LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 34

The City of God

Augustine

De Civitate Dei

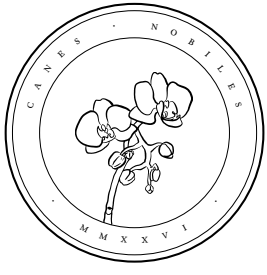
The City of God

Part Two: Books VI–X

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order

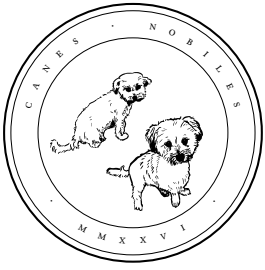


CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

Copyright © 2026 Christopher Hench
All rights reserved

Published by Canes Nobiles
canesnobiles.com

The source text is used under a Creative Commons
Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License
creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0



Volume 34 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows the Vienna Corpus text
edited by Emanuel Hoffmann (CSEL 40, 1899)

Set from Open Greek and Latin's csel-dev corpus, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

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

CONTENTS

BOOK VI

Preface 11
I · Whether the Gods Give Eternal Life 13
II · Varro on the Gods of the Nations 20
III · Varro's Division of His Antiquities 24
IV · Human Things Before Divine 27
V · Varro's Three Theologies 32
VI · Varro and the Civil Theology 37
VII · The Mythical and Civil Theologies Alike 42
VIII · The Natural Interpretations 49
IX · The Offices of the Gods 53
X · Seneca's Freedom 62
XI · Seneca on the Jews 68
XII · Eternal Life Only from the Giver of Happiness 70

BOOK VII

Preface 73
I · Whether Divinity Is in the Selected Gods 74
II · The Selected Gods at the Lesser Tasks 76
III · No Reason for the Selection 79
IV · The Lesser Gods Fared Better 87
V · The Secret Doctrine of the Images 89
VI · God as the Soul of the World 93

BOOK VII

(continued)

VII · Janus and Terminus 95
VIII · The Two and Four Faces of Janus 97
IX · Jupiter and Janus Compared 100
X · Whether Janus and Jupiter Differ 105
XI · The Surnames of Jupiter 106
XII · Jupiter Called Pecunia 109
XIII · Saturn and Genius Are Jupiter 111
XIV · Mercury and Mars 113
XV · The Stars Named for the Gods 116
XVI · Apollo, Diana, and the Others as Parts of the World 119
XVII · Varro's Own Uncertainty 122
XVIII · The Likelier Cause of the Error 124
XIX · The Reasons for Worshiping Saturn 126
XX · The Eleusinian Rites of Ceres 129
XXI · The Obscenity of Liber's Rites 131
XXII · Neptune, Salacia, and Venilia 133
XXIII · Earth as a Goddess 135
XXIV · The Names of Tellus 140
XXV · The Greeks' Interpretation of Attis 145
XXVI · The Shame of the Great Mother's Rites 147
XXVII · The Physiologists' Fictions 150
XXVIII · Varro's Theology Does Not Agree with Itself 154
XXIX · All of It Belongs to the One True God 157
XXX · The Creator Distinguished from His Creatures 158
XXXI · The Benefits Proper to the Followers of Truth 162
XXXII · The Sacrament of Christ Always Proclaimed 163
XXXIII · True Religion Exposes the Demons 165
XXXIV · The Books of Numa Burned 167
XXXV · Numa's Hydromancy 170

BOOK VIII

I · Natural Theology with the Philosophers 175
II · The Italian and Ionian Schools 178
III · The Socratic School 181
IV · Plato and the Three Parts of Philosophy 184
V · The Platonists Above All Others 189
VI · The Platonists' Natural Philosophy 195
VII · The Platonists Excel in Logic 199
VIII · The Platonists First in Ethics 200
IX · The Philosophy Nearest the Christian Faith 204
X · The Christian and the Philosophers 205
XI · Whence Plato Drew Near to Christian Teaching 210
XII · The Platonists Still Sacrificed to Many Gods 214
XIII · Plato's Gods Are Good 216
XIV · Gods, Demons, and Men 219
XV · Demons Not Superior for Their Bodies or Place 224
XVI · Apuleius on the Demons' Character 228
XVII · Worshiping Spirits Whose Vices We Must Flee 231
XVIII · Demons as Advocates to the Good Gods 234
XIX · The Impiety of Magic 236
XX · Whether the Gods Mingle with Demons Rather Than Men . . 240
XXI · Whether the Gods Use Demons as Messengers 241
XXII · Against the Worship of Demons 246
XXIII · Hermes Trismegistus on Idols 248
XXIV · Hermes Confesses His Fathers' Error 255
XXV · What Holy Angels and Good Men Share 265
XXVI · The Pagans' Religion Bound Up with the Dead 266
XXVII · The Honor Christians Pay the Martyrs 272

BOOK IX

I · Where the Argument Has Reached 277
II · Whether Any Demons Are Good 279
III · Apuleius Gives the Demons Reason but No Virtue 281
IV · The Peripatetics and the Stoics on the Passions 283
V · The Passions in Christian Minds 290
VI · The Passions That Toss the Demons 294
VII · The Poets' Fictions and the Demons' Quarrels 295
VIII · Apuleius' Definition of Gods, Demons, and Men 298
IX · Whether Demons Can Win Men the Gods' Friendship 302
X · Plotinus: Men in Mortal Bodies Less Wretched 305
XI · The Platonists on Souls Become Demons 306
XII · The Three Contraries of Gods and Men 308
XIII · How Demons Can Be Between 310
XIV · Whether Men Can Be Happy Though Mortal 315
XV · The Mediator Christ Jesus 316
XVI · Whether the Heavenly Gods Shun Contact with Men 321
XVII · The Mediator Must Be Like God, Not a Demon 326
XVIII · The Demons' Deceit Turns Men from the Way 329
XIX · The Name of Demons Never Means Good 331
XX · The Knowledge That Makes Demons Proud 333
XXI · How the Lord Made Himself Known to the Demons 334
XXII · The Knowledge of Angels and of Demons 336
XXIII · The Name of Gods Given Falsely 339

BOOK X

I · Whether the Blessed Wish Worship for Themselves 345
II · Plotinus on the Light from Above 352
III · The True Worship of God 354

BOOK X

(continued)

IV · Sacrifice Due to the One True God 358
V · The Sacrifices God Does Not Require 359
VI · The True and Perfect Sacrifice 364
VII · The Holy Angels Wish Us to Worship God 368
VIII · The Miracles That Confirmed God's Promises 369
IX · Porphyry Between Theurgy and Its Rejection 373
X · Theurgy's False Purification 377
XI · Porphyry's Letter to Anebo 380
XII · The Miracles God Works Through His Angels 388
XIII · The Invisible God Seen as Men Could Bear 391
XIV · The One God Worshiped for Temporal Goods Too 393
XV · The Ministry of the Holy Angels 395
XVI · Which Angels Are to Be Believed 397
XVII · The Ark of the Covenant 403
XVIII · Against Those Who Deny the Church's Books 407
XIX · The Visible Sacrifice Offered to the Invisible God 409
XX · The Highest and True Sacrifice 412
XXI · The Power Granted to Demons, and the Martyrs 413
XXII · The Saints' Power Against Demons 416
XXIII · The Platonists' Principles of Purification 418
XXIV · The One True Principle Who Purifies 420
XXV · The Ancient Saints Justified by Faith in Christ 424
XXVI · Porphyry's Wavering 430
XXVII · Porphyry's Impiety Beyond Apuleius' 433
XXVIII · How Porphyry Was Blinded to Christ 438
XXIX · The Incarnation the Platonists Blush to Confess 441
XXX · What Porphyry Corrected in Plato 449
XXXI · Against the Soul Coeternal with God 453
XXXII · The Universal Way of the Soul's Liberation 456

BOOK VI

PREFACE

The five books before answered those who worship many false gods, which Christian truth shows to be useless images, unclean spirits, or creatures, for this mortal life's goods, with the service the Greeks call latria, owed to the one true God. No number of books satisfies obstinacy, which counts it glory to yield to no truth, as an incurable sickness defeats the physician. Fair readers will judge that more was said than needed, and the charge against Christian times empty.

Quinque superioribus libris satis mihi aduersus eos uideor
in-five former books sufficiently to-myself against those I-seem
disputasse, qui multos deos et falsos, quos esse inutilia
to-have-argued who many gods and false whom to-be useless
simulacra uel inmundos spiritus et perniciosa daemonia uel
images or unclean spirits and pernicious demons or
certe creaturas, non creatorem ueritas Christiana conuincit,
certainly creatures not the-creator truth Christian proves
propter uitae huius mortalis rerumque terrenarum utilitatem
on-account-of of-life this mortal and-of-things earthly the-advantage
eo ritu ac seruitute, quae Graece λατρεία dicitur et
with-that rite and service which in-Greek latreia is-called and
uni uero Deo debetur, uenerandos et colendos putant.
to-the-one true God is-owed to-be-venerated and to-be-worshiped think
Et nimiae quidem stultitiae uel pertinaciae nec istos quinque
and of-excessive indeed folly or obstinacy neither these five
nec ullos alios quanticumque numeri libros satis esse posse
nor any other of-however-great number books sufficient to-be to-be-able
quis nesciat? quando ea putatur gloria uanitatis, nullis cedere
who knows-not when this is-thought the-glory of-vanity to-no to-yield
uiribus ueritatis, in perniciem utique eius, cui uitium
forces of-truth to the-ruin assuredly of-him over-whom vice

tam inmane dominatur. Nam et contra omnem curantis
so monstrous rules for also against all of-the-one-curing
industriam non malo medici, sed aegroti insanabilis
diligence not by-the-fault of-the-physician but of-the-sick-man incurable
morbus inuictus est. Hi uero, qui ea quae legunt
the-disease unconquered is these but who those-things which they-read
uel sine ulla uel non cum magna ac nimia ueteris erroris
either without any or not with great and excessive of-old error
obstinatione intellecta et considerata perpendunt, facilius nos
obstinacy understood and considered weigh more-readily us
isto numero terminatorum quinque uoluminum plus, quam
in-this number of-finished five of-volumes more than
quaestionis ipsius necessitas postulabat, quam minus disseruisse
of-the-question itself the-necessity demanded than less to-have-discussed
iudicabunt, totamque inuidiam, quam Christianae religioni de
will-judge and-the-whole odium which to-the-Christian religion about
huius uitae cladibus terrenarumque contritione ac mutatione
of-this life the-disasters and-of-earthly-things the-crushing and change
rerum inperiti facere conantur, non solum dissimulantibus,
of-things the-ignorant to-make try not only dissembling
sed contra suam conscientiam etiam fauentibus doctis,
but against their-own conscience even favoring the-learned
quos inpietas uesana possedit, omnino esse inanem rectae
whom ungodliness mad has-possessed altogether to-be empty of-right
cogitationis adque rationis plenamque leuissimae temeritatis
thought and of-reason and-full of-most-frivolous rashness
et perniciosissimae animositatis dubitare non poterunt.
and of-most-pernicious animosity to-doubt not will-be-able

Now Augustine answers those who worship the gods for the life after death, beginning from the psalm: blessed is he whose hope is the Lord. With the philosophers who disliked the people's errors the question can be argued. But who can bear that gods given petty offices could give eternal life, as if one asked wine of the Nymphs and, refused, asked them for life instead? Gods unfit to give earthly kingdoms cannot make mortals immortal. Juventas keeps no worshiper young, bearded Fortune gives no beards; how then eternal life?

Nunc ergo quoniam deinceps, ut promissus ordo expetit,
now therefore since next as the-promised order requires
etiam hi refellendi et docendi sunt, qui non propter istam
also these to-be-refuted and to-be-taught are who not on-account-of this
uitam, sed propter illam, quae post mortem futura est,
life but on-account-of that which after death about-to-be is
deos gentium, quos Christiana religio destruit, colendos esse
the-gods of-the-nations which Christian religion destroys to-be-worshiped to-be
contendunt: placet a ueridico oraculo sancti psalmi sumere
contend it-pleases from the-truthful oracle of-the-holy psalm to-take
exordium disputationis meae: Beatus, cuius est Dominus
the-beginning of-disputation my blessed of-whom is the-Lord
Deus spes ipsius et non respexit in uanitates et insanias
God the-hope his and not has-looked into vanities and madnesses
mendaces. Verum tamen in omnibus uanitatibus insaniisque
lying but yet in all vanities and-madnesses
mendacibus longe tolerabilius philosophi audiendi sunt,
lying far more-tolerably the-philosophers to-be-heard are
quibus displicuerunt istae opiniones erroresque populorum,
to-whom were-displeasing these opinions and-errors of-the-peoples
qui populi constituerunt simulacra numinibus multaque de
who peoples set-up images to-the-divinities and-many-things about

his, quos deos inmortales uocant, falsa adque indigna siue
these whom gods immortal they-call false and unworthy either
finxerunt siue ficta crediderunt et credita eorum cultui
feigned or feigned believed and believed their to-the-worship
sacrorumque ritibus miscuerunt. Cum his hominibus,
and-of-rites to-the-rites mingled with these men
qui, etsi non libere praedicando, saltem utcumque in
who although not freely by-proclaiming at-least somehow in
disputationibus mussitando, talia se inprobare testati
disputations by-muttering such-things themselves to-disapprove testified
sunt, non usque adeo inconuenienter quaestio ista tractatur:
have not so far unfittingly question this is-treated
utrum non unum Deum, qui fecit omnem spiritalem
whether not one God who made all spiritual
corporalemque creaturam, propter uitam, quae post mortem
and-corporeal creation on-account-of the-life which after death
futura est, coli oporteat, sed multos deos, quos ab
about-to-be is to-be-worshiped it-behooves but many gods whom by
illo uno factos et sublimiter conlocatos quidam eorundem
that one made and sublimely placed certain of-the-same
philosophorum ceteris excellentiores nobilioresque senserunt.
philosophers than-the-rest more-excellent and-nobler have-thought
Ceterum quis ferat dici adque contendi deos illos,
but who would-bear to-be-said and to-be-contended gods those
quorum in quarto libro quosdam commemoraui, quibus
of-whom in the-fourth book some I-recalled to-whom
singulis singula rerum exiguarum distribuuntur officia, uitam
individually individual of-things tiny are-distributed offices life
aeternam cuique praestare? An uero peritissimi illi et
eternal to-anyone to-furnish or indeed most-learned those and
acutissimi uiri, qui se pro magno beneficio conscripta
most-acute men who themselves for great benefit written-down

docuisse gloriantur, ut sciretur quare cuique deo
to-have-taught boast that it-might-be-known why to-each god
supplicandum esset, quid a quoque esset petendum, ne
to-be-supplicated it-was what from each was to-be-sought lest
absurditate turpissima, qualis ioculariter in mimo fieri
by-absurdity most-shameful such-as jokingly in a-mime to-be-done
solet, peteretur a Libero aqua, a Lymphis uinum,
is-wont should-be-sought from Liber water from the-Lymphs wine
auctores erunt cuipiam hominum dis inmortalibus
authors will-they-be to-any of-men to-the-gods immortal
supplicanti, ut, cum a Lymphis petierit uinum eique
supplicating that when from the-Lymphs he-has-sought wine and-to-him
responderint: Nos aquam habemus, hoc a Libero pete,
they-have-answered we water have this from Liber seek
possit recte dicere: Si uinum non habetis, saltem date
he-may-be-able rightly to-say if wine not you-have at-least give
mihi uitam aeternam? Quid hac absurditate monstruosius?
me life eternal what than-this absurdity more-monstrous
Nonne illae cachinnantes (solent enim esse ad risum
surely they laughing are-wont for to-be to laughter
faciles), si non adfectent fallere ut daemones, supplici
easy if not they-aim to-deceive as demons to-the-suppliant
respondebunt: O homo, putasne in potestate nos habere
will-answer O man do-you-think in the-power us to-have
uitam, quas audis non habere uel uitem? Inpudentissimae
life whom you-hear not to-have even the-vine of-most-shameless
igitur stultitiae est uitam aeternam a talibus dis petere uel
therefore folly it-is life eternal from such gods to-seek or
sperare, qui uitae huius aerumnosissimae adque breuissimae
to-hope who of-life this most-wretched and most-brief
et si qua ad eam pertinent adminiculandam adque
and if any-things to it pertain to-be-propped and

fulciendam ita singulas particulas tueri adseruntur, ut, si
to-be-supported so single particles to-guard are-asserted that if
id, quod sub alterius tutela ac potestate est, petatur
that which under of-another the-guardianship and power is be-sought
ab altero, tam sit inconueniens et absurdum, ut mimicae
from the-other so it-is unfitting and absurd that to-mimic
scurrilitati uideatur esse simillimum. Quod cum fit a
buffoonery it-seems to-be most-like which when it-is-done by
scientibus mimis, digne ridentur in theatro; cum uero
knowing mimes fittingly they-are-laughed-at in the-theater when but
a nescientibus stultis, dignius inridentur in mundo. Cui
by unknowing fools more-fittingly they-are-mocked in the-world to-what
ergo deo uel deae propter quid supplicaretur, quantum
therefore god or goddess for what should-be-supplicated as-far-as
ad illos deos adtinet quos instituerunt ciuitates, a doctis
to those gods pertains whom established the-cities by the-learned
sollerter inuentum memoriaeque mandatum est: quid a
skillfully found and-to-memory committed has-been what from
Libero, uerbi gratia, quid a Lymphis, quid a Vulcano
Liber of-word for-the-sake what from the-Lymphs what from Vulcan
ac sic a ceteris, quos partim commemoraui in quarto libro,
and so from the-rest whom partly I-recalled in the-fourth book
partim praetereundos putaui. Porro si a Cerere uinum,
partly to-be-passed-over I-thought further if from Ceres wine
a Libero panem, a Vulcano aquam, a Lymphis ignem
from Liber bread from Vulcan water from the-Lymphs fire
petere erroris est: quanto maioris deliramenti esse intellegi
to-seek of-error it-is how-much of-greater madness to-be to-be-understood
debet, si cuiquam istorum pro uita supplicetur aeterna!
it-ought if to-any of-these for life one-supplicates eternal

Quam ob rem si, cum de regno terreno quaereremus,
which on-account-of thing if when about kingdom earthly we-were-asking
quosnam illud deos uel deas hominibus credendum esset
which that gods or goddesses to-men to-be-believed it-was
posse conferre, discussis omnibus longe alienum a
to-be-able to-confer discussed all-things far alien from
ueritate monstratum est a quoquam istorum multorum
the-truth shown it-was by any of-these many
numinum adque falsorum saltem regna terrena existimare
divinities and false at-least kingdoms earthly to-think
constitui: nonne insanissimae inpietatis est, si aeterna uita,
to-be-established surely of-most-insane ungodliness it-is if eternal life
quae terrenis omnibus regnis sine ulla dubitatione uel
which to-earthly all kingdoms without any doubt or
conparatione praeferenda est, ab istorum quoquam dari
comparison to-be-preferred is by of-these any to-be-given
cuiquam posse credatur? Neque enim propterea di tales
to-anyone to-be-able be-believed nor for for-this-reason gods such
uel terrenum regnum dare non posse uisi sunt, quia illi
even earthly kingdom to-give not to-be-able seemed have because they
magni et excelsi sunt, hoc quiddam paruum et abiectum,
great and lofty are this something small and abject
quod non dignarentur in tanta sublimitate curare; sed
which not they-would-deign in so-great sublimity to-care-for but
quantumlibet consideratione fragilitatis humanae caducos
however-much by-consideration of-frailty human falling
apices terreni regni merito quisque contemnat, illi di tales
the-peaks of-earthly kingdom deservedly each may-despise those gods such
apparuerunt, ut indignissimi uiderentur, quibus danda adque
appeared that most-unworthy they-seemed to-whom to-be-given and
seruanda deberent uel ista committi. Ac per hoc, si
to-be-kept ought even these-things to-be-entrusted and through this if

(ut superiora proximis duobus libris pertractata docuerunt)
as the-former in-the-nearest two books treated-thoroughly have-taught
nullus deus ex illa turba uel quasi plebeiorum uel quasi
no god from that crowd either as-if of-plebeian or as-if
procerum deorum idoneus est regna mortalia mortalibus
of-noble gods fit is kingdoms mortal to-mortals
dare, quanto minus potest inmortales ex mortalibus facere!
to-give how-much less he-can immortals from mortals to-make

Huc accedit, quia, si iam cum illis agimus, qui non propter
to-this is-added that if now with those we-deal who not on-account-of
istam, sed propter uitam quae post mortem futura est
this but on-account-of the-life which after death about-to-be is
existimant colendos deos, iam nec propter illa
think to-be-worshiped the-gods already not-even on-account-of those-things
saltem, quae deorum talium potestati tamquam dispertita
at-least which of-gods such to-the-power as-if distributed
et propria non ratione ueritatis, sed uanitatis opinione
and proper not by-reason of-truth but of-vanity by-opinion
tribuuntur, omnino colendi sunt, sicut credunt hi, qui
are-assigned at-all to-be-worshiped are as believe those who
cultum eorum uitae huius mortalis utilitatibus necessarium
the-worship of-them of-life this mortal for-the-advantages necessary
esse contendunt; contra quos iam quinque praecedentibus
to-be contend against whom already in-five preceding
uoluminibus satis, quantum potui, disputaui. Quae cum
volumes sufficiently as-much-as I-could I-have-argued which-things since
ita sint, si eorum, qui colerent deam Iuuentatem, aetas ipsa
so are if of-those who worshiped the-goddess Juventas the-age itself
floreret insignius, contemtores autem eius uel intra annos
flourished more-notably the-despisers but of-her either within the-years
occumberent iuuentutis, uel in ea tamquam senili torpore
died of-youth or in it as-if with-senile torpor

frigescerent; si malas cultorum suorum speciosius et
grew-cold if the-cheeks of-worshipers her-own more-handsomely and
festiuius Fortuna barbata uestiret, a quibus autem sperneretur,
more-gaily Fortune bearded clothed by whom but she-was-spurned
glabros aut male barbatos uideremus: etiam sic rectissime
smooth or badly bearded we-saw even so most-rightly
diceremus huc usque istas deas singulas posse, suis officiis
we-would-say to-this extent these goddesses singly to-be-able by-their offices
quodam modo limitatas, ac per hoc nec a Iuuentate
in-a-certain manner limited and through this neither from Juventas
oportere peti uitam aeternam, quae non daret barbam,
to-behoove to-be-sought life eternal who not would-give a-beard
nec a Fortuna barbata boni aliquid post hanc uitam esse
nor from Fortune bearded of-good anything after this life to-be
sperandum, cuius in hac uita potestas nulla esset, ut eandem
to-be-hoped whose in this life power none was that the-same
saltem aetatem, quae barba induitur, ipsa praestaret.
at-least age which with-a-beard is-clothed she-herself might-furnish
Nunc uero cum earum cultus nec propter ista ipsa,
now but since their worship not-even on-account-of these-things very
quae putant eis subdita, sit necessarius, quia et multi
which they-think to-them subject is necessary because both many
colentes Iuuentatem deam minime in illa aetate uiguerunt,
worshiping Juventas the-goddess by-no-means in that age flourished
et multi non eam colentes gaudent robore iuuentutis,
and many not her worshiping rejoice in-the-strength of-youth
itemque multi Fortunae barbatae supplices ad nullam uel
and-likewise many of-Fortune bearded suppliants to no or
deformem barbam peruenire potuerunt, et si qui eam pro
ugly beard to-arrive could and if any her for
barba inpetranda uenerantur, a barbatis eius contemtoribus
beard to-be-obtained venerate by the-bearded her despisers

inridentur: itane desipit cor humanum, ut, quorum deorum
are-mocked so-then is-foolish the-heart human that of-which gods
cultum propter ista ipsa temporalia et cito praetereuntia
the-worship on-account-of these very temporal and quickly passing
munera, quibus singulis singuli praeesse perhibentur, inanem
gifts over-which individually individual to-preside are-said empty
ludibriosumque cognoscit, propter uitam aeternam credat
and-ridiculous it-knows on-account-of life eternal it-should-believe
esse fructuosum? Hanc dare illos posse nec hi dicere ausi
to-be fruitful this to-give they to-be-able not-even these to-say dared
sunt, qui eis, ut ab insipientibus populis colerentur,
have who to-them that by foolish peoples they-might-be-worshiped
ista opera temporalia, quoniam nimis multos putarunt, ne
these works temporal since too many they-thought lest
quisquam eorum sederet otiosus, minutatim diuisa tribuerunt.
any of-them should-sit idle minutely divided assigned

II · VARRO ON THE GODS OF THE NATIONS

No one searched these things more learnedly than Marcus Varro, whom Cicero, who doubts everything, called beyond doubt the most learned of men. Varro feared the gods would perish by the citizens' neglect, and claimed to save them in his books more usefully than Metellus saved the Vestal rites from the fire and Aeneas the household gods from Troy. Yet he hands down what wise and foolish alike must reject: a keen mind, not freed by the Holy Spirit, oppressed by his city's custom.

Quis Marco Varrone curiosius ista quaesiuit? quis
who than-Marcus Varro more-curiously these-things investigated who
inuenit doctius? quis considerauit adtentius? quis distinxit
found more-learnedly who considered more-attentively who distinguished
acutius? quis diligentius pleniusque conscripsit? Qui tametsi
more-acutely who more-diligently and-more-fully wrote-up who although

minus est suauis eloquio, doctrina tamen adque sententiis ita
less is pleasant in-eloquence with-learning yet and with-thoughts so
refertus est, ut in omni eruditione, quam nos saecularem, illi
stuffed is that in all learning which we secular they
autem liberalem uocant, studiosum rerum tantum iste doceat,
but liberal call the-student of-things as-much he may-teach
quantum studiosum uerborum Cicero delectat. Denique et
as the-student of-words Cicero delights finally also
ipse huic tale testimonium perhibet, ut in libris Academicis
himself to-him such testimony bears that in the-books Academic
dicat eam, quae ibi uersatur, disputationem se habuisse cum
he-says that which there is-conducted disputation himself to-have-had with
Marco Varrone, "homine, inquit, omnium facile acutissimo et
Marcus Varro a-man he-says of-all easily the-most-acute and
sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo". Non ait "eloquentissimo"
without any doubt the-most-learned not he-says most-eloquent
uel "facundissimo", quoniam re uera in hac facultate multum
or most-fluent since in truth in this faculty much
inpar est; sed "omnium, inquit, facile acutissimo", et in
unequal he-is but of-all he-says easily the-most-acute and in
eis libris, id est Academicis, ubi cuncta dubitanda esse
those books that is the-Academic where all-things to-be-doubted to-be
contendit, addidit "sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo". Profecto
he-contends he-added without any doubt the-most-learned assuredly
de hac re sic erat certus, ut auferret dubitationem,
about this thing so he-was certain that he-removed the-doubt
quam solet in omnibus adhibere, tamquam de hoc
which he-is-wont in all-things to-apply as-if about this
uno etiam pro Academicorum dubitatione disputaturus
one-thing even for of-the-Academics doubt about-to-dispute
se Academicum fuisset oblitus. In primo autem libro cum
himself an-Academic had forgotten in the-first moreover book when

eiusdem Varronis litteraria opera praedicaret: “Nos, inquit,
of-the-same Varro literary works he-praised us he-says
in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tamquam hospites
in our city traveling and-wandering as-if guests
tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando
your books as-if home led-back that we-might-be-able at-last
qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu
who and where we-were to-recognize you the-age of-the-fatherland you
descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum,
the-descriptions of-times you of-rites the-laws you of-priests
tu domesticam, tu publicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum
you domestic you public discipline you the-seat of-regions
locorum, tu omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum
of-places you of-all divine and-human things
nomina genera, officia causas aperuisti.” Iste igitur uir tam
names kinds functions causes have-disclosed this therefore man so
insignis excellentisque peritiae et, quod de illo etiam
distinguished and-of-excellent skill and which about him also
Terentianus elegantissimo uersiculo breuiter ait:
Terentianus in-a-most-elegant little-verse briefly says

Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro,
a-man most-learned in-every-way Varro

qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere uacuisse
who so many-things read that anything to-him to-write to-have-had-leisure
miremur; tam multa scripsit, quam multa uix quemquam
we-wonder so many-things wrote as many scarcely anyone
legere potuisse credamus: iste, inquam, uir tantus ingenio
to-read to-have-been-able we-may-believe this-one I-say man so-great in-talent
tantusque doctrina, si rerum uelut diuinarum, de quibus scribit,
and-so-great in-learning if of-things as-if divine about which he-writes

obpugnator esset adque destructor easque non ad religionem,
the-assailant were and destroyer and-them not to religion
sed ad superstitionem diceret pertinere, nescio utrum tam
but to superstition he-said to-pertain I-know-not whether so
multa in eis ridenda contemnenda detestanda conscriberet.
many-things in them to-be-laughed-at to-be-despised to-be-detested he-would-write-up
Cum uero deos eosdem ita coluerit colendosque censuerit,
when but the-gods same so he-worshiped and-to-be-worshiped judged
ut in eo ipso opere litterarum suarum dicat se timere ne
that in that very work of-letters his-own he-says himself to-fear lest
pereant, non incursu hostili, sed ciuium neglegentia, de qua
they-perish not by-the-attack hostile but of-citizens by-the-neglect from which
illos uelut ruina liberari a se dicit et in memoria bonorum
them as-if from-ruin to-be-freed by himself he-says and in the-memory of-the-good
per eius modi libros recondi adque seruari utiliore
through of-this kind books to-be-stored-up and to-be-preserved with-more-useful
cura, quam qua Metellus de incendio sacra Vestalia et
care than with-which Metellus from the-fire rites Vestal and
Aeneas de Troiano excidio penates liberasse praedicatur; et
Aeneas from the-Trojan destruction the-penates to-have-freed is-proclaimed and
tamen ea legenda saeculis prodit, quae a sapientibus
yet those-things to-be-read to-the-ages he-publishes which by the-wise
et insipientibus merito abicienda et ueritati religionis
and the-foolish deservedly to-be-cast-off and to-the-truth of-religion
inimicissima iudicentur: quid existimare debemus nisi hominem
most-hostile are-judged what to-think ought-we except a-man
acerrimum ac peritissimum, non tamen sancto Spiritu
most-keen and most-skilled not yet by-the-holy Spirit
liberum, obpressum fuisse suae ciuitatis consuetudine ac
free oppressed to-have-been of-his-own city by-the-custom and

legibus, et tamen ea quibus mouebatur sub specie
laws and yet those-things by-which he-was-moved under the-appearance
commendandae religionis tacere noluisse.
of-commending religion to-keep-silent to-have-been-unwilling

III · VARRO'S DIVISION OF HIS ANTIQUITIES

Varro wrote forty-one books of Antiquities*, twenty-five on human things and sixteen on divine. The human books ask who acts, where, when, and what, in four sets of six after an introduction. The divine books keep the form, three each on the men who perform the rites, the places, the times, and the rites themselves; the last three treat the gods to whom all this is paid: the certain, the uncertain, and the chief and selected gods.*

Quadraginta et unum libros scripsit antiquitatum; hos in res
forty and one books he-wrote of-antiquities these into things
humanas diuinasque diuisit, rebus humanis uiginti quinque,
human and-divine he-divided to-things human twenty five
diuinis sedecim tribuit, istam secutus in ea partitione
to-divine sixteen he-assigned this following in that partition
rationem, ut rerum humanarum libros senos quattuor partibus
method that of-things human books six-each to-four parts
daret. Intendit enim qui agant, ubi agant, quando agant,
he-gave he-attends for who act where they-act when they-act
quid agant. In sex itaque primis de hominibus scripsit, in
what they-act in six and-so first about men he-wrote in
secundis sex de locis, sex tertios de temporibus, sex quartos
the-second six about places six the-third about times six the-fourth
eosdemque postremos de rebus absoluit. Quater autem
and-the-same last about things he-completed four-times moreover
seni uiginti et quattuor fiunt. Sed unum singularem, qui
six twenty and four make but one single which

communiter prius de omnibus loqueretur, in capite posuit. In
in-common first about all-things should-speak at the-head he-put in
diuinis identidem rebus eadem ab illo diuisionis forma seruata
divine likewise things the-same by him of-division form kept
est, quantum adtinet ad ea, quae dis exhibenda sunt.
was as-far-as pertains to those-things which to-the-gods to-be-shown are
Exhibentur enim ab hominibus in locis et temporibus sacra.
are-shown for by men in places and times rites
Haec quattuor, quae dixi, libris conplexus est ternis: nam
these four-things which I-said in-books embraced he-has three-each for
tres priores de hominibus scripsit, sequentes de locis, tertios
three former about men he-wrote the-following about places the-third
de temporibus, quartos de sacris, etiam hic, qui exhibeant,
about times the-fourth about rites also here who show
ubi exhibeant, quando exhibeant, quid exhibeant, subtilissima
where they-show when they-show what they-show by-most-subtle
distinctione commendans. Sed quia oportebat dicere et
distinction commending but because it-behooved to-say and
maxime id expectabatur, quibus exhibeant, de ipsis quoque
most this was-expected to-whom they-show about the-very also
dis tres conscripsit extremos, ut quinquies terni quindecim
gods three he-wrote last that five-times three fifteen
fierent. Sunt autem omnes, ut diximus, sedecim, quia et
might-make are moreover all as we-said sixteen because also
istorum exordio unum singularem, qui prius de omnibus
of-these at-the-beginning one single which first about all-things
loqueretur, adposuit. Quo absoluto consequenter ex illa
should-speak he-added which completed consequently from that
quinquepertita distributione tres praecedentes, qui ad homines
fivefold distribution three preceding which to men
pertinent, ita subdiuisit, ut primus sit de pontificibus,
pertain so he-subdivided that the-first is about pontiffs

secundus de auguribus, tertius de quindecimuiris sacrorum;
the-second about augurs the-third about the-fifteen-men of-the-rites
secundos tres ad loca pertinentes, ita ut in uno eorum
the-second three to places pertaining so that in one of-them
de sacellis, altero de sacris aedibus diceret, tertio
about chapels in-the-other about sacred shrines he-spoke in-the-third
de locis religiosis; tres porro, qui istos sequuntur et ad
about places religious three further which these follow and to
tempora pertinent, id est ad dies festos, ita ut unum
times pertain that is to days festal so that one
eorum faceret de feriis, alterum de ludis circensibus, de
of-them he-made about holidays the-other about games circus about
scaenicis tertium; quartorum trium ad sacra pertinentium
theatrical the-third of-the-fourth three to rites pertaining
uni dedit consecrationes, alteri sacra priuata, ultimo
to-one he-gave consecrations to-the-other rites private to-the-last
publica. Hanc uelut pompam obsequiorum in tribus, qui
public this as-if procession of-homages in three which
restant, di ipsi sequuntur extremi, quibus iste uniuersus
remain gods themselves follow last on-whom this whole
cultus inpensus est: in primo di certi, in secundo incerti,
worship expended was in the-first gods certain in the-second uncertain
in tertio cunctorum nouissimo di praecipui adque selecti.
in the-third of-all the-last gods chief and select

In all this eternal life is sought in vain, for these are institutions of men or of unclean spirits. Varro wrote of human things first because cities came first and instituted the divine, as the painter precedes the picture. True religion was not instituted by any earthly city; it founded the heavenly one. Varro says he would have put the gods first had he written of their whole nature; so he wrote of no nature of the gods at all, and followed an old city's custom.

In hac tota serie pulcherrimae ac subtilissimae distributionis
in this whole series of-most-beautiful and most-subtle distribution
et distinctionis uitam aeternam frustra quaeri et sperari
and distinction life eternal in-vain to-be-sought and to-be-hoped
inpudentissime uel optari, ex his, quae iam diximus
most-shamelessly or to-be-wished from these-things which already we-have-said
et quae deinceps dicenda sunt, cuiuis hominum, qui corde
and which next to-be-said are to-any of-men who with-heart
obstinato sibi non fuerit inimicus, facillime apparet. Vel
obstinate to-himself not has-been hostile most-easily appears either
hominum enim sunt ista instituta uel daemonum, non
of-men for are these institutions or of-demons not
quales uocant illi daemones bonos, sed, ut loquar apertius,
such-as call they demons good but that I-may-speak more-openly
inmundorum spirituum et sine controuersia malignorum,
of-unclean spirits and without controversy malign
qui noxias opiniones, quibus anima humana magis magisque
who harmful opinions by-which the-soul human more and-more
uanescat et incommutabili aeternaeque ueritati coaptari adque
may-vanish and to-the-unchangeable and-eternal truth to-be-fitted and
inhaerere non possit, inuidentia mirabili et occulte inserunt
to-cling not may-be-able by-envy wonderful both secretly insert
cogitationibus inpiorum et aperte aliquando ingerunt sensibus
into-the-thoughts of-the-ungodly and openly sometimes thrust-on the-senses

et qua possunt fallaci adtestatione confirmant. Iste
and in-what-way they-can by-deceitful attestation confirm this
ipse Varro propterea se prius de rebus humanis, de
himself Varro for-this-reason himself first about things human about
diuinis autem postea scripsisse testatur, quod prius extiterint
divine but afterward to-have-written testifies because first existed
ciuitates, deinde ab eis haec instituta sint. Vera autem
cities then by them these-things established were true but
religio non a terrena aliqua ciuitate instituta est, sed plane
religion not by earthly any city established was but plainly
caelestem ipsa instituit ciuitatem. Eam uero inspirat et
heavenly it-itself established a-city it indeed inspires and
docet uerus Deus, dator uitae aeternae, ueris cultoribus suis.
teaches the-true God the-giver of-life eternal to-true worshipers his-own
Varronis igitur confitentis ideo se prius de rebus
of-Varro therefore confessing for-this-reason himself first about things
humanis scripsisse, postea de diuinis, quia diuinae istae
human to-have-written afterward about divine because divine these
ab hominibus institutae sunt, haec ratio est: “Sicut prior
by men established were this the-reason is as prior
est, inquit, pictor quam tabula picta, prior faber quam
is he-says the-painter than the-panel painted prior the-builder than
aedificium: ita priores sunt ciuitates quam ea, quae a
the-building so prior are cities than those-things which by
ciuitatibus instituta sunt”. Dicit autem prius se scripturum
cities established were he-says moreover first himself about-to-write
fuisse de dis, postea de hominibus, si de omni
to-have-been about the-gods afterward about men if about all
natura deorum scriberet, quasi hic de aliqua scribat et
the-nature of-the-gods he-were-writing as-if here about some he-writes and
non de omni, aut uero etiam aliqua, licet non omnis,
not about all or indeed even some although not all

deorum natura non prior debeat esse quam hominum. Quid,
of-the-gods nature not prior ought to-be than of-men what
quod in illis tribus nouissimis libris deos certos et incertos
that in those three last books gods certain and uncertain
et selectos diligenter explicans nullam deorum naturam
and select diligently explaining no of-the-gods nature
praetermittere uidetur? Quid est ergo, quod ait: "Si de
to-pass-over he-seems what is-it then that he-says if about
omni natura deorum et hominum scriberemus, prius diuina
all the-nature of-gods and of-men we-were-writing first the-divine
absoluissemus, quam humana adtigissemus"? Aut enim de
we-would-have-finished than the-human we-had-touched either for about
omni natura deorum scribit, aut de aliqua, aut omnino de
all the-nature of-the-gods he-writes or about some or at-all about
nulla. Si de omni, praeponenda utique est rebus humanis;
none if about all to-be-set-before assuredly it-is to-things human
si de aliqua, quur non etiam ipsa res praecedat humanas?
if about some why not also itself things should-precede human
An indigna est praeferri etiam uniuersae naturae hominum
or unworthy is to-be-preferred even to-the-whole nature of-men
pars aliqua deorum? Quod si multum est, ut aliqua pars
part some of-the-gods but if much it-is that some part
diuina praeponatur uniuersis rebus humanis, saltem digna est
divine be-set-before to-all things human at-least worthy it-is
uel Romanis. Rerum quippe humanarum libros, non
even to-the-Roman-(things) of-things for human books not
quantum ad orbem terrarum, sed quantum ad solam Romam
as-far-as to the-circle of-lands but as-far-as to only Rome
pertinet, scripsit, quos tamen rerum diuinarum libris se
pertains he-wrote which yet of-things divine to-the-books himself
dixit scribendi ordine merito praetulisse, sicut pictorem
said of-writing in-the-order deservedly to-have-preferred as the-painter

tabulae pictae, sicut fabrum aedificio, apertissime confitens,
to-the-panel painted as the-builder to-the-building most-openly confessing
quod etiam istae res diuinae, sicut pictura, sicut structura, ab
that also these things divine as painting as construction by
hominibus institutae sint. Restat ut de nulla deorum natura
men established were it-remains that about no of-the-gods nature
scripsisse intellegatur, neque hoc aperte dicere uoluisse,
to-have-written he-be-understood nor this openly to-say to-have-wished
sed intellegentibus reliquisse. Ubi enim dicitur "non omnis",
but to-the-understanding to-have-left where for it-is-said not all
usitate quidem intellegitur aliqua; sed potest intellegi et
customarily indeed is-understood some but it-can to-be-understood also
"nulla", quoniam quae nulla est nec omnis nec aliqua est.
none since what none is neither all nor some is
Nam, ut ipse dicit, si omnis esset natura deorum, de
for as he-himself says if all were the-nature of-the-gods about
qua scriberet, scribendi ordine rebus humanis praeponenda
which he-wrote of-writing in-the-order to-things human to-be-set-before
esset; ut autem et ipso tacente ueritas clamat, praeponenda
it-would-be as moreover even with-him silent truth cries to-be-set-before
esset certe rebus Romanis, etiamsi non omnis, sed saltem
it-would-be certainly to-things Roman even-if not all but at-least
aliqua esset: recte autem postponitur; ergo nulla est. Non
some it-were rightly but it-is-placed-after therefore none it-is not
itaque rebus diuinis anteferre uoluit res humanas, sed rebus
and-so to-things divine to-prefer he-wished things human but to-things
ueris noluit anteferre res falsas. In his enim, quae
true he-was-unwilling to-prefer things false in these for which
scripsit de rebus humanis, secutus est historiam rerum
he-wrote about things human followed he-has the-history of-things
gestarum; quae autem de his, quas diuinas uocat, quid nisi
done what but about these which divine he-calls what except

opiniones rerum uanarum? Hoc est nimirum, quod uoluit
opinions of-things vain this is doubtless what he-wished
subtili significatione monstrare, non solum scribens de his
by-subtle signification to-show not only writing about these
posterius quam de illis, sed etiam rationem reddens quur id
later than about those but also the-reason giving why it
fecerit. Quam si tacuisset, aliter hoc factum eius ab aliis
he-did which if he-had-kept-silent otherwise this deed his by others
fortasse defenderetur. In ea uero ipsa ratione, quam reddidit,
perhaps would-be-defended in that indeed very reason which he-gave
nec aliis quidquam reliquit pro arbitrio suspicari et satis
neither to-others anything he-left at will to-suspect and sufficiently
probauit homines se praeposuisse institutis hominum,
he-proved men himself to-have-set-before to-the-institutions of-men
non naturam hominum naturae deorum. Ita se libros
not the-nature of-men to-the-nature of-the-gods so himself books
rerum diuinarum non de ueritate quae pertinet ad naturam,
of-things divine not about truth which pertains to nature
sed de falsitate quae pertinet ad errorem scripsisse confessus
but about falsity which pertains to error to-have-written confessed
est. Quod apertius alibi posuit, sicut in quarto libro
has which more-openly elsewhere he-put as in the-fourth book
commemoraui, ex naturae formula se scripturum fuisse,
I-recalled from of-nature the-formula himself about-to-write to-have-been
si nouam ipse conderet ciuitatem; quia uero iam ueterem
if a-new he-himself were-founding city because but already an-old
inuenerat, non se potuisse nisi eius consuetudinem sequi.
he-had-found not himself to-have-been-able except its custom to-follow

V · VARRO'S THREE THEOLOGIES

Varro names three theologies: the mythical, of the poets, which feigns gods born from heads and thighs, stealing, adulterous, and serving men, and which he freely blamed; the physical, of the philosophers, asking whether the gods are fire, numbers, or atoms, which he shut in the schools; and the civil, of the peoples, what citizens and priests must know of public rites. He gives the first to the theater, the second to the world, the third to the city; but the theater is the city's.

Deinde illud quale est, quod tria genera theologiae dicit esse,
then that of-what-kind is that three kinds of-theology he-says to-be
id est rationis quae de dis explicatur, eorumque unum
that is of-the-account which about the-gods is-unfolded and-of-them one
mythicon, alterum physicon, tertium ciuile? Latine si usus
mythical the-other physical the-third civil in-Latin if usage
admitteret, genus, quod primum posuit, fabulare appellaremus;
allowed the-kind which first he-put fabular we-would-call
sed fabulosum dicamus; a fabulis enim mythicon dictum
but fabulous let-us-say from fables for mythical called
est, quoniam μῦθος Graece fabula dicitur. Secundum autem
it-is since mythos in-Greek fable is-called the-second but
ut naturale dicatur, iam et consuetudo locutionis admittit.
that natural it-be-called already also the-custom of-speech allows
Tertium etiam ipse Latine enuntiauit, quod ciuile appellatur.
the-third even he-himself in-Latin expressed which civil is-called
Deinde ait: "Mythicon appellant, quo maxime utuntur poetae;
then he-says mythical they-call which most use the-poets
physicon, quo philosophi; ciuile, quo populi. Primum, inquit,
physical which the-philosophers civil which the-peoples the-first he-says
quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem et naturam
which I-named in it are many-things against the-dignity and nature
inmortalium ficta. In hoc enim est, ut deus alius ex capite,
of-the-immortals feigned in this for it-is that god one from the-head

alius ex femore sit, alius ex guttis sanguinis natus: in hoc,
another from the-thigh be another from drops of-blood born in this
ut di furati sint, ut adulterarint, ut seruierint homini;
that gods stolen have that they-committed-adultery that they-served a-man
denique in hoc omnia dis adtribuuntur, quae non modo in
finally in this all-things to-the-gods are-attributed which not only to
hominem, sed etiam quae in contemtissimum hominem cadere
a-man but even which to the-most-despised man to-befall
possunt". Hic certe ubi potuit, ubi ausus est, ubi inpunitum
can here certainly where he-could where dared he-has where unpunished
putauit, quanta mendacissimis fabulis naturae deorum fieret
he-thought how-great by-most-lying fables to-the-nature of-the-gods was-done
iniuria, sine caligine ullius ambiguitatis expressit. Loquebatur
injury without the-fog of-any ambiguity he-expressed he-was-speaking
enim non de naturali theologia, non de ciuili, sed de
for not about natural theology not about civil but about
fabulosa, quam libere a se putauit esse culpandam.
fabulous which freely by himself he-thought to-be to-be-blamed

Videamus quid de altera dicat. "Secundum genus est,
let-us-see what about the-other he-says the-second kind is
inquit, quod demonstraui, de quo multos libros philosophi
he-says which I-pointed-out about which many books the-philosophers
reliquerunt; in quibus est, di qui sint, ubi, quod genus,
have-left in which is gods who they-are where what kind
quale; a quodam tempore an a sempiterno fuerint di; ex
of-what-sort from a-certain time or from eternity have-been gods from
igni sint, ut credit Heraclitus, an ex numeris, ut Pythagoras,
fire they-are as believes Heraclitus or from numbers as Pythagoras
an ex atomis, ut ait Epicurus. Sic alia, quae facilius
or from atoms as says Epicurus so other-things which more-easily
intra parietes in schola quam extra in foro ferre possunt
within walls in a-school than outside in the-forum to-bear can

aures". Nihil in hoc genere culpauit, quod physicon uocant
ears nothing in this kind he-blamed which physical they-call
et ad philosophos pertinet, tantum quod eorum inter se
and to the-philosophers pertains only that their among themselves
controuersias commemorauit, per quos facta est dissidentium
controversies he-recalled through whom made was of-disagreeing
multitudo sectarum. Remouit tamen hoc genus a foro, id
a-multitude of-sects he-removed yet this kind from the-forum that
est a populis; scholis uero et parietibus clausit. Illud autem
is from the-peoples in-schools but and in-walls shut-up that but
primum mendacissimum adque turpissimum a ciuitatibus non
first most-lying and most-shameful from the-cities not
remouit. O religiosas aures populares adque in his etiam
he-removed O religious ears popular and among these even
Romanas! Quod de dis inmortalibus philosophi disputant,
Roman what about the-gods immortal the-philosophers dispute
ferre non possunt; quod uero poetae canunt et histriones agunt,
to-bear not they-can what but the-poets sing and the-actors act
quia contra dignitatem ac naturam inmortalium ficta sunt,
because against the-dignity and nature of-the-immortals feigned are
quia non modo in hominem, sed etiam in contemtissimum
because not only to a-man but even to the-most-despised
hominem cadere possunt, non solum ferunt, sed etiam
man to-befall can not only they-bear but even
libenter audiunt. Neque id tantum, sed dis quoque ipsis
gladly they-bear nor this only but to-the-gods also themselves
haec placere et per haec eos placandos esse decernunt.
these-things to-please and through these-things them to-be-placated to-be they-decree
Dixerit aliquis: Haec duo genera mythicon et physicon, id
may-say someone these two kinds mythical and physical that
est fabulosum adque naturale, discernamus ab hoc ciuili,
is fabulous and natural let-us-distinguish from this civil

de quo nunc agitur, unde illa et ipse discreuit, iamque
about which now it-is-treated whence those also he-himself distinguished and-now
ipsum ciuile uideamus qualiter explicet. Video quidem, quur
the-very civil let-us-see how he-unfolds I-see indeed why
debeat discerni fabulosum: quia falsum, quia turpe, quia
it-ought to-be-distinguished the-fabulous because false because shameful because
indignum est. Naturale autem a ciuili uelle discernere quid
unworthy it-is the-natural but from the-civil to-wish to-distinguish what
est aliud quam etiam ipsum ciuile fateri esse mendosum?
is other than also the-very civil to-confess to-be faulty
Si enim illud naturale est, quid habet reprehensionis, ut
if for that natural is what has-it of-blame that
excludatur? Si autem hoc quod ciuile dicitur naturale non
it-be-excluded if but this which civil is-called natural not
est, quid habet meriti, ut admittatur? Haec nempe illa causa
is what has-it of-merit that it-be-admitted this surely that cause
est, quare prius scripserit de rebus humanis, posterius de
is why first he-wrote about things human later about
diuinis, quoniam in diuinis rebus non naturam, sed hominum
divine since in divine things not nature but of-men
instituta secutus est. Intueamur sane et ciuilem theologian.
the-institutions followed he-has let-us-look-at indeed also the-civil theology
“Tertium genus est, inquit, quod in urbibus ciues, maxime
the-third kind is he-says which in cities the-citizens most-of-all
sacerdotes, nosse adque administrare debent. In quo est,
the-priests to-know and to-administer ought in which is
quos deos publice, quae sacra ac sacrificia colere et facere
which gods publicly which rites and sacrifices to-worship and to-do
quemque par sit”. Adhuc quod sequitur adtendamus. “Prima,
each fitting be further what follows let-us-attend the-first
inquit, theologia maxime adcommodata est ad theatrum,
he-says theology most fitted is to the-theater

secunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem". Quis non uideat,
the-second to the-world the-third to the-city who not would-see
cui palmam dederit? Utique secundae, quam supra dixit
to-whom the-palm he-gave assuredly to-the-second which above he-said
esse philosophorum. Hanc enim pertinere testatur ad mundum,
to-be of-the-philosophers this for to-pertain he-testifies to the-world
quo isti nihil esse excellentius opinantur in rebus. Duas
than-which these nothing to-be more-excellent think among things two
uero illas theologias, primam et tertiam, theatri scilicet
but those theologies the-first and the-third of-the-theater namely
adque urbis, distinxit an iunxit? Videmus enim non
and of-the-city did-he-distinguish or did-he-join we-see for not
continuo, quod est urbis, pertinere posse et ad mundum,
straightway what is of-the-city to-pertain to-be-able also to the-world
quamuis urbes esse uideamus in mundo; fieri enim potest,
although cities to-be we-see in the-world to-be-done for it-can
ut in urbe secundum falsas opiniones ea colantur et
that in a-city according-to false opinions those-things be-worshiped and
ea credantur, quorum in mundo uel extra mundum
those-things be-believed whose in the-world or outside the-world
natura sit nusquam: theatrum uero ubi est nisi in urbe? Quis
nature is nowhere the-theater but where is-it except in a-city who
theatrum instituit nisi ciuitas? Propter quid instituit nisi
the-theater established except the-city for what did-it-establish except
propter ludos scaenicos? Ubi sunt ludi scaenici nisi in rebus
for games theatrical where are games theatrical except in things
diuinis, de quibus hi libri tanta sollertia conscribuntur?
divine about which these books with-so-great skill are-written

VI · VARRO AND THE CIVIL THEOLOGY

Augustine addresses Varro: most learned, but a man, not freed by God's spirit, he fears to offend the people's customs. He wishes to worship the natural gods, is forced to worship the civil, and pours on the civil what he vomits on the fabulous, since the gods mocked in theaters are adored in temples. The fabulous sows, the civil reaps; neither gives eternal life. The stage is shameless because the temples are alike; Varro blends the civil from both, nearer the philosophers, yet owns that the peoples follow the poets, who write what the gods demand.

O Marce Varro, cum sis homo omnium acutissimus
O Marcus Varro although you-are a-man of-all the-most-acute
et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimus, sed tamen homo,
and without any doubt the-most-learned but yet a-man
non Deus, nec spiritu Dei ad uidenda et adnuntianda
not God nor by-the-spirit of-God to to-be-seen and to-be-announced
diuina in ueritatem libertatemque subuectus, cernis
divine-things into truth and-freedom lifted-up you-discern
quidem quam sint res diuinae ab humanis nugis adque
indeed how-much are things divine from human trifles and
mendaciis dirimendae; sed uitiosissimas populorum opiniones
lies to-be-separated but most-vicious of-the-peoples opinions
et consuetudines in superstitionibus publicis uereris offendere,
and customs in superstitions public you-fear to-offend
quas ab deorum natura abhorrere uel talium, quales in huius
which from of-the-gods the-nature to-shrink or of-such such-as in of-this
mundi elementis humani animi suspicatur infirmitas, et
world the-elements of-the-human mind suspects the-weakness both
sentis ipse, cum eas usquequaque consideras, et omnis uestra
you-feel yourself when them everywhere you-consider and all your
litteratura circumsonat. Quid hic agit humanum quamuis
literature resounds what here does human however

excellentissimum ingenium? Quid tibi humana licet multiplex
most-excellent talent what to-you human although manifold
ingensque doctrina in his angustiis suffragatur? Naturales
and-huge learning in these straits avails the-natural
deos colere cupis, ciuiles cogeris. Inuenisti alios
gods to-worship you-desire the-civil you-are-compelled you-have-found others
fabulosos, in quos liberius quod sentis euomas, unde et
fabulous on whom more-freely what you-feel you-may-vomit whence also
istos ciuiles uelis nolisue perfundas. Dicis quippe fabulosos
these civil willing or-unwilling you-may-drench you-say for the-fabulous
adcommodatos esse ad theatrum, naturales ad mundum, ciuiles
fitted to-be to the-theater the-natural to the-world the-civil
ad urbem, cum mundus opus sit diuinum, urbes uero et
to the-city though the-world a-work is divine cities but and
theatra opera sint hominum, nec alii derideantur in theatris,
theaters works are of-men nor others are-derided in theaters
quam qui adorantur in templis, nec aliis ludos exhibeatis,
than who are-adored in temples nor to-others games you-show
quam quibus uictimas immolatis. Quanto liberius subtiliusque
than to-whom victims you-sacrifice how-much more-freely and-more-subtly
ista diuideres, dicens alios esse deos naturales, alios ab
these-things you-would-divide saying some to-be gods natural others by
hominibus institutos, sed de institutis aliud habere litteras
men established but about the-established one-thing to-hold the-letters
poetarum, aliud sacerdotum, utrasque tamen ita esse inter
of-poets another of-priests both yet so to-be among
se amicas consortio falsitatis, ut gratae sint utraeque
themselves friendly by-the-fellowship of-falsity that pleasing are both
daemonibus, quibus doctrina inimica est ueritatis! Sequestrata
to-the-demons to-whom the-teaching hostile is of-truth set-aside
igitur paululum theologia, quam naturalem uocant, de qua
then a-little the-theology which natural they-call about which

postea disserendum est, placetne tandem uitam aeternam
afterward to-be-discussed it-is does-it-please at-length life eternal
peti aut sperari ab dis poeticis theatricis, ludicris
to-be-sought or to-be-hoped from gods poetic theatrical playful
scaenicis? Absit; immo auertat Deus uerus tam inmanem
scenic far-be-it rather may-avert God true so monstrous
sacrilegamque dementiam. Quid? ab eis dis, quibus haec
and-sacrilegious madness what from those gods to-whom these-things
placent et quos haec placant, cum eorum illic crimina
are-pleasing and whom these-things placate when their there crimes
frequententur, uita aeterna poscenda est? Nemo, ut arbitror,
are-celebrated life eternal to-be-demanded is no-one as I-think
usque ad tantum praecipitium furiosissimae inpietatis insanit.
as-far to so-great a-precipice of-most-furious ungodliness is-mad
Nec fabulosa igitur nec ciuili theologia sempiternam
neither by-the-fabulous therefore nor by-the-civil theology everlasting
quisquam adipiscitur uitam. Illa enim de dis turpia
anyone obtains life that for about the-gods shameful-things
fingendo seminat, haec fauendo metit; illa mendacia spargit,
by-feigning sows this by-favoring reaps that lies scatters
haec colligit; illa res diuinas falsis criminibus insectatur,
this gathers that things divine with-false crimes attacks
haec eorum criminum ludos in diuinis rebus amplectitur;
this of-those crimes the-games among divine things embraces
illa de dis nefanda figmenta hominum carminibus
that about the-gods unspeakable fictions of-men with-songs
personat, haec ea deorum ipsorum festiuitatibus consecrat;
sounds-forth this them of-the-gods themselves by-the-festivals consecrates
facinora et flagitia numinum illa cantat, haec amat; illa
the-deeds and outrages of-the-divinities that sings this loves that
prodit aut fingit, haec autem aut adtestatur ueris aut
discloses or feigns this but either attests to-true-ones or

oblectatur et falsis. Ambae turpes ambaeque damnabiles;
is-delighted even by-false-ones both shameful and-both damnable
sed illa, quae theatrica est, publicam turpitudinem profitetur;
but that which theatrical is public shamefulness professes
ista, quae urbana est, illius turpitudine ornatur. Hincine uita
this which urban is of-that by-the-shamefulness is-adorned from-here life
aeterna sperabitur, unde ista breuis temporalisque polluitur?
eternal will-be-hoped whence this brief and-temporal is-polluted
An uero uitam polluit consortium nefariorum hominum,
or indeed life pollutes the-fellowship of-wicked men
si se inserant adfectionibus et adsensionibus nostris,
if themselves they-insert into-affections and assents our
et uitam non polluit societas daemonum, qui coluntur
and life not pollutes the-society of-demons who are-worshiped
criminibus suis? Si ueris, quam mali! si falsis, quam male!
by-crimes their-own if by-true how wicked if by-false how wickedly
Haec cum dicimus, uideri fortasse cuipiam nimis harum
these-things when we-say to-seem perhaps to-someone too of-these
rerum ignaro potest ea sola de dis talibus maiestati
things ignorant it-can those-things only about gods such to-majesty
indigna diuinae et ridicula detestabilia celebrari, quae
unworthy divine and ridiculous detestable to-be-celebrated which
poeticis cantantur carminibus et ludis scaenicis actitantur;
in-poetic are-sung songs and in-games theatrical are-acted
sacra uero illa, quae non histriones, sed sacerdotes agunt,
rites but those which not actors but priests perform
ab omni esse dedecore purgata et aliena. Hoc si ita
from all to-be disgrace cleansed and alien this if so
esset, numquam theatricas turpitudines in eorum honorem
it-were never theatrical shamefulnesses in their honor
quisquam celebrandas esse censeret, numquam eas ipsi
anyone to-be-celebrated to-be would-judge never them themselves

di praeciperent sibimet exhiberi. Sed ideo nihil pudet
gods would-order to-themselves to-be-shown but for-this-reason nothing shames
ad obsequium deorum talia gerere in theatris, quia
for the-homage of-the-gods such-things to-perform in theaters because
similia geruntur in templis. Denique cum memoratus auctor
like-things are-performed in temples finally when the-mentioned author
ciuilem theologian a fabulosa et naturali tertiam quandam
civil theology from the-fabulous and natural a-third certain
sui generis distinguere conaretur, magis eam ex utraque
of-its-own kind to-distinguish tried rather it from both
temperatam quam ab utraque separatam intellegi uoluit.
blended than from both separated to-be-understood he-wished
Ait enim ea, quae scribunt poetae, minus esse quam ut
he-says for those-things which write the-poets less to-be than that
populi sequi debeant; quae autem philosophi, plus quam ut
peoples to-follow ought what but the-philosophers more than that
ea uulgum scrutari expediat. “Quae sic abhorrent, inquit,
them the-mob to-search-out is-expedient which so are-at-variance he-says
ut tamen ex utroque genere ad ciuiles rationes adsumta
that yet from each kind for civil accounts taken
sint non pauca. Quare quae erunt communia, una cum
have-been not few wherefore what will-be common together with
propriis ciuilibus scribemus; e quibus maior societas debet
the-proper civil-ones we-shall-write from which greater fellowship ought
esse nobis cum philosophis quam cum poetis”. Non ergo ulla
to-be for-us with the-philosophers than with the-poets not therefore any
cum poetis. Et tamen alio loco dicit de generationibus
with the-poets and yet in-another place he-says about the-generations
deorum magis ad poetas quam ad physicos fuisse populos
of-the-gods more to the-poets than to the-physicists to-have-been the-peoples
inclinatos. Hic enim dixit quid fieri debeat, ibi quid
inclined here for he-said what to-be-done ought there what

fiat. Physicos dixit utilitatis causa scripsisse, poetas
is-done the-physicists he-said of-usefulness for-the-sake to-have-written the-poets
delectationis. Ac per hoc ea, quae a poetis conscripta
of-delight and through this those-things which by the-poets written
populi sequi non debent, crimina sunt deorum, quae tamen
the-peoples to-follow not ought crimes are of-the-gods which yet
delectant et populos et deos. Delectationis enim causa,
delight both peoples and gods of-delight for for-the-sake
sicut dicit, scribunt poetae, non utilitatis; ea tamen
as he-says write the-poets not of-usefulness those-things yet
scribunt, quae di expetant, populi exhibeant.
they-write which the-gods demand the-peoples show

VII · THE MYTHICAL AND CIVIL THEOLOGIES ALIKE

The theatrical theology is a fitting member of the civil. Bearded Jupiter, Priapus' obscenity, old Saturn, and young Apollo stand in temples as on the stage; Forculus, Limentinus, and Cardea divide one door; Jupiter's nurse stands in the Capitol, and Varro records, in earnest, the parasites at his table. Hercules' sacristan diced against the god and paid him the courtesan Larentina, who left her wealth to Rome and won divine honors. The rites of Juno, Ceres, Venus' Adonis, and the Mother's Attis, served by eunuchs, are fouler than any stage.

