus etiam eorum
civil than-all wars with-enemies with-the-authors even their
fatentibus, amariora, quibus illa res publica nec adflicta,
confessing more-bitter by-which that thing public not afflicted
sed omnino perdita iudicata est, longe ante aduentum
but altogether lost judged was long before the-coming
Christi exorta sunt, et sceleratarum concatenatione causarum
of-Christ arisen have and of-wicked by-the-concatenation of-causes

a bello Mariano adque Syllano ad bella Sertorii et
from the-war Marian and Sullan to the-wars of-Sertorius and
Catilinae (quorum a Sylla fuerat ille proscriptus, ille
of-Catiline of-whom by Sulla had-been the-one proscribed the-other
nutritus), inde ad Lepidi et Catuli bellum (quorum alter
nourished thence to of-Lepidus and of-Catulus the-war of-whom the-one
gesta Syllana rescindere, alter defendere cupiebat), inde
the-acts Sullan to-rescind the-other to-defend desired thence
ad Pompei et Caesaris (quorum Pompeius sectator Syllae
to of-Pompey and of-Caesar of-whom Pompey a-follower of-Sulla
fuerat eiusque potentiam uel aequauerat uel iam etiam
had-been and-his power either had-equaled or already even
superauerat; Caesar autem Pompei potentiam non ferebat, sed
had-surpassed Caesar but Pompey's power not bore but
quia non habebat, quam tamen illo uicto interfectoque
because not he-had which yet that-one conquered and-killed
transcendit), hinc ad alium Caesarem, qui post Augustus
he-overpassed hence to another Caesar who afterward Augustus
appellatus est, peruenerunt, quo imperante natus est
called was they-came under-whose ruling born was
Christus. Nam et ipse Augustus cum multis gessit bella
Christ for also himself Augustus with many waged wars
ciuilia, et in eis etiam multi clarissimi uiri perierunt,
civil and in them also many most-illustrious men perished
inter quos et Cicero, ille disertus artifex rei publicae
among whom also Cicero that eloquent artificer of-the-thing public
regendae. Pompei quippe uictorem Gaium Caesarem, qui
to-be-governed of-Pompey for the-conqueror Gaius Caesar who
uictoriam ciuilem clementer exercuit suisque aduersariis
victory civil mercifully exercised and-to-his-own adversaries
uitam dignitatemque donauit, tamquam regni adpetitorem
life and-dignity presented as-if of-kingship a-seeker

quorundam nobilium coniuratio senatorum uelut pro rei
of-certain noble the-conspiracy of-senators as-if for of-the-thing
publicae libertate in ipsa curia trucidauit. Huius deinde
public the-freedom in the-very senate-house slaughtered his then
potentiam multum moribus dispar uitiisque omnibus
power much in-morals unlike and-with-vices all
inquinatus adque corruptus adfectare uidebatur Antonius,
defiled and corrupted to-aim-at seemed Antony
cui uehementer pro eadem illa uelut patriae libertate
whom vehemently for the-same that as-if of-the-fatherland freedom
Cicero resistebat. Tunc emerserat mirabilis indolis adulescens
Cicero resisted then had-emerged of-wonderful nature youth
ille alius Caesar, illius Gai Caesaris filius adoptiuus, qui,
that other Caesar of-that Gaius Caesar the-son adopted who
ut dixi, postea est appellatus Augustus. Huic adulescenti
as I-said afterward was called Augustus to-this youth
Caesari, ut eius potentia contra Antonium nutriretur,
Caesar that his power against Antony might-be-nourished
Cicero fauebat, sperans eum depulsa et obpressa Antonii
Cicero favored hoping him driven-off and overpowered Antony's
dominatione instauraturum rei publicae libertatem,
domination about-to-restore of-the-thing public the-freedom
usque adeo caecus adque inprouidus futurorum, ut ille ipse
to-such a-degree blind and improvident of-future-things that that very
iuuenis, cuius dignitatem ac potestatem fouebat, et eundem
youth whose dignity and power he-cherished both the-same
Ciceronem occidendum Antonio quadam quasi concordiae
Cicero to-be-killed to-Antony by-a-certain as-it-were of-concord
pactione permitteret et ipsam libertatem rei publicae,
pact allowed and the-very freedom of-the-thing public
pro qua multum ille clamauerat, dicioni propriae subiugaret.
for which much he had-cried to-dominion his-own subjugated

Let them accuse their own gods: when these evils happened, altars smoked and temples gleamed, yet citizens' blood was shed even among the altars, while those who now insult Christian times fled to Christ's places or were brought there by the barbarians. Had Christianity preceded the Punic wars, every disaster would have been blamed on it: rains of earth and stones, Etna's fires boiling the sea and burying Catina in ash, and locusts whose rotting bred a plague killing eight hundred thousand in Masinissa's kingdom. Yet they do not blame their gods, whose worshipers suffered worse.

Deos suos accusent de tantis malis, qui Christo
gods their-own let-them-accuse about so-great evils who to-Christ
nostro ingrati sunt de tantis bonis. Certe quando illa
our ungrateful are about so-great goods surely when those
mala fiebant, calebant arae numinum Sabaeo thure
evils were-happening glowed the-altars of-the-divinities with-Sabaean incense
sertisque recentibus halabant, clarebant sacerdotia, fana
and-with-garlands fresh breathed shone the-priesthoods the-fanes
renidebant, sacrificabatur ludebatur furebatur in templis,
gleamed there-was-sacrificing there-was-playing there-was-raving in the-temples
quando passim tantus ciuium sanguis a ciuibus non modo
when everywhere so-much of-citizens blood by citizens not only
in ceteris locis, uerum etiam inter ipsa deorum altaria
in other places but also among the-very of-the-gods altars
fundebatur. Non elegit templum, quo confugeret Tullius,
was-poured not chose a-temple whither he-might-flee Tully
quia frustra elegerat Mucius. Hi uero qui multo indignius
because in-vain had-chosen Mucius these indeed who much more-unworthily
insultant temporibus Christianis, aut ad loca Christo
insult times Christian either to places to-Christ
dicatissima confugerunt, aut illuc eos ut uiuerent etiam
most-dedicated fled or thither them that they-might-live even

ipsi barbari deduxerunt. Illud scio et hoc mecum,
themselves the-barbarians brought that I-know and this with-me
quisquis sine studio partium iudicat, facillime agnoscit (ut
whoever without zeal of-parties judges most-easily recognizes to
omittam cetera quae multa commemoraui et alia multo
omit the-rest which many I-have-recalled and others much
plura quae commemorare longum putaui): si humanum
more which to-recall long I-thought if the-human
genus ante bella Punica Christianam reciperet disciplinam
race before the-wars Punic Christian had-received discipline
et consequeretur rerum tanta uastatio, quanta illis bellis
and there-had-followed of-things so-great a-devastation as-great-as in-those wars
Europam Africamque contriuit, nullus talium, quales nunc
Europe and-Africa crushed none of-such such-as now
patimur, nisi Christianae religioni mala illa tribuisset.
we-suffer except to-the-Christian religion evils those would-have-attributed
Multo autem minus eorum uoces tolerarentur, quantum
much but less their voices would-be-tolerated as-far-as
adtinet ad Romanos, si Christianae religionis receptionem et
pertains to the-Romans if the-Christian religion's reception and
diffamationem uel inruptio Gallorum uel Tiberini fluminis
spreading either the-irruption of-the-Gauls or of-the-Tiber river
igniumque illa depopulatio uel, quod cuncta mala praecedit,
and-of-fires that ravaging or what all evils precedes
bella illa ciuilia sequerentur. Mala etiam alia, quae usque
wars those civil had-followed evils also other which to-such
adeo incredibiliter acciderunt, ut inter prodigia numerarentur,
a-degree incredibly befell that among portents they-were-counted
si Christianis temporibus accidissent, quibus ea nisi
if in-Christian times they-had-befallen to-whom them except
Christianis hominibus tamquam crimina obicerent? Omitto
to-Christian men as crimes would-they-object I-pass-over

quippe illa, quae magis fuerunt mira quam noxia, boues
for those-things which rather were wondrous than harmful oxen
locutos, infantes nondum natos de uteris matrum uerba
to-have-spoken infants not-yet born from the-wombs of-mothers words
quaedam clamasse, uolasse serpentes, feminas et gallinas
certain to-have-cried-out to-have-flown serpents women and hens
in masculinum sexum fuisse conuersas et cetera
into the-masculine sex to-have-been changed and the-other-things
huius modi, quae in eorum libris non fabulosis, sed historicis,
of-this kind which in their books not fabulous but historical
seu uera seu falsa sint, non inferunt hominibus perniciem,
whether true or false they-be not bring to-men destruction
sed stuporem. Sed cum pluit terra, cum pluit creta, cum
but astonishment but when rained earth when rained chalk when
pluit lapidibus (non ut grando appellari solet hoc nomine,
rained stones not as hail to-be-called is-wont by-this name
sed omnino lapidibus), haec profecto etiam grauiter laedere
but altogether stones these assuredly even heavily to-harm
potuerunt. Legimus aput eos Aetnaeis ignibus ab ipso
could we-read among them with-Etnaean fires from the-very
montis uertice usque ad litus proximum decurrentibus
of-the-mountain summit up to the-shore nearest running-down
ita mare ferbuisse, ut rupes urerentur, ut pices nauium
so the-sea to-have-boiled that the-rocks were-burned that the-pitches of-the-ships
soluerentur. Hoc utique non leuiter noxium fuit, quamuis
were-melted this assuredly not lightly harmful was although
incredibiliter mirum. Eodem rursus aestu ignium tanta ui
incredibly wondrous by-the-same again heat of-fires with-such force
fauillae scripserunt obpletam esse Siciliam, ut Catinensis
of-ash they-wrote filled to-have-been Sicily that of-the-Catinian
urbis tecta obruta et pressa dirueret; qua calamitate
city the-roofs overwhelmed and pressed it-destroyed by-which calamity

permoti misericorditer eiusdem anni tributum ei relaxauere
moved mercifully of-the-same year the-tribute to-it remitted
Romani. Lucustarum etiam in Africa multitudinem prodigii
the-Romans of-locusts also in Africa a-multitude of-a-portent
similem fuisse, cum iam esset populi Romani prouincia,
like to-have-been when already it-was of-the-people Roman a-province
litteris mandauerunt; consumtis enim fructibus foliisque
to-letters they-committed consumed for the-fruits and-the-leaves
lignorum ingenti adque inaestimabili nube in mare dicunt
of-the-trees huge and inestimable in-a-cloud into the-sea they-say
esse deiectam; qua mortua redditaque litoribus adque
to-have-been thrown-down which dead and-returned to-the-shores and
hinc aere corrupto tantam ortam pestilentiam, ut in
hence with-the-air corrupted so-great arisen a-pestilence that in
solo regno Masinissae octingenta hominum milia perisse
the-sole kingdom of-Masinissa eight-hundred of-men thousand to-have-perished
referantur et multo amplius in terris litoribus proximis. Tunc
are-reported and much more in the-lands to-the-shores nearest then
Uticae ex triginta milibus iuniorum, quae ibi erant, decem
at-Utica of thirty thousands of-young-men who there were ten
milia remansisse confirmant. Talis itaque uanitas, qualem
thousand to-have-remained they-affirm such and-so vanity as
ferimus eique respondere conpellimur, quid horum non
we-bear and-to-it to-answer we-are-compelled what of-these not
Christianae religioni tribueret, si temporibus Christianis
to-the-Christian religion would-it-attribute if in-times Christian
uideret? Et tamen dis suis ista non tribuunt, quorum
it-saw and yet to-gods their-own these-things not they-attribute whose
cultum ideo requirunt, ne ista uel minora patiantur,
worship for-this-reason they-seek lest these-things even less they-suffer
cum ea maiora pertulerint a quibus antea colebantur.
when those greater they-endured by whom before they-were-worshiped

BOOK IV

I · WHAT THE FIRST BOOKS SHOWED

Augustine first answered the enemies of the city of God, who blame the Christian religion for what they suffer from God's mercy, because the unlearned are stirred up by the learned, who feign not to know that such evils happened in earlier times. He showed from their own books that the gods are unclean and deceitful demons who delight in crimes told of them, as their own writers attest; even Varro placed the theatrical games among divine things. Now he turns to what remains.

De ciuitate Dei dicere exorsus prius respondendum putaui
about the-city of-God to-speak having-begun first to-be-answered I-thought
eius inimicis, qui terrena gaudia consectantes rebusque
its to-enemies who earthly joys pursuing and-for-things
fugacibus inhiantes, quidquid in eis triste misericordia potius
fleeting gaping whatever in them sad by-the-mercy rather
admonentis Dei quam punientis seueritate patiuntur,
of-the-admonishing God than of-the-punishing by-the-severity they-suffer
religioni increpitant Christianae, quae una est salubris et
to-the-religion reproach Christian which alone is the-wholesome and
uera religio. Et quoniam, cum sit in eis etiam uulgus
true religion and since as there-is among them also the-crowd
indoctum, uelut doctorum auctoritate in odium nostrum
unlearned as-if of-the-learned by-the-authority into hatred of-us
grauius inritantur, existimantibus inperitis ea, quae
more-heavily they-are-provoked thinking the-unskilled those-things which
suis temporibus insolite acciderint, per alia retro
in-their-own times unusually have-happened through other past
tempora accidere non solere, eorumque opinionem etiam
times to-happen not to-be-wont and-their opinion even
his, qui eam falsam esse nouerunt, ut aduersum nos iusta
those who it false to-be know that against us just

murmura habere uideantur, suae scientiae dissimulatione
murmurings to-have they-may-seem of-their-own knowledge by-the-concealment
firmantibus: de libris, quos auctores eorum ad cognoscendam
confirming from the-books which authors their for knowing
praeteritorum temporum historiam memoriae mandauerunt,
of-past times the-history to-memory committed
longe aliter esse quam putant demonstrandum fuit et
far otherwise to-be than they-think to-be-shown it-was and
simul docendum deos falsos, quos uel palam
at-the-same-time to-be-taught that-the-gods false whom either openly
colebant uel occulte adhuc colunt, eos esse inmundissimos
they-worshiped or secretly still they-worship them to-be most-unclean
spiritus et malignissimos ac fallacissimos daemones, usque
spirits and most-malign and most-deceitful demons to-such
adeo, ut aut ueris aut fictis etiam, suis tamen criminibus
a-degree that either by-true or feigned even their-own yet crimes
delectentur, quae sibi celebrari per sua festa
they-are-delighted which for-themselves to-be-celebrated through their-own feasts
uoluerunt, ut a perpetrandis damnabilibus factis humana
they-wished that from perpetrating damnable deeds human
reuocari non possit infirmitas, dum ad haec imitanda
to-be-called-back not can weakness while for these-things to-be-imitated
uelut diuina praebetur auctoritas. Haec non ex nostra
as-if divine is-offered authority these-things not from our
coniectura probauimus, sed partim ex recenti memoria, quia
conjecture we-have-proved but partly from recent memory because
et ipsi uidimus talia ac talibus numinibus exhiberi,
also ourselves we-saw such-things and to-such divinities to-be-exhibited
partim ex litteris eorum, qui non tamquam in contumeliam,
partly from the-letters of-those who not as-if in insult
sed tamquam in honorem deorum suorum ista conscripta
but as-if in honor of-gods their-own these-things written

posteris reliquerunt, ita ut uir doctissimus aput eos Varro
to-posterity left so that a-man most-learned among them Varro
et grauissimae auctoritatis, cum rerum humanarum adque
and of-most-weighty authority when of-things human and
diuinarum dispertitos faceret libros, alios humanis, alios
divine divided he-made books some to-human some
diuinis pro sua cuiusque rei dignitate distribuens
to-divine-things according-to its-own of-each thing dignity distributing
non saltem in rebus humanis, sed in rebus diuinis
not at-least in things human but in things divine
ludos scaenicos poneret, cum utique, si tantummodo boni
the-games theatrical he-placed when assuredly if only good
et honesti homines in ciuitate essent, nec in rebus
and honorable men in the-city were not-even in things
humanis ludi scaenici esse debuissent. Quod profecto
human the-games theatrical to-be ought-they which assuredly
non auctoritate sua fecit, sed quoniam eos Romae natus
not by-authority his-own he-did but because them at-Rome born
et educatus in diuinis rebus inuenit. Et quoniam in fine
and educated in divine things he-found and since at the-end
primi libri, quae deinceps dicenda essent, breuiter posuimus
of-the-first book what next to-be-said was briefly we-set-down
et ex his quaedam in duobus consequentibus diximus,
and of these some in the-two following we-have-said
expectationi legentium quae restant reddenda cognoscimus.
to-the-expectation of-readers what remain to-be-rendered we-recognize

II · WHAT REMAINS TO BE SHOWN

The second book treated the evils of morals and the third the evils of body and fortune, though he told only a few of Rome's, and none of the earthquakes, floods, fires from the clouds, and Etna's eruptions that Apuleius describes. It remains to show for what morals and why the true God, in whose power are all kingdoms, deigned to increase the empire, and how the false gods harmed rather than helped. The first books also showed what comfort God gave good and evil alike in war through Christ's name, which the barbarians honored.

Promiseramus ergo quaedam nos esse dicturos aduersus
we-had-promised therefore certain-things us to-be about-to-say against
eos, qui Romanae rei publicae clades in religionem
those who of-the-Roman thing public the-disasters to religion
nostram referunt, et commemoraturos quaecumque et
our refer and about-to-recall whatever and
quantacumque occurrere potuissent uel satis esse uiderentur
however-great to-occur could or sufficient to-be might-seem
mala, quae illa ciuitas pertulit uel ad eius imperium
the-evils which that city endured or to its empire
prouinciae pertinentes, antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita
the-provinces belonging before their sacrifices forbidden
fuissent; quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si
had-been which all beyond doubt to-us they-would-attribute if
iam uel illis clareret nostra religio uel ita eos a sacris
already either to-them shone our religion or so them from rites
sacrilegis prohiberet. Haec in secundo et tertio libro satis,
sacrilegious it-forbade these-things in the-second and third book enough
quantum existimo, absoluimus, in secundo agentes de
as-far-as I-judge we-have-completed in the-second treating about
malis morum, quae mala uel sola uel maxima deputanda
the-evils of-morals which evils either alone or greatest to-be-reckoned

sunt, in tertio autem de his malis, quae stulti sola
are in the-third but about those evils which the-foolish alone
perpeti exhorrent, corporis uidelicet externarumque rerum,
to-suffer shudder-at of-the-body namely and-of-external things
quae plerumque patiuntur et boni; illa uero mala non dico
which mostly suffer also the-good those but evils not I-say
patienter, sed libenter habent, quibus ipsi fiunt mali.
patiently but gladly they-have by-which they-themselves become evil
Et quam pauca dixi de sola ipsa ciuitate adque eius
and how few-things I-said about the-sole very city and its
imperio! nec inde omnia usque ad Caesarem Augustum.
empire nor thence all-things up to Caesar Augustus
Quid, si commemorare uoluissem et exaggerare illa mala,
what if to-recall I-had-wished and to-heap-up those evils
quae non sibi inuicem homines faciunt, sicut sunt
which not to-themselves mutually men do as are
uastationes euersionesque bellantum, sed ex ipsius mundi
the-devastations and-overthrows of-the-warring but from of-the-very world
elementis terrenis accidunt rebus, quae uno loco Apuleius
the-elements to-earthly befall things which in-one place Apuleius
breuiter stringit in eo libello quem de mundo scripsit,
briefly touches in that little-book which about the-world he-wrote
terrena omnia dicens mutationes, conuersiones et interitus
earthly all-things saying changes conversions and destructions
habere? Namque inmodicis tremoribus terrarum, ut uerbis
to-have for by-immoderate tremors of-the-lands as with-words
eius utar, dissiluisse humum et interceptas urbes
his I-may-use to-have-burst-apart the-ground and swallowed-up cities
cum populis dicit; abruptis etiam imbribus prolutas totas
with peoples he-says by-broken also rains washed-away whole
esse regiones; illas etiam, quae prius fuerant continentes,
to-be regions those also which before had-been mainland

hospitibus adque aduenis fluctibus insulatas aliasque
by-foreign and alien waves made-islands and-others
desidia maris pedestri accessu peruias factas; uentis
by-the-sluggishness of-the-sea to-pedestrian approach passable made by-winds
ac procellis euersas esse ciuitates; incendia de nubibus
and storms overturned to-be cities fires from the-clouds
emicasse, quibus Orientis regiones conflagratae perierunt, et
to-have-flashed by-which of-the-East regions burned-up perished and
in Occidentis plagis scaturrigines quasdam ac proluuiones
in of-the-West regions springs certain and floods
easdem strages dedisse; sic ex Aetnae uerticibus quondam
the-same slaughters to-have-given so from of-Etna the-summits once
effusis crateribus diuino incendio per decliuia torrentis
with-poured-forth craters in-divine fire down the-slopes of-a-torrent
uice flammarum flumina cucurrisse. Si haec adque
in-the-manner of-flames rivers to-have-run if these-things and
huius modi, quae habet historia, unde possem, colligere
of-this kind which has history whence I-could to-gather
uoluissem, quando finissem, quae illis temporibus
I-had-wished when I-would-have-finished which in-those times
euenerunt, antequam Christi nomen ulla istorum uana et
happened before of-Christ the-name any of-these vain and
uerae saluti perniciosa conprimeret. Promiseram etiam me
to-true salvation pernicious-things suppressed I-had-promised also myself
demonstraturum, quos eorum mores et quam ob
about-to-show which their morals and which on-account-of
causam Deus uerus ad augendum imperium adiuuare dignatus
cause God the-true for increasing the-empire to-help deigned
est, in cuius potestate sunt regna omnia, quamque nihil
has in whose power are kingdoms all and-how nothing
eos adiuuerint hi, quos deos putant, et potius quantum
them have-helped these whom gods they-think and rather how-much

decipiendo et fallendo nocuerint: unde nunc uideo mihi
by-deceiving and cheating they-have-harmed whence now I-see for-me
esse dicendum, et magis de incrementis imperii Romani.
to-be to-be-spoken and rather about the-increases of-the-empire Roman
Nam de noxia fallacia daemonum, quos uelut deos
for about the-harmful deceit of-the-demons whom as-if gods
colebant, quantum malorum inuexerit moribus eorum, in
they-worshiped how-much of-evils it-brought-in to-the-morals their in
secundo maxime libro non pauca iam dicta sunt. Per
the-second especially book not few-things already said have-been through
omnes autem absolutos tres libros, ubi opportunum uisum
all moreover completed three books where opportune seemed
est, commendauimus, etiam in ipsis bellicis malis quantum
it-has we-have-commended even in the-very warlike evils how-much
solaciorum Deus per Christi nomen, cui tantum honoris
of-consolations God through of-Christ the-name to-which so-much of-honor
barbari detulerunt praeter bellorum morem, bonis
the-barbarians paid beyond of-wars the-custom on-the-good
malisque contulerit, quo modo qui facit solem suum oriri
and-evil conferred in-what manner he-who makes the-sun his to-rise
super bonos et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos.
over the-good and the-evil and rains on the-just and the-unjust

It is not wise to glory in an empire's breadth when its men live in blood and fear, their joy like glass. Consider two men: one rich, anxious, burning with desire and never secure; the other of modest means, content, loved by his kin, devout, chaste, and of sound conscience. No one doubts which to prefer, and the same rule holds for peoples and kingdoms. If the true God is worshiped, it is useful that the good reign long and widely, more for the ruled than the rulers; the good man is free even if he serves, the wicked a slave even if he reigns.

Iam itaque uideamus, quale sit quod tantam latitudinem
now and-so let-us-see of-what-kind it-is that so-great breadth
ac diuturnitatem imperii Romani illis dis audent tribuere,
and long-duration of-the-empire Roman to-those gods they-dare to-attribute
quos etiam per turpium ludorum obsequia et per
whom even through of-base games the-observances and through
turpium hominum ministeria se honeste coluisse
of-base men the-ministries themselves honorably to-have-worshiped
contendunt. Quamquam uellem prius paululum inquirere,
they-contend although I-would-wish first a-little to-inquire
quae sit ratio, quae prudentia, cum hominum felicitatem
what is the-reasoning what the-prudence when of-men the-happiness
non possis ostendere, semper in bellicis cladibus et in
not you-can to-show always in warlike disasters and in
sanguine ciuili uel hostili, tamen humano cum tenebroso
blood civil or hostile yet human with gloomy
timore et cruenta cupiditate uersantium, ut uitrea laetitia
fear and bloody desire engaged so-that a-glassy joy
conparetur fragiliter splendida, cui timeatur horribilius
may-be-gained fragilely splendid for-which it-is-feared more-horribly
ne repente frangatur, de imperii latitudine ac magnitudine
lest suddenly it-be-broken about of-empire the-breadth and greatness

uelle gloriari. Hoc ut facilius diiudicetur, non uanescamus
to-wish to-boast this that more-easily may-be-judged not let-us-vanish
inani uentositate iactati adque obtundamus intentionis
by-empty windiness tossed and let-us-blunt of-attention
aciem altisonis uocabulis rerum, cum audimus populos
the-edge by-high-sounding words of-things when we-hear peoples
regna prouincias; sed duos constituamus homines (nam
kingdoms provinces but two let-us-set-up men for
singulus quisque homo, ut in sermone una littera, ita
single each man as in speech one letter so
quasi elementum est ciuitatis et regni, quantalibet
as-it-were the-element is of-the-city and of-the-kingdom however-great
terrarum occupatione latissimi), quorum duorum hominum
of-lands by-occupation most-wide of-which two men
unum pauperem uel potius mediocrem, alium praediuitem
one poor or rather of-middling-means the-other very-rich
cogitemus; sed diuitem timoribus anxium, maeroribus
let-us-think-of but the-rich-man by-fears anxious with-griefs
tabescentem, cupiditate flagrantem, numquam securum,
wasting-away with-desire burning never secure
semper inquietum, perpetuis inimicitiarum contentionibus
always restless by-perpetual of-enmities contentions
anhelantem, augentem sane his miseriis patrimonium
panting increasing indeed by-these miseries patrimony
suum in inmensum modum adque illis augmentis curas
his-own to immense measure and by-those increases cares
quoque amarissimas aggerantem; mediocrem uero
also most-bitter heaping-up the-man-of-middling-means but
illum re familiari parua adque succincta sibi
that with-property of-the-household small and compact to-himself
sufficientem, carissimum suis, cum cognatis uicinis amicis
sufficient most-dear to-his-own with kinsmen neighbors friends

dulcissima pace gaudentem, pietate religiosum, benignum
in-sweetest peace rejoicing in-devotion religious kind
mente, sanum corpore, uita parcum, moribus castum,
in-mind sound in-body in-life sparing in-morals chaste
conscientia securum. Nescio utrum quisquam ita desipiat,
in-conscience secure I-know-not whether anyone so is-foolish
ut audeat dubitare quem praeferat. Ut ergo in his
that he-dare to-doubt which he-should-prefer as therefore in these
duobus hominibus, ita in duabus familiis, ita in duobus
two men so in two households so in two
populis, ita in duobus regnis regula sequitur aequitatis, qua
peoples so in two kingdoms the-rule follows of-equity which
uigilanter adhibita si nostra intentio corrigatur, facillime
watchfully applied if our attention be-corrected most-easily
uidebimus ubi habitet uanitas et ubi felicitas. Quapropter
we-shall-see where dwells vanity and where happiness wherefore
si uerus Deus colatur eique sacris ueracibus et bonis
if the-true God be-worshiped and-to-him with-rites true and good
moribus seruiatur, utile est ut boni longe lateque diu
morals be-served useful it-is that the-good far and-wide long
regnent; neque hoc tam ipsis quam illis utile est,
reign nor this so-much to-themselves as to-those useful it-is
quibus regnant. Nam quantum ad ipsos pertinet, pietas
over-whom they-reign for as-far-as to themselves pertains the-devotion
et probitas eorum, quae magna Dei dona sunt, sufficit
and uprightness their which great of-God gifts are suffices
eis ad ueram felicitatem, qua et ista uita bene agatur
for-them for true happiness by-which both this life well may-be-led
et postea percipiatur aeterna. In hac ergo terra regnum
and afterward be-received the-eternal in this therefore earth the-kingdom
bonorum non tam illis praestatur quam rebus humanis;
of-the-good not so-much to-them is-afforded as to-things human

malorum uero regnum magis regnantibus nocet, qui suos
of-the-evil but the-kingdom more the-reigning harms who their-own
animos uastant scelerum maiore licentia; his autem,
minds lay-waste of-crimes by-the-greater license to-those but
qui eis seruiendo subduntur, non nocet nisi propria
who to-them by-serving are-subjected not it-harms except their-own
iniquitas. Nam iustis quidquid malorum ab iniquis dominis
iniquity for to-the-just whatever of-evils by unjust masters
inrogatur, non est poena criminis, sed uirtutis examen.
is-imposed not is the-punishment of-a-crime but of-virtue the-test
Proinde bonus etiamsi seruiat, liber est; malus autem
accordingly the-good-man even-if he-serve free is the-evil-man but
etiamsi regnet, seruus est, nec unius hominis, sed, quod
even-if he-reign a-slave is nor of-one man but what
est grauius, tot dominorum quot uitiorum. De quibus
is heavier of-as-many masters as vices about which
uitiis cum ageret scriptura diuina: A quo enim quis,
vices when it-treated scripture divine by whom for anyone
inquit, deuictus est, huic et seruus addictus est.
it-says overcome has-been to-this-one also a-slave assigned he-is

Remove justice, and what are kingdoms but great robberies, and robberies but small kingdoms? A band of men rules itself by a chief, binds itself by a pact, and divides the booty; when it grows to hold places, found seats, seize cities, and subdue peoples, it takes the name of kingdom, not because its greed is removed but because impunity is added. So a captured pirate told Alexander: because I do it with a small ship I am called a robber, and you with a great fleet an emperor.

Remota itaque iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?
removed and-so justice what are kingdoms except great robberies
quia et latrocinia quid sunt nisi parua regna? Manus
because also robberies what are-they except small kingdoms a-band
et ipsa hominum est, imperio principis regitur, pacto
also itself of-men is by-the-command of-a-chief it-is-ruled by-the-pact
societatis adstringitur, placiti lege praeda diuiditur.
of-association it-is-bound of-agreement by-the-law the-booty is-divided
Hoc malum si in tantum perditorum hominum accessibus
this evil if to such-a-degree of-abandoned men by-accessions
crescit, ut et loca teneat sedes constituat, ciuitates occupet
grows that both places it-holds seats it-establishes cities it-occupies
populos subiuget, euidentius regni nomen adsumit, quod
peoples it-subjugates more-evidently of-kingdom the-name it-assumes which
ei iam in manifesto confert non demta cupiditas, sed
to-it already in the-open confers not removed greed but
addita inpunitas. Eleganter enim et ueraciter Alexandro illi
added impunity elegantly for and truly to-Alexander that
Magno quidam conprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum
Great a-certain captured pirate answered for when
idem rex hominem interrogaret, quid ei uideretur, ut
the-same king the-man asked what to-him it-seemed that
mare haberet infestum, ille libera contumacia: Quod tibi,
the-sea he-held infested he with-free defiance what to-you

inquit, ut orbem terrarum; sed quia id ego exiguo nauigio
he-says that the-world of-lands but because that I with-a-small ship
facio, latro uocor; quia tu magna classe, imperator.
do a-robber I-am-called because you with-a-great fleet an-emperor

V · THE GLADIATORS' KINGDOM

Leave aside the kind of men Romulus gathered. The great empire itself feared a few gladiators who fled their school in Campania, gathered a great army under three leaders, and laid Italy waste. What god helped them to a kingdom so feared? If they are denied divine help because they did not last, no man's life lasts. If even brief benefits come from the gods, these gladiators were greatly helped: they broke their chains, beat Roman commanders, and lived as they pleased, lofty and reigning, until they were conquered.

Proinde omitto quaerere quales Romulus congregauerit,
accordingly I-omit to-inquire what-kind Romulus gathered
quoniam multum eis consultum est, ut ex illa uita
since much for-them provided it-was that from that life
dato sibi consortio ciuitatis poenas debitas cogitare
given to-them the-fellowship of-the-city the-punishments owed to-ponder
desisterent, quarum metus eos in maiora facinora propellebat,
they-should-cease whose fear them into greater crimes was-driving
ut deinceps pacatiores essent rebus humanis. Hoc dico,
so-that thenceforth more-peaceful they-might-be in-things human this I-say
quod ipsum Romanum imperium iam magnum multis
that the-very Roman empire already great with-many
gentibus subiugatis ceterisque terribile acerbe sensit, grauiter
nations subjugated and-to-the-rest terrible bitterly felt heavily
timuit, non paruo negotio deuitandae ingentis cladis
feared not with-small effort to-be-avoided of-a-huge disaster

obpressit, quando paucissimi gladiatores in Campania de
crushed when very-few gladiators in Campania from
ludo fugientes magnum exercitum conpararunt, tres duces
the-school fleeing a-great army assembled three leaders
habuerunt, Italiam latissime et crudelissime uastauerunt.
had Italy most-widely and most-cruelly laid-waste
Dicant, quis istos deus adiuuerit, ut ex paruo et
let-them-say what these god helped that from a-small and
contemtibili latrocinio peruenirent ad regnum tantis iam
contemptible robbery they-came to a-kingdom by-so-great already
Romanis uiribus arcibusque metuendum. An quia non diu
Roman forces and-citadels to-be-feared or because not long
fuerunt, ideo diuinitus negabuntur adiuti? Quasi uero ipsa
they-were therefore divinely will-they-be-denied helped as-if indeed itself
cuiuslibet hominis uita diuturna est. Isto ergo pacto
of-any man the-life long-lasting is by-that therefore reasoning
neminem di adiuuant ad regnandum, quoniam singuli
no-one the-gods help to reigning since each
quique cito moriuntur, nec beneficium deputandum est,
individual quickly dies nor a-benefit to-be-reckoned is-it
quod exiguo tempore in unoquoque homine ac per hoc
which in-small time in each man and through this
singillatim utique in omnibus uice uaporis euanescit.
one-by-one assuredly in all in-the-manner of-a-vapor vanishes
Quid enim interest eorum, qui sub Romulo deos coluerunt
what for does-it-matter for-those who under Romulus the-gods worshiped
et olim sunt mortui, quod post eorum mortem Romanum
and long-ago are dead that after their death the-Roman
tantum creuit imperium, cum illi aput inferos causas suas
so-greatly grew empire when they among the-dead the-cases their-own
agant? utrum bonas an malas, ad rem praesentem non
plead whether good or bad to the-matter present not

pertinet. Hoc autem de omnibus intellegendum est, qui per
pertains this moreover about all to-be-understood is who through
ipsum imperium (quamuis decedentibus succedentibusque
the-very empire although with-departing and-succeeding
mortalibus in longa spatia protendatur) paucis diebus
mortals into long spaces it-be-extended in-few days
uitae suae cursim raptimque transierunt, actuum suorum
of-life their-own hastily and-hurriedly have-passed of-deeds their-own
sarcinas baiulantes. Sin uero etiam ipsa breuissimi temporis
the-burdens carrying if but even the-very of-the-shortest time
beneficia deorum adiutorio tribuenda sunt, non parum adiuti
benefits of-the-gods to-the-help to-be-attributed are not little helped
sunt illi gladiatores: seruilis condicionis uincla ruperunt,
were those gladiators of-slavish condition the-chains they-broke
fugerunt, euaserunt, exercitum magnum et fortissimum
they-fled they-escaped an-army great and most-brave
collegerunt, oboedientes regum suorum consiliis et iussis
they-gathered obeying of-kings their-own the-counsels and commands
multum Romanae celsitudini metuendi et aliquot Romanis
much to-Roman loftiness to-be-feared and to-some Roman
imperatoribus insuperabiles multa ceperunt, potiti sunt
commanders unconquerable many-things they-took possessed have
uictoriis plurimis, usi uoluptatibus quibus uoluerunt, quod
victories very-many enjoyed pleasures which they-wished what
suggessit libido fecerunt, postremo donec uincerentur, quod
suggested lust they-did finally until they-were-conquered which
difficillime factum est, sublimes regnantesque uixerunt.
with-greatest-difficulty done was lofty and-reigning they-lived
Sed ad maiora ueniamus.
but to greater-things let-us-come

Justin, following Trogus Pompeius, begins his history saying that at first kings ruled by moderation and peoples were bound by no laws, each content to defend his own; Ninus, king of the Assyrians, first changed this custom by a new desire for empire, made war on his neighbors, and subdued the East. Whatever the truth of these writers, the Assyrian kingdom lasted, the chroniclers say, 1,240 years, until it passed to the Medes. To make war on peaceful neighbors from desire for rule is nothing but great robbery.

Iustinus, qui Graecam uel potius peregrinam Trogum
Justin who Greek or rather foreign Trogus
Pompeium secutus non Latine tantum, sicut ille, uerum
Pompeius following not in-Latin only as he but
etiam breuiter scripsit historiam, opus librorum suorum sic
also briefly wrote history the-work of-books his-own thus
incipit: "Principio rerum gentium nationumque imperium
begins in-the-beginning of-things of-peoples and-nations the-rule
penes reges erat, quos ad fastigium huius maiestatis non
with kings was whom to the-summit of-this majesty not
ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio
ambition popular but proved among the-good moderation
prouehebat. Populi nullis legibus tenebantur; fines
advanced the-peoples by-no laws were-held the-boundaries
imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat; intra suam
of-rule to-protect rather than to-extend the-custom was within his-own
cuique patriam regna finiebantur. Primus omnium Ninus
to-each fatherland the-kingdoms were-bounded first of-all Ninus
rex Assyriorum ueterem et quasi auitum gentibus morem
king of-the-Assyrians the-ancient and as-it-were ancestral to-the-nations custom
noua imperii cupiditate mutauit. Hic primus intulit bella
by-new of-rule desire changed this-one first brought wars

finitimis et rudes adhuc ad resistendum populos ad
on-neighbors and the-unskilled still for resisting peoples to
terminos usque Libyae perdomuit." Et paulo post: "Ninus,
the-borders even of-Libya subdued and a-little after Ninus
inquit, magnitudinem quaesitae dominationis continua
he-says the-greatness of-the-acquired domination by-continuous
possessione firmauit. Domitis igitur proximis cum accessione
possession confirmed subdued therefore the-nearest when with-the-increase
uirium fortior ad alios transiret et proxima quaeque uictoria
of-strength stronger to others he-passed and the-nearest each victory
instrumentum sequentis esset, totius Orientis populos
the-instrument of-the-following was of-the-whole East the-peoples
subegit". Qualibet autem fide rerum uel iste uel Trogus
he-subdued with-whatever but faith of-things either this-one or Trogus
scripserit (nam quaedam illos fuisse mentitos aliae fideliores
wrote for certain-things they to-have lied other more-faithful
litterae ostendunt), constat tamen et inter alios scriptores
letters show it-is-agreed yet also among other writers
regnum Assyriorum a Nino rege fuisse longe lateque
that-the-kingdom of-the-Assyrians by Ninus the-king to-have-been far and-wide
porrectum. Tam diu autem perseuerauit, ut Romanum
extended so long moreover it-persevered that the-Roman
nondum sit eius aetatis. Nam sicut scribunt, qui chronicam
not-yet is of-its age for as write those-who chronicle
historiam persecuti sunt, mille ducentos et quadraginta
history pursued have thousand two-hundred and forty
annos ab anno primo, quo Ninus regnare coepit, permansit
years from the-year first in-which Ninus to-reign began endured
hoc regnum, donec transferretur ad Medos. Inferre autem
this kingdom until it-was-transferred to the-Medes to-bring but
bella finitimis et in cetera inde procedere ac populos sibi
wars on-neighbors and to others thence to-proceed and peoples to-himself

non molestos sola regni cupiditate conterere et subdere,
not troublesome by-sole of-kingdom desire to-crush and to-subject
quid aliud quam grande latrocinium nominandum est?
what else than a-great robbery to-be-named is-it

VII · WHETHER EARTHLY KINGDOMS ARE THE GODS' GIFT

If the Assyrian kingdom grew so great without the gods' help, why credit the Roman gods with Rome's? If the Assyrian gods gave theirs, did they die when it was lost, or go over to the Medes and Persians for better pay? Either the gods are faithless deserters, or weak, or conquered by other gods. Christ's name was not preached when those kingdoms fell; had it been, the pagans of that time would have blamed it. Rome's empire was afflicted rather than changed, as it was before Christ's name and recovered; its recovery is not to be despaired of now, for who knows God's will?

Si nullo deorum adiutorio tam magnum hoc regnum
if by-no of-the-gods help so great this kingdom
et prolixum fuit, quare dis Romanis tribuitur
and long-lasting was why to-the-gods Roman is-attributed
Romanum regnum locis amplum temporibusque diuturnum?
the-Roman kingdom in-places ample and-in-times long-lasting
Quaecumque enim causa est illa, eadem est etiam ista.
whatever for the-cause is that the-same is also this
Si autem et illud deorum adiutorio tribuendum esse
if but also that of-the-gods to-the-help to-be-attributed to-be
contendunt, quaero quorum. Non enim aliae gentes, quas
they-contend I-ask which-gods not for other nations which
Ninus domuit et subegit, alios tunc colebant deos. Aut si
Ninus tamed and subdued other then worshiped gods or if
proprios habuerunt Assyrii, quasi peritiores fabros imperii
their-own they-had the-Assyrians as-if more-skilled craftsmen of-empire

construendi adque seruandi, numquidnam mortui sunt,
to-be-built and to-be-kept surely-not dead are-they
quando et ipsi imperium perdiderunt, aut mercede non
when also they the-empire lost or with-wages not
sibi reddita uel alia maiore promissa ad Medos transire
to-themselves paid or another greater promised to the-Medes to-cross-over
maluerunt, adque inde rursus ad Persas Cyro inuitante
did-they-prefer and thence again to the-Persians with-Cyrus inviting
et aliquid commodius pollicente? Quae gens non angustis
and something more-advantageous promising which nation not in-narrow
Orientis finibus post Alexandri Macedonis regnum magnum
of-the-East bounds after of-Alexander the-Macedonian the-kingdom great
locis, sed breuissimum tempore in suo regno adhuc usque
in-places but very-short in-time in its-own kingdom still up-to-now
perdurat. Hoc si ita est, aut infideles di sunt, qui
endures this if so it-is either unfaithful the-gods are who
suos deserunt et ad hostes transeunt (quod nec homo
their-own desert and to the-enemies cross-over which not-even a-man
fecit Camillus, quando uictor et expugnator aduersissimae
did Camillus when victor and stormer of-a-most-hostile
ciuitatis Romam, cui uicerat, sensit ingratam, quam
city Rome for-which he-had-conquered he-felt ungrateful which
tamen postea oblitus iniuriae, memor patriae, a Gallis
yet afterward forgetful of-injury mindful of-fatherland from the-Gauls
iterum liberauit), aut non ita fortes sunt, ut deos esse
again he-freed or not so strong they-are as gods to-be
fortes decet, qui possunt humanis uel consiliis uel uiribus
strong befits who can by-human either counsels or strength
uinci; aut si, cum inter se belligerant, non di ab
to-be-conquered or if when among themselves they-war not gods by
hominibus, sed di ab aliis dis forte uincuntur, qui sunt
men but gods by other gods perhaps are-conquered who are

quarumque proprii ciuitatum: habent ergo et ipsi inter
of-each own cities they-have therefore also themselves among
se inimicitias, quas pro sua quisque parte suscipiunt.
themselves enmities which for his-own each party they-undertake
Non itaque deos suos debuit colere ciuitas magis quam
not and-so gods its-own ought to-worship a-city rather than
alios, a quibus adiuuarentur sui. Postremo quoquo modo
others by whom might-be-helped their-own finally in-whatever way
se habeat deorum iste uel transitus uel fuga, uel migratio
itself it-may-have of-the-gods this either crossing or flight or migration
uel in pugna defectio, nondum illis temporibus adque in
or in battle defection not-yet in-those times and in
illis terrarum partibus Christi nomen fuerat praedicatum,
those of-the-lands parts of-Christ the-name had-been preached
quando illa regna per ingentes clades bellicas amissa adque
when those kingdoms through huge disasters of-war lost and
translata sunt. Nam post mille ducentos et quod excurrit
transferred were for after thousand two-hundred and what exceeds
annos, quando regnum Assyriis ablatum est, si iam
years when the-kingdom from-the-Assyrians taken-away was if already
ibi Christiana religio aliud regnum praedicaret aeternum
there the-Christian religion another kingdom preached eternal
et deorum falsorum cultus sacrilegos inhiberet: quid aliud
and of-the-gods false the-worship sacrilegious forbade what else
illius gentis uani homines dicerent, nisi regnum, quod
of-that nation the-vain men would-say except that-the-kingdom which
tam diu conseruatum est, nulla alia causa nisi suis
so long preserved was by-no other cause except with-its-own
religionibus desertis et illa recepta perire potuisse?
religions deserted and that-one received to-perish to-have-been-able
In qua uoce uanitatis, quae poterat esse, isti adtendant
in which voice of-vanity which could to-be these let-them-heed

speculum suum, et similia conqueri, si ullus in eis pudor
mirror their-own and similar-things to-complain if any in them shame
est, erubescant. Quamquam Romanum imperium adflictum
is let-them-blush although the-Roman empire afflicted
est potius quam mutatum, quod et aliis ante Christi
was rather than changed which also in-other before of-Christ
nomen temporibus ei contigit et ab illa est adflictione
the-name times to-it happened and from that was affliction
recreatum, quod nec istis temporibus desperandum est.
restored which not-even in-these times to-be-despaired-of is
Quis enim de hac re nouit uoluntatem Dei?
who for about this matter knows the-will of-God

VIII · THE GODS OF SMALL THINGS

Which god extended and preserved the empire? Surely not Cluacina, Volupia, Lubentina, Vaticanus, or Cunina. The Romans divided every office among divinities: the country to Rusina, ridges to Jugatinus, hills to Collatina, and valleys to Vallonia; for the crops Seia, Segetia, Tutilina, Proserpina, Nodutus, Volutina, Patelana, Hostilina, Flora, Lacturnus, Matuta, and Runcina. Even a door had three gods, Forculus, Cardea, and Limentinus. How could Segetia care for the empire, when she could not care for crops and trees at once?