Reuocatur igitur ad theologian ciuilem theologia fabulosa
is-called-back therefore to theology civil theology fabulous
theatrica scaenica, indignitatis et turpitudinis plena, et haec
theatrical scenic of-unworthiness and of-shamefulness full and this
tota, quae merito culpanda et respuenda iudicatur, pars
whole which deservedly to-be-blamed and to-be-rejected is-judged part
huius est, quae colenda et obseruanda censetur; non
of-this is which to-be-worshiped and to-be-observed is-deemed not

sane pars incongrua, sicut ostendere institui, et quae ab
indeed a-part incongruous as to-show I-undertook and which from
uniuerso corpore aliena inportune illi conexa adque suspensa
the-whole body alien unseasonably to-it connected and hung-on
sit, sed omnino consona et tamquam eiusdem corporis
be but altogether harmonious and as-if of-the-same body
membrum conuenientissime copulata. Quid enim aliud
a-member most-fittingly joined what for else
ostendunt illa simulacra formae aetates sexus habitus deorum?
show those images forms ages sexes dress of-the-gods
Numquid barbatum Iouem, inberbem Mercurium poetae
surely-not bearded Jupiter beardless Mercury the-poets
habent, pontifices non habent? Numquid Priapo mimi,
have the-pontiffs not have surely-not for-Priapus the-mimes
non etiam sacerdotes enormia pudenda fecerunt? An aliter
not also the-priests enormous privy-parts have-made or otherwise
stat adorandus in locis sacris, quam procedit ridendus
stands to-be-adored in places sacred than comes-forth to-be-laughed-at
in theatris? Num Saturnus senex, Apollo ephebus ita
in theaters surely-not Saturn old Apollo a-youth so
personae sunt histrionum, ut non sint statuae delubrorum?
the-masks are of-actors that not they-are the-statues of-shrines
Quur Forculus, qui foribus praeest, et Limentinus, qui
why Forculus who over-the-doors presides and Limentinus who
limini, di sunt masculi, adque inter hos Cardea
over-the-threshold gods are male and between these Cardea
femina est, quae cardinem seruat? Nonne ista in rerum
female is who the-hinge guards surely these-things in of-things
diuinarum libris reperiuntur, quae graues poetae suis
divine the-books are-found which serious poets for-their-own
carminibus indigna duxerunt? Numquid Diana theatrica portat
songs unworthy have-held surely-not Diana theatrical carries

arma et urbana simpliciter uirgo est? Numquid scaenicus
arms and the-urban simply a-virgin is surely-not the-scenic
Apollo citharista est et ab hac arte Delphicus uacat? Sed
Apollo a-harpist is and from this art the-Delphic is-free but
haec honestiora sunt in conparatione turpiorum. Quid
these more-honorable are in comparison of-more-shameful-things what
de ipso Ioue senserunt, qui eius nutricem in Capitolio
about the-very Jupiter thought those-who his nurse in the-Capitol
posuerunt? Nonne adtestati sunt Euemero, qui omnes tales
placed surely attested have to-Euhemerus who all such
deos non fabulosa garrulitate, sed historica diligentia homines
gods not by-fabulous garrulity but by-historical diligence men
fuisse mortalesque conscripsit? Epulones etiam deos,
to-have-been and-mortals wrote banqueters even gods
parasitos Iouis, ad eius mensam qui constituerunt, quid aliud
parasites of-Jupiter at his table who established what else
quam mimica sacra esse uoluerunt? Nam parasitos Iouis ad
than mimic rites to-be wished for parasites of-Jupiter to
conuiuium eius adhibitos si mimus dixisset, utique risum
the-banquet his brought if a-mime had-said assuredly a-laugh
quaesisse uideretur. Varro dixit! non cum inrideret deos, sed
to-have-sought he-would-seem Varro said not when he-mocked the-gods but
cum commendaret hoc dixit; diuinarum, non humanarum
when he-commended this he-said of-divine not of-human
rerum libri hoc eum scripsisse testantur, nec ubi ludos
things the-books this him to-have-written testify nor where games
scaenicos exponebat, sed ubi Capitolina iura pandebat. Denique
theatrical he-expounded but where the-Capitoline laws he-unfolded finally
talibus uincitur et fatetur, sicut forma humana deos
by-such-things he-is-overcome and confesses as in-form human the-gods
fecerunt, ita eos delectari humanis uoluptatibus credidisse.
they-made so them to-be-delighted with-human pleasures to-have-believed

Non enim et maligni spiritus suo negotio defuerunt,
not for also malign spirits to-their-own business were-wanting
ut has noxias opiniones humanarum mentium ludificatione
that these harmful opinions of-human minds by-the-mockery
firmarent. Unde etiam illud est, quod Herculis aedituus
they-might-strengthen whence also that is that of-Hercules the-sacristan
otiosus adque feriatus lusit tesseris secum utraque manu
idle and on-holiday played with-dice with-himself each hand
alternante, in una constituens Herculem, in altera se ipsum,
alternating in one setting Hercules in the-other him himself
sub ea condicione, ut, si ipse uicisset, de stipe
under that condition that if he-himself had-won from the-offerings
templi sibi cenam pararet amicamque conduceret;
of-the-temple for-himself a-dinner he-would-provide and-a-mistress would-hire
si autem uictoria Herculis fieret, hoc idem de pecunia
if but the-victory of-Hercules should-be this same from money
sua uoluptati Herculis exhiberet; deinde cum a se
his-own for-the-pleasure of-Hercules he-would-furnish then when by him
ipso tamquam ab Hercule uictus esset, debitam cenam
himself as-if by Hercules conquered he-had-been the-owed dinner
et nobilissimam meretricem Larentinam deo Herculi
and the-most-noble courtesan Larentina to-the-god Hercules
dedit. At illa cum dormisset in templo, uidit in somnis
he-gave but she when she-had-slept in the-temple saw in dreams
Herculem sibi esse commixtum sibique dixisse, quod inde
Hercules with-her to-be united and-to-her to-have-said that thence
discedens, cui primum iuueni obuia fieret, aput
departing to-whatever first young-man in-the-way she-should-come with
illum esset inuentura mercedem, quam sibi credere
him she-would-be about-to-find the-wage which to-herself to-believe
deberet ab Hercule persolutam. Ac sic abeunti cum
she-ought by Hercules paid and so to-(her)-departing when

primus iuuenis ditissimus Tarutius occurrisset eamque
first a-young-man very-rich Tarutius had-met and-her
dilectam secum diutius habuisset, illa herede defunctus
loved with-himself longer had-kept with-her as-heir died
est. Quae amplissimam adepta pecuniam ne diuinae
has who most-ample having-obtained wealth lest to-the-divine
mercedi uideretur ingrata, quod acceptissimum putauit esse
wage she-should-seem ungrateful what most-acceptable she-thought to-be
numinibus, populum Romanum etiam ipsa scripsit heredem,
to-the-divinities the-people Roman also she-herself wrote heir
adque illa non conparente inuentum est testamentum; quibus
and she not appearing found was the-will by-which
meritis eam ferunt etiam honores meruisse diuinos.
merits her they-report even honors to-have-earned divine

Haec si poetae fingerent, si mimi agerent, ad fabulosam
these-things if the-poets feigned if mimes acted to fabulous
theologian dicerentur procul dubio pertinere et a
theology they-would-be-said far from-doubt to-pertain and from
ciuilis theologiae dignitate separanda iudicarentur. Cum uero
of-civil theology the-dignity to-be-separated would-be-judged when but
haec dedecora non poetarum, sed populorum; non mimorum,
these disgraces not of-poets but of-peoples not of-mimes
sed sacrorum; non theatrorum, sed templorum; id est non
but of-rites not of-theaters but of-temples that is not
fabulosae, sed ciuilis theologiae, a tanto auctore produntur:
of-fabulous but of-civil theology by so-great an-author are-disclosed
non frustra histriones ludicris artibus fingunt deorum quae
not in-vain actors by-playful arts portray of-the-gods which
tanta est turpitudinem, sed plane frustra sacerdotes uelut
so-great is the-shamefulness but plainly in-vain priests as-if
sacris ritibus conantur fingere deorum quae nulla est
by-sacred rites try to-portray of-the-gods which none is

honestatem. Sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta
the-honor rites are of-Juno and these in her beloved
insula Samo celebrabantur, ubi nuptum data est Ioui; sacra
island Samos were-celebrated where in-marriage given was to-Jupiter rites
sunt Cereris, ubi a Plutone rapta Proserpina quaeritur; sacra
are of-Ceres where by Pluto seized Proserpina is-sought rites
sunt Veneris, ubi amatus eius Adon aprino dente extinctus
are of-Venus where beloved her Adonis by-a-boar's tooth killed
iuuenis formosissimus plangitur; sacra sunt Matris deum,
young-man most-beautiful is-lamented rites are of-the-Mother of-the-gods
ubi Attis pulcher adulescens ab ea dilectus et muliebri zelo
where Attis handsome youth by her loved and by-womanly jealousy
abscisus etiam hominum abscisorum, quos Gallos uocant,
castrated also of-men castrated whom Galli they-call
infelicitate deploratur. Haec cum deformiora sint omni
by-the-misfortune is-bewailed these-things since more-hideous are than-all
scaenica foeditate, quid est quod fabulosa de dis figmenta
theatrical foulness what is-it that fabulous about the-gods fictions
poetarum ad theatrum uidelicet pertinentia uelut secernere
of-the-poets to the-theater namely pertaining as-if to-separate
nituntur a ciuili theologia, quam pertinere ad urbem uolunt,
they-strive from civil theology which to-pertain to the-city they-wish
quasi ab honestis et dignis indigna et turpia? Itaque
as-if from honorable and worthy-things unworthy and shameful and-so
potius est unde gratiae debeantur histrionibus, qui oculis
rather there-is whence thanks should-be-owed to-the-actors who the-eyes
hominum pepercerunt nec omnia spectaculis nudauerunt,
of-men spared nor all-things in-shows laid-bare
quae sacrarum aedium parietibus occuluntur. Quid de sacris
which of-sacred shrines by-the-walls are-hidden what about rites
eorum boni sentiendum est, quae tenebris operiuntur, cum
their of-good to-be-thought is which by-darkness are-covered when

tam sint detestabilia, quae proferuntur in lucem? Et certe
so are detestable those-which are-brought-forth into the-light and certainly
quid in occulto agant per abscisos et molles, ipsi
what in secret they-do through castrated and effeminate they-themselves
uiderint; eosdem tamen homines infeliciter ac turpiter
let-them-see the-same yet men unhappily and shamefully
eneruatos adque corruptos occultare minime potuerunt.
unmanned and corrupted to-hide by-no-means they-could
Persuadeant cui possunt se aliquid sanctum per tales
let-them-persuade whom they-can themselves something holy through such
agere homines, quos inter sua sancta numerari adque
to-do men whom among their-own holy-things to-be-numbered and
uersari negare non possunt. Nescimus quid agant, sed
to-move to-deny not they-can we-know-not what they-do but
scimus per quales agant. Nouimus enim quae agantur in
we-know through what-sort they-do we-know for what is-done on
scaena, quo numquam uel in choro meretricum abscisus
the-stage where never even in the-chorus of-courtesans a-castrate
aut mollis intrauit; et tamen etiam ipsa turpes et
or effeminate has-entered and yet even those-very-things the-shameful and
infames agunt; neque enim ab honestis agi debuerunt.
infamous perform nor for by the-honorable to-be-done ought
Quae sunt ergo illa sacra, quibus agendis tales elegit
which are then those rites for-which to-be-performed such has-chosen
sanctitas, quales nec thymelica in se admisit obscenitas?
holiness such-as not-even theatrical into itself has-admitted obscenity

The rites are said to have physical interpretations, as if theology were natural science. If the Mother of the gods is the earth, that supports those who say the gods were men, born of earth; and men suffering as women is against nature. If allegory excuses the rites, it excuses the poets too, as Saturn devouring his sons is read as time. The learned set the civil beside the fabulous so that both might be despised and the natural remain; both are alike, so gods whose images and rites match the rejected fabulous ones cannot give eternal life.

At enim habent ista physiologicas quasdam, sicut aiunt,
but for have these-things physiological certain as they-say
id est naturalium rationum interpretationes. Quasi uero nos
that is of-natural reasons interpretations as-if indeed we
in hac disputatione physiologian quaerimus et non theologian,
in this disputation physiology seek and not theology
id est rationem non naturae, sed Dei. Quamuis enim qui
that is the-account not of-nature but of-God although for he-who
uerus Deus est non opinione, sed natura Deus sit: non
true God is not by-opinion but by-nature God be not
tamen omnis natura deus est, quia et hominis et pecoris,
yet every nature god is because both of-a-man and of-a-beast
et arboris et lapidis utique natura est, quorum nihil est
and of-a-tree and of-a-stone assuredly a-nature there-is of-which none is
deus. Si autem interpretationis huius, quando agitur de
god if but of-interpretation this when it-is-treated about
sacris Matris deum, caput est certe quod Mater deum
the-rites of-the-Mother of-the-gods the-head is certainly that the-Mother of-the-gods
terra est, quid ultra quaerimus, quid cetera perscrutamur?
the-earth is what further do-we-seek why the-rest do-we-examine
Quid euidentius suffragatur eis, qui dicunt omnes istos deos
what more-evidently supports those who say all these gods

homines fuisse? Sic enim sunt terrigenae, sic eis mater
men to-have-been so for they-are earth-born so for-them mother
est terra. In uera autem theologia opus Dei est terra, non
is the-earth in true but theology the-work of-God is the-earth not
mater. Verum tamen quoquo modo sacra eius interpretentur
the-mother but yet in-whatever way the-rites her they-interpret
et referant ad rerum naturam: uiros muliebria pati non
and refer to of-things the-nature men womanly-things to-suffer not
est secundum naturam, sed contra naturam. Hic morbus,
is according-to nature but against nature this disease
hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa sacra professionem,
this crime this disgrace has among those rites a-profession
quod in uitiosis hominum moribus uix habet inter
which in vicious of-men morals scarcely has among
tormenta confessionem. Deinde si ista sacra, quae scaenicis
tortures confession then if these rites which than-theatrical
turpitudinibus conuincuntur esse foediora, hinc excusantur
shamefulnesses are-proved to-be fouler hence are-excused
adque purgantur, quod habent interpretationes suas, quibus
and are-cleansed that they-have interpretations their-own by-which
ostendantur rerum significare naturam: quur non etiam poetica
they-are-shown of-things to-signify the-nature why not also the-poetic
similiter excusentur adque purgentur? Multi enim et ipsa ad
likewise are-excused and cleansed many for even these to
eundem modum interpretati sunt, usque adeo ut, quod ab
the-same manner interpreted have so far that what by
eis inmanissimum et infandissimum dicitur, Saturnum suos
them most-monstrous and most-unspeakable is-said Saturn his-own
filios deuorasse, ita nonnulli interpretentur, quod longinquitas
sons to-have-devoured so some interpret that the-length
temporis, quae Saturni nomine significatur, quidquid gignit
of-time which of-Saturn by-the-name is-signified whatever it-begets

ipsa consumat, uel, sicut idem opinatur Varro, quod pertineat
itself consumes or as the-same thinks Varro that pertains
Saturnus ad semina, quae in terram, de qua oriuntur, iterum
Saturn to the-seeds which into the-earth from which they-arise again
recidunt. Itemque alii alio modo et similiter cetera.
fall-back and-likewise others in-another way and similarly the-rest
Et tamen theologia fabulosa dicitur et cum omnibus huiusce
and yet theology fabulous it-is-called and with all of-this
modi interpretationibus suis reprehenditur abicitur inprobatur,
kind interpretations its-own is-blamed is-cast-off is-disapproved
nec solum a naturali, quae philosophorum est, uerum etiam
nor only from the-natural which of-the-philosophers is but also
ab ista ciuili, de qua agimus, quae ad urbes populosque
from this civil about which we-treat which to cities and-peoples
adseritur pertinere, eo quod de dis indigna confinxerit,
is-asserted to-pertain by-this that about the-gods unworthy-things it-has-invented
merito repudianda discernitur, eo nimirum consilio, ut,
deservedly to-be-repudiated is-distinguished with-this doubtless design that
quoniam acutissimi homines adque doctissimi, a quibus
since most-acute men and most-learned by whom
ista conscripta sunt, ambas inprobandas intellegebant,
these-things written were both to-be-disapproved understood
et illam scilicet fabulosam et istam ciuilem, illam uero
both that namely fabulous and this civil that but
audebant inprobare, hanc non audebant; illam culpandam
they-dared to-disapprove this not they-dared that to-be-blamed
proposuerunt, hanc eius similem conparandam exposuerunt, —
they-set-forth this to-it like to-be-compared they-exhibited
non ut haec prae illa tenenda eligeretur, sed ut cum illa
not that this before that to-be-held might-be-chosen but that with that
respuenda intellegeretur, adque ita sine periculo eorum, qui
to-be-rejected it-might-be-understood and so without danger of-those who

ciuilem theologian reprehendere metuebant, utraque contemta
civil theology to-blame feared both despised
ea, quam naturalem uocant, aput meliores animos inueniret
that which natural they-call with better minds might-find
locum. Nam et ciuilis et fabulosa ambae fabulosae sunt
a-place for both the-civil and the-fabulous both fabulous are
ambaeque ciuiles; ambas inueniet fabulosas, qui uanitates et
and-both civil both will-find fabulous who the-vanities and
obscenitates ambarum prudenter inspexerit; ambas ciuiles, qui
obscenities of-both prudently has-inspected both civil who
scaenicos ludos pertinentes ad fabulosam in deorum ciuilium
theatrical games pertaining to the-fabulous in of-gods civil
festiuitatibus et in urbium diuinis rebus aduerterit. Quo
the-festivals and in of-cities divine things has-noticed in-what
modo igitur uitae aeternae dandae potestas cuiquam deorum
way then of-life eternal to-be-given the-power to-any of-gods
istorum tribuitur, quos sua simulacra et sacra conuincunt
these is-attributed whom their-own images and rites prove
dis fabulosis apertissime reprobatis esse simillimos formis
to-gods fabulous most-openly rejected to-be most-like in-forms
aetatibus, sexu habitu, coniugiis generationibus ritibus, in
ages sex dress marriages generations rites in
quibus omnibus aut homines fuisse intelleguntur et pro
which all either men to-have-been they-are-understood and for
uniuscuiusque uita uel morte sacra eis et sollemnia
of-each-one the-life or death rites for-them and solemnities
constituta, hunc errorem insinuantibus firmantibusque
established this error insinuating and-strengthening
daemonibus, aut certe ex qualibet occasione inmundissimi
the-demons or certainly from any occasion most-unclean
spiritus fallendis humanis mentibus inrepsisse?
spirits for-deceiving human minds to-have-crept-in

IX · THE OFFICES OF THE GODS

The gods' offices are cut fine as a mime's: Educa and Potina for food and drink; Liber and Libera, with obscene emblems, for the seed; three gods guarding the new mother against Silvanus with axe, pestle, and broom; at a wedding Jugatinus, Domiducus, Domitius, Manturna, Virginiensis, Subigus, Prema, Pertunda, Venus, and Priapus. The civil theology is the face the fabulous mirrors. Varro's list, from Janus at conception to Nenia at the funeral, names no god of eternal life.

Quid? ipsa numinum officia tam uiliter minutatimque
what the-very of-divinities offices so cheaply and-minutely
concisa, propter quod eis dicunt pro uniuscuiusque
cut-up on-account-of which to-them they-say for of-each-one's
proprio munere supplicari oportere, unde non quidem
own function to-be-supplicated to-behoove whence not indeed
omnia, sed multa iam diximus, nonne scurrilitati mimicae
all-things but many already we-have-said surely with-buffoonery mimic
quam diuinae consonant dignitati? Si duas quisquam nutrices
than divine accord with-dignity if two anyone nurses
adhiberet infanti, quarum una nihil nisi escam, altera
employed for-an-infant of-whom one nothing except food the-other
nihil nisi potum daret, sicut isti ad hoc duas adhibuerunt
nothing except drink gave as these for this two have-employed
deas, Educam et Potinam, nempe desipere et aliquid
goddesses Educa and Potina surely to-be-foolish and something
mimo simile in sua domo agere uideretur. Liberum a
to-a-mime like in his-own house to-do he-would-seem Liber from
liberamento appellatum uolunt, quod mares in coeundo per
liberation named they-wish because males in coupling through
eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur; hoc idem in
his favor emitted seeds are-freed this same in
feminis agere Liberam, quam etiam Venerem putant, quod et
females to-do Libera whom also Venus they-think because also

ipsam perhibeant semina emittere; et ob haec Libero
her they-declare seeds to-emit and on-account-of these-things to-Liber
eandem uirilem corporis partem in templo poni, femineam
the-same male of-the-body part in the-temple to-be-set the-female
Liberae. Ad haec addunt mulieres adtributas Libero
to-Libera to these-things they-add women assigned to-Liber
et uinum propter libidinem concitandam. Sic Bacchanalia
and wine for lust to-be-roused so the-Bacchanalia
summa celebrabantur insania; ubi Varro ipse confitetur a
with-highest were-celebrated madness where Varro himself confesses by
Bacchantibus talia fieri non potuisse nisi mente
the-Bacchants such-things to-be-done not to-have-been-able except with-mind
commota. Haec tamen postea displicuerunt senatui saniori,
disturbed these-things yet afterward displeased the-senate saner
et ea iussit auferri. Saltem hic tandem forsitan senserunt
and them it-ordered to-be-removed at-least here at-length perhaps they-perceived
quid inmundi spiritus, dum pro dis habentur, in hominum
what unclean spirits while for gods they-are-held in of-men
mentibus possint. Haec certe non fierent in theatris;
minds can-do these-things certainly not would-be-done in theaters
ludunt quippe ibi, non furiunt; quamuis deos habere, qui
they-play for there not they-rave although gods to-have who
etiam ludis talibus delectentur, simile sit furoris.
even by-games such are-delighted like is of-madness

Quale autem illud est, quod, cum religiosum a
of-what-sort moreover that is that when the-religious from
superstitioso ea distinctione discernat, ut a superstitioso
the-superstitious by-that distinction he-distinguishes that by the-superstitious
dicat timeri deos, a religioso autem tantum uereri ut
he-says to-be-feared the-gods by the-religious but only to-be-revered as
parentes, non ut hostes timeri, adque omnes ita bonos
parents not as enemies to-be-feared and all so good

dicat, ut facilius sit eos nocentibus parcere quam laedere
he-says that easier it-is them the-guilty to-spare than to-harm
quemquam innocentem, tamen mulieri fetae post partum
anyone innocent yet for-a-woman delivered after childbirth
tres deos custodes commemorat adhiberi, ne Siluanus
three gods guardians he-records to-be-employed lest Silvanus
deus per noctem ingrediatur et uexet, eorumque custodum
the-god by night enter and harass and-of-those guardians
significandorum causa tres homines noctu: circuire
to-be-signified for-the-sake three men by-night to-go-around
limina domus et primo limen securi ferire, postea
the-thresholds of-the-house and first the-threshold with-an-ax to-strike afterward
pilo, tertio deuerrere scopis, ut his datis culturae
with-a-pestle thirdly to-sweep with-brooms that these given of-cultivation
signis deus Siluanus prohibeatur intrare, quod neque arbores
signs the-god Silvanus be-prevented to-enter because neither trees
caeduntur ac putantur sine ferro, neque far conficitur sine
are-cut and are-pruned without iron nor spelt is-prepared without
pilo, neque fruges coaceruantur sine scopis; ab his autem
a-pestle nor crops are-heaped without brooms from these moreover
tribus rebus tres nuncupatos deos, Intercidonam a securis
three things three named gods Intercidona from of-the-ax
intercisione, Pilumnum a pilo, Deuerram a scopis, quibus
the-cutting Pilumnus from the-pestle Deverra from the-brooms by-which
dis custodibus contra uim dei Siluani feta
gods guardians against the-force of-the-god Silvanus the-delivered-woman
conseruaretur. Ita contra dei nocentis saeuitiam non ualeret
might-be-preserved so against of-a-god harmful the-savagery not would-avail
custodia bonorum, nisi plures essent aduersus unum eique
the-guard of-the-good unless more were against one and-to-him
aspero horrendo inculto, utpote siluestri, signis culturae
rough bristling uncultivated as-being of-the-woods by-signs of-cultivation

tamquam contrariis repugnarent. Itane ista est innocentia
as-if contrary they-resisted so-then this is the-innocence
deorum, ista concordia? Haeccine sunt numina salubria
of-the-gods this concord these-then are divinities wholesome
urbium, magis ridenda quam ludibria theatrorum?
of-cities more to-be-laughed-at than the-mockeries of-theaters
Cum mas et femina coniunguntur, adhibetur deus Iugatinus;
when male and female are-joined is-employed the-god Jugatinus
sit hoc ferendum. Sed domum est ducenda quae nubit;
let-be this to-be-borne but home is to-be-led she-who marries
adhibetur et deus Domiducus; ut in domo sit, adhibetur
is-employed also the-god Domiducus that in the-house she-be is-employed
deus Domitius; ut maneat cum uiro, additur dea
the-god Domitius that she-remain with the-husband is-added the-goddess
Manturna. Quid ultra quaeritur? Parcatur humanae
Manturna what further is-sought let-there-be-sparing for-human
uerecundiae; peragat cetera concupiscentia carnis et sanguinis
modesty let-accomplish the-rest the-lust of-flesh and blood
procurato secreto pudoris. Quid inpletur cubiculum turba
attended-to the-secrecy of-shame why is-filled the-bedroom with-a-crowd
numinum, quando et paranymphi inde discedunt? Et ad
of-divinities when even the-groomsmen thence depart and for
hoc inpletur, non ut eorum praesentia cogitata maior sit
this it-is-filled not that their presence considered greater be
cura pudicitiae, sed ut feminae sexu infirmae, nouitate
the-care of-chastity but that from-the-woman in-sex weak by-novelty
pauidae illis cooperantibus sine ulla difficultate uirginitas
fearful with-them cooperating without any difficulty virginity
auferatur. Adest enim dea Virginiensis et deus pater
may-be-taken-away is-present for the-goddess Virginiensis and the-god father
Subigus, et dea mater Prema et dea Pertunda, et
Subigus and the-goddess mother Prema and the-goddess Pertunda and

Venus et Priapus. Quid est hoc? Si omnino laborantem in illo
Venus and Priapus what is this if at-all laboring in that
opere uirum ab dis adiuuari oportebat, non sufficeret aliquis
work the-man by the-gods to-be-helped it-behooved not would-suffice some
unus aut aliqua una? Numquid Venus sola parum esset,
one or some one surely-not Venus alone too-little would-be
quae ad hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ui femina
who for this also is-said named because without force a-woman
uirgo esse non desinat? Si est ulla frons in hominibus,
a-virgin to-be not ceases if there-is any shame in men
quae non est in numinibus, nonne, cum credunt coniugati
which not is in divinities surely when believe the-married
tot deos utriusque sexus esse praesentes et huic operi
so-many gods of-each sex to-be present and over-this work
instantes, ita pudore adficiuntur, ut et ille minus moueatur
pressing so with-shame they-are-affected that both he less is-moved
et illa plus reluctetur? Et certe si adest Virginiensis
and she more resists and certainly if is-present Virginiensis
dea, ut uirgini zona soluatur; si adest deus Subigus,
the-goddess that for-the-virgin the-girdle be-loosed if is-present the-god Subigus
ut uiro subigatur; si adest dea Prema, ut subacta,
that to-the-husband she-be-subdued if is-present the-goddess Prema that subdued
ne se commoueat, conprimatur: dea Pertunda ibi quid
lest herself she-stir she-be-pressed-down the-goddess Pertunda there what
facit? Erubescat, eat foras; agat aliquid et maritus. Valde
does let-(her)-blush let-(her)-go outside let-do something also the-husband very
inhonestum est, ut, quod uocatur illa, quisquam inpleat nisi
dishonorable it-is that what is-called she anyone fulfill except
ille. Sed forte ideo toleratur, quia dea dicitur esse, non
he but perhaps for-this-reason she-is-tolerated because goddess she-is-said to-be not
deus. Nam si masculus crederetur et Pertundus uocaretur,
god for if male she-were-believed and Pertundus were-called

maius contra eum pro uxoris pudicitia posceret maritus
greater against him for of-the-wife chastity would-demand the-husband
auxilium quam feta contra Siluanum. Sed quid hoc
help than the-delivered-woman against Silvanus but why this
dicam, cum ibi sit et Priapus nimius masculus, super cuius
do-I-say when there is also Priapus excessive male on whose
inmanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere noua nupta
most-monstrous and most-shameful member to-sit the-new bride
iubebatur, more honestissimo et religiosissimo matronarum?
was-ordered by-custom most-honorable and most-religious of-matrons
Eant adhuc et theologian ciuilem a theologia fabulosa,
let-them-go-on still and theology civil from theology fabulous
urbes a theatris, templa ab scaenis, sacra pontificum
cities from theaters temples from stages rites of-pontiffs
a carminibus poetarum, uelut res honestas a turpibus,
from songs of-poets as-if things honorable from shameful
ueraces a fallacibus, graues a leuibus, serias a ludicris,
truthful from deceitful weighty from light serious from playful
adpetendas a respuendis, qua possunt quasi conentur
to-be-sought from to-be-rejected with-what they-can as-it-were let-them-try
subtilitate discernere. Intellegimus quid agant; illam theatricam
subtlety to-distinguish we-understand what they-do that theatrical
et fabulosam theologian ab ista ciuili pendere nouerunt et
and fabulous theology from this civil to-hang they-know and
ei de carminibus poetarum tamquam de speculo resultare,
to-it from the-songs of-poets as-if from a-mirror to-reflect
et ideo ista exposita, quam damnare non audent, illam
and therefore this set-forth which to-condemn not they-dare that
eius imaginem liberius arguunt et reprehendunt, ut, qui
its image more-freely they-accuse and blame that those-who
agnoscunt quid uelint, et hanc ipsam faciem, cuius illa imago
recognize what they-mean also this very face of-which that image

est, detestentur; quam tamen di ipsi tamquam in eodem
is may-detest which yet the-gods themselves as-if in the-same
speculo se intuentes ita diligunt, ut qui qualesque sint
mirror themselves beholding so love that who and-of-what-sort they-are
in utraque melius uideantur. Unde etiam cultores suos
in both better they-may-be-seen whence also worshipers their-own
terribilibus imperiis conpulerunt, ut inmunditiam theologiae
by-terrible commands they-compelled that the-uncleanness of-theology
fabulosae sibi dicarent, in suis sollemnitatibus ponerent,
fabulous to-them they-should-dedicate in their-own solemnities should-place
in rebus diuinis haberent, adque ita et se ipsos
among things divine should-hold and so both them themselves
inmundissimos spiritus manifestius esse docuerunt, et huius
most-unclean spirits more-manifestly to-be they-taught and of-this
urbanae theologiae uelut electae et probatae illam theatricam
urban theology as-if chosen and approved that theatrical
abiectam adque reprobatam membrum partemque fecerunt,
cast-off and rejected a-member and-part they-made
ut, cum sit uniuersa turpis et fallax adque in se contineat
that though it-be all shameful and deceitful and in itself contain
commenticios deos, una pars eius sit in litteris sacerdotum,
invented gods one part of-it be in the-letters of-priests
altera in carminibus poetarum. Utrum habeat et alias partes,
the-other in the-songs of-poets whether it-has also other parts
alia quaestio est: nunc propter diuisionem Varronis et
another question is now on-account-of the-division of-Varro both
urbanam et theatricam theologian ad unam ciuilem pertinere
urban and theatrical theology to one civil to-pertain
satis, ut opinor, ostendi. Unde, quia sunt ambae similis
sufficiently as I-think I-have-shown whence because are both of-like

turpitudinis absurditatis, indignitatis falsitatis, absit a ueris
shamefulness of-absurdity of-unworthiness of-falsity far-be-it from the-true
religiosis, ut siue ab hac siue ab illa uita speretur aeterna.
religious(-ones) that either from this or from that life be-hoped eternal
Denique et ipse Varro commemorare et enumerare deos
finally also himself Varro to-recall and to-enumerate the-gods
coepit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum est exorsus
began from the-conception of-man of-whom the-number has begun
a Iano, eamque seriem perduxit usque ad decrepiti
from Janus and-that series he-carried all-the-way to of-the-decrepit
hominis mortem, et deos ad ipsum hominem pertinentes
man the-death and the-gods to the-very man pertaining
clausit ad Neniam deam, quae in funeribus senum cantatur;
he-closed at Nenia the-goddess who at the-funerals of-old-men is-sung
deinde coepit deos alios ostendere, qui pertinerent non ad
then he-began gods other to-show who pertained not to
ipsum hominem, sed ad ea, quae sunt hominis, sicuti
the-very man but to those-things which are of-man as
est uictus adque uestitus et quaecumque alia huic uitae
is food and clothing and whatever other-things for-this life
sunt necessaria, ostendens in omnibus, quod sit cuiusque
are necessary showing in all-things what is of-each
munus et propter quid cuique debeat supplicari; in qua
the-function and for what to-each it-ought to-be-supplicated in which
uniuersa diligentia nullos demonstrauit uel nominauit deos,
whole diligence no he-pointed-out or named gods
a quibus uita aeterna poscenda sit, propter quam unam
from whom life eternal to-be-demanded is on-account-of which alone
proprie nos Christiani sumus. Quis ergo usque adeo tardus
properly we Christians are who then so far slow
sit, ut non intellegat istum hominem ciuilem theologian
would-be that not he-understands this man civil theology

tam diligenter exponendo et aperiendo eamque illi fabulosae,
so diligently by-expounding and by-opening and-it to-that fabulous
indignae adque probrosae, similem demonstrando adque ipsam
unworthy and disgraceful like by-showing and the-very
fabulosam partem esse huius satis euidenter docendo non
fabulous a-part to-be of-this sufficiently evidently by-teaching not
nisi illi naturali, quam dicit ad philosophos pertinere,
except for-that natural which he-says to the-philosophers to-pertain
in animis hominum moliri locum, ea subtilitate, ut
in the-minds of-men to-labor-for a-place with-such subtlety that
fabulosam reprehendat, ciuilem uero reprehendere quidem
the-fabulous he-blames the-civil but to-blame indeed
non audeat, sed prodendo reprehensibilem ostendat, adque
not he-dares but by-disclosing blameworthy he-shows and
ita utraque iudicio recte intellegentium reprobata sola
so both by-the-judgment rightly of-(those)-understanding rejected alone
naturalis remaneat eligenda? De qua suo loco in
the-natural may-remain to-be-chosen about which in-its-own place with
adiutorio Dei ueri diligentius disserendum est.
the-help of-God true more-diligently to-be-discussed it-is

Seneca had the freedom Varro lacked, in writing if not in living. Against superstitions he mocked gods shaped as men, beasts, and fish, the gods of Tatius, Romulus, and Hostilius, Cloacina, Pavor, and Pallor, the self-mutilation in the temples, and the Capitol where some announce the hours to Jupiter or dress Juno's hair. Yet he told the wise man to keep these rites as commanded by law, not as pleasing to the gods; a senator, he worshiped what he blamed.

Libertas sane, quae huic defuit, ne istam urbanam
the-freedom indeed which to-him was-lacking lest this urban
theologian theatricae simillimam aperte sicut illam
theology to-the-theatrical most-like openly as that
reprehendere auderet, Annaeo Senecae, quem nonnullis
to-blame he-should-dare to-Annaeus Seneca whom by-some
indiciis inuenimus apostolorum nostrorum claruisse
indications we-find of-apostles our to-have-been-famous
temporibus, non quidem ex toto, uerum ex aliqua parte
in-the-times not indeed from the-whole but from some part
non defuit. Adfuit enim scribenti, uiuenti defuit.
not was-lacking it-was-present for to-him-writing to-him-living it-was-lacking
Nam in eo libro, quem contra superstitiones condidit, multo
for in that book which against superstitions he-composed much
copiosius adque uehementius reprehendit ipse ciuilem
more-copiously and more-vehemently blames he-himself civil
istam et urbanam theologian quam Varro theatricam adque
this and urban theology than Varro the-theatrical and
fabulosam. Cum enim de simulacris ageret: "Sacros, inquit,
fabulous when for about images he-treated sacred he-says
inmortales, inuiolabiles in materia uilissima adque inmobili
immortal inviolable in matter most-worthless and immobile
dedicant, habitus illis hominum ferarumque et piscium,
they-dedicate the-forms to-them of-men and-of-beasts and of-fishes

quidam uero mixto sexu, diuersis corporibus induunt;
some indeed with-mixed sex with-diverse bodies they-clothe
numina uocant, quae si spiritu accepto subito occurrerent,
divinities they-call what if with-spirit received suddenly they-were-to-meet(-us)
monstra haberentur". Deinde aliquanto post, cum theologian
monsters would-be-held then somewhat after when theology
naturalem praedicans quorundam philosophorum sententias
natural proclaiming of-certain philosophers the-opinions
digessisset, obposuit sibi quaestionem et ait: "Hoc loco
he-had-set-out he-set-against himself a-question and says at-this place
dicit aliquis: Credam ego caelum et terram deos esse et
says someone am-to-believe I heaven and earth gods to-be and
supra lunam alios, infra alios? Ego feram aut Platonem
above the-moon some below others I shall-bear either Plato
aut Peripateticum Stratonem, quorum alter fecit deum sine
or the-Peripatetic Strato of-whom the-one made god without
corpore, alter sine animo?" Et ad hoc respondens: "Quid
body the-other without mind and to this answering what
ergo tandem, inquit, ueriora tibi uidentur Titi Tatii aut
then at-length he-says truer to-you seem of-Titus Tatius or
Romuli aut Tulli Hostilii somnia? Cloacinam Tatius dedicauit
of-Romulus or of-Tullus Hostilius the-dreams Cloacina Tatius dedicated
deam, Picum Tiberinumque Romulus, Hostilius Pauorem
a-goddess Picus and-Tiberinus Romulus Hostilius Panic
adque Pallorem, taeterrimos omnium adfectus, quorum alter
and Pallor the-foulest of-all affections of-which one
mentis territae motus est, alter corporis ne morbus quidem,
of-a-mind terrified a-motion is the-other of-the-body not a-disease even
sed color. Haec numina potius credes et caelo
but a-color these divinities rather will-you-believe and into-heaven
recipies?" De ipsis uero ritibus crudeliter turpibus quam
receive about the-very but rites cruelly shameful how

libere scripsit! “Ille, inquit, uiriles sibi partes amputat,
freely he-wrote that-one he-says male for-himself parts cuts-off
ille lacertos secat. Ubi iratos deos timent, qui sic propitios
that-one arms gashes where angry gods do-they-fear who so propitious
merentur? Di autem nullo debent coli genere, si
earn the-gods but in-no ought to-be-worshiped kind if
hoc uolunt. Tantus est perturbatae mentis et sedibus suis
this they-wish so-great is of-a-disturbed mind and from-seats its-own
pulsae furor, ut sic di placentur, quem ad modum ne
driven the-madness that so the-gods are-appeased in-what to manner not
quidem homines saeuiunt taeterrimi et in fabulas traditae
even men rage the-foulest and into fables handed-down
crudelitatis. Tyranni lacerauerunt aliquorum membra, neminem
of-cruelty tyrants have-torn of-some the-limbs no-one
sua lacerare iusserunt. In regiae libidinis uoluptatem castrati
his-own to-tear have-ordered for of-royal lust the-pleasure castrated
sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne uir esset, iubente domino
were some but no-one on-himself lest a-man he-be ordering the-master
manus intulit. Se ipsi in templis contrucidant,
hands laid themselves they-themselves in temples slaughter
uulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant. Si cui intueri
with-wounds their-own and blood they-supplicate if to-anyone to-look-at
uacet, quae faciunt quaeque patiuntur, inueniet tam
there-be-leisure what they-do and-what they-suffer he-will-find so
indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis,
unseemly for-the-honorable so unworthy for-the-free so unlike the-sane
ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus
that no-one would-have-been about-to-doubt to-rave them if with fewer
furerent; nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba.”
they-raved now of-sanity the-defense is of-the-insane the-crowd

Iam illa, quae in ipso Capitolio fieri solere
now those-things which in the-very Capitol to-be-done to-be-wont
commemorat et intrepide omnino coarguit, quis credat
he-recalls and fearlessly altogether refutes who would-believe
nisi ab inridentibus aut furentibus fieri? Nam cum in sacris
except by mockers or madmen to-be-done for when in rites
Aegyptiis Osirim lugeri perditum, mox autem inuentum
Egyptian Osiris to-be-mourned lost soon but found
magno esse gaudio derisisset, cum perditio eius inuentioque
with-great to-be joy he-had-derided though the-loss his and-finding
fingatur, dolor tamen ille adque laetitia ab eis, qui nihil
be-feigned grief yet that and joy by those who nothing
perdiderunt nihilque inuenerunt, ueraciter exprimatur: "Huic
have-lost and-nothing have-found truly is-expressed to-this
tamen, inquit, furori certum tempus est. Tolerabile est
yet he-says madness a-fixed time is tolerable it-is
semel anno insanire. In Capitolium perueni: pudebit
once in-a-year to-be-insane into the-Capitol I-came it-will-shame(-you)
publicatae dementiae, quod sibi uanus furor adtribuit officii.
of-published madness what to-itself vain frenzy has-assigned of-office
Alius nomina deo subicit, alius horas Ioui nuntiat,
one names to-the-god prompts another the-hours to-Jupiter announces
alius lector est, alius unctor, qui uano motu bracchiorum
another a-reader is another an-anointer who with-vain motion of-the-arms
imitatur unguentem. Sunt quae Iunoni ac Mineruae
imitates one-anointing there-are women-who for-Juno and Minerva
capillos disponant (longe a templo, non tantum a simulacro
the-hair arrange far from the-temple not only from the-image
stantes digitos mouent ornantium modo), sunt quae
standing the-fingers they-move of-adorners in-the-manner there-are women-who
speculum teneant; sunt qui ad uadimonia sua deos
a-mirror hold there-are men-who to bail-appearances their-own the-gods

aduocent, sunt qui libellos offerant et illos causam suam
summon there-are who petitions offer and them case their-own
doceant. Doctus archimimus, senex iam decrepitus, cottidie
teach a-skilled chief-mime old already decrepit daily
in Capitolio mimum agebat, quasi di libenter spectarent,
in the-Capitol a-mime acted as-if the-gods gladly would-watch
quem illi homines desierant. Omne illic artificum genus
whom those men had-ceased every there of-craftsmen kind
operatum dis inmortalibus desidet". Et paulo post: "Hi
working for-the-gods immortal sits-idle and a-little after these
tamen, inquit, etiamsi superuacuum usum, non turpem nec
yet he-says even-if a-superfluous service not shameful nor
infamem deo promittunt. Sedent quaedam in Capitolio,
infamous to-the-god promise sit certain-women in the-Capitol
quae se a Ioue amari putant: ne Iunonis quidem, si
who themselves by Jupiter to-be-loved think not of-Juno even if
credere poetis uelis, iracundissimae respectu terrentur."
to-believe the-poets you-wish most-wrathful by-the-regard are-frightened

Hanc libertatem Varro non habuit; tantum modo poeticam
this freedom Varro not had only merely the-poetic
theologian reprehendere ausus est, ciuilem non ausus est,
theology to-blame dared has the-civil not dared has
quam iste concidit. Sed si uerum adtendamus, deteriora sunt
which this-one cut-to-pieces but if the-truth we-attend worse are
templa ubi haec aguntur, quam theatra ubi finguntur.
the-temples where these-things are-done than the-theaters where they-are-feigned
Unde in his sacris ciuilis theologiae has partes potius elegit
whence in these rites of-civil theology these parts rather chose
Seneca sapienti, ut eas in animi religione non habeat,
Seneca for-the-wise-man that them in of-the-mind the-religion not he-have
sed in actibus fingat. Ait enim: "Quae omnia sapiens
but in acts feign he-says for which all the-wise-man

seruabit tamquam legibus iussa, non tamquam dis
will-observe as by-laws ordered not as to-the-gods
grata". Et paulo post: "Quid quod et matrimonia, inquit,
pleasing and a-little after what that both marriages he-says
deorum iungimus, et ne pie quidem, fratrum ac sororum!
of-gods we-join and not dutifully even of-brothers and sisters
Bellonam Marti conlocamus, Vulcano Venerem, Neptuno
Bellona to-Mars we-wed to-Vulcan Venus to-Neptune
Salaciam. Quosdam tamen caelibes relinquimus, quasi condicio
Salacia some yet celibate we-leave as-if a-match
defecerit, praesertim cum quaedam uiduae sint, ut Populonia
had-failed especially since some widows are as Populonia
uel Fulgora et diua Rumina; quibus non miror petitorem
or Fulgora and the-goddess Rumina for-whom not I-wonder a-suitor
defuisse. Omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam
to-have-been-lacking all this ignoble of-gods crowd which
longo aeuo longa superstitio congessit, sic, inquit, adorabimus,
in-long age long superstition has-heaped-up so he-says we-shall-adore
ut meminerimus cultum eius magis ad morem quam ad rem
that we-remember the-worship its more to custom than to the-thing
pertinere". Nec leges ergo illae nec mos in ciuili theologia
to-pertain neither the-laws therefore those nor custom in civil theology
id instituerunt, quod dis gratum esset uel ad rem
that established which to-the-gods pleasing was or to the-thing
pertineret. Sed iste, quem philosophi quasi liberum fecerunt,
pertained but this-one whom the-philosophers as-if free made
tamen, quia inlustris populi Romani senator erat, colebat
yet because a-distinguished of-the-people Roman senator he-was worshiped
quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat
what he-blamed did what he-accused what he-faulted
adorabat; quia uidelicet magnum aliquid eum philosophia
adored because namely great something him philosophy

docuerat, ne superstitiosus esset in mundo, sed propter
had-taught not superstitious he-be in the-world but on-account-of
leges ciuium moresque hominum non quidem ageret
the-laws of-citizens and-the-morals of-men not indeed he-would-act
fingentem scaenicum in theatro, sed imitaretur in templo;
a-feigning player in the-theater but would-imitate in the-temple
eo damnabilius, quo illa, quae mendaciter agebat, sic
by-this more-damnably that those-things which lyingly he-did so
ageret, ut eum populus ueraciter agere existimaret; scaenicus
he-did that him the-people truly to-do might-think the-player
autem ludendo potius delectaret, quam fallendo deciperet.
but by-playing rather would-delight than by-deceiving would-cheat

XI · SENECA ON THE JEWS

Seneca also blamed the Jews' sabbath, by which they lose nearly a seventh of their lives in idleness, and said the custom of a most criminal people had spread through all lands, the conquered giving laws to the conquerors, though they at least knew the causes of their rites. He did not dare mention the Christians, already hostile to the Jews, lest he praise them against his country's old custom or blame them perhaps against his own will. Why the Jewish rites were instituted and later removed Augustine has said elsewhere.

Hic inter alias ciuilis theologiae superstitiones reprehendit
this-one among other of-civil theology superstitions blames
etiam sacramenta Iudaeorum et maxime sabbata, inutiliter eos
also the-sacraments of-the-Jews and especially the-sabbaths uselessly them
facere adfirmans, quod per illos singulos septem interpositos
to-keep asserting that through those each seven interposed
dies septimam fere partem aetatis suae perdant uacando et
days the-seventh almost part of-life their-own they-lose by-being-idle and

multa in tempore urgentia non agendo laedantur. Christianos
many-things in time pressing not by-doing are-harmed the-Christians
tamen iam tunc Iudaeis inimicissimos in neutram partem
yet already then to-the-Jews most-hostile in neither part
commemorare ausus est, ne uel laudaret contra suae
to-mention dared has lest either he-should-praise against of-his-own
patriae ueterem consuetudinem, uel reprehenderet contra
fatherland the-old custom or should-blame against
propriam forsitan uoluntatem. De illis sane Iudaeis cum
his-own perhaps will about those indeed Jews when
loqueretur, ait: "Cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis
he-spoke he-says while meanwhile so far of-the-most-wicked nation
consuetudo conualuit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta
the-custom has-grown-strong that through all now lands received
sit: uicti uictoribus leges dederunt". Mirabatur
it-has-been the-conquered to-the-conquerors laws have-given he-marveled
haec dicens et quid diuinitus ageretur ignorans subiecit
these-things saying and what divinely was-being-done not-knowing he-added
plane sententiam, qua significaret quid de illorum
plainly an-opinion by-which he-might-signify what about of-those
sacramentorum ratione sentiret. Ait enim: "Illi tamen causas
sacraments the-reason he-thought he-says for they yet the-causes
ritus sui nouerunt; maior pars populi facit, quod quur
of-rite their-own know the-greater part of-the-people does what why
faciat ignorat". Sed de sacramentis Iudaeorum, uel quur uel
it-does knows-not but about the-sacraments of-the-Jews either why or
quatenus instituta sint auctoritate diuina, ac post modum a
how-far established were by-authority divine and after a-while by
populo Dei, cui uitae aeternae mysterium reuelatum est,
the-people of-God to-whom of-life eternal the-mystery revealed was
tempore quo oportuit eadem auctoritate sublata sint, et
at-the-time when it-behooved by-the-same authority removed were both

alias diximus, maxime cum aduersus Manichaeos ageremus,
elsewhere we-have-said especially when against the-Manichees we-treated
et in hoc opere loco opportuniore dicendum est.
and in this work in-a-place more-opportune to-be-said it-is

XII · ETERNAL LIFE ONLY FROM THE GIVER OF HAPPINESS

Eternal life is to be hoped for neither from the mythical theology, which its own worshipers blame, nor from the civil, of which it is a part. Book IV showed that happiness is God's gift, not a goddess; none of these gods, worshiped with such baseness, gives it, so none gives eternal life, which is happiness without end; eternal punishment is death rather than life. If the civil theology seems too little refuted, the next book continues.

Nunc propter tres theologias, quas Graeci dicunt mythicen
now on-account-of three theologies which the-Greeks call mythical
physicen politicen, Latine autem dici possunt fabulosa
physical political in-Latin but to-be-called they-can fabulous
naturalis ciuilis, quod neque de fabulosa, quam et
natural civil because neither from the-fabulous which even
ipsi deorum multorum falsorumque cultores liberrime
themselves of-gods many and-false the-worshipers most-freely
reprehenderunt, neque de ciuili, cuius illa pars esse
have-blamed nor from the-civil of-which that a-part to-be
conuincitur eiusque et ista simillima uel etiam deterior
is-proved and-to-it also this most-like or even worse
inuenitur, speranda est aeterna uita, si cui satis non sunt
is-found to-be-hoped is eternal life if to-anyone enough not are
quae in hoc uolumine dicta sunt, adiungat etiam illa,
the-things-which in this volume said were let-him-add also those
quae in superioribus libris et maxime quarto de felicitatis
which in the-former books and especially the-fourth about of-happiness

datore Deo plurima disputata sunt. Nam cui nisi
the-giver God very-many-things argued were for to-whom except
uni felicitati propter aeternam uitam consecrandi homines
to-the-one happiness on-account-of eternal life to-be-consecrated men
essent, si dea felicitas esset? Quia uero non dea, sed
would-be if a-goddess happiness were because but not a-goddess but
munus est dei: cui deo nisi datori felicitatis consecrandi
a-gift it-is of-god to-what god except to-the-giver of-happiness to-be-consecrated
sumus, qui aeternam uitam, ubi uera est et plena felicitas,
are-we we-who eternal life where true is and full happiness
pia caritate diligimus? Non autem esse datorem felicitatis
with-devout charity love not moreover to-be the-giver of-happiness
quemquam istorum deorum, qui tanta turpitudine coluntur
any of-these gods who with-so-great shamefulness are-worshiped
et, nisi ita colantur, multo turpius irascuntur adque
and unless so they-be-worshiped much more-shamefully grow-angry and
ob hoc se spiritus inmundissimos confitentur, puto
on-account-of this themselves spirits most-unclean confess I-think
ex his, quae dicta sunt, neminem dubitare oportere.
from these-things which said were no-one to-doubt to-behoove
Porro qui non dat felicitatem, uitam quo modo dare posset
further who not gives happiness life in-what way to-give could
aeternam? Eam quippe uitam aeternam dicimus, ubi est
eternal that for life eternal we-call where is
sine fine felicitas. Nam si anima in poenis uiuit aeternis,
without end happiness for if the-soul in punishments lives eternal
quibus et ipsi spiritus cruciabuntur inmundi, mors est illa
by-which also themselves spirits will-be-tormented unclean death is that
potius aeterna quam uita. Nulla quippe maior et peior est
rather eternal than life no for greater and worse is
mors, quam ubi non moritur mors. Sed quod animae natura,
death than where not dies death but because of-the-soul the-nature

per id quod inmortalis creata est, sine qualicumque uita
through this that immortal created it-was without some-kind-of life
esse non potest, summa mors eius est alienatio a uita
to-be not can the-highest death its is estrangement from the-life
Dei in aeternitate supplicii. Vitam igitur aeternam, id
of-God in an-eternity of-punishment life therefore eternal that
est sine ullo fine felicem, solus ille dat, qui dat ueram
is without any end happy alone he gives who gives true
felicitatem. Quam quoniam illi, quos colit theologia ista
happiness which since those whom worships theology this
ciuilis, dare non posse conuicti sunt: non solum propter
civil to-give not to-be-able convicted have-been not only on-account-of
ista temporalia adque terrena, quod superioribus quinque
these temporal and earthly-things which in-the-former five
libris ostendimus, sed multo magis propter uitam aeternam,
books we-have-shown but much more on-account-of life eternal
quae post mortem futura est, quod isto uno etiam illis
which after death about-to-be is which in-this one also with-those
cooperantibus egimus, colendi non sunt. Sed quoniam
cooperating we-have-treated to-be-worshiped not they-are but since
ueternosae consuetudinis uis nimis in alto radices habet,
of-inveterate custom the-force too in deep roots has
si cui de ista ciuili theologia respuenda adque uitanda
if to-anyone about this civil theology to-be-rejected and to-be-avoided
parum uideor disputasse, in aliud uolumen, quod huic
too-little I-seem to-have-argued to another volume which to-this
opitulante Deo coniungendum est, animum intendat.
helping God to-be-joined is the-mind let-him-turn

BOOK VII

PREFACE

Augustine labors to uproot old and perverse opinions, fixed deep in darkened minds by the long error of the human race, cooperating as he can with the grace of the true God. Quicker minds, for whom the earlier books suffice, should bear patiently what is written for others. A great matter is at stake: the true and truly holy divinity is to be sought and worshiped not for the passing vapor of mortal life, but for the blessed life, which is eternal.

Diligentius me prauas et ueteres opiniones ueritati pietatis
more-diligently me depraved and old opinions to-the-truth of-devotion
inimicas, quas tenebrosis animis altius et tenacius
hostile which in-darkened minds more-deeply and more-tenaciously
diuturnus humani generis error infixit, euellere adque
long-lasting of-the-human race error has-fixed to-pluck-out and
exstirpare conantem et illius gratiae, qui hoc ut uerus Deus
to-uproot trying and of-his grace who this as true God
potest, pro meo modulo in eius adiutorio cooperantem
can-do according-to my little-measure in his help cooperating
ingenia celeriora adque meliora, quibus ad hanc rem superiores
minds quicker and better for-whom for this matter the-former
libri satis superque sufficiunt, patienter et aequanimiter ferre
books enough and-more suffice patiently and calmly to-bear
debebunt et propter alios non putare superfluum, quod
will-be-obliged and on-account-of others not to-think superfluous what
iam sibi sentiunt non necessarium. Multum magna
already for-themselves they-feel not necessary very great
res agitur, cum uera et uere sancta diuinitas, quamuis
a-matter is-treated when the-true and truly holy divinity although
ab ea nobis etiam huic, quam nunc gerimus, fragilitati
from it for-us even for-this which now we-bear frailty

necessaria subsidia praebeantur, non tamen propter mortalis
necessary aids be-furnished not yet on-account-of of-mortal
uitae transitorium uaporem, sed propter uitam beatam, quae
life the-passing vapor but on-account-of life blessed which
non nisi aeterna est, quaerenda et colenda praedicatur.
not unless eternal is to-be-sought and to-be-worshiped is-proclaimed

I · WHETHER DIVINITY IS IN THE SELECTED GODS

Whoever is not yet persuaded by Book VI that divinity, the Greeks' theotes, is absent from Varro's civil theology may hope at least in the select and chief gods of his last book. Augustine does not say, with Tertullian, that if gods are chosen like onions the rest are rejected: from the chosen some are chosen for greater work, as soldiers, church officers, cornerstones, or grapes for eating. The selection itself is no fault; the question is who these gods are and for what they were chosen.