Deinde quaeramus, si placet, ex tanta deorum turba, quam
then let-us-ask if it-pleases from so-great of-gods a-crowd which
Romani colebant, quem potissimum uel quos deos credant
the-Romans worshiped whom above-all or which gods they-believe
illud imperium dilatasse adque seruasse. Neque enim in
that empire to-have-extended and preserved nor for in
hoc tam praeclaro opere et tantae plenissimo dignitatis
this so illustrious work and of-so-great most-full of-dignity

audent aliquas partes deae Cluacinae tribuere aut
do-they-dare any parts to-the-goddess Cluacina to-attribute or
Volupiae, quae a uoluptate appellata est, aut Lubentinae,
to-Volupia who from pleasure named was or to-Lubentina
cui nomen est a libidine, aut Vaticano, qui infantum
to-whom the-name is from lust or to-Vaticanus who of-infants
uagitibus praesidet, aut Cuninae, quae cunas eorum
over-the-wailings presides or to-Cunina who the-cradles their
administrat. Quando autem possunt uno loco libri huius
administers when but can in-one place of-book this
commemorari omnia nomina deorum et dearum, quae illi
to-be-recalled all the-names of-gods and goddesses which they
grandibus uoluminibus uix conprehendere potuerunt singulis
in-great volumes scarcely to-comprehend could to-single
rebus propria dispertientes officia numinum? Nec agrorum
things proper distributing the-duties of-divinities nor of-the-fields
munus uni alicui deo committendum arbitrati sunt,
the-charge to-one any god to-be-entrusted judged they-have
sed rura deae Rusinae, iuga montium deo
but the-country to-the-goddess Rusina the-ridges of-the-mountains to-the-god
Iugatino; collibus deam Collatinam, uallibus Valloniam
Jugatinus over-the-hills the-goddess Collatina over-the-valleys Vallonia
praefecerunt. Nec saltem potuerunt unam Segetiam talem
they-set nor even could-they one Segetia such
inuenire, cui semel segetes commendarent, sed sata
to-find to-whom once the-crops they-might-commend but the-sown
frumenta, quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam uoluerunt
grains as-long-as under the-earth they-were set-over-them they-wished
habere deam Seiam; cum uero iam essent super terram
to-have the-goddess Seia when but already they-were above the-earth
et segetem facerent, deam Segetiam; frumentis uero
and a-crop made the-goddess Segetia with-the-grains but

collectis adque reconditis, ut tuto seruarentur, deam
gathered and stored that safely they-might-be-kept the-goddess
Tutilinam praeposuerunt. Cui non sufficere uideretur
Tutilina they-set-over to-whom not to-suffice would-it-seem
illa Segetia, quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque
that Segetia as-long-as the-crop from beginnings grassy up
ad aristas aridas perueniret? Non tamen satis fuit
to the-ears dry should-come not yet enough it-was
hominibus deorum multitudinem amantibus, ut anima
for-men of-gods a-multitude loving that the-soul
misera daemoniorum turbae prostitueretur, unius Dei ueri
wretched of-demons to-the-crowd be-prostituted of-the-one God true
castum dedignata conplexum. Praefecerunt ergo Proserpinam
the-chaste disdaining embrace they-set-over therefore Proserpina
frumentis germinantibus, geniculis nodisque culmorum deum
over-the-grains sprouting over-the-joints and-knots of-the-stalks the-god
Nodutum, inuolumentis folliculorum deam Volutinam; cum
Nodutus over-the-sheaths of-the-husks the-goddess Volutina when
folliculi patescunt, ut spica exeat, deam Patelanam, cum
the-husks open that the-ear may-come-out the-goddess Patelana when
segetes nouis aristis aequantur, quia ueteres aequare hostire
the-crops with-new ears are-leveled because the-ancients to-level hostire
dixerunt, deam Hostilinam; florentibus frumentis deam
said the-goddess Hostilina over-the-flowering grains the-goddess
Floram, lactescentibus deum Lacturnum, maturescentibus
Flora over-the-milky the-god Lacturnus over-the-ripening
deam Matutam; cum runcantur, id est a terra
the-goddess Matuta when they-are-weeded that is from the-earth
auferuntur, deam Runcinam. Nec omnia commemoro, quia
are-removed the-goddess Runcina nor all-things do-I-recall because
me piget quod illos non pudet. Haec autem paucissima
me irks what them not shames these moreover very-few

ideo dixi, ut intellegeretur nullo modo eos dicere audere
therefore I-said that it-might-be-understood in-no way them to-say to-dare
ista numina imperium constituisse auxisse conseruasse
these divinities the-empire to-have-established increased preserved
Romanum, quae ita suis quaeque adhibebantur officiis,
Roman which so to-their-own each were-applied duties
ut nihil uniuersum uni alicui crederetur. Quando ergo
that nothing whole to-one any was-entrusted when then
Segetia curaret imperium, cui curam gerere simul et
would-Segetia care-for the-empire to-whom care to-bear at-once both
segetibus et arboribus non licebat? Quando de armis
for-crops and for-trees not it-was-allowed when about arms
Cunina cogitaret, cuius praepositura paruulorum cunas
would-Cunina think whose charge of-little-ones the-cradles
non permittebatur excedere? Quando Nodutus adiuuaret
not was-permitted to-exceed when would-Nodutus help
in bello, qui nec ad folliculum spicae, sed tantum ad
in war who not-even to the-sheath of-the-ear but only to
nodum geniculi pertinebat? Unum quisque domui suae
the-knot of-the-joint pertained one each for-house his-own
ponit ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino sufficit: tres
sets a-door-keeper and because a-man he-is altogether he-suffices three
deos isti posuerunt, Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini,
gods these set Forculus for-the-doors Cardea for-the-hinge
Limentinum limini. Ita non poterat Forculus simul et
Limentinus for-the-threshold so not could Forculus at-once also
cardinem limenque seruare.
the-hinge and-the-threshold to-guard

Leaving the petty gods aside, let us ask which of the greater made Rome so great: doubtless Jupiter, king of gods and men, as his scepter and the Capitol on its high hill show, and of whom it is said, all things are full of Jupiter. Varro believes he is worshiped even by those who worship one God without an image, under another name. If so, why was he so ill treated at Rome as to be given an image? Varro himself says that those who first set up images took away fear and added error.

Omissa igitur ista turba minutorum deorum uel aliquantum
left-aside therefore this crowd of-petty gods or somewhat
intermissa officium maiorum deorum debemus inquirere,
interrupted the-duty of-the-greater gods we-ought to-inquire
quo Roma tam magna facta est, ut tam diu tot
by-which Rome so great made was that so long over-so-many
gentibus imperaret. Nimirum ergo Iouis hoc opus est.
nations it-should-rule doubtless therefore of-Jupiter this the-work is
Ipsum enim deorum omnium dearumque regem uolunt:
him for of-the-gods all and-goddesses the-king they-will-have
hoc eius indicat sceptrum, hoc in alto colle Capitolium. De
this his shows scepter this on the-high hill the-Capitol about
isto deo quamuis a poeta dictum conuenientissime praedicant:
this god although by a-poet said most-fittingly they-proclaim

Iouis omnia plena.
of-Jupiter all-things full

Hunc Varro credit etiam ab his coli, qui unum
this-one Varro believes even by those to-be-worshiped who one
Deum solum sine simulacro colunt, sed alio nomine
God alone without an-image worship but by-another name
nuncupari. Quod si ita est, quur tam male tractatus
to-be-called which if so it-is why so badly treated

est Romae, sicut quidem et in ceteris gentibus, ut
was-he at-Rome as indeed also among other nations that
ei fieret simulacrum? Quod ipsi etiam Varroni ita
for-him should-be-made an-image which himself even to-Varro so
displicet, ut, cum tantae ciuitatis peruersa consuetudine
displeases that though of-so-great a-city by-the-perverse custom
premeretur, nequaquam tamen dicere et scribere dubitaret,
he-was-pressed by-no-means yet to-say and to-write he-hesitated
quod hi, qui populis instituerunt simulacra, et metum
that those who for-the-peoples established images both fear
demserunt et errorem addiderunt.
took-away and error added

X · JUPITER, JUNO, AND THE ELEMENTS

Why is Juno joined to Jupiter as sister and wife? They say Jupiter is the ether and Juno the air; then he does not fill all things, if she fills part. Why give the sea to Neptune and Salacia, the earth to Pluto and Proserpina, when lower water is still water and lower earth still earth? Where is Minerva, and why is Saturn, whom they call time, not given equal honor? The earth is Terra, Tellus, Tellumo, the Mother of the gods, Ceres, Vesta, and even Venus, though virgins serve Vesta. And they blame us for saying such things, while they gladly watch the gods' crimes in theaters, staged in those gods' honor.

Quur illi etiam Iuno uxor adiungitur, quae dicatur "soror
why to-him also Juno as-wife is-joined who is-called sister
et coniux"? Quia Iouem, inquiunt, in aethere accipimus,
and wife because Jupiter they-say in the-ether we-take
in aere Iunonem, et haec duo elementa coniuncta sunt,
in the-air Juno and these two elements joined are
alterum superius, alterum inferius. Non est ergo ille,
the-one higher the-other lower not he-is therefore that-one

de quo dictum est “Iouis omnia plena”, si aliquam
about whom said it-is of-Jupiter all-things full if some
partem inplet et Iuno. An uterque utrumque inplet, et
part fills also Juno or each both fills and
ambo isti coniuges et in duobus istis elementis et in
both these spouses and in two these elements and in
singulis simul sunt? Quur ergo aether datur Ioui,
each at-the-same-time are why then the-ether is-given to-Jupiter
aer Iunoni? Postremo ipsi duo satis essent: quid est
the-air to-Juno finally these two enough would-be what is-it
quod mare Neptuno tribuitur, terra Plutoni? Et ne ipsi
that the-sea to-Neptune is-attributed the-earth to-Pluto and lest themselves
quoque sine coniugibus remanerent, additur Neptuno
also without spouses they-should-remain is-added to-Neptune
Salacia, Plutoni Proserpina. Nam sicut inferiorem caeli
Salacia to-Pluto Proserpina for as the-lower of-heaven
partem, id est aerem, inquiunt, Iuno tenet, ita inferiorem
part that is the-air they-say Juno holds so the-lower
maris Salacia et terrae inferiorem Proserpina. Quaerunt
of-the-sea Salacia and of-the-earth the-lower Proserpina they-seek
quem ad modum sarciant fabulas, nec inueniunt. Si
in-what to manner they-may-patch the-fables and-not they-find if
enim haec ita essent, tria potius elementa mundi
for these-things so were three rather the-elements of-the-world
esse, non quattuor, eorum ueteres proderent, ut singula
to-be not four their ancients would-hand-down that the-single
deorum coniugia diuiderentur singulis elementis. Nunc uero
of-the-gods marriages might-be-divided to-the-single elements now but
omni modo adfirmauerunt aliud esse aetherem, aliud aerem.
in-every manner they-have-affirmed other to-be the-ether other the-air
Aqua uero siue superior siue inferior utique aqua est;
water indeed whether higher or lower assuredly water is

puta quia dissimilis: numquid in tantum ut aqua non
suppose because unlike surely-not to such-a-degree that water not
sit? Et inferior terra quid aliud potest esse quam terra
it-be and the-lower earth what else can to-be than earth
quantalibet diuersitate distincta? Deinde ecce iam totus in
by-however-great difference distinguished then behold now whole in
his quattuor uel tribus elementis corporeus conpletus est
these four or three elements bodily completed is
mundus: Minerua ubi erit? quid tenebit? quid inplebit?
the-world Minerva where will-she-be what will-she-hold what will-she-fill
Simul enim cum his in Capitolio constituta est, cum
together for with these in the-Capitol established she-is though
ista filia non sit amborum. Aut si aetheris partem
this-one the-daughter not be of-both or if of-the-ether the-part
superiorem Mineruam tenere dicunt et hac occasione
higher Minerva to-hold they-say and on-this occasion
fingere poetas quod de Iouis capite nata sit: quur non
to-feign the-poets that from of-Jupiter the-head born she-was why not
ergo ipsa potius deorum regina deputatur, quod sit Ioue
then herself rather of-the-gods queen is-she-reckoned because she-is than-Jupiter
superior? An quia indignum erat praeponere patri filiam?
higher or because unworthy it-was to-set-before the-father the-daughter
Quur non de Ioue ipso erga Saturnum iustitia ista
why not about Jupiter himself toward Saturn justice this
seruata est? An quia uictus est? Ergo pugnarunt? Absit,
kept was or because conquered he-was then they-fought far-be-it
inquiunt; fabularum est ista garrulitas. Ecce fabulis non
they-say of-fables it-is this chatter behold fables not
credatur et de dis meliora sentiantur: quur ergo non
let-be-believed and about the-gods better-things let-be-thought why then not
data est patri Iouis, etsi non sublimior, aequalis certe
given was to-the-father of-Jupiter if not a-loftier an-equal surely

sedes honoris? Quia Saturnus, inquiunt, temporis longitudo
seat of-honor because Saturn they-say of-time the-length
est. Tempus ergo colunt, qui Saturnum colunt, et rex
is time therefore they-worship who Saturn worship and the-king
deorum Iuppiter insinuatur natus ex tempore. Quid enim
of-the-gods Jupiter is-insinuated born from time what for
indignum dicitur, cum Iuppiter et Iuno nati dicuntur ex
unworthy is-said when Jupiter and Juno born are-said from
tempore, si caelum est ille et illa terra, cum facta sint
time if heaven is he and she earth since made were
utique caelum et terra? nam hoc quoque in libris suis
assuredly heaven and earth for this also in books their-own
habent eorum docti adque sapientes. Neque de figmentis
have their learned and wise-men nor about fictions
poeticis, sed de philosophorum libris a Vergilio dictum est:
poetic but from of-the-philosophers the-books by Vergil said it-is

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether
then the-father almighty with-fruitful showers the-ether
coniugis in gremium laetae descendit,
of-his-wife into the-lap glad descends

id est in gremium telluris aut terrae; quia et hic aliquas
that is into the-lap of-Tellus or of-the-earth because also here some
differentias uolunt esse adque in ipsa terra aliud Terram,
differences they-wish to-be and in the-very earth one-thing Terra
aliud Tellurem, aliud Tellumonem putant, et hos omnes
another Tellus another Tellumo they-think and these all
deos habent suis nominibus appellatos, suis officiis
gods they-have by-their-own names called by-their-own duties
distinctos, suis aris sacrisque ueneratos. Eandem terram
distinguished at-their-own altars and-rites venerated the-same earth

etiam matrem deum uocant, ut iam poetae tolerabiliora
also mother of-the-gods they-call so-that now the-poets more-tolerable-things
confingant, si secundum istorum non poeticos, sed sacrorum
may-feign if according-to of-these not the-poetic but of-the-rites
libros non solum Iuno, "soror et coniux", sed etiam mater
books not only Juno sister and wife but also the-mother
est Iouis. Eandem terram Cererem, eandem etiam Vestam
is of-Jupiter the-same earth Ceres the-same also Vesta
uolunt, cum tamen saepius Vestam non nisi ignem esse
they-wish though yet more-often Vesta not except fire to-be
perhibeant pertinentem ad focos, sine quibus ciuitas esse
they-say belonging to the-hearths without which a-city to-be
non potest, et ideo illi uirgines solere seruire, quod
not can and therefore to-her virgins to-be-wont to-serve because
sicut ex uirgine, ita nihil ex igne nascatur. Quam totam
as from a-virgin so nothing from fire is-born which whole
uanitatem aboleri et extingui utique ab illo oportuit,
vanity to-be-abolished and to-be-extinguished assuredly by him it-behooved
qui est natus ex uirgine. Quis enim ferat, quod, cum
who is born from a-virgin who for would-bear that when
tantum honoris et quasi castitatis igni tribuerint,
so-much of-honor and as-it-were of-chastity to-fire they-have-attributed
aliquando Vestam non erubescunt etiam Venerem dicere,
sometimes Vesta not do-they-blush even Venus to-call
ut uanescat in ancillis eius honorata uirginitas? Si enim
that may-vanish in the-handmaids her honored virginity if for
Vesta Venus est, quo modo ei rite uirgines a Veneriis
Vesta Venus is in-what manner her duly virgins from Venereal
operibus abstinendo seruierunt? An Veneres duae sunt, una
works by-abstaining served or Venuses two are-there one
uirgo, altera mulier? An potius tres, una uirginum, quae
a-virgin the-other a-woman or rather three one of-virgins who

etiam Vesta est, alia coniugatarum, alia meretricum?
also Vesta is another of-married-women another of-harlots
Cui etiam Phoenices donum dabant de prostitutione
to-whom also the-Phoenicians a-gift gave from the-prostitution
filiarum, antequam eas iungerent uiris. Quae illarum
of-(their)-daughters before them they-joined to-husbands which of-them
est matrona Vulcani? Non utique uirgo, quoniam habet
is the-wife of-Vulcan not assuredly the-virgin since she-has
maritum. Absit autem ut meretrix, ne filio Iunonis et
a-husband far-be-it but that the-harlot lest to-the-son of-Juno and
cooperario Mineruae facere uideamur iniuriam. Ergo haec
fellow-worker of-Minerva to-do we-seem injury therefore this-one
ad coniugatas intellegitur pertinere: sed eam nolumus
to the-married is-understood to-belong but her we-are-unwilling
imitentur in eo quod fecit illa cum Marte. Rursus,
that-they-imitate in that which did she with Mars again
inquiunt, ad fabulas redis. Quae ista iustitia est, nobis
they-say to the-fables you-return what this justice is with-us
suscensere, quod talia dicimus de dis eorum, et
to-be-angry because such-things we-say about the-gods their and
sibi non suscensere, qui haec in theatris libentissime
with-themselves not to-be-angry who these-things in the-theaters most-gladly
spectant crimina deorum suorum? Et (quod esset incredibile,
watch the-crimes of-gods their-own and what would-be incredible
nisi contestatissime probaretur) haec ipsa theatrica crimina
unless most-attestedly it-were-proved these very theatrical crimes
deorum in honorem instituta sunt eorundem deorum.
of-the-gods in honor established were of-the-same gods

However the physicists argue, let Jupiter be the world's mind, the ether, and the god who goes through all lands. Then he is Juno in the air, Neptune in the sea, Pluto in the earth, Vesta in the hearths, Mars in war, Liber in vineyards, and every petty divinity of birth, childhood, marriage, and growth, Fortune bearded included. If all these are one Jupiter, his parts or powers, what would they lose by worshiping one God more prudently? And if the parts are angry when neglected, they have separate lives, and Priapus would be preferred to the stars.

Quotlibet igitur physicis rationibus et disputationibus
however-many therefore by-physical reasons and disputations
adserant: modo sit Iuppiter corporei huius mundi animus, qui
they-may-assert now be Jupiter of-corporeal this world the-mind who
uniuersam istam molem ex quattuor uel quot eis placet
the-whole this mass from four or how-many to-them it-pleases
elementis constructam adque conpactam inplet et mouet,
elements constructed and compacted fills and moves
modo inde suas partes sorori et fratribus cedat; modo
now thence his-own parts to-(his)-sister and brothers he-may-yield now
sit aether, ut aerem Iunonem subterfusam desuper amplectatur;
be the-ether that the-air Juno spread-beneath from-above he-may-embrace
modo totum simul cum aere sit ipse caelum, terram uero
now whole together with the-air be he-himself heaven the-earth but
tamquam coniugem eandemque matrem (quia hoc in diuinis
as wife and-the-same mother because this in divine-things
turpe non est) fecundis imbribus et seminibus fetet;
base not is with-fruitful showers and seeds he-makes-pregnant

modo autem (ne sit necesse per cuncta discurrere) deus
now but lest it-be necessary through all-things to-run-about god
unus, de quo multi a poeta nobilissimo dictum putant:
one about whom many by a-poet most-noble said they-think

deum namque ire per omnes
the-god for to-go through all
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
and-lands and-expanses of-the-sea and-heaven deep

ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter, ipse in aere Iuno, ipse in
himself in the-ether be Jupiter himself in the-air Juno himself in
mari Neptunus, in inferioribus etiam maris ipse Salacia,
the-sea Neptune in the-lower-parts also of-the-sea himself Salacia
in terra Pluto, in terra inferiore Proserpina, in focis
in the-earth Pluto in the-earth lower Proserpina in the-hearths
domesticis Vesta, in fabrorum fornace Vulcanus, in sideribus
domestic Vesta in of-smiths the-furnace Vulcan in the-stars
sol et luna et stellae, in diuinantibus Apollo, in merce
sun and moon and stars in the-diviners Apollo in merchandise
Mercurius, in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator, Saturnus
Mercury in Janus the-initiator in Terminus the-terminator Saturn
in tempore, Mars et Bellona in bellis, Liber in uineis,
in time Mars and Bellona in wars Liber in vineyards
Ceres in frumentis, Diana in siluis, Minerua in ingeniis;
Ceres in grains Diana in woods Minerva in talents
ipse sit postremo etiam in illa turba quasi plebeiorum
himself be finally also in that crowd as-it-were of-plebeian
deorum; ipse praesit nomine Liberi uirorum seminibus
gods himself let-him-preside by-the-name of-Liber of-men over-the-seeds
et nomine Liberae feminarum, ipse sit Diespater, qui
and by-the-name of-Libera of-women himself be Diespater who

partum perducat ad diem; ipse sit dea Mena,
the-birth may-bring-forward to day himself be the-goddess Mena
quam praefecerunt menstruis feminarum, ipse Lucina, quae
whom they-set-over the-menses of-women himself Lucina who
a parturientibus inuocetur; ipse opem ferat nascentibus
by women-in-labor is-invoked himself help may-bring to-the-newborn
excipiendo eos sinu terrae et uocetur Opis, ipse in
by-receiving them in-the-bosom of-the-earth and be-called Opis himself in
uagitu os aperiat et uocetur deus Vaticanus; ipse leuet
wailing the-mouth may-open and be-called god Vaticanus himself may-lift
de terra et uocetur dea Leuana, ipse cunas tueatur et
from the-earth and be-called goddess Levana himself the-cradles may-protect and
uocetur Cunina; non sit alius, sed ipse in illis deabus, quae
be-called Cunina not be another but himself in those goddesses who
fata nascentibus canunt et uocantur Carmentes; praesit
the-fates to-the-newborn sing and are-called Carmentes may-be-preside
fortuitis uoceturque Fortuna; in diua Rumina
over-chance-things and-be-called Fortune in the-goddess Rumina
mammam paruulo inmulgeat, quia rumam dixerunt
the-breast to-the-little-one may-be-milk-in because ruma called
ueteres mammam; in diua Potina potionem ministret, in
the-ancients the-breast in the-goddess Potina drink may-be-minister in
diua Educa escam praebeat; de pauore infantum Pauentia
the-goddess Educa food may-be-offer from the-fear of-infants Paventia
nuncupetur, de spe, quae uenit, Venilia, de uoluptate
may-be-be-called from the-hope which comes Venilia from pleasure
Volupia, de actu Agenoria; de stimulis, quibus ad nimium
Volupia from action Agenoria from the-goads by-which to excessive
actum homo inpellitur, dea Stimula nominetur; Strenia
action a-man is-driven goddess Stimula may-be-be-named Strenia
dea sit strenuum faciendo, Numeria, quae numerare
goddess may-be-be strenuous by-making Numeria who to-count

doceat, Camena, quae canere; ipse sit et deus Consus
may-teach Camena who to-sing himself be also the-god Consus
praebendo consilia et dea Sentia sententias inspirando;
by-offering counsels and the-goddess Sentia opinions by-inspiring
ipse dea Iuuentas, quae post praetextam excipiat
himself the-goddess Iuventas who after the-praetexta may-receive
iuuenalis aetatis exordia; ipse sit et Fortuna barbata, quae
of-youthful age the-beginnings himself be also Fortune bearded who
adultos barba induat (quos honorare noluerunt, ut
adults with-a-beard may-clothe whom to-honor they-were-unwilling so-that
hoc qualecumque numen saltem masculum deum uel a
this whatever divinity at-least a-masculine god either from
barba Barbatum, sicut a nodis Nodutum, uel certe non
beard Barbatus as from knots Nodutus or surely not
Fortunam, sed quia barbas habet Fortunium nominarent);
Fortuna but because beards she-has Fortunius they-should-name
ipse in Iugatino deo coniuges iungat, et cum uirgini
himself in the-Jugatine god spouses may-he-join and when for-the-virgin
uxori zona soluitur, ipse inuocetur et dea Virginensis
wife the-girdle is-loosed himself may-he-be-invoked and goddess Virginensis
uocetur; ipse sit Mutunus uel Tutunus, qui est aput
be-called himself be Mutunus or Tutunus who is among
Graecos Priapus: si non pudet, haec omnia quae dixi et
the-Greeks Priapus if not it-shames these all-things which I-have-said and
quaecumque non dixi (non enim omnia dicenda arbitratus
whatever not I-have-said not for all to-be-said judged
sum), hi omnes di deaeque sit unus Iuppiter, siue sint,
I-have these all gods and-goddesses be one Jupiter whether they-be
ut quidam uolunt, omnia ista partes eius siue uirtutes eius,
as some wish all these parts of-him or powers his
sicut eis uidetur, quibus eum placet esse mundi animum,
as to-those it-seems to-whom him it-pleases to-be of-the-world the-mind

quae sententia uelut magnorum multumque doctorum
which opinion as-if of-great and-much learned-men
est. Haec si ita sunt (quod quale sit, nondum
is these-things if so they-are which of-what-kind it-be not-yet
interim quaero), quid perderent, si unum Deum colerent
meanwhile I-ask what would-they-lose if one God they-worshiped
prudentiore conpendio? Quid enim eius contemneretur, cum
by-more-prudent short-cut what for of-him would-be-despised when
ipse coleretur? Si autem metuendum fuit, ne praetermissae
he-himself was-worshiped if but to-be-feared it-was lest passed-over
siue neglectae partes eius irascerentur: non ergo, ut uolunt,
or neglected parts his should-be-angry not therefore as they-wish
uelut unius animantis haec tota uita est, quae omnes
as-if of-one living-being this whole life is which all
continet deos, quasi suas uirtutes uel membra uel partes;
contains gods as-if its-own powers or limbs or parts
sed suam quaeque pars habet uitam a ceteris separatam,
but its-own each part has life from the-others separated
si praeter alteram irasci altera potest, et alia placari,
if beyond the-other to-be-angry one can and one to-be-placated
alia concitari. Si autem dicitur omnes simul, id est
another to-be-provoked if but it-is-said all together that is
totum ipsum Iouem, potuisse offendi, si partes eius
the-whole himself Jupiter to-have-been-able to-be-offended if the-parts his
non etiam singillatim minutatimque colerentur, stulte dicitur.
not also one-by-one and-bit-by-bit were-worshiped foolishly it-is-said
Nulla quippe illarum praetermitteretur, cum ipse unus, qui
none for of-them would-be-passed-over when he one who
haberet omnia, coleretur. Nam ut alia omittam, quae
had all-things was-worshiped for that other-things I-may-omit which
sunt innumerabilia, cum dicunt omnia sidera partes Iouis
are innumerable when they-say all the-stars parts of-Jupiter

esse et omnia uiuere adque rationales animas habere, et
to-be and all to-live and rational souls to-have and
ideo sine controuersia deos esse, non uident quam multos
therefore without controversy gods to-be not they-see how many
non colant, quam multis aedes non construant, aras non
not they-worship how for-many shrines not they-build altars not
statuant, quas tamen paucissimis siderum statuendas esse
they-set-up which yet for-very-few of-the-stars to-be-set-up to-be
putauerunt et singillatim sacrificandum. Si igitur irascuntur,
they-thought and one-by-one to-be-sacrificed if then are-angry
qui non singillatim coluntur, non metuunt paucis
those-who not one-by-one are-worshiped not do-they-fear with-few
placatis toto caelo irato uiuere? Si autem stellas omnes
placated with-the-whole heaven angry to-live if but the-stars all
ideo colunt, quia in Ioue sunt quem colunt, isto
for-this-reason they-worship because in Jupiter they-are whom they-worship by-that
conpendio possent in illo uno omnibus supplicare (sic enim
short-cut they-could in him alone to-all to-pray thus for
nemo irasceretur, cum in illo uno nemo contemneretur)
no-one would-be-angry since in him alone no-one would-be-despised
potius quam cultis quibusdam iusta irascendi causa illis,
rather than worshiped with-some a-just of-being-angry cause to-those
qui praetermissi essent, multo numerosioribus praeberetur,
who passed-over had-been much more-numerous would-be-offered
praesertim cum eis de superna sede fulgentibus turpi
especially when to-them from the-heavenly seat shining with-base
nuditate distentus praeponeretur Priapus.
nakedness distended would-be-preferred Priapus

Should it not move any man to reflect that if God is the world's soul and the world his body, one living being containing all things in nature's bosom, so that every soul is taken from his, then nothing remains that is not part of God? What ungodliness follows: whoever treads on anything treads on part of God, and whoever kills any animal slaughters part of God. Augustine will not say all that occurs to those who think it.

Quid? illud nonne debet mouere acutos homines uel
what that surely it-ought to-move acute men or
qualescumque homines (non enim ad hoc ingenii opus est
any-whatever men not for for this of-talent need is
excellentia), ut deposito studio contentionis adtendant, si
excellence that laid-aside the-zeal of-contention they-may-attend if
mundi animus Deus est eique animo mundus ut corpus
of-the-world the-mind God is and-to-that mind the-world as body
est, ut sit unum animal constans ex animo et corpore,
is so-that it-be one living-being consisting of mind and body
adque iste Deus est sinu quodam naturae in se ipso
and this God is in-a-bosom certain of-nature in him himself
continens omnia, ut ex ipsius anima, qua uiuificatur
containing all-things so-that from his-own soul by-which is-quickened
tota ista moles, uitae adque animae cunctorum uiuentium
whole this mass the-lives and souls of-all living-things
pro cuiusque nascendi sorte sumantur, nihil omnino
according-to of-each of-being-born the-lot be-taken nothing at-all
remanere, quod non sit pars Dei. Quod si ita est, quis
to-remain which not be a-part of-God but if so it-is who
non uideat quanta inpietas et inreligiositas consequatur,
not would-see how-great ungodliness and irreligion follows
ut, quod calcauerit quisque, partem Dei calcet, et in
so-that what has-trodden-on each a-part of-God he-treads and in

omni animante occidendo pars Dei trucidetur? Nolo
every living-thing being-killed a-part of-God is-slaughtered I-am-unwilling
omnia dicere, quae possunt occurrere cogitantibus, dici
all-things to-say which can to-occur to-those-pondering to-be-said
autem sine uerecundia non possunt.
but without shame not can

XIII · RATIONAL BEINGS AS PARTS OF GOD

If only rational animals such as men are parts of God, it is hard to see how beasts are separated from him if the whole world is God. And what could be more unhappy than that part of God is beaten when a boy is beaten, or that parts of God become wanton, unjust, and damnable? It remains that each god has his own life and that all who can be known are to be worshiped. Their king Jupiter, then, is thought to have founded or increased the Roman kingdom.

Si autem sola animalia rationalia, sicut sunt homines,
if but only the-animals rational as are men
partes Dei esse contendunt: non uideo quidem, si totus
parts of-God to-be they-contend not I-see indeed if whole
mundus Deus est, quo modo bestias ab eius partibus
the-world God is in-what manner beasts from his parts
separent; sed obluctari quid opus est? De ipso
they-may-separate but to-struggle-against what need is-there about the-very
rationali animante, id est homine, quid infelicius credi
rational living-being that is man what more-unhappy to-be-believed
potest, quam Dei partem uapulare, cum puer uapulat?
can than of-God a-part to-be-beaten when a-boy is-beaten
Iam uero partes Dei fieri lasciuas, iniquas, inpias adque
now indeed parts of-God to-become wanton unjust ungodly and
omnino damnabiles quis ferre possit, nisi qui prorsus
altogether damnable who to-bear could except he-who utterly

insanit? Postremo quid irascitur eis, a quibus non
is-mad finally why is-he-angry with-those by whom not
colitur, cum a suis partibus non colatur? Restat
he-is-worshiped when by his-own parts not he-is-worshiped it-remains
ergo ut dicant omnes deos suas habere uitas, sibi
therefore that they-say all gods their-own to-have lives for-themselves
quemque uiuere, nullum eorum esse partem cuiusquam, sed
each to-live none of-them to-be a-part of-anyone but
omnes colendos qui cognosci et coli possunt, quia
all to-be-worshiped who to-be-known and to-be-worshiped can because
tam multi sunt, ut omnes non possint. Quorum Iuppiter
so many they-are that all not can of-whom Jupiter
quia rex praesidet, ipsum credo ab eis putari regnum
because as-king presides him I-suppose by them to-be-thought the-kingdom
constituisse uel auxisse Romanum. Nam si hoc ipse
to-have-established or to-have-increased the-Roman for if this he-himself
non fecit, quem alium deum opus tam magnum potuisse
not did what other god a-work so great to-have-been-able
adgredi credant, cum omnes occupati sint officiis et
to-undertake would-they-believe when all occupied are with-duties and
operibus propriis, nec alter inruat in alterius? A rege igitur
works their-own nor one rushes-in on the-other's from the-king therefore
deorum regnum hominum potuit propagari et augeri.
of-the-gods the-kingdom of-men could to-be-propagated and to-be-increased

Why is the kingdom itself not a god, if Victory is a goddess? What need of Jupiter, if Victory favors those she chooses? With her propitious, even while Jupiter is idle, what nations would not be subdued? Or perhaps the good dislike fighting with wicked injustice and provoking peaceful neighbors to war for the sake of extending a kingdom; if so, Augustine approves and praises them.

Hic primum quaero, quur non etiam ipsum regnum aliquis
here first I-ask why not also itself the-kingdom some
deus est? Quur enim non ita sit, si Victoria dea est?
god is why for not so would-it-be if Victory a-goddess is
Aut quid ipso Ioue in hac causa opus est, si Victoria
or what of-the-very Jupiter in this case need is-there if Victory
faueat sitque propitia et semper eat ad illos, quos uult
should-favor and-be propitious and always go to those whom she-wishes
esse uictores? Hac dea fauente et propitia, etiam Ioue
to-be victors with-this goddess favoring and propitious even with-Jupiter
uacante uel aliud agente, quae gentes non subditae
idle or something-else doing what nations not subjected
remanerent? quae regna non cederent? An forte displicet
would-remain what kingdoms not would-yield or perhaps it-displeases
bonis iniquissima inprobitate pugnare et finitimos quietos
the-good with-most-unjust wickedness to-fight and neighbors quiet
nullamque iniuriam facientes ad dilatandum regnum bello
and-no injury doing for extending the-kingdom by-war
spontaneo prouocare? Plane si ita sentiunt adprobo et laudo.
voluntary to-provoke plainly if so they-think I-approve and praise

Perhaps the good should not rejoice in a kingdom's breadth, for others' iniquity, provoking just wars, made it grow; if all were just, kingdoms would be small, living in concord like houses in a city. To wage war and extend rule seems happiness to the wicked, necessity to the good; a good neighbor is greater happiness than a bad one subdued. If others' iniquity is a goddess, as Fear, Pallor, and Fever are gods, the empire grew by her and Victory while Jupiter kept holiday; victory too would be counted his gift if the true King of kings were known.

Videant ergo ne forte non pertineat ad uiros bonos
let-them-see therefore lest perhaps not it-pertain to men good
gaudere de regni latitudine. Iniquitas enim eorum, cum
to-rejoice about of-kingdom breadth the-iniquity for of-those with
quibus iusta bella gesta sunt, regnum adiuuit ut cresceret,
whom just wars waged were the-kingdom helped that it-should-grow
quod utique paruum esset, si quies et iustitia finitimorum
which assuredly small would-be if the-quiet and justice of-the-neighbors
contra se bellum geri nulla prouocaret iniuria ac
against themselves war to-be-waged by-no provoked injury and
sic felicioribus rebus humanis omnia regna parua essent
so in-happier things human all kingdoms small would-be
concordi uicinitate laetantia et ita essent in mundo
in-harmonious neighborliness rejoicing and so there-would-be in the-world
regna plurima gentium, ut sunt in urbe domus plurimae
kingdoms very-many of-nations as are in a-city houses very-many
ciuium. Proinde belligerare et perdomitis gentibus dilatare
of-citizens accordingly to-wage-war and with-subdued nations to-extend
regnum malis uidetur felicitas, bonis necessitas. Sed
the-kingdom to-the-wicked seems happiness to-the-good necessity but
quia peius esset, ut iniuriosi iustioribus dominarentur,
because worse it-would-be that the-injurious over-the-juster should-dominate

ideo non incongrue dicitur etiam ista felicitas. Sed procul
therefore not unfittingly is-called also this happiness but beyond
dubio felicitas maior est uicinum bonum habere concordem
doubt happiness greater is a-neighbor good to-have in-harmony
quam uicinum malum subiugare bellantem. Mala uota sunt
than a-neighbor bad to-subjugate warring evil wishes are
optare habere quem oderis uel quem timeas, ut possit
to-wish to-have whom you-may-hate or whom you-may-fear that there-can
esse quem uincas. Si ergo iusta gerendo bella, non
to-be one-whom you-may-conquer if then just by-waging wars not
inpia, non iniqua, Romani imperium tam magnum adquirere
ungodly not unjust the-Romans an-empire so great to-acquire
potuerunt, numquid tamquam aliqua dea colenda est
could surely-not as some goddess to-be-worshiped is
eis etiam iniquitas aliena? Multum enim ad istam
by-them also iniquity of-others much for to this
latitudinem imperii eam cooperatam uidemus, quae faciebat
breadth of-empire it having-cooperated we-see which made
iniuriosos, ut essent cum quibus iusta bella gererentur
injurious that there-might-be-those with whom just wars might-be-waged
et augeretur imperium. Quur autem et iniquitas dea
and might-be-increased the-empire why but also iniquity a-goddess
non sit uel externarum gentium, si Pauor et Pallor et
not should-be even of-foreign nations if Fear and Pallor and
Febris di Romani esse meruerunt? His igitur duabus, id
Fever gods Roman to-be deserved by-these therefore two that
est aliena iniquitate et dea Victoria, dum bellorum
is by-another's iniquity and by-the-goddess Victory while of-wars
causas iniquitas excitat, Victoria eadem bella feliciter terminat,
the-causes iniquity stirs-up Victory the-same wars happily ends
etiam feriato Ioue creuit imperium. Quas enim hic partes
even with-holidaying Jupiter grew the-empire what for here parts

Iuppiter haberet, cum ea, quae possent beneficia eius
Jupiter would-have when those-things which could benefits his
putari, di habentur, di uocantur, di coluntur, ipsi pro
to-be-thought gods are-held gods are-called gods are-worshiped themselves for
suis partibus inuocantur? Haberet hic autem etiam ille
their-own parts are-invoked he-would-have here but even he
aliquam partem, si Regnum etiam ipse appellaretur, sicut
some part if Kingdom also himself he-were-called as
appellatur illa Victoria. Aut si regnum munus est Iouis,
is-called she Victory or if a-kingdom the-gift is of-Jupiter
quur non et uictoria munus eius habeatur? Quod profecto
why not also victory a-gift his be-held which assuredly
haberetur, si non lapis in Capitolio, sed uerus rex regum
would-be-held if not a-stone on the-Capitol but the-true king of-kings
et dominus dominantium cognosceretur adque coleretur.
and lord of-lords were-known and worshiped

XVI · THE GODDESS QUIET LEFT OUTSIDE

The Romans gave single gods to single motions: Agenoria to rouse to action, Stimula to goad beyond measure, Murcia to make sluggish, Strenia to make strenuous, all with public rites. But Quiet, who makes men quiet, they would not take up publicly, and her shrine stood outside the Colline gate. Perhaps whoever worships that crowd of demons cannot have the rest the true physician offers: learn of me, and you shall find rest.

Miror autem plurimum, quod, cum deos singulos singulis
I-wonder moreover very-much that when gods single to-single
rebus et paene singulis motibus adtribuerent, uocauerunt
things and almost to-single motions they-attributed they-called
deam Agenoriam, quae ad agendum excitaret, deam
the-goddess Agenoria who to acting should-rouse the-goddess

Stimulam, quae ad agendum ultra modum stimularet, deam
Stimula who to acting beyond measure should-goad the-goddess
Murciam, quae praeter modum non moueret ac faceret
Murcia who beyond measure not should-move and should-make
hominem, ut ait Pomponius, murcidum, id est nimis
a-man as says Pomponius murcid that is too
desidiosum et inactuosum, deam Streniam, quae faceret
slothful and inactive the-goddess Strenia who should-make
strenuum, his omnibus dis et deabus publica sacra
strenuous to-these all gods and goddesses public rites
facere susceperunt, Quietem uero appellantes, quae faceret
to-perform they-undertook Quiet but naming who should-make
quietum, cum aedem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice
quiet though a-shrine she-had outside the-gate Colline publicly
illam suscipere noluerunt. Utrum indicium fuit animi
her to-take-up they-were-unwilling whether a-sign it-was of-a-mind
inquieti, an potius ita significatum est, qui illam turbam
restless or rather so signified was-it he-who that crowd
colere perseueraret non plane deorum, sed daemoniorum,
to-worship persevered not indeed of-gods but of-demons
eum quietem habere non posse? ad quam uocat uerus
he quiet to-have not to-be-able to which calls the-true
medicus dicens: Discite a me, quoniam mitis sum et
physician saying learn from me since gentle I-am and
humilis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris.
humble in-heart and you-shall-find rest for-souls your

They may say Jupiter sends Victory, who obeys him and goes to whom he bids. This is truly said of the true King of the ages, not of their Jupiter: he sends not Victory, who is no substance, but his angel, and makes conquer whom he wills, by counsel that may be hidden but cannot be unjust. If victory is a goddess, why not triumph a god, her husband or son? Such fables they would laugh at in the poets, yet worshiped in their temples; they should have prayed to Jupiter alone.

An forte dicunt, quod deam Victoriam Iuppiter mittat
or perhaps they-say that the-goddess Victory Jupiter sends
adque illa tamquam regi deorum obtemperans ad
and she as-if to-the-king of-the-gods obeying to
quos iusserit ueniat et in eorum parte considat? Hoc
whom he-has-ordered comes and on their side sits this
uere dicitur non de illo Ioue, quem deorum regem
truly is-said not about that Jupiter whom of-the-gods king
pro sua opinione confingunt, sed de illo uero rege
according-to their-own opinion they-fabricate but about that true king
saeculorum, quod mittat non Victoriam, quae nulla substantia
of-the-ages that he-sends not Victory who no substance
est, sed angelum suum et faciat uincere quem uoluerit;
is but angel his and makes to-conquer whom he-has-willed
cuius consilium occultum esse potest, iniquum non potest.
whose counsel hidden to-be can unjust not can
Nam si uictoria dea est, quur non deus est et triumphus,
for if victory a-goddess is why not a-god is also triumph
et uictoriae iungitur uel maritus uel frater uel filius?
and to-victory is-joined either as-husband or brother or son
Talia quippe isti de dis opinati sunt, qualia si poetae
such-things for these about the-gods imagined have such-as if poets
fingerent adque a nobis exagitarentur, responderent isti
feigned and by us were-harassed would-answer these

ridenda esse figmenta poetarum, non ueris adtribuenda
to-be-laughed-at to-be fictions of-poets not to-true to-be-attributed
numinibus; et tamen se ipsi non ridebant,
divinities and yet themselves they-themselves not they-laughed-at
cum talia deliramenta non aput poetas legebant, sed in
when such ravings not among poets they-read but in
templis colebant. Iouem igitur de omnibus rogarent, ei
temples worshiped Jupiter therefore about all-things they-should-ask to-him
uni tantummodo supplicarent. Non enim, quo misisset
alone only they-should-pray not for whither he-had-sent
Victoriam, si dea est et sub illo rege est, posset ei
Victory if a-goddess she-is and under that king is she-could to-him
audere resistere et suam potius facere uoluntatem.
to-dare to-resist and her-own rather to-do will

XVIII · FELICITY AND FORTUNE

Felicity too is a goddess with a shrine and an altar; she alone should be worshiped, for where she is, what good is lacking? Why then is Fortune also a goddess? Fortune can be bad, felicity cannot. They say felicity is what the good have by merit, fortune what comes by chance to good and bad alike; then why worship a blind goddess who passes by her worshipers and clings to those who despise her? If she rewards merits, she is not fortune; if Jupiter sends her, worship him alone.

Quid, quod et Felicitas dea est? Aedem accepit, aram
what that also Felicity a-goddess is a-shrine she-received an-altar
meruit, sacra congrua persoluta sunt. Ipsa ergo sola
she-earned rites fitting paid were she therefore alone
coleretur. Ubi enim ipsa esset, quid boni non esset?
should-be-worshiped where for she-herself might-be what of-good not would-be
Sed quid sibi uult, quod et Fortuna dea putatur et
but what to-itself does-it-mean that also Fortune a-goddess is-thought and

colitur? An aliud est felicitas, aliud fortuna? Quia fortuna
is-worshiped or other is felicity other fortune because fortune
potest esse et mala; felicitas autem si mala fuerit,
can to-be also bad felicity but if bad it-shall-have-been
felicitas non erit. Certe omnes deos utriusque sexus (si
felicity not it-will-be surely all gods of-each sex if
et sexum habent) non nisi bonos existimare debemus. Hoc
also sex they-have not except good to-judge we-ought this
Plato dicit, hoc alii philosophi, hoc excellentes rei
Plato says this other philosophers this excellent of-the-thing
publicae populorumque rectores. Quo modo ergo dea
public and-of-peoples rulers in-what manner then the-goddess
Fortuna aliquando bona est, aliquando mala? An forte quando
Fortune sometimes good is sometimes bad or perhaps when
mala est, dea non est, sed in malignum daemonem
bad she-is a-goddess not she-is but into a-malign demon
repente conuertitur? Quot sunt ergo deae istae? Profecto
suddenly is-turned how-many are then goddesses these assuredly
quotquot homines fortunati, hoc est bonae fortunae. Nam
as-many-as men fortunate that is of-good fortune for
cum sint et alii plurimi simul, hoc est uno tempore,
since there-are also others very-many at-the-same-time that is at-one time
malae fortunae, numquid, si ipsa esset, simul et
of-bad fortune surely-not if she-herself were at-the-same-time both
bona esset et mala; his aliud, illis aliud? An illa,
good she-would-be and bad to-these one-thing to-those another or she
quae dea est, semper est bona? Ipsa est ergo Felicitas:
who a-goddess is always is good she-herself is then Felicity
quur adhibentur diuersa nomina? Sed hoc ferendum est;
why are-applied different names but this to-be-borne is
solet enim et una res duobus nominibus appellari.
it-is-wont for even one thing by-two names to-be-called

Quid diuersae aedes, diuersae arae, diuersa sacra? Est
why different shrines different altars different rites there-is
causa, inquiunt, quia felicitas illa est, quam boni habent
a-cause they-say because felicity that is which the-good have
praecedentibus meritis; fortuna uero, quae dicitur bona,
with-preceding merits fortune but which is-called good
sine ullo examine meritorum fortuito accidit hominibus et
without any examination of-merits by-chance befalls men both
bonis et malis, unde etiam Fortuna nominatur. Quo modo
good and bad whence also Fortune she-is-named in-what manner
ergo bona est, quae sine ullo iudicio uenit et ad bonos
then good is-she who without any judgment comes both to the-good
et ad malos? Ut quid autem colitur, quae ita caeca
and to the-bad to what but is-she-worshiped who so blind
est passim in quoslibet incurrens, ut suos cultores
is everywhere on anyone-whatever running so-that her-own worshipers
plerumque praetereat et suis contemtoribus haereat? Aut
mostly she-passes-by and to-her-own despisers clings or
si aliquid proficiunt cultores eius, ut ab illa uideantur
if something profit the-worshipers her so-that by her they-may-be-seen
et amentur, iam merita sequitur, non fortuito uenit. Ubi
and be-loved already merits she-follows not by-chance she-comes where
est definitio illa Fortunae? Ubi est quod a fortuitis
is the-definition that of-Fortune where is-it that from chance-things
etiam nomen accepit? Nihil enim prodest eam colere,
even the-name she-received nothing for it-profits her to-worship
si fortuna est. Si autem suos cultores discernit, ut
if fortune she-is if but her-own worshipers she-distinguishes so-that
prosit, fortuna non est. An et ipsam, quo uoluerit,
she-may-profit fortune not she-is or also her whither he-has-wished
Iuppiter mittit? Colatur ergo ipse solus; non enim
Jupiter sends let-him-be-worshiped therefore himself alone not for

potest ei iubenti et eam quo uoluerit mittenti Fortuna
can to-him ordering and her whither he-has-wished sending Fortune
resistere. Aut certe istam mali colant, qui nolunt habere
to-resist or surely her the-evil let-worship who are-unwilling to-have
merita, quibus dea possit Felicitas inuitari.
merits by-which the-goddess could Felicity to-be-invited

XIX · WOMANLY FORTUNE

They credit Fortune so much that the image dedicated by matrons, called Womanly Fortune, is said to have spoken, not once but twice, saying the matrons had dedicated it rightly. If true, it is no wonder, for deceit is not hard for malign demons; it was the goddess who comes by chance that spoke, while Felicity, who comes by merit, was dumb, so that men might not care to live rightly. And if Fortune speaks, the manly one should have spoken, lest the women seem to have invented the miracle.

Tantum sane huic uelut numini tribuunt, quam Fortunam
so-much indeed to-this as-if divinity they-attribute whom Fortune
uocant, ut simulacrum eius, quod a matronis dedicatum est et
they-call that the-image her which by matrons dedicated was and
appellata est Fortuna muliebris, etiam locutum esse memoriae
called was Fortune womanly even to-have-spoken to-be to-memory
commendauerint adque dixisse non semel, sed iterum, quod
they-committed and to-have-said not once but again that
eam rite matronae dedicauerint. Quod quidem si uerum sit,
her duly the-matrons had-dedicated which indeed if true it-be
mirari nos non oportet. Non enim malignis daemonibus etiam
to-wonder us not it-behooves not for for-malign demons even
sic difficile est fallere, quorum artes adque uersutias hinc potius
so difficult it-is to-deceive whose arts and cunnings hence rather

isti aduertere debuerunt, quod illa dea locuta est, quae fortuito
these to-notice they-ought that that goddess spoken has who by-chance
accidit, non quae meritis uenit. Fuit enim Fortuna loquax et
befalls not who by-merits comes was for Fortune talkative and
muta Felicitas, ut quid aliud, nisi ut homines recte uiuere
dumb Felicity for what else unless that men rightly to-live
non curarent conciliata sibi Fortuna, quae illos sine ullis
not should-care conciliated to-themselves Fortune who them without any
bonis meritis faceret fortunatos? Et certe si Fortuna loquitur,
good merits should-make fortunate and surely if Fortune speaks
non saltem muliebris, sed uirilis potius loqueretur, ut
not at-least the-womanly but the-manly rather would-speak so-that
non ipsae, quae simulacrum dedicauerunt, putarentur
not they-themselves who the-image dedicated might-be-thought
tantum miraculum muliebri loquacitate finxisse.
so-great a-miracle with-womanly talkativeness to-have-fabricated

XX · VIRTUE AND FAITH

They made Virtue a goddess; if she were, she should be preferred to many, but she is God's gift, to be sought from him. Why is Faith a goddess with a temple? Faith is part of justice, one of virtue's four species, and the just man lives by faith. If Faith is a goddess, why not Temperance, or Fortitude, which stood by Mucius, Curtius, and the Decii, or Prudence and Wisdom? Faith and Chastity got altars though contained in Virtue.

Virtutem quoque deam fecerunt; quae quidem si dea
Virtue also a-goddess they-made who indeed if a-goddess
esset, multis fuerat praeferenda. Et nunc quia dea non
she-were to-many had-been to-be-preferred and now because a-goddess not
est, sed donum Dei est, ipsa ab illo inpetretur, a quo solo
she-is but a-gift of-God is she from him let-be-obtained by whom alone

dari potest, et omnis falsorum deorum turba uanescet.
to-be-given she-can and all of-false gods the-crowd will-vanish
Sed quur et Fides dea credita est et accepit etiam ipsa
but why also Faith a-goddess believed was and received also she-herself
templum et altare? Quam quisquis prudenter agnoscit,
a-temple and altar whom whoever prudently recognizes
habitaculum illi se ipsum facit. Unde autem sciunt illi
a-dwelling for-her him himself makes whence but know they
quid sit fides, cuius primum et maximum officium est,
what is faith whose first and greatest duty is
ut in uerum credatur Deum? Sed quur non suffecerat et
that in the-true it-be-believed God but why not had-sufficed also
Virtus? Nonne ibi est et Fides? Quando quidem uirtutem
Virtue surely there is also Faith since indeed virtue
in quattuor species distribuendam esse uiderunt, prudentiam,
into four species to-be-distributed to-be they-saw prudence
iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam; et quoniam et istae
justice fortitude temperance and since also these
singulae species suas habent, in partibus iustitiae fides
single species their-own have in the-parts of-justice faith
est maximumque locum aput nos habet, quicumque scimus
is and-the-greatest place with us has whoever we-know
quid sit, quod iustus ex fide uiuit. Sed illos miror
what it-is that the-just-man by faith lives but those I-wonder-at
adpetitores multitudinis deorum, si fides dea est, quare
the-seekers of-a-multitude of-gods if faith a-goddess is why
aliis tam multis deabus iniuriam fecerint praetermittendo
to-other so many goddesses injury they-did by-passing-over
eas, quibus similiter aedes et aras dedicare potuerunt?
those for-whom similarly shrines and altars to-dedicate they-could
Quur temperantia dea esse non meruit, cum eius nomine
why temperance a-goddess to-be not deserved when her by-name

nonnulli Romani principes non paruam gloriam conpararint?
some Roman leaders not small glory acquired
Quur denique fortitudo dea non est, quae adfuit Mucio,
why finally fortitude a-goddess not is who was-present to-Mucius
cum dexteram porrexit in flammas; quae adfuit Curtio,
when (his)-right-hand he-extended into the-flames who was-present to-Curtius
cum se pro patria in abruptam terram praecipitem
when himself for the-fatherland into the-broken earth headlong
dedit; quae adfuit Decio patri et Decio filio, cum
he-gave who was-present to-Decius the-father and to-Decius the-son when
pro exercitu se uouerunt? si tamen his omnibus uera
for the-army themselves they-vowed if yet in-these all true
inerat fortitudo, unde modo non agitur. Quare prudentia,
was-in fortitude of-which now not it-is-treated why prudence
quare sapientia nulla numinum loca meruerunt? An quia in
why wisdom no of-divinities places deserved or because in
nomine generali ipsius uirtutis omnes coluntur? Sic ergo
the-name general of-the-very virtue all are-worshiped so therefore
posset et unus Deus coli, cuius partes ceteri di
could also one God to-be-worshiped of-whom parts the-other gods
putantur. Sed in illa una uirtute et fides est et pudicitia,
are-thought but in that one virtue also faith is and chastity
quae tamen extra in aedibus propriis altaria meruerunt.
which yet outside in shrines their-own altars deserved

Vanity, not truth, makes these goddesses, which are gifts of the true God. Where virtue and felicity are, what more is sought? Virtue embraces all to be done, felicity all to be wished. If virtue is the art of living well, what need of Mercury or Minerva? If felicity were present, what need of Catius, Lucina, Ops, Vaticanus, Cunina, Rumina, and the rest, of Fessona, Pellonia, Aesculapius, or Spiniensis? If felicity is virtue's reward, it is God's gift; if a goddess, why not say she confers virtue too?

Has deas non ueritas, sed uanitas facit; haec enim ueri
these goddesses not truth but vanity makes these for of-the-true
Dei munera sunt, non ipsae sunt deae. Verum tamen
God gifts are not they-themselves are goddesses but yet
ubi est uirtus et felicitas, quid aliud quaeritur? Quid
where is virtue and felicity what else is-sought what
ei sufficit, cui uirtus felicitasque non sufficit? Omnia
for-him suffices to-whom virtue and-felicity not suffices all-things
quippe agenda conplectitur uirtus, omnia optanda felicitas.
for to-be-done embraces virtue all-things to-be-wished felicity
Si Iuppiter, ut haec daret, ideo colebatur, quia,
if Jupiter that these-things he-might-give for-this-reason was-worshiped because
si bonum aliquid est latitudo regni adque diuturnitas,
if a-good something is the-breadth of-kingdom and long-duration
ad eandem pertinet felicitatem: quur non intellectum est
to the-same pertains felicity why not understood was-it
dona Dei esse, non deas? Si autem putatae sunt deae,
gifts of-God to-be not goddesses if but thought they-were goddesses
saltem alia tanta deorum turba non quaereretur. Consideratis
at-least other so-great of-gods a-crowd not would-be-sought considered
enim officiis deorum dearumque omnium, quae sicut
for the-duties of-the-gods and-of-the-goddesses all which as

uoluerunt pro sua opinatione finxerunt, inueniant
they-wished according-to their-own opinion they-feigned let-them-find
si possunt aliquid, quod praestari ab aliquo deo possit
if they-can something which to-be-furnished by some god could
homini habenti uirtutem, habenti felicitatem. Quid doctrinae
to-a-man having virtue having felicity what of-doctrine
uel a Mercurio uel a Minerua petendum esset, cum
either from Mercury or from Minerva to-be-sought would-be when
uirtus omnia secum haberet? Ars quippe ipsa bene recteque
virtue all-things with-itself had art for itself well and-rightly
uiuendi uirtus a ueteribus definita est. Unde ab eo, quod
of-living virtue by the-ancients defined has-been whence from this which
Graece ἀρετὴ dicitur uirtus, nomen artis Latinos traduxisse
in-Greek aretē is-called virtue the-name of-art the-Latins to-have-drawn
putauerunt. Sed si uirtus non nisi ad ingeniosum posset
they-thought but if virtue not except to the-talented could
uenire, quid opus erat deo Catio patre, qui catos,
to-come what need was-there of-the-god Catius father who shrewd
id est acutos faceret, cum hoc posset conferre felicitas?
that is acute might-make when this could to-confer felicity
Ingeniosum quippe nasci felicitatis est, unde, etiamsi non
talented for to-be-born of-felicity it-is whence even-if not
potuit a nondum nato coli dea Felicitas, ut
could by one-not-yet born to-be-worshiped the-goddess Felicity that
hoc ei conciliata donaret, conferret hoc parentibus
this to-him conciliated she-might-give she-would-confer this on-the-parents
eius cultoribus suis, ut eis ingeniosi filii nascerentur.
his worshipers her-own that to-them talented sons might-be-born
Quid opus erat parturientibus inuocare Lucinam, cum,
what need was-there for-women-in-labor to-invoke Lucina when
si adesset Felicitas, non solum bene parerent, sed
if were-present Felicity not only well they-would-bear but

etiam bonos? Quid necesse erat Opi deae commendare
even good-ones what necessary was-it to-Ops the-goddess to-commend
nascentes, deo Vaticano uagientes, deae Cuninae
the-newborn to-the-god Vaticanus the-wailing to-the-goddess Cunina
iacentes, deae Ruminae sugentes, deo Statilino
the-lying to-the-goddess Rumina the-sucking to-the-god Statilinus
stantes, deae Adeonae adeuntes, Abeonae abeuntes;
the-standing to-the-goddess Adeona the-approaching to-Abeona the-departing
deae Menti, ut bonam haberent mentem, deo
to-the-goddess Mens that a-good they-might-have mind to-the-god
Volumno et deae Volumnae, ut bona uellent;
Volumnus and to-the-goddess Volumna that good-things they-might-will
dis nuptialibus, ut bene coniugarentur, dis
to-the-gods nuptial that well they-might-be-married to-the-gods
agrestibus, ut fructus uberrimos caperent, et maxime
rustic that fruits most-abundant they-might-gather and especially
ipsi diuae Fructeseae; Marti et Bellonae, ut bene
to-the-very goddess Fructesea to-Mars and to-Bellona that well
belligerarent, deae Victoriae, ut uincerent; deo
they-might-wage-war to-the-goddess Victory that they-might-conquer to-the-god
Honori, ut honorarentur, deae Pecuniae, ut pecuniosi
Honor that they-might-be-honored to-the-goddess Pecunia that moneyed
essent, deo Aesculano et filio eius Argentino, ut
they-might-be to-the-god Aesculanus and to-son his Argentinus that
haberent aeream argenteamque pecuniam? Nam ideo
they-might-have bronze and-silver money for for-this-reason
patrem Argentini Aesculanum posuerunt, quia prius aerea
as-father of-Argentinus Aesculanus they-set because first bronze
pecunia in usu coepit esse, post argentea. Miror autem,
money in use began to-be afterward silver I-wonder moreover
quod Argentinus non genuit Aurinum, quia et aurea
that Argentinus not begot Aurinus because also gold

subsecuta est. Quem deum isti si haberent, sicut Saturno
followed has which god these if they-had as to-Saturn
Iouem, ita et patri Argentino et auo Aesculano
Jupiter so also to-the-father Argentinus and to-the-grandfather Aesculanus
Aurinum praeponerent. Quid ergo erat necesse propter
Aurinus they-would-set-before what then was-it necessary on-account-of
haec bona uel animi uel corporis uel externa tantam
these goods either of-the-mind or of-the-body or external so-great
deorum turbam colere et inuocare (quos neque omnes
of-gods a-crowd to-worship and to-invoke whom neither all
commemoraui, nec ipsi potuerunt omnibus bonis humanis
have-I-recalled nor themselves could-they to-all goods human
minutatim singillatimque digestis deos minutos et singulos
minutely and-one-by-one distributed gods minute and single
prouidere), cum posset magno facilique conpendio una
to-provide since could by-great and-easy short-cut one
dea Felicitas cuncta conferre, nec solum ad bona capienda
goddess Felicity all-things confer nor only for goods to-be-gained
quisquam alius, sed neque ad depellenda mala quaereretur?
anyone other but neither for to-be-driven-off evils would-be-sought
Quur enim esset inuocanda propter fessos diua
why for would-be to-be-invoked on-account-of the-weary the-goddess
Fessona, propter hostes depellendos diua Pellonia,
Fessona on-account-of enemies to-be-repelled the-goddess Pellonia
propter aegros medicus uel Apollo uel Aesculapius uel
on-account-of the-sick the-physician either Apollo or Aesculapius or
ambo simul, quando esset grande periculum? Nec deus
both together when there-was great danger nor the-god
Spiniensis, ut spinas ex agris eradicaret; nec dea
Spiniensis that the-thorns from the-fields he-might-uproot nor the-goddess
Rubigo, ut non accederet, rogaretur: una Felicitate
Rubigo that not she-should-approach would-be-asked with-one Felicity

praesente et tuente uel nulla mala exorerentur, uel facillime
present and protecting either no evils would-arise or most-easily
pellerentur. Postremo quoniam de duabus istis deabus
they-would-be-driven-out finally since about two these goddesses
Virtute et Felicitate tractamus: si felicitas uirtutis est
Virtue and Felicity we-treat if felicity of-virtue is
praemium, non dea, sed Dei donum est; si autem dea
the-reward not a-goddess but of-God a-gift it-is if but a-goddess
est, quur non dicatur et uirtutem ipsa conferre, quando
she-is why not is-she-said also virtue herself to-confer since
quidem etiam uirtutem consequi felicitas magna est?
indeed even virtue to-attain a-felicity great is

XXII · VARRO'S USEFUL KNOWLEDGE OF THE GODS

Varro boasts that he renders his citizens a great service by telling them not only which gods to worship but what pertains to each, since knowing a doctor's name is useless without knowing that he is a doctor; so we may know which god to summon for what, and not ask water of Liber and wine of the Lymphs, as mimes do. A great usefulness indeed: who would not thank him if he showed the truth, and taught that the one true God, from whom all good things come, is to be worshiped?

Quid est ergo, quod pro ingenti beneficio Varro iactat
what is-it then that as a-huge benefit Varro boasts
praestare se ciuibus suis, quia non solum commemorat
to-render himself to-citizens his-own because not only he-recalls
deos, quos coli oporteat a Romanis, uerum etiam dicit
the-gods who to-be-worshiped ought by the-Romans but also he-says
quid ad quemque pertineat? Quoniam nihil prodest, inquit,
what to each pertains since nothing it-profits he-says
hominis alicuius medici nomen formamque nosse, et quod
of-a-man some of-a-doctor the-name and-form to-know and that

sit medicus ignorare: ita dicit nihil prodesse scire deum
he-is a-doctor not-to-know so he-says nothing to-profit to-know a-god
esse Aesculapium, si nescias eum ualetudini opitulari,
to-be Aesculapius if you-know-not him to-health to-bring-help
adque ita ignores quur ei debeas supplicare. Hoc etiam
and so you-know-not why to-him you-ought to-pray this also
alia similitudine adfirmat dicens, non modo bene uiuere,
by-another likeness he-affirms saying not only well to-live
sed uiuere omnino neminem posse, si ignoret quisnam
but to-live at-all no-one to-be-able if he-knows-not who
sit faber, quis pistor, quis tector, a quo quid utensile
be the-smith who the-baker who the-plasterer from whom what implement
petere possit, quem adiutorem adsumere, quem ducem, quem
to-seek he-can whom as-helper to-take whom as-leader whom
doctorem; eo modo nulli dubium esse adserens ita esse
as-teacher in-that manner to-no-one doubtful to-be asserting so to-be
utilem cognitionem deorum, si sciatur quam quisque deus
useful the-knowledge of-the-gods if it-be-known what each god
uim et facultatem ac potestatem cuiusque rei habeat. "Ex
power and faculty and authority of-each thing has from
eo enim poterimus, inquit, scire quem cuiusque causa
that for we-shall-be-able he-says to-know which for-each-thing's sake
deum aduocare adque inuocare debeamus, ne faciamus, ut
god to-summon and to-invoke we-ought lest we-do as
mimi solent, et optemus a Libero aquam, a Lymphis
mimes are-wont and we-wish from Liber water from the-Lymphs
uinum". Magna sane utilitas. Quis non huic gratias
wine great indeed usefulness who not to-this-man thanks
ageret, si uera monstraret, et si unum uerum Deum,
would-give if true-things he-showed and if the-one true God
a quo essent omnia bona, hominibus colendum doceret?
from whom are all good-things to-men to-be-worshiped he-taught

XXIII · FELICITY WORSHIPED SO LATE

If Felicity is a goddess, why was she not alone worshiped, and why did Lucullus build her a shrine so late? Why did Romulus, Tatius, Numa, and Hostilius establish so many gods, even Fear and Pallor, without her? The empire grew while none worshiped her, and civil wars followed her reception. Mars, Terminus, and Juventas would not yield Jupiter their place on the Capitol, but all would have yielded to her, who made him king. Yet felicity is God's gift: whoever worships it as a goddess and leaves its giver licks painted bread.

Sed (unde nunc agitur) si libri et sacra eorum uera sunt
but whence now it-is-treated if the-books and rites their true are
et Felicitas dea est, quur non ipsa una quae coleretur
and Felicity a-goddess is why not she alone who should-be-worshiped
constituta est, quae posset uniuersa conferre et conpendio
established was who could all-things confer and by-short-cut
facere felicem? Quis enim optat aliquid propter aliud quam
make happy who for wishes anything on-account-of other than
ut felix fiat? Quur denique tam sero huic tantae deae
that happy be-may-become why finally so late to-this so-great goddess
post tot Romanos principes Lucullus aedem constituit?
after so-many Roman leaders did-Lucullus a-shrine establish
Quur ipse Romulus felicem cupiens condere ciuitatem non
why himself Romulus a-happy desiring to-found city not
huic templum potissimum struxit nec propter aliquid
to-this-one a-temple above-all built nor on-account-of anything
dis ceteris supplicauit, quando nihil deesset, si haec
to-the-gods other prayed since nothing would-be-lacking if she
adesset? Nam et ipse nec prius rex, nec ut putant postea
were-present for also himself neither first king nor as they-think afterward
deus fieret, si hanc deam propitiam non haberet. Ut
a-god would-become if this goddess propitious not be-had to

quid ergo constituit Romanis deos Ianum, Iouem, Martem,
what then did-he-establish for-the-Romans gods Janus Jupiter Mars
Picum, Faunum, Tiberinum, Herculem et si quos alios?
Picus Faunus Tiberinus Hercules and if any others
Ut quid Titus Tatius addidit Saturnum, Opem, Solem,
to what did-Titus Tatius add Saturn Ops Sun
Lunam, Vulcanum, Lucem et quoscumque alios addidit,
Moon Vulcan Light and whatever others he-added
inter quos etiam deam Cloacinam, Felicitate neglecta?
among whom even the-goddess Cloacina with-Felicity neglected
Ut quid Numa tot deos et tot deas sine ista?
to what did-Numa so-many gods and so-many goddesses without her
An eam forte in tanta turba uidere non potuit? Hostilius
or her perhaps in so-great a-crowd to-see not could-he Hostilius
certe rex deos et ipse nouos Pauorem adque Pallorem
surely the-king gods also himself new Fear and Pallor
propitiandos non introduceret, si deam istam nosset
to-be-propitiated not would-have-introduced if goddess this he-had-known
aut coleret. Praesente quippe Felicitate omnis pauor et
or worshiped present for Felicity all fear and
pallor non propitiatus abscederet, sed pulsus aufugeret.
pallor not propitiated would-depart but driven-away would-flee

Deinde quid est hoc, quod iam Romanum imperium longe
then what is this that already the-Roman empire far
lateque crescebat, et adhuc nemo Felicitatem colebat? An
and-wide was-growing and still no-one Felicity worshiped or
ideo grandius imperium quam felicius fuit? Nam quo
therefore grander the-empire than happier was for in-what
modo ibi esset uera felicitas, ubi uera non erat pietas?
manner there would-be true felicity where true not was devotion
Pietas est enim uerax ueri Dei cultus, non cultus falsorum
devotion is for truthful of-the-true God worship not worship of-false

tot deorum, quot daemoniorum. Sed et postea iam
as-many gods as of-demons but also afterward when-already
in deorum numerum Felicitate suscepta magna bellorum
into of-the-gods the-number Felicity received a-great of-wars
ciuilium infelicitas subsecuta est. An forte iuste est indignata
civil unhappiness followed has or perhaps justly was indignant
Felicitas, quod et tam sero et non ad honorem, sed ad
Felicity that both so late and not to honor but to
contumeliam potius inuitata est, ut cum ea coleretur
insult rather invited she-was that with her should-be-worshiped
Priapus et Cloacina et Pauor et Pallor et Febris et
Priapus and Cloacina and Fear and Pallor and Fever and
cetera non numina colendorum, sed crimina colentium?
the-other not divinities of-those-to-be-worshiped but crimes of-the-worshipers
Ad extremum si cum turba indignissima tanta dea
at the-last if with a-crowd most-unworthy so-great a-goddess
colenda uisa est, quur non uel inlustrius ceteris
to-be-worshiped seemed has why not even more-illustriously than-the-others
colebatur? Quis enim ferat, quod neque inter deos
was-she-worshiped who for would-bear that neither among the-gods
Consentes, quos dicunt in consilium Iouis adhiberi, nec
Consentes whom they-say into the-council of-Jupiter to-be-admitted nor
inter deos, quos selectos uocant, Felicitas constituta est?
among the-gods whom select they-call Felicity established was
Templum aliquod ei fieret, quod et loci sublimitate
a-temple some to-her should-be-made which both of-place by-loftiness
et operis dignitate praemineret. Quur enim non aliquid
and of-work by-dignity should-excel why for not something
melius quam ipsi Ioui? Nam quae etiam Ioui regnum
better than himself for-Jupiter for who even to-Jupiter the-kingdom
nisi Felicitas dedit? si tamen cum regnaret felix fuit. Et
unless Felicity gave if yet when he-reigned happy he-was and

potior est felicitas regno. Nemo enim dubitat facile
preferable is felicity than-a-kingdom no-one for doubts easily
inueniri hominem, qui se timeat fieri regem; nullus
to-be-found a-man who himself fears to-become king none
autem inuenitur, qui se nolit esse felicem. Ipsi ergo
but is-found who himself is-unwilling to-be happy the-very therefore
di si per auguria uel quolibet modo eos posse consuli
gods if through auguries or in-whatever manner them to-be-able to-be-consulted
putant, de hac re consulerentur, utrum uellent Felicitati
they-think about this matter should-be-consulted whether they-wished to-Felicity
loco cedere, si forte aliorum aedibus uel altaribus iam
from-place to-yield if perhaps others' with-shrines or altars already
fuisset locus occupatus, ubi aedes maior adque sublimior
had-been a-place occupied where a-shrine greater and loftier
Felicitati construeretur; etiam ipse Iuppiter cederet, ut
to-Felicity might-be-built even himself Jupiter would-yield that
ipsum uerticem collis Capitolini Felicitas potius obtineret.
the-very summit of-the-hill Capitoline Felicity rather might-hold
Non enim quispiam resisteret Felicitati, nisi, quod fieri
not for anyone would-resist Felicity except what to-be-done
non potest, qui esse uellet infelix. Nullo modo omnino,
not can he-who to-be should-wish unhappy in-no way at-all
si consuleretur, faceret Iuppiter, quod ei fecerunt tres di,
if he-were-consulted would-do Jupiter what to-him did three gods
Mars, Terminus et Iuuentas, qui maiori et regi suo
Mars Terminus and Juventas who to-the-greater and king their-own
nullo modo cedere loco uoluerunt. Nam sicut habent
in-no way to-yield from-place were-willing for as have
eorum litterae, cum rex Tarquinius Capitolium fabricari
their writings when the-king Tarquin the-Capitol to-be-built
uellet eumque locum, qui ei dignior aptiorque uidebatur,
wished and-that place which to-him worthier and-fitter seemed

ab dis aliis cerneret praeoccupatum, non audens aliquid
by gods other he-saw preoccupied not daring anything
contra eorum facere arbitrium et credens eos tanto numini
against their to-do judgment and believing them to-so-great a-divinity
suoque principi uoluntate cessuros, quia multi erant illic,
and-their-own chief willingly about-to-yield because many were there
ubi Capitolium constitutum est, per augurium quaesiuit,
where the-Capitol established is through augury he-inquired
utrum concedere locum uellent Ioui; adque ipsi inde
whether to-yield the-place they-wished to-Jupiter and they-themselves thence
cedere omnes uoluerunt praeter illos quos commemoraui,
to-yield all wished except those whom I-have-mentioned
Martem, Terminum, Iuuentatem; adque ideo Capitolium ita
Mars Terminus Juventas and therefore the-Capitol so
constructum est, ut etiam isti tres intus essent tam obscuris
constructed was that also these three within they-were so obscure
signis, ut hoc uix homines doctissimi scirent. Nullo
with-statues that this scarcely men most-learned knew in-no
modo igitur Felicitatem Iuppiter ipse contemneret, sicut a
way therefore Felicity Jupiter himself would-despise as by
Termino, Marte, Iuuentate contemtus est. Sed ipsi
Terminus Mars Juventas despised he-was but they-themselves
etiam, qui non cesserant Ioui, profecto cederent Felicitati,
even who not had-yielded to-Jupiter assuredly would-yield to-Felicity
quae illis regem fecerat Iouem. Aut si non cederent, non id
who for-them king had-made Jupiter or if not they-yielded not it
contemtu eius facerent, sed quod in domo Felicitatis obscuri
by-contempt of-her they-would-do but because in the-house of-Felicity obscure
esse mallent quam sine illa in locis propriis eminere.
to-be they-would-prefer than without her in places their-own to-stand-out

Ita dea Felicitate in loco amplissimo et celsissimo
so with-the-goddess Felicity in a-place most-ample and loftiest
constituta discerent ciues, unde omnis boni uoti petendum
established would-learn the-citizens whence of-every good vow to-be-sought
esset auxilium, ac sic ipsa suadente natura aliorum deorum
was help and thus itself persuading nature of-other gods
superflua multitudine derelicta coleretur una Felicitas,
the-superfluous multitude abandoned would-be-worshiped one Felicity
uni supplicaretur, unius templum frequentaretur a ciuibus
to-one prayer-would-be-made of-one the-temple would-be-thronged by citizens
qui felices esse uellent, quorum esset nemo qui
who happy to-be wished of-whom there-would-be no-one who
nollet, adque ita ipsa a se ipsa peteretur, quae ab
would-be-unwilling and so she by her herself would-be-sought who by
omnibus petebatur. Quis enim aliquid ab aliquo deo nisi
all was-sought who for anything from any god except
felicitatem uelit accipere uel quod ad felicitatem existimat
felicity would-wish to-receive or what to felicity he-judges
pertinere? Proinde si felicitas habet in potestate cum quo
to-pertain accordingly if felicity has in (her)-power with what
homine sit (habet autem, si dea est): quae tandem
man she-may-be she-has but if a-goddess she-is what pray
stultitia est ab aliquo eam deo petere, quam possis a
folly is-it from some her god to-seek whom you-can from
se ipsa inpetrare? Hanc ergo deam super deos ceteros
her herself obtain this therefore goddess above the-gods other
honorare etiam loci dignitate debuerunt. Sicut enim aput
to-honor even of-place by-dignity they-ought as for among
ipsos legitur, Romani ueteres nescio quem Summanum,
them it-is-read the-Romans ancient I-know-not what Summanus
cui nocturna fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam
to-whom the-nocturnal lightnings they-attributed worshiped more than

Iouem, ad quem diurna fulmina pertinerent. Sed postquam
Jupiter to whom the-diurnal lightnings pertained but after
Ioui templum insigne ac sublime constructum est,
for-Jupiter a-temple notable and lofty built was
propter aedis dignitatem sic ad eum multitudo
on-account-of of-the-shrine the-dignity so to him the-multitude
confluxit, ut uix inueniatur qui Summani nomen, quod
flocked that scarcely is-found one-who of-Summanus the-name which
audire iam non potest, se saltem legisse meminerit.
to-hear now not he-can himself at-least to-have-read remembers
Si autem felicitas dea non est, quoniam, quod uerum
if but felicity a-goddess not is since what true
est, munus est Dei: ille Deus quaeratur, qui eam dare
is a-gift it-is of-God that God let-be-sought who her to-give
possit, et falsorum deorum multitudo noxia relinquatur,
can and of-false gods the-multitude harmful let-be-left
quam stultorum hominum multitudo uana sectatur, Dei
which of-foolish men the-multitude vain follows of-God
dona deos sibi faciens et ipsum, cuius ea dona sunt,
the-gifts gods for-itself making and him whose those gifts are
obstinatione superbae uoluntatis offendens. Sic enim carere
by-obstinacy of-proud will offending so for to-lack
non potest infelicitate, qui tamquam deam felicitatem
not can unhappiness he-who as a-goddess felicity
colit et Deum datorem felicitatis relinquit, sicut carere
worships and God the-giver of-felicity leaves as to-lack
non potest fame, qui panem pictum lingit et ab homine,
not can hunger he-who bread painted licks and from the-man
qui uerum habet, non petit.
who true has not seeks

They ask whether their ancestors were so foolish as not to know these were gifts, not gods. Knowing such things come only from some god, but not knowing his name, they called him from the thing given, bending the word: Bellona from war, Cunina from cradles, Segetia from crops, Pomona from fruit, Bubona from oxen; or naming him with the thing itself, as Pecunia, Virtue, Honor, Concord, and Victory. So when Felicity is called a goddess, they say, the divinity that gives felicity is meant.

Libet autem eorum considerare rationes. Usque adeone,
it-pleases moreover their to-consider reasons to-such a-degree
inquiunt, maiores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum
they-say ancestors our foolish to-have-been to-be-believed
est, ut haec nescirent munera diuina esse, non deos?
is-it that these-things they-did-not-know gifts divine to-be not gods
Sed quoniam sciebant nemini talia nisi aliquo deo
but since they-knew to-no-one such-things except with-some god
largiente concedi, quorum deorum nomina non inueniebant,
bestowing to-be-granted whose of-gods the-names not they-found
earum rerum nominibus appellabant deos, quas ab eis
of-those things by-the-names they-called the-gods which from them
sentiebant dari, aliqua uocabula inde flectentes, sicut a
they-felt to-be-given some words thence bending as from
bello Bellonam nuncupauerunt, non Bellum; sicut a cunis
war Bellona they-named not Bellum as from cradles
Cuninam, non Cunam; sicut a segetibus Segetiam, non
Cunina not Cuna as from crops Segetia not
Segetem, a pomis Pomonam, non Pomum; sicut a bubus
Seges from fruits Pomona not Pomum as from oxen
Bubonam, non Bouem: aut certe nulla uocabuli declinatione
Bubona not Bos or surely by-no of-the-word declension

sicut res ipsae nominantur, ut Pecunia dicta est dea,
as the-things themselves are-named as Pecunia called was the-goddess
quae dat pecuniam, non omnino pecunia dea ipsa putata
who gives money not at-all money a-goddess itself thought
est; ita Virtus, quae dat uirtutem, Honor, qui honorem,
was so Virtue who gives virtue Honor who honor
Concordia, quae concordiam, Victoria, quae dat uictoriam.
Concord who concord Victory who gives victory
Ita, inquiunt, cum Felicitas dea dicitur, non ipsa quae
so they-say when Felicity a-goddess is-called not herself which
datur, sed numen illud adtenditur a quo felicitas datur.
is-given but divinity that is-regarded by which felicity is-given

XXV · THE ONE GOD WHO GIVES FELICITY

With this reasoning, it is easier to persuade those not hardened. If men felt that felicity can be given only by some god, and named him from his gift because they did not know his name, they showed it was not given by Jupiter, whom they already worshiped. Let that unknown God be sought and worshiped alone, and the din of demons rejected. He is not Jupiter, whom they call the adulterer of others' wives and the shameless lover and ravisher of a beautiful boy.

Ista nobis reddita ratione multo facilius eis, quorum cor
this to-us rendered reasoning much more-easily to-them whose heart
non nimis obduruit, persuadebimus fortasse quod uolumus.
not too-much has-hardened we-shall-persuade perhaps what we-wish
Si enim iam humana infirmitas sensit non nisi ab aliquo
if for already human weakness felt not except by some
deo dari posse felicitatem, et hoc senserunt homines,
god to-be-given to-be-able felicity and this felt the-men
qui tam multos colebant deos, in quibus et ipsum eorum
who so many worshiped gods among whom also the-very their

regem Iouem: quia nomen eius, a quo daretur felicitas,
king Jupiter because the-name of-him by whom was-given felicity
ignorabant, ideo ipsius rei nomine, quam credebant ab
they-knew-not therefore of-the-very thing by-the-name which they-believed by
illo dari, eum appellare uoluerunt, satis ergo indicarunt
him to-be-given him to-call they-wished sufficiently therefore they-indicated
nec ab ipso Ioue dari posse felicitatem, quem iam
not-even by the-very Jupiter to-be-given to-be-able felicity whom already
colebant, sed utique ab illo, quem nomine ipsius felicitatis
they-worshiped but assuredly by him whom by-the-name of-the-very felicity
colendum esse censebant. Confirmo prorsus a quodam deo,
to-be-worshiped to-be they-judged I-confirm utterly by a-certain god
quem nesciebant, eos credidisse dari felicitatem: ipse ergo
whom they-knew-not them to-have-believed to-be-given felicity he therefore
quaeratur, ipse colatur, et sufficit. Repudietur strepitus
let-be-sought he let-be-worshiped and it-suffices let-be-rejected the-din
innumerabilium daemoniorum; illi non sufficiat hic deus,
of-innumerable demons for-him not let-suffice this god
cui non sufficit munus eius. Illi, inquam, non sufficiat
for-whom not suffices the-gift his for-him I-say not let-suffice
ad colendum Deus dator felicitatis, cui non sufficit ad
for worshiping God the-giver of-felicity for-whom not suffices for
accipiendum ipsa felicitas. Cui autem sufficit (non enim
receiving the-very felicity for-whom but it-suffices not for
habet homo quid amplius optare debeat), seruiat uni Deo
has man what more to-wish he-ought let-him-serve the-one God
datori felicitatis. Non est ipse, quem nominant Iouem.
the-giver of-felicity not is he-himself whom they-name Jupiter
Nam si eum datorem felicitatis agnoscerent, non utique alium
for if him the-giver of-felicity they-recognized not assuredly another
uel aliam, a qua daretur felicitas, nomine ipsius
or another-goddess by whom might-be-given felicity by-the-name of-the-very

felicitatis inquirerent, neque ipsum Iouem cum tantis iniuriis
felicity they-would-seek nor the-very Jupiter with so-great injuries
colendum putarent. Iste alienarum dicitur adulter
to-be-worshiped would-they-think this-one of-others' is-called the-adulterer
uxorum, iste pueri pulchri inpudicus amator et raptor.
of-wives this-one of-a-boy beautiful the-unchaste lover and ravisher

XXVI · THE GAMES THE GODS DEMANDED

Tully says Homer transferred human things to the gods; why then are the plays where these crimes are sung exhibited in the gods' honor? The gods themselves demanded them. Titus Latinius, a rustic, was told in a dream to tell the senate that the Roman games must be renewed, because the grim order to lead a criminal to punishment on their first day had displeased the gods; not daring, he lost his son, fell ill, and was healed only when he reported it in the senate, which renewed the games with quadrupled money. Such gods are demons, not the founders of Rome's empire.

Sed "fingebat haec Homerus, ait Tullius, et humana
but feigned these-things Homer says Tully and human-things
ad deos transferebat: diuina mallem ad nos." Merito
to the-gods transferred divine-things I-would-prefer to us deservedly
displicuit uiro graui diuinorum criminum poeta confictor.
displeased a-man grave of-divine crimes the-poet as-fabricator
Quur ergo ludi scaenici, ubi haec dictitantur
why then the-games theatrical where these-things are-said
cantitantur actitantur, deorum honoribus exhibentur, inter
sung acted in-the-gods' honors are-exhibited among
res diuinas a doctissimis conscribuntur? Hic exclamet
things divine by the-most-learned are-written here let-cry-out
Cicero non contra figmenta poetarum, sed contra instituta
Cicero not against the-fictions of-the-poets but against the-institutions

maiorum; an exclamarent et illi: Quid nos fecimus! Ipsi
of-the-ancestors or would-cry-out also they what we have-done themselves
di ista suis honoribus exhibenda flagitauerunt,
the-gods these-things in-their-own honors to-be-exhibited demanded
atrociter imperarunt, cladem nisi fieret praenuntiarunt,
atrociously commanded disaster unless it-were-done foretold
quia neglectum est aliquid, seuerissime uindicarunt, quia
because neglected was something most-severely avenged because
id quod neglectum fuerat factum est, placatos se esse
that which neglected had-been done was placated themselves to-be
monstrarunt. Inter eorum commemoratur uirtutes et miranda
showed among their is-recalled powers and wonderful
facta quod dicam. Tito Latinio rustico Romano patri
deeds what I-will-say to-Titus Latinius a-rustic Roman father
familias dictum est in somnis, in senatum nuntiaret,
of-the-household said it-was in sleep to the-senate he-should-announce
ut ludi Romani instaurarentur, quod primo eorum die
that the-games Roman should-be-renewed because on-the-first their day
in quodam scelerato, qui populo spectante ad supplicium
in a-certain criminal who with-the-people watching to punishment
duci iussus est, numinibus uidelicet ex ludis hilaritatem
to-be-led ordered was to-the-divinities namely from the-games merriment
quaerentibus triste displicuisset imperium. Cum ergo ille
seeking a-sad had-displeased command when therefore he
qui somnio commonitus erat postero die iussa facere
who by-a-dream warned had-been on-the-next day the-commands to-do
non ausus esset, secunda nocte hoc idem rursus seuerius
not dared had on-the-second night this same again more-severely
imperatum est: amisit filium, quia non fecit. Tertia
commanded it-was he-lost (his)-son because not he-did-it on-the-third
nocte dictum est homini, quod maior ei poena,
night said it-was to-the-man that a-greater for-him punishment

si non faceret, inmineret. Cum etiam sic non auderet,
if not he-did-it impended when even so not he-dared
in morbum incidit acrem et horribilem. Tum uero ex
into illness he-fell sharp and horrible then indeed from
amicorum sententia ad magistratus rem detulit adque in
of-friends the-opinion to the-magistrates the-matter he-brought and in
lectica adlatus est in senatum expositoque somnio recepta
a-litter brought he-was into the-senate and-explained the-dream recovered
continuo ualetudine pedibus suis sanus abscessit. Tanto
immediately (his)-health on-feet his-own sound he-departed by-so-great
stupefactus miraculo senatus quadruplicata pecunia ludos
stupefied a-miracle the-senate with-quadrupled money the-games
censuit instaurari. Quis non uideat, qui sanum sapit, subditos
decreed to-be-renewed who not would-see who soundly is-wise subjected
homines malignis daemonibus, a quorum dominatione non
men to-malign demons from whose domination not
liberat nisi gratia Dei per Iesum Christum dominum
frees except the-grace of-God through Jesus Christ Lord
nostrum, ui conpulsos esse exhibere talibus dis, quae
our by-force compelled to-be to-exhibit to-such gods what
recto consilio poterant turpia iudicari? In illis certe ludis
by-right counsel could base to-be-judged in those surely games
poetica numinum crimina frequentantur, qui ludi cogentibus
the-poetic of-divinities crimes are-repeated which games with-compelling
numinibus iussu senatus instaurabantur. In illis ludis
divinities by-the-command of-the-senate were-renewed in those games
corruptorem pudicitiae Iouem turpissimi histriones cantabant
the-corrupter of-chastity Jupiter most-base actors sang
agebant placebant. Si illud fingebatur, ille irasceretur; si
acted pleased if that was-feigned he would-be-angry if
autem suis criminibus etiam fictis delectabatur, quando
but by-his-own crimes even feigned he-was-delighted when

coleretur, nisi diabolo seruiretur? Itane iste Romanum
would-he-be-worshiped unless the-devil were-served so-then he the-Roman
conderet dilataret conseruaret imperium, quouis Romano,
would-found would-extend would-preserve empire than-any Roman
cui talia displicebant, homine abiectior? Iste daret
to-whom such-things were-displeasing man more-abject this-one would-give
felicitatem, qui tam infeliciter colebatur, et nisi ita
happiness who so unhappily was-worshiped and unless so
coleretur, infelicius irascebatur?
he-were-worshiped more-unhappily was-angry

XXVII · SCAEVOLA'S THREE KINDS OF GODS

The pontiff Scaevola distinguished three kinds of gods: the poets', trifling for the unworthy things feigned of them; the philosophers', unfit for cities because some of it is superfluous or harmful for the people to know, such as that Hercules and Aesculapius were men and that the true God has neither sex, age, nor body; and the statesmen's. So he thought it expedient for cities to be deceived in religion, as Varro also says. Told to forbid the plays, the people would answer: ask the gods themselves not to order them. And if Jupiter rules the world, the greatest injury done him is to worship him with these and call him their king.