Hanc diuinitatem uel, ut sic dixerim, deitatem (nam et hoc
this divinity or that so I-may-say deity for even this
uerbo uti iam nostros non piget, ut de Graeco expressius
word to-use now our-people not irks that from the-Greek more-exactly
transferant quod illi θεότητα appellant) — hanc ergo
they-may-translate what they theotes call this therefore
diuinitatem siue deitatem non esse in ea theologia, quam
divinity or deity not to-be in that theology which
ciuilem uocant, quae a Marco Varrone sedecim uoluminibus
civil they-call which by Marcus Varro in-sixteen volumes
explicata est, id est non peruenire ad aeternae uitae felicitatem
unfolded was that is not to-be-arrived to of-eternal life the-happiness
talium deorum cultu, quales a ciuitatibus qualiterque
of-such gods by-the-worship such-as by cities and-in-what-way
colendi instituti sunt, cui nondum persuasit sextus liber,
to-be-worshiped established were whom not-yet has-persuaded the-sixth book

quem proxime absoluimus, cum istum forsitan legerit,
which most-recently we-finished when this perhaps he-has-read
quid de hac quaestione expedienda ulterius desideret, non
what about this question to-be-settled further he-may-desire not
habebit. Fieri enim potest, ut saltem deos selectos adque
he-will-have to-be-done for it-can that at-least gods select and
praecipuos, quos Varro uolumine conplexus est ultimo, de
chief whom Varro in-volume embraced has the-last about
quibus parum diximus, quisquam colendos propter uitam
whom too-little we-have-said someone to-be-worshiped on-account-of life
beatam, quae non nisi aeterna est, opinetur. Qua in re non
blessed which not unless eternal is may-think which in thing not
dico quod facetius ait Tertullianus fortasse quam uerius: Si
I-say what more-wittily says Tertullian perhaps than more-truly if
di eliguntur ut bulbi, utique ceteri reprobi iudicantur. Non
gods are-chosen like onions assuredly the-rest rejects are-judged not
hoc dico: uideo enim etiam ex selectis selegi aliquos ad
this I-say I-see for even from the-select to-be-selected some for
aliquid maius adque praestantius, sicut in militia, cum
something greater and more-excellent as in military-service when
tirones electi fuerint, ex his quoque eliguntur ad opus
recruits chosen have-been from these also are-chosen for work
aliquod maius armorum; et cum eliguntur in ecclesia, qui
some greater of-arms and when are-chosen in the-church those-who
fiant praepositi, non utique ceteri reprobantur, cum omnes
become overseers not assuredly the-rest are-rejected since all
boni fideles electi merito nuncupentur. Eliguntur in aedificio
good faithful the-elect deservedly are-called are-chosen in a-building
lapides angulares, non reprobatis ceteris, qui structurae
stones corner not rejected the-rest which of-the-structure
partibus aliis deputantur. Eliguntur uuae ad uescendum, nec
to-parts other are-assigned are-chosen grapes for eating nor

reprobantur aliae, quas relinquimus ad bibendum. Non opus
are-rejected others which we-leave for drinking not need
est multa percurrere, cum res in aperto sit. Quam
is many-things to-run-through since the-matter in the-open is which
ob rem non ex hoc, quod di ex multis quidam
on-account-of thing not from this that gods from many certain
selecti sunt, uel is qui scripsit uel eorum cultores uel di
selected were either he who wrote or their worshipers or the-gods
ipsi uituperandi sunt, sed aduertendum potius quinam
themselves to-be-blamed are but to-be-noticed rather who
isti sint et ad quam rem selecti uideantur.
these are and for what thing selected they-seem

II · THE SELECTED GODS AT THE LESSER TASKS

Varro's select gods are twenty, twelve male and eight female: Janus, Jupiter, Saturn, Genius, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, Sol, Orcus, Liber, Tellus, Ceres, Juno, Luna, Diana, Minerva, Venus, and Vesta. If chosen for greater works, why are they at the petty tasks of conception, Janus opening the way, Saturn giving the seed, Liber and Libera releasing it, Juno with the ignoble Mena? The obscure Vitumnus and Sentinus give the child life and sense, far more than all those nobles furnish.

Hos certe deos selectos Varro unius libri contextione
these certainly gods select Varro of-one book by-the-composition
commendat: Ianum, Iouem, Saturnum, Genium, Mercurium,
commends Janus Jupiter Saturn Genius Mercury
Apollinem, Martem, Vulcanum, Neptunum, Solem, Orcum,
Apollo Mars Vulcan Neptune Sol Orcus
Liberum patrem, Tellurem, Cererem, Iunonem, Lunam,
Liber father Tellus Ceres Juno Luna

Dianam, Mineruam, Venerem, Vestam; in quibus omnibus
Diana Minerva Venus Vesta in which all
ferme uiginti duodecim mares, octo sunt feminae. Haec numina
about twenty twelve males eight are females these divinities
utrum propter maiores in mundo administrationes selecta
whether on-account-of greater in the-world administrations select
dicuntur, an quod populis magis innotuerunt maiorque
are-called or because to-the-peoples more they-became-known and-greater
est eis cultus exhibitus? Si propterea, quia opera
has-been to-them worship shown if for-this-reason because works
maiora ab his administrantur in mundo, non eos inuenire
greater by these are-administered in the-world not them to-find
debuimus inter illam quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem
we-ought among that as-it-were plebeian of-divinities multitude
minutis opusculis deputatam. Nam ipse primum Ianus,
to-tiny little-works assigned for himself first Janus
cum puerperium concipitur, unde illa cuncta opera sumunt
when the-offspring is-conceived whence those all works take
exordium minutatim minutis distributa numinibus, aditum
beginning minutely to-tiny distributed divinities the-entrance
aperit recipiendo semini. Ibi est et Saturnus propter ipsum
opens for-receiving the-seed there is also Saturn on-account-of the-very
semen; ibi Liber, qui marem effuso semine liberat; ibi
seed there Liber who the-male with-poured-out seed frees there
Libera, quam et Venerem uolunt, quae hoc idem beneficium
Libera whom also Venus they-wish who this same benefit
conferat feminae, ut etiam ipsa emisso semine liberetur.
may-confer on-the-female that also she-herself with-emitted seed be-freed
Omnes hi ex illis sunt, qui selecti appellantur. Sed ibi
all these from those are who select are-called but there
est et dea Mena, quae menstruis fluoribus praeest,
is also the-goddess Mena who over-the-menstrual flows presides

quamuis Iouis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc prouinciam
although of-Jupiter the-daughter yet ignoble and this province
fluorum menstruorum in libro selectorum deorum ipsi
of-flows menstrual in the-book of-the-select gods to-the-very
Iunoni idem auctor adsignat, quae in dis selectis etiam
Juno the-same author assigns who among the-gods select even
regina est et hic tamquam Iuno Lucina cum eadem Mena
queen is and here as Juno Lucina with the-same Mena
priuigna sua eidem cruori praesidet. Ibi sunt et duo
stepdaughter her-own over-the-same blood presides there are also two
nescio qui obscurissimi, Vitumnus et Sentinus, quorum
I-know-not who most-obscure Vitumnus and Sentinus of-whom
alter uitam, alter sensus puerperio largiuntur. Et nimirum
one life the-other senses to-the-offspring bestow and doubtless
multo plus praestant, cum sint ignobilissimi, quam illi
much more they-furnish though they-are most-ignoble than those
tot proceres et selecti. Nam profecto sine uita et sensu,
so-many nobles and select for assuredly without life and sense
quid est illud totum, quod muliebri utero geritur, nisi
what is that whole which in-the-womanly womb is-borne except
nescio quid abiectissimum limo ac pulueri conparandum?
I-know-not what most-abject to-mud and dust to-be-compared

Vitumnus, who gives life, and Sentinus, who gives sense, should rank above the select gods, whose seeds are worthless without them. Queen Juno works as Iterduca beside Abeona and Adeona, while Mens, who gives a good mind, is passed over, though better than Minerva's memory; Virtue and Felicity are out, Mars and Orcus in. The select were chosen not for greater offices but for fame, yet nothing explains why Venus is famous and Virtue obscure, or Minerva and not Pecunia. Fortune, who by Sallust's word rules all, should head them, unless she had bad fortune herself.

Quae igitur causa tot selectos deos ad haec opera minima
what then cause so-many select gods to these works very-small
conpulit, ubi a Vitumno et Sentino, quos fama obscura
has-driven where by Vitumnus and Sentinus whom fame obscure
recondit, in huius munificentiae partitione superentur?
hides in of-this munificence the-distribution they-are-surpassed
Confert enim selectus Ianus aditum et quasi ianuam
confers for the-select Janus the-entrance and as-it-were the-door
semini; confert selectus Saturnus semen ipsum; confert
to-the-seed confers the-select Saturn the-seed itself confers
selectus Liber eiusdem seminis emissionem uiris; confert hoc
the-select Liber of-the-same seed the-emission to-men confers this
idem Libera, quae Ceres seu Venus est, feminis; confert
same Libera who Ceres or Venus is on-women confers
selecta Iuno, et hoc non sola, sed cum Mena, filia
the-select Juno and this not alone but with Mena the-daughter
Iouis, fluores menstruos ad eius, quod conceptum est,
of-Jupiter flows menstrual for of-that which conceived was
incrementum: et confert Vitumnus obscurus et ignobilis
the-growth and confers Vitumnus obscure and ignoble
uitam; confert Sentinus obscurus et ignobilis sensum; quae
life confers Sentinus obscure and ignoble sense which

duo tanto illis rebus praestantiora sunt, quanto
two by-so-much than-those things more-excellent are by-as-much-as
et ipsa intellectu ac ratione uincuntur. Sicut enim,
also themselves by-understanding and reason are-surpassed as for
quae ratiocinantur et intellegunt, profecto potiora sunt
what-things reason and understand assuredly better are
his, quae sine intellectu adque ratione ut pecora uiuunt
than-those which without understanding and reason as cattle live
et sentiunt: ita et illa, quae uita sensuque sunt praedita,
and feel so also those which with-life and-sense are endowed
his, quae nec uiuunt nec sentiunt, merito praeferuntur.
to-those which neither live nor feel deservedly are-preferred
Inter selectos itaque deos Vitumnus uiuificator et Sentinus
among the-select and-so gods Vitumnus the-life-giver and Sentinus
sensificator magis haberi debuerunt quam Ianus seminis
the-sense-giver rather to-be-held ought than Janus of-the-seed
admissor et Saturnus seminis dator uel sator et Liber
the-admitter and Saturn of-the-seed the-giver or sower and Liber
et Libera seminum commotores uel emissores; quae semina
and Libera of-seeds the-movers or emitters which seeds
cogitare indignum est, nisi ad uitam sensumque peruenerint,
to-think unworthy it-is unless to life and-sense they-arrive
quae munera selecta non dantur a dis selectis, sed a
which gifts select not are-given by gods select but by
quibusdam incognitis et prae istorum dignitate neglectis.
certain unknown and beside of-these the-dignity neglected
Quod si respondetur omnium initiorum potestatem habere
but if it-is-answered of-all beginnings the-power to-have
Ianum et ideo illi etiam quod aperitur conceptui
Janus and therefore to-him also what is-opened for-conception
non inmerito adtribui, et omnium seminum Saturnum
not undeservedly to-be-attributed and of-all seeds Saturn

et ideo seminationem quoque hominis non posse ab
and therefore the-sowing also of-man not to-be-able from
eius operatione seiungi, omnium seminum emittendorum
his operation to-be-separated of-all seeds to-be-emitted
Liberum et Liberam et ideo his etiam praeesse, quae
Liber and Libera and therefore over-these also to-preside which
ad substituendos homines pertinent, omnium purgandorum
to replacing men pertain of-all-things to-be-cleansed
et pariendorum Iunonem et ideo eam non deesse
and to-be-brought-forth Juno and therefore her not to-be-absent
purgationibus feminarum et partubus hominum: quaerant
from-the-cleansings of-women and from-the-births of-men let-them-ask
quid respondeant de Vitumno et Sentino, utrum et ipsos
what they-answer about Vitumnus and Sentinus whether also them
uelint habere omnium quae uiuunt et sentiunt potestatem.
they-wish to-have of-all-things which live and feel the-power
Quod si concedunt, adtendant quam eos sublimius locaturi
but if they-grant let-them-attend how-much them more-loftily about-to-place
sint. Nam seminibus nasci in terra et ex terra est;
they-are for by-seeds to-be-born on earth and from earth is
uiuere autem adque sentire etiam deos sidereos opinantur. Si
to-live but and to-feel even the-gods starry they-think if
autem dicunt Vitumno adque Sentino haec sola adtributa,
but they-say to-Vitumnus and Sentinus these-things only attributed
quae in carne uiuescunt et sensibus adminiculantur, quur
which in the-flesh come-to-life and by-senses are-supported why
non deus ille, qui facit omnia uiuere adque sentire, etiam
not god that who makes all-things to-live and to-feel also
carni uitam praebet et sensum, uniuersali opere hoc
to-the-flesh life furnishes and sense by-universal work this
munus etiam partubus tribuens? et quid opus est Vitumno
gift also to-births assigning and what need is of-Vitumnus

adque Sentino? Quod si ab illo, qui uitae ac sensibus
and Sentinus but if by that-one who over-life and senses
uniuersaliter praesidet, his quasi famulis ista carnalia uelut
universally presides to-these as-if to-servants these carnal-things as-if
extrema et ima commissa sunt: itane sunt illi selecti
the-outermost and lowest entrusted were so-then are those select
destituti familia, ut non inuenirent quibus etiam ipsi
destitute of-household that not they-found to-whom also themselves
ista committerent, sed cum tota sua nobilitate, qua
these-things they-might-entrust but with all their nobility by-which
uisi sunt seligendi, opus facere cum ignobilibus cogerentur?
seen were to-be-selected work to-do with the-ignoble they-were-compelled
Iuno selecta et regina Iouisque et soror et coniunx;
Juno select and queen and-of-Jupiter both sister and spouse
haec tamen Iterduca est pueris et opus facit cum deabus
this-one yet Iterduca is for-children and work does with goddesses
ignobilissimis Abeona et Adeona. Ibi posuerunt et Mentem
most-ignoble Abeona and Adeona there they-placed also Mens
deam, quae faciat pueris bonam mentem, et inter selectos
a-goddess who may-make for-children a-good mind and among the-select
ista non ponitur, quasi quidquam maius praestari homini
this-one not is-placed as-if anything greater to-be-furnished to-man
potest; ponitur autem Iuno, quia Iterduca est et Domiduca,
can is-placed but Juno because Iterduca she-is and Domiduca
quasi quidquam prosit iter carpere et domum duci,
as-if at-all it-profits a-journey to-take and home to-be-led
si mens non est bona, cuius muneris deam selectores
if the-mind not is good of-which gift the-goddess selectors
isti inter selecta numina minime posuerunt. Quae profecto
these among select divinities by-no-means placed who assuredly
et Mineruae fuerat praeferenda, cui per ista minuta
even to-Minerva had-been to-be-preferred to-whom through these tiny

opera puerorum memoriam tribuerunt. Quis enim dubitet
works of-children the-memory they-assigned who for would-doubt
multo esse melius habere bonam mentem quam memoriam
much to-be better to-have a-good mind than memory
quantumlibet ingentem? Nemo enim malus est, qui bonam
however huge no-one for bad is who a-good
habet mentem; quidam uero pessimi memoria sunt mirabili,
has mind some but very-bad with-memory are wonderful
tanto peiores quanto minus possunt quod male cogitant
by-so-much worse by-as-much-as less they-can what wickedly they-think
obliuisci. Et tamen Minerua est inter selectos deos; Mentem
to-forget and yet Minerva is among the-select gods Mens
autem deam turba uilis operuit. Quid de Virtute dicam?
but the-goddess a-crowd cheap has-covered what about Virtue shall-I-say
quid de Felicitate? de quibus in quarto libro plura
what about Felicity about whom in the-fourth book more-things
iam diximus; quas cum deas haberent, nullum eis
already we-have-said whom although as-goddesses they-held no to-them
locum inter selectos deos dare uoluerunt, ubi dederunt
place among the-select gods to-give they-wished where they-gave
Marti et Orco, uni effectori mortium alteri receptori.
to-Mars and Orcus to-the-one the-effector of-deaths to-the-other the-receiver
Cum igitur in his minutis operibus, quae minutatim dis
since therefore in these tiny works which minutely to-gods
pluribus distributa sunt, etiam ipsos selectos uideamus
more distributed are even the-very select we-see
tamquam senatum cum plebe pariter operari, et inueniamus
as-if the-senate with the-plebs equally to-work and we-find
a quibusdam dis, qui nequaquam seligendi putati sunt,
by certain gods who by-no-means to-be-selected thought were
multa maiora adque meliora administrari quam ab illis, qui
many-things greater and better to-be-administered than by those who

selecti uocantur: restat arbitrari non propter praestantiores
select are-called it-remains to-judge not on-account-of more-excellent
in mundo administrationes, sed quia prouenit eis, ut magis
in the-world administrations but because it-befell to-them that more
populis innotescerent, selectos eos et praecipuos nuncupatos.
to-the-peoples they-became-known select them and chief named
Unde dicit etiam ipse Varro, quod dis quibusdam patribus
whence says also himself Varro that to-gods certain fathers
et deabus matribus, sicut hominibus, ignobilitas accidisset.
and to-goddesses mothers as to-men ignobility had-befallen
Si ergo Felicitas ideo fortasse inter selectos deos esse
if therefore Felicity for-this-reason perhaps among the-select gods to-be
non debuit, quod ad istam nobilitatem non merito, sed
not ought because to this nobility not by-merit but
fortuito peruenerunt: saltem inter illos uel potius prae illis
by-chance they-arrived at-least among those or rather before them
Fortuna poneretur, quam dicunt deam non rationabili
Fortune should-be-placed whom they-say the-goddess not by-rational
dispositione, sed ut temere acciderit, sua cuique dona
arrangement but as at-random it-has-befallen her-own to-each gifts
conferre. Haec in dis selectis tenere apicem debuit, in
to-confer this-one among gods select to-hold the-peak ought among
quibus maxime quid posset ostendit; quando eos uidemus
whom most what she-could she-showed when them we-see
non praecipua uirtute, non rationabili felicitate, sed temeraria,
not by-chief virtue not by-rational happiness but by-random
sicut eorum cultores de illa sentiunt, Fortunae potestate
as their worshipers about her think of-Fortune by-the-power
selectos. Nam et uir disertissimus Sallustius etiam ipsos
selected for also a-man most-eloquent Sallust even the-very
deos fortassis adtendit, cum diceret: “Sed profecto fortuna in
gods perhaps regarded when he-said but assuredly fortune in

omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam
every thing rules she things all from caprice more than
ex uero celebrat obscuratque." Non enim possunt inuenire
from the-true makes-famous and-obscures not for they-can to-find
causam, quur celebrata sit Venus et obscurata sit
a-cause why made-famous has-been Venus and obscured has-been
Virtus, cum ambarum ab istis consecrata sint numina nec
Virtue since of-both by these consecrated have-been the-divinities nor
conparanda sint merita. Aut si hoc nobilitari meruit, quod
to-be-compared are the-merits or if this to-be-ennobled has-deserved which
plures adpetunt, plures enim Venerem quam Virtutem: quur
more seek more for Venus than Virtue why
celebrata est dea Minerua et obscurata est dea
made-famous has-been the-goddess Minerva and obscured has-been the-goddess
Pecunia? cum in genere humano plures adliciat auaritia quam
Pecunia since in the-race human more allures avarice than
peritia, et in eis ipsis, qui sunt artificiosi, raro inuenias
skill and among those very who are skilled rarely you-may-find
hominem, qui non habeat artem suam pecuniaria mercede
a-man who not has art his-own monetary for-pay
uenalem, plurisque pendatur semper propter quod aliquid
for-sale and-of-more is-weighed always on-account-of which something
fit, quam id quod propter aliud fit. Si ergo insipientis
is-done than that which on-account-of another is-done if then foolish
iudicio multitudinis facta est deorum ista selectio, quur
by-the-judgment of-the-multitude made was of-the-gods this selection why
dea Pecunia Mineruae praelata non est, cum propter
the-goddess Pecunia to-Minerva preferred not was since on-account-of
pecuniam sint artifices multi? Si autem paucorum sapientium
money are craftsmen many if but of-the-few wise
est ista distinctio, quur non praelata est Veneri Virtus, cum
is this distinction why not preferred was to-Venus Virtue since

eam longe praeferat ratio? Saltem certe, ut dixi, ipsa Fortuna,
her far prefers reason at-least certainly as I-said herself Fortune
quae, sicut putant qui ei plurimum tribuunt, in omni re
who as think those-who to-her most assign in every thing
dominatur et res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex uero
rules and things all from caprice more than from the-true
celebrat obscuratque, si tantum et in deos ualuit, ut
makes-famous and-obscures if so-much also over the-gods she-prevailed that
temerario iudicio suo quos uellet celebraret obscuraretque
by-random judgment her-own whom she-would she-made-famous and-obscured
quos uellet, praecipuum locum haberet in selectis, quae
whom she-would the-chief place she-should-have among the-select who
in ipsos quoque deos tam praecipuae est potestatis. An
over the-very also gods so chief is of-power or
ut illic esse non posset, nihil aliud etiam ipsa Fortuna
that there to-be not she-could nothing else even herself Fortune
nisi aduersam putanda est habuisse fortunam? Sibi ergo
except adverse to-be-thought is to-have-had fortune to-herself therefore
aduersata est, quae alios nobiles faciens nobilitata non est.
opposed has who others noble making ennobled not was

The lowest gods are sheltered by obscurity from disgrace; the select were chosen more for insult than honor. Their division of labor is laughable, like the silversmiths' street, where one vessel passes through many hands. Scarcely any unselected god is infamous for a crime, scarcely any selected god free of one. Of Janus nothing shameful comes to mind; he received Saturn and founded the Janiculum. Yet they gave his image two faces or four, as if the more innocent should show more brow.

Gratularetur autem dis istis selectis quisquam nobilitatis
would-congratulate moreover the-gods these select anyone of-nobility
et claritudinis adpetitor et eos diceret fortunatos, si non
and of-renown a-seeker and them would-call fortunate if not
eos magis ad iniurias quam ad honores selectos uideret.
them more for injuries than for honors selected he-saw
Nam illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit, ne
for that lowest crowd the-very ignobility has-covered lest
obrueretur obprobriis. Ridemus quidem, cum eos uidemus
it-be-overwhelmed with-reproaches we-laugh indeed when them we-see
figmentis humanarum opinionum partitis inter se operibus
by-the-fictions of-human opinions divided among themselves works
distributos, tamquam minuscularios uectigalium conductores
distributed like petty of-taxes farmers
uel tamquam opifices in uico argentario, ubi unum
or like workmen in the-street of-silversmiths where one
uasculum, ut perfectum exeat, per multos artifices
little-vessel that finished it-may-go-out through many craftsmen
transit, cum ab uno perfecto perfici posset. Sed aliter
passes though by one perfect to-be-finished it-could but otherwise
non putatum est operantium multitudini consulendum, nisi
not thought it-was of-the-workers for-the-multitude to-be-provided except
ut singulas artis partes cito ac facile discerent singuli,
that single of-the-art parts quickly and easily they-might-learn individually

ne omnes in arte una tarde ac difficile cogerentur esse
lest all in art one slowly and with-difficulty be-compelled to-be
perfecti. Verum tamen uix quisquam reperitur deorum
perfect but yet scarcely anyone is-found of-the-gods
non selectorum, qui aliquo crimine famam traxit infamem;
not select who by-some crime reputation has-drawn infamous
uix autem selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam
scarcely but of-the-select anyone who not upon himself the-brand
contumeliae insignis acceperit. Illi ad istorum humilia opera
of-disgrace notable has-received those to of-these the-humble works
descenderunt, isti in illorum sublimia crimina non uenerunt.
descended these into of-those the-lofty crimes not came
De Iano quidem non mihi facile quidquam occurrit,
about Janus indeed not to-me easily anything occurs
quod ad probrum pertineat. Et fortasse talis fuerit,
which to disgrace pertains and perhaps such he-may-have-been
innocentius uixerit et a facinoribus flagitiisque
more-innocently he-may-have-lived and from crimes and-outrages
remotius. Saturnum fugientem benignus excepit; cum hospite
more-remotely Saturn fleeing kindly he-received with the-guest
partitus est regnum, ut etiam ciuitates singulas conderent,
shared he-has the-kingdom that also cities single they-founded
iste Ianiculum, ille Saturniam. Sed isti in cultu deorum
this-one the-Janiculum that-one Saturnia but these in the-worship of-the-gods
omnis dedecoris adpetitores, cuius uitam minus turpem
of-every disgrace seekers whose life less shameful
inuenerunt, eum simulacri monstrosa deformitate turparunt,
they-found him of-the-image by-monstrous deformity disfigured
nunc eum bifrontem, nunc etiam quadrifrontem, tamquam
now him two-fronted now even four-fronted as-if
geminum, facientes. An forte uoluerunt, ut, quoniam plurimi
twin making or perhaps they-wished that since very-many

di selecti erubescenda perpetrando amiserant frontem,
gods select things-to-be-blushed-at by-perpetrating had-lost the-brow
quanto iste innocentior esset, tanto frontosior appareret?
by-how-much this-one more-innocent was by-so-much more-browed he-might-appear

V · THE SECRET DOCTRINE OF THE IMAGES

Varro says the ancients made images of the gods so that the initiated might see in them the world's soul and its parts, the true gods; the human form shows the rational soul as a wine jar in Liber's temple signifies wine. Augustine asks whether he lost the prudence with which he said the first image-makers took away fear and added error. His learned soul never reached the God who made it; and if his natural theology reaches only the soul, the civil, busied with bodies, is falser still.

Sed ipsorum potius interpretationes physicas audiamus, quibus
but their-own rather interpretations physical let-us-hear by-which
turpitudinem miserrimi erroris uelut altioris doctrinae
the-shamefulness of-most-wretched error as-if of-higher learning
specie colorare conantur. Primum eas interpretationes
with-the-appearance to-color they-try first those interpretations
sic Varro commendat, ut dicat antiquos simulacra deorum
so Varro commends that he-says the-ancients images of-the-gods
et insignia ornatusque finxisse, quae cum oculis
and insignia and-ornaments to-have-fashioned which when with-the-eyes
animaduertissent hi, qui adissent doctrinae mysteria,
had-noticed those who had-approached of-learning the-mysteries
possent animam mundi ac partes eius, id est deos
they-might-be-able the-soul of-the-world and the-parts its that is the-gods
ueros, animo uidere; quorum qui simulacra specie
true with-the-mind to-see of-whom those-who images in-the-appearance
hominis fecerunt, hoc uideri secutos, quod mortalium
of-man made this to-seem to-have-followed that of-mortals

animus, qui est in corpore humano, simillimus est inmortalis
the-mind which is in the-body human most-like is of-the-immortal
animi; tamquam si uasa ponerentur causa notandorum
mind as if vessels were-placed for-the-sake of-designating
deorum et in Liberi aede oenophorum sisteretur, quod
the-gods and in of-Liber the-shrine a-wine-jar were-set which
significaret uinum, per id quod continet id quod continetur;
might-signify wine through that which contains that which is-contained
ita per simulacrum, quod formam haberet humanam,
so through the-image which form had human
significari animam rationalem, quod eo uelut uase natura
to-be-signified the-soul rational because in-it as-if in-a-vessel nature
ista soleat contineri, cuius naturae deum uolunt esse uel
this is-wont to-be-contained of-which nature god they-wish to-be or
deos. Haec sunt mysteria doctrinae, quae iste uir doctissimus
gods these are the-mysteries of-learning which this man most-learned
penetrauerat, unde in lucem ista proferret. Sed, o homo
had-penetrated whence into the-light these-things he-might-bring but O man
acutissime, num in istis doctrinae mysteriis illam prudentiam
most-acute surely-not in these of-learning mysteries that prudence
perdidisti, qua tibi sobrie uisum est, quod hi, qui primi
you-have-lost by-which to-you soberly seemed it-has that those who first
populis simulacra constituerunt, et metum demserunt
for-the-peoples images set-up both fear took-away
ciuibus suis et errorem addiderunt, castiusque deos
from-citizens their-own and error added and-more-chastely the-gods
sine simulacris ueteres obseruasse Romanos? Hi enim tibi
without images the-old to-have-observed Romans these for to-you
fuerunt auctores, ut haec contra posteriores Romanos
were authors that these-things against later Romans
dicere auderes. Nam si et illi antiquissimi simulacra
to-say you-should-dare for if also those most-ancient images

coluissent, fortassis totum istum sensum de simulacris non
had-worshiped perhaps all this sense about images not
constituendis, interim uerum, timoris silentio premeres
to-be-set-up meanwhile true of-fear by-the-silence you-would-suppress
et in huiusce modi perniciosis uanisque figmentis mysteria
and in of-this kind pernicious and-vain fictions mysteries
ista doctrinae loquacius et elatius praedicares. Anima
these of-learning more-talkatively and more-loftily you-would-proclaim soul
tua tamen tam docta et ingeniosa (ubi te multum dolemus)
your yet so learned and ingenious where you much we-grieve-for
per haec mysteria doctrinae ad Deum suum, id est a quo
through these mysteries of-learning to God its-own that is by whom
facta est, non cum quo facta est; nec cuius portio, sed
made it-was not with whom made it-was nor of-whom a-portion but
cuius conditio est; nec qui est omnium anima, sed qui fecit
of-whom the-creation it-is nor who is of-all the-soul but who made
omnem animam, quo solo inlustrante anima fit beata,
every soul by-whom alone illuminating the-soul becomes blessed
si eius gratiae non sit ingrata, nullo modo potuit peruenire.
if to-his grace not it-be ungrateful in-no way could to-arrive
Verum ista mysteria doctrinae qualia sint quantique
but these mysteries of-learning of-what-sort they-are and-at-how-much
pendenda, quae sequuntur ostendent. Fatetur interim
to-be-weighed the-things-which follow will-show confesses meanwhile
uir iste doctissimus animam mundi ac partes eius esse
man this most-learned the-soul of-the-world and the-parts its to-be
ueros deos; unde intellegitur totam eius theologian, eam
true gods whence it-is-understood all his theology that
ipsam scilicet naturalem, cui plurimum tribuit, usque ad
very namely natural to-which very-much he-assigns as-far-as to
animae rationalis naturam se extendere potuisse. De
of-the-soul rational the-nature itself to-extend to-have-been-able about

naturali enim paucissima praeloquitur in hoc libro, quem
the-natural for very-few-things he-says-beforehand in this book which
de dis selectis ultimum scripsit; in quo uidebimus utrum
about gods select last he-wrote in which we-shall-see whether
per interpretationes physiologicas possit ad hanc naturalem
through interpretations physiological he-can to this natural
referre ciuilem. Quod si potuerit, tota naturalis erit:
to-refer the-civil but if he-shall-have-been-able wholly natural it-will-be
et quid opus erat ab ea ciuilem tanta cura distinctionis
and what need was from it the-civil with-so-great care of-distinction
abiungere? Si autem recto discrimine separata est: quando
to-disjoin if but by-right discrimination separated it-is since
nec ista uera est quae illi naturalis placet (peruenit
not-even that true is which to-him natural pleases it-arrives
enim usque ad animam, non usque ad uerum Deum qui
for as-far-as to the-soul not as-far-as to the-true God who
fecit et animam), quanto est abiectior et falsior ista ciuilis,
made also the-soul how-much is more-abject and falser this civil
quae maxime circa corporum est occupata naturam, sicut
which most around of-bodies is occupied the-nature as
ipsae interpretationes eius, ex quibus quaedam necessaria
the-very interpretations its from which some necessary
commemorare me oportet, tanta ab ipsis exquisitae et
to-recall me it-behooves with-so-great by them sought-out and
enucleatae diligentia demonstrabunt.
elucidated diligence will-show

VI · GOD AS THE SOUL OF THE WORLD

Varro says God is the soul of the world, and the world itself God, named from its soul as a wise man from his mind. He divides the world into heaven and earth, heaven into ether and air, earth into water and land, all full of souls, immortal above and mortal below. The ethereal souls are the stars, gods seen as well as understood; between the moon and the clouds are airy souls, seen by the mind, called heroes, lares, and genii.

Dicit ergo idem Varro adhuc de naturali theologia
says therefore the-same Varro still about natural theology
praeloquens deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi,
speaking-beforehand god himself to-think to-be the-soul of-the-world
quem Graeci uocant κόσμον, et hunc ipsum mundum esse
which the-Greeks call kosmos and this very world to-be
deum; sed sicut hominem sapientem, cum sit ex corpore
god but as a-man wise though he-be from body
et animo, tamen ab animo dici sapientem, ita mundum
and mind yet from the-mind to-be-called wise so the-world
deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore.
god to-be-called from the-mind though it-be from mind and body
Hic uidetur quoquo modo unum confiteri Deum; sed ut
here he-seems in-some way one to-confess God but that
plures etiam introducat, adiungit mundum diuidi in duas
more also he-may-bring-in he-adds the-world to-be-divided into two
partes, caelum et terram; et caelum bifariam, in aethera et
parts heaven and earth and heaven in-two into ether and
aera; terram uero in aquam et humum; e quibus summum
air the-earth moreover into water and soil of which the-highest
esse aethera, secundum aera, tertiam aquam, infimam terram;
to-be ether the-second air the-third water the-lowest earth
quas omnes partes quattuor animarum esse plenas, in aethere
which all parts four of-souls to-be full in ether

et aere inmortalium, in aqua et terra mortalium. Ab summo
and air of-immortal in water and earth of-mortal from the-highest
autem circuitu caeli ad circulum lunae aetherias animas
moreover circuit of-heaven to the-circle of-the-moon ethereal souls
esse astra ac stellas; eos caelestes deos non modo
to-be the-constellations and stars those heavenly gods not only
intellegi esse, sed etiam uideri; inter lunae uero gyrum
to-be-understood to-be but also to-be-seen between of-the-moon but the-orbit
et nimborum ac uentorum cacumina aerias esse animas, sed
and of-clouds and of-winds the-peaks airy to-be souls but
eas animo, non oculis uideri et uocari heroas et lares
them with-the-mind not with-the-eyes to-be-seen and to-be-called heroes and lares
et genios. Haec est uidelicet breuiter in ista praelocutione
and genii this is namely briefly in this preface
proposita theologia naturalis, quae non huic tantum,
set-forth theology natural which not to-him only
sed multis philosophis placuit; de qua tunc diligentius
but to-many philosophers has-pleased about which then more-diligently
disserendum est, cum de ciuili, quantum ad deos selectos
to-be-discussed it-is when about the-civil as-far-as to gods select
adtinet, opitulante Deo uero quod restat inpleuero.
pertains helping God true what remains I-shall-have-completed

Who is Janus? The world, they answer. Then why do beginnings belong to him and ends to Terminus, with January for Janus and February, with the Terminalia and the purifying Februum, for Terminus? Does the world that holds beginnings not hold ends? They would do better to make the two-faced god both Janus and Terminus, one face for beginnings and one for ends, since whoever acts must look back to the start to see the end; and the end deserves the more honor.

Ianus igitur, a quo sumsit exordium, quaero quisnam sit.
Janus therefore from whom he-took beginning I-ask who he-is
Respondetur: Mundus est. Breuis haec plane est adque aperta
it-is-answered the-world it-is brief this plainly is and open
responsio. Quur ergo ad eum dicuntur rerum initia
answer why then to him are-said of-things the-beginnings
pertinere, fines uero ad alterum, quem Terminum uocant?
to-pertain the-ends but to another whom Terminus they-call
Nam propter initia et fines duobus istis dis duos menses
for on-account-of beginnings and ends to-two these gods two months
perhibent dedicatos praeter illos decem, quibus usque ad
they-declare dedicated besides those ten of-which as-far-as to
Decembrem caput est Martius, Ianuarium Iano, Februarium
December the-head is March January to-Janus February
Termino. Ideo Terminalia eodem mense Februario celebrari
to-Terminus therefore the-Terminalia in-the-same month February to-be-celebrated
dicunt, cum fit sacrum purgatorium, quod uocant Februm,
they-say when is-done the-rite purificatory which they-call Februum
unde mensis nomen accepit. Numquid ergo ad mundum, qui
whence the-month the-name received surely-not then to the-world which
Ianus est, initia rerum pertinent et fines non pertinent,
Janus is the-beginnings of-things pertain and the-ends not pertain
ut alter illis deus praeficeretur? Nonne omnia, quae in hoc
that another over-them god should-be-set surely all-things which in this

mundo fieri dicunt, in hoc etiam mundo terminari fatentur?
world to-be-done they-say in this also world to-be-ended they-confess
Quae est ista uanitas, in opere illi dare potestatem dimidiam,
what is this vanity in the-work to-him to-give power half
in simulacro faciem duplam? Nonne istum bifrontem multo
in the-image a-face double surely this two-fronted much
elegantius interpretarentur, si eundem et Ianum et Terminum
more-elegantly they-would-interpret if the-same both Janus and Terminus
dicerent adque initiis unam faciem, finibus alteram darent?
they-called and to-beginnings one face to-ends the-other they-gave
quoniam qui operatur utrumque debet intendere; in omni
since he-who works both ought to-attend in every
enim motu actionis suae qui non respicit initium non
for motion of-action his-own who not looks-back-to the-beginning not
prospicit finem. Unde necesse est a memoria respiciente
looks-forward-to the-end whence necessary it-is by memory looking-back
prospiciens conectatur intentio; nam cui exciderit quod
the-forward-looking be-connected intention for from-whom has-fallen what
coeperit, quo modo finiat non inueniet. Quod si uitam
he-began in-what way he-may-finish not will-find but if life
beatam in hoc mundo inchoari putarent, extra mundum
blessed in this world to-be-begun they-thought outside the-world
perfici, et ideo Iano, id est mundo, solam initiorum
to-be-perfected and therefore to-Janus that is to-the-world alone of-beginnings
tribuerent potestatem: profecto ei praeponerent Terminum
they-assigned the-power assuredly to-him they-would-prefer Terminus
eumque ab dis selectis non alienarent. Quamquam etiam
and-him from the-gods select not would-estrange although even
nunc cum in istis duobus dis initia rerum temporalium
now when in these two gods the-beginnings of-things temporal
finesque tractantur, Termino dari debuit plus honoris. Maior
and-the-ends are-treated to-Terminus to-be-given ought more of-honor greater

enim laetitia est, cum res quaeque perficitur; sollicitudinis
for joy is when a-thing each is-perfected of-anxiety
autem plena sunt coepta, donec perducantur ad finem,
but full are things-begun until they-are-brought to the-end
quem qui aliquid incipit maxime adpetit intendit, expectat
which he-who anything begins most seeks aims-at expects
exoptat, nec de re inchoata, nisi terminetur, exultat.
longs-for nor about a-thing begun unless it-be-ended exults

VIII · THE TWO AND FOUR FACES OF JANUS

Janus has two faces because our open mouth resembles the world, the Greeks calling the palate ouranos; so a god is worshiped for the palate, between whose doors spittle is swallowed or spat. The world has no two opposed doors to match. If he is four-faced for the world's four quarters, the two-faced image is false; and naming North and South beside East and West, no one would call the world twin, as they call four-faced Janus; only Neptune's fish, open on both sides, could supply four doors. No soul escapes but one that hears: I am the door.

Sed iam bifrontis simulacri interpretatio proferatur. Duas
but now of-the-two-fronted image the-interpretation let-be-brought-forth two
eum facies ante et retro habere dicunt, quod hiatus noster,
him faces before and behind to-have they-say because the-gape our
cum os aperimus, mundo similis uideatur; unde et
when the-mouth we-open to-the-world like seems whence also
palatum Graeci οὐρανόν appellant, et nonnulli, inquit, poetae
the-palate the-Greeks ouranos call and some he-says poets
Latini caelum uocauerunt palatum, a quo hiatu oris
Latin heaven have-called the-palate from which gape of-the-mouth
et foras esse aditum ad dentes uersus et introrsus ad
both outward to-be an-entrance to the-teeth toward and inward to

fauces. Ecce quo perductus est mundus propter palati
the-throat behold whither brought has-been the-world on-account-of of-palate
nostri uocabulum uel Graecum uel poeticum. Quid autem
our the-word either Greek or poetic what but
hoc ad animam, quid ad uitam aeternam? Propter solas
this to the-soul what to life eternal on-account-of only
saliuas colatur hic deus, quibus partim glutiendis partim
saliva let-be-worshiped this god for-which partly to-be-swallowed partly
spuendis sub caelo palati utraque panditur ianua. Quid
to-be-spat under the-heaven of-the-palate each is-opened door what
est porro absurdius, quam in ipso mundo non inuenire
is further more-absurd than in the-very world not to-find
duas ianuas ex aduerso sitas, per quas uel admittat ad
two doors from opposite placed through which either it-may-admit to
se aliquid intro uel emittat a se foras, et de nostro
itself something inside or may-emit from itself outside and from our
ore et gutture, quorum similitudinem mundus non habet,
mouth and throat of-which the-likeness the-world not has
uelle mundi simulacrum conponere in Iano propter solum
to-wish of-the-world an-image to-compose in Janus on-account-of only
palatum, cuius similitudinem Ianus non habet? Cum uero
the-palate of-which the-likeness Janus not has when but
eum faciunt quadrifrontem et Ianum geminum appellant,
him they-make four-fronted and Janus twin call
ad quattuor mundi partes hoc interpretantur, quasi aliquid
to four of-the-world parts this they-interpret as-if anything
spectet mundus foras sicut per omnes facies Ianus. Deinde
looks the-world outward as through all faces Janus then
si Ianus est mundus et mundus quattuor partibus constat,
if Janus is the-world and the-world of-four parts consists
falsum est simulacrum Iani bifrontis; aut si propterea
false is the-image of-Janus two-fronted or if for-this-reason

uerum est, quia etiam nomine Orientis et Occidentis totus
true it-is because also by-the-name of-East and of-West the-whole
solet mundus intellegi, numquid, cum duas partes alias
is-wont world to-be-understood surely-not when two parts other
nominamus Septentrionis et Austri, sicut illum quadrifrontem
we-name of-the-North and of-the-South as him four-fronted
dicunt geminum Ianum, ita quisquam geminum dicturus
they-call twin Janus so anyone twin about-to-call
est mundum? Non habent omnino unde quattuor ianuas,
is the-world not they-have at-all whence four doors
quae intrantibus et exeuntibus pateant, interpretentur ad
which to-those-entering and exiting may-lie-open they-may-interpret to
mundi similitudinem, sicut de bifronti quod dicerent
of-the-world the-likeness as about the-two-fronted what they-might-say
saltem in ore hominis inuenerunt, nisi Neptunus forte
at-least in the-mouth of-man they-found unless Neptune perhaps
subueniat et porrigat piscem, cui praeter hiatum oris
come-to-help and hold-out a-fish to-which besides the-gape of-mouth
et gutturis etiam dextra et sinistra fauces patent. Et tamen
and of-throat also right and left jaws lie-open and yet
hanc uanitatem per tot ianuas nulla effugit anima, nisi
this vanity through so-many doors no escapes soul except
quae audit ueritatem dicentem: Ego sum ianua.
which hears the-truth saying I am the-door

Jupiter, they say, holds the causes by which anything is done in the world, a power whose greatness Vergil's line on knowing the causes of things attests. Varro puts Janus first because the first things are his; but causes precede what they make. To worship the god of all causes with such crimes is worse than believing in none. And if Janus is the world, what place is left for Jupiter? Since all is full of Jove, he too is the world, as Varro reads Soranus: father and mother of the gods, one god and all.

Iouem autem, qui etiam Iuppiter dicitur, quem uelint
Jove moreover who also Jupiter is-called whom they-wish
intellegi, exponant. "Deus est, inquiunt, habens potestatem
to-be-understood let-them-explain god he-is they-say having the-power
causarum, quibus aliquid fit in mundo." Hoc quam
of-the-causes by-which anything is-done in the-world this how
magnum sit, nobilissimus Vergilii uersus ille testatur:
great it-is most-noble of-Vergil verse that attests

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.
happy who has-been-able of-things to-know the-causes

Sed quur ei praeponitur Ianus? hoc nobis uir ille
but why to-him is-set-before Janus this to-us man that
acutissimus doctissimusque respondeat. "Quoniam penes
most-acute and-most-learned may-answer since with
Ianum, inquit, sunt prima, penes Iouem summa. Merito
Janus he-says are the-first-things with Jove the-highest deservedly
ergo rex omnium Iuppiter habetur. Prima enim uincuntur
therefore king of-all Jupiter is-held the-first for are-surpassed
a summis, quia, licet prima praecedant tempore, summa
by the-highest because although the-first precede in-time the-highest
superant dignitate." Sed recte hoc diceretur, si factorum prima
surpass in-dignity but rightly this would-be-said if of-things-done the-first

discernerentur et summa; sicut initium facti est proficisci,
were-distinguished and the-highest as the-beginning of-a-deed is to-set-out
summum peruenire; initium facti inceptio discendi,
the-highest to-arrive the-beginning of-a-deed the-undertaking of-learning
summum perceptio doctrinae; ac sic in omnibus prima sunt
the-highest the-grasp of-doctrine and so in all-things the-first are
initia summique sunt fines. Sed iam hoc negotium inter
beginnings and-the-highest are ends but already this business between
Ianum Terminumque discussum est. Causae autem, quae
Janus and-Terminus discussed has-been the-causes but which
dantur Ioui, efficientia sunt, non effecta; neque ullo modo
are-given to-Jove efficient are not effected nor in-any way
fieri potest, ut uel tempore praeueniantur a factis
to-be-done can that either in-time they-be-preceded by things-done
initiisue factorum. Semper enim prior est res quae
or-by-beginnings of-things-done always for prior is the-thing which
facit, quam illa quae fit. Quapropter si ad Ianum pertinent
makes than that which is-made wherefore if to Janus pertain
initia factorum, non ideo priora sunt efficientibus causis,
the-beginnings of-things-done not therefore prior are than-the-efficient causes
quas Ioui tribuunt. Sicut enim nihil fit, ita nihil inchoatur
which to-Jove they-assign as for nothing is-made so nothing is-begun
ut fiat, quod non faciens causa praecesserit. Hunc sane
that it-be-made which not a-making cause has-preceded this indeed
deum, penes quem sunt omnes causae factarum omnium
god with whom are all the-causes of-made all
naturarum naturaliumque rerum, si Iouem populi appellant et
natures and-of-natural things if Jove the-peoples call and
tantis contumeliis tamque scelestis criminationibus colunt;
with-so-great insults and-so wicked accusations worship
taetriore sacrilegio sese obstringunt, quam si prorsus nullum
with-fouler sacrilege themselves they-bind than if utterly no

putarent deum. Unde satius esset eis alium aliquem Iouis
they-thought god whence better it-would-be for-them another some of-Jove
nomine nuncupare, dignum turpibus et flagitiosis honoribus,
by-the-name to-call worthy of-shameful and disgraceful honors
subposito uano figmento quod potius blasphemarent (sicut
substituted a-vain fiction which rather they-might-blaspheme as
Saturno dicitur subpositus lapis, quem pro filio deuoraret),
to-Saturn is-said substituted a-stone which in-place-of the-son he-might-devour
quam istum deum dicere et tonantem et adulterantem,
than this god to-call both thundering and committing-adultery
et totum mundum regentem et per tot stupra
and the-whole world ruling and through so-many debaucheries
diffluentem, et naturarum omnium naturalium rerum causas
dissolving and of-natures all of-natural things the-causes
summas habentem et suas causas bonas non habentem.
highest having and his-own causes good not having

Deinde quaero, quem iam locum inter deos huic Ioui tribuant,
then I-ask what now place among the-gods to-this Jove they-assign
si Ianus est mundus. Deos enim ueros animam mundi ac
if Janus is the-world gods for true the-soul of-the-world and
partes eius iste definiuit; ac per hoc, quidquid hoc non
the-parts its this-one defined and through this whatever this not
est, non est utique secundum istos uerus deus. Num igitur
is not is assuredly according-to these a-true god surely-not then
ita dicturi sunt Iouem animam mundi, ut Ianus sit
so about-to-say are-they Jove the-soul of-the-world that Janus be
corpus eius, id est iste uisibilis mundus? Hoc si dicunt, non
the-body its that is this visible world this if they-say not
erit quem ad modum Ianum deum dicant, quoniam
there-will-be in-what to manner Janus a-god they-may-call since
mundi corpus non est deus uel secundum ipsos, sed
of-the-world the-body not is a-god even according-to themselves but

anima mundi ac partes eius. Unde apertissime idem dicit
the-soul of-the-world and the-parts its whence most-openly the-same says
deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi et hunc ipsum
god himself to-think to-be the-soul of-the-world and this very
mundum esse deum; sed sicut hominem sapientem, cum sit
world to-be god but as a-man wise though he-be
ex animo et corpore, tamen ex animo dici sapientem,
from mind and body yet from the-mind to-be-called wise
ita mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo
so the-world god to-be-called from the-mind though it-be from mind
et corpore. Solum itaque mundi corpus non est deus, sed
and body alone and-so of-the-world the-body not is god but
aut sola anima eius aut simul corpus et animus, ita tamen
either alone the-soul its or together body and mind so yet
ut non sit a corpore, sed ab animo deus. Si ergo Ianus
that not it-be from the-body but from the-mind god if then Janus
est mundus et deus est Ianus, numquid Iouem, ut deus
is the-world and god is Janus surely-not Jove that god
esse possit, aliquam partem Iani esse dicturi sunt?
to-be he-may-be-able some part of-Janus to-be about-to-say are-they
Magis enim Ioui uniuersum solent tribuere; unde est:
rather for to-Jove the-universe they-are-wont to-assign whence it-is

Iouis omnia plena.
of-Jove all-things full

Ergo et Iouem, ut deus sit et maxime rex deorum, non
therefore also Jove that god he-be and especially king of-the-gods not
alium possunt existimare quam mundum, ut dis ceteris
other they-can to-think than the-world that over-gods the-rest
secundum istos suis partibus regnet. In hanc sententiam
according-to these its-own parts he-may-reign into this opinion

etiam quosdam uersus Valerii Sorani exponit idem Varro
also certain verses of-Valerius Soranus expounds the-same Varro
in eo libro, quem seorsum ab istis de cultu deorum
in that book which separately from these about the-worship of-the-gods
scripsit; qui uersus hi sunt:
he-wrote which verses these are

Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
Jupiter almighty of-kings and-of-things and-of-gods
progenitor genetrixque deum, deus unus et omnes.
begetter and-mother of-the-gods god one and all

Exponuntur autem in eodem libro ita: cum marem existimarent
are-expounded moreover in the-same book so since the-male they-thought
qui semen emitteret, feminam quae acciperet, Iouemque esse
who seed emits the-female which receives and-Jove to-be
mundum et eum omnia semina ex se emittere et in
the-world and it all seeds from itself to-emit and into
se recipere, "cum causa, inquit, scripsit Soranus: Iuppiter
itself to-receive with reason he-says wrote Soranus Jupiter
progenitor genetrixque; nec minus cum causa unum et omnia
begetter and-mother nor less with reason one and all
idem esse; mundus enim unus, et in eo uno omnia sunt."
the-same to-be the-world for one and in it one all-things are

X · WHETHER JANUS AND JUPITER DIFFER

If Janus is the world and Jupiter is the world, and the world is one, why are they two gods, with separate temples, altars, rites, and images? If because the power of beginnings differs from the power of causes, a man with two powers or two arts is not two judges or two craftsmen. One God holding both powers need not be two gods; otherwise Jupiter himself must be as many gods as his many surnames.

Cum ergo et Ianus mundus sit et Iuppiter mundus sit unusque
since then both Janus the-world is and Jupiter the-world is and-one
sit mundus, quare duo di sunt Ianus et Iuppiter? Quare
is the-world why two gods are-they Janus and Jupiter why
seorsus habent templa seorsus aras, diuersa sacra dissimilia
separately have-they temples separately altars diverse rites unlike
simulacra? Si propterea, quod alia uis est primordiorum, alia
images if for-this-reason that one force is of-first-beginnings another
causarum, et illa Iani, illa Iouis nomen accepit: numquid si
of-causes and that of-Janus that of-Jove the-name received surely-not if
unus homo in diuersis rebus duas habeat potestates aut duas
one man in diverse things two has powers or two
artes, quia singularum diuersa uis est, ideo duo iudices
arts because of-each diverse the-force is therefore two judges
aut duo dicuntur artifices? Sic ergo et unus Deus cum ipse
or two are-called craftsmen so then also one God though he-himself
habeat potestatem primordiorum, ipse causarum, num
has the-power of-first-beginnings himself of-causes surely-not
propterea illum duos deos esse necesse est putari, quia
for-this-reason him two gods to-be necessary is to-be-thought because
primordia causaeque res duae sunt? Quod si hoc iustum
first-beginnings and-causes things two are but if this just
putant, etiam ipsum Iouem tot deos esse dicant, quotquot
they-think even the-very Jove so-many gods to-be let-them-say as-many-as

ei cognomina propter multas potestates dederunt, quoniam
to-him surnames on-account-of many powers they-gave since
res omnes, ex quibus illa cognomina sunt adhibita,
things all from which those surnames have-been applied
multae adque diuersae sunt, ex quibus pauca commemoro.
many and diverse are of which a-few I-recall

XI · THE SURNAMES OF JUPITER

They call Jupiter Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Impulsor, Stator, Centumpeda, Supinalis, Tigillus, Almus, Ruminus, and more, names for one god's powers, some great, as holding up the world like a beam, some petty, as suckling animals. If causes and beginnings made two gods of one world, these more different works did not. Why should Jupiter suckle with the obscure Rumina, unless he is Rumina too, as Soranus calls him father and mother? He is even called Pecunia.

Dixerunt eum Victorem, Inuictum, Opitulum, Inpulsorem,
they-called him Victor Invictus Opitulus Impulsor
Statorem, Centumpedam, Supinalem. Tigillum, Almum,
Stator Centumpeda Supinalis Tigillus Almus
Ruminum et alia quae persequi longum est. Haec
Ruminus and other-names which to-pursue long it-is these
autem cognomina inposuerunt uni deo propter causas
moreover surnames they-imposed on-one god on-account-of causes
potestatesque diuersas, non tamen propter tot res
and-powers diverse not yet on-account-of so-many things
etiam tot deos eum esse coegerunt: quod omnia uinceret,
also so-many gods him to-be they-forced because all-things he-conquered
quod a nemine uinceretur, quod opem indigentibus ferret,
because by no-one he-was-conquered because help to-the-needy he-brought
quod haberet inpellendi, statuendi, stabiliendi, resupinandi
because he-had of-impelling of-setting of-establishing of-overturning

potestatem, quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret
the-power because as-if a-beam the-world he-held
ac sustineret, quod aleret omnia, quod ruma, id est
and sustained because he-nourished all-things because by-ruma that is
mamma, aleret animalia. In his, ut aduertimus, quaedam
the-breast he-nourished animals in these as we-notice some
magna sunt, quaedam exigua; et tamen unus utraque facere
great are some tiny and yet one both to-do
perhibetur. Puto inter se propinquiora esse causas rerum
is-said I-think among themselves nearer to-be the-causes of-things
adque primordia, propter quas res unum mundum duos
and first-beginnings on-account-of which things one world two
deos esse uoluerunt, Iouem adque Ianum, quam continere
gods to-be they-wished Jove and Janus than to-hold
mundum et mammam dare animalibus; nec tamen propter
the-world and the-breast to-give to-animals nor yet on-account-of
haec opera duo tam longe inter se ui et dignitate
these works two so far among themselves in-force and dignity
diuersa duo di esse conpulsi sunt; sed unus Iuppiter
diverse two gods to-be compelled have-been but one Jupiter
propter illud Tigillus, propter illud Ruminus appellatus
on-account-of that Tigillus on-account-of that Ruminus called
est. Nolo dicere, quod animalibus mammam praebere
has-been I-am-unwilling to-say that to-animals the-breast to-offer
sugentibus magis Iunonem potuit decere quam Iouem,
sucking more Juno could to-befit than Jove
praesertim cum esset etiam diua Rumina, quae in hoc
especially since there-was also the-goddess Rumina who in this
opus adiutorium illi famulatumue praeberet. Cogito enim
work help to-him or-service might-offer I-reflect for

posse responderi, et ipsam Iunonem nihil aliud esse quam
to-be-able to-be-answered also the-very Juno nothing else to-be than
Iouem, secundum illos Valerii Sorani uersus, ubi dictum est:
Jove according-to those of-Valerius Soranus verses where said it-is

Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
Jupiter almighty of-kings and-of-things and-of-gods
progenitor genetrixque deum.
begetter and-mother of-the-gods

Quare ergo dictus est et Ruminus, cum diligentius fortasse
why then called is-he also Ruminus when more-diligently perhaps
quaerentibus ipse inueniatur esse etiam illa diua Rumina?
to-those-seeking he-himself may-be-found to-be also that goddess Rumina
Si enim maiestate deorum recte uidebatur indignum, ut in
if for of-the-majesty of-the-gods rightly it-seemed unworthy that in
una spica alter ad curam geniculi, altera ad folliculi pertineret:
one ear one to the-care of-the-joint the-other to of-the-husk should-pertain
quanto est indignius unam rem infimam, id est ut mammis
how-much is more-unworthy one thing lowest that is that by-breasts
alantur animalia, duorum deorum potestate curari, quorum
be-nourished animals of-two gods by-the-power to-be-cared-for of-whom
sit unus Iuppiter, rex ipse cunctorum, et hoc agat non saltem
be one Jupiter king himself of-all and this he-does not at-least
cum coniuge sua, sed cum ignobili nescio qua Rumina,
with spouse his-own but with ignoble I-know-not what Rumina
nisi quia ipse est etiam ipsa Rumina; Ruminus fortasse
unless because he-himself is also herself Rumina Ruminus perhaps
pro sugentibus maribus, Rumina pro feminis. Dicerem quippe
for sucking males Rumina for females I-would-say for
noluisse illos Ioui femininum nomen inponere, nisi et
to-have-been-unwilling them on-Jove a-feminine name to-impose unless both

in illis uersibus "progenitor genetrixque" diceretur, et inter
in those verses begetter and-mother he-were-called and among
eius alia cognomina legerem, quod etiam Pecunia uocaretur,
his other surnames I-read that also Pecunia he-was-called
quam deam inter illos minuscularios inuenimus et in quarto
whom a-goddess among those petty-ones we-found and in the-fourth
libro commemorauimus. Sed cum et mares et feminae
book we-recalled but since both males and females
habeant pecuniam, quur non et Pecunia et Pecunius appellatus
have money why not also Pecunia and Pecunius called
sit, sicut Rumina et Ruminus, ipsi uiderint.
has-he-been as Rumina and Ruminus they-themselves let-them-see

XII · JUPITER CALLED PECUNIA

Jupiter is called Pecunia because all things are his: so the owner of all bears the vilest name, as if avarice named him so that the lover of money might seem to love the king of all. It would be otherwise were he called Riches, for the wise are rich in virtues with little money, and God in omnipotence, while the avaricious always want. What theology is this, whose king of the gods bears the name of what no wise man desired? Better to call him Wisdom.

Quam uero eleganter rationem huius nominis reddiderunt!
how indeed elegantly the-reason of-this name they-have-rendered
"Et Pecunia, inquiunt, uocatur, quod eius sunt omnia". O
and Pecunia they-say he-is-called because his are all-things O
magnam rationem diuini nominis! Immo uero ille, cuius sunt
great reason of-a-divine name rather indeed he whose are
omnia, uilissime et contumeliosissime Pecunia nuncupatur.
all-things most-cheaply and most-insultingly Pecunia is-named
Ad omnia enim, quae caelo et terra continentur, quid
to all-things for which by-heaven and earth are-contained what

est pecunia in omnibus omnino rebus, quae ab hominibus
is money among all altogether things which by men
nomine pecuniae possidentur? Sed nimirum hoc auaritia
by-the-name of-money are-possessed but doubtless this avarice
Ioui nomen inposuit, ut, quisquis amat pecuniam, non
on-Jove the-name imposed that whoever loves money not
quemlibet deum, sed ipsum regem omnium sibi amare
any god but the-very king of-all for-himself to-love
uideatur. Longe autem aliud esset, si diuitiae uocaretur.
may-seem far but other it-would-be if riches be-were-called
Aliud namque sunt diuitiae, aliud pecunia. Nam dicimus
one-thing for are riches another money for we-call
diuites sapientes, iustos, bonos, quibus pecunia uel nulla uel
rich the-wise the-just the-good to-whom money either none or
parua est; magis enim sunt uirtutibus diuites, per quas
little is more for they-are in-virtues rich through which
eis etiam in ipsis corporalium rerum necessitatibus sat
for-them even in the-very of-bodily things necessities enough
est quod adest: pauperes uero auaros, semper inhiantes
is what is-at-hand poor but the-avaricious always gaping
et egentes; quamlibet enim magnas pecunias habere possunt,
and needy however for great sums to-have they-can
sed in earum quantacumque abundantia non egere non
but in their however-great abundance not to-want not
possunt. Et Deum ipsum uerum recte dicimus diuitem, non
they-can and God himself true rightly we-call rich not
tamen pecunia, sed omnipotentia. Dicuntur itaque et diuites
yet by-money but by-omnipotence are-called and-so also rich
pecuniosi; sed interius egeni, si cupidi: item dicuntur pauperes
the-moneyed but inwardly needy if greedy likewise are-called poor
pecunia carentes; sed interius diuites, si sapientes. Qualis
of-money lacking but inwardly rich if wise of-what-sort

ergo ista theologia debet esse sapienti, ubi rex deorum
then this theology ought to-be to-the-wise-man where the-king of-the-gods
eius rei nomen accepit, "quam nemo sapiens concupiuit"?
of-that thing the-name received which no wise-man has-coveted
Quanto enim facilius, si aliquid hac doctrina quod ad uitam
how-much for more-easily if anything by-this teaching which to life
pertineret aeternam salubriter disceretur, deus mundi rector
pertained eternal wholesomely were-learned the-god of-the-world the-ruler
non ab eis Pecunia, sed Sapientia uocaretur, cuius amor
not by them Pecunia but Wisdom would-be-called whose love
purgat a sordibus auaritiae, hoc est ab amore pecuniae!
cleanses from the-filth of-avarice this is from the-love of-money

XIII · SATURN AND GENIUS ARE JUPITER

Why say more of Jupiter, to whom the others may all be referred? Saturn is the god who rules all sowing; but Soranus' verses, as Varro reads them, make Jupiter the world that sends out and takes back all seed. Genius holds the power of begetting all things; who else but the world, called father and mother? Each man's rational soul is his genius and the world's soul God, so the world's soul is the universal Genius: Jupiter. Else every man's soul would be a god.