Relatum est in litteras doctissimum pontificem Scaeuolam
reported it-is in letters that-the-most-learned pontiff Scaevola
disputasse tria genera tradita deorum: unum a poetis,
disputed three kinds handed-down of-gods one by the-poets
alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus ciuitatis. Primum
another by the-philosophers the-third by the-leaders of-the-city the-first
genus nugatorium dicit esse, quod multa de dis
kind trifling he-says to-be because many-things about the-gods
fingantur indigna; secundum non congruere ciuitatibus, quod
are-feigned unworthy the-second not to-suit cities because

habeat aliqua superuacua, aliqua etiam quae obsit populis
it-has some-things superfluous some also which it-harms the-peoples
nosse. De superuacuis non magna causa est; solet enim
to-know about superfluous-things not great the-matter is it-is-wont for
et a iuris peritis dici: Superflua non nocent. Quae sunt
also by the-law skilled to-be-said superfluous-things not harm what are
autem illa, quae prolata in multitudinem nocent? "Haec,
but those which brought-forth into the-multitude harm these
inquit, non esse deos Herculem, Aesculapium, Castorem,
he-says not to-be gods Hercules Aesculapius Castor
Pollucem; proditur enim a doctis, quod homines fuerint et
Pollux it-is-related for by the-learned that men they-were and
humana condicione defecerint." Quid aliud? "Quod eorum
by-human condition failed what else that of-those
qui sint di non habeant ciuitates uera simulacra, quod
who are gods not have the-cities true images because
uerus Deus nec sexum habeat nec aetatem nec definita
the-true God neither sex has nor age nor defined
corporis membra." Haec pontifex nosse populos non
of-the-body members these-things the-pontiff to-know the-peoples not
uult; nam falsa esse non putat. Expedire igitur existimat
wishes for false to-be not he-thinks it-is-expedient therefore he-judges
falli in religione ciuitates. Quod dicere etiam in libris
to-be-deceived in religion the-cities which to-say even in the-books
rerum diuinarum Varro ipse non dubitat. Praeclara religio,
of-things divine Varro himself not hesitates an-illustrious religion
quo confugiat liberandus infirmus, et cum ueritatem
whither may-flee to-be-freed the-weak-man and when the-truth
qua liberetur inquirat, credatur ei expedire
by-which he-may-be-freed he-seeks let-it-be-believed for-him to-be-expedient
quod fallitur. Poeticum sane deorum genus quur Scaeuola
that he-is-deceived the-poetic indeed of-gods kind why Scaevola

respuat, eisdem litteris non tacetur: quia sic uidelicet
rejects in-the-same letters not it-is-passed-over because so namely
deos deformant, ut nec bonis hominibus conparentur,
the-gods they-disfigure that not-even to-good men they-may-be-compared
cum alium faciant furari, alium adulterare, sic item
since one they-make to-steal another to-commit-adultery so likewise
aliquid aliter turpiter adque inepte dicere ac facere; tres
something otherwise basely and foolishly to-say and to-do three
inter se deas certasse de praemio pulchritudinis,
among themselves goddesses to-have-contended over the-prize of-beauty
uictas duas a Venere Troiam euertisse; Iouem ipsum
the-conquered two by Venus Troy to-have-overturned Jupiter himself
conuerti in bouem aut cygnum, ut cum aliqua concumbat;
to-be-turned into a-bull or a-swan that with some he-may-lie
deam homini nubere; Saturnum liberos deuorare: nihil
a-goddess to-a-man to-marry Saturn (his)-children to-devour nothing
denique posse confingi miraculorum adque uitiorum,
finally to-be-able to-be-fabricated of-marvels and vices
quod non ibi reperiatur adque ab deorum natura longe
which not there may-be-found and from of-the-gods nature far
absit. O Scaeuola pontifex maxime, ludos tolle, si
may-be-absent O Scaevola pontiff greatest the-games remove if
potes; praecipe populis, ne tales honores dis inmortalibus
you-can command the-peoples lest such honors to-the-gods immortal
deferant, ubi crimina deorum libeat mirari et quae
they-confer where the-crimes of-the-gods it-pleases to-admire and what
fieri possunt placeat imitari. Si autem tibi responderit
to-be-done can it-pleases to-imitate if but to-you shall-have-answered
populus: Vos nobis inportastis ista pontifices: deos
the-people you to-us have-imported these-things pontiffs the-gods
ipsos roga, quibus instigantibus ista iussistis, ne
themselves ask with-whom instigating these-things you-ordered lest

talia sibi iubeant exhiberi. Quae si mala sunt
such-things to-themselves they-order to-be-exhibited which if evil they-are
et propterea nullo modo de deorum maiestate credenda,
and for-this-reason in-no way about of-the-gods the-majesty to-be-believed
maior est deorum iniuria, de quibus inpune finguntur.
greater is of-the-gods the-injury about whom with-impunity they-are-feigned
Sed non te audiunt, daemones sunt, praua docent,
but not you they-hear demons they-are depraved-things they-teach
turpibus gaudent: non solum non deputant iniuriam, si
in-base-things they-rejoice not only not they-reckon an-injury if
de illis ista fingantur, sed eam potius iniuriam ferre
about them these-things are-feigned but it rather an-injury to-bear
non possunt, si per eorum sollemnia non agantur.
not they-can if through their solemnities not they-are-performed
Iam uero si aduersus eos Iouem interpelles, maxime
now indeed if against them Jupiter you-should-appeal-to especially
ob eam causam, quia eius plura crimina ludis scaenicis
for that cause because his more crimes in-games theatrical
actitantur: nonne etiamsi Deum Iouem nuncupatis, a
are-acted surely even-if God Jupiter you-call by
quo regitur totus adque administratur hic mundus, eo
whom is-ruled whole and is-administered this world in-that
illi fit a uobis maxima iniuria, quod eum cum istis
to-him is-done by you the-greatest injury that him with these
colendum putatis eorumque regem esse perhibetis?
to-be-worshiped you-think and-their king to-be you-declare

Gods placated by such honors, whose crime is greater for being delighted by false crimes than if true ones were told of them, could in no way have increased and preserved the Roman empire. Had they been able, they would rather have given so great a gift to the Greeks, who worshiped them more honorably and worthily with their plays, bore the poets' bites, and held their actors worthy of honors. As the Romans had gold and silver without worshiping Aurinus or Argentinus, so they could have had a kingdom without these gods, but not without the true God; worshiping him, they would have had a better one here and an eternal one after.

Nullo igitur modo di tales, qui talibus placantur uel potius
in-no therefore way gods such who by-such are-placated or rather
accusantur honoribus, ut maius sit crimen quod eis falsis
are-accused honors so-that greater be the-crime that by-those false
oblectantur, quam si de illis uera dicerentur, Romanum
they-are-delighted than if about them true-things were-said the-Roman
imperium augere et conseruare potuissent. Hoc enim si
empire to-increase and to-preserve could-have this for if
possent, Graecis potius donum tam grande conferrent, qui
they-could to-the-Greeks rather a-gift so great they-would-confer who
eos in huiusce modi rebus diuinis, hoc est ludis scaenicis,
them in of-this kind things divine that is in-games theatrical
honorabilius digniusque coluerunt, quando et a morsibus
more-honorably and-more-worthily worshiped when even from the-bites
poetarum, quibus deos dilacerari uidebant, se non
of-the-poets by-which the-gods to-be-torn they-saw themselves not
subtraxerunt, dando eis licentiam male tractandi homines
they-withdrew by-giving them license badly of-treating men
quos liberet, et ipsos scaenicos non turpes iudicauerunt,
whom it-pleased and the-very actors not base they-judged
sed dignos etiam praeclaris honoribus habuerunt. Sicut
but worthy even of-illustrious honors they-held as

autem potuerunt auream pecuniam habere Romani, quamuis
but could gold money to-have the-Romans although
deum Aurinum non colerent: sic et argenteam habere
the-god Aurinus not they-worshiped so also silver to-have
potuerunt et aeream, si nec Argentinum nec eius patrem
they-could and bronze if neither Argentinus nor his father
colerent Aesculanum, et sic omnia quae retexere piget.
they-worshiped Aesculanus and so all-things which to-go-over-again irks
Sic ergo et regnum inuito quidem Deo uero nullo
so therefore also a-kingdom with-unwilling indeed God the-true in-no
modo habere possent; dis uero istis falsis et multis
way to-have could-they with-gods but these false and many
ignoratis siue contemtis adque illo uno cognito et fide
unknown or despised and that one known and with-faith
sincera ac moribus culto et melius hic regnum haberent,
sincere and with-morals worshiped both better here a-kingdom they-would-have
quantumcumque haberent, et post haec acciperent
however-much they-had and after these-things would-receive
sempiternum, siue hic haberent siue non haberent.
an-everlasting whether here they-had or not had

The pagans called it a splendid omen that Mars, Terminus, and Juventas would not yield their place even to Jupiter, meaning that the Martian race, its boundaries, and its youth would yield to no one. The omen failed: Rome's army was often routed, the Gauls crushed it in the City, and its boundaries shrank before Hannibal. Hadrian ceded three provinces to the Persians, and after Julian burned his ships Terminus yielded again under Jovian. The wiser Romans saw this, but could not prevail against the city's custom; the true God's help was needed, sending holy men to die for the true religion.

Nam illud quale est quod pulcherrimum auspicium
for that of-what-kind is-it that a-most-beautiful omen
fuisse dixerunt, quod paulo ante commemoraui, Martem
to-have-been they-said which a-little before I-recalled Mars
et Terminum et Iuuentatem nec Ioui regi deorum
and Terminus and Juventas not-even to-Jupiter king of-the-gods
loco cedere uoluisse? Sic enim, inquiunt, significatum
from-place to-yield to-have-been-willing so for they-say signified
est, Martiam gentem, id est Romanam, nemini locum
it-was the-Martian race that is the-Roman to-no-one the-place
quem teneret daturam, Romanos quoque terminos propter
which it-held about-to-give the-Roman also boundaries on-account-of
deum Terminum neminem commoturum, iuuentutem etiam
the-god Terminus no-one about-to-move the-youth also
Romanam propter deam Iuuentatem nemini esse cessuram.
Roman on-account-of the-goddess Juventas to-no-one to-be about-to-yield
Videant ergo quo modo habeant istum regem deorum
let-them-see therefore in-what manner they-hold this king of-gods
suorum et datorem regni sui, ut eum auspicia ista
their-own and the-giver of-kingdom their-own that him auspices these
pro aduersario ponerent, cui non cedere pulchrum esset.
as an-adversary they-should-set to-whom not to-yield beautiful it-was

Quamquam haec si uera sunt, non habent omnino quid
although these-things if true they-are not they-have at-all what
timeant. Non enim confessuri sunt, quod di cesserint
they-should-fear not for about-to-confess they-are that the-gods yielded
Christo, qui Ioui cedere noluerunt; saluis quippe imperii
to-Christ who to-Jupiter to-yield were-unwilling safe for of-the-empire
finibus Christo cedere potuerunt et de sedibus locorum
the-boundaries to-Christ to-yield they-could both from the-seats of-places
et maxime de corde credentium. Sed antequam Christus
and especially from the-heart of-believers but before Christ
uenisset in carne, antequam denique ista scriberentur,
had-come in flesh before finally these-things were-written
quae de libris eorum proferimus, sed tamen postea quam
which from books their we-bring-forward but yet after that
factum est sub rege Tarquinio illud auspicium, aliquotiens
done it-was under king Tarquin that omen several-times
Romanus exercitus fusus est, hoc est uersus in fugam,
the-Roman army routed was that is turned into flight
falsumque ostendit auspicium, quo Iuuentas illa non cesserat
and-false it-showed the-omen by-which Juventas that not had-yielded
Ioui, et gens Martia superantibus adque inrumpentibus
to-Jupiter and the-race Martian with-the-overcoming and bursting-in
Gallis in ipsa Urbe contrita est, et termini imperii
Gauls in the-very City crushed was and the-boundaries of-the-empire
deficientibus multis ad Hannibalem ciuitatibus in angustum
with-defecting many to Hannibal cities into narrowness
fuerant coartati. Ita euacuata est pulchritudo auspiciorum,
had-been confined so emptied was the-beauty of-the-auspices
remansit contra Iouem contumacia, non deorum, sed
there-remained against Jupiter defiance not of-gods but
daemoniorum. Aliud est enim non cessisse, aliud unde
of-demons other it-is for not to-have-yielded other whence

cesseras redisse. Quamquam et postea in orientalibus
you-had-yielded to-have-returned although also afterward in the-eastern
partibus Hadriani uoluntate mutati sunt termini imperii
parts by-Hadrian's will changed were the-boundaries of-the-empire
Romani. Ille namque tres prouincias nobiles, Armeniam,
Roman he for three provinces noble Armenia
Mesopotamiam, Assyriam, Persarum concessit imperio, ut
Mesopotamia Assyria to-the-Persians' conceded empire so-that
deus ille Terminus, qui Romanos terminos secundum istos
god that Terminus who the-Roman boundaries according-to these
tuebatur et per illud pulcherrimum auspicium loco
protected and through that most-beautiful omen from-place
non cesserat Ioui, plus Hadrianum regem hominum quam
not had-yielded to-Jupiter more Hadrian the-king of-men than
regem deorum timuisse uideatur. Receptis quoque alio
the-king of-the-gods to-have-feared might-seem recovered also at-another
tempore prouinciis memoratis nostra paene memoria retrorsus
time the-provinces mentioned in-our almost memory backward
Terminus cessit, quando Iulianus deorum illorum oraculis
Terminus yielded when Julian of-the-gods those to-the-oracles
deditus inmoderato ausu naues iussit incendi, quibus
devoted with-immoderate daring the-ships ordered to-be-burned by-which
alimonia portabatur; qua exercitus destitutus mox etiam
provisions were-carried by-which the-army deprived soon also
ipso hostili uulnere extincto in tantam est redactus inopiam,
himself by-hostile wound killed into such was reduced want
ut inde nullus euaderet undique hostibus incursantibus
that thence none would-escape everywhere with-the-enemies attacking
militem imperatoris morte turbatum, nisi placito pacis illic
the-soldiery by-the-emperor's death disturbed unless by-agreement of-peace there
imperii fines constituerentur, ubi hodieque persistunt,
of-the-empire the-boundaries were-established where today they-persist

non quidem tanto detrimento, quantum concesserat
not indeed with-so-great loss as-much-as had-conceded
Hadrianus, sed media tamen conpositione defixi. Vano
Hadrian but by-a-middle yet settlement fixed by-a-vain
igitur augurio deus Terminus non cessit Ioui, qui cessit
therefore augury the-god Terminus not yielded to-Jupiter who yielded
Hadriani uoluntati, cessit etiam Iuliani temeritati et Iouiani
to-Hadrian's will yielded also to-Julian's rashness and to-Jovian's
necessitati. Viderunt haec intellegentiores grauioresque
necessity saw these-things the-more-intelligent and-graver
Romani; sed contra consuetudinem ciuitatis, quae daemonicis
Romans but against the-custom of-the-city which to-demonic
ritibus fuerat obligata, parum ualebant, quia et ipsi,
rites had-been bound little they-prevailed because even themselves
etiamsi illa uana esse sentiebant, naturae tamen rerum
although those-things vain to-be they-felt to-the-nature yet of-things
sub unius ueri Dei regimine adque imperio constitutae
under of-the-one true God the-rule and command established
religiosum cultum, qui Deo debetur, exhibendum putabant,
the-religious worship which to-God is-owed to-be-exhibited they-thought
seruientes, ut ait apostolus, creaturae potius quam creatori,
serving as says the-apostle the-creature rather than the-creator
qui est benedictus in saecula. Huius Dei ueri erat auxilium
who is blessed into the-ages of-this God true was the-help
necessarium, a quo mitterentur sancti uiri et ueraciter
necessary by whom might-be-sent holy men and truly
pii, qui pro uera religione morerentur, ut falsae a
devout who for true religion should-die that the-false from
uiuentibus tollerentur.
the-living might-be-removed

Cicero, an augur, mocks auguries, but as an Academic who holds all things uncertain he has no authority. In his On the Nature of the Gods, Balbus condemns the images and fables as superstition: the gods' forms, ages, dress, marriages, passions, and wars, believed most foolishly. He distinguishes superstition from religion, calling superstitious those who prayed all day that their children might survive them. But the ancestors also set up the images he blames, and he did not dare say this in the assembly. Thanks are owed not to heaven and earth but to God who made them, who overthrew these superstitions through Christ's humility, the apostles' preaching, and the martyrs' faith.

Cicero augur inridet auguria et inridet homines corui
Cicero an-augur mocks auguries and mocks men of-a-raven
et corniculae uocibus uitae consilia moderantes. Sed iste
and of-a-crow by-the-voices of-life the-counsels regulating but this
Academicus, qui omnia esse contendit incerta, indignus
Academic who all-things to-be contends uncertain unworthy
est qui habeat ullam in his rebus auctoritatem. Disputat
is who should-have any in these things authority disputes
aput eum Quintus Lucilius Balbus in secundo de deorum
in him Quintus Lucilius Balbus in the-second on of-the-gods
natura libro, et cum ipse superstitiones ex natura rerum
the-nature book and though he superstitions from the-nature of-things
uelut physicas et philosophicas inserat, indignatur tamen
as-if physical and philosophical inserts he-is-indignant yet
institutioni simulacrorum et opinionibus fabulosis ita
at-the-institution of-images and at-opinions fabulous thus
loquens: "Videtisne igitur, ut a physicis rebus bene adque
speaking do-you-see then how from physical things well and
utiliter inuentis ratio sit tracta ad commenticios et
usefully discovered the-reasoning has-been drawn to fabricated and

fictos deos? Quae res genuit falsas opiniones erroresque
feigned gods which thing begot false opinions and-errors
turbulentos et superstitiones paene aniles. Et formae enim
turbulent and superstitions almost old-womanish both the-forms for
nobis deorum et aetates et uestitus ornatusque noti sunt,
to-us of-the-gods and ages and dress and-adornment known are
genera praeterea, coniugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta
kinds besides marriages kinships and-all-things brought
ad similitudinem inbecillitatis humanae. Nam et perturbatis
to the-likeness of-weakness human for also with-disturbed
animis inducuntur; accepimus enim deorum cupiditates
minds they-are-brought-in we-have-received for of-the-gods the-lusts
aegritudines iracundias. Nec uero, ut fabulae ferunt, di
sicknesses angers nor indeed as the-fables relate the-gods
bellis proeliisque caruerunt; nec solum, ut aput Homerum,
wars and-battles lacked nor only as in Homer
cum duos exercitus contrarios alii di ex alia parte
when two armies opposed some gods from one side
defenderent, sed etiam (ut cum Titanis aut cum Gigantibus)
defended but also as with the-Titans or with the-Giants
sua propria bella gesserunt. Haec et dicuntur et
their-own proper wars they-waged these-things both are-said and
creduntur stultissime et plena sunt uanitatis summaeque
are-believed most-foolishly and full they-are of-vanity and-of-highest
leuitatis." Ecce interim quae confitentur qui defendunt
levity behold meanwhile what confess those-who defend
deos gentium. Deinde cum haec ad superstitionem
the-gods of-the-nations then when these-things to superstition
pertinere dicat, ad religionem uero, quae ipse secundum
to-pertain he-says to religion but what he-himself according-to
Stoicos uidetur docere: "non enim philosophi solum, inquit,
the-Stoics seems to-teach not for the-philosophers only he-says

uerum etiam maiores nostri superstitionem a religione
but also ancestors our superstition from religion
separauerunt; nam qui totos dies precabantur, inquit, et
separated for those-who whole days prayed he-says and
immolabant, ut sibi sui liberi superstites essent, superstitiosi
sacrificed that to-them their children survivors might-be superstitious
sunt appellati." Quis non intellegat eum conari, dum
were called who not would-understand him to-try while
consuetudinem ciuitatis timet, religionem laudare maiorum
the-custom of-the-city he-fears the-religion to-praise of-the-ancestors
eamque a superstitione uelle seiungere, sed quo modo id
and-it from superstition to-wish to-separate but in-what manner it
possit non inuenire? Si enim a maioribus illi sunt appellati
he-could not to-find if for by the-ancestors those were called
superstitiosi, qui totos dies precabantur et immolabant,
superstitious who whole days prayed and sacrificed
numquid et illi, qui instituerunt (quod iste reprehendit)
surely-not also those who established what he reprehends
deorum simulacra diuersa aetate et ueste distincta, deorum
of-the-gods images by-different age and dress distinguished of-the-gods
genera coniugia cognationes? Haec utique cum tamquam
kinds marriages kinships these-things assuredly when as
superstitiosa culpantur, inplicat ista culpa maiores talium
superstitious are-blamed entangles this blame the-ancestors of-such
simulacrorum institutores adque cultores; inplicat et ipsum,
images the-establishers and worshipers it-entangles also him-himself
qui, quantolibet eloquio se in libertatem nitatur
who with-however-much eloquence himself into freedom he-may-strive
euoluere, necesse habebat ista uenerari; nec quod in hac
to-extricate necessity had these-things to-venerate nor what in this
disputatione disertus insonat, muttire auderet in populi
disputation eloquent he-sounds to-mutter he-would-dare in of-the-people

contione. Agamus itaque Christiani Domino Deo nostro
the-assembly let-us-give and-so Christians to-the-Lord God our
gratias, non caelo et terrae, sicut iste disputat, sed ei
thanks not to-heaven and earth as this-one disputes but to-him
qui fecit caelum et terram, qui has superstitiones, quas iste
who made heaven and earth who these superstitions which this
Balbus uelut balbutiens uix reprehendit, per altissimam
Balbus as-if stammering scarcely reprehends through the-most-high
Christi humilitatem, per apostolorum praedicationem, per
of-Christ humility through of-the-apostles the-preaching through
fidem martyrum pro ueritate morientium et cum ueritate
the-faith of-the-martyrs for truth dying and with truth
uiuentium non solum in cordibus religiosis, uerum etiam in
living not only in hearts religious but also in
aedibus superstitiosis libera suorum seruitute subuertit.
shrines superstitious with-the-free of-his-own service has-overturned

Varro admits that he does not follow by his own judgment the religion Rome established; were he founding a new city, he would dedicate the gods and their names from nature's formula, but in an old people he must keep the history received, so that the crowd may worship rather than despise them. Elsewhere he says that many true things are not useful for the people to know. He thought that only those understood what God is who believed him a soul governing the world, and that the Romans, who worshiped without images for more than 170 years, would have worshiped more chastely had that lasted, citing the Jews; he came near the truth.

Quid ipse Varro, quem dolemus in rebus diuinis ludos
what himself Varro whom we-grieve in things divine the-games
scaenicos, quamuis non indicio proprio, posuisse, cum ad
theatrical although not by-judgment his-own to-have-placed when to
deos colendos multis locis uelut religiosus hortetur, nonne
the-gods to-be-worshiped in-many places as-if religious he-exhorts surely
ita confitetur non se illa iudicio suo sequi, quae
so he-confesses not himself those-things by-judgment his-own to-follow which
ciuitatem Romanam instituisse commemorat, ut, si eam
the-city Roman to-have-established he-records that if that
ciuitatem nouam constitueret, ex naturae potius formula
city new he-were-founding from of-nature rather the-formula
deos nominaque eorum se fuisse dedicaturum non
the-gods and-names their himself to-have-been about-to-dedicate not
dubitet confiteri? Sed iam quoniam in uetere populo esset,
he-hesitates to-confess but now since in an-old people he-was
acceptam ab antiquis nominum et cognominum historiam
received from the-ancients of-names and of-surnames the-history
tenere, ut tradita est, debere se dicit, et ad eum
to-hold as handed-down it-is to-be-bound himself he-says and to that

finem illa scribere ac perscrutari, ut potius eos magis
end those-things to-write and to-examine that rather them more
colere quam despicere uulgus uelit. Quibus uerbis homo
to-worship than to-despise the-crowd may-wish by-which words the-man
acutissimus satis indicat non se aperire omnia, quae
most-acute sufficiently indicates not himself to-disclose all-things which
non sibi tantum contemtui essent, sed etiam ipsi
not to-himself only for-contempt would-be but even to-the-very
uulgo despicienda uiderentur, nisi tacerentur. Ego ista
crowd to-be-despised would-seem unless they-were-kept-silent I these-things
conicere putari debui, nisi euidenter alio loco ipse
to-conjecture to-be-thought ought-to-have unless evidently in-another place himself
diceret de religionibus loquens multa esse uera, quae non
he-said about religions speaking many-things to-be true which not
modo uulgo scire non sit utile, sed etiam, tametsi falsa
only for-the-crowd to-know not is useful but even although false
sunt, aliter existimare populum expediat, et ideo Graecos
they-are otherwise to-judge the-people it-is-expedient and therefore the-Greeks
teletas ac mysteria taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse. Hic
initiations and mysteries by-silence and-by-walls to-have-shut-in here
certe totum consilium prodidit uelut sapientium, per quos
surely the-whole counsel he-has-betrayed as-if of-the-wise through whom
ciuitates et populi regerentur. Hac tamen fallacia miris
cities and peoples should-be-ruled by-this yet deceit in-wondrous
modis maligni daemones delectantur, qui et deceptores et
ways malign demons are-delighted who both the-deceivers and
deceptos pariter possident, a quorum dominatione non liberat
the-deceived alike possess from whose domination not frees
nisi gratia Dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.
except the-grace of-God through Jesus Christ Lord our

Dicit etiam idem auctor acutissimus adque doctissimus,
he-says also the-same author most-acute and most-learned
quod hi soli ei uideantur animum aduertisse quid esset
that those alone to-him seem the-mind to-have-turned-to what was
Deus, qui crediderunt eum esse animam motu ac ratione
God who believed him to-be a-soul by-motion and reason
mundum gubernantem, ac per hoc, etsi nondum tenebat
the-world governing and through this though not-yet he-held
quod ueritas habet (Deus enim uerus non anima, sed
what the-truth has God for true not a-soul but
animae quoque est effector et conditor), tamen si contra
of-the-soul also is the-maker and founder yet if against
praeiudicia consuetudinis liber esse posset, unum Deum
the-prejudices of-custom free to-be he-could one God
colendum fateretur adque suaderet, motu ac ratione
to-be-worshiped he-would-confess and urge by-motion and reason
mundum gubernantem, ut ea cum illo de hac re
the-world governing so-that that with him about this matter
quaestio remaneret, quod eum diceret esse animam, non
the-question would-remain that him he-said to-be a-soul not
potius et animae creatorem. Dicit etiam antiquos Romanos
rather also of-the-soul the-creator he-says also the-ancient Romans
plus annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulacro
more-than years a-hundred and seventy the-gods without image
coluisse. "Quod si adhuc, inquit, mansisset, castius
to-have-worshiped which if still he-says it-had-remained more-chastely
di obseruarentur." Cui sententiae suae testem adhibet
the-gods would-be-observed to-which opinion his-own as-witness he-applies
inter cetera etiam gentem Iudaeam; nec dubitat eum
among other-things also the-nation Jewish nor does-he-hesitate that
locum ita concludere, ut dicat, qui primi simulacra deorum
passage so to-conclude that he-says who first images of-the-gods

populis posuerunt, eos ciuitatibus suis et metum
for-the-peoples set-up they for-cities their-own both fear
demsisse et errorem addidisse, prudenter existimans
to-have-taken-away and error to-have-added prudently judging
deos facile posse in simulacrorum stoliditate contemni.
the-gods easily to-be-able in of-images the-stolidity to-be-despised
Quod uero non ait "errorem tradiderunt", sed "addiderunt",
that indeed not he-says error they-handed-down but added
iam utique fuisse etiam sine simulacris uult intellegi
already assuredly to-have-been even without images he-wishes to-be-understood
errorem. Quapropter cum solos dicit animaduertisse quid esset
error wherefore when alone he-says to-have-noticed what was
Deus, qui eum crederent animam mundum gubernantem,
God who him believed a-soul the-world governing
castiusque existimat sine simulacris obseruari religionem,
and-more-chastely he-judges without images to-be-observed religion
quis non uideat quantum propinquauerit ueritati? Si enim
who not would-see how-near he-approached to-the-truth if for
aliquid contra uetustatem tanti posset erroris, profecto
anything against the-antiquity of-so-great he-could error assuredly
et unum Deum, a quo mundum crederet gubernari, et
both one God by whom the-world he-believed to-be-governed and
sine simulacro colendum esse censeret; adque in tam
without image to-be-worshiped to-be he-would-judge and in so
proximo inuentus facile fortasse de animae mutabilitate
near found easily perhaps about of-the-soul the-mutability
commoneretur, ut naturam potius incommutabilem, quae
he-would-be-reminded so-that a-nature rather unchangeable which
ipsam quoque animam condidisset, Deum uerum esse
itself also the-soul had-founded God true to-be
sentiret. Haec cum ita sint, quaecumque tales uiri
he-would-perceive these-things since so they-are whatever such men

in suis litteris multorum deorum ludibria posuerunt,
in their-own letters of-many gods mockeries set-down
confiteri ea potius occulta Dei uoluntate conpulsi
to-confess them rather by-the-hidden of-God will compelled
sunt quam persuadere conati. Si qua igitur a nobis inde
they-were than to-persuade they-tried if any therefore by us thence
testimonia proferuntur, ad eos redarguendos proferuntur,
testimonies are-brought-forth for them to-be-refuted they-are-brought-forth
qui nolunt aduertere de quanta et quam maligna
who are-unwilling to-notice from how-great and how malign
daemonum potestate nos liberet singulare sacrificium tam
of-demons power us frees the-singular sacrifice of-so
sancti sanguinis fusi et donum spiritus inpertiti.
holy blood poured and the-gift of-the-spirit imparted

XXXII · WHY THE LEADERS KEPT THE FALSE RELIGION

Varro also says the peoples were more inclined to the poets than the physicists about the gods' generations, and so the ancestors believed in their sexes and marriages. This was done only because it was the business of men thought prudent to deceive the people in religion, imitating the demons, who possess only those they deceive. So leaders, not just but like demons, urged on the people as true what they knew to be vain, to bind them to civil society and possess them; the weak and unlearned could not escape both.

Dicit etiam de generationibus deorum magis ad poetas quam
he-says also about the-generations of-the-gods more to the-poets than
ad physicos fuisse populos inclinatos, et ideo et sexum et
to the-physicists to-have-been the-peoples inclined and therefore both sex and
generationes deorum maiores suos, id est ueteres credidisse
generations of-the-gods ancestors his-own that is the-ancient to-have-believed

Romanos et eorum constituisse coniugia. Quod utique
Romans and their to-have-established marriages which assuredly
non aliam ob causam factum uidetur, nisi quia hominum
not another for cause done seems except because of-men
uelut prudentium et sapientium negotium fuit populum in
as-if prudent and wise the-business it-was the-people in
religionibus fallere, et in eo ipso non solum colere sed
religions to-deceive and in that very-thing not only to-worship but
imitari etiam daemones, quibus maxima est fallendi cupiditas.
to-imitate also the-demons for-whom greatest is of-deceiving the-desire
Sicut enim daemones nisi eos, quos fallendo deceperint,
as for the-demons except those whom by-deceiving they-have-beguiled
possidere non possunt, sic et homines principes, non sane
to-possess not can so also men leaders not indeed
iusti, sed daemonum similes, ea, quae uana esse nouerant,
just but to-demons like those-things which vain to-be they-knew
religionis nomine populis tamquam uera suadebant, hoc
of-religion in-the-name to-the-peoples as true urged in-this
modo eos ciuili societati uelut aptius adligantes, quo
manner them to-civil society as-if more-fitly binding by-which
similiter subditos possiderent. Quis autem infirmus et indoctus
similarly subjected they-might-possess who but weak and unlearned
euaderet simul fallaces et principes ciuitatis et daemones?
would-escape at-once deceitful both the-leaders of-the-city and the-demons

God, the author and giver of felicity, alone the true God, gives earthly kingdoms to the good and the evil, not by chance but by an order of things and times hidden from us and known to him, an order he rules as lord. Felicity he gives only to the good, whether they serve or reign. He gives kingdoms to the wicked too, lest his worshipers, still little ones, covet them as something great. This is the sacrament of the Old Testament, where earthly promises signified eternal ones.

Deus igitur ille felicitatis auctor et dator, quia solus est
God therefore that of-happiness author and giver because alone he-is
uerus Deus, ipse dat regna terrena et bonis et malis,
the-true God himself gives kingdoms earthly both to-the-good and to-the-evil
neque hoc temere et quasi fortuito, quia Deus est, non
nor this rashly and as-if by-chance because God he-is not
fortuna, sed pro rerum ordine ac temporum occulto
fortune but according-to of-things the-order and of-times hidden
nobis, notissimo sibi; cui tamen ordini temporum non
to-us most-known to-himself to-which yet order of-times not
subditus seruit, sed eum ipse tamquam dominus regit
subjected he-serves but it himself as lord rules
moderatorque disponit; felicitatem uero non dat nisi
and-as-governor arranges happiness but not he-gives except
bonis. Hanc enim possunt et non habere et habere
to-the-good this for can both not to-have and to-have
seruientes, possunt et non habere et habere regnantes; quae
those-serving can both not to-have and have those-reigning which
tamen plena in ea uita erit, ubi nemo iam seruiet. Et
yet full in that life will-be where no-one now will-serve and
ideo regna terrena et bonis ab illo dantur et malis,
therefore kingdoms earthly both to-the-good by him are-given and to-the-evil
ne eius cultores adhuc in prouectu animi paruuli haec ab
lest his worshipers still in advancement of-mind little-ones these from

eo munera quasi magnum aliquid concupiscant. Et hoc est
him gifts as-if great something should-covet and this is
sacramentum ueteris testamenti, ubi occultum erat nouum,
the-sacrament of-the-old testament where hidden was the-new
quod illic promissa et dona terrena sunt, intellegentibus
that there promised-things and gifts earthly are to-those-understanding
et tunc spiritalibus, quamuis nondum in manifestatione
and then spiritual although not-yet in manifestation
praedicantibus, et quae illis temporalibus rebus significaretur
proclaiming both what by-those temporal things was-signified
aeternitas, et in quibus Dei donis esset uera felicitas.
eternity and in what of-God gifts would-be true happiness

XXXIV · THE KINGDOM OF THE JEWS

So that even earthly goods might be known to be in the one God's power, he multiplied his people in Egypt and freed them by wonders. Without Lucina their wives bore, without Rumina and Cunina they were nursed, without Neptune the sea parted, without Mannia manna fell, and without Mars, Bellona, Segetia, or Pomona they won wars and reaped crops. Had they not sinned and killed Christ, they would have kept that kingdom; now dispersed, they carry the prophecies that foretold the fall of the false gods, lest Christians be thought to have invented them.

Itaque ut cognosceretur etiam illa terrena bona, quibus solis
and-so that it-might-be-known even those earthly goods for-which alone
inhiant qui meliora cogitare non possunt, in ipsius
gape those-who better-things to-think not can in of-the-very
unius Dei esse posita potestate, non in multorum falsorum,
one God to-be placed the-power not in of-many false-ones
quos colendos Romani antea crediderunt, populum suum
whom to-be-worshiped the-Romans before believed the-people his-own

in Aegypto de paucissimis multiplicauit et inde signis
in Egypt from very-few he-multiplied and thence by-signs
mirabilibus liberauit. Nec Lucinam mulieres illae inuocauerunt,
wonderful freed nor Lucina women those invoked
quando earum partus, ut miris modis multiplicarentur
when their offspring that in-wondrous ways they-might-be-multiplied
et gens illa incredibiliter cresceret, ab Aegyptiorum
and race that incredibly might-grow from of-the-Egyptians
persequentium et infantes omnes necare uolentium manibus
persecuting and infants all to-kill wishing the-hands
ipse seruauit. Sine dea Rumina suxerunt, sine Cunina
he-himself preserved without the-goddess Rumina they-sucked without Cunina
in cunis fuerunt, sine Educa et Potina escam potumque
in cradles they-were without Educa and Potina food and-drink
sumserunt, sine tot dis puerilibus educati sunt, sine dis
they-took without so-many gods childish raised they-were without gods
coniugalibus coniugati, sine cultu Priapi coniugibus mixti;
conjugal married without the-worship of-Priapus with-spouses mingled
sine inuocatione Neptuni mare transeuntibus diuisum patuit
without the-invocation of-Neptune the-sea to-those-crossing divided lay-open
et sequentes eorum inimicos fluctibus in se redeuntibus
and the-following their enemies with-the-waves into themselves returning
obruit. Nec consecrauerunt aliquam deam Manniam, quando
it-overwhelmed nor they-consecrated any goddess Mannia when
de caelo manna sumserunt; nec quando sitientibus aquam
from heaven manna they-took nor when to-the-thirsty water
percussa petra profudit, Nymphas Lymphasque coluerunt. Sine
the-struck rock poured-out the-Nymphs and-Lymphs they-worshiped without
insanis sacris Martis et Bellonae bella gesserunt, et sine
insane rites of-Mars and Bellona wars they-waged and without
uictoria quidem non uicerunt, non eam tamen deam, sed Dei
victory indeed not they-conquered not it yet a-goddess but of-God

sui munus habuerunt. Sine Segetia segetes sine Bubona
their-own the-gift they-held without Segetia crops without Bubona
boues, mella sine Mellona poma sine Pomona, et prorsus
oxen honey without Mellona fruits without Pomona and utterly
omnia, pro quibus tantae falsorum deorum turbae Romani
all-things for which to-so-great of-false gods a-crowd the-Romans
supplicandum putarunt, ab uno uero Deo multo felicius
to-be-prayed thought from the-one true God much more-happily
acceperunt. Et si non in eum peccassent, inpia curiositate
they-received and if not against him they-had-sinned by-ungodly curiosity
tamquam magicis artibus seducti ad alienos deos et ad idola
as-if by-magic arts seduced to foreign gods and to idols
defluendo, et postremo Christum occidendo: in eodem regno
by-flowing-down and finally Christ by-killing in the-same kingdom
etsi non spatiosiore, tamen feliciore mansissent. Et
although not more-spacious yet happier they-would-have-remained and
nunc quod per omnes fere terras gentesque dispersi sunt,
now that through all almost lands and-nations dispersed they-are
illius unius ueri Dei prouidentia est, ut, quod deorum
of-that one true God providence it-is so-that that of-the-gods
falsorum usquequaque simulacra arae, luci templa euertuntur
false everywhere the-images altars groves temples are-overturned
et sacrificia prohibentur, de codicibus eorum probetur,
and sacrifices are-forbidden from books their it-may-be-proved
quem ad modum hoc fuerit tanto ante prophetatum;
in-what to manner this had-been so-long before prophesied
ne forte, cum legeretur in nostris, a nobis putaretur
lest perhaps when it-was-read in ours by us it-be-thought
esse confictum. Iam quod sequitur in uolumine sequenti
to-be fabricated now what follows in the-volume following
uidendum est, et hic dandus huius prolixitatis modus.
to-be-seen is and here to-be-given of-this prolixity the-measure

BOOK V

PREFACE

Since felicity is the fullness of all things to be wished, and is not a goddess but the gift of God, no god is to be worshiped except him who can make men happy; if she were a goddess, she alone would rightly be worshiped. It remains to see why God, who can give even those goods which the not good and therefore not happy can have, willed the Roman empire to be so great and so long-lasting, since the multitude of false gods did not do it.

Quoniam constat omnium rerum optandarum plenitudinem
since it-is-agreed of-all things to-be-wished the-fullness
esse felicitatem, quae non est dea, sed donum Dei,
to-be happiness which not is a-goddess but a-gift of-God
et ideo nullum deum colendum esse ab hominibus,
and therefore no god to-be-worshiped to-be by men
nisi qui potest eos facere felices (unde si illa dea
except him-who can them to-make happy whence if she a-goddess
esset, sola colenda merito diceretur): iam consequenter
were she-alone to-be-worshiped rightly it-would-be-said now consequently
uideamus, qua causa Deus, qui potest et illa bona dare,
let-us-see for-what cause God who can also those goods to-give
quae habere possunt etiam non boni ac per hoc etiam
which to-have can even the-not good and through this even
non felices, Romanum imperium tam magnum tamque
the-not happy the-Roman empire so great and-so
diuturnum esse uoluerit. Quia enim hoc deorum falsorum
long-lasting to-be willed because for this of-the-gods false
illa quam colebant multitudo non fecit, et multa iam
that which they-worshiped multitude not did both many-things already
diximus, et ubi uisum fuerit opportunum esse dicemus.
we-have-said and where seemed it-shall-have opportune to-be we-shall-say

The greatness of the Roman empire is neither fortuitous nor fatal; human kingdoms are established by divine providence. If anyone calls God's will fate, let him keep the thought and correct his tongue, for men commonly mean by fate the stars' position at birth or conception. Those who make the stars decide without God's will must be refused a hearing; those who make the stars decide by God's will do heaven injury, as if crimes were decreed in its senate. If the stars only signify, why do twins differ so much in their lives?

Causa ergo magnitudinis imperii Romani nec fortuita
the-cause therefore of-the-greatness of-the-empire Roman neither fortuitous
est nec fatalis secundum eorum sententiam siue opinionem,
is nor fatal according-to their opinion or view
qui ea dicunt esse fortuita, quae uel nullas causas
who those-things they-say to-be fortuitous which either no causes
habent uel non ex aliquo rationabili ordine uenientes, et
have or not from some rational order coming and
ea fatalia, quae praeter Dei et hominum uoluntatem
those-things fatal which beyond of-God and of-men the-will
cuiusdam ordinis necessitate contingunt. Prorsus diuina
of-a-certain order by-necessity happen utterly by-divine
prouidentia regna constituuntur humana. Quae si propterea
providence kingdoms are-established human which if for-this-reason
quisquam fato tribuit, quia ipsam Dei uoluntatem uel
anyone to-fate attributes because the-very of-God will or
potestatem fati nomine appellat, sententiam teneat,
power of-fate by-the-name he-calls the-opinion let-him-hold
linguam corrigat. Quur enim non hoc primum dicit,
(his)-tongue let-him-correct why for not this first does-he-say
quod postea dicturus est, cum ab illo quisquam quaesierit
which afterward about-to-say he-is when from him anyone shall-have-asked

quid dixerit fatum? Nam id homines quando audiunt,
what he-called fate for it men when they-hear
usitata loquendi consuetudine non intellegunt nisi uim
by-usual of-speaking custom not they-understand except the-force
positionis siderum, qualis est quando quis nascitur siue
of-the-position of-the-stars such-as it-is when one is-born or
concipitur; quod aliqui alienant a Dei uoluntate, aliqui
is-conceived which some estrange from of-God the-will some
ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant. Sed illi, qui sine
from it even this to-hang affirm but those who without
Dei uoluntate decernere opinantur sidera quid agamus uel
of-God the-will to-decide think the-stars what we-do or
quid bonorum habeamus malorumue patiamur, ab auribus
what of-goods we-have or-of-evils we-suffer from the-ears
omnium repellendi sunt, non solum eorum qui ueram
of-all to-be-repelled are not only of-those who true
religionem tenent sed qui deorum qualiumcumque, licet
religion hold but who of-gods any-whatever although
falsorum, uolunt esse cultores. Haec enim opinio quid agit
false wish to-be worshipers this for opinion what does-it
aliud, nisi ut nullus omnino colatur aut rogetur Deus?
other than that none at-all be-worshiped or be-asked God
Contra quos modo nobis disputatio non est instituta, sed
against whom now for-us the-disputation not is undertaken but
contra hos qui pro defensione eorum, quos deos putant,
against these who for the-defense of-those whom gods they-think
Christianae religioni aduersantur. Illi uero, qui positionem
to-the-Christian religion are-opposed those but who the-position
stellarum quodam modo decernentium qualis quisque
of-the-stars in-a-certain manner deciding of-what-kind each
sit et quid ei proueniat boni quidue mali accidat
be and what to-him may-come-forth of-good or-what of-evil may-befall

ex Dei uoluntate suspendunt, si easdem stellas putant
on of-God the-will make-hang if the-same stars they-think
habere hanc potestatem traditam sibi a summa illius
to-have this power handed to-them from the-highest his
potestate, ut uolentes ista decernant: magnam caelo
power that willing these-things they-may-decide a-great to-heaven
faciunt iniuriam, in cuius uelut clarissimo senatu ac
they-do injury in which as-if in-the-most-illustrious senate and
splendidissima curia opinantur scelera facienda decerni,
most-splendid senate-house they-think crimes to-be-done to-be-decreed
qualia si aliqua terrena ciuitas decreuisset, genere humano
such-as if any earthly city had-decreed by-the-race human
decernente fuerat euertenda. Quale deinde iudicium de
decreeing it-had-been to-be-overthrown what-kind then judgment about
hominum factis Deo relinquitur, quibus caelestis necessitas
of-men the-deeds to-God is-left to-whom heavenly necessity
adhibetur, cum dominus ille sit et siderum et hominum?
is-applied when the-lord he be both of-the-stars and of-men
Aut si non dicunt stellas, accepta quidem potestate a
or if not they-say the-stars received indeed power from
summo Deo, arbitrio suo ista decernere, sed in talibus
the-highest God by-will their-own these-things to-decide but in such
necessitatibus ingerendis illius omnino iussa conplere: itane
necessities to-be-imposed his altogether commands to-fulfill so-then
de ipso Deo sentiendum est, quod indignissimum uisum
about the-very God to-be-thought is-it what most-unworthy seemed
est de stellarum uoluntate sentire? Quod si dicuntur stellae
it-has about of-the-stars the-will to-think but if are-said the-stars
significare potius ista quam facere, ut quasi locutio
to-signify rather these-things than to-do so-that as-if a-speech
quaedam sit illa positio praedicens futura, non agens (non
a-certain be that position foretelling future-things not doing not

enim mediocriter doctorum hominum fuit ista sententia):
for moderately of-learned men was this opinion
non quidem ita solent loqui mathematici, ut uerbi
not indeed so are-wont to-speak the-astrologers so-that of-a-word
gratia dicant: “Mars ita positus homicidam significat”,
for-the-sake they-say Mars so placed a-murderer signifies
sed: “homicidam facit”; uerumtamen ut concedamus non
but a-murderer makes but-yet that we-may-grant not
eos ut debent loqui et a philosophis accipere oportere
them as they-ought to-speak and from the-philosophers to-receive to-be-right
sermonis regulam ad ea praenuntianda, quae in siderum
of-speech the-rule for those-things to-be-foretold which in of-the-stars
positione reperire se putant: quid fit, quod nihil
the-position to-find themselves they-think what comes-about that nothing
umquam dicere potuerunt, quur in uita geminorum, in
ever to-say could-they why in the-life of-twins in
actionibus, in euentis, in professionibus, artibus, honoribus
actions in events in professions arts honors
ceterisque rebus ad humanam uitam pertinentibus adque in
and-other things to human life pertaining and in
ipsa morte sit plerumque tanta diuersitas, ut similiores
the-very death there-be mostly so-great a-diversity that more-like
eis sint, quantum ad haec adtinet, multi extranei
to-them be as-far-as to these-things pertains many strangers
quam ipsi inter se gemini perexiguo temporis
than themselves among themselves the-twins by-a-very-short of-time
interuallo in nascendo separati, in conceptu autem per
interval in being-born separated in conception but through
unum concubitum uno etiam momento seminati?
one intercourse in-one even moment sown

II · THE TWINS WHO FELL ILL TOGETHER

Cicero says Hippocrates suspected that two brothers who fell ill and recovered together were twins; Posidonius the Stoic said they had been born and conceived under the same constellation. The physician's conjecture is more credible: parents' bodily state at conception, the same food, air, place, and exercise. But twins also go different ways and suffer different illnesses, which Hippocrates could explain by different diets and exercise. Either the moment between twins' births matters little, and cannot explain their differences, or it matters, and should change their parents too.

Cicero dicit Hippocratem, nobilissimum medicum, scriptum
Cicero says that-Hippocrates the-most-noble physician in-writing
reliquisse, quosdam fratres, cum simul aegrotare coepissent
to-have-left that-certain brothers when together to-be-sick they-had-begun
et eorum morbus eodem tempore ingrauesceret, eodem
and their illness at-the-same time grew-worse at-the-same
leuaretur, geminos suspicatum; quos Posidonius Stoicus,
was-relieved twins to-have-suspected whom Posidonius the-Stoic
multum astrologiae deditus, eadem constitutione
much to-astrology devoted under-the-same constitution
astrorum natos eademque conceptos solebat adserere.
of-the-stars born and-under-the-same conceived was-wont to-assert
Ita quod medicus pertinere credebat ad simillimam
so what the-physician to-pertain believed to the-most-similar
temperiem ualetudinis, hoc philosophus astrologus ad uim
temperament of-health this the-philosopher astrologer to the-force
constitutionemque siderum, quae fuerat quo tempore
and-constitution of-the-stars which had-been at-which time
concepti natique sunt. In hac causa multo est acceptabilior
conceived and-born they-were in this case much is more-acceptable
et de proximo credibilior coniectura medicinalis, quoniam
and from near more-credible the-conjecture medical since

parentes ut erant corpore adfecti, dum concumberent,
the-parents as they-were in-body affected while they-lay-together
ita primordia conceptorum adfici potuerunt, ut
so the-first-beginnings of-the-conceived to-be-affected could that
consecutis ex materno corpore prioribus incrementis
having-been-gained from the-maternal body the-prior increases
paris ualetudinis nascerentur; deinde in una domo eisdem
of-equal health they-were-born then in one house with-the-same
alimentis nutriti, ubi aerem et loci positionem et uim
foods nourished where the-air and of-the-place the-position and the-force
aquarum plurimum ualere ad corpus uel bene uel male
of-the-waters very-much to-avail for the-body either well or badly
accipiendum medicina testatur, eisdem etiam exercitationibus
to-be-received medicine testifies by-the-same also exercises
adsuefacti tam similia corpora gererent, ut etiam ad
accustomed so similar bodies they-bore that even for
aegrotandum uno tempore eisdemque causis similiter
being-sick at-one time and-by-the-same causes similarly
mouerentur. Constitutionem uero caeli ac siderum, quae
they-were-moved the-constitution but of-heaven and of-the-stars which
fuit quando concepti siue nati sunt, uelle trahere ad istam
was when conceived or born they-were to-wish to-drag to this
aegrotandi parilitatem, cum tam multa diuersissimi generis
of-being-sick equality when so many-things of-most-diverse kind
diuersissimorum effectuum et euentorum eodem tempore
of-most-diverse effects and events at-the-same time
in unius regionis terra eidem caelo subdita potuerint
in of-one region the-land to-the-same sky subjected could
concipi et nasci, nescio cuius sit insolentiae. Nos autem
to-be-conceived and to-be-born I-know-not of-what is insolence we but
nouimus geminos non solum actus et peregrinationes habere
know twins not only acts and journeys to-have

diuersas, uerum etiam dispares aegritudines perpeti. De qua
different but also unequal sicknesses to-suffer about which
re facillimam, quantum mihi uidetur, rationem redderet
matter a-most-easy as-far-as to-me it-seems reason would-render
Hippocrates, diuersis alimentis et exercitationibus, quae non
Hippocrates by-different foods and exercises which not
de corporis temperatione, sed de animi uoluntate ueniunt,
from of-the-body the-tempering but from of-the-mind the-will come
dissimiles eis accidere potuisse ualetudines. Porro autem
dissimilar to-them to-befall to-have-been-able states-of-health further but
Posidonius uel quilibet fatalium siderum adsertor mirum si
Posidonius or any-whatever of-the-fatal stars asserter a-wonder if
potest hic inuenire quid dicat, si nolit inperitorum
he-can here to-find what he-may-say if he-be-unwilling of-the-unskilled
mentibus in eis quas nesciunt rebus inludere. Quod enim
the-minds in those which they-know-not things to-mock what for
conantur efficere de interuallo exiguo temporis, quod inter
they-try to-effect from the-interval small of-time which between
se gemini dum nascerentur habuerunt, propter caeli
themselves the-twins while they-were-born had on-account-of of-heaven
particulam, ubi ponitur horae notatio, quem horoscopum
the-small-part where is-placed of-the-hour the-marking which horoscope
uocant: aut non tantum ualet, quanta inuenitur in geminorum
they-call either not so-much it-avails as-great-as is-found in of-twins
uoluntatibus actibus moribus casibusque diuersitas, aut plus
wills acts morals and-chances diversity or more
etiam ualet, quam est geminorum uel humilitas generis
even it-avails than is of-twins either the-lowliness of-family
eadem uel nobilitas, cuius maximam diuersitatem non nisi in
the-same or nobility of-which the-greatest diversity not except in
hora, qua quisque nascitur, ponunt. Ac per hoc si tam
the-hour in-which each is-born they-place and through this if so

celeriter alter post alterum nascitur, ut eadem pars horoscopi
swiftly the-one after the-other is-born that the-same part of-the-horoscope
maneat, paria cuncta quaero, quae in nullis possunt geminis
remains equal all-things I-seek which in no can twins
inueniri; si autem sequentis tarditas horoscopum mutat,
to-be-found if but of-the-following the-slowness the-horoscope changes
parentes diuersos quaero, quos gemini habere non possunt.
parents different I-seek which twins to-have not can

III · NIGIDIUS' POTTER'S WHEEL

Nigidius, called Figulus, answered with a potter's wheel: he spun it, struck it twice with ink as if in one spot, and when it stopped the marks lay far apart; so, he said, in heaven's swiftness twins born close together differ greatly. This fiction is more fragile than the pots the wheel makes. If a difference in heaven too fine for the constellations to grasp decides that one twin inherits and the other does not, why do astrologers dare pronounce on others' nativities? And if the small moments concern small things, why do twins differ in the great ones?

Frustra itaque adfertur nobile illud commentum de
in-vain and-so is-brought-forward famous that fiction about
figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium hac
the-potter's wheel which to-have-answered they-say Nigidius by-this
quaestione turbatum, unde et Figulus appellatus est.
question troubled whence also Figulus called he-was
Dum enim rotam figuli ui quanta potuit intorsisset,
while for the-wheel of-a-potter with-force as-great-as he-could he-had-whirled
currente illa bis numero de atramento tamquam uno eius
running it twice in-succession with ink as-if in-one its
loco summa celeritate percussit; deinde inuenta sunt signa,
place with-highest speed he-struck then found were the-marks

quae fixerat, desistente motu, non paruo interuallo in rotae
which he-had-fixed with-ceasing motion not by-small an-interval on of-wheel
illius extremitate distantia. “Sic, inquit, in tanta rapacitate
that the-edge distant so he-says in such swiftness
caeli, etiamsi alter post alterum tanta celeritate nascatur,
of-heaven even-if the-one after the-other with-such speed be-born
quanta rotam bis ipse percussi, in caeli spatio plurimum
as the-wheel twice I-myself struck in of-heaven space very-much
est: hinc sunt, inquit, quaecumque dissimillima perhibentur
it-is hence are he-says whatever most-unlike-things are-reported
in moribus casibusque geminorum.” Hoc figmentum fragilius
in the-morals and-chances of-twins this fiction more-fragile
est quam uasa, quae illa rotatione finguntur. Nam si tam
is than the-vessels which by-that whirling are-shaped for if so
multum in caelo interest, quod constellationibus conprehendi
much in heaven it-matters which by-constellations to-be-comprehended
non potest, ut alteri geminorum hereditas obueniat, alteri
not can that to-one of-the-twins an-inheritance befalls to-the-other
non obueniat: quur audent ceteris, qui gemini non sunt,
not befalls why do-they-dare to-the-others who twins not are
cum inspexerint eorum constellationes, talia pronuntiare,
when they-have-inspected their constellations such-things to-pronounce
quae ad illud secretum pertinent, quod nemo potest
which to that secret pertain which no-one can
conprehendere et momentis adnotare nascentium? Si autem
to-comprehend and in-the-moments to-note of-those-being-born if but
propterea talia dicunt in aliorum genituris, quia haec ad
for-this-reason such-things they-say in of-others the-nativities because these to
productiora spatia temporum pertinent; momenta uero illa
longer spaces of-times pertain the-moments but those
partium minutarum, quae inter se gemini possunt habere
of-parts minute which among themselves twins can to-have

nascentes, rebus minimis tribuuntur, de qualibus mathematici
being-born to-things very-small are-attributed about such the-astrologers
non solent consuli (quis enim consulat quando sedeat,
not are-wont to-be-consulted who for would-consult when he-should-sit
quando deambulet, quando uel quid prandeat?): numquid
when he-should-walk-about when or what he-should-lunch surely-not
ista dicimus, quando in moribus operibus casibusque
these-things do-we-say when in morals works and-chances
geminorum plurima plurimumque diuersa monstramus?
of-twins very-many and-very-much differing-things we-show

IV · ESAU AND JACOB

Two twins born in the patriarchs' time, the younger holding the elder's heel, were so different in life, morals, deeds, and their parents' love that the difference made them enemies. This was not about one sitting while the other walked, minutiae the astrologers do not claim; one served for hire, the other did not, one was loved by his mother and the other not, one lost the honor the other won, and their wives, sons, and fortunes differed. The potter's wheel only sends clay-hearted men spinning.

Nati sunt duo gemini antiqua patrum memoria (ut de
born were two twins in-ancient of-the-fathers memory that of
insignibus loquar) sic alter post alterum, ut posterior
the-notable I-may-speak so the-one after the-other that the-latter
plantam prioris teneret. Tanta in eorum uita fuerunt
the-sole of-the-former held so-great in their life were
moribusque diuersa, tanta in actibus disparilitas, tanta in
and-in-morals differing-things so-great in acts disparity so-great in
parentum amore dissimilitudo, ut etiam inimicos eos inter
of-the-parents love dissimilarity that even enemies them among

se faceret ipsa distantia. Numquid hoc dicitur, quia
themselves made the-very difference surely-not this is-said because
uno ambulante alius sedebat, et alio dormiente alius
with-one walking the-other sat and with-one sleeping the-other
uigilabat, et alio loquente tacebat alius; quae pertinent
kept-watch and with-one speaking was-silent the-other which-things pertain
ad illas minutias, quae non possunt ab eis conprehendi, qui
to those minutiae which not can by those to-be-comprehended who
constitutionem siderum, qua quisque nascitur, scribunt,
the-constitution of-the-stars in-which each is-born write
unde mathematici consulantur? Unus duxit mercennariam
whence the-astrologers may-be-consulted one led hired
seruitutem, alius non seruiuit; unus a matre diligebatur,
servitude the-other not served one by (his)-mother was-loved
alius non diligebatur; unus honorem, qui magnus aput eos
the-other not was-loved one the-honor which great among them
habebatur, amisit, indeptus est alter. Quid de uxoribus,
was-held lost obtained has the-other what about the-wives
quid de filiis, quid de rebus, quanta diuersitas! Si ergo
what about the-sons what about the-property how-great a-diversity if then
haec ad illas pertinent minutias temporum, quae inter
these-things to those pertain minutiae of-times which among
se habent gemini, et constellationibus non adscribuntur:
themselves have twins and to-the-constellations not are-ascribed
quare aliorum constellationibus inspectis ista dicuntur?
why of-others with-the-constellations inspected these-things are-said
Si autem ideo dicuntur, quia non ad minuta
if but for-this-reason are-they-said because not to the-minute
inconprehensibilia, sed ad temporum spatia pertinent, quae
incomprehensible-things but to of-times spaces they-pertain which
obseruari notarique possunt: quid hic agit rota illa
to-be-observed and-to-be-noted can what here does wheel that

figuli, nisi ut homines luteum cor habentes in gyrum
of-the-potter unless that men a-clay heart having into a-whirl
mittantur, ne mathematicorum uaniloquia conuincantur?
be-sent lest of-the-astrologers the-idle-talk be-convicted

V · CONCEPTION, BIRTH, AND THE ASTROLOGERS

Hippocrates' twins, sick together, refute those who credit the stars with what came from similar bodies: if their different birth times did not make them fall ill at different times, why should they make them marry or travel at different times? If health is fated at conception and other things at birth, astrologers should not predict illness from the hour of birth. If twins conceived in one moment can have different fates, why not two born in one moment of different mothers? Posidonius added conception to bind their shared illness to the stars, but if conception fixes fate, birth should not change it.

Quid idem ipsi, quorum morbum, quod eodem tempore
what the-same very-ones whose illness because at-the-same time
grauior leuiorque apparebat amborum, medicinaliter inspiciens
heavier and-lighter appeared of-both medically inspecting
Hippocrates geminos suspicatus est, nonne satis istos
Hippocrates twins suspected has surely sufficiently these
redarguunt, qui uolunt sideribus dare, quod de corporum
they-refute who wish to-the-stars to-give what from of-the-bodies
simili temperatione ueniebat? Quur enim similiter eodemque
similar tempering came why for similarly and-at-the-same
tempore, non alter prior, alter posterior aegrotabant,
time not the-one first the-other later were-they-sick
sicut nati fuerant, quia utique simul nasci ambo
as born they-had-been because assuredly together to-be-born both
non poterant? Aut si nihil momenti adtulit, ut diuersis
not could or if nothing of-weight it-brought that at-different

temporibus aegrotarent, quod diuersis temporibus nati
times they-should-be-sick that at-different times born
sunt: quare tempus in nascendo diuersum ad aliarum
they-were why time in being-born different for of-other
rerum diuersitates ualere contendunt? Quur potuerunt
things the-diversities to-avail do-they-contend why could-they
diuersis temporibus peregrinari, diuersis temporibus ducere
at-different times to-travel at-different times marry
uxores, diuersis temporibus filios procreare et multa alia,
wives at-different times sons beget and many other-things
propterea quia diuersis temporibus nati sunt, et non
for-this-reason because at-different times born they-were and not
potuerunt eadem causa diuersis etiam temporibus aegrotare?
could-they by-the-same cause at-different also times be-sick
Si enim dispar nascendi mora mutauit horoscopum
if for the-unequal of-being-born delay changed the-horoscope
et disparilitatem intulit ceteris rebus: quur illud in
and disparity brought to-the-other things why that in
aegritudinibus mansit, quod habebat in temporis aequalitate
sicknesses remained which it-had in of-time the-equality
conceptus? Aut si fata ualetudinis in conceptu sunt,
the-conception or if the-fates of-health in conception are
aliarum uero rerum in ortu esse dicuntur, non deberent
of-other but things in the-rising to-be they-are-said not they-ought
inspectis natalium constellationibus de ualetudine aliquid
with-inspected of-the-nativities constellations about health anything
dicere, quando eis inspicienda conceptionalis hora non
to-say when to-them to-be-inspected the-conceptional hour not
datur. Si autem ideo praenuntiant aegritudines non
is-given if but for-this-reason they-foretell sicknesses not
inspecto conceptionis horoscopo, quia indicant eas
with-inspected of-the-conception horoscope because indicate them

momenta nascentium: quo modo dicerent cuilibet
the-moments of-those-being-born in-what manner would-they-say to-either
eorum geminorum ex natiuitatis hora, quando aegrotaturus
of-them of-the-twins from of-nativity the-hour when about-to-be-sick
esset, cum et alter, qui non habebat eandem horam
he-was when also the-other who not had the-same hour
natiuitatis, necesse haberet pariter aegrotare? Deinde quaero:
of-nativity necessity would-have equally to-be-sick then I-ask
si tanta distantia est temporis in natiuitate geminorum, ut
if so-great a-distance is of-time in the-nativity of-twins that
per hanc oporteat eis constellationes fieri diuersas
through this it-behooves for-them constellations to-be-made different
propter diuersum horoscopum et ob hoc diuersos
on-account-of the-different horoscope and on-account-of this different
omnes cardines, ubi tanta uis ponitur, ut hinc etiam
all the-cardinal-points where so-great force is-placed that hence also
diuersa sint fata: unde hoc accidere potuit, cum eorum
different be the-fates whence this to-happen could when their
conceptus diuersum tempus habere non possit? Aut si
conception a-different time to-have not can or if
duorum uno momento temporis conceptorum potuerunt
of-two in-one moment of-time conceived could
esse ad nascendum fata disparia, quur non et duorum
to-there-be for being-born fates unequal why not also of-two
uno momento temporis natorum possint esse ad uiuendum
in-one moment of-time born can to-be for living
adque moriendum fata disparia? Nam si unum momentum,
and dying fates unequal for if one moment
quo ambo concepti sunt, non inpediuit, ut alter prior,
in-which both conceived were not hindered that one first
alter posterior nasceretur: quur, uno momento si duo
the-other later should-be-born why in-one moment if two

nascantur, inpedit aliquid, ut alter prior, alter posterior
be-born hinders anything that one first the-other later
moriatur? Si conceptio momenti unius diuersos casus in
should-die if conception of-a-moment single different chances in
utero geminos habere permittit, quur natiuitas momenti
the-womb twins to-have permits why nativity of-a-moment
unius non etiam quoslibet duos in terra diuersos casus
single not also any two on earth different chances
habere permittat, ac sic omnis huius artis uel potius
to-have may-permit and so of-all of-this art or rather
uanitatis commenta tollantur? Quid est hoc, quur uno
vanity fictions may-be-removed what is this why at-one
tempore, momento uno, sub una eademque caeli positione
time in-moment one under one and-the-same of-heaven position
concepti diuersa habent fata, quae illos perducant ad
conceived different have-they fates which them lead to
diuersarum horarum natiuitatem, et uno momento temporis
of-different hours nativity and in-one moment of-time
sub una eademque caeli positione de duabus matribus
under one and-the-same of-heaven position from two mothers
duo pariter nati diuersa fata habere non possint, quae illos
two equally born different fates to-have not can which them
perducant ad diuersam uiuendi uel moriendi necessitatem?
lead to a-different of-living or of-dying necessity
An concepti nondum habent fata, quae nisi nascantur
or conceived not-yet have-they fates which unless they-be-born
habere non poterunt? Quid est ergo quod dicunt, si hora
to-have not will-they-be-able what is-it then that they-say if the-hour
conceptionalis inueniatur, multa ab istis dici posse
conceptional be-found many-things by these to-be-said to-be-able
diuinius? Unde etiam illud a nonnullis praedicatur, quod
more-divinely whence also that by some is-proclaimed that

quidam sapiens horam elegit, qua cum uxore concumberet,
a-certain wise-man an-hour chose in-which with (his)-wife he-might-lie
unde filium mirabilem gigneret. Unde postremo et hoc
whence a-son wonderful he-might-beget whence finally also this
est, quod de illis pariter aegrotantibus geminis Posidonius,
is that about those equally being-sick twins Posidonius
magnus astrologus idemque philosophus, respondebat, ideo
the-great astrologer and-the-same philosopher answered therefore
fieri, quod eodem tempore fuissent nati eodemque
to-happen because at-the-same time they-had-been born and-at-the-same
concepti. Nam utique propter hoc addebat conceptionem, ne
conceived for assuredly on-account-of this he-added conception lest
diceretur ei non ad liquidum eodem tempore potuisse
it-be-said to-him not to clear at-the-same time to-have-been-able
nasci, quos constabat omnino eodem tempore fuisse
to-be-born those-whom it-was-agreed altogether at-the-same time to-have-been
conceptos, ut hoc, quod similiter simulque aegrotabant,
conceived so-that this that similarly and-together they-were-sick
non daret de proximo pari corporis temperamento,
not he-might-give from near to-equal of-the-body tempering
sed eandem quoque ualetudinis parilitatem sidereis nexibus
but the-same also of-health equality to-starry bonds
adligaret. Si igitur in conceptu tanta uis est ad aequalitatem
he-might-bind if therefore in conception so-great force is for equality
fatorum, non debuerunt nascendo eadem fata mutari. Aut
of-fates not ought by-being-born the-same fates to-be-changed or
si propterea mutantur fata geminorum, quia temporibus
if for-this-reason are-changed the-fates of-twins because at-times
diuersis nascuntur, quur non potius intellegamus iam
different they-are-born why not rather may-we-understand already
fuisse mutata, ut diuersis temporibus nascerentur? Itane
to-have-been changed that at-different times they-should-be-born so-then

non mutat fata natiuitatis uoluntas uiuentium, cum mutet
not changes the-fates of-nativity the-will of-the-living when changes
fata conceptionis ordo nascentium?
the-fates of-conception the-order of-those-being-born

VI · TWINS OF DIFFERENT SEX

In twins conceived at one moment under one constellation, one may be male and the other female. Augustine knows such twins, still living: he serves as a count and is almost always abroad, she never leaves her native soil; he is married with many children, she a consecrated virgin. Heavenly influences may affect bodies, as the sun and moon change seasons, sea-urchins, shells, and tides, but not wills; yet the stars at conception, the same for both, could not give the twins one sex, and it is folly to think the stars at birth made her so far excel him in virginal holiness.

Quamquam et in ipsis geminorum conceptibus, ubi certe
although also in the-very of-twins conceptions where surely
amborum eadem momenta sunt temporum, unde fit ut
of-both the-same moments are of-times whence comes-about that
sub eadem constellatione fatali alter concipiatur masculus,
under the-same constellation fatal one is-conceived male
altera femina? Nouimus geminos diuersi sexus, ambo adhuc
the-other female we-know twins of-different sex both still
uiuunt, ambo aetate adhuc uigent; quorum cum sint inter
live both in-age still flourish of-whom though there-are between
se similes corporum species, quantum in diuerso sexu
themselves similar of-bodies appearances as-far-as in different sex
potest, instituto tamen et proposito uitae ita sunt dispares,
it-can in-course yet and plan of-life so they-are unequal
ut praeter actus, quos necesse est a uirilibus distare
that besides the-acts which necessary it-is from the-manly to-differ

femineos (quod ille in officio comitis militat et a sua
the-womanly that he in the-duty of-a-count serves and from his-own
domo paene semper peregrinatur, illa de solo patrio et de
house almost always is-abroad she from the-soil ancestral and from
rure proprio non recedit), insuper (quod est incredibilius,
the-estate own not withdraws moreover what is more-incredible
si astralia fata credantur; non autem mirum, si uoluntates
if the-astral fates be-believed not but wonderful if the-wills
hominum et Dei munera cogitentur) ille coniugatus, illa
of-men and of-God the-gifts be-considered he married she
uirgo sacra est; ille numerosam prolem genuit, illa nec
a-virgin consecrated is he a-numerous offspring begot she not-even
nupsit. At enim plurimum uis horoscopi ualet. Hoc quam
married but indeed very-much the-force of-the-horoscope avails this how
nihil sit, iam satis disserui. Sed qualecumque sit, in
nothing it-be already sufficiently I-have-discussed but whatever it-be in
ortu ualere dicunt; numquid et in conceptu? ubi et unum
the-rising to-avail they-say surely-not also in conception where both one
concubitum esse manifestum est, et tanta naturae uis est,
intercourse to-be manifest is and so-great of-nature the-force is
ut, cum conceperit femina, deinde alterum concipere omnino
that when she-has-conceived a-woman then another to-conceive at-all
non possit; unde necesse est eadem esse in geminis momenta
not she-can whence necessary it-is the-same to-be in twins the-moments
conceptus. An forte quia diuerso horoscopo nati sunt,
of-conception or perhaps because under-a-different horoscope born they-were
aut ille in masculum, dum nascerentur, aut illa in feminam
either he into a-male while they-were-born or she into a-female
commutata est? Cum igitur non usquequaque absurde dici
changed was since therefore not altogether absurdly to-be-said
posset ad solas corporum differentias adflatus quosdam
it-could for the-sole of-bodies differences breathings certain

ualere sidereos, sicut in solaribus accessibus et decessibus
to-avail starry as in the-solar approaches and departures
uidemus etiam ipsius anni tempora uariari et lunaribus
we-see even of-the-very year the-seasons to-be-varied and by-the-lunar
incrementis adque detrimentis augeri et minui
increases and decreases to-be-increased and to-be-diminished
quaedam genera rerum, sicut echinos et conchas et
certain kinds of-things as sea-urchins and shells and
mirabiles aestus oceani; non autem et animi uoluntates
the-wonderful tides of-the-ocean not but also of-the-mind the-wills
positionibus siderum subdi: nunc isti, cum etiam nostros
to-the-positions of-the-stars to-be-subjected now these since even our
actus inde religare conantur, admonent ut quaeramus, unde
acts thence to-bind they-try admonish that we-should-seek whence
ne in ipsis quidem corporibus eis possit ratio ista
not-even in the-very indeed bodies for-them can reasoning this
constare. Quid enim tam ad corpus pertinens quam corporis
to-hold-together what for so to the-body pertaining as of-the-body
sexus? et tamen sub eadem positione siderum diuersi
the-sex and yet under the-same position of-the-stars of-different
sexus gemini concipi potuerunt. Unde quid insipientius
sex twins to-be-conceived could whence what more-foolish
dici aut credi potest, quam siderum positionem, quae
to-be-said or to-be-believed can than of-the-stars that-the-position which
ad horam conceptionis eadem ambobus fuit, facere non
at the-hour of-conception the-same for-both was to-make not
potuisse, ut, cum quo habebat eandem constellationem,
to-have-been-able that with whom she-had the-same constellation
sexum diuersum a fratre non haberet; et positionem
a-sex different from (her)-brother not she-should-have and that-the-position

siderum, quae fuit ad horam nascentium, facere potuisse,
of-the-stars which was at the-hour of-those-being-born to-make to-have-been-able
ut ab eo tam multum uirginali sanctitate distaret?
that from him so much in-virginal holiness she-should-differ

VII · CHOOSING DAYS

How can men make new fates by choosing days, as the learned man chose an hour to beget a wonderful son, or as men choose a day to marry lest they run into a bad one, if their fate is fixed at birth? Why choose days for vines, crops, and breeding herds, if only men are subject to the stars? Men test astrologers with the nativities of dumb animals and applaud when they name a sheep or a dog, yet so many things begin in one moment with different outcomes, grains sown together, of which rust, birds, or men take some. When astrologers answer truly, it is by the hidden instinct of evil spirits, not by any art of the horoscope.

Iam illud quis ferat, quod in eligendis diebus noua
now that who would-bear that in choosing days new
quaedam suis actibus fata moliuntur? Non erat uidelicet
certain for-their-own acts fates they-contrive not was namely
ille ita natus, ut haberet admirabilem filium, sed
he so born that he-should-have an-admirable son but
ita potius, ut contemtibilem gigneret, et ideo uir
so rather that a-contemptible-one he-should-beget and therefore a-man
doctus elegit horam qua misceretur uxori. Fecit
learned chose the-hour in-which he-should-mingle with-(his)-wife he-made
ergo fatum, quod non habebat, et ex ipsius facto
therefore a-fate which not he-had and from his-own deed
coepit esse fatale, quod in eius natiuitate non fuerat. O
began to-be fatal what in his nativity not had-been O
stultitiam singularem! Eligitur dies ut ducatur uxor;
folly singular is-chosen a-day that may-be-married a-wife

credo propterea, quia potest in diem non bonum, nisi
I-suppose for-this-reason because it-can on a-day not good unless
eligatur, incurri et infeliciter duci. Ubi est ergo
it-be-chosen to-be-run-upon and unhappily to-be-married where is then
quod nascenti iam sidera decreuerunt? An potest
that to-the-one-being-born already the-stars decreed or can
homo, quod ei iam constitutum est, diei electione
a-man what for-him already established is of-a-day by-choice
mutare, et quod ipse in eligendo die constituerit, non
change and what he-himself in choosing a-day shall-have-established not
poterit ab alia potestate mutari? Deinde si soli homines,
will-be-able by another power to-be-changed then if alone men
non autem omnia quae sub caelo sunt, constellationibus
not but all-things which under heaven are to-the-constellations
subiacent, quur aliter eligunt dies adcommodatos ponendis
lie-subject why otherwise do-they-choose days suited for-planting
uitibus uel arboribus uel segetibus, alios dies pecoribus
vines or trees or crops other days for-cattle
uel domandis uel admittendis maribus, quibus equarum
either to-be-tamed or to-be-admitted males by-which of-mares
uel boum fetentur armenta, et cetera huius modi?
or of-cows are-impregnated the-herds and the-other-things of-this kind
Si autem propterea ualent ad has res dies electi, quia
if but for-this-reason avail for these things days chosen because
terrenis omnibus corporibus siue animantibus secundum
over-earthly all bodies or animate-beings according-to
diuersitates temporalium momentorum siderum positio
the-diversities of-temporal moments of-the-stars the-position
dominatur; considerent quam innumerabilia sub uno
dominates let-them-consider how innumerable-things under one
temporis puncto uel nascantur uel oriantur uel inchoentur,
of-time point either are-born or arise or are-begun

et tam diuersos exitus habeant, ut istas obseruationes
and so different outcomes have that these observations
cuiuis puero ridendas esse persuadeant. Quis enim est
to-any boy to-be-laughed-at to-be they-may-persuade who for is
tam excors, ut audeat dicere omnes arbores, omnes herbas,
so senseless that he-dare to-say all trees all plants
omnes bestias serpentes aues pisces uermiculos momenta
all beasts serpents birds fishes little-worms the-moments
nascendi singillatim habere diuersa? Solent tamen homines
of-being-born singly to-have different are-wont yet men
ad tentandam peritiam mathematicorum adferre ad eos
for testing the-skill of-the-astrologers to-bring to them
constellationes mutorum animalium, quorum ortus propter
the-constellations of-dumb animals whose births on-account-of
hanc explorationem domi suae diligenter obseruant,
this exploration at-home their-own carefully they-observe
eosque mathematicos praeferunt ceteris, qui constellationibus
and-those astrologers they-prefer to-the-others who with-the-constellations
inspectis dicunt non esse hominem natum, sed pecus.
inspected say not to-be a-man born but a-beast
Audent etiam dicere quale pecus, utrum aptum lanitio,
they-dare also to-say what-kind-of beast whether fit for-wool
an uectationi, an aratro, an custodiae domus. Nam
or for-carrying or for-the-plow or for-the-guarding of-the-house for
et ad canina fata tentantur et cum magnis admirantium
also for canine fates they-are-tested and with great of-the-admiring
clamoribus ista respondent. Sic desipiunt homines, ut
shouts these-things they-answer so are-foolish men that
existiment, cum homo nascitur, ceteros rerum ortus ita
they-think when a-man is-born the-other of-things births so
inhiberi, ut cum illo sub eadem caeli plaga nec musca
to-be-restrained that with him under the-same of-heaven region not-even a-fly

nascatur. Nam si hanc admiserint, procedit ratiocinatio,
be-born for if this they-shall-have-admitted proceeds reasoning
quae gradatim accessibus modicis eos a muscis ad camelos
which step-by-step by-approaches moderate them from flies to camels
elephantosque perducat. Nec illud uolunt aduertere, quod
and-elephants may-lead nor that do-they-wish to-notice that
electo ad seminandum agrum die tam multa grana in
on-a-chosen for sowing a-field day so many grains into
terram simul ueniunt, simul germinant, exorta segete simul
the-earth together come together sprout with-arisen crop together
herbescunt pubescunt flauescunt, et tamen inde spicas
grow-green grow-hairy turn-yellow and yet thence ears
ceteris coaeuas adque, ut ita dixerim, congerminales
with-the-others of-the-same-age and as so I-might-say co-germinal
alias robigo interimit, alias aues depopulantur, alias homines
some rust kills others birds plunder others men
auellunt. Quo modo istis alias constellationes fuisse
pluck in-what manner for-these other constellations to-have-been
dicturi sunt, quas tam diuersos exitus habere conspiciunt?
about-to-say are-they which so different outcomes to-have they-behold
An eos paenitebit his rebus dies eligere easque ad
or them will-it-repent for-these things days to-choose and-them to
caeleste negabunt pertinere decretum, et solos sideribus
the-heavenly will-they-deny to-pertain decree and alone to-the-stars
subdent homines, quibus solis in terra Deus dedit liberas
will-they-subject men to-whom alone on earth God gave free
uoluntates? His omnibus consideratis non inmerito creditur,
wills these all considered not undeservedly it-is-believed
cum astrologi mirabiliter multa uera respondent, occulto
when astrologers wondrously many true-things answer by-hidden
instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est
instinct to-be-done of-spirits not good whose care is

has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere
these false and harmful opinions about astral fates to-implant
humanis mentibus adque firmare, non horoscopi notati
in-(the)-human minds and to-confirm not of-the-horoscope noted
et inspecti aliqua arte, quae nulla est.
and inspected by-some art which none is

VIII · FATE AS THE ORDER OF CAUSES

Those who call fate not the stars but the connection and series of causes, attributing it to the will and power of the highest God, need not be argued with over a word. Seneca's verses call fate the will of the highest father, whom he obeys willingly: the fates lead the willing and drag the unwilling. Homer's lines, which Cicero translated, say men's minds are as Jupiter lights the lands; the Stoics use them to show that they mean by fate the highest god, on whom the chain of fates depends.

Qui uero non astrorum constitutionem, sicuti est cum
those-who but not of-the-stars the-constitution as it-is when
quidque concipitur uel nascitur uel inchoatur, sed omnium
anything is-conceived or is-born or is-begun but of-all
conexionem seriemque causarum, qua fit omne quod
the-connection and-series of-causes by-which comes-about all which
fit, fati nomine appellant: non multum cum eis de
comes-about of-fate by-the-name call not much with them about
uerbi controuersia laborandum adque certandum est, quando
of-the-word the-controversy to-be-labored and to-be-contended it-is since
quidem ipsum causarum ordinem et quandam conexionem
indeed the-very of-causes order and a-certain connection
Dei summi tribuunt uoluntati et potestati, qui optime et
of-God highest they-attribute to-the-will and power who best and
ueracissime creditur et cuncta scire antequam fiant, et
most-truly is-believed both all-things to-know before they-come-to-be and

nihil inordinatum relinquere; a quo sunt omnes potestates,
nothing disordered to-leave by whom are all powers
quamuis ab illo non sint omnium uoluntates. Ipsam
although from him not are of-all the-wills the-very
itaque praecipue Dei summi uoluntatem, cuius potestas
and-so especially of-God highest will whose power
insuperabiliter per cuncta porrigitur, eos appellare fatum sic
unconquerably through all-things is-extended them to-call fate thus
probatur. Annaei Senecae sunt, nisi fallor, hi uersus:
is-proved of-Annaeus Seneca are unless I-am-mistaken these verses

Duc, summe pater altique dominator poli,
lead highest father and-lofty ruler of-the-pole
quocumque placuit, nulla parendi mora est.
wherever it-has-pleased no of-obeying delay is
Adsum inpiger: fac nolle, comitabor gemens
I-am-here prompt make (me)-to-be-unwilling I-shall-accompany groaning
malusque patiar, facere quod licuit bono.
and-wicked I-shall-suffer to-do what was-allowed to-the-good
Ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt.
lead the-willing the-fates the-unwilling drag

Nempe euidentissime hoc ultimo uersu ea fata appellauit,
surely most-evidently in-this last verse those fates he-called
quam supra dixerat summi patris uoluntatem; cui
which above he-had-called of-the-highest father the-will to-whom

paratum se oboedire dicit, ut uolens ducatur, ne nolens
ready himself to-obey he-says that willing he-may-be-led lest unwilling
trahatur; quoniam scilicet
he-be-dragged since namely

ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt.
lead the-willing the-fates the-unwilling drag

Illi quoque uersus Homerici huic sententiae suffragantur,
those also verses Homeric this opinion support
quos Cicero in Latinum uertit:
which Cicero into Latin turned

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
such are of-men the-minds as-that-with-which the-father himself
Iuppiter auctiferas lustrauit lumine terras.
Jupiter the-increase-bearing has-illumined with-light lands

Nec in hac quaestione auctoritatem haberet poetica sententia;
nor in this question authority would-have a-poetic opinion
sed quoniam Stoicos dicit uim fati adserentes istos ex
but since the-Stoics he-says the-force of-fate asserting these from
Homero uersus solere usurpare, non de illius poetae,
Homer verses to-be-wont to-use not about of-that poet
sed de istorum philosophorum opinione tractatur, cum
but about of-these philosophers the-opinion it-is-treated when
per istos uersus, quos disputationi adhibent quam de
through these verses which to-the-disputation they-apply which about
fato habent, quid sentiant esse fatum apertissime declaratur,
fate they-hold what they-think to-be fate most-openly is-declared

quoniam Iouem appellant, quem summum deum putant,
since Jupiter they-call whom the-highest god they-think
a quo conexionem dicunt pendere fatorum.
from whom the-connection they-say to-hang of-the-fates

IX · GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE AND HUMAN WILL

Cicero, to refute the Stoics, denies all foreknowledge of the future, fearing that if all is foreknown the order of causes is fixed and nothing is in our will, so that laws, praise, and blame are vain; wishing to make men free, he made them sacrilegious. The religious mind confesses both. Nothing happens by fate, yet God's will rules the order of causes, and our wills are among those causes. Every efficient cause is a will, and God gives all powers but not evil wills. To deny his foreknowledge is to deny God; if fate must name anything, it is the will of the stronger over the weaker.