Sed quid de hoc Ioue plura, ad quem fortasse ceteri
but why about this Jove more-things to whom perhaps the-rest
referendi sunt, ut inanis remaneat deorum opinio plurimorum,
to-be-referred are that empty remain of-gods the-opinion of-very-many
cum hic ipse sint omnes, siue quando partes eius uel
since he himself are all either when parts his or
potestates existimantur, siue cum uis animae, quam putant
powers they-are-thought or when the-force of-the-soul which they-think
per cuncta diffusam, ex partibus molis huius, in quas
through all-things diffused from the-parts of-mass this into which

uisibilis mundus iste consurgit, et multiplici administratione
visible world this rises and from-manifold administration
naturae quasi plurium deorum nomina accepit? Quid est enim
of-nature as-it-were of-many gods the-names has-received what is for
et Saturnus? "Unus, inquit, de principibus deus, penes quem
also Saturn one he-says of the-chiefs a-god with whom
sationum omnium dominatus est." Nonne expositio uersuum
of-sowings all the-dominion is surely the-exposition of-verses
illorum Valerii Sorani sic se habet, Iouem esse mundum
those of-Valerius Soranus so itself has Jove to-be the-world
et eum omnia semina ex se emittere et in se recipere?
and it all seeds from itself to-emit and into itself to-receive
Ipse est igitur penes quem sationum omnium dominatus est.
he is therefore with whom of-sowings all the-dominion is
Quid est Genius? "Deus, inquit, qui praepositus est ac uim
what is Genius a-god he-says who set-over is and the-force
habet omnium rerum gignendarum." Quem alium hanc uim
has of-all things to-be-begotten whom other this force
habere credunt quam mundum, cui dictum est: "Iuppiter
to-have do-they-believe than the-world to-which said it-is Jupiter
progenitor genetrixque?" Et cum alio loco genium dicit
begetter and-mother and when in-another place the-genius he-says
esse uniuscuiusque animum rationalem et ideo esse singulos
to-be of-each-one the-mind rational and therefore to-be one-each
singulorum, talem autem mundi animum Deum esse: ad
for-each such moreover of-the-world mind God to-be to
hoc idem utique reuocat, ut tamquam uniuersalis genius
this same assuredly he-recalls that as-if universal genius
ipse mundi animus esse credatur. Hic est igitur quem
the-very of-the-world mind to-be be-believed this-one is therefore whom
appellant Iouem. Nam si omnis genius deus et omnis uiri
they-call Jove for if every genius a-god and every of-a-man

animus genius, sequitur ut sit omnis uiri animus deus;
mind a-genius it-follows that be every of-a-man mind a-god
quod si et ipsos abhorrere absurditas ipsa conpellit, restat
but if also them to-shrink-from the-absurdity itself compels it-remains
ut eum singulariter et excellenter dicant deum Genium,
that him singly and preeminently they-call god Genius
quem dicunt mundi animum ac per hoc Iouem.
whom they-call of-the-world the-mind and through this Jove

XIV · MERCURY AND MARS

Finding no part of the world for Mercury and Mars, they set them over speech and war. If Mercury rules the gods' speech, he rules Jupiter; if only men's, Jupiter, who stoops to suckle cattle, would hardly leave it to another. They read his name as the speech that runs between men, Hermes from hermeneia, his wings as flying words; but if Mercury is speech he is no god. Mars is war, a work of men; would that war were as plainly nothing as Mars is no god.

Mercurium uero et Martem quo modo referrent ad
Mercury but and Mars in-what way they-might-refer to
aliquas partes mundi et opera Dei, quae sunt in elementis,
some parts of-the-world and works of-God which are in the-elements
non inuenerunt, et ideo eos saltem operibus hominum
not they-found and therefore them at-least over-the-works of-men
praeposuerunt, sermocinandi et belligerandi administros.
they-set-over of-speaking and of-warring as-ministers
Quorum Mercurius si sermonis etiam deorum potestatem
of-whom Mercury if of-speech also of-the-gods the-power
gerit, ipsi quoque regi deorum dominatur, si secundum
wields the-very also king of-the-gods he-rules if according-to
eius arbitrium Iuppiter loquitur aut loquendi ab illo accepit
his will Jupiter speaks or of-speaking from him received

facultatem; quod utique absurdum est. Si autem illi humani
the-faculty which assuredly absurd is if but to-him of-human
tantum sermonis potestas tributa perhibetur, non est credibile
only speech the-power assigned is-said not it-is credible
ad lactandos mamma non solum pueros, sed etiam pecora,
to suckling with-the-breast not only children but also cattle
unde Ruminus cognominatus est, Iouem descendere uoluisse,
whence Ruminus surnamed he-is Jove to-descend to-have-wished
et curam nostri sermonis, quo pecoribus antecellimus,
and the-care of-our speech by-which cattle we-excel
ad se pertinere noluisse; ac per hoc idem ipse
to himself to-pertain to-have-been-unwilling and through this the-same himself
est Iouis adque Mercurius. Quod si sermo ipse dicitur
is Jove and Mercury but if speech itself is-said
esse Mercurius, sicut ea, quae de illo interpretantur,
to-be Mercury as those-things which about him they-interpret
ostendunt (nam ideo Mercurius quasi medius currens
show for therefore Mercury as-if in-the-middle running
dicitur appellatus, quod sermo currat inter homines medius;
is-said called because speech runs between men in-the-middle
ideo Ἑρμῆς Graece, quod sermo uel interpretatio, quae ad
therefore Hermes in-Greek because speech or interpretation which to
sermonem utique pertinet, ἑρμηνεία dicitur; ideo et mercibus
speech assuredly pertains hermeneia is-called therefore also over-wares
praeesse, quia inter uendentes et ementes sermo fit
to-preside because between selling and buying speech becomes
medius; alas eius in capite et pedibus significare uolucrem
in-the-middle the-wings his on the-head and feet to-signify swift
ferri per aera sermonem; nuntium dictum, quoniam
to-be-borne through the-air speech messenger called since
per sermonem omnia cogitata enuntiantur) — si ergo
through speech all things-thought are-uttered if therefore

Mercurius ipse sermo est, etiam ipsis confitentibus
Mercury himself speech is even with-themselves confessing
deus non est. Sed cum sibi deos faciunt eos, qui nec
a-god not he-is but when for-themselves gods they-make those who not-even
daemones sunt, inmundis supplicando spiritibus possidentur ab
demons are to-unclean by-supplicating spirits they-are-possessed by
eis, qui non di, sed daemones sunt. Item quia nec Marti
those who not gods but demons are likewise because not-even for-Mars
aliquod elementum uel partem mundi inuenire potuerunt,
any element or part of-the-world to-find they-could
ubi ageret opera qualiacumque naturae, deum belli esse
where he-might-do works of-whatever-kind of-nature the-god of-war to-be
dixerunt, quod opus est hominum et optabilius non est. Si
they-said which a-work is of-men and more-desirable not is if
ergo pacem perpetuam Felicitas daret, Mars quid ageret
therefore peace perpetual Felicity gave Mars what he-might-do
non haberet. Si autem ipsum bellum est Mars, sicut sermo
not would-have if but the-very war is Mars as speech
Mercurius: utinam quam manifestum est, quod non sit
Mercury would-that as manifest it-is that not he-is
deus, tam non sit et bellum, quod uel falso uocetur deus.
a-god so not there-be also war which even falsely be-called god

Perhaps the gods are their stars, Mercury and Mars. But Jupiter has a star though the world is his, Saturn one though all seeds are his, and the brightest is claimed for Venus or Juno, though they also call the moon Venus. How is Jupiter king when his star is dimmer than Venus'? Because higher, they say; then why is Saturn above him? Janus has no star, unless his faces made up for it; and the signs of the zodiac, set highest, have no altars or temples.

Nisi forte illae stellae sunt hi di, quas eorum appellauere
unless perhaps those stars are these gods which by-their they-named
nominibus. Nam stellam quandam uocant Mercurium,
names for a-star certain they-call Mercury
quandam itidem Martem. Sed ibi est et illa quam uocant
another likewise Mars but there is also that which they-call
Iouem, et tamen eis mundus est Iouis; ibi quam uocant
Jove and yet for-them the-world is of-Jove there which they-call
Saturnum, et tamen ei praeterea dant non paruam
Saturn and yet to-him besides they-give no small
substantiam, omnium uidelicet seminum; ibi est et illa
substance of-all namely seeds there is also that
omnium clarissima, quae ab eis appellatur Venus, et tamen
of-all the-brightest which by them is-called Venus and yet
eandem Venerem esse etiam Lunam uolunt; quamuis de illo
the-same Venus to-be also the-Moon they-wish although about that
fulgentissimo sidere aput eos tamquam de malo aureo Iuno
most-brilliant star among them as-if about an-apple golden Juno
Venusque contendant. Luciferum enim quidam Veneris, quidam
and-Venus contend Lucifer for some of-Venus some
dicunt esse Iunonis; sed, ut solet, Venus uincit. Nam
say to-be of-Juno but as she-is-wont Venus wins for
multo plures eam stellam Veneri tribuunt, ita ut uix eorum
much more that star to-Venus assign so that scarcely of-them

quisquam reperiatur, qui aliud opinetur. Quis autem non
anyone is-found who otherwise thinks who but not
rideat, cum regem omnium Iouem dicant, quod stella eius
would-laugh when king of-all Jove they-call that star his
ab stella Veneris tanta uincitur claritate? Tanto enim esse
by the-star of-Venus with-such is-surpassed brightness by-so-much for to-be
debuit ceteris illa fulgentior, quanto est ipse potentior.
it-ought than-the-rest that brighter by-as-much-as is he-himself more-powerful
Respondent ideo sic uideri, quia illa, quae putatur
they-answer for-this-reason so to-seem because that which is-thought
obscurior, superior est adque a terris longe remotior. Si
dimmer higher is and from the-lands far more-remote if
ergo superiorem locum maior dignitas meruit, quare Saturnus
then a-higher place greater dignity deserved why Saturn
ibi est Ioue superior? An uanitas fabulae, quae regem
there is than-Jove higher or the-vanity of-the-fable which king
Iouem facit, non potuit usque ad sidera peruenire, et quod
Jove makes not could as-far-as to the-stars to-arrive and what
non ualuit Saturnus in regno suo neque in Capitolio,
not prevailed Saturn in kingdom his-own nor in the-Capitol
saltem obtinere est permissus in caelo? Quare autem Ianus
at-least to-obtain has been-permitted in heaven why moreover Janus
non accepit aliquam stellam? Si, quia mundus est et omnes
not received any star if because the-world he-is and all
in illo sunt: et Iouis mundus est et habet tamen. An
in him are also of-Jove the-world is and has yet or
iste causam suam conposuit ut potuit et pro una stella,
this-one cause his-own settled as he-could and for one star
quam non habet inter sidera, tot facies accepit in terra?
which not he-has among the-stars so-many faces received on earth
Deinde si propter solas stellas Mercurium et Martem
then if on-account-of only stars Mercury and Mars

partes mundi putant, ut eos deos habere possint, quia
parts of-the-world they-think that them gods to-have they-may-be-able because
utique sermo et bellum non sunt partes mundi, sed actus
assuredly speech and war not are parts of-the-world but acts
hominum: quur Arieti et Tauro et Cancro et Scorpioni
of-men why for-the-Ram and the-Bull and the-Crab and the-Scorpion
ceterisque huius modi, quae caelestia signa numerant et
and-the-rest of-this kind which heavenly signs they-number and
stellis non singulis, sed singula pluribus constant superiusque
of-stars not single but each of-more consist and-higher
istis in summo caelo perhibent conlocata, ubi constantior
than-these in highest heaven they-say placed where more-constant
motus inerrabilem meatum sideribus praebet, nullas aras, nulla
motion unerring course to-the-stars furnishes no altars no
sacra, nulla templa fecerunt, nec deos, non dico inter hos
rites no temples they-made nor gods not I-say among these
selectos, sed ne inter illos quidem quasi plebeios habuerunt?
select but not among those even as-it-were plebeian they-held

Apollo, a seer and physician, is called the sun, and Diana the moon and guardian of roads; Vulcan the world's fire, Neptune its waters, Dis its lowest part, Liber and Ceres the seeds, all referred to the world, that is, Jupiter. The Great Mother is Ceres, the earth, and Juno too; Minerva the highest ether or the moon; Vesta the earth and its gentler fire. So one god is many things, as Jupiter is world, heaven, and star, and one thing many gods.

Apollinem quamuis diuinatorem et medicum uelint, tamen
Apollo although a-diviner and physician they-wish yet
ut in aliqua parte mundi statuerent, ipsum etiam solem
that in some part of-the-world they-might-place him also the-sun
esse dixerunt, Dianamque germanam eius similiter lunam
to-be they-said and-Diana sister his likewise the-moon
et uiarum praesidem (unde et uirginem uolunt, quod uia
and of-roads the-guardian whence also a-virgin they-wish because a-road
nihil pariat), et ideo ambos sagittas habere, quod ipsa
nothing bears and therefore both arrows to-have because those-very
duo sidera de caelo radios terras usque pertendant.
two stars from heaven rays the-lands all-the-way-to extend
Vulcanum uolunt ignem mundi, Neptunum aquas mundi,
Vulcan they-wish the-fire of-the-world Neptune the-waters of-the-world
Ditem patrem, hoc est Orcum, terrenam et infimam partem
Dis father that is Orcus the-earthy and lowest part
mundi. Liberum et Cererem praeponunt seminibus, uel
of-the-world Liber and Ceres they-set-over seeds either
illum masculinis, illam femininis; uel illum liquori, illam
him over-male her over-female or him over-the-moisture her
uero ariditati seminum. Et hoc utique totum refertur
but over-the-dryness of-seeds and this assuredly whole is-referred
ad mundum, id est ad Iouem, qui propterea dictus est
to the-world that is to Jove who for-this-reason called was

"progenitor genetrixque", quod omnia semina ex se
begetter and-mother because all seeds from himself
emitteret et in se reciperet. Quando quidem etiam
he-sent-forth and into himself received since indeed also
Matrem Magnam eandem Cererem uolunt, quam nihil aliud
the-Mother Great the-same Ceres they-wish whom nothing else
dicunt esse quam terram, eamque perhibent et Iunonem, et
they-say to-be than the-earth and-her they-declare also Juno and
ideo ei secundas causas rerum tribuunt, cum tamen Ioui
therefore to-her the-second causes of-things they-assign though yet to-Jove
sit dictum "progenitor genetrixque deum", quia secundum
it-has been-said begetter and-mother of-the-gods because according-to
eos totus ipse mundus est Iouis. Mineruam etiam, quia eam
them the-whole very world is of-Jove Minerva also because her
humanis artibus praeposuerunt nec inuenerunt uel stellam,
over-human arts they-set nor found even a-star
ubi eam ponerent, eandem uel summum aethera uel
where her they-might-place the-same either the-highest ether or
etiam lunam esse dixerunt. Vestam quoque ipsam propterea
even the-moon to-be they-said Vesta also herself for-this-reason
dearum maximam putauerunt, quod ipsa sit terra, quamuis
of-the-goddesses the-greatest they-thought because she is the-earth although
ignem mundi leuiorem, qui pertinet ad usus hominum
the-fire of-the-world lighter which pertains to the-uses of-men
faciles, non uiolentiorem, qualis Vulcani est, ei deputandum
easy not the-more-violent such-as of-Vulcan is to-her to-be-assigned
esse crediderunt. Ac per hoc omnes istos selectos deos hunc
to-be they-believed and through this all these select gods this
esse mundum uolunt, in quibusdam uniuersum, in quibusdam
to-be world they-wish in some the-whole in some
partes eius; uniuersum sicut Iouem, partes eius, ut Genium, ut
parts its the-whole as Jove parts its as Genius as

Matrem Magnam, ut Solem, ut Lunam, uel potius Apollinem
the-Mother Great as Sol as Luna or rather Apollo
et Dianam. Et aliquando unum deum res plures, aliquando
and Diana and sometimes one god things many sometimes
unam rem deos plures faciunt. Nam unus deus res plures
one thing gods many they-make for one god things many
sunt, sicut ipse Iuppiter; et mundus enim totus Iuppiter,
are as himself Jupiter both the-world for whole Jupiter
et solum caelum Iuppiter, et sola stella Iuppiter habetur
and only heaven Jupiter and only the-star Jupiter is-held
et dicitur; itemque Iuno secundarum causarum domina et
and is-called and-likewise Juno of-the-second causes the-mistress and
Iuno aer et Iuno terra et, si Venerem uinceret, Iuno
Juno the-air and Juno the-earth and if Venus she-defeated Juno
stella. Similiter Minerua summus aether et Minerua itidem
the-star likewise Minerva the-highest ether and Minerva likewise
luna, quam esse in aetheris infimo limite existimant. Unam
the-moon which to-be in of-the-ether the-lowest boundary they-think one
uero rem deos plures ita faciunt: Et Ianus est mundus et
but thing gods many so they-make both Janus is the-world and
Iuppiter; sic et Iuno est terra et Mater Magna et Ceres.
Jupiter so also Juno is the-earth and the-Mother Great and Ceres

These explanations entangle rather than explain, so that Varro preferred to doubt everything. Opening his book on the uncertain gods, he said he could sooner doubt what he wrote in the first than conclude the second, so he made the certain gods uncertain too. Of the select gods he wrote, with Xenophanes, what he thought, not what he would maintain, since to opine is man's and to know is God's. Sure of the world's invisible ruler, he could not affirm that Janus is the world, or how Saturn was Jupiter's father and subject.

Et sicut haec, quae exempli gratia commemoraui, ita
and as these-things which of-example for-the-sake I-recalled so
cetera non explicant, sed potius inplicant; sicut impetus
the-rest not they-unfold but rather entangle as the-impulse
errabundae opinionis inpulerit, ita huc adque illuc, hinc adque
of-wandering opinion has-driven so hither and thither hence and
illinc insiliunt et resiliunt, ut ipse Varro de omnibus
thence they-leap-in and leap-back that himself Varro about all-things
dubitare quam aliquid adfirmare maluerit. Nam trium
to-doubt than anything to-affirm preferred for of-the-three
extremorum primum de dis certis cum absoluisset librum,
last the-first about gods certain when he-had-finished book
in altero de dis incertis dicere ingressus ait: "Cum
in the-second about gods uncertain to-speak entering he-says when
in hoc libello dubias de dis opiniones posuero,
in this little-book doubtful about the-gods opinions I-shall-have-set-down
reprehendi non debeo. Qui enim putabit iudicari oportere
to-be-blamed not I-ought who for will-think to-be-judged to-behoove
et posse, cum audierit, faciet ipse. Ego citius perduci
and to-be-possible when he-has-heard will-do he-himself I sooner to-be-brought
possum, ut in primo libro quae dixi in dubitationem
can that in the-first book what I-said into doubt

reuocem, quam in hoc quae perscribam omnia ut ad
I-call-back than in this what I-shall-write-out all-things that to
aliquam dirigam summam." Ita non solum istum de dis
some I-direct sum so not only this about gods
incertis, sed etiam illum de certis fecit incertum. In
uncertain but also that about certain he-made uncertain in
tertio porro isto de dis selectis, postea quam praelocutus
the-third further this about gods select after that said-beforehand
est quod ex naturali theologia praeloquendum putauit,
has what from natural theology to-be-said-beforehand he-thought
ingressurus huius ciuilis theologiae uanitates et insanias
about-to-enter of-this civil theology the-vanities and madnesses
mendaces, ubi eum non solum non ducebat rerum ueritas,
lying where him not only not led of-things the-truth
sed etiam maiorum premebat auctoritas: "De dis, inquit,
but also of-the-ancestors pressed the-authority about the-gods he-says
populi Romani publicis, quibus aedes dedicauerunt eosque
of-the-people Roman public to-whom shrines they-dedicated and-them
pluribus signis ornatos notauerunt, in hoc libro scribam, sed
with-more images adorned marked in this book I-shall-write but
ut Xenophanes Colophonius scribit, quid putem, non quid
as Xenophanes of-Colophon writes what I-think not what
contendam, ponam. Hominis est enim haec opinari,
I-contend I-shall-set-down of-man it-is for these-things to-opine
dei scire". Rerum igitur non conprehensarum nec firmissime
of-god to-know of-things therefore not grasped nor most-firmly
creditarum, sed opinatarum et dubitandarum sermonem
believed but opined and to-be-doubted a-discourse
trepidus pollicetur dicturus ea, quae ab hominibus
trembling he-promises about-to-speak those-things which by men
instituta sunt. Neque enim, sicut sciebat esse mundum,
established were nor for as he-knew to-be the-world

esse caelum et terram, caelum sideribus fulgidum, terram
to-be heaven and earth heaven with-stars gleaming earth
seminibus fertilem, adque huius modi cetera, sicut hanc totam
with-seeds fertile and of-this kind the-rest as this whole
molem adque naturam ui quadam inuisibili ac praepotenti
mass and nature by-force some invisible and most-powerful
regi adque administrari certa animi stabilitate credebat:
to-be-ruled and to-be-administered with-certain of-mind steadiness he-believed
ita poterat adfirmare de Iano, quod mundus ipse esset,
so he-could to-affirm about Janus that the-world itself he-was
aut de Saturno inuenire, quo modo et Iouis pater esset
or about Saturn to-find in-what way both of-Jove the-father he-was
et Ioui regnanti subditus factus esset et cetera talia.
and to-Jove reigning subject made he-had-been and the-rest such

XVIII · THE LIKELIER CAUSE OF THE ERROR

It is more credible that these gods were men, to whom flatterers gave rites according to their character, deeds, and fortunes, spread by souls like demons, adorned by the poets' lies, and promoted by deceiving spirits. It is easier to believe that an impious son drove his father from his throne than Varro's reading that Jupiter overcame Saturn because the cause, Jupiter's, comes before the seed, Saturn's; for then Saturn would never have been Jupiter's father.

De quibus credibilior redditur ratio, cum perhibentur
about whom more-credible is-rendered the-account when they-are-said
homines fuisse et unicuique eorum ab his, qui eos
men to-have-been and to-each of-them by those who them
adulando deos esse uoluerunt, ex eius ingenio moribus,
by-flattering gods to-be wished from his character morals
actibus casibus sacra et sollemnia constituta adque haec
acts misfortunes rites and solemnities established and these-things

paulatim per animas hominum daemonibus similes et
gradually through the-souls of-men to-demons like and
ludicrarum rerum auidas inrependo longe lateque uulgata,
of-playful things greedy by-creeping-in far and-wide spread
ornantibus ea mendaciis poetarum et ad ea fallacibus
adorning them with-the-lies of-poets and to them deceitful
spiritibus seducentibus. Facilius enim fieri potuit, ut
spirits seducing more-easily for to-be-done it-could that
iuuenis inpius uel ab inpio patre interfici metuens et
a-youth ungodly or by an-ungodly father to-be-killed fearing and
auidus regni patrem pelleret regno, quam id, quod
greedy of-the-kingdom the-father might-drive from-the-kingdom than that which
iste interpretatur, ideo Saturnum patrem a Ioue filio
this-one interprets for-this-reason Saturn the-father by Jove the-son
superatum, quod ante est causa quae pertinet ad Iouem,
overcome that before is the-cause which pertains to Jove
quam semen quod pertinet ad Saturnum. Si enim hoc ita
than the-seed which pertains to Saturn if for this so
esset, numquam Saturnus prior fuisset nec pater Iouis
were never Saturn prior would-have-been nor the-father of-Jove
esset. Semper enim semen causa praecedit nec umquam
would-be always for the-seed the-cause precedes nor ever
generatur ex semine. Sed cum conantur uanissimas fabulas
is-generated from seed but when they-try most-vain fables
siue hominum res gestas uelut naturalibus interpretationibus
or of-men things done as-if with-natural interpretations
honorare, etiam homines acutissimi tantas patiuntur angustias,
to-honor even men most-acute such-great suffer straits
ut eorum quoque uanitatem dolere cogamur.
that their also vanity to-grieve-over we-are-compelled

Saturn devoured his children, says Varro, because seeds return to their source, and the clod given him for Jupiter means seed covered by hand before plowing. Then Saturn should be the earth, and the clod makes Jupiter the seed. His sickle is for farming, which his reign did not know; children were sacrificed to him by the Carthaginians, adults by the Gauls, since mankind is the best seed. He castrated Heaven; yet Heaven is Jupiter, so Saturn is Jupiter's son. All ends in bodily things; and if Saturn, Chronos, rules seed, why are Liber and Libera needed?

"Saturnum, inquit, dixerunt, quae nata ex eo essent,
Saturn he-says they-said what-things born from him were
solitum deuorare, quod eo semina, unde nascerentur,
to-have-been-wont to-devour because thither seeds whence they-were-born
redirent. Et quod illi pro Ioue gleba obiecta est
returned and that to-him in-place-of Jove a-clod thrown was
deuoranda, significat, inquit, manibus humanis obrui
to-be-devoured signifies he-says by-hands human to-be-covered
coeptas serendo fruges, antequam utilitas arandi esset
begun by-sowing the-crops before the-usefulness of-plowing had-been
inuenta." Saturnus ergo dici debuit ipsa terra, non
found Saturn therefore to-be-called ought the-very earth not
semina; ipsa enim quodam modo deuorat quae genuerit,
the-seeds it for in-a-certain way devours what it-has-begotten
cum ex ea nata semina in eam rursus recipienda redierint.
when from it born seeds into it again to-be-received have-returned
Et quod pro Ioue accepisse dicitur glebam, quid hoc ad
and that in-place-of Jove to-have-received he-is-said a-clod what this to
id ualet, quod manibus hominum semen gleba coopertum
that avails that by-the-hands of-men the-seed with-a-clod covered
est? Numquid ideo non est, ut cetera, deuoratum, quod
is surely-not for-this-reason not it-is as the-rest devoured because

gleba coopertum est? Ita enim hoc dictum est, quasi qui
with-a-clod covered it-is so for this said is as-if he-who
glebam obposuit semen abstulerit, sicut Saturno perhibent
the-clod put-in-the-way the-seed took-away as from-Saturn they-say
oblata gleba ablatum Iouem, ac non potius gleba semen
with-offered clod taken-away Jove and not rather the-clod the-seed
operiendo fecerit illud diligentius deuorari. Deinde isto
by-covering made it more-carefully to-be-devoured then in-this
modo semen est Iuppiter, non seminis causa, quod paulo
way the-seed is Jupiter not of-the-seed the-cause which a-little
ante dicebatur. Sed quid faciant homines, qui, cum res
before was-said but what are-to-do men who when things
stultas interpretantur, non inueniunt quid sapienter dicatur?
foolish they-interpret not find what wisely may-be-said
"Falcem habet, inquit, propter agriculturam." Certe illo
a-sickle he-has he-says on-account-of agriculture surely with-him
regnante nondum erat agricultura, et ideo priora eius
reigning not-yet was agriculture and therefore earlier his
tempora perhibentur, sicut idem ipse fabellas interpretatur,
times are-declared as the-same himself the-little-fables interprets
quia primi homines ex his uiuebant seminibus, quae terra
because the-first men from those lived seeds which the-earth
sponte gignebat. An falcem sceptro perdito accepit,
of-its-own-accord bore or the-sickle with-scepter lost did-he-receive
ut, qui primis temporibus rex fuerat otiosus, filio
that who in-first times king had-been idle with-(his)-son
regnante fieret operarius laboriosus? Deinde ideo
reigning might-become a-worker laborious then for-this-reason
dicit a quibusdam pueros ei solitos immolari, sicut
he-says by some boys to-him to-have-been-wont to-be-sacrificed as
a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam maiores, sicut a
by the-Carthaginians and by some even older-ones as by

Gallis, quia omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum.
the-Gauls because of-all seeds the-best is the-race human
De hac crudelissima uanitate quid opus est plura dicere?
about this most-cruel vanity what need is more-things to-say
Hoc potius aduertamus adque teneamus, has interpretationes
this rather let-us-notice and hold these interpretations
non referri ad Deum uerum, uiuam, incorpoream
not to-be-referred to God true living incorporeal
incommutabilemque naturam, a quo uita in aeternum beata
and-unchangeable nature from whom life into eternity blessed
poscenda est; sed earum esse fines in rebus corporalibus,
to-be-demanded is but their to-be the-ends in things bodily
temporalibus, mutabilibus adque mortalibus. "Quod Caelum,
temporal changeable and mortal that Caelus
inquit, patrem Saturnus castrasse in fabulis dicitur, hoc
he-says the-father Saturn to-have-castrated in fables is-said this
significat penes Saturnum, non penes Caelum semen esse
signifies with Saturn not with Caelus the-seed to-be
diuinum". Hoc propterea, quantum intellegi datur, quia
divine this for-this-reason as-far-as to-be-understood is-given because
nihil in caelo de seminibus nascitur. Sed ecce, Saturnus si
nothing in heaven from seeds is-born but behold Saturn if
Caeli est filius, Iouis est filius. Caelum enim esse Iouem
of-Caelus is the-son of-Jove is the-son Caelus for to-be Jove
innumerabiliter et diligenter adfirmant. Ita ista, quae
countlessly and diligently they-affirm so these-things which
a ueritate non ueniunt, plerumque et nullo inpellente
from the-truth not come generally even with-no-one pushing
se ipsa subuertunt. Chronon appellatum dicit, quod
them they-themselves overturn Chronos called he-says because
Graeco uocabulo significat temporis spatium, sine quo
by-the-Greek word it-signifies of-time the-space without which

semen, inquit, non potest esse fecundum. Haec et alia
seed he-says not can to-be fertile these-things and other
de Saturno multa dicuntur, et ad semen omnia referuntur.
about Saturn many are-said and to the-seed all are-referred
Sed saltem Saturnus seminibus cum tanta ista potestate
but at-least Saturn for-seeds with so-great this power
sufficeret; quid ad haec di alii requiruntur, maxime
might-suffice why for these-things gods other are-required especially
Liber et Libera, id est Ceres? De quibus rursus, quod ad
Liber and Libera that is Ceres about whom again what to
semen adtinet, tanta dicit, quasi de Saturno nihil dixerit.
the-seed pertains so-much he-says as-if about Saturn nothing he-had-said

XX · THE ELEUSINIAN RITES OF CERES

Of the Eleusinian rites of Ceres, the most famous at Athens, Varro explains only what concerns the grain she found and Proserpina, whom she lost when Orcus carried her off. Proserpina, named from creeping forth, is the fertility of the seed; when it failed for a time and the earth mourned, the story arose that Orcus held her below; when fertility returned, the public grief turned to joy and the rites were founded. Much else in the mysteries, he says, concerns only the discovery of grain.

In Cereris autem sacris praedicantur illa Eleusinia, quae
in of-Ceres moreover the-rites are-proclaimed those Eleusinian which
aput Athenienses nobilissima fuerunt. De quibus iste nihil
among the-Athenians most-famous were about which this-one nothing
interpretatur, nisi quod adtinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres
interprets except what pertains to the-grain which Ceres
inuenit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Orco perdidit;
found and to Proserpina whom with-Orcus seizing she-lost
et hanc ipsam dicit significare fecunditatem seminum; quae
and her herself he-says to-signify the-fertility of-seeds which

cum defuisset quodam tempore eademque sterilitate terra
when it-had-failed at-a-certain time and-from-the-same barrenness the-earth
maereret, exortam esse opinionem, quod filiam Cereris,
mourned arisen to-have-been the-opinion that the-daughter of-Ceres
id est ipsam fecunditatem, quae a proserpendo Proserpina
that is the-very fertility which from creeping-forth Proserpina
dicta esset, Orcus abstulerat et aput inferos detinuerat;
called had-been Orcus had-taken-away and among the-dead had-detained
quae res cum fuisset luctu publico celebrata, quia
which thing when it-had-been with-mourning public celebrated because
rursus eadem fecunditas rediit, Proserpina reddita exortam
again the-same fertility returned Proserpina restored arisen
esse laetitiam et ex hoc sollemnia constituta. Dicit
to-have-been joy and from this solemnities established he-says
deinde multa in mysteriis eius tradi, quae nisi
then many-things in the-mysteries her to-be-handed-down which except
ad frugum inuentionem non pertineant.
to of-crops the-finding not pertain

Liber was set over liquid seeds, wine and animal seed alike. At Italian crossroads his rites carried the male member on a cart through the country and into the city; at Lavinium a whole month was his, with foul words until it had crossed the forum, and the most honorable matron had to crown it in public, to appease Liber for the crops and keep the evil eye from the fields. So the unclean soul multiplied gods to give itself to crowds of foul demons.

Iam uero Liberi sacra, quem liquidis seminibus ac per
now indeed of-Liber the-rites whom over-liquid seeds and through
hoc non solum liquoribus fructuum, quorum quodam modo
this not only over-the-liquors of-fruits of-which in-a-certain way
primatum uinum tenet, uerum etiam seminibus animalium
the-primacy wine holds but also over-the-seeds of-animals
praefecerunt, ad quantam turpitudinem peruenerint, piget
they-set-over to how-great shamefulness they-have-come it-irks
quidem dicere propter sermonis longitudinem; sed propter
indeed to-say on-account-of of-discourse the-length but on-account-of
istorum superbam hebetudinem non piget. Inter cetera, quae
of-these the-proud dullness not it-irks among the-rest which
praetermittere, quoniam multa sunt, cogor, in Italiae
to-pass-over since many they-are I-am-compelled at of-Italy
compitis quaedam dicit sacra Liberi celebrata cum tanta
the-crossroads certain he-says rites of-Liber celebrated with such
licentia turpitudinis, ut in eius honorem pudenda uirilia
license of-shamefulness that in his honor the-privy male-parts
colerentur, non saltem aliquantum uerecundiore secreto, sed in
were-worshiped not at-least somewhat in-more-modest secrecy but in
propatulo exultante nequitia. Nam hoc turpe membrum per
the-open exulting wickedness for this shameful member through
Liberi dies festos cum honore magno plostellis inpositum
of-Liber the-days festal with honor great on-little-carts placed

prius rure in compitis et usque in urbem postea
first in-the-country at crossroads and as-far-as into the-city afterward
uectabatur. In oppido autem Lauinio unus Libero totus
was-carried in the-town moreover Lavinium one to-Liber whole
mensis tribuebatur, cuius diebus omnes uerbis flagitiosissimis
month was-assigned of-which on-the-days all words most-disgraceful
uterentur, donec illud membrum per forum transuectum
used until that member through the-forum carried-across
esset adque in loco suo quiesceret. Cui membro inhonesto
had-been and in place its-own rested on-which member dishonorable
matrem familias honestissimam palam coronam necesse
a-mother of-the-household most-honorable openly a-crown necessary
erat inponere. Sic uidelicet Liber deus placandus fuerat pro
it-was to-place so namely Liber the-god to-be-appeased had-been for
euentibus seminum, sic ab agris fascinatio repellenda, ut
the-outcomes of-seeds so from the-fields bewitchment to-be-repelled that
matrona facere cogeretur in publico, quod nec meretrix, si
a-matron to-do was-compelled in public what not-even a-courtesan if
matronae spectarent, permitti debuit in theatro. Propter
matrons watched to-be-permitted ought in the-theater on-account-of
haec Saturnus solus creditus non est sufficere posse
these-things Saturn alone believed not was to-suffice to-be-able
seminibus, ut occasiones multiplicandorum deorum inmunda
for-seeds that occasions of-multiplying gods the-unclean
anima reperiret, et ab uno uero Deo merito inmunditiae
soul might-find and by the-one true God by-desert of-uncleanness
destituta ac per multos falsos auiditate maioris inmunditiae
abandoned and through many false with-greed of-greater uncleanness
prostituta ista sacrilegia sacra nominaret seseque spurcorum
prostituted these sacrileges rites might-name and-itself of-foul
daemonum turbis conuiolandam polluendamque praeberet.
demons to-the-crowds to-be-violated and-to-be-polluted might-offer

Neptune had Salacia, the sea's lower water, for wife; why add Venilia, unless to invite more demons? Venilia, says Varro, is the wave that comes to the shore, Salacia the wave that returns to the deep; but one wave comes and goes, and the soul that goes and does not return is defiled the more. Are the coming and returning waves two parts of the world soul? And how did Salacia lose the lower sea, unless, angry at the concubine, she shut her husband out?

Iam utique habebat Salaciam Neptunus uxorem, quam
now assuredly had Salacia Neptune as-wife whom
inferiorem aquam maris esse dixerunt: ut quid illi adiuncta
the-lower water of-the-sea to-be they-said for what to-him joined
est et Venilia, nisi ut sine ulla causa necessariorum
was also Venilia unless that without any cause of-necessary
sacrorum sola libidine animae prostitutae multiplicaretur
rites by-the-sole lust of-the-soul prostituted might-be-multiplied
inuitatio daemoniorum? Sed proferatur interpretatio
the-invitation of-demons but let-be-brought-forth the-interpretation
praeclarae theologiae, quae nos ab ista reprehensione
of-the-splendid theology which us from this reproach
reddita ratione conpescat. "Venilia, inquit, unda est, quae
with-rendered reason may-restrain Venilia he-says the-wave is which
ad litus uenit; Salacia, quae in salum redit." Quur ergo
to the-shore comes Salacia that-which into the-deep returns why then
deae fiunt duae, cum sit una unda quae uenit et redit?
goddesses are-made two when there-is one wave which comes and returns
Nempe ipsa est exaestuans in multa numina libido uesana.
surely it is surging into many divinities lust mad
Quamuis enim aqua non geminetur quae it et redit, huius
although for the-water not is-doubled which goes and returns of-this
tamen occasione uanitatis duobus daemoniis inuitatis amplius
yet on-the-occasion vanity two demons invited more

commaculatur anima, quae it et non redit. Quaeso te, Varro,
is-defiled the-soul which goes and not returns I-beg you Varro
uel uos, qui tam doctorum hominum talia scripta legistis et
or you who so of-learned men such writings have-read and
aliquid magnum uos didicisse iactatis, interpretamini hoc,
something great yourselves to-have-learned boast interpret this
nolo dicere secundum illam aeternam incommutabilemque
I-am-unwilling to-say according-to that eternal and-unchangeable
naturam, qui solus est Deus, sed saltem secundum animam
nature which alone is God but at-least according-to the-soul
mundi et partes eius, quos deos esse ueros existimatis.
of-the-world and the-parts its which gods to-be true you-think
Partem animae mundi, quae mare permeat, deum uobis
a-part of-the-soul of-the-world which the-sea pervades a-god for-yourselves
fecisse Neptunum utcumque tolerabilioris erroris est. Itane
to-have-made Neptune somehow of-more-tolerable error is so-then
unda ad litus ueniens et in salum rediens duae sunt
the-wave to the-shore coming and into the-deep returning two are
partes mundi aut duae partes animae mundi? Quis uestrum
parts of-the-world or two parts of-the-soul of-the-world who of-you
ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? Quur ergo uobis duas deas
so would-be-foolish that this he-thinks why then for-you two goddesses
fecerunt, nisi quia prouisum est a sapientibus maioribus
have-they-made unless because foreseen it-was by the-wise ancestors
uestris, non ut di plures uos regerent, sed ut ea, quae
your not that gods more you might-rule but that those which
istis uanitatibus et falsitatibus gaudent, plura uos daemonia
in-these vanities and falsehoods rejoice more you demons
possiderent? Quur autem illa Salacia per hanc interpretationem
might-possess why moreover that Salacia through this interpretation
inferiorem maris partem, qua uiro erat subdita,
the-lower of-the-sea part in-which to-the-husband she-was subject

perdidit? Namque illam modo, cum refluentem fluctum esse
has-lost for her just-now when the-ebbing wave to-be
perhibetis, in superficie posuistis. An quia Veniliam pellicem
you-declare on the-surface you-placed or because Venilia as-mistress
accepit, irata suum maritum de supernis maris exclusit?
he-took angry her-own husband from the-upper-parts of-the-sea she-shut-out

XXIII · EARTH AS A GODDESS

Why is the earth a goddess? If for its fertility, farmers who make it more fertile would be gods. Varro names three grades of soul: one living without sense, as in bones and nails; one with sense; and mind, which among mortals only man has. The world's stones and earth are God's bones and nails, sun, moon, and stars his senses, the ether his mind, reaching the stars as gods, the earth as Tellus, the sea as Neptune. Then why are Tellus, Orcus, Proserpina, and Tellumo several gods, and why do the pontiffs add Altor and Rusor?

Nempe una est terra, quam plenam quidem uidemus animalibus
surely one is the-earth which full indeed we-see of-animals
suis; uerum tamen ipsam magnum corpus in elementis
its-own but yet itself a-great body among the-elements
mundique infimam partem, quur eam uolunt deam? An quia
and-of-the-world the-lowest part why her they-wish a-goddess or because
fecunda est? Quur ergo non magis homines di sunt, qui
fertile she-is why then not rather men gods are who
eam fecundiorem faciunt excolendo; sed cum arant, non cum
her more-fertile make by-cultivating but when they-plow not when
adorant? Sed pars animae mundi, inquiunt, quae per illam
they-adore but the-part of-the-soul of-the-world they-say which through her
permeat, deam facit. Quasi non euidentior sit in hominibus
pervades a-goddess makes as-if not more-evident be in men

anima, quae utrum sit nulla fit quaestio; et tamen homines
a-soul which whether it-be no is-made question and yet men
di non habentur et, quod est grauiter dolendum, his, qui di
gods not are-held and what is grievously to-be-lamented to-these who gods
non sunt et quibus ipsi meliores sunt, colendis et
not are and than-whom they-themselves better are to-be-worshiped and
adorandis mirabili et miserabili errore subduntur. Et certe
to-be-adored by-wonderful and wretched error they-are-subjected and certainly
idem Varro in eodem de dis selectis libro tres esse adfirmat
the-same Varro in the-same about gods select book three to-be affirms
animae gradus in omni uniuersaque natura: unum, qui
of-the-soul grades in all and-universal nature one which
omnes partes corporis, quae uiuunt, transit et non habet
all parts of-the-body which live passes-through and not has
sensum, sed tantum ad uiuendum ualetudinem; hanc uim in
sense but only for living health this force in
nostro corpore permanare dicit in ossa, ungues, capillos;
our body to-flow he-says into the-bones nails hair
sicut in mundo arbores sine sensu aluntur et crescunt et
as in the-world trees without sense are-nourished and grow and
modo quodam suo uiuunt: secundum gradum animae,
in-a-manner certain their-own live the-second grade of-the-soul
in quo sensus est; hanc uim peruenire in oculos, aures,
in which sense is this force to-reach into the-eyes ears
nares, os, tactum: tertium gradum esse animae summum,
nostrils mouth touch the-third grade to-be of-the-soul the-highest
quod uocatur animus, in quo intellegentia praeminet; hoc
which is-called mind in which intelligence is-preeminent this
praeter hominem omnes carere mortales. Hanc partem animae
besides man all to-lack mortals this part of-the-soul
mundi dicit Deum, in nobis autem genium uocari. Esse
of-the-world he-says God in us but the-genius to-be-called to-be

autem in mundo lapides ac terram, quam uidemus, quo
moreover in the-world stones and earth which we-see whither
non permanat sensus, ut ossa, ut ungues Dei; solem uero,
not flows sense as bones as nails of-God the-sun but
lunam, stellas, quae sentimus quibusque ipse sentit, sensus
moon stars which we-perceive and-by-which he-himself perceives the-senses
esse eius; aethera porro animum eius; cuius uim, quae
to-be his the-ether further the-mind his of-which the-force which
peruenit in astra, ea quoque facere deos, et per ea quod
reaches into the-stars them also to-make gods and through them what
in terram permanat, deam Tellurem; quod autem inde
into the-earth flows the-goddess Tellus what but thence
permanat in mare adque oceanum, deum esse Neptunum.
flows into the-sea and the-ocean the-god to-be Neptune

Redeat ergo ab hac, quam theologian naturalem
let-him-return therefore from this which theology natural
putat, quo uelut requiescendi causa ab his ambagibus
he-thinks whither as-if of-resting for-the-sake from these windings
adque anfractibus fatigatus egressus est; redeat, inquam,
and twists wearied gone-out he-has let-him-return I-say
redeat ad ciuilem; hic eum adhuc teneo, tantisper de
let-him-return to the-civil here him still I-hold for-a-while about
hac ago. Nondum dico, si terra et lapides nostris sunt
this I-treat not-yet I-say if earth and stones to-our are
ossibus et unguibus similes, similiter eos intellegentiam non
bones and nails like likewise them intelligence not
habere, sicut sensu carent; aut si idcirco habere dicuntur
to-have as of-sense they-lack or if for-this-reason to-have are-said
ossa et ungues nostri intellegentiam, quia in homine
the-bones and nails our intelligence because in a-man
sunt qui habet intellegentiam, tam stultum esse qui hos in
they-are who has intelligence as foolish to-be he-who these in

mundo deos dicit, quam stultus est qui in nobis ossa et
the-world gods calls as foolish is he-who in us bones and
ungues homines dicit. Sed haec cum philosophis fortassis
nails men calls but these-things with the-philosophers perhaps
agenda sunt; nunc autem istum adhuc politicum uolo.
to-be-treated are now but him still political I-want
Fieri enim potest, ut, licet in illam naturalis theologiae
to-be-done for it-can that although into that of-natural theology
ueluti libertatem caput erigere paululum uoluisse uideatur,
as-it-were freedom the-head to-raise a-little to-have-wished he-may-seem
adhuc tamen hunc librum uersans et se in illo uersari
still yet this book turning and himself in it to-be-engaged
cogitans, eum etiam inde respexerit et hoc propterea
thinking it also thence he-looked-back-at and this for-this-reason
dixerit, ne maiores eius siue aliae ciuitates Tellurem adque
he-said lest the-ancestors his or other cities Tellus and
Neptunum inaniter coluisse credantur. Sed hoc dico:
Neptune vainly to-have-worshiped be-believed but this I-say
pars animi mundani, quae per terram permeat, sicut
the-part of-the-mind of-the-world which through the-earth pervades as
una est terra, quur non etiam unam fecit deam, quam dicit
one is the-earth why not also one made a-goddess whom he-says
esse Tellurem? Quod si ita fecit, ubi erit Orcus, frater
to-be Tellus but if so it-made where will-be Orcus the-brother
Iouis adque Neptuni, quem Ditem patrem uocant? ubi eius
of-Jove and of-Neptune whom Dis father they-call where his
coniunx Proserpina, quae secundum aliam in eisdem libris
spouse Proserpina who according-to another in the-same books
positam opinionem non terrae fecunditas, sed pars inferior
set-down opinion not of-the-earth the-fertility but the-part lower
perhibetur? Quod si dicunt animi mundani partem, cum
is-declared but if they-say of-the-mind of-the-world the-part when

permeat terrae partem superiorem, Ditem patrem facere
it-pervades of-the-earth the-part upper Dis father to-make
deum; cum uero inferiorem, Proserpinam deam: Tellus illa
a-god when but the-lower Proserpina a-goddess Tellus that
quid erit? Ita enim totum, quod ipsa erat, in duas istas
what will-she-be so for the-whole which she-herself was into two these
partes deosque diuisum est, ut ipsa tertia quae sit aut
parts and-gods divided has-been that she-herself third who she-is or
ubi sit inuenire non possit; nisi quis dicat simul istos
where she-is to-find not may-be-able unless someone say together these
deos Orcum adque Proserpinam unam deam esse Tellurem
gods Orcus and Proserpina one goddess to-be Tellus
et non esse iam tres, sed aut unam aut duos; et tamen
and not to-be now three but either one or two and yet
tres dicuntur, tres habentur, tres coluntur aris suis,
three are-said three are-held three are-worshiped with-altars their-own
delubris suis, sacris, simulacris, sacerdotibus suis, et per
with-shrines their-own rites images priests their-own and through
haec etiam fallacibus prostitutam animam constuprantibus
these-things also with-deceitful prostituted the-soul debauching
daemonibus suis. Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terrae
demons their-own further let-it-be-answered what part of-the-earth
permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem?
pervades the-part of-the-world mind that the-god it-make Tellumo
Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam uim,
not he-says but one and-the-same earth has twin force
et masculinam, quod semina producat, et femininam, quod
both masculine that seeds it-produces and feminine that
recipiat adque nutriat; inde a ui feminae dictam esse
it-receives and nourishes thence from the-force of-the-female called to-be
Tellurem, a masculi Tellumonem. Quur ergo pontifices,
Tellus from of-the-male Tellumo why then the-pontiffs

ut ipse indicat, additis quoque aliis duobus quattuor dis
as he-himself indicates added also other two to-four gods
faciunt rem diuinam, Telluri, Tellumoni, Altori, Rusori? De
do a-thing divine to-Tellus to-Tellumo to-Altor to-Rusor about
Tellure et Tellumone iam dictum est. Altori quare? Quod
Tellus and Tellumo already said it-is to-Altor why because
ex terra, inquit, aluntur omnia quae nata sunt. Rusori
from the-earth he-says are-nourished all-things which born are to-Rusor
quare? Quod rursus, inquit, cuncta eodem reuoluuntur.
why because again he-says all-things to-the-same roll-back

XXIV · THE NAMES OF TELLUS

One earth should have four names, not four gods. Varro, as if ashamed of the crowd, makes Tellus one goddess, the Great Mother: her drum the globe, her towers the towns, her Galli the need to follow the earth for seed, the tame lion the wildest land subdued; she is also Ops, Proserpina, and Vesta, and the ancestors' many goddesses, he says, do not conflict. Can such rites promise eternal life? The castrated Galli lose the seed they seek, a cruelty worse than Liber's crowned member or the bride on Priapus.

Debuit ergo una terra propter istam quatergeminam
ought therefore one earth on-account-of this fourfold
uim quattuor habere cognomina, non quattuor facere deos;
force four to-have surnames not four to-make gods
sicut tot cognominibus unus Iuppiter et tot
as with-so-many surnames one Jupiter and with-so-many
cognominibus una Iuno, in quibus omnibus uis multiplex
surnames one Juno in which all a-force manifold
esse dicitur ad unum deum uel unam deam pertinens,
to-be is-said to one god or one goddess pertaining

non multitudo cognominum deorum etiam multitudinem
not the-multitude of-surnames of-gods also a-multitude
faciens. Sed profecto sicut aliquando etiam ipsas uilissimas
making but assuredly as sometimes even the-very most-worthless
feminas earum, quas libidine quaesierunt, taedet paenitetque
women of-those whom by-lust they-have-sought it-wearies and-it-repents
turbarum: sic animam uilem factam et inmundis spiritibus
of-the-crowds so the-soul worthless made and to-unclean spirits
prostitutam deos sibi multiplicare, quibus contaminanda
prostituted gods for-itself to-multiply before-whom to-be-defiled
prosterneretur, sicut plurimum libuit, sic aliquando et piguit.
it-might-be-prostrated as very-much it-pleased so sometimes also it-irked
Nam et ipse Varro quasi de ipsa turba uerecundatus unam
for also himself Varro as-if of the-very crowd ashamed one
deam uult esse Tellurem. “Eandem, inquit, dicunt Matrem
goddess wishes to-be Tellus the-same he-says they-call the-Mother
Magnam; quod tympanum habeat, significari esse orbem
Great because a-drum she-has to-be-signified to-be the-circle
terrae; quod turres in capite, oppida; quod sedens fingatur,
of-the-earth because towers on the-head the-towns because sitting she-is-fashioned
circa eam cum omnia moueantur, ipsam non moueri. Quod
around her though all-things be-moved herself not to-be-moved that
Gallos huic deae ut seruirent fecerunt, significat, qui
Galli to-this goddess that they-should-serve they-made signifies who
semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere; in ea quippe omnia
of-seed are-in-need the-earth to-follow to-behoove in it for all-things
reperiri. Quod se aput eam iactant, praecipitur, inquit,
to-be-found that themselves before her they-toss it-is-taught he-says
qui terram colunt, ne sedeant; semper enim esse quod
who the-earth cultivate lest they-sit always for to-be what
agant. Cymbalorum sonitus ferramentorum iactandorum ac
they-may-do of-cymbals the-sound of-iron-tools to-be-tossed and

manuum et eius rei crepitum in colendo agro qui fit
of-hands and of-that thing the-clatter in cultivating the-field which is-made
significant; ideo aere, quod eam antiqui colebant aere,
signify therefore of-bronze because her the-ancients tilled with-bronze
antequam ferrum esset inuentum. Leonem, inquit, adiungunt
before iron had-been found a-lion he-says they-add
solutum ac mansuetum, ut ostendant nullum genus esse
loosed and tame that they-may-show no kind to-be
terrae tam remotum ac uehementer ferum, quod non
of-earth so remote and vehemently wild which not
subigi colique conueniat." Deinde adiungit et dicit,
to-be-subdued and-to-be-tilled it-befits then he-adds and says
Tellurem matrem et nominibus pluribus et cognominibus
Tellus the-mother and by-names more and surnames
quod nominarunt, deos existimatos esse conplures. "Tellurem,
because they-named gods thought to-be several Tellus
inquit, putant esse Opem, quod opere fiat melior;
he-says they-think to-be Ops because by-work she-becomes better
Matrem, quod plurima pariat; Magnam, quod cibum
the-Mother because very-many-things she-bears Great because food
pariat; Proserpinam, quod ex ea proserpant fruges; Vestam,
she-bears Proserpina because from her creep-forth the-crops Vesta
quod uestiatur herbis. Sic alias deas, inquit, non absurde ad
because she-is-clothed with-grasses so other goddesses he-says not absurdly to
hanc reuocant." Si ergo una dea est, quae quidem consulta
her they-refer if then one goddess she-is who indeed consulted
ueritate nec ipsa est, interim quid itur in multas?
with-truth not-even she-herself is meanwhile why is-it-gone into many
Unius sint ista multa nomina, non tam deae multae
of-one let-be these many names not so-much goddesses many
quam nomina. Sed errantium maiorum auctoritas deprimit et
as names but of-erring ancestors the-authority presses-down and

eundem Varronem post hanc sententiam trepidare conpellit.
the-same Varro after this opinion to-tremble compels
Adiungit enim et dicit: “Cum quibus opinio maiorum
he-adds for and says with which the-opinion of-the-ancestors
de his deabus, quod plures eas putarunt esse, non pugnat.”
about these goddesses that more them they-thought to-be not conflicts
Quo modo non pugnat, cum ualde aliud sit unam deam
in-what way not does-it-conflict when very other it-is one goddess
nomina habere multa, aliud esse deas multas? “Sed potest,
names to-have many other to-be goddesses many but it-can
inquit, fieri ut eadem res et una sit, et in ea quaedam
he-says to-be-done that the-same thing both one be and in it certain
res sint plures.” Concedo in uno homine esse res plures,
things be many I-grant in one man to-be things many
numquid ideo et homines plures? Sic in una dea esse
surely-not therefore also men many so in one goddess to-be
res plures, numquid ideo et deas plures? Verum sicut
things many surely-not therefore also goddesses many but as
uolunt, diuidant conflent, multiplicent replicent inplicent.
they-wish let-them-divide fuse multiply redouble entangle
Haec sunt Telluris et Matris Magnae praeclara mysteria,
these are of-Tellus and of-the-Mother Great the-splendid mysteries
unde omnia referuntur ad mortalia semina et exercendam
whence all-things are-referred to mortal seeds and practicing
agriculturam. Itane ad haec relata et hunc finem habentia
agriculture so-then to these-things referred and this end having
tympanum, turres, Galli, iactatio insana membrorum, crepitus
the-drum the-towers the-Galli the-tossing insane of-limbs the-clatter
cymbalorum, confictio leonum uitam cuiquam pollicentur
of-cymbals the-fiction of-lions life to-anyone promise
aeternam? Itane propterea Galli abscisi huic Magnae deae
eternal so-then for-this-reason the-Galli castrated to-this Great goddess

seruiunt, ut significent, qui semine indigeant, terram sequi
serve that they-may-signify who of-seed are-in-need the-earth to-follow
oportere; quasi non eos ipsa potius seruitus semine faciat
to-behoove as-if not them the-very rather service of-seed make
indigere? Utrum enim sequendo hanc deam, cum indigeant,
to-be-in-need whether for by-following this goddess when they-are-in-need
semen adquirunt, an potius sequendo hanc deam, cum
seed they-acquire or rather by-following this goddess when
habeant, semen amittunt? Hoc interpretari est an detestari?
they-have seed they-lose this to-interpret is-it or to-detest
Nec adtenditur, quantum maligni daemones praeualuerint, qui
nor is-it-noticed how-much the-malign demons have-prevailed who
nec aliqua magna his sacris polliceri ausi sunt, et tam
not any great-things with-these rites to-promise dared have and such
crudelia exigere potuerunt. Si dea terra non esset, manus
cruel-things to-exact were-able if a-goddess the-earth not were hands
ei homines operando inferrent, ut semina consequerentur
on-it men by-working would-lay that seeds they-might-obtain
per illam, non et sibi saeuiendo, ut semina perderent
through it not also on-themselves by-raging that seeds they-might-lose
propter illam; si dea non esset, ita fecunda fieret
on-account-of it if a-goddess not it-were so fertile it-would-become
manibus alienis, ut non cogeret hominem sterilem fieri
by-hands of-others that not it-would-compel a-man sterile to-become
manibus suis. Iam quod in Liberi sacris honesta matrona
by-hands his-own now that in of-Liber the-rites an-honorable matron
pudenda uirilia coronabat spectante multitudine, ubi rubens
the-privy male-parts crowned with-watching the-multitude where blushing
et sudans, si est ulla frons in hominibus, adstabat forsitan
and sweating if there-is any shame in men stood-by perhaps
et maritus; et quod in celebratione nuptiarum super Priapi
also the-husband and that in the-celebration of-marriages upon of-Priapus

scapum noua nupta sedere iubebatur: longe contemtibiliora
the-shaft the-new bride to-sit was-ordered far more-contemptible
adque leuiora sunt prae ista turpitudine crudelissima uel
and lighter are beside this shamefulness most-cruel or
crudelitate turpissima, ubi daemonicis ritibus sic uterque sexus
cruelty most-shameful where by-demonic rites so each sex
inluditur, ut neuter suo uulnere perimatur. Ibi fascinatio
is-mocked that neither by-its-own wound is-destroyed there the-bewitchment
timetur agrorum, hic membrorum amputatio non timetur. Ibi
is-feared of-the-fields here of-limbs the-amputation not is-feared there
sic dehonestatur nouae nuptae uerecundia, ut non solum
so is-dishonored of-the-new bride the-modesty that not only
fecunditas, sed nec uirginitas adimatur; hic ita amputatur
fertility but not-even virginity be-taken-away here so is-amputated
uirilitas, ut nec conuertatur in feminam nec uir relinquatur.
manhood that neither it-is-turned into a-woman nor a-man is-left

XXV · THE GREEKS' INTERPRETATION OF ATTIS

Varro did not mention Attis, in whose memory the Gallus is castrated; but Porphyry said Attis signifies the flowers of spring, cut off because the flower falls before the fruit. Then it is his members that are compared to the flower; and they did not fall but were torn away, and no fruit followed, only sterility. What does the rest of him signify? Their failure persuades that the story of a castrated man is true; Varro, most learned, rightly would not speak of it.

Et Attis ille non est commemoratus nec eius ab isto
and Attis that not has been-mentioned nor his by this-one
interpretatio requisita est, in cuius dilectionis memoriam Gallus
interpretation sought was in whose of-love memory a-Gallus
absciditur. Sed docti Graeci adque sapientes nequaquam
is-castrated but the-learned Greeks and wise by-no-means

rationem tam sanctam praeclaramque tacuerunt. Propter
a-reason so holy and-splendid have-kept-silent-about on-account-of
uernalem quippe faciem terrae, quae ceteris est temporibus
the-spring for face of-the-earth which than-other is seasons
pulchrior, Porphyrius, philosophus nobilis, Attin flores
more-beautiful Porphyry a-philosopher noble Attis flowers
significare perhibuit, et ideo abscisum, quia flos
to-signify declared and therefore castrated because the-flower
decidit ante fructum. Non ergo ipsum hominem uel quasi
falls before the-fruit not therefore the-very man or as-if
hominem, qui est uocatus Attis, sed uirilia eius flori
man who has been-called Attis but the-male-parts his to-a-flower
conparauerunt. Ipsa quippe illo uiuente deciderunt; immo
they-compared they for with-him living fell rather
uero non deciderunt neque decerpta, sed plane discerpta sunt;
indeed not they-fell nor plucked but plainly torn-apart were
nec illo flore amisso quisquam postea fructus, sed potius
nor with-that flower lost any afterward fruit but rather
sterilitas consecuta est. Quid ergo ipse reliquus, et quidquid
sterility followed has what then he-himself remaining and whatever
remansit absciso? quid eo significari dicitur? quo refertur?
remained to-the-castrate what by-it to-be-signified is-said to-what is-it-referred
quae interpretatio inde profertur? An haec frustra moliendo
what interpretation thence is-brought-forth or these-things in-vain by-laboring
nihilque inueniendo persuadent illud potius esse credendum,
and-nothing by-finding persuade that rather to-be to-be-believed
quod de homine castrato fama iactauit litterisque
which about a-man castrated report has-tossed-about and-to-letters
mandatum est? Merito hinc auersatus est Varro noster, neque
committed was deservedly from-this turned-away has Varro our nor
hoc dicere uoluit; non enim hominem doctissimum latuit.
this to-say wished not for the-man most-learned it-escaped

Of the effeminates consecrated to the Great Mother, who till yesterday walked Carthage's streets with wet hair and whitened faces begging their living, Varro said nothing; interpretation failed, reason blushed. The Mother surpassed her sons in crime, not divinity: Janus' monstrous image and Jupiter's Ganymede are less, and Rome refused the Carthaginians' child sacrifice to Saturn but took in her eunuchs. Varro refers it all to the world, rather to the unclear; true religion praises the world as God's work and seeks God who founded it.