Hos Cicero ita redarguere nititur, ut non existimet aliquid
these Cicero so to-refute strives that not he-judges anything
se aduersus eos ualere, nisi auferat diuinationem. Quam
himself against them to-avail unless he-take-away divination which
sic conatur auferre, ut neget esse scientiam futurorum,
thus he-tries to-take-away that he-denies there-to-be knowledge of-future-things
eamque omnibus uiribus nullam esse omnino contendat,
and-it with-all strength none to-be at-all he-contends
uel in homine uel in deo, nullamque rerum praedictionem.
either in man or in god and-no of-things prediction
Ita et Dei praescientiam negat et omnem prophetiam
so both of-God the-foreknowledge he-denies and all prophecy
luce clariorem conatur euertere uanis argumentationibus
than-light clearer he-tries to-overturn by-vain arguments
et obponendo sibi quaedam oracula, quae facile possunt
and by-opposing to-himself certain oracles which easily can

refelli; quae tamen nec ipsa conuincit. In his autem
to-be-refuted which yet not-even themselves he-refutes in these moreover
mathematicorum coniecturis refutandis eius regnat oratio,
of-the-astrologers conjectures to-be-refuted his reigns speech
quia uere tales sunt, ut se ipsae destruant et
because truly such they-are that themselves they-themselves they-destroy and
refellant. Multo sunt autem tolerabiliores, qui uel siderea
refute much are but more-tolerable those-who even starry
fata constituunt, quam iste qui tollit praescientiam
fates establish than this-one who takes-away the-foreknowledge
futurorum. Nam et confiteri esse Deum et negare
of-future-things for both to-confess to-be God and to-deny
praescium futurorum apertissima insania est. Quod et
him-foreknowing of-future-things most-open madness is which also
ipse cum uideret, etiam illud tentauit quod scriptum
he-himself when he-saw even that he-attempted which written
est: Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus; sed
is said the-fool in heart his-own not is God but
non ex sua persona. Vidit enim quam esset inuidiosum
not in his-own person he-saw for how it-was invidious
et molestum, ideoque Cottam fecit disputantem de
and troublesome and-therefore Cotta he-made disputing about
hac re aduersus Stoicos in libris de deorum natura
this matter against the-Stoics in the-books on of-the-gods the-nature
et pro Lucilio Balbo, cui Stoicorum partes defendendas
and for Lucilius Balbus to-whom of-the-Stoics the-parts to-be-defended
dedit, maluit ferre sententiam quam pro Cotta, qui
he-gave preferred to-bring (his)-vote than for Cotta who
nullam diuinam naturam esse contendit. In libris uero de
no divine nature to-be contends in the-books but on
diuinatione ex se ipso apertissime obpugnat praescientiam
divination from him himself most-openly he-assails foreknowledge

futurorum. Hoc autem totum facere uidetur, ne fatum
of-future-things this but whole to-do he-seems lest fate
esse consentiat et perdat liberam uoluntatem. Putat
to-be he-should-agree and should-lose free will he-thinks
enim concessa scientia futurorum ita esse consequens
for granted the-knowledge of-future-things so to-be consequent
fatum, ut negari omnino non possit. Sed quoquo
fate that to-be-denied at-all not it-can but in-whatever
modo se habeant tortuosissimae concertationes et
manner themselves may-have the-most-tortuous contentions and
disputationes philosophorum, nos ut confitemur summum
disputations of-the-philosophers we as we-confess the-highest
et uerum Deum, ita uoluntatem summamque potestatem
and true God so the-will and-highest power
ac praescientiam eius confitemur; nec timemus ne ideo
and foreknowledge his we-confess nor do-we-fear lest therefore
non uoluntate faciamus, quod uoluntate facimus, quia id
not by-will we-do what by-will we-do because that
nos facturos ille praesciuit, cuius praescientia falli non
us about-to-do he foreknew whose foreknowledge to-be-deceived not
potest; quod Cicero timuit, ut obpugnaret praescientiam,
can which Cicero feared so-that he-assailed foreknowledge
et Stoici, ut non omnia necessitate fieri dicerent,
and the-Stoics that not all-things by-necessity to-be-done they-said
quamuis omnia fato fieri contenderent. Quid est ergo,
although all-things by-fate to-be-done they-contended what is-it then
quod Cicero timuit in praescientia futurorum, ut eam
that Cicero feared in the-foreknowledge of-future-things that it
labefactare disputatione detestabili niteretur? Videlicet quia, si
to-undermine by-disputation detestable he-strove doubtless because if
praescita sunt omnia futura, hoc ordine uenient, quo
foreknown are all future-things in-this order they-will-come in-which

uentura esse praescita sunt; et si hoc ordine uenient,
about-to-come to-be foreknown they-are and if in-this order they-will-come
certus est ordo rerum praescienti Deo; et si certus est
fixed is the-order of-things for-the-foreknowing God and if fixed is
ordo rerum, certus est ordo causarum; non enim fieri
the-order of-things fixed is the-order of-causes not for to-be-done
aliquid potest, quod non aliqua efficiens causa praecesserit;
anything can which not some efficient cause has-preceded
si autem certus est ordo causarum, quo fit omne
if but fixed is the-order of-causes by-which comes-about all
quod fit, fato, inquit, fiunt omnia quae fiunt. Quod
that comes-about by-fate he-says are-done all-things which are-done but
si ita est, nihil est in nostra potestate nullumque est
if so it-is nothing is in our power and-no is
arbitrium uoluntatis; quod si concedimus, inquit, omnis
the-choice of-the-will which if we-grant he-says all
humana uita subuertitur, frustra leges dantur, frustra
human life is-overturned in-vain laws are-given in-vain
obiurgationes laudes, uituperationes exhortationes adhibentur,
rebukes praises blames exhortations are-applied
neque ulla iustitia bonis praemia et malis supplicia
nor any justice for-the-good rewards and for-the-wicked punishments
constituta sunt. Haec ergo ne consequantur indigna
established are these-things therefore lest they-should-follow unworthy
et absurda et perniciosa rebus humanis, non uult esse
and absurd and pernicious to-things human not he-wishes to-be
praescientiam futurorum; adque in has angustias coartat
foreknowledge of-future-things and into these straits he-confines
animum religiosum, ut unum eligat e duobus, aut esse
the-mind religious that one it-should-choose of two either to-be
aliquid in nostra uoluntate, aut esse praescientiam futurorum,
something in our will or to-be foreknowledge of-future-things

quoniam utrumque arbitratur esse non posse, sed si
since both he-judges to-be not to-be-able but if
alterum confirmabitur, alterum tolli; si elegerimus
the-one shall-be-confirmed the-other to-be-taken-away if we-shall-have-chosen
praescientiam futurorum, tolli uoluntatis arbitrium; si
foreknowledge of-future-things to-be-taken-away of-the-will the-choice if
elegerimus uoluntatis arbitrium, tolli praescientiam
we-shall-have-chosen of-the-will the-choice to-be-taken-away foreknowledge
futurorum. Ipse itaque, ut uir magnus et doctus et uitae
of-future-things he-himself and-so as a-man great and learned and for-life
humanae plurimum ac peritissime consulens, ex his duobus
human very-much and most-skillfully consulting from these two
elegit liberum uoluntatis arbitrium; quod ut confirmaretur,
chose free of-the-will choice which that it-might-be-confirmed
negauit praescientiam futurorum adque ita, dum uult facere
he-denied foreknowledge of-future-things and so while he-wishes to-make
liberos, fecit sacrilegos. Religiosus autem animus utrumque
free-men he-made sacrilegious-men the-religious but mind both
eligit, utrumque confitetur et fide pietatis utrumque
chooses both confesses and by-faith of-devotion both
confirmat. Quo modo? inquit; nam si est praescientia
confirms in-what manner he-says for if there-is foreknowledge
futurorum, sequentur illa omnia, quae conexa sunt, donec
of-future-things will-follow those all-things which connected are until
eo perueniatur, ut nihil sit in nostra uoluntate. Porro si
there it-be-arrived that nothing be in our will further if
est aliquid in nostra uoluntate, eisdem recursis gradibus
there-is something in our will by-the-same retraced steps
eo peruenitur, ut non sit praescientia futurorum. Nam
there it-is-arrived that not there-be foreknowledge of-future-things for
per illa omnia sic recurritur: si est uoluntatis arbitrium,
through those all-things thus it-is-run-back if there-is of-the-will choice

non omnia fato fiunt; si non omnia fato fiunt, non est
not all-things by-fate are-done if not all-things by-fate are-done not there-is
omnium certus ordo causarum; si certus ordo causarum non
of-all a-fixed order of-causes if a-fixed order of-causes not
est, nec rerum certus est ordo praescienti Deo, quae
there-is neither of-things fixed is the-order for-the-foreknowing God which
fieri non possunt, nisi praecedentibus et efficientibus
to-be-done not can except with-preceding and efficient
causis; si rerum ordo praescienti Deo certus non est,
causes if of-things the-order for-the-foreknowing God fixed not is
non omnia sic ueniunt, ut ea uentura praesciuit; porro si
not all-things so come as them about-to-come he-foreknew further if
non omnia sic ueniunt, ut ab illo uentura praescita sunt,
not all-things so come as by him about-to-come foreknown they-are
non est, inquit, in Deo praescientia omnium futurorum.
not there-is he-says in God foreknowledge of-all future-things

Nos aduersus istos sacrilegos ausus adque inpios
we against these sacrilegious daring-attempts and ungodly
et Deum dicimus omnia scire antequam fiant, et
both God we-say all-things to-know before they-come-to-be and
uoluntate nos facere, quidquid a nobis non nisi uolentibus
by-will we to-do whatever by us not except willing
fieri sentimus et nouimus. Omnia uero fieri fato
to-be-done we-feel and know all-things but to-be-done by-fate
non dicimus, immo nulla fieri fato dicimus; quoniam
not we-say rather nothing to-be-done by-fate we-say since
fati nomen ubi solet a loquentibus poni, id est
of-fate the-name where it-is-wont by speakers to-be-placed that is
in constitutione siderum cum quisque conceptus aut natus
in the-constitution of-the-stars when each conceived or born
est, quoniam res ipsa inaniter adseritur, nihil ualere
is since the-thing itself emptily is-asserted nothing to-avail

monstramus. Ordinem autem causarum, ubi uoluntas Dei
we-show the-order but of-causes where the-will of-God
plurimum potest, neque negamus, neque fati uocabulo
most can neither we-deny nor of-fate by-the-word
nuncupamus, nisi forte ut fatum a fando dictum
do-we-name-it unless perhaps that fate from speaking said
intellegamus, id est a loquendo; non enim abnuere
we-understand that is from speaking not for to-refuse
possumus esse scriptum in litteris sanctis: Semel locutus est
we-can to-be written in letters holy once spoken has
Deus, duo haec audiui, quoniam potestas Dei est, et tibi,
God two these I-have-heard that power God's is and to-you
Domine, misericordia, qui reddis unicuique secundum opera
O-Lord mercy who render to-each according-to works
eius. Quod enim dictum est: Semel locutus est, intellegitur
his what for said is once spoken has is-understood
"inmobiliter", hoc est incommutabiliter, "est locutus," sicut
immovably that is unchangeably he-has spoken as
nouit incommutabiliter omnia quae futura sunt et quae
he-knows unchangeably all-things which future are and which
ipse facturus est. Hac itaque ratione possemus a fando
he-himself about-to-do is in-this and-so reasoning we-could from speaking
fatum appellare, nisi hoc nomen iam in alia re soleret
fate to-call unless this name already in another thing were-wont
intellegi, quo corda hominum nolumus inclinari. Non
to-be-understood whither the-hearts of-men we-are-unwilling to-be-inclined not
est autem consequens, ut, si Deo certus est omnium ordo
it-is but consequent that if for-God fixed is of-all the-order
causarum, ideo nihil sit in nostrae uoluntatis arbitrio.
of-causes therefore nothing be in of-our will choice
Et ipsae quippe nostrae uoluntates in causarum ordine
and the-very for our wills in of-causes the-order

sunt, qui certus est Deo eiusque praescientia continetur,
are which fixed is for-God and-his in-the-foreknowledge is-contained
quoniam et humanae uoluntates humanorum operum causae
since also human wills of-human works causes
sunt. Adque ita, qui omnes rerum causas praesciuit,
are and so he-who all of-things the-causes foreknew
profecto in eis causis etiam nostras uoluntates ignorare
assuredly in those causes also our wills to-be-ignorant-of
non potuit, quas nostrorum operum causas esse praesciuit.
not could which of-our works the-causes to-be he-foreknew

Nam et illud, quod idem Cicero concedit, nihil fieri
for also that which the-same Cicero grants nothing to-be-done
si causa efficiens non praecedat, satis est ad eum in
if a-cause efficient not precede sufficient is for him in
hac quaestione redarguendum. Quid enim eum adiuuat,
this question to-be-refuted what for him helps
quod dicit nihil quidem fieri sine causa, sed non
that he-says nothing indeed to-be-done without a-cause but not
omnem causam esse fatalem, quia est causa fortuita, est
every cause to-be fatal because there-is a-cause fortuitous there-is
naturalis, est uoluntaria? Sufficit, quia omne, quod fit,
natural there-is voluntary it-suffices that all that is-done
non nisi causa praecedente fieri confitetur. Nos enim
not except with-a-cause preceding to-be-done he-confesses we for
eas causas, quae dicuntur fortuitae, unde etiam fortuna
those causes which are-called fortuitous whence also fortune
nomen accepit, non esse dicimus nullas, sed latentes,
(its)-name received not to-be we-say none but hidden
easque tribuimus uel Dei ueri uel quorumlibet spirituum
and-them we-attribute either of-God the-true or of-any spirits
uoluntati, ipsasque naturales nequaquam ab illius uoluntate
to-the-will and-the-very natural by-no-means from his will

seiungimus, qui est auctor omnis conditorque naturae. Iam
do-we-separate who is the-author of-all and-founder nature now
uero causae uoluntariae aut Dei sunt aut angelorum aut
indeed the-causes voluntary either of-God are or of-angels or
hominum aut quorumque animalium, si tamen uoluntates
of-men or of-any animals if yet wills
appellandae sunt animarum rationis expertium motus illi,
to-be-called are of-souls of-reason devoid the-motions those
quibus aliqua faciunt secundum naturam suam, cum quid
by-which some-things they-do according-to nature their-own when anything
uel adpetunt uel euitant. Angelorum autem uoluntates dico
either they-seek or they-avoid of-angels moreover the-wills I-mean
seu bonorum, quos angelos Dei dicimus, seu malorum,
whether of-the-good whom angels of-God we-call or of-the-evil
quos angelos diaboli uel etiam daemones appellamus: sic et
whom angels of-the-devil or even demons we-call so also
hominum, et bonorum scilicet et malorum. Ac per hoc
of-men both of-the-good namely and of-the-evil and through this
colligitur non esse causas efficientes omnium quae fiunt
it-is-gathered not to-be causes efficient of-all-things which are-done
nisi uoluntarias, illius naturae scilicet, quae spiritus uitae est.
except voluntary of-that nature namely which the-spirit of-life is
Nam et aer iste seu uentus dicitur spiritus; sed quoniam
for also the-air this or wind is-called spirit but since
corpus est, non est spiritus uitae. Spiritus ergo uitae, qui
body it-is not it-is the-spirit of-life the-spirit therefore of-life which
uiuificat omnia creatorque est omnis corporis et omnis
quickens all-things and-creator is of-every body and of-every
creati spiritus, ipse est Deus, spiritus utique non creatus. In
created spirit himself is God spirit assuredly not created in
eius uoluntate summa potestas est, quae creatorum spirituum
his will highest power is which of-created spirits

bonas uoluntates adiuuat, malas iudicat, omnes ordinat et
the-good wills helps the-evil judges all orders and
quibusdam tribuit potestates, quibusdam non tribuit. Sicut
to-some gives powers to-some not gives as
enim omnium naturarum creator est, ita omnium potestatum
for of-all natures creator he-is so of-all powers
dator, non uoluntatum. Malae quippe uoluntates ab illo
the-giver not of-wills evil for wills from him
non sunt, quoniam contra naturam sunt, quae ab illo est.
not are since against nature they-are which from him is
Corpora igitur magis subiacent uoluntatibus, quaedam nostris,
bodies therefore more lie-subject to-wills some to-ours
id est omnium animantium mortalium et magis hominum
that is of-all animals mortal and more of-men
quam bestiarum; quaedam uero angelorum; sed omnia
than of-beasts some but of-angels but all-things
maxime Dei uoluntati subdita sunt, cui etiam uoluntates
most of-God to-the-will subjected are to-whom also wills
omnes subiciuntur, quia non habent potestatem nisi quam
all are-subjected because not they-have power except what
ille concedit. Causa itaque rerum, quae facit nec fit,
he grants the-cause and-so of-things which makes nor is-made
Deus est; aliae uero causae et faciunt et fiunt, sicut sunt
God is other but causes both make and are-made as are
omnes creati spiritus, maxime rationales. Corporales autem
all created spirits especially the-rational bodily moreover
causae, quae magis fiunt quam faciunt, non sunt inter
causes which more are-made than make not they-are among
causas efficientes adnumerandae, quoniam hoc possunt, quod
causes efficient to-be-numbered since this they-can which
ex ipsis faciunt spirituum uoluntates. Quo modo igitur
from themselves make of-spirits the-wills in-what manner then

ordo causarum, qui praescienti certus est Deo, id efficit,
the-order of-causes which for-the-foreknowing fixed is God this effects
ut nihil sit in nostra uoluntate, cum in ipso causarum
that nothing be in our will when in the-very of-causes
ordine magnum habeant locum nostrae uoluntates? Contendat
order a-great have place our wills let-contend
ergo Cicero cum eis, qui hunc causarum ordinem dicunt
therefore Cicero with those who this of-causes order say
esse fatalem uel potius ipsum fati nomine appellant, quod
to-be fatal or rather itself of-fate by-the-name call which
nos abhorremus praecipue propter uocabulum, quod non in
we abhor especially on-account-of the-word which not in
re uera consueuit intellegi. Quod uero negat ordinem
a-thing true has-been-wont to-be-understood that but he-denies the-order
omnium causarum esse certissimum et Dei praescientiae
of-all causes to-be most-fixed and of-God to-the-foreknowledge
notissimum, plus eum quam Stoici detestamur. Aut enim
best-known more him than the-Stoics we-detest either for
esse Deum negat, quod quidem inducta alterius persona
to-be God he-denies which indeed with-introduced another's person
in libris de deorum natura facere molitus est; aut si
in the-books on of-the-gods the-nature to-do labored he-has or if
esse confitetur Deum, quem negat praescium futurorum,
to-be he-confesses God whom he-denies foreknowing of-future-things
etiam sic nihil dicit aliud, quam quod ille dixit insipiens
even so nothing he-says else than what he said the-fool
in corde suo: Non est Deus. Qui enim non est praescius
in heart his-own not is God he-who for not is foreknowing
omnium futurorum, non est utique Deus. Quapropter
of-all future-things not is assuredly God wherefore
et uoluntates nostrae tantum ualent, quantum Deus eas
also wills our so-much avail as-much-as God them

ualere uoluit adque praesciuit; et ideo quidquid ualent,
to-avail willed and foreknew and therefore whatever they-avail
certissime ualent, et quod facturae sunt, ipsae omnino
most-surely they-avail and what about-to-do they-are they altogether
facturae sunt, quia ualituras adque facturas ille praesciuit,
about-to-do are because about-to-avail and about-to-do he foreknew
cuius praescientia falli non potest. Quapropter si mihi
whose foreknowledge to-be-deceived not can wherefore if to-me
fati nomen alicui rei adhibendum placeret, magis dicerem
of-fate the-name to-some thing to-be-applied it-pleased rather I-would-say
fatum esse infirmioris potentioris uoluntatem, qui eum
fate to-be of-the-weaker the-more-powerful's will who him
habet in potestate, quam illo causarum ordine, quem
holds in power than by-that of-causes order which
non usitato sed suo more Stoici fatum appellant,
not in-the-usual but in-their-own manner the-Stoics fate call
arbitrium nostrae uoluntatis auferri.
the-choice of-our will to-be-taken-away

Nor is that necessity to be feared which drove the Stoics to withdraw some causes from it, our wills among them, lest they cease to be free. If necessity is what is not in our power and works even against our will, our wills are not under it, for we would not do what we do if we were unwilling. If necessity means that something must be so, it does not take away freedom: God must always live and foreknow, yet his power is not lessened, for he cannot die or be deceived. Laws, rebukes, and prayers avail, for God foreknew them; a man sins because he wills, not because God foreknew it.

Unde nec illa necessitas formidanda est, quam formidando
whence not-even that necessity to-be-feared is which by-fearing
Stoici laborauerunt causas rerum distinguere ita, ut quasdam
the-Stoics labored the-causes of-things to-distinguish so that some
subtraherent necessitati, quasdam subderent, adque in his,
they-withdrew from-necessity some they-subjected and among those
quas esse sub necessitate uoluerunt, posuerunt etiam nostras
which to-be under necessity they-wished they-placed also our
uoluntates, ne uidelicet non essent liberae, si subderentur
wills lest namely not they-should-be free if they-were-subjected
necessitati. Si enim necessitas nostra illa dicenda est, quae
to-necessity if for necessity our that to-be-called is which
non est in nostra potestate, sed etiam si nolimus efficit
not is in our power but even if we-be-unwilling effects
quod potest, sicut est necessitas mortis: manifestum est
what it-can as is the-necessity of-death manifest it-is
uoluntates nostras, quibus recte uel perperam uiuitur, sub
that-wills our by-which rightly or wrongly it-is-lived under
tali necessitate non esse. Multa enim facimus, quae si
such necessity not to-be many-things for we-do which if
nollemus, non utique faceremus. Quo primitus pertinet
we-were-unwilling not assuredly we-would-do to-which first pertains

ipsum uelle; nam si uolumus, est, si nolumus, non est; non
the-very to-will for if we-will it-is if we-will-not not it-is not
enim uellemus, si nollemus. Si autem illa definitur esse
for we-would-will if we-were-unwilling if but that is-defined to-be
necessitas, secundum quam dicimus necesse esse ut ita sit
necessity according-to which we-say necessary to-be that so be
aliquid uel ita fiat, nescio quur eam timeamus, ne nobis
something or so be-done I-know-not why it we-should-fear lest from-us
libertatem auferat uoluntatis. Neque enim et uitam Dei
the-freedom it-take-away of-the-will nor for both the-life of-God
et praescientiam Dei sub necessitate ponimus, si dicamus
and the-foreknowledge of-God under necessity do-we-place if we-say
necesse esse Deum semper uiuere et cuncta praescire; sicut
necessary to-be God always to-live and all-things to-foreknow as
nec potestas eius minuitur, cum dicitur mori fallique
not-even the-power his is-diminished when it-is-said to-die and-to-be-deceived
non posse. Sic enim hoc non potest, ut potius, si posset,
not to-be-able so for this not he-can that rather if he-could
minoris esset utique potestatis. Recte quippe omnipotens
of-less he-would-be assuredly power rightly for omnipotent
dicitur, qui tamen mori et falli non potest. Dicitur
he-is-called who yet to-die and to-be-deceived not can he-is-called
enim omnipotens faciendo quod uult, non patiendo quod non
for omnipotent by-doing what he-wills not by-suffering what not
uult; quod ei si accideret, nequaquam esset omnipotens.
he-wills which to-him if it-befell by-no-means would-be-be omnipotent
Unde propterea quaedam non potest, quia omnipotens est.
whence for-this-reason some-things not he-can because omnipotent he-is
Sic etiam cum dicimus necesse esse, ut, cum uolumus,
so also when we-say necessary to-be that when we-will
libero uelimus arbitrio: et uerum procul dubio dicimus, et
by-free we-will choice both the-true beyond doubt we-speak and

non ideo ipsum liberum arbitrium necessitati subicimus,
not for-this-reason the-very free choice to-necessity we-subject
quae adimit libertatem. Sunt igitur nostrae uoluntates et
which takes-away freedom are therefore our wills and
ipsae faciunt, quidquid uolendo facimus, quod non
they-themselves do whatever by-willing we-do which not
fieret, si nollemus. Quidquid autem aliorum hominum
would-be-done if we-were-unwilling whatever but of-other men
uoluntate nolens quisque patitur, etiam sic uoluntas ualet,
by-the-will unwilling anyone suffers even so the-will avails
etsi non illius, tamen hominis uoluntas; sed potestas
although not of-that-one yet man's will but the-power
Dei. Nam si uoluntas tantum esset nec posset quod
of-God for if a-will only it-were nor could-it what
uellet, potentiore uoluntate inpediretur; nec sic tamen
it-willed by-a-more-powerful will it-would-be-hindered nor so yet
uoluntas nisi uoluntas esset, nec alterius, sed eius esset
the-will except a-will would-be nor of-another but his it-would-be
qui uellet, etsi non posset inplere quod uellet. Unde
who willed although not he-could to-fulfill what he-willed whence
quidquid praeter suam uoluntatem patitur homo, non debet
whatever beyond his-own will suffers a-man not he-ought
tribuere humanis uel angelicis uel cuiusquam creati spiritus
to-attribute to-human or angelic or of-any created spirit
uoluntatibus, sed eius potius, qui dat potestatem uolentibus.
wills but to-his rather who gives power to-the-willing

Non ergo propterea nihil est in nostra uoluntate, quia
not therefore for-this-reason nothing is in our will because
Deus praesciuit quid futurum esset in nostra uoluntate. Non
God foreknew what about-to-be was in our will not
enim, qui hoc praesciuit, nihil praesciuit. Porro si ille, qui
for he-who this foreknew nothing foreknew further if he who

praesciuit quid futurum esset in nostra uoluntate, non utique
foreknew what about-to-be was in our will not assuredly
nihil, sed aliquid praesciuit: profecto et illo praesciente
nothing but something foreknew assuredly also with-him foreknowing
est aliquid in nostra uoluntate. Quocirca nullo modo
there-is something in our will wherefore in-no way
cogimur aut retenta praescientia Dei tollere uoluntatis
are-we-compelled either with-retained the-foreknowledge of-God to-take-away of-the-will
arbitrium aut retento uoluntatis arbitrio Deum (quod nefas
the-choice or with-retained of-the-will the-choice God which a-sin
est) negare praescium futurorum; sed utrumque amplectimur,
is to-deny foreknowing of-future-things but both we-embrace
utrumque fideliter et ueraciter confitemur; illud, ut bene
both faithfully and truly we-confess the-former that well
credamus; hoc, ut bene uiuamus. Male autem uiuitur, si
we-may-believe the-latter that well we-may-live badly but it-is-lived if
de Deo non bene creditur. Unde absit a nobis eius negare
about God not well it-is-believed whence far-be-it from us his to-deny
praescientiam, ut libere uelimus, quo adiuuante sumus
foreknowledge that freely we-may-will by-whom helping we-are
liberi uel erimus. Proinde non frustra sunt leges obiurgationes
free or we-shall-be accordingly not in-vain are laws rebukes
exhortationes laudes et uituperationes, quia et ipsas futuras
exhortations praises and blames because also them future
esse praesciuit, et ualent plurimum, quantum eas ualituras
to-be he-foreknew and they-avail very-much as-much-as them about-to-avail
esse praesciuit, et preces ualent ad ea inpetranda, quae
to-be he-foreknew and prayers avail for those-things to-be-obtained which
se precantibus concessurum esse praesciuit, et iuste praemia
himself to-those-praying about-to-grant to-be he-foreknew and justly rewards
bonis factis et peccatis supplicia constituta sunt. Neque
for-good deeds and for-sins punishments established are nor

enim ideo peccat homo, quia Deus illum peccaturum esse
for therefore sins a-man because God him about-to-sin to-be
praesciuit; immo ideo non dubitatur ipsum peccare cum
foreknew rather for-this-reason not it-is-doubted himself to-sin when
peccat, quia ille, cuius praescientia falli non potest, non
he-sins because he whose foreknowledge to-be-deceived not can not
fatum, non fortunam, non aliquid aliud, sed ipsum peccaturum
fate not fortune not anything else but himself about-to-sin
esse praesciuit. Qui si nolit, utique non peccat; sed
to-be foreknew who if he-be-unwilling assuredly not he-sins but
si peccare noluerit, etiam hoc ille praesciuit.
if to-sin he-shall-have-been-unwilling also this he foreknew

XI · UNIVERSAL PROVIDENCE

The one God, Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, creator of every soul and body, who made man a rational animal, who neither left him unpunished in sin nor abandoned him without mercy, who gave being with the stones, life with the trees, sense with the cattle, and intellect with the angels, from whom is all measure, form, and order, who left not even a bird's feather or a tree's leaf without harmony of its parts, cannot be believed to have left the kingdoms of men outside the laws of his providence.

Deus itaque summus et uerus cum Verbo suo et Spiritu
God and-so highest and true with Word his and Spirit
sancto, quae tria unum sunt, Deus unus omnipotens, creator
holy which three one are God one omnipotent creator
et factor omnis animae adque omnis corporis, cuius sunt
and maker of-every soul and of-every body whose they-are
participatione felices, quicumque sunt ueritate, non uanitate
by-participation happy whoever are in-truth not in-vanity

felices, qui fecit hominem rationale animal ex anima et
happy who made man a-rational animal of soul and
corpore, qui eum peccantem nec inpunitum esse permisit
body who him sinning neither unpunished to-be allowed
nec sine misericordia dereliquit; qui bonis et malis essentiam
nor without mercy abandoned who to-good and evil being
etiam cum lapidibus, uitam seminalem etiam cum arboribus,
even with stones life seminal even with trees
uitam sensualem etiam cum pecoribus, uitam intellectualem
life sensual even with cattle life intellectual
cum solis angelis dedit; a quo est omnis modus omnis
with alone angels gave from whom is every measure every
species omnis ordo; a quo est mensura numerus pondus;
form every order from whom is measure number weight
a quo est quidquid naturaliter est, cuiuscumque generis est,
from whom is whatever naturally is of-whatever kind it-is
cuiuslibet aestimationis est; a quo sunt semina formarum
of-whatever value it-is from whom are the-seeds of-forms
formae seminum motus seminum adque formarum; qui dedit
the-forms of-seeds the-motions of-seeds and of-forms who gave
et carni originem pulchritudinem ualetudinem, propagationis
also to-flesh origin beauty health of-propagation
fecunditatem membrorum dispositionem salutem concordiae;
fruitfulness of-the-limbs arrangement soundness of-concord
qui et animae inrationali dedit memoriam sensum adpetitum,
who also to-the-soul irrational gave memory sense appetite
rationali autem insuper mentem intellegentiam uoluntatem;
to-the-rational but besides mind intelligence will
qui non solum caelum et terram, nec solum angelum
who not only heaven and earth nor only angel
et hominem, sed nec exigui et contemtibilis animantis
and man but not-even of-a-small and contemptible animal

uiscera nec auis pinnulam, nec herbae flosculum nec
the-entrails nor of-a-bird the-little-feather nor of-a-plant the-little-flower nor
arboris folium sine suarum partium conuenientia et
of-a-tree the-leaf without of-its-own parts agreement and
quadam ueluti pace dereliquit: nullo modo est credendus
a-certain as-it-were peace has-left in-no way is-he to-be-believed
regna hominum eorumque dominationes et seruitutes
the-kingdoms of-men and-their dominations and servitudes
a suae prouidentiae legibus alienas esse uoluisse.
from his-own providence's laws foreign to-be to-have-willed

XII · THE ROMANS' LOVE OF GLORY

Let us see for what morals God helped the Roman empire grow. The early Romans, though they worshiped false gods, were greedy for praise and liberal with money; they lived and died for glory and suppressed other desires by it, wanting their fatherland free and then a mistress. Sallust praises Cato and Caesar, and Vergil the Roman arts of ruling. Cato, seeking glory less, won it more, and said Rome grew great by industry at home and just rule abroad. Yet not all the ancients were such: there was strife from the start, and the virtue of a few good men upheld the state.

Proinde uideamus, quos Romanorum mores et quam
accordingly let-us-see what of-the-Romans morals and which
ob causam Deus uerus ad augendum imperium
on-account-of cause God the-true for increasing the-empire
adiuuare dignatus est, in cuius potestate sunt etiam regna
to-help deigned has in whose power are even kingdoms
terrena. Quod autem ut absolutius disserere possemus,
earthly which moreover that more-completely to-discuss we-might-be-able
ad hoc pertinentem etiam superiorem librum conscripsimus,
for this pertaining also the-previous book we-wrote

quod in hac re potestas nulla sit eorum deorum, quos
that in this matter power none be of-those gods whom
etiam rebus nugatoriis colendos putarunt, et praesentis
even for-things trifling to-be-worshiped they-thought and of-the-present
uoluminis partes superiores, quas huc usque perduximus,
volume the-parts earlier which hither as-far we-have-brought
de fati quaestione tollenda, ne quisquam, cui iam
about of-fate the-question to-be-removed lest anyone to-whom already
persuasam esset non illorum deorum cultu Romanum
persuaded it-were not of-those gods by-the-worship the-Roman
imperium propagatum adque seruatum, nescio cui fato
empire propagated and preserved I-know-not to-what fate
potius id tribueret quam Dei summi potentissimae
rather it should-attribute than of-God highest most-powerful
uoluntati. Veteres igitur primique Romani, quantum eorum
to-the-will the-ancient therefore and-first Romans as-far-as their
docet et commendat historia, quamuis ut aliae gentes
teaches and commends history although like other nations
excepta una populi Hebraeorum deos falsos colerent et
except one of-the-people of-the-Hebrews gods false they-worshiped and
non Deo uictimas, sed daemoniis immolarent, tamen “laudis
not to-God victims but to-demons sacrificed yet of-praise
auidi, pecuniae liberales erant, gloriam ingentem, diuitias
greedy of-money liberal they-were glory huge riches
honestas uolebant;” hanc ardentissime dilexerunt, propter
honorable they-wished this most-ardently they-loved on-account-of
hanc uiuere uoluerunt, pro hac emori non dubitauerunt;
this to-live they-wished for this to-die not they-hesitated
ceteras cupiditates huius unius ingenti cupiditate presserunt.
the-other desires of-this one by-the-huge desire they-pressed-down
Ipsam denique patriam suam, quoniam seruire uidebatur
the-very finally fatherland their-own since to-serve seemed

inglorium, dominari uero adque imperare gloriosum, prius
inglorious to-dominate but and to-command glorious first
omni studio liberam, deinde dominam esse concupiuerunt.
with-every zeal free then mistress to-be they-desired
Hinc est quod regalem dominationem non ferentes "annua
hence it-is that kingly domination not bearing annual
imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecerunt, qui consules
commands and-two commanders for-themselves they-made who consuls
appellati sunt a consulendo, non reges aut domini a
called were from consulting not kings or lords from
regnando adque dominando"; cum et reges utique a
reigning and dominating though also kings assuredly from
regendo dicti melius uideantur, ut regnum a regibus, reges
ruling called better might-seem as kingdom from kings kings
autem, ut dictum est, a regendo; sed fastus regius non
but as said it-is from ruling but the-haughtiness kingly not
disciplina putata est regentis uel beneuolentia consulentis,
the-discipline thought was of-one-ruling or the-goodwill of-one-consulting
sed superbia dominantis. Expulso itaque rege Tarquinio
but the-pride of-one-dominating expelled and-so the-king Tarquin
et consulibus institutis secutum est, quod idem auctor
and consuls established followed has what the-same author
in Romanorum laudibus posuit, quod "ciuitas incredibile
in of-the-Romans praises placed that the-city incredible
memoratu est adepta libertate quantum breui creuerit;
to-relate is having-obtained freedom how-much in-short-time grew
tanta cupido gloriae incesserat." Ista ergo laudis auiditas
so-great a-desire of-glory had-come-upon-it this therefore of-praise greed
et cupido gloriae multa illa miranda fecit, laudabilia
and desire of-glory many those wonderful-things made praiseworthy
scilicet adque gloriosa secundum hominum existimationem.
namely and glorious according-to of-men the-estimation

Laudat idem Sallustius temporibus suis magnos et
praises the-same Sallust in-times his-own great and
praeclaros uiros, Marcum Catonem et Gaium Caesarem,
illustrious men Marcus Cato and Gaius Caesar
dicens quod diu illa res publica non habuit quemquam uirtute
saying that long that thing public not had anyone in-virtue
magnum, sed sua memoria fuisse illos duos ingenti
great but in-his-own memory to-have-been those two of-huge
uirtute, diuersis moribus. In laudibus autem Caesaris posuit,
virtue of-different morals in the-praises moreover of-Caesar he-set
quod sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum nouum
that for-himself a-great command an-army a-war new
exoptabat, ubi uirtus enitescere posset. Ita fiebat in uotis
he-longed-for where virtue to-shine-forth could so it-came-about in the-vows
uirorum uirtute magnorum, ut excitaret in bellum miseras
of-men in-virtue great that should-stir-up into war wretched
gentes et flagello agitaret Bellona sanguineo, ut esset
nations and with-scourge should-drive Bellona bloody that there-might-be
ubi uirtus eorum enitesceret. Hoc illa profecto laudis
where virtue their might-shine-forth this that assuredly of-praise
auiditas et gloriae cupido faciebat. Amore itaque primitus
greed and of-glory desire did by-love and-so first
libertatis, post etiam dominationis et cupiditate laudis et
of-freedom afterward also of-domination and by-desire of-praise and

gloriae multa magna fecerunt. Reddit eis utriusque rei
of-glory many great-things they-did renders to-them of-each thing
testimonium etiam poeta insignis illorum; inde quippe ait:
testimony also the-poet notable their thence for he-says

Nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat
nor not Tarquin cast-out Porsenna ordered
accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
to-receive and-with-huge the-city siege pressed
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
Aeneas'-sons into the-sword for liberty rushed

Tunc itaque magnum illis fuit aut fortiter mori aut
then and-so great to-them it-was either bravely to-die or
liberos uiuere. Sed cum esset adepta libertas, tanta cupido
free to-live but when had-been obtained freedom so-great a-desire
gloriae incesserat, ut parum esset sola libertas, nisi
of-glory had-come-upon-them that too-little was sole freedom unless
et dominatio quaereretur, dum pro magno habetur, quod
also domination were-sought while for great it-is-held what
uelut loquente Ioue idem poeta dicit:
as-if with-speaking Jupiter the-same poet says

Quin aspera Iuno,
nay harsh Juno
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
who the-sea now and-the-lands with-fear and-heaven wearies
consilia in melius referet mecumque fouebit
her-counsels into better will-bring and-with-me will-cherish
Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.
the-Romans of-things the-lords and-the-race toga-clad

Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
thus it-has-pleased will-come with-lustra gliding an-age
cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas
when the-house of-Assaracus Phthia and-famed Mycenae
seruitio premet ac uictis dominabitur Argis.
in-slavery will-press and over-conquered will-lord Argos

Quae quidem Vergilius Iouem inducens tamquam futura
which-things indeed Vergil Jupiter bringing-in as-if future-things
praedicentem ipse iam facta recolebat cernebatque praesentia;
foretelling himself already done recalled and-discerned present-things
uerum propterea commemorare illa uolui, ut ostenderem
but for-this-reason to-recall those-things I-wished that I-might-show
dominationem post libertatem sic habuisse Romanos, ut
domination after freedom so to-have-held the-Romans that
in eorum magnis laudibus poneretur. Hinc est et illud
among their great praises it-was-placed hence is also that
eiusdem poetae, quod, cum artibus aliarum gentium eas
of-the-same poet that when to-the-arts of-other nations those

ipsas proprias Romanorum artes regnandi adque imperandi
very own of-the-Romans arts of-reigning and of-commanding
et subigendi ac debellandi populos anteponeret, ait:
and of-subduing and of-warring-down peoples he-preferred he-says

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
will-hammer-out others breathing more-softly bronzes
cedo equidem, uiuos ducent de marmore uultus,
I-grant indeed living will-draw from marble faces
orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
will-plead causes better and-of-heaven the-paths
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
will-describe with-the-rod and rising stars will-tell
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
you to-rule by-command the-peoples Roman remember
(hae tibi erunt artes) pacique inponere mores,
these to-you will-be arts and-on-peace to-impose customs
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
to-spare the-subjected and to-war-down the-proud

Has artes illi tanto peritius exercebant, quanto minus
these arts they so-much more-skillfully practiced as less
se uoluptatibus dabant et eneruationi animi et corporis
themselves to-pleasures they-gave and to-the-enervation of-mind and of-body
in concupiscendis et augendis diuitiis et per illas moribus
in coveting and increasing riches and through them morals
corrumpendis, rapiendo miseris ciuibus, largiendo scaenicis
corrupting by-plundering the-wretched citizens by-lavishing on-actors
turpibus. Qui tales iam morum labe superabant adque
base those-who such now of-morals in-the-stain surpassed and
abundabant, quando scribebat ista Sallustius canebatque
abounded when wrote these-things Sallust and-sang

Vergilius, non illis artibus ad honores et gloriam, sed dolis
Vergil not by-those arts to honors and glory but by-tricks
adque fallaciis ambiebant. Unde idem dicit: “Sed primo
and deceits they-canvassed whence the-same says but at-first
magis ambitio quam auaritia animos hominum exercebat,
more ambition than avarice the-minds of-men exercised
quod tamen uitium propius uirtutem erat. Nam gloriam
which yet vice nearer to-virtue was for glory
honorem imperium bonus et ignauus aeque sibi
honor command the-good-man and the-worthless equally for-themselves
exoptant; sed ille, inquit, uera uia nititur, huic quia
long-for but he he-says by-the-true way strives to-this-one because
bonae artes desunt, dolis adque fallaciis contendit.” Hae
good arts are-lacking by-tricks and deceits contends these
sunt illae bonae artes, per uirtutem scilicet, non per
are those good arts through virtue namely not through
fallacem ambitionem ad honorem et gloriam et imperium
deceitful ambition to honor and glory and command
peruenire; quae tamen bonus et ignauus aeque sibi
to-arrive which yet the-good and the-worthless equally for-themselves
exoptant; sed ille, id est bonus, uera uia nititur. Via
long-for but he that is the-good by-the-true way strives the-way
uirtus est, qua nititur tamquam ad possessionis finem, id
virtue is by-which he-strives as-if to of-possession the-end that
est ad gloriam honorem imperium. Hoc insitum habuisse
is to glory honor command this implanted to-have-had
Romanos etiam deorum aput illos aedes indicant, quas
the-Romans also of-the-gods among them the-shrines show which
coniunctissimas constituerunt, Virtutis et Honoris, pro dis
most-closely-joined they-established of-Virtue and of-Honor for gods
habentes quae dantur a Deo. Unde intellegi potest quem
holding what are-given by God whence to-be-understood it-can what

finem uolebant esse uirtutis et quo eam referebant qui
end they-wished to-be of-virtue and to-what it they-referred who
boni erant, ad honorem scilicet; nam mali nec habebant
good were to honor namely for the-wicked not-even had
eam, quamuis honorem habere cuperent, quem malis artibus
it although honor to-have they-desired which by-bad arts
conabantur adipisci, id est dolis adque fallaciis.
they-tried to-obtain that is by-tricks and deceits

Melius laudatus est Cato. De illo quippe ait: "Quo
better praised was Cato about him for he-says by-how-much
minus petebat gloriam, eo illum magis sequebatur."
less he-sought glory by-so-much him more it-followed
Quando quidem gloria est, cuius illi cupiditate flagrabant,
since indeed glory is of-which they with-desire burned
iudicium hominum bene de hominibus opinantium; et
the-judgment of-men well about men thinking and
ideo melior est uirtus, quae humano testimonio contenta
therefore better is virtue which with-human testimony content
non est nisi conscientiae suae. Unde dicit apostolus: Nam
not is except of-conscience its-own whence says the-apostle for
gloria nostra haec est: testimonium conscientiae nostrae; et
glory our this is the-testimony of-conscience our and
alio loco: Opus autem suum probet unusquisque, et tunc
in-another place the-work but his-own let-prove each and then
in semet ipso tantum gloriam habebit et non in altero.
in him himself only glory he-will-have and not in another
Gloriam ergo et honorem et imperium, quae sibi
glory therefore and honor and command which for-themselves
exoptabant et quo bonis artibus peruenire nitebantur
they-longed-for and to-which by-good arts to-arrive strove
boni, non debet sequi uirtus, sed ipsa uirtutem. Neque
the-good not ought to-follow virtue but itself virtue nor

enim est uera uirtus, nisi quae ad eum finem tendit,
for is-there true virtue except that-which to that end tends
ubi est bonum hominis, quo melius non est. Unde
where is the-good of-man than-which better not is whence
et honores, quos petiuit Cato, petere non debuit, sed eos
also the-honors which sought Cato to-seek not he-ought but them
ciuitas ob eius uirtutem non petenti dare. Sed cum
the-city on-account-of his virtue not to-him-seeking to-give but when
illa memoria duo Romani essent uirtute magni, Caesar
in-that memory two Romans there-were in-virtue great Caesar
et Cato, longe uirtus Catonis ueritati uidetur propinquior
and Cato far the-virtue of-Cato to-the-truth seems nearer
fuisse quam Caesaris. Proinde qualis esset illo tempore
to-have-been than Caesar's accordingly what-kind was in-that time
ciuitas et antea qualis fuisset, uideamus in ipsa sententia
the-city and before what-kind it-had-been let-us-see in the-very opinion
Catonis: "Nolite, inquit, existimare maiores nostros armis
of-Cato do-not he-says think ancestors our by-arms
rem publicam ex parua magnam fecisse. Si ita esset,
the-thing public from small great to-have-made if so it-were
multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus. Quippe sociorum
much the-most-beautiful it we would-have for of-allies
adque ciuium, praeterea armorum et equorum maior copia
and citizens moreover of-arms and horses greater the-supply
nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere quae illos magnos
to-us than to-them is but other-things were which them great
fecerunt, quae nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris iustum
made which for-us none are at-home industry abroad just
imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque
command a-mind in deliberating free neither to-wrongdoing nor
libidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam adque
to-lust liable instead-of these we have luxury and

auaritiam, publice egestatem, priuatim opulentiam; laudamus
avarice publicly want privately opulence we-praise
diuitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen
riches we-pursue idleness between the-good and the-wicked distinction
nullum; omnia uirtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque
none all of-virtue the-rewards ambition possesses nor
mirum: ubi uos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis,
a-wonder when you separately for-himself each counsel take
ubi domi uoluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae seruitis,
when at-home to-pleasures here to-money or to-favor you-are-slaves
eo fit ut impetus fiat in uacuam rem publicam."
by-this it-comes-about that an-assault is-made on the-empty thing public
Qui audit haec Catonis uerba siue Sallustii, putat, quales
he-who hears these of-Cato words or of-Sallust thinks such-as
laudantur Romani ueteres, omnes eos tales tunc fuisse
are-praised the-Romans ancient all them such then to-have-been
uel plures. Non ita est; alioquin uera non essent,
or the-majority not so it-is otherwise true not would-be
quae ipse item scribit, ea quae commemoraui in
what he-himself likewise writes those-things which I-recalled in
secundo libro huius operis, ubi dicit, iniurias ualidiorum
the-second book of-this work where he-says the-injuries of-the-stronger
et ob eas discessionem plebis a patribus aliasque
and on-account-of them the-secession of-the-plebs from the-fathers and-other
dissensiones domi fuisse iam inde a principio, neque
dissensions at-home to-have-been already thence from the-beginning nor
amplius aequo et modesto iure actum quam expulsis
longer by-equal and moderate law it-was-conducted than with-expelled
regibus quamdiu metus a Tarquinio fuit, donec bellum
kings as-long-as fear from Tarquin was until the-war
graue, quod propter ipsum cum Etruria susceptum fuerat,
heavy which on-account-of him with Etruria undertaken had-been

finiretur; postea uero seruili imperio patres exercuisse
was-ended afterward but with-slavish command the-fathers to-have-harassed
plebem, regio more uerberasse, agro pepulisse et ceteris
the-plebs in-kingly manner to-have-flogged from-land to-have-driven and the-others
expertibus solos egisse in imperio; quarum discordiarum,
having-no-share alone to-have-acted in power of-which discords
dum illi dominari uellent, illi seruire nollent, finem
while those to-dominate wished those to-serve were-unwilling the-end
fuisse bello Punico secundo, quia rursus grauis metus
to-have-been in-the-war Punic second because again heavy fear
coepit urguere adque ab illis perturbationibus alia maiore
began to-press and from those disturbances by-another greater
cura cohibere animos inquietos et ad concordiam reuocare
care to-restrain the-minds restless and to concord to-recall
ciuilem. Sed per quosdam paucos, qui pro suo modo
civil but through certain few who in their-own manner
boni erant, magna administrabantur adque illis toleratis
good were great-things were-administered and with-those tolerated
ac temperatis malis paucorum bonorum prouidentia res illa
and tempered evils of-the-few good by-the-providence thing that
crescebat; sicut idem historicus dicit multa sibi legenti
grew as the-same historian says many-things to-himself reading
et audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari
and hearing which the-people Roman at-home and-in-the-field by-sea
adque terra praeclara facinora fecerit, libuisse adtendere
and land illustrious deeds did it-pleased to-attend-to
quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset; quoniam
what thing especially so-great affairs had-sustained since
sciebat saepenumero parua manu cum magnis legionibus
he-knew often with-a-small band with great legions
hostium contendisse Romanos, cognouerat paruis copiis
of-the-enemies to-have-contended the-Romans he-had-learned with-small forces

bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; sibique multa agitanti
wars waged with opulent kings and-to-himself many-things pondering
constare dixit, paucorum ciuium egregiam uirtutem
to-be-established he-said of-a-few citizens the-outstanding virtue
cuncta patrauisse, eoque factum ut diuitias paupertas,
all-things to-have-accomplished and-thereby done that riches poverty
multitudinem paucitas superaret. “Sed postquam luxu adque
multitude fewness overcame but after by-luxury and
desidia, inquit, ciuitas corrupta est, rursus res publica
sloth he-says the-city corrupted was again the-thing public
magnitudine sui imperatorum adque magistratuum uitia
by-the-greatness of-itself of-commanders and magistrates the-vices
sustentabat.” Paucorum igitur uirtus ad gloriam honorem
sustained of-the-few therefore the-virtue to glory honor
imperium uera uia, id est ipsa uirtute, nitentium
command by-the-true way that is by-the-very virtue of-those-striving
etiam a Catone laudata est. Hinc erat domi industria,
even by Cato praised was hence was at-home the-industry
quam commemorauit Cato, ut aerarium esset opulentum,
which recalled Cato that the-treasury should-be opulent
tenues res priuatae. Unde corruptis moribus uitium e
slender things private whence with-corrupted morals the-vice from
contrario posuit, publice egestatem, priuatim opulentiam.
the-contrary he-set publicly want privately opulence

So, when the kingdoms of the East had long been illustrious, God willed a Western one to arise, greater in breadth, and gave it to men who served their fatherland for honor, praise, and glory, suppressing the greed of money and many vices by this one vice. Horace knew the love of praise for a vice. Those who do not curb baser lusts by the Holy Spirit are at least less base when they curb them by desire of glory. Cicero would nourish a city's leader on glory, the Romans kindled the vice as useful, and he confessed that honor nourishes the arts.