Itemque de mollibus eidem Matri Magnae contra omnem
and-likewise about the-effeminates to-the-same Mother Great against all
uirorum mulierumque uerecundiam consecratis, qui usque in
of-men and-of-women modesty consecrated who until into
hesternum diem madidis capillis facie dealbata, fluentibus
yesterday's day with-wet hair with-face whitened with-flowing
membris incessu femineo per plateas uicosque Carthaginis
limbs with-gait feminine through the-squares and-streets of-Carthage
etiam a propolis unde turpiter uiuerent exigebant, nihil
even from hucksters whence shamefully they-might-live exacted nothing
Varro dicere uoluit nec uspiam me legisse commemini.
Varro to-say wished nor anywhere me to-have-read I-remember
Defecit interpretatio, erubuit ratio, conticuit oratio. Vicit
failed interpretation blushed reason fell-silent speech has-surpassed
Matris Magnae omnes deos filios non numinis magnitudo,
of-the-Mother Great all gods sons not of-divinity the-greatness
sed criminis. Huic monstro nec Iani monstrositas
but of-crime to-this monster not-even of-Janus the-monstrosity
conparatur. Ille in simulacris habebat solam deformitatem,
is-compared he in images had only deformity
ista in sacris deformem crudelitatem; ille membra in lapidibus
she in rites deformed cruelty he limbs on stones

addita, haec in hominibus perdita. Hoc dedecus tot Iouis
added she on men destroyed this disgrace so-many of-Jove
ipsius et tanta stupra non uincunt. Ille inter femineas
himself and so-great debaucheries not surpass he among feminine
corruptelas uno Ganymede caelum infamauit; ista tot
seductions by-one Ganymede heaven disgraced she with-so-many
mollibus professis et publicis et inquinauit terram et caelo
effeminates professed and public both defiled the-earth and to-heaven
fecit iniuriam. Saturnum fortasse possemus huic in isto
did injury Saturn perhaps we-might-be-able to-her in this
genere turpissimae crudelitatis siue conferre siue praeferre, qui
kind of-most-shameful cruelty either to-compare or to-prefer who
patrem castrasse perhibetur; sed in Saturni sacris homines
(his)-father to-have-castrated is-said but in of-Saturn the-rites men
alienis manibus potius occidi quam suis abscidi
by-others' hands rather to-be-killed than by-their-own to-be-castrated
potuerunt. Deuorauit ille filios, ut poetae ferunt, et physici
could devoured he the-sons as the-poets report and the-physicists
ex hoc interpretantur quod uolunt; ut autem historia
from this interpret what they-wish as but history
prodit, necauit; sed quod ei Poeni suos filios
discloses he-killed but what to-him the-Carthaginians their-own sons
sacrificati sunt, non recepere Romani. At uero ista Magna
sacrificed have not received the-Romans but indeed this Great
deorum Mater etiam Romanis templis castratos intulit adque
of-the-gods Mother even into-Roman temples castrates brought and
istam saeuitiam moremque seruauit, credita uires adiuuare
this savagery and-custom kept believed the-strength to-help
Romanorum exsecando uirilia uirorum. Quid sunt ad
of-the-Romans by-cutting-off the-male-parts of-men what are to
hoc malum furta Mercurii, Veneris lasciuia, stupra ac
this evil the-thefts of-Mercury of-Venus the-wantonness the-debaucheries and

turpitudines ceterorum, quae proferremus de libris, nisi
shamefulnesses of-the-rest which we-would-bring-forth from books unless
cottidie cantarentur et saltarentur in theatris? Sed haec
daily they-were-sung and danced in theaters but these-things
quid sunt ad tantum malum, cuius magnitudo Magnae
what are to so-great an-evil whose greatness to-the-Great
Matri tantummodo conpetebat? Praesertim quod illa dicuntur
Mother only was-fitting especially because those are-said
a poetis esse conficta, quasi poetae id etiam finxerint,
by the-poets to-be invented as-if the-poets this also feigned
quod ea sint dis grata et accepta. Ut ergo canerentur
that they are to-the-gods pleasing and acceptable that therefore they-were-sung
uel scriberentur, sit audacia uel petulantia poetarum; ut
or written let-it-be the-audacity or wantonness of-the-poets that
uero diuinis rebus et honoribus eisdem imperantibus et
but to-divine things and honors with-the-same commanding and
extorquentibus numinibus adderentur, quid est nisi crimen
extorting divinities they-were-added what is-it except the-crime
deorum, immo uero confessio daemoniorum et deceptio
of-the-gods rather indeed the-confession of-demons and the-deception
miserorum? Verum illud, quod de abscisorum consecratione
of-the-wretched but that which by of-castrates the-consecration
Mater deum coli meruit, non poetae confinxerunt,
the-Mother of-the-gods to-be-worshiped earned not the-poets invented
sed horrere magis quam canere maluerunt. Hisne dis selectis
but to-shudder-at rather than to-sing preferred to-these gods select
quisquam consecrandus est, ut post mortem uiuat beate,
anyone to-be-consecrated is that after death he-may-live blessedly
quibus consecratus ante mortem honeste non potest uiuere,
to-whom consecrated before death honorably not he-can to-live
tam foedis superstitionibus subditus et inmundis daemonibus
to-such foul superstitions subjected and to-unclean demons

obligatus? Sed haec omnia, inquit, referuntur ad mundum.
bound but these all he-says are-referred to the-world
Videat ne potius ad inmundum. Quid autem non potest
let-him-see lest rather to the-unclean what moreover not can
referri ad mundum, quod esse demonstratur in mundo? Nos
to-be-referred to the-world which to-be is-shown in the-world we
autem animum quaerimus, qui uera religione confisus non
but a-mind seek which in-true religion trusting not
tamquam deum suum adoret mundum, sed tamquam opus
as god its-own may-adore the-world but as the-work
Dei propter Deum laudet mundum, et mundanis sordibus
of-God on-account-of God may-praise the-world and from-worldly filth
expiatus mundus peruenіat ad Deum, qui condidit mundum.
cleansed clean may-arrive to God who founded the-world

XXVII · THE PHYSIOLOGISTS' FICTIONS

The select gods became known not for their merits but so their disgraces could not be hidden; likelier they were men, as Vergil's Saturn fleeing Jupiter and Euhemerus' history, put into Latin by Ennius, relate. Their physical explanations reach only bodily and changeable things, never the true God. To worship a creature with the worship owed to God is wrong; to worship God with obscenities is wrong; to worship a creature with them is a double sin, inviting foul demons.

Istos uero deos selectos uidemus quidem clarius
these indeed gods select we-see indeed more-clearly
innotuisse quam ceteros, non tamen ut eorum
to-have-become-known than the-rest not yet that their
inlustrarentur merita, sed ne occultarentur obprobria; unde
might-be-illuminated merits but lest might-be-hidden reproaches whence
magis eos homines fuisse credibile est, sicut non solum
more them men to-have-been credible it-is as not only

poeticae litterae, uerum etiam historicae tradiderunt. Nam
poetic letters but also historical have-handed-down for
quod Vergilius ait:
what Vergil says

Primus ab aetherio uenit Saturnus Olympo,
first from ethereal came Saturn Olympus
arma Iouis fugiens et regnis exul ademtis,
the-arms of-Jove fleeing and from-kingdoms an-exile taken-away

et quae ad hanc rem pertinentia consequuntur, totam de
and what to this matter pertaining follow the-whole about
hoc Euhemerus pandit historiam, quam Ennius in Latinum
this Euhemerus unfolds history which Ennius into Latin
uertit eloquium; unde quia plurima posuerunt, qui
turned speech whence because very-many-things have-set-down those-who
contra huius modi errores ante nos uel Graeco sermone
against of-this kind errors before us either in-Greek speech
uel Latino scripserunt, non in eo mihi placuit inmorari.
or Latin wrote not in it for-me it-pleased to-linger

Ipsas physiologias cum considero, quibus docti et acuti
the-very physiologies when I-consider by-which learned and acute
homines has res humanas conantur uertere in res diuinas,
men these things human try to-turn into things divine
nihil uideo nisi ad temporalia terrenaque opera naturamque
nothing I-see except to temporal and-earthly works and-nature
corpoream uel etiamsi inuisibilem, tamen mutabilem
corporeal or even-if invisible yet changeable
potuisse reuocari; quod nullo modo est uerus Deus. Hoc
to-have-been-able to-be-referred which in-no way is true God this
autem si saltem religiositati congruis significationibus ageretur,
but if at-least to-religiousness fitting with-significations it-were-done

esset quidem dolendum non his uerum Deum adnuntiari
it-would-be indeed to-be-lamented not by-these the-true God to-be-announced
adque praedicari, tamen aliquo modo ferendum tam foeda
and to-be-proclaimed yet in-some way to-be-borne so foul
et turpia non fieri nec iuberi; at nunc cum pro
and shameful-things not to-be-done nor to-be-ordered but now since instead-of
Deo uero, quo solo anima se inhabitante fit felix, nefas
God true by-whom alone the-soul it dwelling-in becomes happy wrong
sit colere aut corpus aut animam, quanto magis nefarium
it-is to-worship either body or soul how-much more wicked
est ista sic colere, ut nec salutem nec decus humanum
is-it these so to-worship that neither health nor honor human
corpus aut anima colentis obtineat! Quam ob rem
the-body or the-soul of-the-worshiper may-keep which on-account-of thing
si templo sacerdote sacrificio, quod uero Deo debetur,
if with-temple priest sacrifice which to-the-true God is-owed
colatur aliquod elementum mundi uel creatus aliquis
be-worshiped some element of-the-world or created some
spiritus, etiamsi non inmundus et malus: non ideo
spirit even-if not unclean and evil not for-this-reason
malum est, quia illa mala sunt, quibus colitur, sed
evil it-is because those-things evil are by-which it-is-worshiped but
quia illa talia sunt, quibus ille solus colendus sit,
because those-things such are by-which he alone to-be-worshiped is
cui talis cultus seruitusque debetur. Si autem stoliditate
to-whom such worship and-service is-owed if but with-stupidity
uel monstrositate simulacrorum, sacrificiis homicidiorum,
or monstrosity of-images with-sacrifices of-homicides
coronatione uirilium pudendorum, mercede stuprorum,
with-crowning of-male privy-parts with-the-wage of-debaucheries
sectione membrorum, abscisione genitalium, consecratione
with-cutting of-limbs with-castration of-genitals with-consecration

mollium, festis inpurorum obscenorumque ludorum unum
of-effeminates with-feasts of-impure and-obscene games the-one
uerum Deum, id est omnis animae corporisque creatorem,
true God that is of-every soul and-body the-creator
colere se quisque contendat: non ideo peccat, quia
to-worship himself anyone contends not for-this-reason he-sins because
non est colendus quem colit, sed quia colendum
not is to-be-worshiped whom he-worships but because the-one-to-be-worshiped
non ut colendus est colit. Qui uero et rebus talibus,
not as to-be-worshiped he-is he-worships he-who but both with-things such
id est turpibus et scelestis, et non Deum uerum, id est
that is shameful and wicked and not God true that is
animae corporisque factorem, sed creaturam quamuis non
of-soul and-body the-maker but a-creature although not
uitiosam colit, siue illa sit anima siue corpus siue anima
vicious worships whether it be soul or body or soul
simul et corpus, bis peccat in Deum, quod et pro
together and body twice sins against God because both instead-of
ipso colit, quod non est ipse, et talibus rebus colit,
him he-worships what not is he and with-such things worships
qualibus nec ipse colendus est nec non ipse. Sed hi
with-which neither he to-be-worshiped is nor not he-himself but these
quonam modo, id est quam turpiter nefarieque coluerint, in
in-what way that is how shamefully and-impiously they-worshiped in
promtu est; quid autem uel quos coluerint, esset obscurum,
readiness is what but or whom they-worshiped would-be obscure
nisi eorum testaretur historia ea ipsa, quae foeda et
unless their attested history those very-things which foul and
turpia confitentur, numinibus terribiliter exigentibus reddita;
shameful they-confess with-divinities terribly exacting rendered
unde remotis constat ambagibus nefarios daemones adque
whence removed it-is-clear evasions wicked demons and

inmundissimos spiritus hac omni ciuili theologia inuisendis
most-unclean spirits by-this whole civil theology to-be-visited
stolidis imaginibus et per eas possidendis etiam stultis
stupid images and through them to-be-possessed also foolish
cordibus inuitatos.
hearts invited

XXVIII · VARRO'S THEOLOGY DOES NOT AGREE WITH ITSELF

Varro tries to refer all the gods to heaven and earth, and they slip from his hands. He begins the goddesses from Tellus as the gods from Janus, heaven acting and earth receiving; he reads the Samothracian mysteries as heaven, earth, and Plato's ideas, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; yet he puts Minerva among the earth's goddesses, the male Neptune in the sea, and Pluto in the earth. Refer them to dead men and evil demons, and no question remains.

Quid igitur ualet, quod uir doctissimus et acutissimus
what then avails that a-man most-learned and most-acute
Varro uelut subtili disputatione hos omnes deos in caelum
Varro as-if by-subtle disputation these all gods into heaven
et in terram redigere ac referre conatur? Non potest; fluunt
and into earth to-reduce and to-refer tries not he-can they-flow
de manibus, resiliunt, labuntur et decidunt. Dicturus enim
from the-hands they-leap-back they-slip and fall-away about-to-speak for
de feminis, hoc est deabus: "Quoniam, inquit, ut primo
about the-females that is goddesses since he-says as in-the-first
libro dixi de locis, duo sunt principia deorum animaduersa
book I-said about places two are the-beginnings of-the-gods noted
de caelo et terra, a quo di partim dicuntur caelestes,
from heaven and earth from which gods partly are-called heavenly
partim terrestres: ut in superioribus initium fecimus a
partly earthly as in the-former the-beginning we-made from

caelo, cum diximus de Iano, quem alii caelum, alii dixerunt
heaven when we-spoke about Janus whom some heaven others have-said
esse mundum, sic de feminis scribendi facimus initium
to-be the-world so about the-females of-writing we-make the-beginning
a Tellure." Sentio quantam molestiam tale ac tantum
from Tellus I-feel how-great trouble such and so-great
patiatur ingenium. Ducitur enim quadam ratione uerisimili,
suffers a-talent he-is-led for by-a-certain reason probable
caelum esse quod faciat, terram quae patiatur, et ideo
heaven to-be what acts earth what suffers and therefore
illi masculinam uim tribuit, huic rem femininam, et non
to-that the-masculine force he-assigns to-this the-thing feminine and not
adtendit eum potius esse qui haec facit, qui utrumque
he-attends him rather to-be who these-things does who both
fecit. Hinc etiam Samothracum nobilia mysteria in superiore
made hence also of-the-Samothracians the-noble mysteries in the-former
libro sic interpretatur eaque se, quae nec suis
book so he-interprets and-them himself which not-even to-their-own
nota sunt, scribendo expositurum eisque missurum quasi
known are by-writing about-to-expound and-to-them about-to-send as-if
religiosissime pollicetur. Dicit enim se ibi multis indiciis
most-religiously he-promises he-says for himself there by-many indications
collegisse in simulacris aliud significare caelum, aliud terram,
to-have-gathered in the-images one to-signify heaven another earth
aliud exempla rerum, quas Plato appellat ideas; caelum Iouem,
another the-patterns of-things which Plato calls ideas heaven Jove
terram Iunonem, ideas Mineruam uult intellegi; caelum
earth Juno ideas Minerva he-wishes to-be-understood heaven
a quo fiat aliquid, terram de qua fiat, exemplum
by which is-made something earth from which it-is-made the-pattern
secundum quod fiat. Qua in re omitto dicere, quod Plato
according-to which it-is-made which in thing I-omit to-say that Plato

illas ideas tantam uim habere dicit, ut secundum eas non
those ideas such-great force to-have says that according-to them not
caelum aliquid fecerit, sed etiam caelum factum sit. Hoc dico,
heaven something made but also heaven made was this I-say
istum in hoc libro selectorum deorum rationem illam trium
him in this book of-select gods the-reason that of-three
deorum, quibus quasi cuncta conplexus est, perdidisse.
gods by-which as-it-were all-things embraced he-has to-have-lost
Caelo enim tribuit masculos deos, feminas terrae; inter quas
to-heaven for he-assigns male gods females to-earth among whom
posuit Mineruam, quam supra ipsum caelum ante posuerat.
he-placed Minerva whom above the-very heaven before he-had-placed
Deinde masculus deus Neptunus in mari est, quod ad terram
then a-male god Neptune in the-sea is which to earth
potius quam ad caelum pertinet. Dis pater postremo, qui
rather than to heaven pertains Dis father finally who
Graece Πλούτων dicitur, etiam ipse masculus frater amborum
in-Greek Pluton is-called also himself male brother of-both
terrenus deus esse perhibetur, superiorem terram tenens, in
an-earthly god to-be is-said the-upper earth holding in
inferiore habens Proserpinam coniugem. Quo modo ergo deos
the-lower having Proserpina as-spouse in-what way then gods
ad caelum, deas ad terram referre conantur? Quid solidum
to heaven goddesses to earth to-refer do-they-try what solid
quid constans, quid sobrium quid definitum habet haec
what constant what sober what defined has this
disputatio? Illa est autem Tellus initium dearum, Mater
disputation that is moreover Tellus the-beginning of-the-goddesses the-Mother
scilicet Magna, aput quam mollium et abscisorum seseque
namely Great with whom of-effeminates and castrates and-themselves
secantium adque iactantium insana perstrepit turpitudo. Quid
cutting and tossing insane roars shamefulness what

est ergo quod dicitur caput deorum Ianus, caput dearum
is-it then that is-called the-head of-the-gods Janus the-head of-the-goddesses
Tellus? Nec ibi facit unum caput error, nec hic sanum
Tellus neither there makes one head error nor here sane
furor. Quur haec frustra referre nituntur ad mundum?
madness why these-things in-vain to-refer do-they-strive to the-world
Quod etsi possent, pro Deo uero mundum nemo pius
which even-if they-could instead-of God true the-world no-one devout
colit; et tamen eos nec hoc posse ueritas aperta
worships and yet them not-even this to-be-able truth open
conuincit. Referant haec potius ad homines mortuos et
proves let-them-refer these-things rather to men dead and
ad daemones pessimos, et nulla quaestio remanebit.
to demons worst and no question will-remain

XXIX · ALL OF IT BELONGS TO THE ONE TRUE GOD

All that they refer to the world by physical reasons is better given, without sacrilege, to the true God who made the world, creator of every soul and body. We worship God, not heaven and earth, the two parts of the world, nor the soul or souls spread through living things, but God who made heaven and earth and all that is in them, and every soul, whether living without sense and reason, sensing, or understanding.

Namque omnia, quae ab eis ex istorum deorum theologia
for all-things which by them from of-these gods the-theology
uelut physicis rationibus referuntur ad mundum, quam
as-if by-physical reasons are-referred to the-world how
sine ullo scrupulo sacrilegae opinionis Deo potius uero,
without any scruple of-sacrilegious opinion to-God rather true
qui fecit mundum, omnis animae et omnis corporis
who made the-world of-every soul and of-every body

conditori, tribuantur, aduertamus hoc modo: Nos Deum
the-founder may-be-assigned let-us-notice in-this way we God
colimus, non caelum et terram, quibus duabus partibus
worship not heaven and earth of-which two parts
mundus hic constat; nec animam uel animas per uiuentia
the-world this consists nor a-soul or souls through living-things
quaecumque diffusas, sed Deum, qui fecit caelum et terram
whatever diffused but God who made heaven and earth
et omnia, quae in eis sunt; qui fecit omnem animam,
and all-things which in them are who made every soul
siue quocumque modo uiuentem et sensus ac rationis
whether in-whatever way living and of-sense and reason
expertem, siue etiam sentientem, siue etiam intellegentem.
devoid or also feeling or also understanding

XXX · THE CREATOR DISTINGUISHED FROM HIS CREATURES

We worship the God who set beginnings and ends to his creatures; who orders the causes and made the power of seeds; who gave the rational soul, speech, and prophecy; who governs wars, fire, waters, sun, and the underworld; who founds the earth, sets the moon's measure, grants the arts, and instituted marriage. These are the works Varro shared among the select gods; God does them as God, whole everywhere, working through angels but blessing men and angels from himself.

Et ut iam incipiam illa unius et ueri Dei opera
and that now I-may-begin those of-the-one and true God the-works
percurrere, propter quae isti sibi, dum quasi honeste
to-run-through on-account-of which these for-themselves while as-if honorably
conantur sacramenta turpissima et scelestissima interpretari,
they-try sacraments most-shameful and most-wicked to-interpret
deos multos falsosque fecerunt: illum Deum colimus, qui
gods many and-false have-made that God we-worship who

naturis a se creatis et subsistendi et mouendi initia
for-natures by himself created both of-subsisting and of-moving beginnings
finesque constituit; qui rerum causas habet, nouit adque
and-ends has-established who of-things the-causes has knows and
disponit; qui uim seminum condidit; qui rationalem animam,
arranges who the-force of-seeds founded who the-rational soul
quod dicitur animus, quibus uoluit uiuentibus indidit; qui
which is-called mind in-what he-willed living-things put who
sermonis facultatem usumque donauit; qui munus futura
of-speech the-faculty and-use gave who the-gift future-things
dicendi quibus placuit spiritibus inpertiuit et per quos
of-telling to-what it-pleased spirits imparted and through whom
placet ipse futura praedicit et per quos placet malas
it-pleases he-himself future-things foretells and through whom it-pleases bad
ualetudines pellit; qui bellorum quoque ipsorum, cum sic
health drives-away who of-wars also themselves when so
emendandum et castigandum est genus humanum, exordiis
to-be-corrected and to-be-chastised is the-race human the-beginnings
progressibus finibusque moderatur; qui mundi huius ignem
progressions and-ends governs who of-world this the-fire
uehementissimum et uiolentissimum pro inmensae naturae
most-vehement and most-violent for of-immense nature
temperamento et creauit et regit; qui uniuersarum aquarum
the-tempering both created and rules who of-all waters
creator et gubernator est; qui solem fecit corporalium
the-creator and governor is who the-sun made of-bodily
clarissimum luminum eique uim congruam et motum dedit;
the-brightest lights and-to-it force fitting and motion gave
qui ipsis etiam inferis dominationem suam potestatemque
who from-the-very even lower-world dominion his-own and-power
non subtrahit; qui semina et alimenta mortalium, siue arida
not withdraws who seeds and nourishments of-mortals whether dry

siue liquida, naturis conpetentibus adtributa substituit; qui
or liquid to-natures suitable assigned supplies who
terram fundat adque fecundat; qui fructus eius animalibus
the-earth founds and makes-fertile who the-fruits its to-animals
hominibusque largitur; qui causas non solum principales, sed
and-men bestows who the-causes not only principal but
etiam subsequentes nouit adque ordinat; qui lunae statuit
also subsequent knows and orders who for-the-moon set
modum suum; qui uias caelestes adque terrestres locorum
measure its-own who ways heavenly and earthly of-places
mutationibus praebet; qui humanis ingeniis, quae creauit, etiam
for-changes furnishes who to-human minds which he-created also
scientias artium uariarum ad adiuuandam uitam naturamque
the-knowledge of-arts various for helping life and-nature
concessit; qui coniunctionem maris et feminae ad adiutorium
granted who the-union of-male and female for the-aid
propagandae prolis instituit; qui hominum coetibus, quem
of-propagating offspring established who of-men to-the-gatherings which
focis et luminibus adhiberent, ad facillimos usus munus
to-hearths and lamps they-might-apply for most-easy uses the-gift
terreni ignis indulsit. Ista sunt certe, quae dis selectis
of-earthly fire granted these are certainly what to-gods select
per nescio quas physicas interpretationes uir acutissimus
through I-know-not what physical interpretations a-man most-acute
adque doctissimus Varro, siue quae aliunde accepit, siue
and most-learned Varro whether what from-elsewhere he-received or
quae ipse coniecit, distribuere laborauit. Haec autem
what he-himself conjectured to-distribute labored these-things but
facit adque agit unus uerus Deus, sed sicut Deus, id est
does and acts the-one true God but as God that is
ubique totus, nullis inclusus locis, nullis uinculis adligatus,
everywhere whole by-no enclosed places by-no chains bound

in nullas partes sectilis, ex nulla parte mutabilis, inplens
into no parts divisible in no part changeable filling
caelum et terram praesente potentia, non indigente natura.
heaven and earth with-present power not with-needy nature
Sic itaque administrat omnia, quae creauit, ut etiam ipsa
so and-so he-administers all-things which he-created that also themselves
proprios exerere et agere motus sinat. Quamuis enim
their-own to-put-forth and to-act motions he-allows although for
nihil esse possint sine ipso, non sunt quod ipse. Agit
nothing to-be they-can without him not they-are what he-himself acts
autem multa etiam per angelos; sed non nisi ex se
moreover many-things also through angels but not except from him
ipso beatificat angelos. Ita quamuis propter aliquas causas
himself he-makes-blessed angels so although on-account-of some causes
hominibus angelos mittat, non tamen ex angelis homines,
to-men angels he-sends not yet from angels men
sed ex se ipso, sicut angelos, beatificat. Ab hoc uno
but from him himself as angels he-makes-blessed from this one
et uero Deo uitam speramus aeternam.
and true God life we-hope eternal

Besides the gifts God gives good and bad alike, the good have a sign of his love. We cannot thank him enough that we are, live, see heaven and earth, and have reason; yet he did not abandon us, weighed down by sins and blinded by darkness, but sent his Word, his only Son, born and suffering in the flesh, that we might know how much God valued man, be cleansed by that singular sacrifice, and come by the Spirit's love to eternal rest. What tongues could thank him enough?

Habemus enim ab illo praeter huiusce modi beneficia, quae
we-have for from him besides of-this kind benefits which
ex hac, de qua nonnulla diximus, administratione naturae
from this about which some-things we-have-said administration of-nature
bonis malisque largitur, magnum et bonorum proprium
to-the-good and-to-the-bad he-bestows a-great and of-the-good proper
magnae dilectionis indicium. Quamquam enim, quod sumus,
of-great love token although for that we-are
quod uiuimus, quod caelum terramque conspicimus, quod
that we-live that heaven and-earth we-behold that
habemus mentem adque rationem, qua eum ipsum, qui haec
we-have a-mind and reason by-which him himself who these
omnia condidit, inquiramus, nequaquam ualeamus actioni
all-things founded we-may-seek by-no-means we-may-be-able to-the-giving
sufficere gratiarum: tamen quod nos oneratos obrutosque
to-suffice of-thanks yet that us burdened and-overwhelmed
peccatis et a contemplatione suae lucis auersos ac
with-sins and from the-contemplation of-his-own light turned-away and
tenebrarum, id est iniquitatis, dilectione caecatos non omnino
of-darkness that is of-iniquity by-love blinded not altogether
deseruit misitque nobis Verbum suum, qui est eius unicus
he-deserted and-sent to-us the-Word his-own who is his only-begotten
filius, quo pro nobis adsumta carne nato adque passo,
son by-whom for us with-taken-on flesh born and having-suffered

quanti Deus hominem penderet, nosceremus adque illo
at-how-much God man valued we-might-know and by-that
sacrificio singulari a peccatis omnibus mundaremur
sacrifice singular from sins all we-might-be-cleansed
eiusque spiritu in cordibus nostris dilectione diffusa omnibus
and-his by-spirit in hearts our with-love diffused with-all
difficultatibus superatis in aeternam requiem et contemplationis
difficulties overcome into eternal rest and of-contemplation
eius ineffabilem dulcedinem ueniremus, quae corda, quot
his the-ineffable sweetness we-might-come what hearts how-many
linguae ad agendas ei gratias satis esse contenderint?
tongues for giving to-him thanks enough to-be may-contend

XXXII · THE SACRAMENT OF CHRIST ALWAYS PROCLAIMED

This mystery of eternal life was proclaimed through angels from the beginning by signs fitting the times. Then the Hebrew people was gathered into a commonwealth to enact it, foretelling, some knowingly and some unknowingly, what has been done since Christ came; the nation was later scattered among the nations as a witness to the scriptures. Its prophecies, precepts, rites, priests, temple, sacrifices, and feasts, all the latria owed to God, signified what is fulfilled in Christ.

Hoc mysterium uitae aeternae iam inde ab exordio generis
this mystery of-life eternal already thence from the-beginning of-the-race
humani per quaedam signa et sacramenta temporibus
human through certain signs and sacraments to-the-times
congrua, quibus oportuit, per angelos praedicatum est. Deinde
suited to-whom it-behooved through angels proclaimed was then
populus Hebraeus in unam quandam rem publicam, quae hoc
the-people Hebrew into one certain thing public which this
sacramentum ageret, congregatus est, ubi per quosdam
sacrament might-enact gathered was where through some

scientes, per quosdam nescientes id, quod ex aduentu Christi
knowing through some not-knowing that which from the-coming of-Christ
usque nunc et deinceps agitur, praenuntiaretur esse uenturum;
until now and henceforth is-done might-be-foretold to-be about-to-come
sparsa etiam postea eadem gente per gentes propter
scattered also afterward the-same nation through the-nations on-account-of
testimonium scripturarum, quibus aeterna salus in Christo
the-testimony of-the-scriptures in-which eternal salvation in Christ
futura praedicta est. Omnes enim non solum prophetiae,
about-to-be foretold was all for not only prophecies
quae in uerbis sunt, nec tantum praecepta uitae, quae mores
which in words are nor only precepts of-life which morals
pietatemque conformant adque illis litteris continentur,
and-devotion shape and in-those letters are-contained
uerum etiam sacra, sacerdotia, tabernaculum siue templum,
but also rites priesthoods the-tabernacle or temple
altaria, sacrificia, ceremoniae, dies festi et quidquid aliud ad
altars sacrifices ceremonies days festal and whatever else to
eam seruitutem pertinet, quae Deo debetur et Graece proprie
that service pertains which to-God is-owed and in-Greek properly
λατρεία dicitur, ea significata et praenuntiata sunt, quae
latria is-called those-things signified and foretold were which
propter aeternam uitam fidelium in Christo et inpleta
on-account-of eternal life of-the-faithful in Christ both fulfilled
credimus et inpleri cernimus et inplenda confidimus.
we-believe and to-be-fulfilled we-see and to-be-fulfilled we-trust

By this one true religion it could be revealed that the gods of the nations are unclean demons, who wish to be thought gods under the guise of dead souls or creatures, delight in honors paid with crimes, and begrudge men's conversion to God. Man is freed from them by believing in him whose humility was as great as the pride by which they fell. The select gods were chosen for the nobility of their crimes; Varro could not fit their rites to natural reasons, which would at least have softened the offense.

Per hanc ergo religionem unam et ueram potuit
through this therefore religion one and true could
aperiri deos gentium esse inmundissimos daemones, sub
to-be-disclosed the-gods of-the-nations to-be most-unclean demons under
defunctarum occasionibus animarum uel creaturarum specie
of-dead the-pretexts of-souls or of-creatures the-appearance
mundanarum deos se putari cupientes et quasi diuinis
worldly gods themselves to-be-thought desiring and as-if in-divine
honoribus eisdemque scelestis ac turpibus rebus superba
honors and-in-the-same wicked and shameful things with-proud
inpuritate laetantes adque ad uerum Deum conuersionem
impurity rejoicing and to the-true God the-conversion
humanis animis inuidentes. Ex quorum inmanissimo et
to-human souls begrudging from whose most-monstrous and
inpiissimo dominatu homo liberatur, cum credit in eum,
most-ungodly dominion man is-freed when he-believes in him
qui praebuit ad exsurgendum tantae humilitatis exemplum,
who furnished for rising of-such humility an-example
quanta illi superbia ceciderunt. Hinc sunt non solum illi,
by-as-great they by-pride fell hence are not only those
de quibus multa iam diximus, et alii adque alii similes
about whom many-things already we-have-said and others and others like

ceterarum gentium adque terrarum, sed etiam hi, de quibus
of-other nations and lands but also these about whom
nunc agimus, tamquam in senatum deorum selecti; sed plane
now we-treat as-if into the-senate of-the-gods selected but plainly
selecti nobilitate criminum, non dignitate uirtutum. Quorum
selected by-nobility of-crimes not by-dignity of-virtues whose
sacra Varro dum quasi ad naturales rationes referre conatur,
rites Varro while as-if to natural reasons to-refer he-tries
quaerens honestare res turpes, quo modo his quadret
seeking to-make-honorable things shameful in-what way to-these it-may-square
et consonet non potest inuenire, quoniam non sunt ipsae
and agree not he-can to-find since not are these-very
illorum sacrorum causae, quas putat uel potius uult putari.
of-those rites the-causes which he-thinks or rather wishes to-be-thought
Nam si non solum ipsae, uerum etiam quaelibet aliae huius
for if not only these-very but also any other of-this
generis essent, quamuis nihil ad Deum uerum uitamque
kind were although nothing to God true and-life
aeternam, quae in religione quaerenda est, pertinerent, tamen
eternal which in religion to-be-sought is they-pertained yet
qualicumque de rerum natura reddita ratione aliquantulum
with-some-kind-of from of-things the-nature rendered reason somewhat
mitigarent offensionem, quam non intellecta in sacris aliqua
they-would-soften the-offense which not understood in rites some
uelut turpitudo aut absurditas fecerat; sicut in quibusdam
as-if shamefulness or absurdity had-made as in certain
theatrorum fabulis uel delubrorum mysteriis facere conatus
of-theaters fables or of-shrines mysteries to-do tried
est, ubi non theatra delubrorum similitudine absoluit,
he-has where not the-theaters of-shrines by-the-likeness he-acquitted
sed theatrorum potius similitudine delubra damnauit; tamen
but of-theaters rather by-the-likeness the-shrines condemned yet

utcumque conatus est, ut sensum horribilibus rebus offensum
somehow tried he-has that the-sense by-horrible things offended
uelut naturalium causarum ratio reddita deleniret.
as-if of-natural causes the-account rendered might-soothe

XXXIV · THE BOOKS OF NUMA BURNED

Varro relates that the causes of the rites in Numa Pompilius' books were found intolerable. A plowman on Terentius' farm by the Janiculum turned up the books near Numa's tomb; the praetor referred them to the senate, whose leaders read some of the causes, and the senate, keeping Numa's rites, had them burned. Numa had reached the demons' secrets by unlawful curiosity, dared neither teach nor destroy them, and buried them; the senate burned them so the city might err more tolerably in ignorance.

Sed contra inuenimus, sicut ipse uir doctissimus
but on-the-contrary we-find as the-very man most-learned
prodidit, de Numae Pompilii libris redditas sacrorum causas
has-disclosed from of-Numa Pompilius the-books rendered of-the-rites causes
nullo modo potuisse tolerari nec dignas habitas, quae
in-no way to-have-been-able to-be-tolerated nor worthy held which
non solum lectae innotescerent religiosis, sed saltem scriptae
not only read might-become-known to-the-religious but at-least written
reconderentur in tenebris. Iam enim dicam, quod in tertio
might-be-stored-away in darkness now for I-shall-say what in the-third
huius operis libro me suo loco dicturum esse promiseram.
of-this work book myself in-its-own place about-to-say to-be I-had-promised
Nam, sicut aput eundem Varronem legitur in libro de
for as in the-same Varro is-read in the-book about
cultu deorum, "Terentius quidam cum haberet ad
the-worship of-the-gods Terentius a-certain-man when he-had at

Ianiculum fundum et bubulcus eius iuxta sepulcrum Numae
the-Janiculum a-farm and the-plowman his near the-tomb of-Numa
Pompilii traiciens aratrum eruisset ex terra libros eius,
Pompilius driving-across the-plow had-dug-up from the-earth the-books his
ubi sacrorum institutorum scriptae erant causae, in Urbem
where of-the-rites established written were the-causes into the-City
pertulit ad praetorem. At ille cum inspexisset principia,
he-carried(-them) to the-praetor but he when he-had-inspected the-beginnings
rem tantam detulit ad senatum. Ubi cum primores quasdam
a-matter so-great brought to the-senate where when the-chief-men certain
causas legissent, quur quidque in sacris fuerit institutum,
causes had-read why each-thing in the-rites had-been established
Numae mortuo senatus adsensus est, eosque libros tamquam
to-Numa dead the-senate assented has and-those books as
religiosi patres conscripti, praetor ut combureret, censuerunt".
religious fathers conscript the-praetor that he-should-burn decreed
Credat quisque quod putat; immo uero dicat, quod dicendum
let-believe each what he-thinks rather indeed let-say what to-be-said
suggesserit uesana contentio, quilibet tantae inpietatis defensor
has-suggested mad contention any-one of-such ungodliness defender
egregius. Me admonere sufficiat sacrorum causas a rege
distinguished me to-advise let-it-suffice of-the-rites the-causes by king
Pompilio Romanorum sacrorum institutore conscriptas nec
Pompilius of-the-Roman rites the-establisher written neither
populo nec senatui nec saltem ipsis sacerdotibus
to-the-people nor to-the-senate nor at-least to-the-very priests
innotescere debuisse ipsumque Numam Pompilium
to-become-known to-have-been-obliged and-himself Numa Pompilius
curiositate inlicita ad ea daemonum peruenisse secreta,
by-curiosity unlawful to those of-demons to-have-arrived secrets
quae ipse quidem scriberet, ut haberet unde legendo
which he-himself indeed wrote that he-might-have whence by-reading

commoneretur; sed ea tamen, cum rex esset, qui minime
he-might-be-reminded but them yet though king he-was who by-no-means
quemquam metueret, nec docere aliquem nec delendo uel
anyone feared neither to-teach anyone nor by-erasing or
quoquo modo consumendo perdere auderet. Ita quod scire
in-any way by-consuming to-destroy dared so what to-know
neminem uoluit, ne homines nefaria doceret, uiolare autem
no-one he-wished lest men wicked-things he-teach to-violate but
timuit, ne daemones iratos haberet, obruit, ubi tutum putauit,
he-feared lest the-demons angry he-have he-buried where safe he-thought
sepulcro suo propinquare aratrum posse non credens. Senatus
to-tomb his-own to-approach a-plow to-be-able not believing the-senate
autem cum religiones formidaret damnare maiorum et ideo
but when the-religions it-feared to-condemn of-the-ancestors and therefore
Numae adsentiri cogeretur, illos tamen libros tam perniciosos
with-Numa to-assent was-compelled those yet books so pernicious
esse iudicauit, ut nec obrui rursus iuberet, ne humana
to-be judged that not to-be-buried again it-ordered lest human
curiositas multo uehementius rem iam proditam quaereret,
curiosity much more-vehemently the-matter already disclosed might-seek
sed flammis aboleri nefanda monumenta, ut, quia iam
but by-flames to-be-abolished the-unspeakable records that since now
necesse esse existimabant sacra illa facere, tolerabilius erraretur
necessary to-be they-judged rites those to-perform more-tolerably one-might-err
causis eorum ignoratis, quam cognitis ciuitas turbaretur.
with-causes their unknown than known the-city be-disturbed

Numa, to whom no prophet was sent, practiced hydromancy, seeing in water demons' tricks that told him what rites to found; Varro says the art came from the Persians, and with blood it questions the dead. His drawing water gave rise to the tale of the nymph Egeria. Had Varro's physical causes been in those books, they would not have burned. The demons were let confess all to Numa but not warn him to burn it, nor stop plow or pen. Whoever would shun the demons should recognize the true religion that exposes and conquers them.

Nam et ipse Numa, ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus
for also himself Numa to whom no of-God prophet no
sanctus angelus mittebatur, hydromantian facere conpulsus
holy angel was-sent hydromancy to-practice compelled
est, ut in aqua uideret imagines deorum uel potius
was that in water he-might-see the-images of-the-gods or rather
ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret, quid in sacris
the-mockeries of-demons from whom he-might-hear what in the-rites
constituere adque obseruare deberet. Quod genus diuinationis
to-establish and to-observe he-ought which kind of-divination
idem Varro a Persis dicit adlatum, quo et ipsum
the-same Varro from the-Persians says brought which both the-very
Numam et postea Pythagoram philosophum usum fuisse
Numa and afterward Pythagoras the-philosopher used to-have
commemorat; ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibet
he-records where with-applied blood even the-dead he-says
sciscitari et νεκυομαντείαν Graece dicit uocari, quae siue
to-question and nekyomanteia in-Greek he-says to-be-called which whether
necromantia dicatur, id ipsum est, ubi uidentur mortui
necromancy be-said that same is where seem the-dead
diuinare. Quibus haec artibus fiant, ipsi uiderint.
to-divine by-what these-things arts are-done they-themselves let-them-see

Nolo enim dicere has artes etiam ante nostri Saluatoris
I-am-unwilling for to-say these arts even before of-our Savior
aduentum in ipsis ciuitatibus gentium legibus solere
the-coming in the-very cities of-the-nations by-laws to-be-wont
prohiberi et poena seuerissima uindicari. Nolo,
to-be-prohibited and with-penalty most-severe to-be-punished I-am-unwilling
inquam, hoc dicere; fortassis enim talia tunc licebant.
I-say this to-say perhaps for such-things then were-allowed
His tamen artibus didicit sacra illa Pompilius, quorum
by-these yet arts learned rites those Pompilius of-which
sacrorum facta prodidit, causas obruit (ita timuit et
rites the-deeds he-disclosed the-causes he-buried so feared also
ipse quod didicit), quarum causarum proditos libros
he-himself what he-learned of-which causes disclosed the-books
senatus incendit. Quid mihi ergo Varro illorum sacrorum
the-senate burned why to-me then Varro of-those rites
alias nescio quas causas uelut physicas interpretatur? quales
other I-know-not what causes as-if physical interprets such-as
si libri illi habuissent, non utique arsissent, aut
if books those had-had not assuredly they-would-have-burned or
et istos Varronis ad Caesarem pontificem scriptos adque
also these of-Varro to Caesar the-pontiff written and
editos patres conscripti similiter incendissent. Quod ergo
published the-fathers conscript likewise would-have-burned that therefore
aquam egesserit, id est exportauerit, Numa Pompilius, unde
water he-drew-out that is carried-out Numa Pompilius whence
hydromantian faceret, ideo nympham Egeriam coniugem
hydromancy he-might-practice therefore the-nymph Egeria as-spouse
dicitur habuisse, quem ad modum in supradicto libro
he-is-said to-have-had in-what to manner in the-above-mentioned book
Varronis exponitur. Ita enim solent res gestae aspersione
of-Varro it-is-set-forth so for are-wont things done by-a-sprinkling

mendaciorum in fabulas uerti. In illa igitur hydromantia
of-lies into fables to-be-turned in that therefore hydromancy
curiosissimus rex ille Romanus et sacra didicit, quae in
most-curious king that Roman both the-rites learned which in
libris suis pontifices haberent, et eorum causas, quas
books their-own the-pontiffs might-have and their causes which
praeter se neminem scire uoluit. Itaque eas seorsum
besides himself no-one to-know he-wished and-so them separately
scriptas secum quodam modo mori fecit, quando ita
written with-himself in-a-certain way to-die he-made when so
subtrahendas hominum notitiae sepeliendasque curauit.
to-be-withdrawn of-men from-the-knowledge and-to-be-buried he-took-care
Aut ergo daemonum illic tam sordidae et noxiae cupiditates
either therefore of-demons there such sordid and harmful desires
erant conscriptae, ut ex his tota illa theologia ciuilis etiam
were written that from these whole that theology civil even
aput tales homines execrabilis appareret, qui tam multa
among such men execrable might-appear who so many
in ipsis sacris erubescenda susceperant; aut illi omnes
in the-very rites things-to-be-blushed-at had-taken-up or those all
nihil aliud quam homines mortui prodebantur, quos tam
nothing else than men dead were-disclosed-to-be whom so
prolixa temporis uetustate fere omnes populi gentium deos
with-long of-time antiquity almost all the-peoples of-the-nations gods
inmortales esse crediderant, cum et talibus sacris idem
immortal to-be had-believed since both by-such rites the-same
illi daemones oblectarentur, qui se colendos pro
those demons were-delighted who themselves to-be-worshiped in-place-of
ipsis mortuis, quos deos putari fecerant, quibusdam
the-very dead whom gods to-be-thought they-had-made by-certain
fallacium miraculorum adtestationibus subponebant. Sed
of-deceitful miracles attestations substituted but

occulta Dei ueri prouidentia factum est, ut et Pompilio
by-the-hidden of-God true providence done it-was that both to-Pompilius
amico suo illis conciliati artibus, quibus hydromantia
friend their-own by-those won-over arts by-which hydromancy
fieri potuit, cuncta illa confiteri permitterentur, et
to-be-done could all those-things to-confess they-were-permitted and
tamen, ut moriturus incenderet ea potius quam obrueret,
yet that about-to-die he-should-burn them rather than bury
admonere non permitterentur; qui ne innotescerent nec
to-advise not they-were-permitted who that-not they-become-known neither
aratro, quo sunt eruta, obsistere potuerunt, nec stilo
the-plow by-which were dug-up to-resist could nor the-pen
Varronis, quo ea, quae de hac re gesta sunt,
of-Varro by-which those-things which about this matter done were
in nostram memoriam peruenerunt. Non enim possunt
into our memory have-come not for they-can
quod non sinuntur efficere; sinuntur autem alto
what not they-are-allowed to-effect they-are-allowed moreover by-the-deep
Dei summi iustoque iudicio pro meritis eorum, quos
of-God highest and-just judgment according-to the-merits of-those whom
ab eis uel adfligi tantum, uel etiam subici ac
by them either to-be-afflicted only or also to-be-subjected and
decipi iustum est. Quam uero perniciosae uel a cultu
to-be-deceived just it-is how indeed pernicious or from the-worship
uerae diuinitatis alienae illae litterae iudicatae sint, hinc
of-true divinity alien those letters judged were hence
intellegi potest, quod eas maluit senatus incendere, quas
to-be-understood it-can that them preferred the-senate to-burn which
Pompilius occultauit, quam timere quod timuit, qui hoc
Pompilius bid than to-fear what feared he-who this
audere non potuit. Qui ergo uitam nec modo habere
to-dare not could who therefore a-life not-even now to-have

uult piam, talibus sacris quaerat aeternam; qui autem
wishes devout by-such rites let-him-seek eternal who but
cum malignis daemonibus non uult habere societatem,
with malign demons not wishes to-have fellowship
non superstitionem, qua coluntur, noxiam pertimescat,
not the-superstition by-which they-are-worshiped harmful let-him-fear
sed ueram religionem, qua produntur et uincuntur,
but the-true religion by-which they-are-disclosed and conquered
agnoscat.
let-him-recognize

BOOK VIII

I · NATURAL THEOLOGY WITH THE PHILOSOPHERS

Natural theology is to be argued with the philosophers, lovers of wisdom; if wisdom is God, the true philosopher is a lover of God. Only those are to be refuted who grant that the divine exists and cares for human things, yet think many gods made by the one should be worshiped for the life after death. These pass Varro, since they confess a God above every soul who made the world and makes the rational soul blessed by his light: the Platonists. First, Plato's forerunners.

Nunc intentiore nobis opus est animo multo quam erat
now with-more-intent for-us need is mind much than there-was
in superiorum solutione quaestionum et explicatione librorum.
in of-the-former the-solution of-questions and the-unfolding of-books
De theologia quippe, quam naturalem uocant, non cum
about theology for which natural they-call not with
quibuslibet hominibus (non enim fabulosa est uel ciuilis, hoc
any men not for fabulous it-is or civil that
est uel theatrica uel urbana; quarum altera iactitat deorum
is either theatrical or urban of-which the-one flaunts of-the-gods
crimina, altera indicat deorum desideria criminosiora ac
the-crimes the-other shows of-the-gods desires more-criminal and
per hoc malignorum potius daemonum quam deorum), sed
through this of-malign rather demons than of-gods but
cum philosophis est habenda conlatio; quorum ipsum nomen
with the-philosophers is to-be-held the-conference whose very name
si Latine interpretemur, amorem sapientiae profitetur. Porro
if in-Latin we-interpret the-love of-wisdom professes further
si sapientia Deus est, per quem facta sunt omnia, sicut
if wisdom God is through whom made were all-things as
diuina auctoritas ueritasque monstrauit, uerus philosophus est
divine authority and-truth has-shown the-true philosopher is

amator Dei. Sed quia res ipsa, cuius hoc nomen est,
the-lover of-God but because the-thing itself of-which this name is
non est in omnibus, qui hoc nomine gloriantur (neque enim
not is in all who in-this name glory nor for
continuo uerae sapientiae sunt amatores quicumque appellantur
straightway of-true wisdom are lovers whoever are-called
philosophi): profecto ex omnibus, quorum sententias ex
philosophers assuredly from all whose opinions from
litteris nosse potuimus, eligendi sunt cum quibus non
letters to-know we-have-been-able to-be-chosen are with whom not
indigne quaestio ista tractetur. Neque enim hoc opere omnes
unworthily question this may-be-treated nor for in-this work all
omnium philosophorum uanas opiniones refutare suscepi,
of-all philosophers vain opinions to-refute I-have-undertaken
sed eas tantum, quae ad theologian pertinent, quo uerbo
but those only which to theology pertain by-which word
Graeco significari intellegimus de diuinitate rationem siue
Greek to-be-signified we-understand about divinity an-account or
sermonem; nec eas omnium, sed eorum tantum, qui cum
discourse nor those of-all but of-those only who though
et esse diuinitatem et humana curare consentiant, non
both to-be a-divinity and human-things to-care-for they-agree not
tamen sufficere unius incommutabilis Dei cultum ad uitam
yet to-suffice of-the-one unchangeable God the-worship for life
adipiscendam etiam post mortem beatam, sed multos ab illo
to-be-obtained even after death blessed but many by that
sane uno conditos adque institutos ob eam causam
indeed one founded and established on-account-of that cause
colendos putant. Hi iam etiam Varronis opinionem ueritatis
to-be-worshiped think these now even of-Varro the-opinion of-truth
propinquitate transcendunt; si quidem ille totam theologian
by-nearness surpass since indeed he the-whole theology

naturalem usque ad mundum istum uel animam eius
natural as-far-as to world this or the-soul its
extendere potuit, isti uero supra omnem animae naturam
to-extend could these but above every of-soul nature
confitentur Deum, qui non solum mundum istum uisibilem,
confess God who not only world this visible
qui saepe caeli et terrae nomine nuncupatur, sed etiam
which often of-heaven and earth by-the-name is-called but also
omnem omnino animam fecerit, et qui rationalem et
every at-all soul made and who the-rational and
intellectualem, cuius generis anima humana est, participatione
intellectual of-which kind the-soul human is by-participation
sui luminis incommutabilis et incorporei beatam facit. Hos
of-his light unchangeable and incorporeal blessed makes these
philosophos Platonicos appellatos a Platone doctore uocabulo
philosophers Platonists called from Plato the-teacher with-the-word
deriuato nullus, qui haec uel tenuiter audiuit, ignorat. De
derived no-one who these-things even slightly has-heard is-ignorant about
hoc igitur Platone, quae necessaria praesenti quaestioni
this therefore Plato what-things necessary for-the-present question
existimo, breuiter adtingam, prius illos commemorans, qui
I-judge briefly I-shall-touch-on first those recalling who
eum in eodem genere litterarum tempore praecesserunt.
him in the-same kind of-letters in-time preceded

Greek philosophy has two schools: the Italian, founded by Pythagoras of Samos, who first called himself a philosopher, a lover of wisdom; and the Ionian, founded by Thales of Miletus, one of the seven sages, who predicted eclipses but made water the principle of all things and set no divine mind over the world. After him came Anaximander, Anaximenes with infinite air, Anaxagoras, who saw a divine mind as maker, Diogenes, and Archelaus, whose pupil was Socrates.

Quantum enim adtinet ad litteras Graecas, quae lingua inter
as-far-as for pertains to letters Greek which tongue among
ceteras gentium clarior habetur, duo philosophorum
the-others of-the-nations more-renowned is-held two of-philosophers
genera traduntur: unum Italicum ex ea parte Italiae, quae
kinds are-handed-down one Italian from that part of-Italy which
quondam magna Graecia nuncupata est; alterum Ionicum
once great Greece called was the-other Ionian
in eis terris, ubi et nunc Graecia nominatur. Italicum
in those lands where even now Greece is-named the-Italian
genus auctorem habuit Pythagoram Samium, a quo
kind as-author had Pythagoras the-Samian from whom
etiam ferunt ipsum philosophiae nomen exortum. Nam
also they-report the-very of-philosophy name to-have-arisen for
cum antea sapientes appellarentur, qui modo quodam
when formerly wise were-called those-who in-a-manner certain
laudabilis uitae aliis praestare uidebantur, iste interrogatus,
of-praiseworthy life others to-excel seemed this-one asked
quid profiteretur, philosophum se esse respondit, id
what he-professed a-philosopher himself to-be answered that
est studiosum uel amatorem sapientiae; quoniam sapientem
is a-student or lover of-wisdom since wise
profiteri adrogantissimum uidebatur. Ionici uero generis
to-profess most-arrogant it-seemed of-the-Ionian but kind

princeps fuit Thales Milesius, unus illorum septem, qui sunt
the-chief was Thales of-Miletus one of-those seven who were
appellati sapientes. Sed illi sex uitae genere distinguebantur
called wise but those six of-life by-the-kind were-distinguished
et quibusdam praeceptis ad bene uiuendum adcommodatis;
and by-certain precepts for well living fitted
iste autem Thales, ut successores etiam propagaret, rerum
this but Thales that successors also he-might-propagate of-things
naturam scrutatus suasque disputationes litteris mandans
the-nature having-searched and-his-own disputations to-letters committing
eminuit maximeque admirabilis extitit, quod astrologiae
excelled and-most admirable stood-out because of-astronomy
numeris conprehensis defectus solis et lunae etiam
with-the-numbers grasped the-eclipses of-the-sun and of-the-moon even
praedicere potuit. Aquam tamen putauit rerum esse principium
to-predict he-could water yet he-thought of-things to-be the-beginning
et hinc omnia elementa mundi ipsumque mundum et
and hence all the-elements of-the-world and-the-very world and
quae in eo gignuntur existere. Nihil autem huic operi,
what in it are-begotten to-come-into-being nothing but to-this work
quod mundo considerato tam mirabile aspicimus, ex
which with-the-world considered so wonderful we-behold from
diuina mente praeposuit. Huic successit Anaximander, eius
divine mind he-set-over to-him succeeded Anaximander his
auditor, mutauitque de rerum natura opinionem. Non enim
hearer and-he-changed about of-things the-nature the-opinion not for
ex una re, sicut Thales ex umore, sed ex suis propriis
from one thing as Thales from moisture but from their-own proper
principiis quasque res nasci putauit. Quae rerum principia
beginnings each things to-be-born he-thought which of-things the-beginnings
singularum esse credidit infinita, et innumerabiles mundos
of-single to-be he-believed infinite and innumerable worlds

gignere et quaecumque in eis oriuntur; eosque mundos modo
to-beget and whatever in them arise and-those worlds now
dissolui, modo iterum gigni existimauit, quanta quisque
to-be-dissolved now again to-be-begotten he-judged for-as-long each
aetate sua manere potuerit; nec ipse aliquid diuinae menti
age its-own to-remain could nor he-himself anything to-divine mind
in his rerum operibus tribuens. Iste Anaximenen discipulum
in these of-things works assigning this-one Anaximenes as-disciple
et successorem reliquit, qui omnes rerum causas aeri infinito
and successor left who all of-things the-causes to-air infinite
dedit, nec deos negauit aut tacuit; non tamen ab ipsis
gave nor gods denied or kept-silent-about not yet by them
aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit. Anaxagoras uero
the-air made but them from air arisen he-believed Anaxagoras but
eius auditor harum rerum omnium, quas uidemus, effectorem
his hearer of-these things all which we-see the-effector
diuinum animum sensit et dixit ex infinita materia, quae
divine mind thought and said from infinite matter which
constaret dissimilibus inter se particulis rerum omnium,
consisted of-unlike among themselves particles of-things all
similibus quibusque suis et propriis singula fieri, sed
with-like each their-own and proper single-things to-be-made but
animo faciente diuino. Diogenes quoque Anaximenis alter
with-mind making divine Diogenes also of-Anaximenes another
auditor, aerem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua
hearer air indeed said of-things to-be the-matter from which
omnia fierent; sed eum esse compotem diuinae rationis, sine
all-things were-made but it to-be possessed of-divine reason without
qua nihil ex eo fieri posset. Anaxagorae successit auditor
which nothing from it to-be-made could to-Anaxagoras succeeded hearer
eius Archelaus. Etiam ipse de particulis inter se
his Archelaus also he-himself from particles among themselves

similibus, quibus singula quaeque fierent, ita putauit constare
like from-which single each were-made so thought to-consist
omnia, ut inesse etiam mentem diceret, quae corpora aeterna,
all-things that to-be-in also a-mind he-said which bodies eternal
id est illas particulas, coniungendo et dissipando ageret
that is those particles by-joining and scattering did
omnia. Socrates huius discipulus fuisse perhibetur, magister
all-things Socrates of-this-one the-disciple to-have-been is-said the-master
Platonis, propter quem breuiter cuncta ista recolui.
of-Plato on-account-of whom briefly all these-things I-have-recalled

III · THE SOCRATIC SCHOOL

Socrates first turned philosophy to correcting morals, whether weary of obscure natural questions or, as some think, because he held that the first causes lie in God's will and are grasped only by a mind cleansed by good morals. He exposed those who thought they knew something, was condemned to death, and was later mourned by Athens, which turned on his accusers. His followers drew from his arguments what each liked as the highest good: Aristippus pleasure, Antisthenes virtue.