Quam ob rem quam diu fuissent regna Orientis
which on-account-of thing as long-as had-been the-kingdoms of-the-East
inlustria, uoluit Deus et Occidentale fieri, quod tempore
illustrious willed God also the-Western to-become which in-time
esset posterius, sed imperii latitudine et magnitudine
was later but of-empire in-breadth and greatness
inlustrius, idque talibus potissimum concessit hominibus
more-illustrious and-this to-such especially he-granted men
ad domanda grauia mala multarum gentium, qui causa
for taming the-grievous evils of-many nations who for-the-sake
honoris laudis et gloriae consuluerunt patriae, in qua ipsam
of-honor of-praise and of-glory took-thought-for the-fatherland in which the-very
gloriam requirebant, salutemque eius saluti suae praeponere
glory they-sought and-the-safety its to-safety their-own to-put-before
non dubitauerunt, pro isto uno uitio, id est amore laudis,
not they-hesitated for that one vice that is the-love of-praise
pecuniae cupiditatem et multa alia uitia conprimentes.
of-money the-greed and many other vices suppressing

Nam sanius uidet, qui et amorem laudis uitium esse
for more-soundly sees he-who also the-love of-praise a-vice to-be
cognoscit, quod nec poetam fugit Horatium, qui ait:
recognizes which not-even the-poet escaped Horace who says

Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula, quae te
of-praise with-love you-swell there-are fixed expiations which you
ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
thrice purely read will-be-able to-restore little-book

Idemque in carmine lyrico ad reprimendam dominandi
and-the-same in a-song lyric for repressing of-dominating
libidinem ita cecinit:
the-lust thus sang

Latius regnes auidum domando
more-widely you-would-reign the-greedy by-taming
spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
spirit than if Libya to-remote
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
Gades you-should-join and each Carthaginian
seruiat uni.
should-serve one

Verum tamen qui libidines turpiores fide pietatis
but yet those-who lusts baser by-faith of-devotion
inpetrato Spiritu sancto et amore intellegibilis pulchritudinis
obtained the-Spirit holy and by-love of-intelligible beauty
non refrenant, melius saltem cupiditate humanae laudis et
not curb better at-least by-the-desire of-human praise and
gloriae non quidem iam sancti, sed minus turpes sunt. Etiam
glory not indeed now holy but less base are also

Tullius hinc dissimulare non potuit in eisdem libris quos de
Tully hence to-dissemble not could in the-same books which about
re publica scripsit, ubi loquitur de instituendo principe
the-thing public he-wrote where he-speaks about to-be-trained the-leader
ciuitatis, quem dicit alendum esse gloria, et consequenter
of-the-city whom he-says to-be-nourished to-be by-glory and consequently
commemorat maiores suos multa mira adque praeclara
he-recalls ancestors his-own many wonderful and illustrious-things
gloriae cupiditate fecisse. Huic igitur uitio non solum non
of-glory from-desire to-have-done to-this therefore vice not only not
resistebant, uerum etiam id excitandum et accendendum
they-resisted but even it to-be-roused and to-be-kindled
esse censebant, putantes hoc utile esse rei publicae.
to-be they-judged thinking this useful to-be for-the-thing public
Quamquam nec in ipsis philosophiae libris Tullius ab hac
although not-even in the-very of-philosophy books Tully from this
peste dissimulet, ubi eam luce clarius confitetur. Cum
plague dissembles where it than-light more-clearly he-confesses when
enim de studiis talibus loqueretur, quae utique sectanda
for about studies such he-spoke which assuredly to-be-pursued
sunt fine ueri boni, non uentositate laudis humanae,
are for-the-end of-the-true good not for-the-windiness of-praise human
hanc intulit uniuersalem generalemque sententiam: “Honos
this he-brought-in universal and-general opinion honor
alit artes, omnesque accenduntur ad studia gloria
nourishes the-arts and-all are-kindled to studies by-glory
iacentque ea semper, quae aput quosque inprobantur.”
and-lie-neglected those-things always which among each are-disapproved

It is better to resist this desire than to yield to it, for the purer one is of it the more like God. The Lord asked how men could believe who look for glory from one another. The apostles preached Christ where his name was detested, undeterred by curses and persecution, and referred the glory that followed in the church to God, as their master taught, that men might glorify the Father. The martyrs surpassed the Scaevolae, Curtii, and Decii by bearing pain, not inflicting it. But those Romans, citizens of an earthly city, could love nothing but glory, to live on after death in the mouths of their praisers.

Huic igitur cupiditati melius resistitur sine dubitatione
to-this therefore desire better it-is-resisted without doubt
quam ceditur. Tanto enim quisque est Deo similior,
than it-is-yielded so-much for each is to-God more-like
quanto et ab hac inmunditia mundior. Quae in hac uita
as also from this uncleanness cleaner which in this life
etsi non funditus eradicatur ex corde, quia etiam bene
although not utterly it-is-uprooted from the-heart because even well
proficientes animos tentare non cessat, saltem cupiditas
advancing minds to-tempt not it-ceases at-least the-desire
gloriae superetur dilectione iustitiae: ut, si alicubi iacent
of-glory let-be-overcome by-the-love of-justice so-that if anywhere lie-neglected
quae aput quosque inprobantur, si bona, si recta
the-things-which among each are-disapproved if good if right
sunt, etiam ipse amor humanae laudis erubescat et cedat
they-are even itself the-love of-human praise should-blush and yield
amori ueritatis. Tam enim est hoc uitium inimicum piae
to-the-love of-truth so for is this vice hostile to-devout
fidei, si maior in corde sit cupiditas gloriae quam Dei
faith if greater in the-heart be the-desire of-glory than of-God
timor uel amor, ut Dominus diceret: Quo modo potestis
the-fear or love that the-Lord said in-what manner can-you

credere gloriam ab inuicem expectantes et gloriam quae
to-believe glory from one-another expecting and the-glory which
a solo Deo est non quaerentes? Item de quibusdam,
from the-sole God is not seeking likewise about certain
qui in eum crediderant et uerebantur palam confiteri, ait
who in him had-believed and feared openly to-confess says
euangelista: Dilexerunt gloriam hominum magis quam Dei.
the-evangelist they-loved the-glory of-men more than of-God
Quod sancti apostoli non fecerunt; qui cum in his locis
which the-holy apostles not did who when in these places
praedicarent Christi nomen, ubi non solum inprobabatur
they-preached of-Christ the-name where not only it-was-disapproved
(sicut ille ait: iacentque ea semper, quae aput
as that-one says and-lie-neglected those-things always which among
quosque inprobantur), uerum etiam summae detestationis
each are-disapproved but even of-highest detestation
habebatur, tenentes quod audierant a bono magistro
it-was-held holding what they-had-heard from the-good teacher
eodemque medico mentium: Si quis me negauerit coram
and-the-same physician of-minds if anyone me shall-have-denied before
hominibus, negabo eum coram patre meo, qui in caelis est,
men I-will-deny him before father my who in heaven is
uel coram angelis Dei, inter maledicta et obprobria, inter
or before the-angels of-God among curses and reproaches among
grauissimas persecutiones crudelesque poenas non sunt
most-grievous persecutions and-cruel punishments not they-were
deterriti a praedicatione salutis humanae tanto fremitu
deterred from the-preaching of-salvation human by-so-great a-roar
offensionis humanae. Et quod eos diuina facientes adque
of-offense human and because they divine-things doing and
dicentes diuineque uiuentes debellatis quodam modo cordibus
saying and-divinely living subdued in-a-certain manner hearts

duris adque introducta pace iustitiae ingens in ecclesia
hard and introduced the-peace of-justice huge in the-church
Christi gloria consecuta est: non in ea tamquam in suae
of-Christ glory followed has not in it as in of-their-own
uirtutis fine quieuerunt, sed eam quoque ipsam ad Dei
virtue the-end they-rested but it also itself to of-God
gloriam referentes, cuius gratia tales erant, isto quoque
the-glory referring whose by-grace such they-were by-this also
fomite eos, quibus consulebant, ad amorem illius, a quo et
tinder those for-whom they-took-thought to the-love of-him by whom also
ipsi tales fierent, accendebant. Namque ne propter
they-themselves such might-become they-kindled for lest on-account-of
humanam gloriam boni essent, docuerat eos magister
human glory good they-should-be had-taught them the-teacher
illorum dicens: Cauete facere iustitiam uestram coram
their saying beware to-do justice your before
hominibus, ut uideamini ab eis; alioquin mercedem non
men that you-may-be-seen by them otherwise reward not
habebitis aput patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est. Sed rursus
you-will-have with father your who in heaven is but again
ne hoc peruerse intellegentes hominibus placere metuerent
lest this perversely understanding to-men to-please they-should-fear
minusque prodessent latendo, quod boni sunt, demonstrans
and-less should-profit by-hiding that good they-are showing
quo fine innotescere deberent: Luceant, inquit, opera
to-what end to-become-known they-ought let-shine he-says works
uestra coram hominibus, ut uideant bona facta uestra et
your before men that they-may-see good deeds your and
glorificent patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est. Non ergo ut
may-glorify father your who in heaven is not therefore that
uideamini ab eis, id est hac intentione, ut eos ad uos
you-may-be-seen by them that is with-this intention that them to you

conuerti uelitis, quia non per uos aliquid estis; sed
to-be-converted you-may-wish because not through yourselves anything you-are but
ut glorificent patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est, ad quem
that they-may-glorify father your who in heaven is to whom
conuersi fiant quod estis. Hos secuti sunt martyres,
converted they-may-become what you-are these followed have the-martyrs
qui Scaeuolas et Curtios et Decios non sibi inferendo
who the-Scaevolae and the-Curtii and the-Decii not on-themselves by-inflicting
poenas, sed inlatas ferendo et uirtute uera, quoniam
punishments but inflicted-ones by-bearing both by-virtue true since
uera pietate, et innumerabili multitudine superarunt. Sed
by-true devotion and by-innumerable multitude surpassed but
cum illi essent in ciuitate terrena, quibus propositus
when those were in a-city earthly before-whom set
erat omnium pro illa officiorum finis incolumitas eius et
was of-all for it the-duties the-end the-safety its and
regnum non in caelo, sed in terra; non in uita aeterna,
the-kingdom not in heaven but on earth not in life eternal
sed in decessione morientium et successione morituorum:
but in the-departure of-the-dying and the-succession of-those-about-to-die
quid aliud amarent quam gloriam, qua uolebant etiam
what else would-they-love than glory by-which they-wished even
post mortem tamquam uiuere in ore laudantium?
after death as-if to-live in the-mouth of-praisers

To those to whom God was not to give eternal life with his angels, which true devotion leads to, rendering the service the Greeks call latreia to the one true God alone, he gave the glory of a most excellent empire, as a reward for their good arts, the virtues by which they strove for glory. Of such the Lord says, amen I say to you, they have received their reward. They despised their private property for the treasury, resisted avarice, and gave laws to many nations; they have no cause to complain of God's justice.

Quibus ergo non erat daturus Deus uitam aeternam
to-whom therefore not was about-to-give God life eternal
cum sanctis angelis suis in sua ciuitate caelesti, ad cuius
with holy angels his in his city heavenly to whose
societatem pietas uera perducit, quae non exhibet seruitutem
fellowship devotion true leads which not renders the-service
religionis, quam λατρείαν Graeci uocant, nisi uni uero
of-religion which latreian the-Greeks call except to-the-one true
Deo, si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam excellentissimi
God if neither this to-them earthly glory of-most-excellent
imperii concederet: non redderetur merces bonis artibus
empire he-granted not would-be-rendered a-reward to-the-good arts
eorum, id est uirtutibus, quibus ad tantam gloriam
their that is to-the-virtues by-which to so-great glory
peruenire nitebantur. De talibus enim, qui propter hoc
to-arrive they-strove about such for who on-account-of this
boni aliquid facere uidentur, ut glorificentur ab hominibus,
good anything to-do seem that they-may-be-glorified by men
etiam Dominus ait: Amen dico uobis, perceperunt mercedem
even the-Lord says amen I-say to-you they-have-received reward
suam. Sic et isti priuatas res suas pro re communi,
their so also these private things their-own for the-thing common

hoc est re publica, et pro eius aerario contemserunt,
that is the-thing public and for its treasury despised
auaritiae restiterunt, consuluerunt patriae consilio libero,
avarice resisted took-thought-for the-fatherland with-counsel free
neque delicto secundum suas leges neque libidini
neither to-wrongdoing according-to their-own laws nor to-lust
obnoxii; his omnibus artibus tamquam uera uia nisi
liable by-these all arts as-if by-the-true way striven
sunt ad honores imperium gloriam; honorati sunt in
have to honors command glory honored they-are in
omnibus fere gentibus, imperii sui leges inposuerunt
all almost nations of-empire their-own the-laws they-imposed
multis gentibus, hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt
on-many nations and-today in-letters and history glorious they-are
paene in omnibus gentibus: non est quod de summi et
almost in all nations not there-is what about of-the-highest and
ueri Dei iustitia conquerantur; perceperunt mercedem suam.
true God the-justice they-may-complain they-have-received reward their

The reward of the saints, who suffer reproaches for God's truth, is far other: an everlasting city where no one is born because no one dies, where happiness is true and full, a gift of God, not a goddess, and where the sun of justice protects the good alone. The empire was extended for human glory not only to reward such men, but that the citizens of the eternal city, while they sojourn here, may see how much love is owed to the heavenly fatherland, if the earthly was so loved for glory.

Merces autem sanctorum longe alia est etiam hic obprobria
the-reward but of-the-saints far other is even here reproaches
sustinentium pro ueritate Dei, quae mundi huius
enduring for the-truth of-God which of-the-world this
dilectoribus odiosa est. Illa ciuitas sempiterna est; ibi nullus
to-the-lovers hateful is that city everlasting is there no-one
oritur, quia nullus moritur; ibi est uera et plena felicitas,
is-born because no-one dies there is true and full happiness
non dea, sed donum Dei; inde fidei pignus accepimus,
not a-goddess but a-gift of-God thence of-faith the-pledge we-have-received
quamdiu peregrinantes eius pulchritudini suspiramus; ibi non
as-long-as sojourning its for-beauty we-sigh there not
oritur sol super bonos et malos, sed sol iustitiae solos
rises the-sun over the-good and the-evil but the-sun of-justice alone
protegit bonos; ibi non erit magna industria ditare publicum
protects the-good there not will-be great industry to-enrich the-public
aerarium priuatis rebus angustis, ubi thensaurus communis
treasury with-private things straitened where the-treasure common
est ueritatis. Proinde non solum ut talis merces talibus
is of-truth accordingly not only that such a-reward to-such
hominibus redderetur Romanum imperium ad humanam
men might-be-rendered the-Roman empire to human
gloriam dilatatum est; uerum etiam ut ciues aeternae
glory extended has-been but also that the-citizens of-eternal

illius ciuitatis, quamdiu hic peregrinantur, diligenter et sobrie
that city as-long-as here they-sojourn carefully and soberly
illa intueantur exempla et uideant quanta dilectio debeatur
those may-behold examples and may-see how-great love is-owed
supernae patriae propter uitam aeternam, si tantum a
to-the-heavenly fatherland on-account-of life eternal if so-much by
suis ciuibus terrena dilecta est propter hominum gloriam.
its-own citizens the-earthly loved was on-account-of of-men glory

XVII · WHAT ROME'S CONQUESTS PROFITED

In this short mortal life, what does it matter under whose rule one lives, if the rulers do not compel ungodliness? The Romans' laws could have been shared by concord, as later all in the empire received citizenship, though without the glory of triumphs. Victors and vanquished differ only in empty pride; take away boasting, and all are men. Yet what the Romans bore for human glory should crush our pride: the citizens of the heavenly city, as far above the earthly as heaven above earth, should think they have done nothing great in doing good or suffering evil for it. Its remission of sins was foreshadowed by Romulus' asylum.

Quantum enim pertinet ad hanc uitam mortalium, quae
as-far-as for pertains to this life of-mortals which
paucis diebus ducitur et finitur, quid interest sub cuius
in-few days is-led and is-ended what does-it-matter under whose
imperio uiuat homo moriturus, si illi qui imperant ad
command lives a-man about-to-die if those who command to
inpia et iniqua non cogant? Aut uero aliquid nocuerunt
ungodly and unjust-things not compel or indeed in-anything did-harm
Romani gentibus, quibus subiugatis inposuerunt leges suas,
the-Romans the-nations on-whom subjugated they-imposed laws their-own
nisi quia id factum est ingenti strage bellorum? Quod si
except that it done was with-huge slaughter of-wars which if

concorditer fieret, id ipsum fieret meliore successu;
harmoniously it-were-done that very-thing would-be-done with-better success
sed nulla esset gloria triumphantium. Neque enim et
but no would-be the-glory of-the-triumphing nor for also
Romani non uiuebant sub legibus suis, quas ceteris
the-Romans not did-they-live under laws their-own which on-the-others
inponebant. Hoc si fieret sine Marte et Bellona, ut
they-imposed this if it-were-done without Mars and Bellona so-that
nec Victoria locum haberet, nemine uincente ubi nemo
not-even Victory a-place should-have with-no-one conquering where no-one
pugnauerat: nonne Romanis et ceteris gentibus una
had-fought surely for-the-Romans and for-the-other nations one
esset eademque condicio? praesertim si mox fieret, quod
would-be and-the-same condition especially if soon there-were-done what
postea gratissime adque humanissime factum est, ut omnes
afterward most-graciously and most-humanely done was that all
ad Romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent
to the-Roman empire belonging the-fellowship should-receive
ciuitatis et Romani ciues essent, ac sic esset omnium,
of-the-city and Roman citizens should-be and so there-would-be of-all
quod erat ante paucorum; tantum quod plebs illa, quae
what was before of-a-few only that the-plebs that which
suos agros non haberet, de publico uiueret; qui pastus
its-own fields not had from the-public should-live which feeding
eius per bonos administratores rei publicae gratius
its through good administrators of-the-thing public more-graciously
a concordibus praestaretur quam uictis extorqueretur.
by the-harmonious would-be-furnished than from-the-conquered would-be-extorted

Nam quid intersit ad incolumitatem bonosque mores, ipsas
for what it-matters for safety and-good morals the-very
certe hominum dignitates, quod alii uicerunt, alii uicti
surely of-men dignities that some conquered others conquered

sunt, omnino non uideo, praeter illum gloriae humanae
were at-all not I-see except that of-glory human
inanissimum fastum, in quo perceperunt mercedem suam,
most-empty haughtiness in which they-received reward their-own
qui eius ingenti cupidine arserunt et ardentia bella gesserunt.
who for-it with-huge desire burned and burning wars waged
Numquid enim illorum agri tributa non soluunt? Numquid
surely-not for their fields tribute not pay surely-not
eis licet discere, quod aliis non licet? Numquid
to-them it-is-allowed to-learn what to-others not is-allowed surely-not
non multi senatores sunt in aliis terris, qui Romam
not many senators are in other lands who Rome
ne facie quidem norunt? Tolle iactantiam, et omnes
not-even by-face indeed know take-away boasting and all
homines quid sunt nisi homines? Quod si peruersitas
men what are-they except men but if the-perversity
saeculi admitteret, ut honoratiores essent quique meliores:
of-the-age admitted that more-honored should-be each better
nec sic pro magno haberi debuit honor humanus, quia
not-even so for great to-be-held ought honor human because
nullius est ponderis fumus. Sed utamur etiam in his
of-no is weight smoke but let-us-use also in these
rebus beneficio Domini Dei nostri; consideremus quanta
things the-benefit of-the-Lord God our let-us-consider how-great-things
contemserint, quae pertulerint, quas cupiditates subegerint
they-despised what they-endured what desires they-subdued
pro humana gloria, qui eam tamquam mercedem talium
for human glory who it as-if the-reward of-such
uirtutum accipere meruerunt, et ualeat nobis etiam hoc ad
virtues to-receive deserved and let-it-avail for-us also this for
obprimendam superbiam, ut, cum illa ciuitas, in qua nobis
to-be-crushed pride that since that city in which for-us

regnare promissum est, tantum ab hac distet, quantum
to-reign promised it-is so-much from this differs as-much-as
distat caelum a terra, a temporali laetitia uita aeterna,
differs heaven from earth from temporal joy life eternal
ab inanibus laudibus solida gloria, a societate mortalium
from empty praises solid glory from the-fellowship of-mortals
societas angelorum, a lumine solis et lunae lumen
the-fellowship of-angels from the-light of-the-sun and of-the-moon the-light
eius qui solem fecit et lunam, nihil sibi magnum
of-him who the-sun made and the-moon nothing for-themselves great
fecisse uideantur tantae patriae ciues, si pro illa
to-have-done may-seem of-so-great a-fatherland the-citizens if for that
adipiscenda fecerint boni operis aliquid uel mala aliqua
to-be-obtained they-shall-have-done of-good work anything or evils any
sustinuerint, cum illi pro hac terrena iam adepta tanta
shall-have-endured since those for this earthly already obtained such-things
fecerint, tanta perpessi sint, praesertim quia remissio
have-done such-things suffered have especially because the-remission
peccatorum, quae ciues ad aeternam colligit patriam, habet
of-sins which the-citizens for the-eternal gathers fatherland has
aliquid, cui per umbram quandam simile fuit asylum
something to-which through a-shadow certain like was asylum
illud Romuleum, quo multitudinem, qua illa ciuitas
that of-Romulus whither a-multitude by-which that city
conderetur, quorumlibet delictorum congregauit inpunitas.
might-be-founded of-whatever offenses gathered impunity

If Brutus could kill his sons for the earthly fatherland, it is no great thing for the heavenly to give one's goods to the poor; even the poet who praises him calls him unhappy, then consoles him with the love of glory. If Torquatus killed his son, Camillus saved his ungrateful city, Mucius burned his hand, Curtius leapt into the chasm, the Decii vowed themselves, Pulvillus disdained his son's death, Regulus returned to torture, and Valerius, Cincinnatus, and Fabricius stayed poor, what can Christians boast of doing for the eternal city? The empire made these examples known to shame or humble us, and their glory rightly overcame the Jews, who killed Christ.

Quid ergo magnum est pro illa aeterna caelestique
what then great is-it for that eternal and-heavenly
patria cuncta saeculi huius quamlibet iucunda blandimenta
fatherland all of-world this however pleasant allurements
contemnere, si pro hac temporali adque terrena filios Brutus
to-despise if for this temporal and earthly (his)-sons Brutus
potuit et occidere, quod illa facere neminem cogit? Sed
could even to-kill which that-one to-do no-one compels but
certe difficilius est filios interimere, quam quod pro ista
surely harder it-is sons to-kill than what for this-one
faciendum est, ea, quae filiis congreganda uidebantur
to-be-done is those-things which for-sons to-be-gathered seemed
adque seruanda, uel donare pauperibus uel, si existat
and to-be-kept either to-give to-the-poor or if there-arise
tentatio, quae id pro fide adque iustitia fieri conpellat,
a-temptation which this for faith and justice to-be-done compels
amittere. Felices enim uel nos uel filios nostros non diuitiae
to-lose happy for either us or sons our not riches
terrenae faciunt aut nobis uiuentibus amittendae aut nobis
earthly make either with-us living to-be-lost or with-us

mortuis a quibus nescimus uel forte a quibus nolumus
dead by whom we-know-not or perhaps by whom we-do-not-wish
possidendae; sed Deus felices facit, qui est mentium uera
to-be-possessed but God happy makes who is of-minds the-true
opulentia. Bruto autem, quia filios occidit, infelicitatis
wealth to-Brutus but because (his)-sons he-killed of-unhappiness
perhibet testimonium etiam poeta laudator. Ait enim:
bears testimony even the-poet (his)-praiser he-says for

Natosque pater noua bella mouentes
and-the-sons the-father new wars stirring
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate uocabit
to punishment fair for liberty will-summon
infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores.
unhappy however will-take those deeds posterity

Sed uersu sequenti consolatus est infelicem:
but in-the-verse following consoled he-has the-unhappy-man

Vincit amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido.
conquers the-love of-fatherland and-of-praises immense desire

Haec sunt duo illa, libertas et cupiditas laudis humanae,
these are the-two those freedom and desire of-praise human
quae ad facta conpulit miranda Romanos. Si ergo pro libertate
which to deeds drove wonderful the-Romans if then for the-freedom
morituroruм et cupiditate laudum, quae a mortalibus
of-those-about-to-die and the-desire of-praises which by mortals
expetuntur, occidi filii a patre potuerunt: quid magnum
are-sought to-be-killed sons by a-father could what great
est, si pro uera libertate, quae nos ab iniquitatis et mortis
is-it if for true freedom which us from of-iniquity and of-death

et diaboli dominatu liberos facit, nec cupiditate humanarum
and of-the-devil the-domination free makes not by-desire of-human
laudum, sed caritate liberandorum hominum, non a Tarquinio
praises but by-love of-to-be-freed men not from Tarquin
rege, sed a daemonibus et daemonum principe, non filii
the-king but from demons and of-demons the-prince not sons
occiduntur, sed Christi pauperes inter filios conputantur?
are-killed but of-Christ the-poor among sons are-counted
Si alius etiam Romanus princeps, cognomine Torquatus,
if another also Roman leader by-surname Torquatus
filium, non quia contra patriam, sed etiam pro patria,
(his)-son not because against the-fatherland but even for the-fatherland
tamen quia contra imperium suum, id est contra quod
yet because against command his-own that is against what
imperauerat pater imperator, ab hoste prouocatus iuuenali
had-commanded the-father commander by the-enemy challenged with-youthful
ardore pugnauerat, licet uicisset, occidit, ne plus mali
ardor had-fought although he-had-conquered killed lest more of-evil
esset in exemplo imperii contemti quam boni in
there-should-be in the-example of-command despised than of-good in
gloria hostis occisi: ut quid se iactent, qui pro
the-glory of-the-enemy killed to what themselves should-they-boast who for
inmortalis patriae legibus omnia, quae multo minus quam
of-the-immortal fatherland the-laws all-things which much less than
filii diliguntur, bona terrena contemnunt? Si Furius Camillus
sons are-loved goods earthly despise if Furius Camillus
etiam ingratam patriam, a cuius ceruicibus acerrimorum
even the-ungrateful fatherland from whose necks of-the-fiercest
hostium Veientium iugum depulerat damnatusque ab
enemies the-Veientes the-yoke he-had-driven-off and-condemned by
aemulis fuerat, a Gallis iterum liberauit, quia non habebat
rivals had-been from the-Gauls again freed because not he-had

potiorem, ubi posset uiuere gloriosius: quur extollatur,
a-better-one where he-could to-live more-gloriously why should-be-exalted
uelut grande aliquid fecerit, qui forte in ecclesia ab
as-if great something he-had-done he-who perhaps in the-church by
inimicis carnalibus grauissimam exhonorationis passus
enemies carnal most-grievous of-dishonoring having-suffered
iniuriam non se ad eius hostes haereticos transtulit aut
injury not himself to its enemies the-heretics has-transferred or
aliquam contra illam ipse haeresem condidit, sed eam potius
some against it himself a-heresy founded but it rather
quantum ualuit ab haereticorum perniciosissima prauitate
as-much-as he-could from of-heretics the-most-pernicious depravity
defendit, cum alia non sit, non ubi uiuatur in hominum
has-defended since another not there-be not where it-is-lived in of-men
gloria, sed ubi uita adquiratur aeterna? Si Mucius, ut
glory but where life is-acquired eternal if Mucius that
cum Porsenna rege pax fieret, qui grauissimo bello
with Porsenna the-king peace might-be-made who with-most-grievous war
Romanos premebat, quia Porsennam ipsum occidere non
the-Romans pressed because Porsenna himself to-kill not
potuit et pro eo alterum deceptus occidit, in ardentem
he-could and for him another deceived killed onto the-burning
aram ante eius oculos dexteram extendit, dicens multos tales,
altar before his eyes right-hand extended saying many such
qualem illum uideret, in eius exitium coniurasse cuius ille
as him he-saw for his destruction to-have-conspired whose he
fortitudinem et coniurationem talium perhorrescens sine
fortitude and conspiracy of-such dreading without
ulla dubitatione se ab illo bello facta pace conpescuit:
any doubt himself from that war made the-peace restrained
quis regno caelorum inputaturus est merita sua, si
who to-the-kingdom of-heaven about-to-impute is merits his-own if

pro illo non unam manum neque hoc sibi ultro
for it not one hand nor this to-himself voluntarily
faciens, sed persequente aliquo patiens totum flammis
doing but with-persecuting someone suffering the-whole to-the-flames
corpus inpenderit? Si Curtius armatus equo concito
body he-shall-have-expended if Curtius armed with-horse spurred
in abruptum hiatum terrae se praecipitem dedit,
into the-broken chasm of-the-earth himself headlong gave
deorum suorum oraculis seruiens, quoniam iusserant, ut
of-gods his-own the-oracles serving since they-had-ordered that
illuc id quod Romani haberent optimum mitteretur, nec
thither that which the-Romans had best should-be-sent nor
aliud intellegere potuerunt, quam uiris armisque se
other to-understand could-they than in-men and-arms themselves
excellere, unde uidelicet oportebat, ut deorum iussis in
to-excel whence namely it-behooved that by-the-gods' commands into
illum interitum uir praecipitaretur armatus: quid se
that destruction a-man should-be-hurled armed what himself
magnum pro aeterna patria fecisse dicturus est, qui
great for the-eternal fatherland to-have-done about-to-say is he-who
aliquem fidei suae passus inimicum non se ultro
some of-faith his-own having-suffered enemy not himself voluntarily
in talem mortem mittens, sed ab illo missus obierit;
into such death sending but by him sent shall-have-died
quando quidem a Domino suo eodemque rege patriae
since indeed from the-Lord his-own and-the-same king of-fatherland
suae certius oraculum accepit: Nolite timere eos, qui
his-own a-surer oracle he-received do-not fear those who
corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere? Si
the-body kill the-soul but not can to-kill if
se occidendos certis uerbis quodam modo consecrantes
themselves to-be-killed with-fixed words in-a-certain manner consecrating

Decii deuouerunt, ut illis cadentibus et iram deorum
the-Decii vowed that with-them falling and the-wrath of-the-gods
sanguine suo placantibus Romanus liberaretur exercitus:
with-blood their-own placating the-Roman might-be-freed army
nullo modo superbient sancti martyres, tamquam dignum
in-no way will-be-proud the-holy martyrs as-if worthy
aliquid pro illius patriae participatione fecerint, ubi
something for of-that fatherland participation they-have-done where
aeterna est et uera felicitas, si usque ad sui sanguinis
eternal is and true happiness if up to of-their-own blood
effusionem non solum suos fratres, pro quibus fundebatur,
the-outpouring not only their brothers for whom it-was-poured
uerum et ipsos inimicos, a quibus fundebatur, sicut eis
but also the-very enemies by whom it-was-poured as to-them
praeceptum est, diligentes caritatis fide et fidei caritate
commanded it-is loving of-charity by-faith and of-faith by-charity
certarunt? Si Marcus Puluillus dedicans aedem Iouis
they-contended if Marcus Pulvillus dedicating the-shrine of-Jupiter
Iunonis Mineruae falso sibi ab inuidis morte filii
Juno Minerva falsely to-him by the-envious with-the-death of-(his)-son
nuntiata, ut illo nuntio perturbatus abscederet adque ita
announced that by-that news disturbed he-should-depart and so
dedicationis gloriam collega eius consequeretur, ita contemsit,
of-the-dedication the-glory colleague his should-obtain so despised-it
ut eum etiam proici insepultum iuberet (sic in
that him even to-be-thrown-out unburied he-ordered so in
eius corde orbitatis dolorem gloriae cupiditas uicerat):
his heart of-bereavement the-grief of-glory the-desire had-conquered
quid magnum se pro euangelii sancti praedicatione,
what great himself for of-the-gospel holy the-preaching
qua ciues supernae patriae de diuersis liberantur
by-which the-citizens of-the-heavenly fatherland from diverse are-freed

et colliguntur erroribus, fecisse dicturus est, cui
and gathered errors to-have-done about-to-say is-he to-whom
Dominus de sepultura patris sui sollicito ait: Sequere
the-Lord about the-burial of-father his-own anxious says follow
me et sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos? Si Marcus
me and allow the-dead to-bury dead their-own if Marcus
Regulus, ne crudelissimos hostes iurando falleret, ad
Regulus lest the-most-cruel enemies by-swearing he-should-deceive to
eos ab ipsa Roma reuersus est, quoniam, sicut Romanis
them from the-very Rome returned has since as to-the-Romans
eum tenere uolentibus respondisse fertur, postea quam
him to-hold wishing to-have-answered he-is-reported after that
Afris seruierat, dignitatem illic honesti ciuis
to-the-Africans he-had-been-slave the-dignity there of-an-honorable citizen
habere non posset, eumque Carthaginienses, quoniam contra
to-have not he-could and-him the-Carthaginians since against
eos in Romano senatu egerat, grauissimis suppliciis
them in the-Roman senate he-had-acted with-most-grievous punishments
necauerunt: qui cruciatus non sunt pro fide illius patriae
killed what tortures not are for the-faith of-that fatherland
contemnendi, ad cuius beatitudinem fides ipsa perducit? aut
to-be-despised to whose blessedness faith itself leads or
quid retribuetur Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit, si
what shall-be-rendered to-the-Lord for all which he-has-rendered if
pro fide quae illi debetur talia fuerit homo passus,
for the-faith which to-him is-owed such-things shall-have a-man suffered
qualia pro fide quam perniciosissimis inimicis debebat
as for the-faith which to-most-pernicious enemies he-owed
passus est Regulus? Quo modo se audebit extollere
suffered has Regulus in-what manner himself will-dare to-extol
de uoluntaria paupertate Christianus, ut in huius uitae
about voluntary poverty a-Christian that in of-this life

peregrinatione expeditior ambulet uiam, quae perducit
the-pilgrimage more-unencumbered he-may-walk the-way which leads
ad patriam, ubi uerae diuitiae Deus ipse est, cum audiat
to the-fatherland where true riches God himself is when he-hears
uel legat Lucium Valerium, qui in suo defunctus est
or reads that-Lucius Valerius who in his-own died has
consulatu, usque adeo fuisse pauperem, ut nummis a
consulship to-such a-degree to-have-been poor that with-coins by
populo conlatis eius sepultura curaretur? audiat uel legat
the-people contributed his burial was-provided he-hears or reads
Quintium Cincinnatum, cum quattuor iugera possideret
that-Quintius Cincinnatus when four acres he-possessed
et ea suis manibus coleret, ab aratro esse
and them with-his-own hands tilled from the-plow to-have-been
adductum, ut dictator fieret, maior utique honore
brought that dictator he-might-become greater assuredly in-honor
quam consul, uictisque hostibus ingentem gloriam
than consul and-with-conquered enemies huge glory
consecutum in eadem paupertate mansisse? Aut quid se
having-obtained in the-same poverty to-have-remained or what himself
magnum fecisse praedicabit, qui nullo praemio mundi
great to-have-done will-be-proclaim who by-no reward of-world
huius fuerit ab aeternae illius patriae societate seductus,
this has-been from the-eternal that fatherland's fellowship led-astray
cum Fabricium didicerit tantis muneribus Pyrrhi, regis
when that-Fabricius he-has-learned by-so-great gifts of-Pyrrhus king
Epirotarum, promissa etiam quarta parte regni, a
of-the-Epirotes promised even the-fourth part of-the-kingdom from
Romana ciuitate non potuisse deuelli ibique in sua
the-Roman city not to-have-been-able to-be-torn-away and-there in his-own
paupertate priuatum manere maluisse? Nam illud quod
poverty private to-remain to-have-preferred for that that

rem publicam, id est rem populi, rem patriae,
the-thing public that is the-thing of-the-people the-thing of-the-fatherland
rem communem, cum haberent opulentissimam adque
the-thing common since they-had most-opulent and
ditissimam, sic ipsi in suis domibus pauperes erant,
most-rich so they-themselves in their-own houses poor were
ut quidam eorum, qui iam bis consul fuisset, ex illo
that a-certain-one of-them who already twice consul had-been from that
senatu hominum pauperum pelleretur notatione censoria,
senate of-men poor was-expelled by-mark censorial
quod decem pondo argenti in uasis habere conpertus est;
because ten pounds of-silver in vessels to-have found he-was
ita idem ipsi pauperes erant, quorum triumphis publicum
so the-same very-men poor were whose by-triumphs the-public
ditabatur aerarium: nonne omnes Christiani, qui excellentiore
was-enriched treasury surely all Christians who by-more-excellent
proposito diuitias suas communes faciunt secundum id
purpose riches their-own common make according-to that
quod scriptum est in actibus apostolorum, ut distribuatur
which written is in the-acts of-the-apostles that it-be-distributed
unicuique sicut cuique opus est, et nemo dicat aliquid
to-each as to-each need is and no-one say anything
proprium, sed sint illis omnia communia, intellegunt
his-own but be to-them all-things common understand
se nulla ob hoc uentilari oportere iactantia, id
themselves by-no on-account-of this to-be-fanned to-behoove boasting this
faciendo pro obtinenda societate angelorum, cum paene tale
doing for to-be-obtained the-fellowship of-angels when almost such
aliquid illi fecerint pro conseruanda gloria Romanorum?
something those did for to-be-preserved the-glory of-the-Romans

Haec et alia, si qua huius modi reperiuntur in litteris
these-things and others if any of-this kind are-found in letters
eorum, quando sic innotescerent, quando tanta fama
their when so would-they-become-known when with-so-great fame
praedicarentur, nisi Romanum imperium longe lateque
would-they-be-proclaimed unless the-Roman empire far and-wide
porrectum magnificis successibus augeretur? Proinde per
extended with-magnificent successes were-increased accordingly through
illud imperium tam latum tamque diuturnum uirorumque
that empire so broad and-so long-lasting and-of-men
tantorum uirtutibus praeclarum adque gloriosum et illorum
so-great by-the-virtues illustrious and glorious both their
intentioni merces quam quaerebant est reddita, et nobis
to-the-intention the-reward which they-sought has-been rendered and to-us
proposita necessariae commonitionis exempla, ut, si uirtutes,
set-forth of-necessary admonition examples that if the-virtues
quarum istae utcumque sunt similes, quas isti pro ciuitatis
to-which these in-some-way are like which these for of-the-city
terrenae gloriae tenuerunt, pro Dei gloriosissima ciuitate non
earthly the-glory held for of-God the-most-glorious city not
tenuerimus, pudore pungamur; si tenuerimus, superbia non
we-shall-have-held by-shame we-may-be-pricked if we-shall-have-held by-pride not
extollamur; quoniam, sicut dicit apostolus, indignae sunt
we-may-be-exalted since as says the-apostle unworthy are
passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam, quae reuelabitur
the-sufferings of-this time to the-future glory which will-be-revealed
in nobis. Ad humanam uero gloriam praesentisque temporis
in us for human but glory and-of-present time
satis digna uita aestimabatur illorum. Unde etiam Iudaei,
sufficiently worthy the-life was-judged of-them whence also the-Jews
qui Christum occiderunt, reuelante testamento nouo quod
who Christ killed with-revealing the-testament new what

in uetere uelatum fuit, ut non pro terrenis et temporalibus
in the-old veiled was that not for earthly and temporal
beneficiis, quae diuina prouidentia permixte bonis malisque
benefits which divine providence mingled to-the-good and-the-evil
concedit, sed pro aeterna uita muneribusque perpetuis et
grants but for eternal life and-gifts perpetual and
ipsius supernae ciuitatis societate colatur Deus unus et
of-the-very heavenly city the-fellowship be-worshiped God one and
uerus, rectissime istorum gloriae donati sunt, ut hi, qui
true most-rightly of-these to-the-glory given were that these who
qualibuscumque uirtutibus terrenam gloriam quaesiuerunt et
by-whatever virtues earthly glory sought and
adquisiuerunt, uincerent eos, qui magnis uitiis datorem uerae
acquired should-conquer those who by-great vices the-giver of-true
gloriae et ciuitatis aeternae occiderunt adque respuerunt.
glory and of-the-city eternal killed and rejected

The desire for glory differs from the desire to dominate: the lover of glory at least wishes not to displease good judges, and it is a great virtue to despise glory and refer all praise to God, while one who wants to dominate without caring for glory will seek it by open crimes, as Nero did, so luxurious and cruel. Yet even such men are given power only by God's providence, for by me kings reign, and he makes a hypocrite reign for the people's perversity. No virtue is true without true devotion, though even the Romans' is useful to the earthly city; nothing is happier than devout men with power, and the Romans' virtue is not to be compared to the saints' small beginnings.