Socrates ergo primus uniuersam philosophiam ad corrigendos
Socrates therefore first the-whole philosophy to correcting
componendosque mores flexisse memoratur, cum ante illum
and-composing morals to-have-turned is-recorded since before him
omnes magis physicis, id est naturalibus, rebus perscrutandis
all more on-physical that is natural things to-be-searched-out
operam maximam inpenderent. Non mihi autem uidetur
effort the-greatest spent not to-me but it-seems
posse ad liquidum colligi, utrum Socrates, ut hoc faceret,
to-be-able to clarity to-be-gathered whether Socrates that this he-should-do
taedio rerum obscurarum et incertarum ad aliquid apertum
from-weariness of-things obscure and uncertain to something open

et certum reperiendum animum intenderit, quod esset
and certain to-be-found the-mind turned which might-be
beatae uitae necessarium, propter quam unam omnium
for-blessed life necessary on-account-of which alone of-all
philosophorum inuigilasse ac laborasse uidetur industria,
philosophers to-have-kept-watch and to-have-labored seems the-industry
an uero, sicut de illo quidam beneuolentius suspicantur,
or indeed as about him some more-kindly suspect
nolebat inmundos terrenis cupiditatibus animos se
he-was-unwilling unclean with-earthly desires minds themselves
extendere in diuina conari. Quando quidem ab eis causas
to-stretch into divine-things to-try since indeed by them the-causes
rerum uidebat inquiri, quas primas adque summas non
of-things he-saw to-be-inquired which the-first and highest not
nisi in unius ac summi Dei uoluntate esse credebat; unde
except in of-the-one and highest God the-will to-be he-believed whence
non eas putabat nisi mundata mente posse conprehendi;
not them he-thought except with-cleansed mind to-be-able to-be-grasped
et ideo purgandae bonis moribus uitae censebat instandum,
and therefore to-be-cleansed by-good morals on-life he-judged to-be-pressed-on
ut deprimentibus libidinibus exoneratus animus naturali
that from-weighing-down lusts unburdened the-mind by-natural
uigore in aeterna se adtolleret naturamque incorporei
vigor into eternal-things itself might-raise and-the-nature of-incorporeal
et incommutabilis luminis, ubi causae omnium factarum
and unchangeable light where the-causes of-all made
naturarum stabiliter uiuunt, intellegentiae puritate conspiceret.
natures stably live of-understanding with-the-purity might-behold
Constat eum tamen inperitorum stultitiam scire se aliquid
it-is-agreed him yet of-the-unskilled the-folly to-know themselves something
opinantium etiam in ipsis moralibus quaestionibus, quo
thinking even in the-very moral questions whither

totum animum intendisse uidebatur, uel confessa ignorantia
the-whole mind to-have-turned he-seemed either with-confessed ignorance
sua uel dissimulata scientia lepore mirabili disserendi et
his-own or with-concealed knowledge with-charm wonderful of-discoursing and
acutissima urbanitate agitasse adque uersasse. Unde et
most-acute wit to-have-stirred and to-have-turned-over whence also
concitatis inimicitiis calumniosa criminatione damnatus morte
with-stirred-up enmities by-calumnious accusation condemned with-death
multatus est. Sed eum postea illa ipsa, quae publice damnauerat,
punished was but him afterward that very which publicly had-condemned
Atheniensium ciuitas publice luxit, in duos accusatores
of-the-Athenians city publicly mourned against two accusers
eius usque adeo populi indignatione conuersa, ut unus
his so far of-the-people with-the-indignation turned that one
eorum obpressus ui multitudinis interiret, exilio autem
of-them overwhelmed by-the-force of-the-multitude perished by-exile but
uoluntario adque perpetuo poenam similem alter euaderet.
voluntary and perpetual punishment like the-other escaped
Tam praeclara igitur uitae mortisque fama Socrates reliquit
so splendid therefore of-life and-death fame Socrates left
plurimos suae philosophiae sectatores, quorum certatim
very-many of-his-own philosophy followers whose emulously
studium fuit in quaestionum moralium disceptatione uersari,
zeal was in of-questions moral the-debate to-be-engaged
ubi agitur de summo bono, quo fieri homo beatus
where it-is-treated about the-highest good by-which to-become man blessed
potest. Quod in Socratis disputationibus, dum omnia mouet
can which in of-Socrates the-disputations while all-things he-moves
adserit destruit, quoniam non euidenter apparuit, quod cuique
asserts destroys since not evidently it-appeared what to-each
placuit inde sumserunt et ubi cuique uisum est constituerunt
pleased thence they-took and where to-each seemed has they-established

finem boni. Finis autem boni appellatur, quo quisque cum
the-end of-good the-end moreover of-good is-called whither each when
peruenerit beatus est. Sic autem diuersas inter se Socratici
he-has-arrived blessed is so but diverse among themselves the-Socratics
de isto fine sententias habuerunt, ut (quod uix credibile
about this end opinions held that what scarcely credible
est unius magistri potuisse facere sectatores) quidam
is of-one master to-have-been-able to-do the-followers some
summum bonum esse dicerent uoluptatem, sicut Aristippus;
the-highest good to-be said pleasure as Aristippus
quidam uirtutem, sicut Antisthenes. Sic alii adque alii aliud
some virtue as Antisthenes so others and others one-thing
adque aliud opinati sunt, quos commemorare longum est.
and another thought have whom to-recall long it-is

IV · PLATO AND THE THREE PARTS OF PHILOSOPHY

Plato outshone Socrates' other disciples. He traveled to Egypt and to Italy, where the Pythagoreans flourished, and made Socrates the speaker of what he learned. Socrates excelled in active philosophy, Pythagoras in contemplative; Plato joined them and divided philosophy into moral, natural, and rational. His own views are hard to discern behind his master's irony; perhaps his best followers hold that in God are the cause of being, the reason of understanding, and the order of living.

Sed inter discipulos Socratis, non quidem inmerito,
but among the-disciples of-Socrates not indeed undeservedly
excellentissima gloria claruit, qua omnino ceteros
with-most-excellent glory shone by-which altogether the-rest
obscuraret, Plato. Qui cum esset Atheniensis honesto aput
he-might-obscure Plato who though he-was an-Athenian in-honorable among
suos loco natus et ingenio mirabili longe suos condiscipulos
his-own place born and in-talent wonderful far his-own fellow-disciples

anteiret, parum tamen putans perficiendae philosophiae sufficere
surpassed too-little yet thinking for-perfecting philosophy to-suffice
se ipsum ac Socraticam disciplinam, quam longe ac late
him himself and the-Socratic discipline as far and wide
potuit peregrinatus est, quaquauersum eum alicuius nobilitatae
he-could traveled has wherever him of-some renowned
scientiae percipiendae fama rapiebat. Itaque et in Aegypto
knowledge to-be-gained the-fame carried and-so both in Egypt
didicit quaecumque magna illic habebantur adque docebantur,
he-learned whatever great there were-held and were-taught
et inde in eas Italiae partes ueniens, ubi Pythagoreorum
and thence into those of-Italy parts coming where of-the-Pythagoreans
fama celebrabatur, quidquid Italicae philosophiae tunc
the-fame was-celebrated whatever of-Italian philosophy then
florebat, auditis eminentioribus in ea doctoribus facillime
flourished heard the-more-eminent in it teachers most-easily
conprehendit. Et quia magistrum Socratem singulariter
he-grasped and because the-master Socrates singularly
diligebat, eum loquentem faciens fere in omnibus sermonibus
he-loved him speaking making almost in all discourses
suis etiam illa, quae uel ab aliis didicerat, uel ipse
his-own even those-things which either from others he-had-learned or he-himself
quanta potuerat intellegentia uiderat, cum illius lepore
with-as-much he-could understanding had-seen with of-that-one charm
et moralibus disputationibus temperauit. Itaque cum studium
and moral disputations he-blended and-so since the-study
sapientiae in actione et contemplatione uersetur, unde una
of-wisdom in action and contemplation is-occupied whence one
pars eius actiua, altera contemplatiua dici potest (quarum
part its active the-other contemplative to-be-called can of-which
actiua ad agendam uitam, id est ad mores instituendos
the-active to conducting life that is to morals to-be-established

pertinet, contemplatiua autem ad conspiciendas naturae causas
pertains the-contemplative but to beholding of-nature the-causes
et sincerissimam ueritatem): Socrates in actiua excelluisse
and the-purest truth Socrates in the-active to-have-excelled
memoratur; Pythagoras uero magis contemplatiuae, quibus
is-recorded Pythagoras but more on-the-contemplative with-what
potuit intellegentiae uiribus, institisse. Proinde Plato utrumque
he-could of-understanding forces to-have-pressed accordingly Plato both
iungendo philosophiam perfecisse laudatur, quam in tres
by-joining philosophy to-have-perfected is-praised which into three
partes distribuit: unam moralem, quae maxime in actione
parts he-distributed one moral which most in action
uersatur; alteram naturalem, quae contemplationi deputata
is-occupied the-second natural which to-contemplation assigned
est; tertiam rationalem, qua uerum disterminatur a falso.
is the-third rational by-which the-true is-marked-off from the-false
Quae licet utrique, id est actioni et contemplationi, sit
which although to-each that is to-action and to-contemplation be
necessaria, maxime tamen contemplatio perspectionem sibi
necessary most yet contemplation the-insight for-itself
uindicat ueritatis. Ideo haec tripertitio non est contraria
claims of-truth therefore this threefold-division not is contrary
illi distinctioni, qua intellegitur omne studium sapientiae
to-that distinction by-which is-understood all the-study of-wisdom
in actione et contemplatione consistere. Quid autem in his
in action and contemplation to-consist what but in these
uel de his singulis partibus Plato senserit, id est, ubi
or about these single parts Plato thought that is where
finem omnium actionum, ubi causam omnium naturarum,
the-end of-all actions where the-cause of-all natures
ubi lumen omnium rationum esse cognouerit uel crediderit,
where the-light of-all reasons to-be he-knew or believed

disserendo explicare et longum esse arbitror et temere
by-discussing to-unfold both long to-be I-judge and rashly
adfirmandum esse non arbitror. Cum enim magistri sui
to-be-affirmed to-be not I-judge since for of-the-master his-own
Socratis, quem facit in suis uoluminibus disputantem,
Socrates whom he-makes in his-own volumes disputing
notissimum morem dissimulandae scientiae uel opinionis
the-best-known custom of-concealing knowledge or opinion
suae seruare adfectat, quia et illi iste mos placuit,
his-own to-keep he-aims because also to-him this custom pleased
factum est ut etiam ipsius Platonis de rebus magnis
done it-is that even of-the-very Plato about matters great
sententiae non facile perspici possint. Ex his tamen, quae
the-opinions not easily to-be-discerned can from these yet which
aput eum leguntur, siue quae dixit, siue quae ab aliis dicta
in him are-read whether which he-said or which by others said
esse narrauit adque conscripsit, quae sibi placita uiderentur,
to-be he-narrated and wrote-down which to-him pleasing seemed
quaedam commemorari et operi huic inseri oportet a
some to-be-recalled and in-work this to-be-inserted it-behooves by
nobis, uel ubi suffragatur religioni uerae, quam fides nostra
us either where he-supports religion true which faith our
suscipit ac defendit, uel ubi ei uidetur esse contrarius,
takes-up and defends or where to-it he-seems to-be contrary
quantum ad istam de uno Deo et pluribus pertinet
as-far-as to this about one God and many pertains
quaestionem, propter uitam, quae post mortem futura
question on-account-of the-life which after death about-to-be
est, ueraciter beatam. Fortassis enim qui Platonem ceteris
is truly blessed perhaps for who Plato to-the-other
philosophis gentium longe recteque praelatum acutius adque
philosophers of-the-nations far and-rightly preferred more-acutely and

ueracius intellexisse ac secuti esse fama celebriore
more-truly to-have-understood and followed to-have with-fame more-celebrated
laudantur, aliquid tale de Deo sentiunt, ut in illo inueniatur
are-praised something such about God think that in him be-found
et causa subsistendi et ratio intellegendi et ordo
both the-cause of-subsisting and the-reason of-understanding and the-order
uiuendi; quorum trium unum ad naturalem, alterum ad
of-living of-which three one to the-natural another to
rationalem, tertium ad moralem partem intellegitur pertinere.
the-rational the-third to the-moral part is-understood to-pertain
Si enim homo ita creatus est, ut per id, quod in eo
if for man so created was that through that which in him
praecellit, adtingat illud, quod cuncta praecellit, id est unum
excels he-may-reach that which all-things excels that is the-one
uerum optimum Deum, sine quo nulla natura subsistit,
true best God without whom no nature subsists
nulla doctrina instruit, nullus usus expedit: ipse quaeratur,
no teaching instructs no use is-expedient he let-be-sought
ubi nobis seria sunt omnia; ipse cernatur, ubi nobis certa
where for-us serious are all-things he let-be-beheld where for-us certain
sunt omnia; ipse diligatur, ubi nobis recta sunt omnia.
are all-things he let-be-loved where for-us right are all-things

If Plato called the wise man an imitator, knower, and lover of God, no others come nearer us. To the Platonists must yield the fabulous and civil theologies, Varro's interpretations, Numa's buried books, and what the priest Leo revealed to Alexander, that even the greater gods were men; so must the philosophers of bodily principles, water, air, fire, or atoms. The mind that judges images of bodies is no body; how then is God, the mind's creator, a body? Nor is the soul, which changes, of God's nature.

Si ergo Plato Dei huius imitatorem cognitorem amatorem
if then Plato of-God this the-imitator the-knower the-lover
dixit esse sapientem, cuius participatione sit beatus, quid
said to-be the-wise-man whose by-participation he-is blessed what
opus est excutere ceteros? Nulli nobis quam isti propius
need is to-examine the-rest none to-us than these nearer
accesserunt. Cedat eis igitur non solum theologia illa
have-come let-yield to-them therefore not only theology that
fabulosa deorum criminibus oblectans animos inpiorum, nec
fabulous of-the-gods with-the-crimes delighting the-minds of-the-ungodly nor
solum etiam illa ciuilis, ubi inpuri daemones terrestribus
only also that civil where impure demons to-earthly
gaudiis deditos populos deorum nomine seducentes humanos
joys given-over peoples of-gods by-the-name seducing human
errores tamquam suos diuinos honores habere uoluerunt, ad
errors as-if their-own divine honors to-have wished to
spectandos suorum criminum ludos cultores suos tamquam
watching of-their-own crimes the-games worshipers their-own as-if
ad suum cultum studiis inmundissimis excitantes et sibi
to their-own worship with-zeals most-unclean rousing and for-themselves
delectabiliores ludos de ipsis spectatoribus exhibentes (ubi si
more-delightful games from the-very spectators exhibiting where if

qua uelut honesta geruntur in templis, coniuncta sibi
any-things as-if honorable are-done in temples joined to-themselves
theatrorum obscenitate turpantur, et quaecumque turpia
of-theaters by-the-obscenity are-defiled and whatever shameful-things
geruntur in theatris, comparata sibi templorum foeditate
are-done in theaters compared to-themselves of-temples by-the-foulness
laudantur), et ea, quae Varro ex his sacris quasi ad
are-praised and those-things which Varro from these rites as-if to
caelum et terram rerumque mortalium semina et actus
heaven and earth and-of-things mortal the-seeds and acts
interpretatus est (quia nec ipsa illis ritibus significantur,
interpreted has because neither these-very by-those rites are-signified
quae ipse insinuare conatur, et ideo ueritas conantem
which he-himself to-insinuate tries and therefore truth the-one-trying
non sequitur; et si ipsa essent, tamen animae rationali
not follows and if themselves they-were yet by-the-soul rational
ea, quae infra illam naturali ordine constituta sunt, pro
those-things which below it by-natural order established are as
deo suo colenda non essent, nec sibi debuit praeferre
god its-own to-be-worshiped not would-be nor to-itself it-ought to-prefer
tamquam deos eas res, quibus ipsam praetulit uerus Deus),
as gods those things to-which it-itself preferred the-true God
et ea, quae Numa Pompilius re uera ad sacra eius modi
and those-things which Numa Pompilius in truth to rites of-this kind
pertinentia secum sepeliendo curauit abscondi et aratro
pertaining with-himself by-burying took-care to-be-hidden and by-the-plow
eruta senatus iussit incendi. (In eo genere sunt etiam illa,
dug-up the-senate ordered to-be-burned in that kind are also those-things
ut aliquid de Numa mitius suspicemur, quae Alexander
that something about Numa more-mildly we-may-suspect which Alexander
Macedo scribit ad matrem sibi a magno antistite
the-Macedonian writes to (his)-mother to-himself by a-great high-priest

sacrorum Aegyptiorum quodam Leone patefacta, ubi non
of-the-rites Egyptian one Leo disclosed where not
Picus et Faunus et Aeneas et Romulus uel etiam Hercules
Picus and Faunus and Aeneas and Romulus or even Hercules
et Aesculapius et Liber Semela natus et Tyndaridae fratres
and Aesculapius and Liber of-Semele born and the-Tyndarid brothers
et si quos alios ex mortalibus pro dis habent, sed ipsi
and if any others from mortals for gods they-hold but themselves
etiam maiorum gentium di, quos Cicero in Tusculanis
also of-the-greater clans gods whom Cicero in the-Tusculans
tacitis nominibus uidetur adtingere, Iuppiter, Iuno, Saturnus,
with-silent names seems to-touch-on Jupiter Juno Saturn
Vulcanus, Vesta et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad
Vulcan Vesta and others very-many whom Varro tries to
mundi partes siue elementa transferre, homines fuisse
of-the-world parts or elements to-transfer men to-have-been
produntur. Timens enim et ille quasi reuelata mysteria petens
are-disclosed fearing for also he as-if revealed mysteries asking
admonet Alexandrum, ut, cum ea matri conscripta
advises Alexander that when them to-(his)-mother written
insinuauerit, flammis iubeat concremari.) Non solum ergo
he-has-imparted by-flames he-should-order to-be-burned not only therefore
ista, quae duae theologiae, fabulosa continet et ciuilis,
these-things which two theologies fabulous contains and civil
Platonicis philosophis cedant, qui uerum Deum et rerum
to-the-Platonist philosophers let-yield who the-true God both of-things
auctorem et ueritatis inlustratorem et beatitudinis largitorem
the-author and of-truth the-illuminator and of-blessedness the-bestower
esse dixerunt; sed alii quoque philosophi, qui corporalia
to-be have-said but other also philosophers who bodily
naturae principia corpori deditis mentibus opinati sunt,
of-nature beginnings to-the-body with-given-over minds thought have

cedant his tantis et tanti Dei cognitoribus uiris,
let-them-yield to-these so-great and of-so-great God knowers men
ut Thales in umore, Anaximenes in aere, Stoici in igne,
as Thales in moisture Anaximenes in air the-Stoics in fire
Epicurus in atomis, hoc est minutissimis corpusculis, quae
Epicurus in atoms that is most-minute little-bodies which
nec diuidi nec sentiri queunt, et quicumque alii,
neither to-be-divided nor to-be-perceived can and whatever others
quorum enumeratione inmorari non est necesse, siue simplicia
whose on-enumeration to-linger not is necessary whether simple
siue coniuncta corpora, siue uita carentia siue uiuentia, sed
or joined bodies or of-life lacking or living but
tamen corpora, causam principiumque rerum esse dixerunt.
yet bodies the-cause and-beginning of-things to-be said
Nam quidam eorum a rebus non uiuis res uiuas fieri
for some of-them from things not living things living to-be-made
posse crediderunt, sicut Epicurei; quidam uero a uiuente
to-be-able believed as the-Epicureans some but from a-living
quidem et uiuentia et non uiuentia, sed tamen a corpore
indeed both living-things and not living-things but yet from body
corpora. Nam Stoici ignem, id est corpus unum ex his
bodies for the-Stoics fire that is body one from these
quattuor elementis, quibus uisibilis mundus hic constat, et
four elements of-which visible world this consists both
uiuentem et sapientem et ipsius mundi fabricatorem adque
living and wise and of-the-very world the-maker and
omnium, quae in eo sunt, eumque omnino ignem deum esse
of-all-things which in it are and-that altogether fire god to-be
putauerunt. Hi et ceteri similes eorum id solum cogitare
thought these and the-rest like them that only to-think
potuerunt, quod cum eis corda eorum obstricta carnis
could which with them hearts their bound of-the-flesh

sensibus fabulata sunt. In se quippe habebant quod non
to-the-senses told-stories have in themselves for they-had what not
uidebant, et aput se imaginabantur quod foris uiderant,
they-saw and with themselves they-imagined what outside they-had-seen
etiam quando non uidebant, sed tantummodo cogitabant. Hoc
even when not they-saw but only thought this
autem in conspectu talis cogitationis iam non est corpus,
but in the-sight of-such thought now not is body
sed similitudo corporis; illud autem, unde uidetur in animo
but the-likeness of-a-body that but whereby is-seen in the-mind
haec similitudo corporis, nec corpus est nec similitudo
this likeness of-a-body neither body is nor the-likeness
corporis; et unde uidetur adque utrum pulchra an deformis
of-a-body and whereby it-is-seen and whether beautiful or ugly
sit iudicatur, profecto est melius quam ipsa quae iudicatur.
it-be is-judged assuredly is better than itself which is-judged
Haec mens hominis et rationalis animae natura est, quae
this the-mind of-man and of-the-rational soul the-nature is which
utique corpus non est, si iam illa corporis similitudo, cum
assuredly body not is if already that of-body likeness when
in animo cogitantis aspicitur adque iudicatur, nec ipsa
in the-mind of-one-thinking is-beheld and is-judged not-even itself
corpus est. Non est ergo nec terra nec aqua, nec aer nec
body is not it-is therefore neither earth nor water nor air nor
ignis, quibus quattuor corporibus, quae dicuntur quattuor
fire from-which four bodies which are-called four
elementa, mundum corporeum uidemus esse conpactum.
elements the-world corporeal we-see to-be compacted
Porro si noster animus corpus non est, quo modo Deus
further if our mind body not is in-what way God
creator animi corpus est? Cedant ergo et isti, ut dictum
the-creator of-the-mind body is let-yield therefore also these as said

est, Platonicis; cedant et illi, quos quidem puduit dicere
it-has to-the-Platonists let-yield also those whom indeed it-shamed to-say
Deum corpus esse, uerum tamen eiusdem naturae, cuius
God body to-be but yet of-the-same nature of-which
ille est, animos nostros esse putauerunt; ita non eos mouit
he is minds our to-be thought so not them moved
tanta mutabilitas animae, quam Dei naturae tribuere nefas
so-great changeability of-the-soul which of-God to-the-nature to-assign wrong
est. Sed dicunt: Corpore mutatur animae natura, nam per
is but they-say by-the-body is-changed of-the-soul the-nature for through
se ipsa incommutabilis est. Poterant isti dicere: corpore
it itself unchangeable it-is could these to-say by-body
aliquo uulneratur caro, nam per se ipsa inuulnerabilis est.
some is-wounded the-flesh for through it itself invulnerable it-is
Prorsus quod mutari non potest, nulla re potest, ac
utterly what to-be-changed not can by-no thing can and
per hoc quod corpore mutari potest, aliqua re potest
through this what by-body to-be-changed can by-some thing can
et ideo incommutabile recte dici non potest.
and therefore unchangeable rightly to-be-called not can

These philosophers saw that no body is God, nor anything changeable, and passed beyond bodies and souls seeking him. Every form in changeable things comes from him who truly is, for whom to be, to live, to understand, and to be blessed are one; so he made all things. They set the intelligible above the sensible, since the mind judges bodily beauty; and since minds judge better or worse, the first form is unchangeable, the principle of all. So God showed them himself through what is made.

Viderunt ergo isti philosophi, quos ceteris non inmerito
saw therefore these philosophers whom to-the-rest not undeservedly
fama adque gloria praelatos uidemus, nullum corpus esse
in-fame and glory preferred we-see no body to-be
Deum, et ideo cuncta corpora transcenderunt quaerentes
God and therefore all bodies they-transcended seeking
Deum. Viderunt, quidquid mutabile est, non esse summum
God they-saw whatever changeable is not to-be the-highest
Deum, et ideo animam omnem mutabilesque omnes spiritus
God and therefore soul every and-changeable all spirits
transcenderunt quaerentes summum Deum. Deinde uiderunt
they-transcended seeking the-highest God then they-saw
omnem speciem in re quacumque mutabili, qua est,
every form in thing whatever changeable by-which is
quidquid illud est, quoquo modo et qualiscumque natura
whatever that is in-whatever way and of-whatever-sort nature
est, non esse posse nisi ab illo, qui uere est, quia
it-is not to-be to-be-able except from him who truly is because
incommutabiliter est. Ac per hoc siue uniuersi mundi
unchangeably he-is and through this whether of-the-whole world
corpus figuras qualitates ordinatumque motum et elementa
the-body shapes qualities and-ordered motion and elements
disposita a caelo usque ad terram et quaecumque corpora
arranged from heaven all-the-way to earth and whatever bodies

in eis sunt, siue omnem uitam, uel quae nutrit et continet,
in them are or all life either which nourishes and holds-together
qualis est in arboribus, uel quae et hoc habet et sentit,
such-as is in trees or which both this has and feels
qualis est in pecoribus, uel quae et haec habet et intellegit,
such-as is in cattle or which both these has and understands
qualis est in hominibus, uel quae nutritorio subsidio non
such-as is in men or which nourishing support not
indiget, sed tantum continet sentit intellegit, qualis est in
needs but only holds-together feels understands such-as is in
angelis, nisi ab illo esse non posse, qui simpliciter est; quia
angels except from him to-be not to-be-able who simply is because
non aliud illi est esse, aliud uiuere, quasi possit esse non
not one-thing for-him is to-be another to-live as-if he-could to-be not
uiuens; nec aliud illi est uiuere, aliud intellegere, quasi
living nor one-thing for-him is to-live another to-understand as-if
possit uiuere non intellegens; nec aliud illi est intellegere,
he-could to-live not understanding nor one-thing for-him is to-understand
aliud beatum esse, quasi possit intellegere non beatus; sed
another blessed to-be as-if he-could to-understand not blessed but
quod illi est uiuere, intellegere, beatum esse, hoc est illi
what for-him is to-live to-understand blessed to-be this is for-him
esse. Propter hanc incommutabilitatem et simplicitatem
to-be on-account-of this unchangeability and simplicity
intellexerunt eum et omnia ista fecisse, et ipsum a
they-understood him both all these-things to-have-made and himself by
nullo fieri potuisse. Considerauerunt enim, quidquid est,
none to-be-made to-have-been-able they-considered for whatever is
uel corpus esse uel uitam, meliusque aliquid uitam esse quam
either body to-be or life and-better something life to-be than
corpus, speciemque corporis esse sensibilem, intellegibilem
body and-the-form of-body to-be sensible intelligible

uitae. Proinde intellegibilem speciem sensibili praetulerunt.
of-life accordingly intelligible form to-the-sensible they-preferred
Sensibilia dicimus, quae uisu tactuque corporis sentiri
sensible-things we-call which by-sight and-touch of-the-body to-be-sensed
queunt; intellegibilia, quae conspectu mentis intellegi.
can intelligible which by-the-sight of-the-mind to-be-understood
Nulla est enim pulchritudo corporalis siue in statu corporis,
no is for beauty bodily whether in the-state of-a-body
sicut est figura, siue in motu, sicut est cantilena, de qua
as is shape or in motion as is a-melody about which
non animus iudicet. Quod profecto non posset, nisi melior
not the-mind judges which assuredly not it-could unless better
in illo esset haec species, sine tumore molis, sine strepitu
in it were this form without swelling of-mass without noise
uocis, sine spatio uel loci uel temporis. Sed ibi quoque
of-voice without space either of-place or of-time but there also
nisi mutabilis esset, non alius alio melius de specie
unless changeable it-were not one than-another better about form
sensibili iudicaret; melius ingeniosior quam tardior, melius
sensible would-judge better the-cleverer than the-slower better
peritior quam inperitior, melius exercitatior quam minus
the-more-skilled than the-less-skilled better the-more-practiced than less
exercitatus, et idem ipse unus, cum proficit, melius utique
practiced and the-same very one when he-progresses better assuredly
postea quam prius. Quod autem recipit magis et minus,
afterward than before what but admits more and less
sine dubitatione mutabile est. Unde ingeniosi et docti et in
without doubt changeable is whence clever and learned and in
his exercitati homines facile collegerunt non esse in eis rebus
these practiced men easily gathered not to-be in those things
primam speciem, ubi mutabilis esse conuincitur. Cum igitur
the-first form where changeable to-be it-is-proved since therefore

in eorum conspectu et corpus et animus magis minusque
in their sight both body and mind more and-less
speciosa essent, si autem omni specie carere possent, omnino
beautiful were if but of-all form to-lack they-could altogether
nulla essent: uiderunt esse aliquid ubi prima esset
none they-would-be they-saw to-be something where the-first was
incommutabilis et ideo nec conparabilis; adque ibi esse
unchangeable and therefore not-even comparable and there to-be
rerum principium rectissime crediderunt, quod factum non
of-things the-beginning most-rightly they-believed which made not
esset et ex quo facta cuncta essent. Ita quod notum est
was and from which made all-things were so what known is
Dei, manifestauit eis ipse, cum ab eis inuisibilia eius
of-God manifested to-them he-himself when by them the-invisible-things his
per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspecta sunt: sempiterna
through those which made were understood seen were everlasting
quoque uirtus eius et diuinitas; a quo etiam uisibilia et
also power his and divinity by whom also visible and
temporalia cuncta creata sunt. Haec de illa parte, quam
temporal all-things created were these-things about that part which
physicam, id est naturalem, nuncupant, dicta sint.
physical that is natural they-call said let-them-be

In logic they are not to be compared with those who put the judgment of truth in the bodily senses, as the Epicureans, or the Stoics, who loved dialectic but derived their notions, ennoiai, from the senses; with what bodily eyes, Augustine asks, did the Stoics see that only the wise are beautiful? The Platonists distinguished what the mind sees from what the senses reach, and said that the light of minds for learning all things is the God who made all things.

Quod autem adtinet ad doctrinam, ubi uersatur pars altera,
what moreover pertains to the-teaching where is-occupied the-part the-other
quae ab eis logica, id est rationalis, uocatur: absit ut his
which by them logic that is rational is-called far-be-it that to-these
conparandi uideantur qui posuerunt iudicium ueritatis in
to-be-compared they-may-seem who placed the-judgment of-truth in
sensibus corporis eorumque infidis et fallacibus regulis omnia,
the-senses of-the-body and-by-their unfaithful and deceitful rules all-things
quae discuntur, metienda esse censuerunt, ut Epicurei
which are-learned to-be-measured to-be judged as the-Epicureans
et quicumque alii tales, ut etiam ipsi Stoici, qui cum
and whatever others such as even the-Stoics themselves who though
uehementer amauerint sollertiam disputandi, quam dialecticam
vehemently they-loved the-skill of-disputing which dialectic
nominant, a corporis sensibus eam ducendam putarunt,
they-name from of-the-body the-senses it to-be-derived thought
hinc adseuerantes animum concipere notiones, quas appellant
hence asserting the-mind to-conceive notions which they-call
ἐννοίας, earum rerum scilicet quas definiendo explicant;
ennoiai of-those things namely which by-defining they-unfold
hinc propagari adque conecti totam discendi docendique
hence to-be-propagated and to-be-connected the-whole of-learning and-of-teaching
rationem. Ubi ego multum mirari soleo, cum pulchros
method where I much to-wonder am-wont since beautiful

dicant non esse nisi sapientes, quibus sensibus corporis istam
they-say not to-be except the-wise with-what senses of-the-body this
pulchritudinem uiderint, qualibus oculis carnis formam
beauty they-have-seen with-what-sort eyes of-flesh the-form
sapientiae decusque conspexerint. Hi uero, quos merito ceteris
of-wisdom and-grace they-beheld these but whom deservedly to-the-rest
anteponimus, discreuerunt ea, quae mente conspiciuntur,
we-set-before distinguished those-things which by-mind are-beheld
ab his, quae sensibus adtinguntur, nec sensibus adimentes
from those which by-senses are-touched neither from-the-senses taking-away
quod possunt, nec eis dantes ultra quam possunt. Lumen
what they-can nor to-them giving beyond what they-can the-light
autem mentium esse dixerunt ad discenda omnia eundem
moreover of-minds to-be they-said for learning all-things the-same
ipsum Deum, a quo facta sunt omnia.
very God by whom made were all-things

VIII · THE PLATONISTS FIRST IN ETHICS

Ethics seeks the highest good, to which we refer all we do and which we seek for itself. Some put it in the body, some in the soul, some in both; those who added external goods, honor and money, did not make them final; all sought man's good from man. All must yield to those who said man is happy enjoying God, as the eye enjoys light. Plato set the end of good in living by virtue, possible only to one who knows and imitates God; to philosophize is to love God.

Reliqua est pars moralis, quam Graeco uocabulo dicunt
remaining is the-part moral which by-Greek word they-call
ethicam, ubi quaeritur de summo bono, quo referentes
ethics where it-is-asked about the-highest good to-which referring
omnia quae agimus, et quod non propter aliud, sed
all-things which we-do and which not on-account-of another but

propter se ipsum adpetentes idque adipiscentes nihil, quo
on-account-of it itself seeking and-it obtaining nothing whereby
beati simus, ulterius requiramus. Ideo quippe et finis
blessed we-may-be further we-may-require for-this-reason for also end
est dictus, quia propter hunc cetera uolumus, ipsum autem
was called because on-account-of this the-rest we-wish it but
non nisi propter ipsum. Hoc ergo beatificum bonum alii
not except on-account-of itself this therefore blessing good some
a corpore, alii ab animo, alii ab utroque homini esse
from the-body some from the-mind others from both for-man to-be
dixerunt. Videbant quippe ipsum hominem constare ex animo
have-said they-saw for the-very man to-consist of mind
et corpore et ideo ab alterutro istorum duorum aut ab
and body and therefore from either of-these two or from
utroque bene sibi esse posse credebant, finali quodam
both well for-themselves to-be to-be-able they-believed by-final a-certain
bono, quo beati essent, quo cuncta quae agebant
good by-which blessed they-might-be to-which all-things which they-did
referrent adque id quo referendum esset non ultra
they-might-refer and that to-which to-be-referred it-was not further
quaererent. Unde illi, qui dicuntur addidisse tertium genus
they-might-seek whence those who are-said to-have-added a-third kind
bonorum, quod appellatur extrinsecus, sicuti est honor gloria
of-goods which is-called external as is honor glory
pecunia et si quid huius modi, non sic addiderunt, ut
money and if anything of-this kind not so added that
finale esset, id est propter se ipsum adpetendum, sed
final it-should-be that is on-account-of it itself to-be-sought but
propter aliud; bonumque esse hoc genus bonis, malum
on-account-of another and-good to-be this kind to-the-good evil
autem malis. Ita bonum hominis qui uel ab animo
but to-the-bad so the-good of-man those-who either from the-mind

uel a corpore uel ab utroque expetiuerunt, nihil aliud
or from the-body or from both have-sought nothing else
quam ab homine expetendum esse putauerunt; sed qui id
than from man to-be-sought to-be thought but who it
adpetiuerunt a corpore, a parte hominis deteriore; qui
sought from the-body from the-part of-man worse who
uero ab animo, a parte meliore; qui autem ab utroque,
but from the-mind from the-part better who but from both
a toto homine. Siue ergo a parte qualibet siue a
from the-whole man whether therefore from part whatever or from
toto, non nisi ab homine. Nec istae differentiae, quoniam
the-whole not except from man nor these differences since
tres sunt, ideo tres, sed multas dissensiones philosophorum
three they-are therefore three but many disagreements of-philosophers
sectasque fecerunt, quia et de bono corporis et de bono
and-sects have-made because both about the-good of-the-body and about the-good
animi et de bono utriusque diuersi diuersa opinati
of-the-mind and about the-good of-both diverse-men diverse-things thought
sunt. Cedant igitur omnes illis philosophis, qui non dixerunt
have let-yield therefore all to-those philosophers who not said
beatum esse hominem fruentem corpore uel fruentem animo,
blessed to-be man enjoying the-body or enjoying the-mind
sed fruentem Deo: non sicut corpore uel se ipso animus
but enjoying God not as the-body or it itself the-mind
aut sicut amico amicus, sed sicut luce oculus, si aliquid ab
or as a-friend a-friend but as light the-eye if anything from
his ad illa similitudinis adferendum est, quod quale sit, si
these to those of-likeness to-be-brought is which of-what-sort it-is if
Deus ipse adiuuerit, alio loco, quantum per nos fieri
God himself helps in-another place as-much-as through us to-be-done
poterit, apparebit. Nunc satis sit commemorare Platonem
it-will-be-able will-appear now enough let-it-be to-recall Plato

determinasse finem boni esse secundum uirtutem uiuere
to-have-determined the-end of-good to-be according-to virtue to-live
et ei soli euenire posse, qui notitiam Dei habeat et
and to-him alone to-befall to-be-able who knowledge of-God has and
imitationem nec esse aliam ob causam beatum; ideoque
imitation nor to-be another on-account-of cause blessed and-therefore
non dubitat hoc esse philosophari, amare Deum, cuius natura
not he-doubts this to-be to-philosophize to-love God whose nature
sit incorporalis. Unde utique colligitur tunc fore
is incorporeal whence assuredly is-gathered then to-be-going-to-be
beatum studiosum sapientiae (id enim est philosophus), cum
blessed the-student of-wisdom that for is a-philosopher when
frui Deo coeperit. Quamuis enim non continuo beatus sit,
to-enjoy God he-has-begun although for not straightway blessed is
qui eo fruitur quod amat (multi enim amando ea, quae
he-who that enjoys which he-loves many for by-loving those-things which
amanda non sunt, miseri sunt et miseriores cum fruuntur):
to-be-loved not are wretched are and more-wretched when they-enjoy
nemo tamen beatus est, qui eo quod amat non fruitur. Nam
no-one yet blessed is who that which he-loves not enjoys for
et ipsi, qui res non amandas amant, non se beatos
even themselves who things not to-be-loved love not themselves blessed
putant amando, sed fruendo. Quisquis ergo fruitur eo, quod
think by-loving but by-enjoying whoever then enjoys that which
amat, uerumque et summum bonum amat, quis eum beatum
he-loves and-true and highest good loves who him blessed
nisi miserrimus negat? Ipsum autem uerum ac summum
except the-most-wretched denies the-very but true and highest
bonum Plato dicit Deum, unde uult esse philosophum
good Plato says God whence he-wishes to-be the-philosopher

amatorem Dei, ut, quoniam philosophia ad beatam uitam
the-lover of-God that since philosophy to blessed life
tendit, fruens Deo sit beatus qui Deum amauerit.
tends enjoying God may-be blessed who God has-loved

IX · THE PHILOSOPHY NEAREST THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

Whatever philosophers held that the true God is the maker of created things, the light for knowing, and the good for acting, whether called Platonists or by another name, Ionians like Plato or Italians like Pythagoras, or wise men of other nations, Atlantic Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, or Spaniards, all these Augustine sets above the rest as nearer to us.

Quicumque igitur philosophi de Deo summo et uero ista
whatever therefore philosophers about God highest and true these-things
senserunt, quod et rerum creatarum sit effector et lumen
thought that both of-things created he-is the-effector and the-light
cognoscendarum et bonum agendarum, quod ab illo nobis sit
of-things-to-be-known and the-good of-things-to-be-done that from him for-us is
et principium naturae et ueritas doctrinae et felicitas uitae,
both the-beginning of-nature and the-truth of-doctrine and the-happiness of-life
siue Platonici adcommodatius nuncupentur, siue quodlibet
whether Platonists more-fittingly they-be-called or any
aliud sectae suae nomen inponant; siue tantummodo Ionici
other on-sect their-own name they-impose or only of-the-Ionian
generis, qui in eis praecipui fuerunt, ista senserint, sicut
kind who among them chief were these-things thought as
idem Plato et qui eum bene intellexerunt; siue etiam Italici,
the-same Plato and who him well understood or also the-Italians
propter Pythagoram et Pythagoreos et si qui forte alii
on-account-of Pythagoras and the-Pythagoreans and if any perhaps others

eiusdem sententiae indidem fuerunt; siue aliarum quoque
of-the-same opinion from-the-same-place were or of-other also
gentium qui sapientes uel philosophi habiti sunt, Atlantici
nations who wise or philosophers held were Atlantic
Libyes, Aegyptii, Indi, Persae, Chaldaei, Scythae, Galli, Hispani
Libyans Egyptians Indians Persians Chaldeans Scythians Gauls Spaniards
aliqui reperiuntur, qui hoc uiderint ac docuerint: eos omnes
some are-found who this have-seen and taught those all
ceteris anteponimus eosque nobis propinquiores fatemur.
to-the-rest we-set-before and-them to-us nearer we-confess

X · THE CHRISTIAN AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

A Christian taught only by the church's letters may not know the Platonists' name, yet he heeds the apostle's warning against philosophy according to the world's elements, while hearing him say that what is known of God was manifest to some, who yet did not glorify God as God. Without their terms, he knows that from the one God come our nature, our knowledge, and our grace. Others of any nation who think so think with us, but Augustine argues with the Platonists because their writings are better known to Greeks and Latins.

Quamuis enim homo Christianus litteris tantum ecclesiasticis
although for a-man Christian in-letters only ecclesiastical
eruditus Platonicorum forte nomen ignoret, nec utrum duo
learned of-the-Platonists perhaps the-name be-ignorant-of nor whether two
genera philosophorum extiterint in Graeca lingua, Ionicorum
kinds of-philosophers have-existed in the-Greek tongue of-Ionians
et Italicorum, sciat: non tamen ita surdus est in rebus
and of-Italians he-know not yet so deaf is-he in things
humanis, ut nesciat philosophos uel studium sapientiae
human that he-not-know philosophers either the-study of-wisdom

uel ipsam sapientiam profiteri. Cauet eos tamen,
or the-very wisdom to-profess he-guards-against those yet
qui secundum elementa huius mundi philosophantur, non
who according-to the-elements of-this world philosophize not
secundum Deum, a quo ipse factus est mundus. Admonetur
according-to God by whom itself made was the-world he-is-warned
enim praecepto apostolico fideliterque audit quod dictum
for by-the-precept apostolic and-faithfully hears what said
est: Cauete ne quis uos decipiat per philosophiam et
was beware lest anyone you deceive through philosophy and
inanem seductionem secundum elementa mundi. Deinde ne
empty seduction according-to the-elements of-the-world then lest
omnes tales esse arbitretur, audit ab eodem apostolo dici
all such to-be he-judge he-hears by the-same apostle to-be-said
de quibusdam: Quia quod notum est Dei, manifestum est
about some because what known is of-God manifest is
in illis; Deus enim illis manifestauit. Inuisibilia enim
in them God for to-them has-manifested the-invisible-things for
eius a constitutione mundi per ea, quae facta sunt,
his from the-founding of-the-world through those which made are
intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque uirtus eius et
understood are-beheld everlasting also power his and
diuinitas, et ubi Atheniensibus loquens, cum rem magnam
divinity and where to-the-Athenians speaking when a-thing great
de Deo dixisset et quae a paucis possit intellegi, quod
about God he-had-said and which by few could to-be-understood that
in illo uiuimus et mouemur et sumus, adiecit et ait:
in him we-live and we-move and we-are he-added and says
Sicut et uestri quidam dixerunt. Nouit sane etiam ipsos,
as also your certain-ones have-said he-knows indeed also them
in quibus errant, cauere; ubi enim dictum est, quod per
in what they-err to-beware-of where for said it-is that through

ea, quae facta sunt, Deus illis manifestauit intellectu
those which made are God to-them has-manifested by-understanding
conspicienda inuisibilia sua: ibi etiam dictum est non
to-be-beheld invisible-things his-own there also said it-is not
illos ipsum Deum recte coluisse, quia et aliis rebus,
them himself God rightly to-have-worshiped because also to-other things
quibus non oportebat, diuinos honores illi uni tantum
to-which not it-behooved divine honors to-him alone only
debitos detulerunt: Quoniam cognoscentes Deum non sicut
owed they-paid because knowing God not as
Deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt, sed euanuerunt in
God they-glorified or thanks gave but they-vanished in
cogitationibus suis et obscuratum est cor insipiens eorum.
thoughts their-own and darkened was heart foolish their
Dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt et
saying for themselves to-be wise fools made they-were and
inmutauerunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem
they-changed the-glory of-the-incorruptible God into the-likeness
imaginis corruptibilis hominis et uolucrum et quadrupedum
of-an-image of-corruptible man and of-birds and of-quadrupeds
et serpentium; ubi et Romanos et Graecos et Aegyptios,
and of-serpents where both Romans and Greeks and Egyptians
qui de sapientiae nomine gloriati sunt, fecit intellegi.
who in of-wisdom the-name gloried have he-made to-be-understood
Sed de hoc cum istis post modum disputabimus. In quo
but about this with these after a-while we-shall-dispute in what
autem nobis consentiunt de uno Deo huius uniuersitatis
but with-us they-agree about one God of-this universe
auctore, qui non solum super omnia corpora est incorporeus,
the-author who not only above all bodies is incorporeal
uerum etiam super omnes animas incorruptibilis, principium
but also above all souls incorruptible beginning

nostrum, lumen nostrum, bonum nostrum, in hoc eos ceteris
our light our good our in this them to-the-rest
anteponimus. Nec, si litteras eorum Christianus ignorans
we-set-before nor if the-letters their a-Christian not-knowing
uerbis, quae non didicit, in disputatione non utitur, ut uel
words which not he-has-learned in disputation not uses that either
naturalem Latine uel physicam Graece appellet eam partem,
natural in-Latin or physical in-Greek he-call that part
in qua de naturae inquisitione tractatur, et rationalem siue
in which about of-nature inquiry it-is-treated and rational or
logicam, in qua quaeritur quonam modo ueritas percipi
logic in which it-is-asked in-what way truth to-be-perceived
possit, et moralem uel ethicam, in qua de moribus agitur
can and moral or ethics in which about morals it-is-treated
bonorumque finibus adpetendis malorumque uitandis, ideo
and-of-goods ends to-be-sought and-of-evils to-be-avoided therefore
nescit ab uno uero Deo adque optimo et naturam nobis
he-knows-not from one true God and best both nature for-us
esse, qua facti ad eius imaginem sumus, et doctrinam,
to-be by-which made to his image we-are and teaching
qua eum nosque nouerimus, et gratiam, qua illi
by-which him and-ourselves we-may-know and grace by-which to-him
cohaerendo beati simus. Haec itaque causa est quur istos
by-cleaving blessed we-may-be this and-so the-cause is why these
ceteris praeferamus, quia, cum alii philosophi ingenia sua
to-the-rest we-prefer because while other philosophers talents their-own
studiaque contriuerint in requirendis rerum causis, et quinam
and-zeals have-worn-out in seeking of-things the-causes and what
esset modus discendi adque uiuendi, isti Deo cognito
was the-way of-learning and of-living these with-God known
reppererunt ubi esset et causa constitutae uniuersitatis et
have-found where was both the-cause of-the-constituted universe and

lux percipiendae ueritatis et fons bibendae felicitatis.
the-light to-be-perceived of-truth and the-fountain to-be-drunk of-happiness
Siue ergo isti Platonici siue quicumque alii quarumlibet
whether therefore these Platonists or whatever others of-any
gentium philosophi de Deo ista sentiunt, nobiscum
nations philosophers about God these-things think with-us
sentiunt. Sed ideo cum Platonicis magis agere placuit
they-think but for-this-reason with the-Platonists rather to-plead it-pleased
hanc causam, quia eorum sunt litterae notiores. Nam et
this case because their are letters better-known for both
Graeci, quorum lingua in gentibus praeminet, eas magna
the-Greeks whose tongue among the-nations is-preeminent them with-great
praedicatione celebrarunt, et Latini permoti earum uel
praise celebrated and the-Latins moved by-their either
excellentia uel gloria, ipsas libentius didicerunt adque in
excellence or glory them more-gladly have-learned and into
nostrum eloquium transferendo nobiliores clarioresque fecerunt.
our speech by-translating more-noble and-more-famous have-made

Some suppose Plato heard Jeremiah in Egypt; Augustine once wrote so. But Plato was born about a century after Jeremiah prophesied, and some sixty years after Plato's death Ptolemy had the scriptures translated by the seventy, so he could have learned them only through an interpreter. The Timaeus*' earth and fire, with water and air between, recall Genesis; the philosopher as lover of God breathes through scripture; and above all Plato held firmly to the name God gave Moses, he who is.*

Mirantur autem quidam nobis in Christi gratia sociati, cum
marvel moreover some with-us in of-Christ the-grace associated when
audiunt uel legunt Platonem de Deo ista sensisse,
they-hear or read Plato about God these-things to-have-thought
quae multum congruere ueritati nostrae religionis agnoscunt.
which much to-agree with-the-truth of-our religion they-recognize
Unde nonnulli putauerunt eum, quando perrexit in Aegyptum,
whence some have-thought him when he-went into Egypt
Hieremiam audisse prophetam uel scripturas propheticas
Jeremiah to-have-heard the-prophet or the-scriptures prophetic
in eadem peregrinatione legisse; quorum quidem opinionem
in the-same journey to-have-read whose indeed opinion
in quibusdam libris meis posui. Sed diligenter subputata
in certain books my I-have-set-down but diligently reckoned
temporum ratio, quae chronica historia continetur, Platonem
of-times the-account which in-chronicle history is-contained Plato
indicat a tempore, quo prophetauit Hieremias, centum
shows from the-time when prophesied Jeremiah a-hundred
ferme annos postea natum fuisse; qui cum octoginta et
about years afterward born to-have-been who when eighty and
unum uixisset, ab anno mortis eius usque ad id tempus,
one he-had-lived from the-year of-death his as-far-as to that time
quo Ptolomaeus rex Aegypti scripturas propheticas gentis
when Ptolemy king of-Egypt the-scriptures prophetic of-the-nation

Hebraeorum de Iudaea poposcit et per septuaginta
of-Hebrews from Judea demanded and through seventy
uiros Hebraeos, qui etiam Graecam linguam nouerant,
men Hebrew who also the-Greek tongue knew
interpretandas habendasque curauit, anni reperiuntur ferme
to-be-translated and-to-be-kept caused years are-found about
sexaginta. Quapropter in illa peregrinatione sua Plato nec
sixty wherefore in that journey his-own Plato neither
Hieremiam uidere potuit tanto ante defunctum, nec easdem
Jeremiah to-see could so-long before dead nor the-same
scripturas legere, quae nondum fuerant in Graecam linguam
scriptures to-read which not-yet had-been into Greek tongue
translatae, qua ille pollebat; nisi forte, quia fuit acerrimi
translated in-which he excelled unless perhaps because he-was of-the-keenest
studii, sicut Aegyptias, ita et istas per interpretem didicit,
zeal as the-Egyptian so also these through an-interpreter he-learned
non ut scribendo transferret (quod Ptolomaeus pro ingenti
not that by-writing he-might-translate which Ptolemy for a-huge
beneficio, qui a regia potestate etiam timeri poterat,
benefit who from royal power even to-be-feared could
meruisse perhibetur), sed ut conloquendo quid continerent,
to-have-earned is-said but that by-conversing what they-contained
quantum capere posset, addisceret. Hoc ut existimetur, illa
as-far-as to-grasp he-could he-might-learn this that it-be-thought those
suadere uidentur indicia, quod liber geneseos sic incipit: In
to-urge seem indications that the-book of-Genesis so begins in
principio fecit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat
the-beginning made God heaven and earth the-earth but was
inuisibilis et inconposita, et tenebrae super abyssum, et
invisible and unformed and darkness over the-abyss and
spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam; in Timaeo autem
the-spirit of-God was-borne-over above the-water in the-Timaeus but

Plato, quem librum de mundi constitutione conscripsit,
Plato which book about of-the-world the-constitution he-wrote
Deum dicit in illo opere terram primo ignemque iunxisse.
God says in that work earth first and-fire to-have-joined
Manifestum est autem, quod igni tribuat caeli locum: habet
manifest it-is moreover that to-fire he-assigns of-heaven the-place has
ergo haec sententia quandam illius similitudinem, qua
therefore this opinion some of-that likeness by-which
dictum est: In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram. Deinde
said it-is in the-beginning made God heaven and earth then
illa duo media, quibus interpositis sibimet haec extrema
those two middle-ones by-which placed-between to-each-other these extremes
copularentur, aquam dicit et aerem; unde putatur sic
might-be-coupled water he-says and air whence he-is-thought so
intellexisse quod scriptum est: spiritus Dei superferebatur
to-have-understood what written is the-spirit of-God was-borne-over
super aquam. Parum quippe adtendens quo more soleat
above the-water too-little for attending in-what manner is-wont
illa scriptura appellare spiritum Dei, quoniam et aer spiritus
that scripture to-call the-spirit of-God since also air spirit
dicitur, quattuor opinatus elementa loco illo commemorata
is-called four having-thought elements in-place that mentioned
uideri potest. Deinde quod Plato dicit amatorem Dei esse
to-seem he-can then that Plato says the-lover of-God to-be
philosophum, nihil sic illis sacris litteris flagrat; et maxime
the-philosopher nothing so in-those sacred letters burns and most
illud (quod et me plurimum adducit, ut paene adsentiar
that which also me most leads that almost I-assent
Platonem illorum librorum expertem non fuisse), quod,
Plato of-those books ignorant not to-have-been that
cum ad sanctum Moysen ita uerba Dei per angelum
when to holy Moses so the-words of-God through an-angel

perferantur, ut quaerenti quod sit nomen eius, qui eum
are-carried that to-him-asking what is the-name of-him who him
pergere praecipiebat ad populum Hebraeum ex Aegypto
to-go ordered to the-people Hebrew from Egypt
liberandum, respondeatur: Ego sum qui sum, et dices
to-be-freed it-is-answered I am who am and you-shall-say
filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me ad uos, tamquam in
to-the-sons of-Israel he-who is has-sent me to you as-if in
eius conparatione, qui uere est quia incommutabilis est,
his comparison who truly is because unchangeable he-is
ea quae mutabilia facta sunt non sint, uehementer
those-things which changeable made are not are vehemently
hoc Plato tenuit et diligentissime commendauit. Et nescio
this Plato held and most-diligently commended and I-know-not
utrum hoc uspiam reperiatur in libris eorum, qui ante
whether this anywhere be-found in the-books of-those who before
Platonem fuerunt, nisi ubi dictum est: Ego sum qui sum,
Plato were except where said it-is I am who am
et dices eis: Qui est, misit me ad uos.
and you-shall-say to-them he-who is has-sent me to you

Wherever Plato learned these things, the Platonists are rightly chosen for the question whether to sacrifice to one God or many for happiness after death. They are held above the rest: though Aristotle founded the Peripatetics, and Speusippus and Xenocrates succeeded to the Academy, the later philosophers called themselves Platonists, Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Porphyry, and in both languages the African Apuleius. Yet all of them, and Plato, thought sacrifice due to many gods.

Sed undecumque ille ista didicerit, siue praecedentibus
but from-wherever he these-things learned whether from-preceding
eum ueterum libris siue potius, quo modo dicit apostolus,
him of-the-ancients books or rather in-what way says the-apostle
quia quod notum est Dei manifestum est in illis; Deus enim
because what known is of-God manifest is in them God for
illis manifestauit; inuisibilia enim eius a constitutione
to-them has-manifested the-invisible-things for his from the-founding
mundi per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur,
of-the-world through those which made are understood are-beheld
sempiterna quoque uirtus eius et diuinitas: nunc non
everlasting also power his and divinity now not
inmerito me Platonicos philosophos elegisse cum quibus
undeservedly me the-Platonist philosophers to-have-chosen with whom
agam, quod in ista quaestione, quam modo suscepimus,
I-may-treat because in this question which just-now we-have-taken-up
agitur de naturali theologia, utrum propter felicitatem,
it-is-treated about natural theology whether on-account-of the-happiness
quae post mortem futura est, uni Deo an pluribus sacra
which after death about-to-be is to-one God or to-many rites
facere oporteat, satis, ut existimo, exposui. Ideo
to-perform it-behooves sufficiently as I-judge I-have-set-forth for-this-reason
quippe hos potissimum elegi, quoniam de uno Deo qui
for these especially I-chose since about one God who

fecit caelum et terram, quanto melius senserunt, tanto
made heaven and earth by-how-much better they-thought by-so-much
ceteris gloriosiores et inlustriores habentur, in tantum
than-the-rest more-glorious and more-illustrious are-held to such-a-degree
aliis praelati iudicio posterorum, ut, cum Aristoteles,
to-others preferred by-the-judgment of-posterity that when Aristotle
Platonis discipulus, uir excellentis ingenii et eloquio
of-Plato the-disciple a-man of-excellent talent and in-eloquence
Platoni quidem inpar, sed multos facile superans, cum
to-Plato indeed unequal but many easily surpassing when
sectam Peripateticam condidisset, quod deambulans disputare
the-sect Peripatetic he-had-founded because walking-about to-dispute
consueuerat, plurimosque discipulos praeclara fama excellens
he-was-accustomed and-very-many disciples with-splendid fame excelling
uiuo adhuc praeceptore in suam haeresim congregasset,
with-living still the-teacher into his-own school had-gathered
post mortem uero Platonis Speusippus, sororis eius filius, et
after the-death but of-Plato Speusippus of-sister his the-son and
Xenocrates, dilectus eius discipulus, in scholam eius, quae
Xenocrates beloved his disciple in the-school his which
Academia uocabatur, eidem successissent adque ob hoc
the-Academy was-called to-him had-succeeded and on-account-of this
et ipsi et eorum successores Academici appellarentur,
both themselves and their successors Academics were-called
recentiores tamen philosophi nobilissimi, quibus Plato
the-more-recent yet philosophers most-noble to-whom Plato
sectandus placuit, noluerint se dici Peripateticos aut
to-be-followed it-pleased were-unwilling themselves to-be-called Peripatetics or
Academicos, sed Platonicos. Ex quibus sunt ualde nobilitati
Academics but Platonists of whom are very ennobled
Graeci Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyrius; in utraque autem
Greeks Plotinus Iamblichus Porphyry in each moreover

lingua, id est et Graeca et Latina, Apuleius Afer extitit
tongue that is both Greek and Latin Apuleius the-African stood-out
Platonicus nobilis. Sed hi omnes et ceteri eius modi et
a-Platonist noble but these all and the-rest of-this kind and
ipse Plato dis plurimis esse sacra facienda putauerunt.
himself Plato to-gods very-many to-be rites to-be-performed thought

XIII · PLATO'S GODS ARE GOOD

Plato says all gods are good, so the opinion that evil gods are to be appeased is void. Who then demand stage games among divine honors? Plato would banish the poets for songs unworthy of the gods; these gods order their honors celebrated with those crimes, took Titus Latinius' son and struck him with disease for refusing, lifting it when he obeyed. Labeo ranks Plato among the demigods, and thinks evil powers are appeased with blood, good ones with games; let the Platonists explain.

Quamquam ergo a nobis et in aliis multis rebus
although therefore from us both in other many things
magnisque dissentiant, in hoc tamen, quod modo posui,
and-great they-dissent in this yet which just-now I-set-down
quia neque parua res est et inde nunc quaestio est,
because neither small a-thing it-is and thence now the-question is
primum ab eis quaero, quibus dis istum cultum exhibendum
first from them I-ask to-which gods this worship to-be-shown
arbitrentur, utrum bonis an malis an et bonis et malis. Sed
they-judge whether to-good or to-evil or both to-good and to-evil but
habemus Platonis sententiam dicentis omnes deos bonos esse
we-have of-Plato the-opinion saying all gods good to-be
nec esse omnino ullum deorum malum. Consequens est igitur,
nor to-be at-all any of-the-gods evil consequent it-is therefore
ut bonis haec exhibenda intellegantur; tunc enim dis
that to-the-good these-things to-be-shown be-understood then for to-gods

exhibentur, quoniam nec di erunt, si boni non erunt.
they-are-shown since neither gods they-will-be if good not they-will-be
Hoc si ita est, (nam de dis quid aliud decet credere?) illa
this if so it-is for about gods what else befits to-believe that
profecto uacuatur opinio, qua nonnulli putant deos malos
assuredly is-emptied opinion by-which some think gods evil
sacris placandos esse, ne laedant, bonos autem, ut adiuuent,
by-rites to-be-placated to-be lest they-harm the-good but that they-help
inuocandos. Mali enim nulli sunt di; bonis porro debitus,
to-be-invoked evil for none are gods to-the-good further due
ut dicunt, honor sacrorum est deferendus. Qui sunt ergo
as they-say the-honor of-rites is to-be-paid who are then
illi, qui ludos scaenicos amant eosque diuinis rebus adiungi
those who games theatrical love and-them to-divine things to-be-joined
et suis honoribus flagitant exhiberi? quorum uis non
and at-their-own honors demand to-be-shown whose force not
eos indicat nullos, sed iste adfectus nimirum indicat malos.
them shows nonexistent but this affection doubtless shows evil
Quid enim de ludis scaenicis Plato senserit, notum est, cum
what for about games theatrical Plato thought known it-is since
poetas ipsos, quod tam indigna deorum maiestate adque
the-poets themselves because so unworthy of-the-gods of-majesty and
bonitate carmina conposuerint, censet ciuitate pellendos.
goodness songs they-composed he-judges from-the-city to-be-driven
Qui sunt igitur isti di, qui de scaenicis ludis cum ipso
who are then these gods who about theatrical games with the-very
Platone contendunt? Ille quippe non patitur deos falsis
Plato contend he for not allows the-gods with-false
criminibus infamari; isti eisdem criminibus suos honores
crimes to-be-defamed these with-the-same crimes their-own honors
celebrari iubent. Denique isti cum eosdem ludos instaurari
to-be-celebrated order finally these when the-same games to-be-renewed

praeciperent, poscentes turpia etiam maligna gesserunt,
they-ordered demanding shameful-things also malign-things did
Tito Latinio auferentes filium et inmittentes morbum,
from-Titus Latinius taking-away the-son and sending a-disease
quod eorum abnuisset imperium, eumque morbum retrahentes,
because their he-had-refused command and-that disease withdrawing
cum iussa conplesset; iste autem illos nec tam malos
when the-orders he-had-fulfilled he but them not-even so evil
timendos putat, sed suae sententiae robur constantissime
to-be-feared thinks but of-his-own opinion the-strength most-constantly
retinens omnes poetarum sacrilegas nugas, quibus illi
retaining all of-the-poets sacrilegious trifles by-which they
inmunditiae societate oblectantur, a populo bene instituto
of-uncleanness by-the-fellowship are-delighted from a-people well instructed
remouere non dubitat. Hunc autem Platonem, quod iam
to-remove not he-hesitates this moreover Plato as already
in secundo libro commemoraui, inter semideos Labeo ponit.
in the-second book I-recalled among demigods Labeo places
Qui Labeo numina mala uictimis cruentis adque huius modi
which Labeo divinities evil with-victims bloody and of-this kind
supplicationibus placari existimat, bona uero ludis et
supplications to-be-placated judges good but with-games and
talibus quasi ad laetitiam pertinentibus rebus. Quid est ergo
such as-it-were to joy pertaining things what is-it then
quod semideus Plato non semideis, sed deis, et hoc bonis,
that the-demigod Plato not from-demigods but from-gods and this good
illa oblectamenta, quia iudicat turpia, tam constanter audet
those delights because he-judges shameful so constantly dares
auferre? Qui sane di refellunt sententiam Labeonis; nam,
to-take-away which indeed gods refute the-opinion of-Labeo for
se in Latinio non lasciuos tantum adque ludibundos,
themselves in Latinius not wanton only and playful

sed etiam saeuos terribilesque monstrarunt. Exponant ergo
but also savage and-terrible they-showed let-them-explain therefore
nobis ista Platonici, qui omnes deos secundum auctoris
to-us these-things the-Platonists who all gods according-to of-author
sui sententiam bonos et honestos et uirtutibus sapientium
their-own the-opinion good and honorable and in-virtues of-the-wise
socios esse arbitrantur aliterque de ullo deorum sentiri
allies to-be judge and-otherwise about any of-the-gods to-be-thought
nefas habent. Exponimus, inquiunt. Adtente igitur audiamus.
wrong hold we-explain they-say attentively therefore let-us-hear

XIV · GODS, DEMONS, AND MEN

The Platonists divide rational beings into gods in heaven, men on earth, and demons in the air, sharing immortal bodies with the gods and passions with men, and so delighted by stage obscenities; so Plato deprived the demons, not the gods, of the theater. Apuleius wrote On the God of Socrates *to show that Socrates' spirit was a demon. Then either Apuleius is wrong, Plato contradicts himself, or Socrates' friendship with a demon is nothing to praise. Apuleius himself blushed to title it "demon," and praised nothing in demons but their bodies and their place.*

Omnium, inquiunt, animalium, in quibus est anima rationalis,
of-all they-say animals in which is a-soul rational
tripertita diuisio est, in deos, homines, daemones. Di
threefold the-division is into gods men demons the-gods
excelsissimum locum tenent, homines infimum, daemones
the-loftiest place hold men the-lowest demons
medium. Nam deorum sedes in caelo est, hominum in terra, in
the-middle for of-the-gods the-seat in heaven is of-men on earth in
aere daemonum. Sicut eis diuersa dignitas est locorum, ita
the-air of-demons as for-them diverse the-dignity is of-places so

etiam naturarum. Proinde di sunt hominibus daemonibusque
also of-natures accordingly gods are than-men and-than-demons
potiores; homines uero infra deos et daemones constituti
more-powerful men but below gods and demons placed
sunt, ut elementorum ordine, sic differentia meritorum.
are as of-elements by-the-order so by-the-difference of-merits
Daemones igitur medii, quem ad modum dis, quibus
demons therefore the-middle in-what to manner to-gods than-whom
inferius habitant, postponendi, ita hominibus, quibus
lower they-dwell to-be-placed-after so to-men than-whom
superius, praeferendi sunt. Habent enim cum dis communem
higher to-be-preferred are they-have for with gods common
inmortalitatem corporum, animorum autem cum hominibus
immortality of-bodies of-minds but with men
passiones. Quapropter non est mirum, inquiunt, si etiam
the-passions wherefore not it-is wonderful they-say if also
ludorum obscenitatibus et poetarum figmentis delectantur,
of-games by-the-obscenities and of-poets by-the-fictions they-are-delighted
quando quidem humanis capiuntur adfectibus, a quibus
since indeed by-human they-are-caught affections from which
di longe absunt et modis omnibus alieni sunt. Ex
gods far are-absent and in-ways all strangers are from
quo colligitur, Platonem poetica detestando et prohibendo
which is-gathered Plato the-poetic by-detesting and by-forbidding
figmenta non deos, qui omnes boni et excelsi sunt,
fictions not the-gods who all good and lofty are
priuasse ludorum scaenicorum uoluptate, sed daemones.
to-have-deprived of-games theatrical of-the-pleasure but the-demons

Haec si ita sunt (quae licet aput alios quoque reperiantur,
these-things if so they-are which although among others also be-found
Apuleius tamen Platonicus Madaurensis de hac re sola
Apuleius yet the-Platonist of-Madaura about this matter alone

unum scripsit librum, cuius esse titulum uoluit "de deo
one wrote book whose to-be the-title he-wished about the-god
Socratis", ubi disserit et exponit, ex quo genere numinum
of-Socrates where he-discusses and explains from what kind of-divinities
Socrates habebat adiunctum et amicitia quadam conciliatum,
Socrates had joined and by-friendship a-certain won-over
a quo perhibetur solitus admoneri, ut desisteret ab agendo,
by whom he-is-said accustomed to-be-warned that he-should-desist from acting
quando id quod agere uolebat, non prospere fuerat euenturum;
when that which to-do he-wished not prosperously had-been about-to-turn-out
dicit enim apertissime et copiosissime adserit non illum deum
he-says for most-openly and most-copiously asserts not him a-god
fuisse, sed daemonem, diligenti disputatione pertractans istam
to-have-been but a-demon with-diligent disputation treating this
Platonis de deorum sublimitate et hominum humilitate et
of-Plato about of-the-gods the-sublimity and of-men the-lowliness and
daemonum medietate sententiam) — haec ergo si ita sunt,
of-demons the-middleness opinion these-things then if so they-are
quonam modo ausus est Plato, etiamsi non dis, quos ab
in-what way dared has Plato even-if not from-the-gods whom from
omni humana contagione semouit, certe ipsis daemonibus
all human contagion he-set-apart certainly from-the-very demons
poetas urbe pellendo auferre theatricas uoluptates, nisi
the-poets from-the-city by-driving to-take-away theatrical pleasures unless
quia hoc pacto admonuit animum humanum, quamuis adhuc
because in-this way he-warned the-mind human although still
in his moribundis membris positum, pro splendore honestatis
in these dying limbs placed for the-splendor of-honor
inpura daemonum iussa contemnere eorumque inmunditiam
the-impure of-demons orders to-despise and-their uncleanness
detestari? Nam si Plato haec honestissime arguit et
to-detest for if Plato these-things most-honorably accused and

prohibuit, profecto daemones turpissime poposcerunt adque
forbade assuredly the-demons most-shamefully demanded and
iusserunt. Aut ergo fallitur Apuleius et non ex isto
ordered either therefore is-deceived Apuleius and not from this
genere numinum habuit amicum Socrates aut contraria inter
kind of-divinities had a-friend Socrates or contrary among
se sentit Plato modo daemones honorando, modo eorum
themselves thinks Plato now demons by-honoring now their
delicias a ciuitate bene morata remouendo, aut non est
delights from a-city well mannered by-removing or not is
Socrati amicitia daemonis gratulanda, de qua usque adeo
to-Socrates the-friendship of-a-demon to-be-congratulated about which so far
et ipse Apuleius erubuit, ut de deo Socratis praenotaret
also himself Apuleius blushed that about the-god of-Socrates he-entitled
librum, quem secundum suam disputationem, qua deos a
the-book which according-to his-own disputation by-which gods from
daemonibus tam diligenter copioseque discernit, non appellare
demons so diligently and-copiously he-distinguishes not to-call
de deo, sed de daemone Socratis debuit. Maluit autem
about the-god but about the-demon of-Socrates he-ought he-preferred but
hoc in ipsa disputatione quam in titulo libri ponere. Ita
this in the-very disputation than in the-title of-the-book to-put so
enim per sanam doctrinam, quae humanis rebus inluxit,
for through sound teaching which on-human affairs has-shone
omnes uel paene omnes daemonum nomen exhorrent, ut,
all or almost all of-demons the-name shudder-at that
quisquis ante disputationem Apulei, qua daemonum dignitas
whoever before the-disputation of-Apuleius by-which of-demons the-dignity
commendatur, titulum libri de daemone Socratis legeret,
is-commended the-title of-the-book about the-demon of-Socrates read
nequaquam illum hominem sanum fuisse sentiret. Quid
by-no-means that man sane to-have-been would-think what

autem etiam ipse Apuleius quod in daemonibus laudaret
moreover even himself Apuleius which in demons he-might-praise
inuenit praeter subtilitatem et firmitatem corporum et
found besides the-subtlety and firmness of-bodies and
habitationis altiorem locum? Nam de moribus eorum, cum
of-dwelling the-higher place for about the-morals their when
de omnibus generaliter loqueretur, non solum nihil boni
about all generally he-spoke not only nothing of-good
dixit, sed etiam plurimum mali. Denique lecto illo libro
he-said but also very-much of-evil finally with-read that book
prorsus nemo miratur eos etiam scaenicam turpitudinem in
utterly no-one wonders them even theatrical shamefulness in
rebus diuinis habere uoluisse, et cum deos se putari
things divine to-have to-have-wished and since gods themselves to-be-thought
uelint, deorum criminibus oblectari potuisse, et quidquid
they-wish of-the-gods by-the-crimes to-be-delighted to-have-been-able and whatever
in eorum sacris obscena sollemnitate seu turpi crudelitate
in their rites by-obscene solemnity or by-shameful cruelty
uel ridetur uel horretur, eorum adfectibus conuenire.
either is-laughed-at or is-shuddered-at their to-the-affections to-suit

A religious mind will not think demons better than itself for better bodies, or it must prefer the beasts: eagles in sight, dogs in smell, deer in speed, lions in strength, serpents in long life. As we surpass these by reason, we should surpass demons by living well. Nor are they higher for dwelling in the air, or birds would be above us. Plato's order of the elements, water above earth, yet man above fish, shows that souls' merits do not follow the ranks of bodies.

Quam ob rem absit ut ista considerans animus
which on-account-of thing far-be-it that these-things considering a-mind
ueraciter religiosus et uero Deo subditus ideo arbitretur
truly religious and to-the-true God subject therefore should-judge
daemones se ipso esse meliores, quod habeant corpora
demons than-it itself to-be better because they-have bodies
meliora. Alioquin multas sibi et bestias praelaturus est,
better otherwise many to-itself also beasts about-to-prefer it-is
quae nos et acrimonia sensuum et motu facillimo adque
which us both in-keenness of-senses and in-motion most-easy and
celerrimo et ualentia uirium et annosissima firmitate
swiftest and in-the-vigor of-strength and in-most-long-lived firmness
corporum uincunt. Quis hominum uidendo aequabitur aquilis
of-bodies surpass who of-men in-seeing will-be-equaled to-eagles
et uulturibus? quis odorando canibus? quis uelocitate leporibus,
and vultures who in-smelling to-dogs who in-speed to-hares
ceruis, omnibus auibus? quis multum ualendo leonibus
to-stags to-all birds who in-much being-strong to-lions
et elephantis? quis diu uiuendo serpentibus, qui etiam
and elephants who in-long living to-serpents which also
deposita tunica senectutem deponere adque in iuuentam
with-laid-aside skin old-age to-lay-aside and into youth
redire perhibentur? Sed sicut his omnibus ratiocinando
to-return are-said but as than-these all in-reasoning

et intellegendo meliores sumus, ita etiam daemonibus bene
and understanding better we-are so also than-demons well
adque honeste uiuendo meliores esse debemus. Ob
and honorably in-living better to-be we-ought on-account-of
hoc enim et prouidentia diuina eis, quibus nos constat
this for also by-providence divine to-those than-whom we it-is-agreed
esse potiores, data sunt quaedam potiora corporum munera,
to-be better given were certain better of-bodies gifts
ut illud, quo eis praeponimur, etiam isto modo
that that by-which to-them we-are-set-before also in-this way
nobis commendaretur multo maiore cura excolendum esse
to-us might-be-commended with-much greater care to-be-cultivated to-be
quam corpus, ipsamque excellentiam corporalem, quam
than the-body and-the-very excellence bodily which
daemones habere nossemus, prae bonitate uitae, qua
demons to-have we-might-know beside the-goodness of-life by-which
illis anteponimur, contemnere disceremus, habituri et nos
to-them we-are-set-before to-despise we-might-learn about-to-have also we
inmortalitatem corporum, non quam suppliciorum aeternitas
immortality of-bodies not which of-punishments the-eternity
torqueat, sed quam puritas praecedat animorum.
tortures but which the-purity precedes of-souls

Iam uero de loci altitudine, quod daemones in aere, nos
now indeed about of-place the-height that demons in the-air we
autem habitamus in terra, ita permoueri, ut hinc eos nobis
but dwell on earth so to-be-moved that hence them to-us
esse praeponendos existimemus, omnino ridiculum est. Hoc
to-be to-be-preferred we-should-judge altogether ridiculous it-is in-this
enim pacto nobis et omnia uolatilia praeponimus. At enim
for way to-us also all flying-things we-set-before but for
uolatilia cum uolando fatigantur uel reficiendum alimentis
flying-things when by-flying they-are-tired or to-be-restored with-food

corpus habent, terram repetunt uel ad requiem uel ad
the-body have the-earth seek-again either for rest or for
pastum, quod daemones, inquiunt, non faciunt. Numquid
feeding which demons they-say not do surely-not
ergo placet eis, ut uolatilia nobis, daemones autem etiam
then it-pleases them that flying-things us demons but even
uolatilibus antecellant? Quod si dementissimum est opinari,
flying-things excel but if most-insane it-is to-think
nihil est quod de habitatione superioris elementi dignos esse
nothing is why from the-dwelling of-the-higher element worthy to-be
daemones existimemus, quibus nos religionis adfectu subdere
demons we-should-judge to-whom us of-religion with-affection to-subject
debeamus. Sicut enim fieri potuit, ut aeriae uolucres
we-ought as for to-be-done could that airy birds
terrestribus nobis non solum non praeferantur, uerum etiam
to-earthly us not only not be-preferred but also
subiciantur propter rationalis animae, quae in nobis est,
be-subjected on-account-of of-the-rational soul which in us is
dignitatem: ita fieri potuit, ut daemones, quamuis magis
the-dignity so to-be-done could that demons although more
aerii sint, terrestribus nobis non ideo meliores sint, quia est
airy they-be than-earthly us not therefore better be because is
aer quam terra superior; sed ideo eis homines praeferendi
air than earth higher but therefore to-them men to-be-preferred
sint, quoniam spei piorum hominum nequaquam illorum
are since to-the-hope of-devout men by-no-means their
desperatio conparanda est. Nam et illa ratio Platonis,
despair to-be-compared is for also that reasoning of-Plato
qua elementa quattuor proportione contexit adque ordinat,
by-which elements four by-proportion he-weaves and orders
ita duobus extremis, igni mobilissimo et terrae inmobili,
so to-two extremes to-fire most-mobile and to-earth immobile

media duo, aerem et aquam, interserens, ut, quanto est
middle two air and water inserting that by-how-much is
aer aquis et aere ignis, tanto et aquae superiores sint
air than-waters and than-air fire by-so-much also waters higher be
terris, satis nos admonet animalium merita non pro
than-lands sufficiently us warns of-animals the-merits not according-to
elementorum gradibus aestimare. Et ipse quippe Apuleius
of-elements the-grades to-estimate and himself for Apuleius
cum ceteris terrestre animal hominem dicit, qui tamen longe
with the-rest an-earthly animal man calls who yet far
praeponitur animalibus aquatilibus, cum ipsas aquas terris
is-set-before to-animals aquatic though the-very waters to-lands
praeponat Plato: ut intellegant, non eundem ordinem
set-before Plato that they-may-understand not the-same order
tenendum, cum agitur de meritis animarum, qui uidetur
to-be-held when it-is-treated about the-merits of-souls which seems
esse ordo in gradibus corporum; sed fieri posse, ut
to-be the-order in the-grades of-bodies but to-be-done to-be-able that
inferius corpus anima melior inhabitet deteriorque superius.
a-lower body a-soul better inhabit and-a-worse a-higher

Apuleius says demons share men's passions, are provoked by injuries, appeased by gifts, delighted by honors and rites, and work augury and magic. He defines them as animals in kind, passive in soul, rational in mind, airy in body, eternal in time. But beasts too are animals, we are rational, eternity is no good without happiness, passion makes them no higher, and an airy body is below any soul. Had he given them virtue and wisdom, we should still worship the giver.

De moribus ergo daemonum cum idem Platonicus loqueretur,
about the-morals therefore of-demons when the-same Platonist spoke
dixit eos eisdem quibus homines animi perturbationibus
he-said them by-the-same by-which men of-mind disturbances
agitari, inritari iniuriis, obsequiis donisque placari,
to-be-agitated to-be-provoked by-injuries by-homages and-gifts to-be-placated
gaudere honoribus, diuersis sacrorum ritibus oblectari et in
to-rejoice in-honors with-diverse of-rites rituals to-be-delighted and in
eis si quid neglectum fuerit commoueri. Inter cetera etiam
them if anything neglected has-been to-be-disturbed among the-rest also
dicit ad eos pertinere diuinationes augurum, aruspicum, uatum
he-says to them to-pertain the-divinations of-augurs of-soothsayers of-seers
adque somniorum; ab his quoque esse miracula magorum.
and of-dreams from these also to-be the-miracles of-magicians
Breuiter autem eos definiens ait daemones esse genere
briefly moreover them defining he-says demons to-be in-kind
animalia, animo passiua, mente rationalia, corpore aeria,
animals in-mind passive in-intellect rational in-body airy
tempore aeterna; horum uero quinque tria priora illis esse
in-time eternal of-these but five three former to-them to-be
quae nobis, quartum proprium, quintum eos cum dis habere
which to-us the-fourth proper the-fifth them with the-gods to-have
commune. Sed uideo trium superiorum, quae nobiscum
common but I-see of-the-three former which with-us

habent, duo etiam cum dis habere. Animalia quippe esse
they-have two also with the-gods to-have animals for to-be
dicit et deos, suaque cuique elementa distribuens in
he-says also the-gods and-its-own to-each elements distributing among
terrestribus animalibus nos posuit cum ceteris quae in terra
earthly animals us he-placed with the-rest which on earth
uiuunt et sentiunt, in aquatilibus pisces et alia natatilia,
live and feel among aquatic fishes and other swimming-things
in aeriis daemones, in aetheriis deos. Ac per hoc
among airy demons among ethereal gods and through this
quod daemones genere sunt animalia, non solum eis cum
that demons in-kind are animals not only to-them with
hominibus, uerum etiam cum dis pecoribusque commune est;
men but also with gods and-cattle common is
quod mente rationalia, cum dis et hominibus; quod tempore
that in-intellect rational with gods and men that in-time
aeterna, cum dis solis; quod animo passiua, cum hominibus
eternal with gods alone that in-mind passive with men
solis; quod corpore aeria, ipsi sunt soli. Proinde quod
alone that in-body airy they-themselves are alone accordingly that
genere sunt animalia, non est magnum, quia hoc sunt et
in-kind they-are animals not is great because this are also
pecora; quod mente rationalia, non est supra nos, quia sumus
cattle that in-intellect rational not is above us because are
et nos; quod tempore aeterna, quid boni est, si non beata?
also we that in-time eternal what of-good is-it if not blessed
Melior est enim temporalis felicitas quam misera aeternitas.
better is for temporal happiness than wretched eternity
Quod animo passiua, quo modo supra nos est, quando et
that in-mind passive in-what way above us is-it when also
nos hoc sumus, nec ita esset, nisi miseri essemus? Quod
we this are nor so would-it-be unless wretched we-were that

corpore aeria, quanti aestimandum est, cum omni corpori
in-body airy at-how-much to-be-valued is-it when to-every body
praeferatur animae qualiscumque natura, et ideo religionis
is-preferred of-the-soul whatever-kind-of nature and therefore of-religion
cultus, qui debetur ex animo, nequaquam debeatur ei
the-worship which is-owed from the-mind by-no-means be-owed to-that
rei, quae inferior est animo? Porro si inter illa,
thing which lower is than-the-mind further if among those-things
quae daemonum esse dicit, adnumeraret uirtutem, sapientiam,
which of-demons to-be he-says he-counted virtue wisdom
felicitatem et haec eos diceret habere cum dis aeterna
happiness and these them he-said to-have with the-gods eternal
adque communia, profecto aliquid diceret exoptandum
and common assuredly something he-would-say to-be-longed-for
magnique pendendum; nec sic eos tamen propter haec
and-at-great to-be-weighed nor so them yet on-account-of these-things
tamquam Deum colere deberemus, sed potius ipsum, a
as God to-worship we-ought but rather him from
quo haec illos accepisse nossemus. Quanto minus nunc
whom these-things them to-have-received we-knew how-much less now
honore diuino aeria digna sunt animalia, ad hoc rationalia
of-honor divine airy worthy are animals for this rational
ut misera esse possint, ad hoc passiua ut misera
that wretched to-be they-may-be-able for this passive that wretched
sint, ad hoc aeterna ut miseriam finire non possint!
they-may-be for this eternal that wretchedness to-end not they-may-be-able

Why are demons tossed by passions, motions of the soul against reason, which beasts lack? In men passions come from misery; the gods are free of them because blessed; so demons are troubled because wretched. Why subject ourselves to them, when true religion frees us from the vice we share? It forbids anger, favor for gifts, and delight in honors, commands love of enemies, and bids us lay aside the storms that toss them. Religion's sum is to imitate whom you worship.

Quapropter, ut omittam cetera et hoc solum pertractem,
wherefore that I-may-omit the-rest and this only I-may-treat-thoroughly
quod nobiscum daemones dixit habere commune, id est
which with-us demons he-said to-have common that is
animi passiones, si omnia quattuor elementa suis
of-the-mind the-passions if all four elements with-their-own
animalibus plena sunt, inmortalibus ignis et aer, mortalibus
animals full are with-immortal fire and air with-mortal
aqua et terra, quaero quur animi daemonum passionum
water and earth I-ask why the-minds of-demons of-passions
turbelis et tempestatibus agitentur. Perturbatio est enim,
by-the-tumults and storms are-agitated a-disturbance is for
quae Graece πάθος dicitur; unde illa uoluit uocare animo
what in-Greek pathos is-called whence them he-wished to-call in-mind
passiua, quia uerbum de uerbo πάθος passio diceretur motus
passive because word for word pathos passion would-be-said a-motion
animi contra rationem. Quur ergo sunt ista in animis
of-the-mind against reason why then are these in the-minds
daemonum, quae in pecoribus non sunt? Quoniam si quid in
of-demons which in cattle not are since if anything in
pecore simile apparet, non est perturbatio, quia non est contra
a-beast like appears not it-is disturbance because not it-is against
rationem, qua pecora carent. In hominibus autem ut sint
reason which cattle lack in men but that there-be

istae perturbationes, facit hoc stultitia uel miseria; nondum
these disturbances makes this folly or wretchedness not-yet
enim sumus in illa perfectione sapientiae beati, quae nobis ab
for we-are in that perfection of-wisdom blessed which to-us from
hac mortalitate liberatis in fine promittitur. Deos uero ideo
this mortality freed at the-end is-promised the-gods but therefore
dicunt istas perturbationes non perpeti, quia non solum aeterni,
they-say these disturbances not to-endure because not only eternal
uerum etiam beati sunt. Easdem quippe animas rationales etiam
but also blessed they-are the-same for souls rational also
ipsos habere perhibent, sed ab omni labe ac peste purissimas.
themselves to-have they-declare but from every stain and plague most-pure
Quam ob rem si propterea di non perturbantur, quod
which on-account-of thing if for-this-reason gods not are-disturbed because
animalia sunt beata, non misera, et propterea pecora non
animals they-are blessed not wretched and for-this-reason cattle not
perturbantur, quod animalia sunt, quae nec beata possunt
are-disturbed because animals they-are which neither blessed can
esse nec misera: restat ut daemones sicut homines ideo
to-be nor wretched it-remains that demons as men therefore
perturbentur, quod animalia sunt non beata, sed misera.
be-disturbed because animals they-are not blessed but wretched

Qua igitur insipientia uel potius amentia per aliquam
by-what then folly or rather madness through some
religionem daemonibus subdimur, cum per ueram religionem
religion to-demons are-we-subjected when through true religion
ab ea uitiositate, in qua illis sumus similes, liberemur?
from that viciousness in which to-them we-are like we-are-freed
Cum enim daemones, quod et iste Apuleius, quamuis
whereas for demons which also this Apuleius although
eis plurimum parcat et diuinis honoribus dignos censeat,
them very-much he-spares and of-divine honors worthy judges

tamen cogitur confiteri, ira instigentur, nobis uera religio
yet is-compelled to-confess by-anger are-incited to-us true religion
praecipit, ne ira instigemur, sed ei potius resistamus.
commands lest by-anger we-be-incited but to-it rather we-resist
Cum daemones donis inuitentur, nobis uera religio praecipit,
whereas demons by-gifts are-enticed to-us true religion commands
ne cuiquam donorum acceptione faueamus. Cum daemones
lest to-anyone of-gifts by-the-receipt we-show-favor whereas demons
honoribus mulceantur, nobis uera religio praecipit, ut talibus
by-honors are-soothed to-us true religion commands that by-such
nullo modo moueamur. Cum daemones quorundam hominum
in-no way we-be-moved whereas demons of-some men
osores, quorundam amatores sint, non prudenti tranquilloque
haters of-some lovers are not by-prudent and-tranquil
iudicio, sed animo ut appellat ipse passiuo, nobis uera
judgment but by-mind as calls he-himself passive to-us true
religio praecipit, ut nostros etiam diligamus inimicos.
religion commands that our even we-love enemies
Postremo omnem motum cordis et salum mentis omnesque
finally every motion of-the-heart and tossing of-the-mind and-all
turbelas et tempestates animi, quibus daemones aestuare
tumults and storms of-the-soul with-which demons to-seethe
adque fluctuare adserit, nos uera religio deponere iubet. Quae
and to-fluctuate he-asserts us true religion to-lay-aside orders what
igitur causa est nisi stultitia errorque mirabilis, ut ei
then cause is-there except folly and-error wonderful that to-him
te facias uenerando humilem, cui te cupias
yourself you-make by-venerating humble to-whom yourself you-would-wish
uiuendo dissimilem; et religione colas, quem imitari
by-living unlike and with-religion you-worship whom to-imitate
nolis, cum religionis summa sit imitari quem colis?
you-would-not since of-religion the-sum is to-imitate whom you-worship

Apuleius set the demons between heaven and earth to carry men's prayers to the gods and bring back their gifts, since, as Plato is said to have said, no god mingles with man. So a chaste man, a stranger to magic, must take as patrons beings who love the stage's obscenities and magic's thousand arts of harm; his virtues can win nothing except through their enemies. Against the poets' fictions and the theater stands the Platonists' own master, Plato.

Frustra igitur eis Apuleius, et quicumque ita sentiunt,
in-vain therefore to-them Apuleius and whoever so think
hunc detulit honorem, sic eos in aere medios inter
this paid honor so them in the-air in-the-middle between
aetherium caelum terramque constituens, ut, quoniam nullus
ethereal heaven and-earth placing that since no
deus miscetur homini, quod Platonem dixisse perhibent, isti
god mingles with-man which Plato to-have-said they-declare these
ad deos perferant preces hominum et inde ad homines
to the-gods should-carry the-prayers of-men and thence to men
inpetrata quae poscunt. Indignum enim putauerunt qui
the-things-obtained which they-demand unworthy for thought those-who
ista crediderunt misceri homines dis et deos hominibus;
these-things believed to-mingle men with-gods and gods with-men
dignum autem misceri daemones et dis et hominibus,
worthy but to-mingle demons both with-gods and with-men
hinc petita qui adlegent, inde concessa qui adportent;
hence things-sought that they-may-present thence things-granted that they-may-bring
ut uidelicet homo castus et ab artium magicarum sceleribus
that namely a-man chaste and from of-arts magic the-crimes
alienus eos patronos adhibeat, per quos illum di exaudiant,
estranged them as-patrons may-employ through whom him the-gods may-hear
qui haec amant, quae ille non amando fit dignior,
who these-things love which he not by-loving becomes worthier

quem facilius et libentius exaudire debeant. Amant quippe
whom more-easily and more-gladly to-hear they-ought love for
illi scaenicas turpitudines, quas non amat pudicitia; amant in
they theatrical shamefulnesses which not loves chastity they-love in
maleficiis magorum "mille nocendi artes," quas non amat
the-evil-deeds of-magicians a-thousand of-harming arts which not loves
innocentia. Ergo et pudicitia et innocentia si quid ab dis
innocence therefore both chastity and innocence if anything from the-gods
inpetrare uoluerit, non poterit suis meritis nisi suis
to-obtain shall-have-willed not will-be-able by-its-own merits unless with-its-own
interuenientibus inimicis. Non est quod iste poetica figmenta
intervening enemies not there-is why this-one poetic fictions
et theatrica ludibria iustificare conetur. Habemus contra
and theatrical mockeries to-justify should-try we-have against
ista magistrum eorum et tantae aput eos auctoritatis
these-things the-master their and of-so-great among them authority
Platonem, si pudor humanus ita de se male meretur, ut non
Plato if shame human so of itself ill deserves that not
solum diligat turpia, uerum etiam diuinitati existimet grata.
only it-loves shameful-things but also to-divinity it-judges pleasing

Why is magic punished by law, if it is the work of divinities to be worshiped? Vergil's Dido turns to it unwillingly; the Twelve Tables punished charming away another's crops. Apuleius, accused of magic before non-Christian judges, defended himself by denying it, whereas our martyrs confessed Christ and made the laws change. Yet magic works through the demons he would honor. The good gods want neither magic prayers nor such carriers, and demons never repent to win penitents pardon.

Porro aduersus magicas artes, de quibus quosdam nimis
further against magic arts about which some too
infelices et nimis inpios etiam gloriari libet, nonne ipsam
unhappy and too ungodly even to-boast it-pleases surely the-very
publicam lucem testem citabo? Quur enim tam grauiter
public light as-witness shall-I-cite why for so heavily
ista plectuntur seueritate legum, si opera sunt numinum
these-things are-punished by-the-severity of-laws if works they-are of-divinities
colendorum? An forte istas leges Christiani instituerunt,
to-be-worshiped or perhaps these laws Christians established
quibus artes magicae puniuntur? Secundum quem alium
by-which arts magic are-punished according-to what other
sensum, nisi quod haec maleficia generi humano perniciosa
sense except that these evil-deeds to-the-race human pernicious
esse non dubium est, ait poeta clarissimus:
to-be not doubtful it-is says the-poet most-famous

Testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
I-call-to-witness dear the-gods and you sister and-your
dulce caput, magicas inuitam accingier artes?
sweet head magic unwilling to-be-girded with-arts

Illud etiam, quod alio loco de his artibus dicit:
that also which in-another place about these arts he-says

Adque satas alio uidi traducere messes,
and sown elsewhere I-have-seen to-lead-across crops

eo quod hac pestifera sceleratque doctrina fructus alieni
by-this that by-this pestilent and-wicked teaching fruits of-another
in alias terras transferri perhibentur, nonne in duodecim
into other lands to-be-transferred are-said surely in the-Twelve
tabulis, id est Romanorum antiquissimis legibus, Cicero
Tables that is of-the-Romans most-ancient laws Cicero
commemorat esse conscriptum et ei, qui hoc fecerit,
records to-be written and for-him who this has-done
supplicium constitutum? Postremo Apuleius ipse numquid
punishment established finally Apuleius himself surely-not
aput Christianos iudices de magicis artibus accusatus est?
before Christian judges about magic arts accused was
Quas utique sibi obiectas si diuinas et pias esse nouerat
which assuredly to-himself charged if divine and devout to-be he-knew
et diuinarum potestatum operibus congruas, non solum eas
and of-divine powers to-the-works fitting not only them
confiteri debuit, sed etiam profiteri, leges culpans potius,
to-confess he-ought but also to-profess the-laws blaming rather
quibus haec prohiberentur et damnanda putarentur, quae
by-which these-things were-prohibited and to-be-condemned were-thought which
haberi miranda et ueneranda oporteret. Ita enim uel
to-be-held to-be-admired and to-be-venerated it-behooved so for either
sententiam suam persuaderet iudicibus, uel, si illi secundum
opinion his-own he-would-persuade to-the-judges or if they according-to
iniquas leges saperent eumque talia praedicantem adque
unjust laws were-minded and-him such-things proclaiming and

laudantem morte multarent, digna animae illius daemones
praising with-death punished worthy of-soul his the-demons
dona rependerent, pro quorum diuinis operibus praedicandis
gifts would-repay for whose divine works to-be-proclaimed
humanam uitam sibi adimi non timeret; sicut
human life from-himself to-be-taken not he-would-fear as
martyres nostri, cum eis pro crimine obiceretur Christiana
martyrs our when to-them for a-crime was-charged the-Christian
religio, qua nouerant se fieri saluos et gloriosissimos
religion by-which they-knew themselves to-become saved and most-glorious
in aeternum, non eam negando temporales poenas euadere
into eternity not it by-denying temporal punishments to-escape
delegerunt, sed potius confitendo profitendo praedicando et
chose but rather by-confessing by-professing by-proclaiming and
pro hac omnia fideliter fortiterque tolerando et cum pia
for it all-things faithfully and-bravely by-enduring and with devout
securitate moriendo leges, quibus prohibebatur, erubescere
security by-dying the-laws by-which it-was-prohibited to-blush
conpulerunt mutarique fecerunt. Huius autem philosophi
compelled and-to-be-changed made of-this but philosopher
Platonici copiosissima et disertissima extat oratio, qua
Platonist most-copious and most-eloquent stands the-speech by-which
crimen artium magicarum a se alienum esse defendit
the-charge of-arts magic from himself alien to-be he-defends
seque aliter non uult innocentem uideri nisi ea
and-himself otherwise not he-wishes innocent to-seem except those-things
negando, quae non possunt ab innocente committi. At
by-denying which not can by an-innocent-man to-be-committed but
omnia miracula magorum, quos recte sentit esse damnandos,
all the-miracles of-magicians whom rightly he-thinks to-be to-be-condemned
doctrinis fiunt et operibus daemonum, quos uiderit quur
by-the-teachings are-done and works of-demons whom let-him-see why

censeat honorandos, eos necessarios adserens perferendis ad
he-judges to-be-honored them necessary asserting for-being-carried to
deos precibus nostris, quorum debemus opera deuitare, si ad
the-gods prayers our whose we-ought works to-avoid if to
Deum uerum preces nostras uolumus peruenire. Deinde quaero,
God true prayers our we-wish to-arrive then I-ask
quales preces hominum dis bonis per daemones adlegari
what-sort prayers of-men to-gods good through demons to-be-presented
putat, magicas an licitas? Si magicas, nolunt tales; si
he-thinks magic or lawful if magic they-do-not-want such if
licitas, nolunt per tales. Si autem peccator paenitens
lawful they-do-not-want through such if but a-sinner repenting
preces fundit, maxime si aliquid magicum admisit,
prayers pours-out especially if something magic he-has-committed
itane tandem illis intercedentibus accipit ueniam, quibus
so-then at-length with-those interceding receives pardon by-whose
inpellentibus aut fauentibus se cecidisse plangit in culpam?
impelling or favoring himself to-have-fallen he-laments into guilt
an et ipsi daemones, ut possint paenitentibus mereri
or also themselves demons that they-may-be-able for-the-penitent to-earn
indulgentiam, priores agunt, quod eos deceperint, paenitentiam?
indulgence first do because them they-deceived penance
Hoc nemo umquam de daemonibus dixit, quia, si ita esset,
this no-one ever about demons has-said because if so it-were
nequaquam sibi auderent diuinos honores expetere,
by-no-means for-themselves they-would-dare divine honors to-seek
qui paenitendo desiderarent ad gratiam ueniae peruenire. Ibi
who by-repenting desired to the-grace of-pardon to-arrive there
enim est detestanda superbia, hic humilitas miseranda.
for is to-be-detested pride here humility to-be-pitied

The reason given for demons as mediators is that no god mingles with man. A fine holiness of God, then, which does not mingle with the praying man but with the arrogant demon, not with the penitent but with the deceiver, not with one who flees to divinity but with one who feigns it, not with the man who banishes the poets but with the demon who demands their games, not with the man who punishes magic but with the demon who teaches it.

At enim urgens causa et artissima cogit daemones medios
but for pressing a-cause and most-strict compels demons in-the-middle
inter deos et homines agere, ut ab hominibus adferant
between gods and men to-act that from men they-may-bring
desiderata, et a dis referant inpetrata. Quaenam tandem
things-desired and from gods may-bring-back things-obtained what at-length
ista causa est et quanta necessitas? Quia nullus, inquiunt,
this cause is and how-great the-necessity because no they-say
Deus miscetur homini. Praeclara igitur sanctitas Dei, qui non
God mingles with-man splendid therefore the-holiness of-God who not
miscetur homini supplicanti, et miscetur daemoni adroganti;
mingles with-man supplicating and mingles with-demon arrogant
non miscetur homini paenitenti, et miscetur daemoni
not mingles with-man repenting and mingles with-demon
decipienti; non miscetur homini confugienti ad diuinitatem, et
deceiving not mingles with-man fleeing to divinity and
miscetur daemoni fingenti diuinitatem; non miscetur homini
mingles with-demon feigning divinity not mingles with-man
petenti indulgentiam, et miscetur daemoni suadenti nequitiam;
seeking indulgence and mingles with-demon urging wickedness
non miscetur homini per philosophicos libros poetas de bene
not mingles with-man through philosophical books the-poets from well
instituta ciuitate pellenti, et miscetur daemoni a principibus
instituted city driving and mingles with-demon from the-chiefs

et pontificibus ciuitatis per scaenicos ludos poetarum ludibria
and pontiffs of-the-city through theatrical games of-the-poets mockeries
requirenti; non miscetur homini deorum crimina fingere
requiring not mingles with-man of-the-gods crimes to-feign
prohibenti, et miscetur daemoni se falsis deorum criminibus
forbidding and mingles with-demon itself with-false of-the-gods crimes
oblectanti; non miscetur homini magorum scelera iustis
delighting not mingles with-man of-magicians the-crimes by-just
legibus punienti, et miscetur daemoni magicas artes docenti
laws punishing and mingles with-demon magic arts teaching
et inplenti; non miscetur homini imitationem daemonis
and fulfilling not mingles with-man the-imitation of-a-demon
fugienti, et miscetur daemoni deceptionem hominis aucupanti.
fleeing and mingles with-demon the-deception of-man hunting-for

XXI · WHETHER THE GODS USE DEMONS AS MESSENGERS

The ethereal gods, they say, would not know what men do unless the airy demons reported it. So the good gods know a demon by its nearby body better than a man by his good mind. If they see minds, they need no messengers; if they read bodily signs and demons' reports, they can be deceived. Did the demons tell the gods of Plato's dislike of the poets' fictions and hide their delight in them, hide both, tell both, or tell only their delight? Each answer thinks ill of the gods.

Sed nimirum tantae huius absurditatis et indignitatis est
but doubtless of-so-great this absurdity and unworthiness is
magna necessitas, quod scilicet deos aetherios humana
a-great necessity that namely the-gods ethereal human-things
curantes quid terrestres homines agerent utique lateret, nisi
caring-for what earthly men did assuredly would-escape unless
daemones aerii nuntiarent; quoniam aether longe a terra
demons airy announced since the-ether far from earth

est alteque suspensus, aer uero aetheri terraeque contiguus.
is and-high hung the-air but to-ether and-to-earth adjacent
O mirabilem sapientiam! Quid aliud de dis isti sentiunt,
O wonderful wisdom what else about the-gods these think
quos omnes optimos uolunt, nisi eos et humana curare,
whom all best they-wish except them both human-things to-care-for
ne cultu uideantur indigni, et propter elementorum
lest of-worship they-seem unworthy and on-account-of of-elements
distantiam humana nescire, ut credantur daemones necessarii
the-distance human-things not-to-know that be-believed demons necessary
et ob hoc etiam ipsi putentur colendi, per quos
and on-account-of this also themselves be-thought to-be-worshiped through whom
di possint et quid in rebus humanis agatur addiscere
the-gods may-be-able both what in affairs human is-done to-learn
et ubi oportet hominibus subuenire? Hoc si ita est, dis
and where it-behooves to-men to-come-to-help this if so it-is to-gods
istis bonis magis notus est daemon per corpus uicinum
these good more known is a-demon through body neighboring
quam homo per animum bonum. O multum dolenda
than a-man through mind good O much to-be-lamented
necessitas, an potius inridenda uel detestanda uanitas, ne sit
necessity or rather to-be-mocked or to-be-detested vanity lest be
uana diuinitas! Si enim animo ab obstaculo corporis libero
vain divinity if for with-mind from the-obstacle of-body free
animum nostrum uidere di possunt, non ad hoc indigent
mind our to-see the-gods can not for this they-need
daemonibus nuntiis; si autem animorum indicia corporalia,
demons as-messengers if but of-minds the-indications bodily
qualia sunt locutio uultus motus, per corpus suum
such-as are speech face motion through body their-own
aetherii di sentiunt et inde colligunt quid etiam daemones
ethereal gods perceive and thence gather what also demons

nuntient, possunt et mendaciis daemonum decipi. Porro
announce they-can also by-the-lies of-demons to-be-deceived further
si deorum diuinitas a daemonibus non potest falli,
if of-the-gods the-divinity by demons not can to-be-deceived
eadem diuinitate quod agimus non potest ignorari.
by-the-same divinity what we-do not can to-be-unknown
Vellem autem mihi isti dicerent, utrum dis daemones
I-would-wish moreover to-me these would-say whether to-the-gods demons
nuntiauerint de criminibus deorum poetica Platoni displicere
announced about the-crimes of-the-gods poetic to-Plato to-displease
figmenta et sibi ea placere celauerint, an utrumque
fictions and to-themselves them to-please concealed or both
occultauerint deosque esse maluerint totius rei huius
hid and-the-gods to-be preferred of-the-whole matter this
ignaros, an utrumque indicauerint, et religiosam erga deos
ignorant or both disclosed both the-religious toward the-gods
Platonis prudentiam et in deos iniuriosam libidinem
of-Plato prudence and against the-gods injurious lust
suam, an sententiam quidem Platonis, qua noluit deos
their-own or the-opinion indeed of-Plato by-which he-did-not-wish the-gods
per inpiam licentiam poetarum falsis criminibus infamari,
through ungodly license of-the-poets with-false crimes to-be-defamed
ignotam dis esse uoluerint, suam uero nequitiam,
unknown to-the-gods to-be wished their-own but wickedness
qua ludos scaenicos amant, quibus illa deorum dedecora
by-which games theatrical they-love in-which those of-the-gods disgraces
celebrantur, prodere non erubuerint uel timuerint. Horum
are-celebrated to-disclose not they-blushed or feared of-these
quattuor, quae interrogando proposui, quodlibet eligant et
four which by-asking I-proposed whichever let-them-choose and
in quolibet eorum quantum mali de dis bonis opinentur
in whichever of-them how-much of-evil about gods good they-think

adtendant. Si enim primum elegerint, confessuri sunt non
let-them-attend if for the-first they-choose about-to-confess they-are not
licuisse dis bonis habitare cum bono Platone, quando
to-have-been-allowed for-gods good to-dwell with good Plato when
eorum iniurias prohibebat, et habitasse cum daemonibus
their injuries he-forbade and to-have-dwelt with demons
malis, quando eorum iniuriis exultabant, cum di boni
evil when their in-injuries they-exulted since the-gods good
hominem bonum longe a se positum non nisi per
a-man good far from themselves placed not except through
malos daemones nossent, quos uicinos nosse non possent.
evil demons knew whom neighboring to-know not they-could
Si autem secundum elegerint et utrumque occultatum a
if but the-second they-choose and both hidden by
daemonibus dixerint, ut di omnino nescirent et Platonis
demons they-say that the-gods altogether knew-not both of-Plato
religiosissimam legem et daemonum sacrilegam delectationem:
the-most-religious law and of-demons the-sacrilegious delight
quid in rebus humanis per internuntios daemones di
what in affairs human through go-between demons the-gods
nosse utiliter possunt, quando illa nesciunt, quae in
to-know usefully can when those-things they-know-not which in
honorem bonorum deorum religione bonorum hominum
honor of-the-good gods by-the-religion of-good men
contra libidinem malorum daemonum decernuntur? Si uero
against the-lust of-evil demons are-decreed if but
tertium elegerint et non solum sententiam Platonis deorum
the-third they-choose and not only the-opinion of-Plato of-the-gods
iniurias prohibentem, sed etiam daemonum nequitiam deorum
injuries forbidding but also of-demons the-wickedness of-the-gods
iniuriis exultantem per eosdem daemones nuntios dis
in-the-injuries exulting through the-same demons messengers to-the-gods

innotuisse responderint: hoc nuntiare est an insultare?
to-have-become-known they-answer this to-announce is-it or to-insult
et di utrumque sic audiunt, sic utrumque cognoscunt,
and the-gods both so hear so both know
ut non solum malignos daemones deorum dignitati et
that not only malign demons of-the-gods to-the-dignity and
Platonis religioni contraria cupientes adque facientes a
of-Plato to-the-religion contrary-things desiring and doing from
suo accessu non arceant, uerum etiam per illos malos
their-own approach not they-keep but also through those evil
propinquos Platoni bono longinquo dona transmittant? sic
neighbors to-Plato good distant gifts transmit so
enim eos elementorum quasi catenata series conligauit, ut
for them of-elements as-it-were chained the-series has-bound that
illis, a quibus criminantur, coniungi possint, huic, a quo
to-those by whom they-are-accused to-be-joined they-can to-this-one by whom
defenduntur, non possint, utrumque scientes, sed aeris et
they-are-defended not they-can both knowing but of-air and
terrae transmutare pondera non ualentes. Iam, quod reliquum
of-earth to-shift the-weights not being-able now what remaining
est, si quartum elegerint, peius est ceteris. Quis enim ferat,
is if the-fourth they-choose worse it-is than-the-rest who for would-bear
si poetarum de dis inmortalibus criminosa figmenta
if of-the-poets about the-gods immortal criminous fictions
et theatrorum indigna ludibria suamque in his omnibus
and of-theaters unworthy mockeries and-their-own in these all
ardentissimam cupiditatem et suauissimam uoluptatem dis
most-burning desire and sweetest pleasure to-the-gods
daemones nuntiauerunt, et quod Plato philosophica grauitate
demons announced and that Plato with-philosophic gravity
de optima re publica haec omnia censuit remouenda
from the-best thing public these all judged to-be-removed

tacuerunt; ut iam di boni per tales nuntios nosse cogantur
they-kept-silent that now gods good through such messengers to-know be-compelled
mala pessimorum, nec aliena, sed eorundem nuntiorum, adque
the-evils of-the-worst nor of-others but of-the-same messengers and
his contraria non sinantur nosse bona philosophorum,
to-these contrary not be-allowed to-know the-goods of-the-philosophers
cum illa sint in iniuriam, ista in honorem ipsorum deorum?
since those are to injury these to honor of-the-very gods

XXII · AGAINST THE WORSHIP OF DEMONS

None of the four answers serves, so it is not to be believed that demons are go-betweens carrying our petitions and the gods' help. They are spirits eager to harm, swollen with pride, livid with envy, cunning in deceit, cast down from heaven and condemned to the air as to a prison, no better than men for dwelling above them. Most they persuaded by false signs that they were gods; those who saw their vices, that they were go-betweens, and these dared not deny them divine honor for fear of offending the peoples.

Quia igitur nihil istorum quattuor eligendum est, ne in
because therefore none of-these four to-be-chosen is lest in
quolibet eorum de dis tam male sentiatur, restat, ut
any of-them about the-gods so ill it-be-thought it-remains that
nullo modo credendum sit, quod Apuleius persuadere nititur
in-no way to-be-believed is what Apuleius to-persuade strives
et quicumque alii sunt eiusdem sententiae philosophi, ita
and whoever others are of-the-same opinion philosophers so
esse medios daemones inter deos et homines tamquam
to-be in-the-middle the-demons between gods and men as-if
internuntios et interpretes, qui hinc ferant petitiones nostras,
go-betweens and interpreters who hence carry petitions our

inde referant deorum subpetias; sed esse spiritus nocendi
thence bring-back of-the-gods aids but to-be spirits of-harming
cupidissimos, a iustitia penitus alienos, superbia tumidos,
most-desirous from justice utterly estranged with-pride swollen
inuidentia liuidos, fallacia callidos, qui in hoc quidem
with-envy livid with-deceit cunning who in this indeed
aere habitant, quia de caeli superioris sublimitate deiecti
air dwell because from of-heaven higher the-sublimity cast-down
merito inregressibilis transgressionis in hoc sibi congruo
by-the-desert of-irreversible transgression into this to-themselves fitting
uelut carcere praedamnati sunt; nec tamen, quia supra
as-if prison condemned-beforehand they-have-been nor yet because above
terras et aquas aeri locus est, ideo et ipsi sunt meritis
lands and waters for-air the-place is therefore also themselves are in-merits
superiores hominibus, qui eos non terreno corpore, sed electo
higher than-men who them not by-earthly body but chosen
in auxilium Deo uero pia mente facillime superant.
for help God the-true with-devout mind most-easily overcome
Sed multis plane participatione uerae religionis indignis
but over-many plainly of-participation of-true religion unworthy
tamquam captis subditisque dominantur, quorum maximae
as-if captured and-subjected they-rule of-whom to-the-greatest
parti mirabilibus et fallacibus signis siue factorum siue
part by-wonderful and deceitful signs whether of-deeds or
praedictorum deos se esse persuaserunt. Quibusdam uero
of-predictions gods themselves to-be they-have-persuaded to-some but
uitia eorum aliquanto adtentius et diligentius intuentibus
the-vices their somewhat more-attentively and more-diligently looking-into
non potuerunt persuadere quod di sint, adque inter deos et
not they-could to-persuade that gods they-are and between gods and
homines internuntios ac beneficiorum inpetratores se esse
men go-betweens and of-benefits obtainers themselves to-be

finxerunt; si tamen non istum saltem honorem homines eis
they-feigned if yet not this at-least honor men to-them
deferendum putarunt, qui illos nec deos esse credebant,
to-be-paid thought who them not-even gods to-be believed
quia malos uidebant, deos autem omnes bonos uolebant,
because evil they-saw gods but all good they-wished
nec audebant tamen omnino indignos dicere honore diuino,
nor they-dared yet altogether unworthy to-call of-honor divine
maxime ne offenderent populos, a quibus eis cernebant
most-of-all lest they-should-offend the-peoples by whom to-them they-saw
inueterata superstitione per tot sacra et templa seruiri.
with-inveterate superstition through so-many rites and temples to-be-served

XXIII · HERMES TRISMEGISTUS ON IDOLS

Hermes the Egyptian, called Trismegistus, says some gods were made by the highest God, others by men: images into which invited spirits are bound by an art, statues full of sense and spirit, foretelling and healing; and he foretells a time when Egypt's piety will seem vain. He mourns what the Christian religion would sweep away; the prophets, taught by the Holy Spirit, foretold it with joy, and Simeon, Anna, Elizabeth, and Peter welcomed it, but Hermes learned it from the demons, who knew the time of their own ruin.

Nam diuersa de illis Hermes Aegyptius, quem
for different-things about them Hermes the-Egyptian whom
Trismegistum uocant, sensit et scripsit. Apuleius enim
Trismegistus they-call thought and wrote Apuleius for
deos quidem illos negat; sed cum dicit ita inter deos et
gods indeed them denies but when he-says so between gods and
homines quadam medietate uersari, ut hominibus aput ipsos
men in-a-certain middleness to-move that for-men with the-very

deos necessarii uideantur, cultum eorum a supernorum
gods necessary they-seem the-worship their from of-the-supernal
deorum religione non separat. Ille autem Aegyptius alios
gods the-religion not he-separates that but Egyptian some
deos esse dicit a summo Deo factos, alios ab hominibus.
gods to-be says by the-highest God made others by men
Hoc qui audit, sicut a me positum est, putat dici de
this who hears as by me set-down it-is thinks to-be-said about
simulacris, quia opera sunt manuum hominum; at ille
images because works they-are of-the-hands of-men but he
uisibilia et contrectabilia simulacra uelut corpora deorum
the-visible and touchable images as-if the-bodies of-the-gods
esse adserit; inesse autem his quosdam spiritus inuitatos,
to-be asserts to-be-in but these certain spirits invited
qui ualeant aliquid siue ad nocendum siue ad desideria
who may-avail something whether for harming or for desires
nonnulla conplenda eorum, a quibus eis diuini honores et
some to-be-fulfilled of-those by whom to-them divine honors and
cultus obsequia deferuntur. Hos ergo spiritus inuisibiles per
of-worship homages are-paid these therefore spirits invisible by
artem quandam uisibilibus rebus corporalis materiae copulare,
art a-certain to-visible things of-bodily matter to-couple
ut sint quasi animata corpora illis spiritibus dicata et
that they-be as-it-were animated bodies to-those spirits dedicated and
subdita simulacra, hoc esse dicit deos facere eamque magnam
subjected images this to-be he-says gods to-make and-that great
et mirabilem deos faciendi accepisse homines potestatem.
and wonderful gods of-making to-have-received men the-power
Huius Aegyptii uerba, sicut in nostram linguam interpretata
of-this Egyptian the-words as into our tongue translated
sunt, ponam. “Et quoniam de cognatione, inquit,
they-have-been I-shall-set-down and since about the-kinship he-says

et consortio hominum deorumque nobis indicitur sermo,
and fellowship of-men and-of-gods to-us is-proclaimed the-discourse
potestatem hominis, o Asclepi, uimque cognosce. Dominus,
the-power of-man O Asclepius and-the-force know-you the-Lord
inquit, et Pater uel quod est summum Deus ut effector
he-says and Father or what is highest God as the-effector
est deorum caelestium, ita homo fictor est deorum, qui
is of-the-gods heavenly so man the-fashioner is of-the-gods who
in templis sunt humana proximitate contenti." Et paulo
in temples are by-human nearness content and a-little
post: "Ita humanitas, inquit, semper memor naturae et
after so humanity he-says always mindful of-nature and
originis suae in illa diuinitatis imitatione perseuerat, ut,
of-origin its-own in that of-divinity imitation persists that
sicuti Pater ac Dominus, ut sui similes essent, deos
as the-Father and Lord that to-himself like they-might-be gods
fecit aeternos, ita humanitas deos suos ex sui uultus
made eternal so humanity gods its-own from of-its-own face
similitudine figuraret." Hic cum Asclepius, ad quem maxime
the-likeness might-fashion here when Asclepius to whom most
loquebatur, ei respondisset adque dixisset: "Statuas dicis,
he-was-speaking to-him had-answered and had-said statues you-mean
o Trismegiste?" tum ille: "Statuas, inquit, o Asclepi, uides
O Trismegistus then he statues he-says O Asclepius you-see
quatenus tu ipse diffidas; statuas animatas sensu et spiritu
how-far you yourself distrust statues animated with-sense and spirit
plenas tantaque facientes et talia, statuas futurorum
full and-so-great-things doing and such-things statues of-future-things
praescias eaque sorte uate somniis multisque aliis rebus
foreknowing and-them by-lot by-seer by-dreams and-by-many other things
praedicentes, inbecillitates hominibus facientes easque curantes,
foretelling weaknesses for-men making and-them curing

tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis. An ignoras, o
sadness and-joy according-to merits or are-you-ignorant O
Asclepi, quod Aegyptus imago sit caeli, aut, quod est uerius,
Asclepius that Egypt the-image is of-heaven or what is truer
translatio aut descensio omnium quae gubernantur adque
the-transfer or descent of-all-things which are-governed and
exercentur in caelo. Ac si dicendum est uerius, terra nostra
are-exercised in heaven and if to-be-said it-is more-truly land our
mundi totius est templum. Et tamen quoniam praescire
of-the-world whole is the-temple and yet since to-foreknow
cuncta prudentem decet, istud uos ignorare fas non est:
all-things the-prudent-man befits this you to-be-ignorant-of right not is
Futurum tempus est, quo appareat Aegyptios incassum
future time there-is when it-may-appear the-Egyptians in-vain
pia mente diuinitatem sedula religione seruasse."
with-devout mind the-divinity with-sedulous religion to-have-kept

Deinde multis uerbis Hermes hunc locum exequitur, in
then in-many words Hermes this passage pursues in
quo uidetur hoc tempus praedicere, quo Christiana religio,
which he-seems this time to-foretell when the-Christian religion
quanto est ueracior adque sanctior, tanto uehementius
by-how-much it-is truer and holier by-so-much more-vehemently
et liberius cuncta fallacia figmenta subuertit, ut gratia
and more-freely all deceitful fictions overturns that the-grace
uerissimi Saluatoris liberet hominem ab eis dis, quos
of-the-most-true Savior may-free man from those gods which
facit homo, et ei Deo subdat, a quo factus est homo.
makes man and to-that God may-subject by whom made is man
Sed Hermes cum ista praedicit, uelut amicus eisdem
but Hermes when these-things he-foretells as-if a-friend to-the-same
ludificationibus daemonum loquitur, nec Christianum nomen
mockeries of-demons speaks nor the-Christian name

euidenter exprimit, sed tamquam ea tollerentur
evidently expresses but as-if those-things were-being-taken-away
adque delerentur, quorum obseruatione caelestis similitudo
and were-being-destroyed whose by-observance the-heavenly likeness
custodiretur in Aegypto, ita haec futura deplorans
was-guarded in Egypt so these-things about-to-be lamenting
luctuosa quodam modo praedicatione testatur. Erat enim de
with-mournful in-a-certain way prediction he-testifies he-was for of
his, de quibus dicit apostolus, quod cognoscentes Deum non
those about whom says the-apostle that knowing God not
sicut Deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt, sed euanuerunt
as God they-glorified or thanks gave but they-vanished
in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor
in thoughts their-own and darkened was foolish heart
eorum; dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt
their saying for themselves to-be wise fools made they-were
et inmutauerunt gloriam incorrupti Dei in similitudinem
and they-changed the-glory of-the-incorrupt God into the-likeness
imaginis corruptibilis hominis et cetera, quae commemorare
of-an-image of-corruptible man and the-rest which to-recall
longum est. Multa quippe talia dicit de uno uero Deo
long it-is many for such-things he-says about the-one true God
fabricatore mundi, qualia ueritas habet; et nescio quo
the-maker of-the-world as truth has and I-know-not in-what
modo illa obscuratione cordis ad ista delabitur, ut dis,
way by-that darkening of-heart to these-things he-slips that to-gods
quos confitetur ab hominibus fieri, semper uelit homines
which he-confesses by men to-be-made always he-wishes men
subdi et haec futuro tempore plangat auferri
to-be-subjected and these-things in-future time he-laments to-be-taken-away
quasi quicquam sit infelicius homine, cui sua figmenta
as-if anything be more-unhappy than-man whom his-own fictions

dominantur; cum sit facilius, ut tamquam deos colendo, quos
rule since it-is easier that as-if gods by-worshiping which
fecit, nec ipse sit homo, quam ut per eius cultum di
he-made not-even he-himself be a-man than that through his worship gods
possint esse, quos fecit homo. Citius enim fit, ut homo in
may-be-able to-be which made man sooner for it-happens that man in
honore positus pecoribus non intellegens conparetur, quam ut
honor placed to-cattle not understanding be-compared than that
operi Dei ad eius imaginem facto, id est ipsi homini,
to-the-work of-God to his image made that is to-the-very man
opus hominis praeferatur. Quapropter merito homo deficit ab
the-work of-man be-preferred wherefore deservedly man falls-away from
illo qui eum fecit, cum sibi praeficit ipse quod fecit.
him who him made when over-himself he-sets he-himself what he-made

Haec uana deceptoria, perniciosa sacrilega Hermes Aegyptius,
these-things vain deceitful pernicious sacrilegious Hermes the-Egyptian
quia tempus, quo auferrentur, uenturum sciebat, dolebat;
because the-time when they-would-be-taken-away about-to-come he-knew grieved
sed tam inpudenter dolebat, quam inprudenter sciebat.
but as shamelessly he-grieved as imprudently he-knew
Non enim haec ei reuelauerat sanctus Spiritus, sicut
not for these-things to-him had-revealed the-holy Spirit as
prophetis sanctis, qui haec praeuidentes cum exultatione
to-the-prophets holy who these-things foreseeing with exultation
dicebant: Si faciet homo deos, et ecce ipsi non sunt
said if shall-make man gods and behold they not are
di; et alio loco: Erit in illo die, dicit Dominus,
gods and in-another place it-shall-be in that day says the-Lord
exterminabo nomina simulacrorum a terra, et non iam
I-shall-exterminate the-names of-images from the-earth and not now
erit eorum memoria; proprie uero de Aegypto, quod
will-be their memory properly but about Egypt what

ad hanc rem adtinet, ita sanctus Esaias prophetat: Et
to this matter pertains so holy Isaiah prophesies and
mouebuntur manufacta Aegypti a facie eius, et
shall-be-moved the-things-made-by-hand of-Egypt from the-face his and
cor eorum uincetur in eis, et cetera huius modi. Ex
heart their shall-be-conquered in them and the-rest of-this kind from
quo genere et illi erant, qui uenturum quod sciebant
which kind also those were who the-about-to-come which they-knew
uenisse gaudebant; qualis Symeon, qualis Anna, qui mox
to-have-come rejoiced such-as Simeon such-as Anna who soon
natum Iesum, qualis Elisabeth, quae etiam conceptum in
born Jesus such-as Elizabeth who even conceived in
Spiritu agnouit; qualis Petrus reuelante Patre dicens: Tu
the-Spirit recognized such-as Peter revealing the-Father saying you
es Christus, filius Dei uiui. Huic autem Aegyptio illi
are the-Christ the-son of-God living to-this but Egyptian those
spiritus indicauerant futura tempora perditionis suae, qui
spirits had-shown the-future times of-perdition their-own who
etiam praesenti in carne Domino trementes dixerunt: Quid
also present in the-flesh to-the-Lord trembling said why
uenisti ante tempus perdere nos? siue quia subitum
have-you-come before the-time to-destroy us either because sudden
illis fuit, quod futurum quidem, sed tardius opinabantur,
to-them was what about-to-be indeed but later they-thought
siue quia perditionem suam hanc ipsam dicebant, qua
or because perdition their-own this very they-meant by-which
fiebat ut cogniti spernerentur, et hoc erat ante tempus,
it-came-about that known they-were-spurned and this was before the-time
id est ante tempus iudicii, quo aeterna damnatione
that is before the-time of-judgment in-which by-eternal damnation
puniendi sunt cum omnibus etiam hominibus, qui eorum
to-be-punished they-are with all even men who their

societate detinentur, sicut religio loquitur, quae nec fallit
in-fellowship are-held as religion speaks which neither deceives
nec fallitur, non sicut iste quasi omni uento doctrinae hinc
nor is-deceived not as this-one as-if by-every wind of-doctrine hither
adque inde perflatus et falsis uera permiscens dolet
and thither blown-through and with-false-things true-things mingling grieves
quasi perituram religionem, quem postea confitetur errorem.
as-if about-to-perish the-religion which afterward he-confesses an-error

XXIV · HERMES CONFESSES HIS FATHERS' ERROR

Hermes says the ancestors, erring much about the gods and heedless of divine worship, found an art of making gods, binding the souls of demons or angels into images. He laments as a loss to religion what he admits was found by error, unbelief, and aversion from it; so what error founded truth removed, what unbelief founded faith, in every land that sings the Lord a new song, as the psalm for the house built after the captivity says. Gods men make are no go-betweens.