Interest sane inter cupiditatem humanae gloriae et
there-is-a-difference indeed between the-desire of-human glory and
cupiditatem dominationis. Nam licet procliue sit, ut, qui
the-desire of-domination for although prone it-be that he-who
humana gloria nimium delectatur, etiam dominari ardenter
in-human glory too-much is-delighted also to-dominate ardently
adfectet, tamen qui ueram licet humanarum laudum
should-aim yet those-who the-true although of-human praises
gloriam concupiscunt, dant operam bene iudicantibus non
glory desire give effort well to-those-judging not
displicere. Sunt enim multa in moribus bona, de quibus
to-displease there-are for many in morals goods about which
multi bene iudicant, quamuis ea multi non habeant; per
many well judge although them many not have through
ea bona morum nituntur ad gloriam et imperium uel
those goods of-morals they-strive to glory and command or
dominationem, de quibus ait Sallustius: "Sed ille uera
domination about whom says Sallust but he by-the-true
uia nititur." Quisquis autem sine cupiditate gloriae, qua
way strives whoever but without the-desire of-glory by-which

ueretur homo bene iudicantibus displicere, dominari adque
fears a-man well to-those-judging to-displease to-dominate and
imperare desiderat, etiam per apertissima scelera quaerit
to-command desires even through most-open crimes he-seeks
plerumque obtinere quod diligit. Proinde qui gloriam
mostly to-obtain what he-loves accordingly he-who glory
concupiscit, aut uera uia nititur aut certe dolis adque
desires either by-the-true way strives or surely by-tricks and
fallaciis contendit, uolens bonus uideri esse, quod non est.
deceits contends wishing good to-seem to-be what not he-is
Et ideo uirtutes habenti magna uirtus est contemnere
and therefore the-virtues for-one-having a-great virtue is to-despise
gloriam, quia contemtus eius in conspectu Dei est,
glory because the-contempt of-it in the-sight of-God is
iudicio autem non aperitur humano. Quidquid enim
to-the-judgment but not it-is-opened human whatever for
fecerit ad oculos hominum, quo gloriae contemtor
he-shall-have-done before the-eyes of-men by-which of-glory a-despiser
appareat, ad maiorem laudem, hoc est ad maiorem gloriam,
he-may-appear for greater praise that is for greater glory
facere si credatur, non est unde se suspicantium
to-do if it-be-believed not there-is whence himself of-the-suspecting
sensibus aliter esse, quam suspicantur, ostendat. Sed
to-the-senses otherwise to-be than they-suspect he-may-show but
qui contemnit iudicia laudantium, contemnit etiam
he-who despises the-judgments of-the-praisers despises also
suspicantium temeritatem, quorum tamen, si uere bonus
of-the-suspecting the-rashness whose yet if truly good
est, non contemnit salutem, quoniam tantae iustitiae est
he-is not he-despises the-salvation since of-so-great justice is
qui de spiritu Dei uirtutes habet, ut etiam ipsos diligat
he-who from the-Spirit of-God virtues has that even the-very he-loves

inimicos, et ita diligat, ut suos osores uel detractores
enemies and so he-loves that his-own haters or detractors
uelit correctos habere consortes non in terrena patria, sed
he-wishes corrected to-have as-partners not in the-earthly fatherland but
superna; in laudatoribus autem suis, quamuis paruipendat
the-heavenly in praisers but his-own although he-may-value-little
quod eum laudant, non tamen paruipendit quod amant,
that him they-praise not yet he-values-little that they-love
nec eos uult fallere laudantes, ne decipiat diligentes;
nor them does-he-wish to-deceive praising lest he-beguile those-loving
ideoque instat ardenter, ut potius ille laudetur, a quo
and-therefore he-presses ardently that rather he may-be-praised from whom
habet homo quidquid in eo iure laudatur. Qui autem
has a-man whatever in him rightly is-praised he-who but
gloriae contemtor dominationis est auidus, bestias superat
of-glory a-despiser of-domination is greedy beasts he-surpasses
siue crudelitatis uitiis siue luxuriae. Tales quidam Romani
whether of-cruelty in-the-vices or of-luxury such certain Romans
fuerunt. Non enim cura existimationis amissa dominationis
were not for with-care of-reputation lost of-domination
cupiditate caruerunt. Multos tales fuisse prodit historia;
the-desire they-lacked many such to-have-been relates history
sed huius uitii summitatem et quasi arcem quandam Nero
but of-this vice the-summit and as-it-were citadel a-certain Nero
Caesar primus obtinuit, cuius fuit tanta luxuries, ut nihil
Caesar first held whose was so-great luxury that nothing
ab eo putaretur uirile metuendum; tanta crudelitas, ut nihil
from him was-thought manly to-be-feared so-great cruelty that nothing
molle habere crederetur, si nesciretur. Etiam talibus
soft to-have he-would-be-believed if it-were-not-known even to-such
tamen dominandi potestas non datur nisi summi Dei
yet of-dominating power not is-given except of-the-highest God

prouidentia, quando res humanas iudicat talibus dominis
by-the-providence when the-affairs human he-judges to-such masters
dignas. Aperta de hac re uox diuina est loquente Dei
worthy open about this matter the-voice divine is with-speaking of-God
sapientia: Per me reges regnant et tyranni per me tenent
the-wisdom through me kings reign and tyrants through me hold
terram. Sed ne tyranni non pessimi adque inprobi reges, sed
the-land but lest tyrants not the-worst and wicked kings but
uetere nomine fortes dicti existimentur (unde ait Vergilius:
in-the-old name brave called be-thought whence says Vergil

Pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni):
part to-me of-the-peace will-be the-right-hand to-have-touched of-the-tyrant

apertissime alio loco de Deo dictum est: Quia regnare
most-openly in-another place about God said it-is because to-reign
facit hominem hypocritam propter peruersitatem populi.
he-makes a-man hypocrite on-account-of the-perversity of-the-people
Quam ob rem, quamuis ut potui satis exposuerim
which on-account-of thing although as I-could sufficiently I-have-set-forth
qua causa Deus unus uerus et iustus Romanos secundum
for-what cause God one true and just the-Romans according-to
quandam formam terrenae ciuitatis bonos adiuuerit ad tanti
a-certain form of-earthly city good helped for so-great
imperii gloriam consequendam: potest tamen et alia causa
empire's glory to-be-obtained there-can yet also another cause
esse latentior propter diuersa merita generis humani, Deo
be more-hidden on-account-of the-diverse merits of-the-race human to-God
magis nota quam nobis, dum illud constet inter omnes
more known than to-us so-long-as that be-agreed among all
ueraciter pios, neminem sine uera pietate, id est ueri
truly devout no-one without true devotion that is of-the-true

Dei uero cultu, ueram posse habere uirtutem, nec eam
God by-true worship true to-be-able to-have virtue nor it
ueram esse, quando gloriae seruit humanae; eos tamen, qui
true to-be when to-glory it-serves human them yet who
ciues non sint ciuitatis aeternae, quae in sacris litteris nostris
citizens not are of-the-city eternal which in sacred letters our
dicitur ciuitas Dei, utiliores esse terrenae ciuitati, quando
is-called the-city of-God more-useful to-be to-the-earthly city when
habent uirtutem uel ipsam, quam si nec ipsam. Illi autem,
they-have virtue even itself than if not-even itself those but
qui uera pietate praediti bene uiuunt, si habent scientiam
who with-true devotion endowed well live if they-have the-knowledge
regendi populos, nihil est felicius rebus humanis, quam si
of-ruling peoples nothing is happier for-things human than if
Deo miserante habeant potestatem. Tales autem homines
with-God pitying they-have power such but men
uirtutes suas, quantascumque in hac uita possunt habere, non
virtues their-own however-great in this life they-can to-have not
tribuunt nisi gratiae Dei, quod eas uolentibus credentibus
attribute except to-the-grace of-God because them to-the-willing believing
petentibus dederit, simulque intellegunt, quantum
asking he-has-given and-at-the-same-time they-understand how-much
sibi desit ad perfectionem iustitiae, qualis est in
for-themselves is-lacking for the-perfection of-justice such-as is in
illorum sanctorum angelorum societate, cui se nituntur
of-those holy angels the-fellowship to-which themselves they-strive
aptare. Quantumlibet autem laudetur adque praedicetur uirtus,
to-fit however-much but be-praised and be-proclaimed virtue
quae sine uera pietate seruit hominum gloriae, nequaquam
which without true devotion serves of-men the-glory by-no-means

sanctorum exiguis initiis conparanda est, quorum spes
of-the-saints to-the-small beginnings to-be-compared is whose hope
posita est in gratia et in misericordia ueri Dei.
placed is in the-grace and in the-mercy of-the-true God

XX · VIRTUES SERVING PLEASURE OR GLORY

Philosophers who place man's good in virtue shame the Epicureans with a picture of Pleasure on a throne as a queen, with the virtues as her handmaids: prudence watching how she may reign safely, justice winning friends, fortitude bearing pain, and temperance keeping her healthy. Nothing could be more ignominious. Not much more fitting would be a picture of the virtues serving human glory, which is puffed up and empty. Those who scorn others' judgment and please themselves are no better; the devout attribute all to God's mercy.

Solent philosophi, qui finem boni humani in ipsa
are-wont the-philosophers who the-end of-the-good human in the-very
uirtute constituunt, ad ingerendum pudorem quibusdam
virtue establish for heaping-on shame on-certain
philosophis, qui uirtutes quidem probant, sed eas uoluptatis
philosophers who virtues indeed approve but them of-pleasure
corporalis fine metiuntur et illam per se ipsam putant
bodily by-the-end measure and that through it itself think
adpetendam, istas propter ipsam, tabulam quandam uerbis
to-be-sought these on-account-of it a-picture certain in-words
pingere, ubi uoluptas in sella regali quasi delicata quaedam
to-paint where pleasure on a-throne royal as-if a-voluptuous certain
regina considat, eique uirtutes famulae subiciantur,
queen sits and-to-her the-virtues as-handmaids are-subjected
obseruantes eius nutum, ut faciant quod illa imperauerit,
watching her nod that they-may-do what she shall-have-commanded

quae prudentiae iubeat, ut uigilanter inquirat, quo modo
who to-prudence orders that vigilantly it-may-inquire in-what manner
uoluptas regnet et salua sit; iustitiae iubeat, ut praestet
pleasure may-reign and safe may-be to-justice orders that it-furnish
beneficia quae potest ad conparandas amicitias corporalibus
benefits which it-can for acquiring friendships for-bodily
commodis necessarias, nulli faciat iniuriam, ne offensis
conveniences necessary to-no-one it-should-do injury lest with-offended
legibus uoluptas uiuere secura non possit; fortitudini iubeat,
laws pleasure to-live secure not can to-fortitude orders
ut, si dolor corpori accesserit, qui non conpellat in
that if pain to-the-body should-come which not drives to
mortem, teneat dominam suam, id est uoluptatem, fortiter
death it-hold mistress its-own that is pleasure bravely
in animi cogitatione, ut per pristinarum deliciarum
in of-the-mind the-thought that through of-former delights
suarum recordationem mitiget praesentis doloris aculeos;
its-own the-recollection it-may-soften of-the-present pain the-stings
temperantiae iubeat, ut tantum capiat alimentorum etsi
to-temperance orders that only it-take of-foods even-if
qua delectant, ne per inmoderationem noxium aliquid
any delight lest through immoderation harmful anything
ualetudinem turbet et uoluptas, quam etiam in corporis
the-health disturb and pleasure which even in of-the-body
sanitate Epicurei maximam ponunt, grauiter offendatur.
soundness the-Epicureans greatest place heavily be-offended
Ita uirtutes cum tota suae gloria dignitatis tamquam
so the-virtues with the-whole of-their-own glory dignity as-if
imperiosae cuidam et inhonestae mulierculae seruient
to-an-imperious certain and dishonorable little-woman will-serve
uoluptati. Nihil hac pictura dicunt esse ignominiosius et
to-pleasure nothing than-this picture they-say to-be more-ignominious and

deformius et quod minus ferre bonorum possit aspectus;
more-deformed and what less to-bear of-the-good could the-sight
et uerum dicunt. Sed non existimo satis debiti decoris
and the-truth they-say but not I-think sufficiently of-due fitness
esse picturam, si etiam talis fingatur, ubi uirtutes humanae
to-be the-picture if also such be-feigned where the-virtues to-human
gloriae seruiunt. Licet enim ipsa gloria delicata mulier
glory serve although for the-very glory a-voluptuous woman
non sit, inflata est et multum inanitatis habet. Unde non
not be puffed-up she-is and much of-emptiness has whence not
ei digne seruit soliditas quaedam firmitasque uirtutum, ut
her worthily serves the-solidity a-certain and-firmness of-the-virtues that
nihil prouideat prouidentia, nihil distribuat iustitia, nihil
nothing should-foresee foresight nothing should-distribute justice nothing
toleret fortitudo, nihil temperantia moderetur, nisi unde
should-endure fortitude nothing temperance should-moderate except whence
placeatur hominibus et uentosae gloriae seruiatur. Nec
it-may-be-pleasing to-men and to-windy glory it-may-be-served nor
illi se ab ista foeditate defenderint, qui, cum aliena
they themselves from this foulness would-defend who when others'
spernant iudicia uelut gloriae contemtores, sibi sapientes
they-spurn judgments as-if of-glory despisers to-themselves wise
uidentur et sibi placent. Nam eorum uirtus, si tamen
they-seem and to-themselves are-pleasing for their virtue if yet
ulla est, alio modo quodam humanae subditur laudi;
any is in-another manner a-certain to-human is-subjected praise
neque enim ipse, qui sibi placet, homo non est. Qui
nor for he-himself who to-himself is-pleasing a-man not is he-who
autem uera pietate in Deum, quem diligit, credit et
but with-true devotion in God whom he-loves believes and
sperat, plus intendit in ea, quibus sibi displicet,
hopes more attends to those-things in-which to-himself he-is-displeasing

quam in ea, si qua in illo sunt, quae non tam ipsi
than to those-things if any in him are which not so-much to-himself
quam ueritati placent; neque id tribuit, unde iam
as to-the-truth are-pleasing nor that does-he-attribute whence now
potest placere, nisi eius misericordiae, cui metuit displicere;
he-can to-please except his to-the-mercy whom he-fears to-displease
de his sanatis gratias agens, de illis sanandis preces fundens.
for these healed thanks giving for those to-be-healed prayers pouring-out

XXI · THE TRUE GOD GIVES KINGDOMS

We attribute the power of giving kingdoms only to the true God, who gives felicity in heaven to the devout alone, and earthly kingdoms to the devout and the ungodly as he pleases, though men cannot discern the merits of kingdoms. He gave kingdoms to the Assyrians, to the Persians who worshiped two gods, and to the Hebrews, who worshiped him alone, and gave crops to the Persians without Segetia. He gave rule to Marius and Caesar, Augustus and Nero, the Vespasians and Domitian, Constantine and the apostate Julian, whose rashness forced Terminus to yield.

Quae cum ita sint, non tribuamus dandi regni adque
which-things since so they-are not let-us-attribute of-giving kingdom and
imperii potestatem nisi Deo uero, qui dat felicitatem in
empire the-power except to-God the-true who gives happiness in
regno caelorum solis piis; regnum uero terrenum et
the-kingdom of-heaven only to-the-devout a-kingdom but earthly both
piis et inpiis, sicut ei placet, cui nihil iniuste
to-the-devout and to-the-ungodly as to-him it-pleases to-whom nothing unjustly
placet. Quamuis enim aliquid dixerimus, quod apertum
is-pleasing although for something we-have-said which open
nobis esse uoluit: tamen multum est ad nos et ualde
to-us to-be he-willed yet much it-is for us and greatly

superat uires nostras hominum occulta discutere et
exceeds the-strength our of-men the-hidden-things to-discuss and
liquido examine merita diiudicare regnorum. Ille igitur unus
by-clear examination the-merits to-judge of-kingdoms he therefore one
uerus Deus, qui nec iudicio nec adiutorio deserit genus
true God who neither in-judgment nor in-help deserts the-race
humanum, quando uoluit et quantum uoluit Romanis
human when he-willed and as-much-as he-willed to-the-Romans
regnum dedit; qui dedit Assyriis, uel etiam Persis, a
the-kingdom gave who gave to-the-Assyrians or even to-the-Persians by
quibus solos duos deos coli, unum bonum, alterum
whom only two gods to-be-worshiped one good the-other
malum, continent litterae istorum; ut taceam de populo
bad contain the-letters of-these to be-silent about the-people
Hebraeo, de quo iam dixi quantum satis uisum est,
Hebrew about which already I-have-said as-much-as enough seemed it-has
qui praeter unum Deum non coluit et quando regnauit.
which besides the-one God not worshiped also when it-reigned
Qui ergo Persis dedit segetes sine cultu deae
he-who therefore to-the-Persians gave crops without the-worship of-the-goddess
Segetiae, qui alia dona terrarum sine cultu tot deorum,
Segetia who other gifts of-the-lands without the-worship of-so-many gods
quos isti rebus singulis singulos, uel etiam rebus singulis
whom these to-things single single or even to-things single
plures praeposuerunt: ipse etiam regnum dedit sine
more set-over he-himself also the-kingdom gave without
cultu eorum, per quorum cultum se isti regnasse
the-worship of-those through whose worship themselves these to-have-reigned
crediderunt. Sic etiam hominibus: qui Mario, ipse Gaio
believed so also to-men he-who to-Marius he-himself to-Gaius
Caesari; qui Augusto, ipse et Neroni; qui Vespasianis,
Caesar he-who to-Augustus he-himself also to-Nero he-who to-the-Vespasians

uel patri uel filio, suauissimis imperatoribus, ipse et
either father or son most-delightful emperors he-himself also
Domitiano crudelissimo; et ne per singulos ire necesse sit,
to-Domitian most-cruel and lest through each to-go necessary it-be
qui Constantino Christiano, ipse apostatae Iuliano, cuius
he-who to-Constantine the-Christian he-himself to-the-apostate Julian whose
egregiam indolem decepit amore dominandi sacrilega et
excellent nature deceived by-love of-dominating a-sacrilegious and
detestanda curiositas, cuius uanis deditus oraculis erat, quando
detestable curiosity whose vain devoted to-the-oracles he-was when
fretus securitate uictoriae naues, quibus uictus necessarius
relying-on the-security of-victory the-ships by-which food necessary
portabatur, incendit; deinde feruide instans inmodicis
was-carried he-burned then hotly pressing with-immoderate
ausibus et mox merito temeritatis occisus in locis
daring and soon by-the-desert of-rashness killed in places
hostilibus egenum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non
hostile in-need he-left the-army so-that otherwise thence not
posset euadi, nisi contra illud auspicium dei Termini,
it-could to-be-escaped unless against that omen of-the-god Terminus
de quo superiore libro diximus, Romani imperii termini
about which in-the-previous book we-spoke of-the-Roman empire the-boundaries
mouerentur. Cessit enim Terminus deus necessitati, qui non
were-moved yielded for Terminus the-god to-necessity who not
cesserat Ioui. Haec plane Deus unus et uerus regit et
had-yielded to-Jupiter these-things plainly God one and true rules and
gubernat, ut placet; et si occultis causis, numquid iniustis?
governs as it-pleases and if by-hidden causes surely-not by-unjust

So too the length of wars is in God's judgment: the pirates' war and the third Punic war were finished quickly, the gladiators' war in three years, the Italian war in five, while the second Punic war lasted eighteen years with seventy thousand Romans killed in two battles, the first twenty-three, the Mithridatic forty, and the Samnite fifty, in which the Romans were sent under the yoke and then broke the treaty for glory. Those who say that a war dragging on in Christian times would be over already if the old gods were worshiped should recall how long and grievous the ancients' wars were.

Sic etiam tempora ipsa bellorum, sicut in eius arbitrio est
so also the-times themselves of-wars as in his discretion is
iustoque iudicio et misericordia uel adterere uel consolari
and-in-(a)-just judgment and mercy either to-wear-down or to-console
genus humanum, ut alia citius, alia tardius finiantur.
the-race human so-that some more-quickly others more-slowly are-ended
Bellum piratarum a Pompeio, bellum Punicum tertium ab
the-war of-the-pirates by Pompey the-war Punic third by
Scipione incredibili celeritate et temporis breuitate confecta
Scipio with-incredible speed and of-time brevity finished
sunt. Bellum quoque fugitiuorum gladiatorum, quamuis
were the-war also of-the-fugitive gladiators although
multis Romanis ducibus et duobus consulibus uictis
with-many Roman leaders and two consuls conquered
Italiaque horribiliter contrita adque uastata, tertio tamen
and-Italy horribly crushed and laid-waste in-the-third yet
anno post multa consumta consumtum est. Picentes, Marsi
year after many-things consumed consumed was the-Picentes Marsi
et Peligni, gentes non exterae, sed Italicae, post diuturnam
and Paeligni nations not foreign but Italian after long-lasting
et deuotissimam sub Romano iugo seruitutem in libertatem
and most-devoted under the-Roman yoke servitude into freedom

caput erigere tentauerunt, iam multis nationibus Romano
the-head to-raise tried already with-many nations to-the-Roman
imperio subiugatis deletaque Carthagine; in quo bello Italico
empire subjugated and-destroyed Carthage in which war Italian
Romanis saepissime uictis ubi et duo consules perierunt
with-the-Romans very-often conquered where both two consuls perished
et alii nobilissimi senatores, non diuturno tamen tempore
and other most-noble senators not for-a-long yet time
tractum est hoc malum; nam quintus annus ei finem dedit.
drawn-out was this evil for the-fifth year to-it an-end gave
Sed bellum Punicum secundum cum maximis detrimentis
but the-war Punic second with greatest losses
et calamitate rei publicae per annos decem et octo
and calamity of-the-thing public through years ten and eight
Romanas uires extenuauit et paene consumsit; duobus
the-Roman strength wore-thin and almost consumed in-two
proeliis ferme septuaginta Romanorum milia ceciderunt.
battles about seventy of-the-Romans thousand fell
Bellum Punicum primum per uiginti et tres annos
the-war Punic first through twenty and three years
peractum est; bellum Mithridaticum quadraginta. Ac ne
accomplished was the-war Mithridatic forty and lest
quisquam arbitretur rudimenta Romanorum fuisse fortiora
anyone think the-first-trainings of-the-Romans to-have-been stronger
ad bella citius peragenda, superioribus temporibus
for wars more-quickly to-be-accomplished in-the-earlier times
multum in omni uirtute laudatis bellum Samniticum annis
much in every virtue praised the-war Samnite for-years
tractum est ferme quinquaginta; in quo bello ita Romani
drawn-out was about fifty in which war so the-Romans
uicti sunt, ut sub iugum etiam mitterentur. Sed quia
conquered were that under the-yoke even they-were-sent but because

non diligebant gloriam propter iustitiam, sed iustitiam
not they-loved glory on-account-of justice but justice
propter gloriam diligere uidebantur, pacem factam foedusque
on-account-of glory to-love they-seemed the-peace made and-treaty
ruperunt. Haec ideo commemoro, quoniam multi
they-broke these-things for-this-reason I-recall since many
praeteritarum rerum ignari, quidam etiam dissimulatores
of-past things ignorant some even dissemblers
suae scientiae, si temporibus Christianis aliquod bellum
of-their-own knowledge if in-times Christian some war
paulo diutius trahi uident, ilico in nostram
a-little longer to-be-drawn-out they-see immediately on our
religionem proteruissime insiliunt, exclamantes, quod, si ipsa
religion most-insolently they-leap exclaiming that if it
non esset et uetere ritu numina colerentur, iam Romana
not were and in-the-old rite the-divinities were-worshiped already with-Roman
illa uirtute, quae adiuuante Marte et Bellona tanta celeriter
that virtue which with-helping Mars and Bellona so-great quickly
bella confecit, id quoque celerrime finiretur. Recolant
wars finished this also most-quickly would-be-ended let-them-recall
igitur qui legerunt, quam diuturna bella, quam uariis
therefore those-who have-read how long-lasting wars how with-various
euentis, quam luctuosis cladibus a ueteribus sint gesta
outcomes how with-mournful disasters by the-ancient were waged
Romanis, sicut solet orbis terrarum uelut procellosissimum
Romans as is-wont the-world of-lands as-if a-most-stormy
pelagus uaria talium malorum tempestate iactari, et quod
sea by-various of-such evils storm to-be-tossed and what
nolunt aliquando fateantur, nec insanis aduersus
they-are-unwilling sometime let-them-confess nor with-insane against
Deum linguis se interimant et decipiant inperitos.
God tongues themselves let-them-destroy and deceive the-unskilled

In recent memory God did a wonder the pagans would bury in forgetfulness. Radagaisus, king of the Goths, sacrificing daily to the gods, came near Rome with a huge army, and was so quickly defeated that more than a hundred thousand of his men fell without one Roman even wounded, and he was captured and killed. The pagans at Carthage had boasted that he could not be beaten by those who forbade sacrifice. God tempered his chastisement: Radagaisus fell lest the demons be credited, and Rome was taken by barbarians who spared those fleeing to holy places.

Quod tamen nostra memoria recentissimo tempore Deus
what yet in-our memory at-a-most-recent time God
mirabiliter et misericorditer fecit, non cum gratiarum actione
wondrously and mercifully did not with of-thanks giving
commemorant, sed, quantum in ipsis est, omnium si fieri
they-recall but as-far-as in them is of-all if to-be-done
potest hominum obliuione sepelire conantur; quod a nobis
it-can of-men in-forgetfulness to-bury they-try which by us
si tacebitur, similiter erimus ingrati. Cum Radagaisus,
if it-shall-be-kept-silent likewise we-shall-be ungrateful when Radagaisus
rex Gothorum, agmine ingenti et inmani iam in Urbis
king of-the-Goths with-a-column huge and savage already in of-the-City
uicinia constitutus Romanis ceruicibus inmineret, uno
the-neighborhood stationed over-Roman necks impended in-one
die tanta celeritate sic uictus est, ut ne uno quidem non
day with-such speed thus conquered he-was that not one even not
dicam extincto, sed uulnerato Romanorum multo amplius
I-will-say killed but wounded of-the-Romans much more
quam centum milium prosterneretur eius exercitus adque
than a-hundred thousand was-laid-low his army and
ipse mox captus poena debita necaretur. Nam si ille
he-himself soon captured with-punishment due was-killed for if he

tam inpius cum tantis et tam inpiis copiis Romam fuisset
so ungodly with so-great and so ungodly forces Rome had
ingressus, cui pepercisset? quibus locis martyrum honorem
entered whom would-he-have-spared to-what places of-martyrs honor
detulisset? in qua persona Deum timeret? cuius non
would-he-have-paid in what person God would-he-fear whose not
sanguinem fusum, cuius pudicitiam uellet intactam? Quas
blood poured whose chastity would-he-wish intact what
autem isti pro dis suis uoces haberent, quanta insultatione
but these for gods their voices would-have with-how-great insult
iactarent, quod ille ideo uicisset, ideo tanta
would-they-boast that he for-this-reason had-conquered for-this-reason so-much
potuisset, quia cottidianis sacrificiis placabat adque inuitabat
had-been-able because with-daily sacrifices he-placated and invited
deos, quod Romanos facere Christiana religio non sinebat?
the-gods which the-Romans to-do the-Christian religion not allowed
Nam propinquante iam illo his locis, ubi nutu summae
for with-approaching already him to-these places where at-the-nod of-the-highest
maiestatis obpressus est, cum eius fama ubique crebresceret,
majesty overwhelmed he-was when his report everywhere grew-frequent
nobis aput Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere spargere
to-us at Carthage it-was-said this to-believe to-spread
iactare paganos, quod ille dis amicis protegentibus et
to-boast the-pagans that he with-gods friendly protecting and
opitulantibus, quibus immolare cottidie ferebatur, uinci
helping to-whom to-sacrifice daily he-was-said to-be-conquered
omnino non posset ab eis, qui talia dis Romanis sacra non
at-all not could by those who such to-gods Roman rites not
facerent nec fieri a quoquam permitterent. Et non agunt
performed nor to-be-done by anyone permitted and not give
miseri gratias tantae misericordiae Dei, qui cum statuisset
the-wretched thanks to-so-great mercy of-God who when he-had-resolved

inruptione barbarica grauiora pati dignos mores hominum
by-irruption barbarian graver-things to-suffer worthy the-morals of-men
castigare, indignationem suam tanta mansuetudine
to-chastise indignation his-own with-so-great gentleness
temperauit, ut illum primo faceret mirabiliter uinci,
tempered that him first he-should-make wondrously to-be-conquered
ne ad infirmorum animos euertendos gloria daretur
lest for of-the-weak the-minds to-be-overturned glory should-be-given
daemonibus, quibus eum supplicare constabat; deinde ab his
to-the-demons to-whom him to-pray it-was-agreed then by these
barbaris Roma caperetur, qui contra omnem consuetudinem
barbarians Rome should-be-taken who against every custom
gestorum ante bellorum ad loca sancta confugientes Christianae
of-waged before wars to places holy fleeing of-the-Christian
religionis reuerentia tuerentur ipsisque daemonibus adque
religion by-reverence protected and-the-very demons and
inpiorum sacrificiorum ritibus, de quibus ille praesumserat,
of-ungodly sacrifices the-rites about which he had-presumed
sic aduersarentur nomine Christiano, ut longe atrocius
so opposed in-the-name Christian that far more-atrocious
bellum cum eis quam cum hominibus gerere uiderentur;
war with them than with men to-wage they-seemed
ita uerus dominus gubernatorque rerum et Romanos cum
so the-true lord and-governor of-things both the-Romans with
misericordia flagellauit, et tam incredibiliter uictis
mercy scourged and so incredibly with-conquered
supplicatoribus daemonum nec saluti rerum praesentium
suppliants of-demons that-not for-the-safety of-things present
necessaria esse sacrificia illa monstrauit, ut ab his qui
necessary to-be sacrifices those showed so-that by these who
non peruicaciter contendunt, sed prudenter adtendunt, nec
not obstinately contend but prudently attend neither

propter praesentes necessitates uera religio deseratur, et
on-account-of present necessities true religion be-deserted and
magis aeternae uitae fidelissima expectatione teneatur.
rather of-eternal life by-most-faithful expectation be-held

XXIV · THE HAPPINESS OF CHRISTIAN EMPERORS

Christian emperors are not happy because they reigned long, left their sons to rule, or conquered their enemies, gifts that even demon worshipers received, lest the faithful desire them as highest goods. They are happy if they rule justly, are not exalted by flattery, remember they are men, use their power for God's worship, love the kingdom where they need not fear partners, punish reluctantly and pardon readily for correction, not impunity, and offer God the sacrifice of humility and prayer for their sins, happy in hope now and in reality later.

Neque enim nos Christianos quosdam imperatores ideo
nor for we Christian certain emperors for-this-reason
felices dicimus, quia uel diutius imperarunt uel imperantes
happy call because either longer they-commanded or ruling
filios morte placida reliquerunt, uel hostes rei publicae
sons by-a-death peaceful they-left or the-enemies of-the-thing public
domuerunt uel inimicos ciues aduersus se insurgentes et
they-tamed or hostile citizens against themselves rising both
cauere obprimere potuerunt. Haec et alia uitae huius
to-beware-of to-crush were-able these-things and others of-life this
aerumnosae uel munera uel solacia quidam etiam cultores
full-of-hardship either gifts or consolations certain even worshipers
daemonum accipere meruerunt, qui non pertinent ad regnum
of-demons to-receive deserved who not belong to the-kingdom
Dei, quo pertinent isti; et hoc ipsius misericordia factum
of-God to-which belong these and this by-his-very mercy done

est, ne ab illo ista qui in eum crederent uelut summa
was lest from him these-things they-who in him believed as-if the-highest
bona desiderarent. Sed felices eos dicimus, si iuste imperant,
goods should-desire but happy them we-call if justly they-command
si inter linguas sublimiter honorantium et obsequia nimis
if among the-tongues loftily honoring and the-homage too
humiliter salutantium non extolluntur, et se homines
humbly of-those-saluting not they-are-exalted and themselves men
esse meminerunt; si suam potestatem ad Dei cultum
to-be remember if their power for of-God the-worship
maxime dilatandum maiestati eius famulam faciunt; si Deum
most to-be-extended to-majesty his a-handmaid they-make if God
timent diligunt colunt; si plus amant illud regnum, ubi
they-fear love worship if more they-love that kingdom where
non timent habere consortes; si tardius uindicant, facile
not they-fear to-have partners if more-slowly they-avenge easily
ignoscunt; si eandem uindictam pro necessitate regendae
they-pardon if the-same vengeance for the-necessity of-ruling
tuendaeque rei publicae, non pro saturandis inimicitiarum
and-protecting the-thing public not for satiating of-enmities
odiis exerunt; si eandem ueniam non ad inpunitatem
hatreds they-exercise if the-same pardon not for the-impunity
iniquitatis, sed ad spem correctionis indulgent; si, quod aspere
of-iniquity but for the-hope of-correction they-grant if what harshly
coguntur plerumque decernere, misericordiae lenitate
they-are-compelled mostly to-decree of-mercy by-gentleness
et beneficiorum largitate conpensant; si luxuria tanto
and of-benefits by-generosity they-compensate if luxury so-much
eis est castigatior, quanto posset esse liberior; si malunt
to-them is more-chastened as it-could to-be freer if they-prefer
cupiditatibus prauis quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare et
over-desires depraved than over-any-whatever nations to-command and

si haec omnia faciunt non propter ardorem inanis gloriae,
if these all-things they-do not on-account-of the-ardor of-empty glory
sed propter caritatem felicitatis aeternae; si pro suis
but on-account-of the-love of-happiness eternal if for their-own
peccatis humilitatis et miserationis et orationis sacrificium
sins of-humility and of-compassion and of-prayer the-sacrifice
Deo suo uero immolare non neglegunt. Tales Christianos
to-God their-own true to-offer not they-neglect such Christian
imperatores dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea re
emperors we-say to-be happy meanwhile in-hope afterward in-reality
ipsa futuros, cum id quod expectamus aduenerit.
itself about-to-be when that which we-await shall-have-come

XXV · CONSTANTINE'S PROSPERITY

Lest men think that power can be had only by praying to demons, God filled the emperor Constantine, who worshiped the true God, with earthly gifts no one would dare wish: he founded a city allied to Rome without any demon's temple, reigned long as sole Augustus, won his wars, crushed tyrants, and died old, leaving his sons to rule. But lest anyone become Christian to earn such felicity, God took Jovian sooner than Julian and let Gratian be killed by a tyrant's sword, far more mildly than Pompey, whom Cato could not avenge; Gratian was avenged by Theodosius, whom he had made his partner.

Nam bonus Deus, ne homines, qui eum crederent propter
for good God lest men who him believed on-account-of
aeternam uitam colendum, has sublimitates et regna terrena
eternal life to-be-worshiped these loftinesses and kingdoms earthly
existimarent posse neminem consequi, nisi daemonibus
should-think to-be-able no-one to-attain unless to-the-demons
supplicet, quod hi spiritus in talibus multum ualerent,
he-pray because these spirits in such-things much availed

Constantinum imperatorem non supplicantem daemonibus,
Constantine the-emperor not praying to-demons
sed ipsum uerum Deum colentem tantis terrenis inpleuit
but the-very true God worshiping with-so-great earthly filled
muneribus, quanta optare nullus auderet; cui etiam condere
gifts as-great-as to-wish no-one would-dare to-whom also to-found
ciuitatem Romano imperio sociam, uelut ipsius Romae
a-city to-the-Roman empire allied as-if of-the-very Rome
filiam, sed sine aliquo daemonum templo simulacroque
a-daughter but without any of-demons temple and-image
concessit. Diu imperauit, uniuersum orbem Romanum
he-granted long he-reigned the-whole world Roman
unus Augustus tenuit et defendit; in administrandis et
as-sole Augustus he-held and defended in administering and
gerendis bellis uictoriosissimus fuit, in tyrannis obprimendis
waging wars most-victorious he-was in tyrants crushing
per omnia prosperatus est; grandaeuus aegritudine et
through all-things prospered he-was very-aged by-sickness and
senectute defunctus est, filios imperantes reliquit. Sed
old-age departed he-has sons ruling he-left but
rursus ne imperator quisquam ideo Christianus esset,
again lest an-emperor anyone for-this-reason Christian should-be
ut felicitatem Constantini mereretur, cum propter uitam
that the-happiness of-Constantine he-might-earn since on-account-of life
aeternam quisque debeat esse Christianus: Iouianum multo
eternal each ought to-be Christian Jovian much
citius quam Iulianum abstulit; Gratianum ferro
more-quickly than Julian he-took-away Gratian by-the-sword
tyrannico permisit interimi, longe quidem mitius quam
tyrannical he-allowed to-be-killed far indeed more-mildly than
magnum Pompeium colentem uelut Romanos deos. Nam ille
the-great Pompey worshiping as-if Roman gods for he

uindicari a Catone non potuit, quem ciuilis belli quodam
to-be-avenged by Cato not could whom of-the-civil war in-a-certain
modo heredem reliquerat; iste autem, quamuis piae animae
manner heir he-had-left this-one but although devout souls
solacia talia non requirant, a Theodosio uindicatus est, quem
consolations such not require by Theodosius avenged was whom
regni participem fecerat, cum paruulum haberet et
of-the-kingdom partner he-had-made though a-little-one he-had also
fratrem, auidior fidae societatis quam nimiae potestatis.
a-brother more-eager for-faithful partnership than for-excessive power

XXVI · THE FAITH AND HUMILITY OF THEODOSIUS

Theodosius kept faith with Gratian living and dead, taking in his young brother Valentinian with a father's care. Against Maximus he consulted not sacrilegious curiosity but John, the prophet in the Egyptian desert, won, and restored Valentinian; against Eugenius a wind turned the enemy's weapons back on them, as Claudian sang. He made his enemies' sons Christians, left them their property and raised their honors, overthrew idols, and did public penance for Thessalonica. The five books answer those who worship the gods for this life; those who worship them for the life after death come next, and those waiting for a safe time to publish a reply are warned to seek correction rather than license to curse.

Unde et ille non solum uiuo seruauit quam debebat
whence also he not only to-the-living-one kept which he-owed
fidem, uerum etiam post eius mortem pulsum ab eius
faith but also after his death driven-out by his
interfectore Maximo Valentinianum eius paruulum fratrem
murderer Maximus Valentinian his little brother
in sui partes imperii tamquam Christianus excepit
into of-his-own the-parts empire as a-Christian received
pupillum, paterno custodiuit adfectu, quem destitutum
the-ward with-fatherly guarded affection whom destitute

omnibus opibus nullo negotio posset auferre, si latius
of-all resources with-no trouble he-could remove if more-widely
regnandi cupiditate magis quam benefaciendi caritate
of-reigning by-desire rather than of-doing-good by-love
flagraret; unde potius eum seruata eius imperatoria dignitate
he-burned whence rather him preserved his imperial dignity
susceptum ipsa humanitate et gratia consolatus est.
received by-the-very humanity and grace consoled he-has
Deinde cum Maximum terribilem faceret ille successus,
then when Maximus terrible made that success
hic in angustiis curarum suarum non est lapsus ad
he in the-straits of-cares his-own not has slipped to
curiositates sacrilegas adque inlicitas, sed ad Iohannem in
curiosities sacrilegious and unlawful but to John in
Aegypti eremo constitutum, quem Dei seruum prophetandi
Egypt's desert settled whom of-God a-servant of-prophesying
spiritu praeditum fama crebrescente didicerat, misit
with-the-spirit endowed with-report growing-frequent he-had-learned he-sent
adque ab eo nuntium uictoriae certissimum accepit.
and from him a-message of-victory most-certain received
Mox tyranni Maximi extinctor Valentinianum puerum
soon of-the-tyrant of-Maximus the-extinguisher Valentinian the-boy
imperii sui partibus, unde fugatus fuerat, cum
of-empire his-own to-the-parts whence put-to-flight he-had-been with
misericordissima ueneratione restituit, eoque siue per
most-merciful veneration restored and-him whether through
insidias siue quo alio pacto uel casu proxime extincto
ambushes or by-what other means or chance soon extinguished
alium tyrannum Eugenium, qui in illius imperatoris
another tyrant Eugenius who in that emperor's
locum non legitime fuerat subrogatus, accepto rursus
place not lawfully had-been substituted having-received again

prophetico responso fide certus obpressit, contra cuius
a-prophetic answer with-faith sure he-crushed against whose
robustissimum exercitum magis orando quam feriendo
most-robust army more by-praying than by-striking
pugnauit. Milites nobis qui aderant rettulerunt extorta
he-fought soldiers to-us who were-present reported wrested
sibi esse de manibus quaecumque iaculabantur,
from-themselves to-have-been from the-hands whatever they-hurled
cum a Theodosii partibus in aduersarios uehemens
when from Theodosius' side against the-adversaries a-vehement
uentus iret et non solum quaecumque in eos iaciebantur
wind went and not only whatever against them were-hurled
concitatissime raperet, uerum etiam ipsorum tela in
most-violently seized but even their-own weapons into
eorum corpora retorqueret. Unde et poeta Claudianus,
their bodies turned-back whence also the-poet Claudian
quamuis a Christi nomine alienus, in eius tamen laudibus
although from of-Christ the-name alien in his yet praises
dixit:
said

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui — militat aether,
O exceedingly beloved by-God for-whom wages-war the-ether
et coniurati ueniunt ad classica uenti!
and the-sworn come to the-trumpets the-winds

Victor autem, sicut crediderat et praedixerat, Iouis
the-victor moreover as he-had-believed and had-foretold of-Jupiter
simulacra, quae aduersus eum fuerant nescio quibus
the-images which against him had-been I-know-not what
ritibus uelut consecrata et in Alpibus constituta, deposuit,
by-rites as-if consecrated and in the-Alps set-up he-took-down

eorumque fulmina, quod aurea fuissent, iocantibus (quod
and-their thunderbolts because golden they-had-been to-the-joking which
illa laetitia permittebat) cursoribus et se ab eis
that joy permitted couriers and themselves by them
fulminari uelle dicentibus hilariter benigneque donauit.
to-be-thunderstruck to-wish saying cheerfully and-kindly he-gave
Inimicorum suorum filios, quos, non ipsius iussu, belli
of-enemies his-own the-sons whom not by-his-own order of-war
abstulerat impetus, etiam nondum Christianos ad ecclesiam
had-carried-off the-assault even not-yet Christians to the-church
confugientes, Christianos hac occasione fieri uoluit
fleeing Christians on-this occasion to-become he-wished
et Christiana caritate dilexit, nec priuauit rebus et
and with-Christian charity loved nor deprived-them of-property and
auxit honoribus. In neminem post uictoriam priuatas
increased-them with-honors against no-one after the-victory private
inimicitias ualere permisit. Bella ciuilia non sicut Cinna et
enmities to-avail he-permitted wars civil not as Cinna and
Marius et Sylla et alii tales nec finita finire uoluerunt,
Marius and Sulla and others such not-even ended to-end wished
sed magis doluit exorta quam cuiquam nocere uoluit
but rather he-grieved-for them-arisen than anyone to-harm wished
terminata. Inter haec omnia ex ipso initio imperii
them-terminated among these all-things from the-very beginning of-empire
sui non quieuit iustissimis et misericordissimis legibus
his-own not he-rested by-most-just and most-merciful laws
aduersus inpios laboranti ecclesiae subuenire, quam
against the-ungodly to-the-laboring church to-come-to-the-aid which
Valens haereticus fauens Arianis uehementer adflixerat; cuius
Valens the-heretic favoring the-Arians vehemently had-afflicted of-which
ecclesiae se membrum esse magis quam in terris regnare
church himself a-member to-be more than on earth to-reign

gaudebat. Simulacra gentilium ubique euertenda praecepit,
he-rejoiced the-images of-the-gentiles everywhere to-be-overturned he-ordered
satis intellegens nec terrena munera in daemoniorum, sed
sufficiently understanding not earthly gifts in of-demons but
in Dei ueri esse posita potestate. Quid autem fuit eius
in of-God the-true to-be placed the-power what moreover was his
religiosa humilitate mirabilius, quando in Thessalonicensium
religious than-humility more-wonderful when on the-Thessalonians'
grauissimum scelus, cui iam episcopis intercedentibus
most-grievous crime for-which already with-bishops interceding
promiserat indulgentiam, tumultu quorundam, qui ei
he-had-promised pardon by-the-tumult of-certain who to-him
cohaerebant, uindicare conpulsus est et ecclesiastica
clung to-avenge compelled he-was and by-ecclesiastical
cohercitus disciplina sic egit paenitentiam, ut imperatoriam
restrained discipline so he-did penance that the-imperial
celsitudinem pro illo populus orans magis fleret uidendo
loftiness for him the-people praying more wept by-seeing
prostratam, quam peccando timeret iratam? Haec ille
it-prostrate than by-sinning feared it-angry these-things he
secum et si qua similia, quae commemorare longum
with-himself and if any similar-things which to-recall long
est, bona opera tulit ex isto temporali uapore cuiuslibet
is good works carried from that temporal vapor of-any-whatever
culminis et sublimitatis humanae; quorum operum merces
summit and loftiness human of-which works the-reward
est aeterna felicitas, cuius dator est Deus solis ueraciter
is eternal happiness of-which the-giver is God to-the-sole truly
piis. Cetera uero uitae huius uel fastigia uel subsidia,
devout the-rest but of-life this either the-heights or the-aids
sicut ipsum mundum lucem auras, terras aquas fructus
as the-very world light airs lands waters fruits

ipsiusque hominis animam corpus, sensus mentem uitam,
and-of-the-very man the-soul body sense mind life
bonis malisque largitur; in quibus est etiam quaelibet
to-the-good and-to-the-evil he-bestows among which is also any-whatever
imperii magnitudo, quam pro temporum gubernatione
of-empire greatness which for of-times the-governing
dispensat.
he-dispenses

Proinde iam etiam illis respondendum esse uideo, qui
accordingly now also to-those to-be-answered to-be I-see who
manifestissimis documentis, quibus ostenditur, quod ad
by-most-manifest proofs by-which it-is-shown that for
ista temporalia, quae sola stulti habere concupiscunt,
these temporal-things which alone fools to-have desire
nihil deorum falsorum numerositas prosit, confutati
nothing of-gods false the-numerousness profits refuted
adque conuicti conantur adserere non propter uitae
and convicted try to-assert not on-account-of of-life
praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam, quae post mortem
present the-benefit but on-account-of that which after death
futura est, colendos deos. Nam istis, qui propter
about-to-be is to-be-worshiped the-gods for to-those who on-account-of
amicitias mundi huius uolunt uana colere et non
the-friendships of-world this wish vain-things to-worship and not
se permitti puerilibus sensibus conqueruntur, his
themselves to-be-allowed to-childish senses complain by-these
quinque libris satis arbitror esse responsum. Quorum
five books sufficiently I-judge to-be answered of-which
tres priores cum edidissem et in multorum manibus
the-three first when I-had-published and in of-many the-hands
esse coepissent, audiui quosdam nescio quam aduersus
to-be they-had-begun I-heard certain-men I-know-not what against

eos responsionem scribendo praeparare. Deinde ad me
them answer by-writing to-prepare then to me
perlatum est, quod iam scripserint, sed tempus quaerant,
reported it-was that already they-have-written but a-time they-seek
quo sine periculo possint edere. Quos admoneo,
in-which without danger they-can to-publish whom I-warn
non optent quod eis non expedit. Facile est enim
not let-them-wish what for-them not is-expedient easy it-is for
cuiquam uideri respondisse, qui tacere noluerit. Aut
for-anyone to-seem to-have-answered who to-be-silent has-been-unwilling or
quid est loquacius uanitate? quae non ideo potest
what is more-talkative than-vanity which not for-this-reason can
quod ueritas, quia, si uoluerit, etiam plus potest
what truth because if it-shall-have-wished even more it-can
clamare quam ueritas. Sed considerent omnia diligenter,
to-shout than truth but let-them-consider all-things carefully
et si forte sine studio partium iudicantes talia esse
and if perhaps without zeal of-parties judging such to-be
perspexerint, quae potius exagitari quam conuelli
they-shall-have-perceived which rather to-be-harassed than to-be-uprooted
possint garrulitate inpudentissima et quasi satyrica uel
can by-garrulity most-impudent and as-if satirical or
mimica leuitate, cohibeant suas nugas et potius a
mimic levity let-them-restrain their trifles and rather by
prudentibus emendari quam laudari ab inpudentibus
the-prudent to-be-corrected than to-be-praised by the-impudent
eligant. Nam si non ad libertatem uera dicendi,
let-them-choose for if not for the-freedom true-things of-saying
sed ad licentiam maledicendi tempus expectant, absit
but for the-license of-cursing the-time they-await far-be-it
ut eis eueniat quod ait Tullius de quodam, qui
that to-them befall what says Tully about a-certain-man who

peccandi licentia felix appellabatur: O miserum, cui
of-sinning by-license happy was-called O wretched to-whom
peccare licebat! Unde quisquis est, qui maledicendi licentia
to-sin was-allowed whence whoever he-is who of-cursing by-license
felicem se putat, multo erit felicior, si hoc illi
happy himself thinks much he-will-be happier if this to-him
omnino non liceat, cum possit deposita inanitate iactantiae
altogether not be-allowed since he-can laid-aside the-emptiness of-boasting
etiam isto tempore tamquam studio consulendi quidquid
even in-this time as-if with-the-zeal of-consulting whatever
uoluerit contradicere et, quantum possunt, ab eis
he-shall-have-wished to-contradict and as-much-as they-can from those
quos consulit amica disputatione honeste grauiter libere
whom he-consults by-friendly disputation honorably gravely freely
quod oportet audire.
what it-behooves to-hear