Post multa enim ad hoc ipsum redit, ut iterum dicat
after many-things for to this very he-returns that again he-says
de dis, quos homines fecerunt, ita loquens: "Sed iam de
about the-gods which men have-made so speaking but now about
talibus sint satis dicta talia. Iterum, inquit, ad hominem
such-things let-be enough said such-things again he-says to man
rationemque redeamus, ex quo diuino dono animal dictum
and-reason let-us-return from which divine gift an-animal called
est rationale. Minus enim miranda etsi miranda
it-is rational less for to-be-wondered-at although to-be-wondered-at
sunt, quae de homine dicta sunt. Omnium enim
they-are the-things-which about man said were of-all for
mirabilium uicit admirationem, quod homo diuinam
wonders has-surpassed the-admiration that man divine

potuit inuenire naturam eamque efficere. Quoniam ergo
has-been-able to-find nature and-it to-effect since therefore
proaui nostri multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli
forefathers our much erred about of-the-gods the-account unbelieving
et non animaduertentes ad cultum religionemque diuinam,
and not attending to worship and-religion divine
inuenerunt artem, qua efficerent deos. Cui inuentae
they-found an-art by-which they-might-effect gods to-which found
adiunxerunt uirtutem de mundi natura conuenientem,
they-joined a-power from of-the-world nature fitting
eamque miscentes, quoniam animas facere non poterant,
and-it mingling since souls to-make not they-could
euocantes animas daemonum uel angelorum eas indiderunt
calling-forth the-souls of-demons or of-angels them they-put
imaginibus sanctis diuinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et
into-images by-holy and-divine mysteries through which the-idols both
bene faciendi et male uires habere potuissent." Nescio
well of-doing and ill the-powers to-have might-be-able I-know-not
utrum sic confiterentur ipsi daemones adiurati, quo
whether so would-confess themselves the-demons adjured in-what
modo iste confessus est. "Quoniam, inquit, proaui nostri
way this-one confessed has since he-says forefathers our
multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli et non
much erred about of-the-gods the-account unbelieving and not
animaduertentes ad cultum religionemque diuinam, inuenerunt
attending to worship and-religion divine they-found
artem qua efficerent deos." Numquidnam saltem mediocriter
an-art by-which they-might-effect gods surely-not at-least moderately
eos dixit errasse, ut hanc artem inuenirent faciendi deos,
them he-said to-have-erred that this art they-found of-making gods
aut contentus fuit dicere: Errabant, nisi adderet et diceret:
or content was-he to-say they-erred unless he-added and said

Multum errabant? Iste ergo multus error et incredulitas non
much they-erred this therefore much error and unbelief not
animaduertentium ad cultum religionemque diuinam inuenit
of-those-attending to worship and-religion divine found
artem, qua efficeret deos. Et tamen quod multus error et
an-art by-which it-might-effect gods and yet what much error and
incredulitas et a cultu ac religione diuina auersio animi
unbelief and from worship and religion divine turning-away of-mind
inuenit, ut homo arte faceret deos, hoc dolet uir sapiens
found that man by-art should-make gods this grieves the-man wise
tamquam religionem diuinam uenturo certo tempore
as-if religion divine coming at-a-certain time
auferri. Vide si non et ui diuina maiorum suorum
to-be-taken-away see if not both by-power divine of-ancestors his-own
errorem praeteritum prodere, et ui diabolica poenam
the-error past to-disclose and by-power diabolical the-punishment
daemonum futuram dolere conpellitur. Si enim proaui eorum
of-demons future to-lament he-is-compelled if for forefathers their
multum errando circa deorum rationem incredulitate et
much by-erring about of-the-gods the-account by-unbelief and
auersione animi a cultu ac religione diuina inuenerunt
by-turning-away of-mind from worship and religion divine found
artem, qua efficerent deos: quid mirum, si, haec ars
an-art by-which they-might-effect gods what wonder if this art
detestanda quidquid fecit auersa a religione diuina,
to-be-detested whatever it-made turned-away from religion divine
aufertur religione diuina, cum ueritas emendat errorem,
is-taken-away by-religion divine when truth corrects error
fides redarguit incredulitatem, conuersio corrigit auersionem?
faith refutes unbelief conversion corrects turning-away

Si enim tacitis causis dixisset proauos suos inuenisse
if for with-silent causes he-had-said forefathers his-own to-have-found
artem, qua facerent deos: nostrum fuit utique, si quid
an-art by-which they-might-make gods ours it-was assuredly if anything
rectum piumque saperemus, adtendere et uidere nequaquam
right and-devout we-understood to-attend and to-see by-no-means
illos ad hanc artem peruenturos fuisse, qua homo
them to this art about-to-have-arrived to-have-been by-which man
deos facit, si a ueritate non aberrarent, si ea, quae
gods makes if from the-truth not they-strayed if those-things which
Deo digna sunt, crederent, si animum aduerterent ad cultum
of-God worthy are they-believed if the-mind they-turned to worship
religionemque diuinam; et tamen si causas artis huius nos
and-religion divine and yet if the-causes of-art this we
diceremus multum errorem hominum et incredulitatem et
said the-much error of-men and the-unbelief and
animi errantis adque infidelis a diuina religione auersionem,
of-mind wandering and faithless from divine religion the-turning-away
utcumque ferenda esset inpudentia resistentium ueritati.
somehow to-be-borne would-be the-impudence of-those-resisting the-truth
Cum uero idem ipse, qui potestatem huius artis super
when but the-same himself who the-power of-this art above
omnia cetera miratur in homine, qua illi deos facere
all the-rest admires in man by-which to-them gods to-make
concessum est, et dolet uenturum esse tempus, quo haec
granted it-is and grieves coming to-be a-time when these
omnia deorum figmenta ab hominibus instituta etiam legibus
all of-the-gods fictions by men established even by-laws
iubeantur auferri, confitetur tamen adque exprimit causas,
be-ordered to-be-taken-away he-confesses yet and expresses the-causes
quare ad ista peruentum sit, dicens proauos suos
why to these-things arrived it-was saying forefathers his-own

multo errore et incredulitate et animum non aduertendo ad
by-much error and unbelief and the-mind not by-turning to
cultum religionemque diuinam inuenisse hanc artem, qua
worship and-religion divine to-have-found this art by-which
facerent deos: nos quid oportet dicere, uel potius quid
they-might-make gods we what it-behooves to-say or rather what
agere nisi quantas possumus gratias Domino Deo nostro,
to-do except as-great-as we-can thanks to-the-Lord God our
qui haec contrariis causis, quam instituta sunt,
who these-things by-contrary causes than-those-by-which established they-were
abstulit? Nam quod instituit multitudo erroris, abstulit
has-taken-away for what established the-multitude of-error took-away
uia ueritatis; quod instituit incredulitas, abstulit fides;
the-way of-truth what established unbelief took-away faith
quod instituit a cultu diuinae religionis auersio, abstulit
what established from the-worship of-divine religion turning-away took-away
ad unum uerum Deum sanctumque conuersio; nec in sola
to the-one true God and-holy conversion nor in alone
Aegypto, quam solam in isto plangit daemonum spiritus;
Egypt which alone in this laments of-demons the-spirit
sed in omni terra, quae cantat Domino canticum nouum,
but in all the-earth which sings to-the-Lord a-song new
sicut uere sacrae et uere propheticae litterae praenuntiarunt,
as truly sacred and truly prophetic letters foretold
ubi scriptum est: Cantate Domino canticum nouum, cantate
where written it-is sing to-the-Lord a-song new sing
Domino omnis terra. Titulus quippe psalmi huius est:
to-the-Lord all the-earth the-title for of-psalm this is
Quando domus aedificabatur post captiuitatem. Aedificatur
when the-house was-being-built after the-captivity is-built
enim domus Domino ciuitas Dei, quae est sancta ecclesia, in
for the-house to-the-Lord the-city of-God which is the-holy church in

omni terra post eam captiuitatem, qua illos homines, de
all the-earth after that captivity in-which those men of
quibus credentibus in Deum tamquam lapidibus uiuis domus
whom believing in God as-if from-stones living the-house
aedificatur, captos daemonia possidebant. Neque enim, quia
is-built captive demons possessed nor for because
deos homo faciebat, ideo non ab eis possidebatur ipse qui
gods man made therefore not by them was-possessed he-himself who
fecerat, quando in eorum societatem colendo traducebatur;
had-made when into their fellowship by-worshiping he-was-led
societatem dico, non idolorum stolidorum, sed uersutorum
fellowship I-say not of-idols stupid but of-cunning
daemoniorum. Nam quid sunt idola, nisi quod eadem
demons for what are idols except what the-same
scriptura dicit: Oculos habent, et non uidebunt, et quidquid
scripture says eyes they-have and not they-will-see and whatever
tale de materiis licet adfabre effigiatis, tamen uita sensuque
such about materials although skillfully fashioned yet of-life and-sense
carentibus dicendum fuit. Sed inmundi spiritus eisdem
lacking to-be-said was but unclean spirits to-the-same
simulacris arte illa nefaria conligati cultorum suorum animas
images by-art that wicked bound of-worshipers their-own the-souls
in suam societatem redigendo miserabiliter captiuauerant.
into their-own fellowship by-reducing wretchedly had-taken-captive
Unde dicit apostolus: Scimus quia nihil est idolum; sed
whence says the-apostle we-know that nothing is an-idol but
quae immolant gentes, daemoniis immolant, et non Deo;
what sacrifice the-nations to-demons they-sacrifice and not to-God
nolo uos socios fieri daemoniorum. Post hanc
I-am-unwilling you partners to-become of-demons after this
ergo captiuitatem, qua homines a malignis daemonibus
therefore captivity by-which men by malign demons

tenebantur, Dei domus aedificatur in omni terra; unde
were-held of-God the-house is-built in all the-earth whence
titulum ille psalmus accepit, ubi dicitur: Cantate Domino
the-title that psalm received where it-is-said sing to-the-Lord
canticum nouum, cantate Domino omnis terra. Cantate
a-song new sing to-the-Lord all the-earth sing
Domino, benedicite nomen eius, bene nuntiate diem ex die
to-the-Lord bless the-name his well announce day from day
salutare eius. Adnuntiate in gentibus gloriam eius, in
the-salvation his announce among the-nations the-glory his among
omnibus populis mirabilia eius; quoniam magnus Dominus et
all peoples the-wonders his since great the-Lord and
laudabilis nimis, terribilis est super omnes deos. Quia omnes
to-be-praised exceedingly terrible he-is above all gods because all
di gentium daemonia, dominus autem caelos fecit.
the-gods of-the-nations demons the-lord but the-heavens made

Qui ergo doluit uenturum fuisse tempus, quo auferretur
who therefore grieved about-to-come to-have-been a-time when would-be-taken-away
cultus idolorum et in eos, qui colerent, dominatio
the-worship of-idols and over those who worshiped the-dominion
daemoniorum, malo spiritu instigatus semper uolebat istam
of-demons by-evil spirit instigated always wished this
captiuitatem manere, qua transacta psalmus canit aedificari
captivity to-remain which completed the-psalm sings to-be-built
domum in omni terra. Praenuntiabat illa Hermes
the-house in all the-earth foretold those-things Hermes
dolendo; praenuntiabat haec propheta gaudendo. Et quia
by-grieving foretold these-things the-prophet by-rejoicing and because
Spiritus uictor est, qui haec per sanctos prophetas
the-Spirit victor is who these-things through holy prophets
canebat, etiam Hermes ipse ea, quae nolebat et
sang even Hermes himself those-things which he-did-not-wish and

dolebat auferri, non a prudentibus et fidelibus et
grieved to-be-taken-away not by the-prudent and faithful and
religiosis, sed ab errantibus et incredulis et a cultu
religious but by the-erring and unbelieving and from the-worship
diuinae religionis auersis esse instituta miris modis
of-divine religion turned-away to-have-been established in-wondrous ways
coactus est confiteri. Qui quamuis eos appellet deos, tamen
compelled was to-confess who although them he-calls gods yet
cum dicit a talibus hominibus factos, quales esse utique
when he-says by such men made such-as to-be assuredly
non debemus, uelit nolit, ostendit colendos non esse
not we-ought willing or-unwilling he-shows to-be-worshiped not to-be
ab eis, qui tales non sunt, quales fuerunt a quibus facti
by those who such not are such-as were by whom made
sunt, hoc est a prudentibus, fidelibus, religiosis; simul
they-were that is by the-prudent faithful religious at-the-same-time
etiam demonstrans ipsos homines, qui eos fecerunt, sibimet
also showing the-very men who them made on-themselves
inportasse, ut eos haberent deos, qui non erant di. Verum
to-have-brought that them they-should-have as-gods who not were gods true
est quippe illud propheticum: Si faciet homo deos, et ecce
is for that prophetic if shall-make man gods and behold
ipsi non sunt di. Deos ergo tales, talium deos, arte factos a
they not are gods gods therefore such of-such gods by-art made by
talibus, cum appellasset Hermes, id est idolis daemones per
such when he-had-called Hermes that is to-idols demons through
artem nescio quam cupiditatum suarum uinculis inligatos
art I-know-not what of-desires their-own by-chains bound
cum appellaret factos ab hominibus deos, non tamen eis
when he-called made by men gods not yet to-them
dedit, quod Platonicus Apuleius (unde iam satis diximus
he-gave what the-Platonist Apuleius about-which already enough we-have-said

et quam sit inconueniens absurdumque monstrauimus), ut
and how it-is unfitting and-absurd we-have-shown that
ipsi essent interpretes et intercessores inter deos, quos fecit
they should-be interpreters and intercessors between the-gods whom made
Deus, et homines, quos idem fecit Deus; hinc adferentes
God and men whom the-same made God hence bringing
uota, inde munera referentes. Nimis enim stultum est credere
vows thence gifts bringing-back too for foolish it-is to-believe
deos, quos fecerunt homines, plus ualere aput deos, quos
gods whom made men more to-avail with gods whom
fecit Deus, quam ualent ipsi homines, quos idem ipse
made God than avail themselves men whom the-same very
fecit Deus. Daemon quippe simulacro arte inpia conligatus
made God a-demon for to-an-image by-art ungodly bound
ab homine factus est deus, sed tali homini, non omni
by a-man made is a-god but to-such a-man not to-every
homini. Qualis est ergo iste deus, quem non faceret
man of-what-sort is then this god whom not would-make
homo nisi errans et incredulus et auersus a uero
man unless erring and unbelieving and turned-away from the-true
Deo? Porro si daemones, qui coluntur in templis, per
God further if demons who are-worshiped in temples through
artem nescio quam imaginibus inditi, hoc est uisibilibus
art I-know-not what into-images put that is into-visible
simulacris, ab eis hominibus, qui hac arte fecerunt deos,
images by those men who by-this art made gods
cum aberrarent auersique essent a cultu et religione
when they-strayed and-turned-away were from the-worship and religion
diuina, non sunt internuntii nec interpretes inter homines
divine not are go-betweens nor interpreters between men
et deos et propter suos pessimos ac turpissimos mores,
and gods both on-account-of their-own worst and most-shameful morals

et quod homines, quamuis errantes et increduli et auersi
and because men although erring and unbelieving and turned-away
a cultu ac religione diuina, tamen eis sine dubio
from the-worship and religion divine yet than-them without doubt
meliores sunt, quos deos ipsi arte fecerunt; restat, ut,
better are whom as-gods they-themselves by-art made it-remains that
quod possunt, tamquam daemones possint, uel quasi beneficia
what they-can as demons they-can either as-if benefits
praestando magis nocentes, quia magis decipientes, uel aperte
by-furnishing more harmful because more deceiving or openly
malefaciendo (nec tamen quodlibet horum, nisi quando
by-doing-ill nor yet any of-these except when
permittuntur alta et secreta Dei prouidentia), non autem
they-are-permitted by-the-deep and secret of-God providence not but
tamquam medii inter homines et deos per amicitiam
as middle between men and gods through the-friendship
deorum multum aput homines ualeant. Hi enim dis bonis,
of-the-gods much with men may-avail these for to-gods good
quos sanctos angelos nos uocamus rationalesque creaturas
whom holy angels we call and-rational creatures
sanctae caelestis habitationis siue sedes siue dominationes siue
of-the-holy heavenly dwelling whether seats or dominions or
principatus siue potestates, amici esse omnino non possunt,
principalities or powers friends to-be at-all not can
a quibus tam longe absunt animi affectione, quam
from whom as far they-are-absent of-mind in-affection as
longe absunt a uirtutibus uitia et a bonitate malitia.
far are-absent from virtues vices and from goodness malice

The good will of the good angels is sought not through demons but through likeness of good will, by which we live with them and worship the God they worship, though we cannot see them. We are far from them by unlikeness of will and weakness, by merit of life, not place of body; not because we dwell on earth but if we think earthly things. Meanwhile we draw near them by faith, believing that we are made blessed by him who made them blessed.

Nullo modo igitur per daemonum quasi medietatem
in-no way therefore through of-demons as-it-were the-mediation
ambiendum est ad beneuolentiam seu beneficentiam deorum
to-be-canvassed is for the-goodwill or beneficence of-the-gods
uel potius angelorum bonorum, sed per bonae uoluntatis
or rather of-angels good but through of-good will
similitudinem, qua cum illis sumus et cum illis uiuimus et
the-likeness by-which with them we-are and with them we-live and
cum illis Deum quem colunt colimus, etsi eos carnalibus
with them God whom they-worship we-worship although them with-fleshly
oculis uidere non possumus; in quantum autem dissimilitudine
eyes to-see not we-can in as-far but by-unlikeness
uoluntatis et fragilitate infirmitatis miseri sumus, in tantum
of-will and by-frailty of-weakness wretched we-are in so-far
ab eis longe sumus uitae merito, non corporis loco. Non
from them far we-are of-life by-the-merit not of-body by-place not
enim quia in terra condicione carnis habitamus, sed si
for because on earth by-the-condition of-the-flesh we-dwell but if
inmunditia cordis terrena sapimus, non eis iungimur. Cum
by-uncleanness of-heart earthly-things we-savor not to-them we-are-joined when
uero sanamur, ut quales ipsi sunt simus; fide illis
but we-are-healed that such-as they-themselves are we-may-be by-faith to-them

interim propinquamus, si ab illo nos fieri beatos, a quo
meanwhile we-draw-near if by him ourselves to-be-made blessed by whom
et ipsi facti sunt, etiam ipsis fauentibus credimus.
also they-themselves made were even with-themselves favoring we-believe

XXVI · THE PAGANS' RELIGION BOUND UP WITH THE DEAD

Hermes lamented that Egypt, the holiest seat of temples, would be full of tombs, grieving, it seems, that our martyrs' memorials would succeed the temples. But scarcely any pagan god was not a dead man, and Hermes himself testifies so: Asclepius' grandfather, inventor of medicine, worshiped where he lies on a Libyan mountain; his own grandfather Hermes at Hermopolis; and Isis. So Egypt was already full of the dead it worshiped, and the demons' grief spoke through him, who are tortured and cast out at the martyrs' shrines.

Sane aduertendum est, quo modo iste Aegyptius, cum
indeed to-be-noticed it-is in-what way this Egyptian when
doleret tempus esse uenturum, quo illa auferrentur ex
be-grieved a-time to-be about-to-come when those-things would-be-taken-away from
Aegypto, quae fatetur a multum errantibus et incredulis et
Egypt which he-confesses by much erring and unbelieving and
a cultu diuinae religionis auersis esse instituta, ait
from the-worship of-divine religion turned-away to-have-been established says
inter cetera: "Tunc terra ista, sanctissima sedes delubrorum
among the-rest then land this most-holy the-seat of-shrines
adque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima;"
and temples of-tombs will-be and-of-the-dead most-full
quasi uero, si illa non auferrentur, non essent homines
as-if indeed if those not were-taken-away not would-be men
morituri, aut alibi essent mortui ponendi quam in terra;
about-to-die or elsewhere would-be the-dead to-be-placed than in the-earth

et utique, quanto plus uolueretur temporis et dierum,
and assuredly by-how-much more would-roll of-time and of-days
tanto maior esset numerus sepulcrorum propter maiorem
by-so-much greater would-be the-number of-tombs on-account-of the-greater
numerum mortuorum. Sed hoc uidetur dolere, quod memoriae
number of-the-dead but this he-seems to-grieve that the-memorials
martyrum nostrorum templis eorum delubrisque succederent,
of-martyrs our to-temples their and-shrines would-succeed
ut uidelicet, qui haec legunt animo a nobis auerso
that namely who these-things read with-mind from us turned-away
adque peruerso, putent a paganis cultos fuisse deos in
and perverse may-think by the-pagans worshiped to-have-been gods in
templis, a nobis autem coli mortuos in sepulcris.
temples by us but to-be-worshiped the-dead in tombs
Tanta enim homines inpii caecitate in montes quodam
with-so-great for men ungodly blindness against mountains in-a-certain
modo offendunt resque oculos suos ferientes nolunt
way they-stumble and-things the-eyes their-own striking they-will-not
uidere, ut non adtendant in omnibus litteris paganorum aut
to-see that not they-attend in all the-letters of-the-pagans either
non inueniri aut uix inueniri deos, qui non homines fuerint
not to-be-found or scarcely to-be-found gods who not men were
mortuisque diuini honores delati sint. Omitto, quod Varro dicit
and-to-the-dead divine honors paid were I-omit that Varro says
omnes ab eis mortuos existimari manes deos et probat per
all by them the-dead to-be-thought manes gods and proves by
ea sacra, quae omnibus fere mortuis exhibentur, ubi et ludos
those rites which to-all almost the-dead are-exhibited where also games
commemorat funebres, tamquam hoc sit maximum diuinitatis
he-mentions funeral as-if this be the-greatest of-divinity
indicium, quod non soleant ludi nisi numinibus celebrari.
token that not are-wont games except for-divinities to-be-celebrated

Hermes ipse, de quo nunc agitur, in eodem ipso libro, ubi
Hermes himself about whom now it-is-treated in the-same very book where
quasi futura praenuntiando deplorans ait: "Tunc terra ista,
as-if future-things foretelling lamenting he-says then land this
sanctissima sedes delubrorum adque templorum, sepulcrorum
most-holy the-seat of-shrines and temples of-tombs
erit mortuorumque plenissima", deos Aegypti homines
will-be and-of-the-dead most-full the-gods of-Egypt men
mortuos esse testatur. Cum enim dixisset proauos suos
dead to-be testifies when for he-had-said forefathers his-own
multum errantes circa deorum rationem, incredulos et non
much erring about of-the-gods the-account unbelieving and not
animaduertentes ad cultum religionemque diuinam, inuenisse
attending to worship and-religion divine to-have-found
artem, qua efficerent deos: "Cui inuentae, inquit,
an-art by-which they-might-effect gods to-which found he-says
adiunxerunt uirtutem de mundi natura conuenientem eamque
they-joined a-power from of-the-world nature fitting and-it
miscentes, quoniam animas facere non poterant, euocantes
mingling since souls to-make not they-could calling-forth
animas daemonum uel angelorum eas indiderunt imaginibus
the-souls of-demons or of-angels them they-put into-images
sanctis diuinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et bene faciendi
holy and-divine mysteries through which the-idols both well of-doing
et male uires habere potuissent." Deinde sequitur tamquam
and ill the-powers to-have might-be-able then follows as-if
hoc exemplis probaturus et dicit: "Auus enim tuus, o Asclepi,
this by-examples about-to-prove and says grandfather for your O Asclepius
medicinae primus inuentor, cui templum consecratum est
of-medicine the-first inventor to-whom a-temple consecrated is
in monte Libyae circa litus crocodilorum, in quo eius
on the-mountain of-Libya around the-shore of-the-crocodiles in which his

iacet mundanus homo, id est corpus; reliquus enim, uel
lies worldly man that is body the-rest for or
potius totus, si est homo totus in sensu uitae, melior
rather the-whole if is man whole in the-sense of-life better
remeauit in caelum, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adiumenta
has-gone-back to heaven all-things even now to-men helps
praestans infirmis numine nunc suo, quae solent medicinae
furnishing to-the-sick by-divinity now his-own which are-wont of-medicine
arte praeberi." Ecce dixit mortuum coli pro deo
by-the-art to-be-furnished behold he-said a-dead-man to-be-worshiped as god
in eo loco, ubi habebat sepulcrum, falsus ac fallens, quod
in that place where he-had a-tomb deceived and deceiving that
remeauit in caelum. Adiungens deinde aliud "Hermes, inquit,
he-went-back into heaven adding then another Hermes he-says
cuius auitum mihi nomen est, nonne in sibi cognomine
whose ancestral to-me name is surely in to-himself same-named
patria consistens omnes mortales undique uenientes
fatherland standing all mortals from-everywhere coming
adiuuat adque conseruat?" Hic enim Hermes maior, id est
helps and preserves this for Hermes the-elder that is
Mercurius, quem dicit auum suum fuisse, in Hermopoli,
Mercury whom he-says grandfather his-own to-have-been in Hermopolis
hoc est in sui nominis ciuitate, esse perhibetur. Ecce duos
that is in of-his-own name the-city to-be is-said behold two
deos dicit homines fuisse, Aesculapium et Mercurium. Sed
gods he-says men to-have-been Aesculapius and Mercury but
de Aesculapio et Graeci et Latini hoc idem sentiunt;
about Aesculapius both the-Greeks and the-Latins this same think
Mercurium autem multi non putant fuisse mortalem, quem
Mercury but many not think to-have-been mortal whom
tamen iste auum suum fuisse testatur. At enim alius est
yet this-one grandfather his-own to-have-been testifies but for other is

ille, alius iste, quamuis eodem nomine nuncupentur. Non
that-one other this-one although by-the-same name they-be-called not
multum pugno, alius ille sit, alius iste; uerum et iste;
much I-contend other that-one let-be other this-one but also this-one
sicut Aesculapius, ex homine deus secundum testimonium
as Aesculapius from man a-god according-to the-testimony
tanti aput suos uiri, huius Trismegisti, nepotis sui.
of-so-great among his-own man this Trismegistus grandson his-own
Adhuc addit et dicit: "Isin uero Osiris quam multa bona
further he-adds and says Isis indeed of-Osiris how many good-things
praestare propitiam, quantis obesse scimus iratam!"
to-furnish propitious how-many-things to-harm we-know angry
Deinde ut ostenderet ex hoc genere esse deos, quos illa
then that he-might-show of this kind to-be the-gods whom by-that
arte homines faciunt (unde dat intellegi daemones se
art men make whence he-gives to-be-understood demons himself
opinari ex hominum mortuorum animis extitisse, quos
to-think from of-men dead the-souls to-have-arisen whom
per artem, quam inuenerunt homines multum errantes,
through the-art which found men much erring
increduli et inreligiosi, ait inditos simulacris, quia hi, qui
unbelieving and irreligious he-says put into-images because those who
tales deos faciebant, animas facere non utique poterant), cum
such gods made souls to-make not assuredly could when
de Iside dixisset, quod commemoraui, "quantis obesse
about Isis he-had-said what I-recalled how-many-things to-harm
scimus iratam", secutus adiunxit: "Terrenis etenim dis adque
we-know angry following he-added for-earthly for gods and
mundanis facile est irasci, utpote qui sint ab hominibus
worldly easy it-is to-be-angry inasmuch-as who are by men
ex utraque natura facti adque conpositi." "Ex utraque natura"
from each nature made and composed from each nature

dicit ex anima et corpore, ut pro anima sit daemon, pro
he-says from soul and body that for soul be a-demon for
corpore simulacrum. “Unde contigit, inquit, ab Aegyptiis
body an-image whence it-happened he-says by the-Egyptians
haec sancta animalia nuncupari colique per singulas
these holy animals to-be-called and-to-be-worshiped through single
ciuitates eorum animas, quorum sunt consecratae uiuentes,
cities of-those the-souls whose are consecrated living
ita ut eorum legibus incolantur et eorum nominibus
so that their by-the-laws they-are-inhabited and their by-the-names
nuncupentur.” Ubi est illa uelut querela luctuosa, quod terra
are-called where is that as-if complaint mournful that the-land
Aegypti, sanctissima sedes delubrorum adque templorum,
of-Egypt most-holy seat of-shrines and temples
sepulcrorum futura esset mortuorumque plenissima? Nempe
of-tombs about-to-be was and-of-the-dead most-full surely
spiritus fallax, cuius instinctu Hermes ista dicebat, per
the-spirit deceitful whose by-instigation Hermes these-things said through
eum ipsum coactus est confiteri iam tunc illam terram
him himself compelled was to-confess already then that land
sepulcrorum et mortuorum, quos pro dis colebant, fuisse
of-tombs and of-the-dead whom as gods they-worshiped to-have-been
plenissimam. Sed dolor daemonum per eum loquebatur, qui
most-full but the-grief of-demons through him spoke who
suas futuras poenas aput sanctorum martyrum memorias
their-own future punishments at of-holy martyrs the-memorials
inminere maerebant. In multis enim talibus locis torquentur
to-impend mourned in many for such places they-are-tortured
et confitentur et de possessis hominum corporibus eiciuntur.
and confess and from the-possessed of-men bodies are-cast-out

We build the martyrs no temples, priests, or sacrifices, since their God is ours; we honor their memorials as holy men who fought for the truth to the death. What priest ever said at an altar: I offer you sacrifice, Peter, Paul, or Cyprian? The sacrifice is offered to God, with thanks for their victories. Nor do we celebrate crimes, as the pagans celebrate their gods', who were dead men like Isis, whose story Alexander had from the priest Leo. The next book asks whether some demons are good.

Nec tamen nos eisdem martyribus templa, sacerdotia, sacra et
nor yet we to-the-same martyrs temples priesthoods rites and
sacrificia constituimus, quoniam non ipsi, sed Deus eorum
sacrifices establish since not they-themselves but God their
nobis est Deus. Honoramus sane memorias eorum tamquam
to-us is God we-honor indeed the-memorials their as
sanctorum hominum Dei, qui usque ad mortem corporum
of-holy men of-God who as-far-as to death of-bodies
suorum pro ueritate certarunt, ut innotesceret uera religio
their-own for the-truth contended that might-become-known the-true religion
falsis fictisque conuictis; quod etiam si qui antea sentiebant,
with-false and-feigned-ones convicted which even if any before thought
timendo reprimebant. Quis autem audiuit aliquando fidelium
by-fearing they-repressed who but has-heard ever of-the-faithful
stantem sacerdotem ad altare, etiam super sanctum corpus
a-standing priest at the-altar even above the-holy body
martyris ad Dei honorem cultumque constructum, dicere in
of-a-martyr for of-God the-honor and-worship built to-say in
precibus: Offero tibi sacrificium Petre uel Paule uel Cypriane,
prayers I-offer to-you sacrifice Peter or Paul or Cyprian
cum aput eorum memorias offeratur Deo, qui eos et homines
when at their memorials it-is-offered to-God who them both men

et martyres fecit et sanctis suis angelis caelesti honore
and martyrs made and to-holy his-own angels in-heavenly honor
sociauit, ut ea celebritate et Deo uero de illorum uictoriis
associated that by-that celebration both to-God true for their victories
gratias agamus et nos ad imitationem talium coronarum adque
thanks we-may-give and we to the-imitation of-such crowns and
palmarum eodem inuocato in auxilium ex illorum memoriae
palms the-same invoked for help from their of-the-memory
renouatione adhortemur? Quaecumque igitur adhibentur
the-renewal may-exhort-ourselves whatever therefore are-applied
religiosorum obsequia in martyrum locis, ornamenta sunt
of-the-religious homages in of-martyrs the-places adornments they-are
memoriarum, non sacra uel sacrificia mortuorum tamquam
of-memorials not rites or sacrifices of-the-dead as
deorum. Quicumque etiam epulas suas eo deferunt (quod
of-gods whoever also feasts their-own thither bring which
quidem a Christianis melioribus non fit, et in plerisque
indeed by Christians better not is-done and in most
terrarum nulla talis est consuetudo) — tamen quicumque
of-lands no such is custom yet whoever
id faciunt, quas cum adposuerint, orant et auferunt, ut
it do which when they-have-set-down they-pray and take-away that
uescantur uel ex eis etiam indigentibus largiantur, sanctificari
they-may-eat or from them also to-the-needy may-bestow to-be-sanctified
sibi eas uolunt per merita martyrum in nomine domini
for-themselves them they-wish through the-merits of-the-martyrs in the-name of-the-lord
martyrum. Non autem esse ista sacrificia martyrum nouit, qui
of-martyrs not but to-be these sacrifices of-martyrs knows he-who
nouit unum, quod etiam illic offertur, sacrificium Christianorum.
knows the-one which also there is-offered the-sacrifice of-Christians

Nos itaque martyres nostros nec diuinis honoribus nec
we and-so martyrs our neither with-divine honors nor
humanis criminibus colimus, sicut colunt illi deos suos, nec
with-human crimes worship as worship they gods their-own nor
sacrificia illis offerimus, nec eorum probra in eorum sacra
sacrifices to-them we-offer nor their disgraces into their rites
conuertimus. Nam de Iside, uxore Osiris, Aegyptia dea, et de
we-turn for about Isis the-wife of-Osiris the-Egyptian goddess and about
parentibus eorum, qui omnes reges fuisse scribuntur (quibus
the-parents their who all kings to-have-been are-written to-which
parentibus suis illa cum sacrificaret, inuenit hordei segetem
parents her-own she when she-was-sacrificing found of-barley a-crop
adque inde spicas marito regi et eius consiliario Mercurio
and thence ears to-(her)-husband the-king and his counselor Mercury
demonstrauit, unde eandem et Cererem uolunt), quae et
showed whence the-same also Ceres they-wish what and
quanta mala non a poetis, sed mysticis eorum litteris memoriae
how-great evils not by the-poets but in-mystic their letters to-memory
mandata sint, sicut Leone sacerdote prodente ad Olympiadem
committed are as Leo the-priest disclosing to Olympias
matrem scribit Alexander, legant qui uolunt uel possunt, et
(his)-mother writes Alexander let-them-read who wish or can and
recolant qui legerunt, et uideant quibus hominibus mortuis
let-them-recall who have-read and let-them-see to-what men dead
uel de quibus eorum factis tamquam dis sacra fuerint instituta.
or for which their deeds as to-gods rites had-been established
Absit ut eos, quamuis deos habeant, sanctis martyribus
far-be-it that them although as-gods they-hold to-holy martyrs
nostris, quos tamen deos non habemus, ulla ex parte audeant
our whom yet as-gods not we-hold any in part they-dare
conparare. Sic enim non constituimus sacerdotes nec offerimus
to-compare so for not we-establish priests nor offer

sacrificia martyribus nostris, quia incongruum indebitum
sacrifices to-martyrs our because unfitting undue
inlicitum est adque uni Deo tantummodo debitum, ut nec
unlawful it-is and to-one God only due that neither
criminibus suis nec ludis eos turpissimis oblectemus, ubi
with-crimes their-own nor with-games them most-shameful we-delight where
uel flagitia isti celebrant deorum suorum, si, cum homines
either the-outrages they celebrate of-the-gods their-own if when men
essent, talia commiserunt, uel conficta delectamenta
they-were such-things they-committed or feigned delights
daemonum noxiorum, si homines non fuerunt. Ex isto genere
of-demons harmful if men not they-were of this kind
daemonum Socrates non haberet deum, si haberet deum; sed
of-demons Socrates not would-have a-god if he-had a-god but
fortasse homini ab illa arte faciendi deos alieno et innocenti
perhaps on-a-man from that art of-making gods estranged and innocent
illi inportauerint talem deum, qui eadem arte excellere
him may-have-imposed such a-god those-who in-the-same art to-excel
uoluerunt. Quid ergo plura? Non esse spiritus istos colendos
wished what then more not to-be spirits these to-be-worshiped
propter uitam beatam, quae post mortem futura est, nullus
on-account-of the-life blessed which after death about-to-be is no-one
uel mediocriter prudens ambigit. Sed fortasse dicturi sunt
even moderately prudent doubts but perhaps about-to-say they-are
deos quidem esse omnes bonos, daemones autem alios malos,
gods indeed to-be all good demons but some evil
alios bonos, et eos, per quos ad uitam in aeternum beatam
others good and those through whom to life into eternity blessed
perueniamus, colendos esse censebunt, quos bonos opinantur.
we-may-arrive to-be-worshiped to-be they-will-judge whom good they-think
Quod quale sit iam in uolumine sequenti uidendum est.
which of-what-sort it-is now in volume the-following to-be-seen it-is

BOOK IX

I · WHERE THE ARGUMENT HAS REACHED

Some hold that there are good and bad gods, and call demons gods and gods demons, so that Homer names Jupiter a demon; others, thinking none evil, are troubled by the demons' deeds and assign all that displeases them to the demons. Since the Platonists, the best of the philosophers, set the demons between gods and men as messengers, the last book asked how demons who delight in what good men condemn could reconcile good men to good gods, and found that they could not.

Et bonos et malos deos esse quidam opinati sunt; quidam
both good and evil gods to-be some thought have some
uero de dis meliora sentientes tantum eis honoris
but about the-gods better-things thinking so-much to-them of-honor
laudisque tribuerunt, ut nullum deorum malum credere
and-of-praise assigned that no of-the-gods evil to-believe
auderent. Sed illi, qui deos quosdam bonos, quosdam
they-dared but those who gods some good some
malos esse dixerunt, daemones quoque appellauerunt nomine
evil to-be said demons also called by-the-name
deorum, quamquam et deos, sed rarius, nomine daemonum,
of-gods although also gods but more-rarely by-the-name of-demons
ita ut ipsum Iouem, quem uolunt esse regem ac principem
so that the-very Jove whom they-wish to-be the-king and chief
ceterorum, ab Homero fateantur daemonem nuncupatum.
of-the-rest by Homer they-confess a-demon named
Hi autem, qui omnes deos non nisi bonos esse adserunt
these but who all gods not except good to-be assert
et longe praestantiores eis hominibus, qui perhibentur
and far more-excellent than-those men who are-said
boni, merito mouentur daemonum factis, quae negare non
good deservedly are-moved of-demons by-the-deeds which to-deny not

possunt; eaque nullo modo a dis, quos omnes bonos
they-can and-them in-no way by the-gods whom all good
uolunt, committi posse existimantes differentiam inter
they-wish to-be-committed to-be-able judging a-difference between
deos et daemones adhibere coguntur, ut, quidquid eis
gods and demons to-apply they-are-compelled that whatever them
merito displicet in operibus uel affectibus prauis, quibus
deservedly displeases in works or affections depraved by-which
uim suam manifestant occulti spiritus, id credant esse
force their-own manifest hidden spirits that they-may-believe to-be
daemonum, non deorum. Sed quia eosdem daemones inter
of-demons not of-gods but because the-same demons between
homines et deos ita medios constitutos putant, tamquam
men and gods so in-the-middle placed they-think as-if
nullus deus homini misceatur, ut hinc perferant desiderata,
no god with-man mingles that hence they-may-carry things-desired
inde referant inpetrata, adque hoc Platonici, praecipui
thence bring-back things-obtained and this the-Platonists chief
philosophorum ac nobilissimi, sentiunt, cum quibus uelut cum
of-philosophers and most-noble think with whom as-if with
excellentioribus placuit istam examinare quaestionem, utrum
the-more-excellent it-pleased this to-examine question whether
cultus plurimorum deorum prosit ad consequendam uitam
the-worship of-very-many gods profits for obtaining life
beatam quae post mortem futura est: libro superiore
blessed which after death about-to-be is in-the-book former
quaesiuimus, quo pacto daemones, qui talibus gaudent,
we-asked in-what way demons who in-such-things rejoice
qualia boni et prudentes homines auersantur et damnant,
as good and prudent men shun and condemn
id est sacrilega flagitiosa facinerosa non de quolibet
that is sacrilegious disgraceful criminal not about any-whatever

homine, sed de ipsis dis figmenta poetarum et magicarum
man but about the-very gods fictions of-the-poets and of-magic
artium sceleratam puniendamque uiolentiam, possint quasi
arts the-wicked and-punishable violence may-be-able as-if
propinquiores et amiciores dis bonis conciliare homines
nearer and friendlier to-gods good to-reconcile men
bonos, et hoc nulla ratione posse conpertum est.
good and this by-no reason to-be-able found it-was

II · WHETHER ANY DEMONS ARE GOOD

This book must treat not the difference among the gods, whom they call all good, nor between gods and demons, but among the demons themselves, since many say some demons are good and some evil. The opinion must be examined, lest anyone think he should follow good demons as mediators to the gods, hoping to be with them after death, and, caught by the deceit of malign spirits, wander far from the true God, with whom alone, in whom alone, and from whom alone the rational and intellectual soul is blessed.

Proinde hic liber, sicut in illius fine promisimus, disputationem
accordingly this book as in of-that the-end we-promised a-disputation
continere debebit de differentia (si quam uolunt esse)
to-contain will-be-bound about the-difference if any they-wish to-be
non deorum inter se, quos omnes bonos dicunt, nec de
not of-gods among themselves whom all good they-say nor about
differentia deorum et daemonum, quorum illos ab hominibus
the-difference of-gods and demons of-whom those from men
longe alteque seiungunt, istos inter deos et homines conlocant;
far and-high they-separate these between gods and men they-place
sed de differentia ipsorum daemonum, quod ad praesentem
but about the-difference of-the-very demons what to the-present

pertinet quaestionem. Aput plerosque enim usitatum est
pertains question with very-many for customary it-is
dici, alios bonos alios malos daemones; quae siue sit etiam
to-be-said some good others evil demons which whether it-be also
Platonicorum, siue quorumlibet sententia, nequaquam eius
of-the-Platonists or of-any the-opinion by-no-means its
est neglegenda discussio, ne quisquam uelut daemones bonos
is to-be-neglected the-discussion lest anyone as-if demons good
sequendos sibi esse arbitretur, per quos tamquam medios
to-be-followed for-himself to-be judge through whom as-if middle
dis, quos omnes bonos credit, dum conciliari adfectat et
to-gods whom all good he-believes while to-be-reconciled he-aims and
studet, ut quasi cum eis possit esse post mortem, inretitus
strives that as-if with them he-may-be-able to-be after death entangled
malignorum spirituum deceptusque fallacia longe aberret a
of-malign spirits and-deceived by-the-deceit far wander from
uero Deo, cum quo solo et in quo solo et de quo solo
the-true God with whom alone and in whom alone and from whom alone
anima humana, id est rationalis et intellectualis, beata est.
the-soul human that is rational and intellectual blessed is

Apuleius, saying so much of the demons' airy bodies, is silent on the virtues of soul they would have if good, and cannot hide their misery: their very minds are tossed by storms of passion. From these demons, he says, the poets, not far from the truth, feign gods who hate or love certain men, pitying, angry, anxious, glad, while the heavenly gods are far from all such storms. So demons, below even wise men who resist such passions, are like the foolish and unjust, not in body but in character.

Quae igitur est differentia daemonum bonorum et malorum?
what then is the-difference of-demons good and evil
Quando quidem Platonicus Apuleius de his uniuersaliter
since indeed the-Platonist Apuleius about them universally
disserens et tam multa loquens de aeriis eorum
discoursing and so many-things saying about airy their
corporibus de uirtutibus tacuit animorum, quibus essent
bodies about the-virtues kept-silent of-minds with-which they-would-be
praediti, si essent boni. Tacuit ergo beatitudinis causam,
endowed if they-were good he-kept-silent therefore of-blessedness the-cause
indicium uero miseriae tacere non potuit, confitens
the-indication but of-wretchedness to-keep-silent not he-could confessing
eorum mentem, qua rationales esse perhibuit, non
their mind by-which rational to-be he-declared not
saltem inbutam munitamque uirtute passionibus animi
at-least imbued and-fortified with-virtue to-passions of-the-mind
inrationabilibus nequaquam cedere, sed ipsam quoque, sicut
irrational by-no-means to-yield but itself also as
stultarum mentium mos est, procellosis quodam modo
of-foolish minds the-custom is by-stormy in-a-certain way
perturbationibus agitari. Verba namque eius de hac
disturbances to-be-agitated the-words for his about this
re ista sunt: "Ex hoc ferme daemonum numero, inquit,
matter these are from this almost of-demons number he-says

poetae solent haudquaquam procul a ueritate osores et
the-poets are-wont by-no-means far from the-truth haters and
amatores quorundam hominum deos fingere; hos prosperare
lovers of-certain men gods to-feign these to-prosper
et euehere, illos contra aduersari et adfligere; igitur et
and to-raise those on-the-other-hand to-oppose and to-afflict therefore both
misereri et indignari, et angi et laetari omnemque
to-pity and to-be-indignant and to-be-distressed and to-rejoice and-every
humani animi faciem pati, simili motu cordis et salo
of-the-human mind aspect to-suffer with-like motion of-heart and with-tossing
mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare. Quae
of-mind through all of-thoughts the-surges to-fluctuate which
omnes turbelae tempestatesque procul a deorum caelestium
all tumults and-storms far from of-the-gods heavenly
tranquillitate exulant." Num est in his uerbis ulla dubitatio,
the-tranquility are-exiled surely-not is in these words any doubt
quod non animorum aliquas inferiores partes, sed ipsas
that not of-minds some lower parts but the-very
daemonum mentes, quibus rationalia sunt animalia, uelut
of-demons minds by-which rational are animals as-if
procellosum salum dixit passionum tempestate turbari? ut
a-stormy sea he-said of-passions by-the-tempest to-be-disturbed that
ne hominibus quidem sapientibus conparandi sint, qui huius
not to-men even wise to-be-compared they-are who of-this
modi perturbationibus animorum, a quibus humana non
kind disturbances of-minds from which human not
est inmunis infirmitas, etiam cum eas huius uitae condicione
is free weakness even when them of-this of-life by-the-condition
patiuntur, mente inperturbata, resistunt, non eis cedentes
they-suffer with-mind undisturbed resist not to-them yielding
ad aliquid adprobandum uel perpetrandum, quod exorbitet ab
for anything to-be-approved or to-be-perpetrated which may-swerve from

itinere sapientiae et lege iustitiae; sed stultis mortalibus et
the-path of-wisdom and the-law of-justice but to-foolish mortals and
iniustis non corporibus, sed moribus similes (ut non dicam
unjust not in-bodies but in-morals like that not I-may-say
deteriores, eo quo uetustiores et debita poena insanabiles)
worse by-this that more-ancient and by-due punishment incurable
ipsius quoque mentis, ut iste appellauit, salo fluctuant,
of-the-very also mind as this-one called by-the-tossing they-fluctuate
nec in ueritate adque uirtute, qua turbulentis et prauis
nor in truth and virtue by-which to-turbulent and depraved
affectionibus repugnatur, ex ulla animi parte consistunt.
affections it-is-resisted in any of-the-mind part they-stand

IV · THE PERIPATETICS AND THE STOICS ON THE PASSIONS

The Platonists and Peripatetics say passions befall the wise man but are ruled by reason; the Stoics deny it, though Cicero shows they differ in words more than things. Gellius tells of a Stoic who paled in a storm at sea and showed him a book of Epictetus: impressions of terror move even the wise mind briefly, but it does not assent. So the schools hardly differ: the Stoic feared for his life yet judged it no good, and the mind, like Vergil's Aeneas, stays unmoved while the tears roll in vain.

Duae sunt sententiae philosophorum de his animi
two are the-opinions of-philosophers about these of-the-mind
motibus, quae Graeci πάθη, nostri autem quidam, sicut
motions which the-Greeks pathe ours but some as
Cicero, perturbationes, quidam affectiones uel affectus, quidam
Cicero disturbances some affections or affects some
uero, sicut iste de Graeco expressius, passiones uocant. Has
but as this-one from the-Greek more-exactly passions call these
ergo perturbationes siue affectiones siue passiones quidam
therefore disturbances or affections or passions some

philosophi dicunt etiam in sapientem cadere, sed moderatas
philosophers say even upon the-wise-man to-fall but moderated
rationique subiectas, ut eis leges quodam modo, quibus
and-to-reason subjected that to-them laws in-a-certain way by-which
ad necessarium redigantur modum, dominatio mentis
to the-necessary they-may-be-reduced measure the-dominion of-the-mind
inponat. Hoc qui sentiunt, Platonici sunt siue Aristotelici, cum
may-impose this who think Platonists are or Aristotelians since
Aristoteles discipulus Platonis fuerit, qui sectam Peripateticam
Aristotle the-disciple of-Plato was who the-sect Peripatetic
condidit. Aliis autem, sicut Stoicis, cadere ullas omnino
founded to-others but as the-Stoics to-fall any at-all
huiusce modi passiones in sapientem non placet. Hos autem,
of-this kind passions upon the-wise-man not pleases these but
id est Stoicos, Cicero in libris de finibus bonorum et
that is the-Stoics Cicero in the-books about the-ends of-goods and
malorum uerbis magis quam rebus aduersus Platonicos seu
evils in-words more than in-things against the-Platonists or
Peripateticos certare conuincit; quando quidem Stoici nolunt
Peripatetics to-contend proves since indeed the-Stoics will-not
bona appellare, sed commoda corporis et externa, eo
goods to-call but advantages of-the-body and external by-this
quod nullum bonum uolunt esse hominis praeter uirtutem,
that no good they-wish to-be of-man besides virtue
tamquam artem bene uiuendi, quae non nisi in animo
as-if the-art well of-living which not except in the-mind
est. Haec autem isti simpliciter et ex communi loquendi
is these but those simply and from the-common of-speaking
consuetudine appellant bona; sed in conparatione uirtutis,
custom call goods but in comparison of-virtue
qua recte uiuitur, parua et exigua. Ex quo fit, ut ab
by-which rightly one-lives small and slight from which it-comes that by

utrisque quodlibet uocentur, seu bona seu commoda, pari
both whatever they-be-called whether goods or advantages with-equal
tamen aestimatione pensentur, nec in hac quaestione Stoici
yet valuation they-are-weighed nor in this question the-Stoics
delectentur nisi nouitate uerborum. Videtur ergo mihi etiam
are-delighted except by-the-novelty of-words it-seems therefore to-me even
in hoc, ubi quaeritur utrum accidant sapienti passiones
in this where it-is-asked whether befall the-wise-man passions
animi, an ab eis sit prorsus alienus, de uerbis eos potius
of-the-mind or from them be-be utterly estranged about words them rather
quam de rebus facere controuersiam. Nam et ipsos nihil
than about things to-make controversy for also them nothing
hinc aliud quam Platonicos et Peripateticos sentire existimo,
hence other than the-Platonists and Peripatetics to-think I-judge
quantum ad uim rerum adtinet, non ad uocabulorum sonum.
as-far-as to the-force of-things pertains not to of-words the-sound
Ut enim alia omittam, quibus id ostendam, ne longum
that for other-things I-may-omit by-which this I-may-show lest long
faciam, aliquid unum quod sit euidentissimum dicam. In
I-make something one which is most-evident I-shall-say in
libris, quibus titulus est Noctium Atticarum, scribit A.
the-books of-which the-title is of-Nights Attic writes Aulus
Gellius, uir elegantissimi eloquii et multae undecumque
Gellius a-man of-most-elegant eloquence and of-much from-everywhere
scientiae, se nauigasse aliquando cum quodam philosopho
knowledge himself to-have-sailed once with a-certain philosopher
nobili Stoico. Is philosophus, sicut latius et uberius,
noble Stoic this philosopher as more-widely and more-fully
quod ego breuiter adtingam, narrat A. Gellius, cum illud
which I briefly shall-touch-on narrates Aulus Gellius when that
nauigium horribili caelo et mari periculosissime iactaretur,
ship by-horrible sky and sea most-dangerously was-tossed

ui timoris expalluit. Id animaduersum est ab eis, qui
by-the-force of-fear turned-pale this noticed was by those who
aderant, quamuis in mortis uicinia curiosissime adtentis,
were-present although in of-death the-neighborhood most-curiously attentive
utrumne philosophus animo turbaretur. Deinde tempestate
whether the-philosopher in-mind was-disturbed then with-the-storm
transacta mox ut securitas praebuit conloquendi uel etiam
passed soon as security offered of-conversing or even
garriendi locum, quidam ex his, quos nauis illa portabat,
of-chattering the-place a-certain-man from those whom ship that carried
diues luxuriosus Asiaticus philosophum conpellat inludens,
a-rich luxurious Asian the-philosopher accosts mocking
quod extimuisset adque palluisset, cum ipse mansisset
that he-had-feared and had-turned-pale when he-himself had-remained
intrepidus in eo quod inpendebat exitio. At ille Aristippi
fearless in that which impended destruction but he of-Aristippus
Socratici responsum rettulit, qui cum in re simili eadem
of-the-Socratic the-answer repeated who when in a-matter similar the-same
uerba ab homine simili audisset, respondit illum pro anima
words from a-man similar had-heard answered that-one for the-soul
nequissimi nebulonis merito non fuisse sollicitum, se
of-a-most-worthless rascal deservedly not to-have-been anxious himself
autem pro Aristippi anima timere debuisse. Hac illo
but for of-Aristippus the-soul to-fear to-have-been-obliged by-this that
diuite responsione depulso postea quaesiuit A. Gellius a
rich-man answer repulsed afterward asked Aulus Gellius from
philosopho non exagitandi animo, sed discendi, quaenam illa
the-philosopher not of-harassing with-mind but of-learning what that
ratio esset pauoris sui. Qui ut doceret hominem sciendi
reason was of-fear his who that he-might-teach the-man of-knowing
studio nauiter accensum, protulit statim de sarcinula sua
with-zeal diligently fired brought-forth at-once from little-pack his-own

Stoici Epicteti librum, in quo ea scripta essent, quae
of-the-Stoic Epictetus a-book in which those-things written were which
congruerent decretis Zenonis et Chrysippi, quos fuisse
agreed with-the-decrees of-Zeno and of-Chrysippus whom to-have-been
Stoicorum principes nouimus. In eo libro se legisse dicit
of-the-Stoics the-chiefs we-know in that book himself to-have-read says
A. Gellius hoc Stoicis placuisse, quod animi uisa, quas
Aulus Gellius this to-the-Stoics to-have-pleased that the-mind's appearances which
appellant phantasias, nec in potestate est utrum et quando
they-call phantasiai nor in power is-it whether and when
incidant animo, cum ueniunt ex terribilibus et formidabilibus
they-befall the-mind when they-come from terrible and fearful
rebus, necesse est etiam sapientis animum moueant, ita
things necessary it-is even of-the-wise-man the-mind they-move so
ut paulisper uel pauescat metu, uel tristitia contrahatur,
that for-a-little either he-trembles with-fear or with-sadness is-contracted
tamquam his passionibus praeuenientibus mentis et rationis
as-if these passions forestalling of-the-mind and of-reason
officium; nec ideo tamen in mente fieri opinionem mali,
the-office nor therefore yet in the-mind to-be-made an-opinion of-evil
nec adprobari ista eisque consentiri. Hoc enim esse uolunt
nor to-be-approved these and-to-them to-be-assented this for to-be they-wish
in potestate idque interesse censent inter animum sapientis
in power and-this to-be-the-difference they-judge between the-mind of-the-wise
et stulti, quod stulti animus eisdem passionibus cedit adque
and of-the-fool that of-the-fool the-mind to-the-same passions yields and
adcommodat mentis adsensum; sapientes autem, quamuis eas
adapts of-the-mind the-assent the-wise but although them
necessitate patiantur, retinent tamen de his, quae adpetere
by-necessity they-suffer retain yet about those-things which to-seek
uel fugere rationabiliter debent, ueram et stabilem inconcussa
or to-flee rationally they-ought the-true and stable with-unshaken

mente sententiam. Haec ut potui non quidem commodius
mind judgment these-things as I-could not indeed more-fittingly
A. Gellio, sed certe breuius et, ut puto, planius exposui,
Aulus than-Gellius but certainly more-briefly and as I-think more-plainly I-have-set-forth
quae ille se in Epicteti libro legisse commemorat eum
which he himself in of-Epictetus the-book to-have-read records him
ex decretis Stoicorum dixisse adque sensisse.
from the-decrees of-the-Stoics to-have-said and to-have-thought

Quae si ita sunt, aut nihil aut paene nihil distat
which-things if so they-are either nothing or almost nothing differs
inter Stoicorum aliorumque philosophorum opinionem de
between of-the-Stoics and-of-other philosophers the-opinion about
passionibus et perturbationibus animorum; utrique enim
passions and disturbances of-minds both for
mentem rationemque sapientis ab earum dominatione
the-mind and-reason of-the-wise-man from their dominion
defendunt. Et ideo fortasse dicunt eas in sapientem non
defend and therefore perhaps say them upon the-wise-man not
cadere Stoici, quia nequaquam eius sapientiam, qua utique
to-fall the-Stoics because by-no-means his wisdom by-which assuredly
sapiens est, ullo errore obnubilant aut labe subuertunt.
wise he-is with-any error they-cloud or with-stain overturn
Accidunt autem animo sapientis salua serenitate sapientiae
they-befall but the-mind of-the-wise-man with-safe serenity of-wisdom
propter illa, quae commoda uel incommoda appellant,
on-account-of those-things which advantages or disadvantages they-call
quamuis ea nolint dicere bona uel mala. Nam profecto si
although them they-will-not to-call goods or evils for assuredly if
nihili penderet eas res ille philosophus, quas amissurum
at-nothing weighed those things that philosopher which about-to-lose
se naufragio sentiebat, sicuti est uita ista salusque
himself in-shipwreck he-felt as is life this and-the-safety

corporis, non ita illud periculum perhorresceret, ut palloris
of-body not so that danger he-would-have-dreaded that of-pallor
etiam testimonio proderetur. Verum tamen et illam poterat
even by-the-testimony he-was-betrayed but yet both that he-could
permotionem pati, et fixam tenere mente sententiam, uitam
disturbance to-suffer and fixed to-hold in-mind the-judgment life
illam salutemque corporis, quorum amissionem minabatur
that and-safety of-body whose loss threatened
tempestatis inmanitas, non esse bona, quae illos quibus
of-the-storm the-monstrousness not to-be goods which those in-whom
inessent facerent bonos, sicut facit iustitia. Quod autem
they-were-present might-make good as makes justice what but
aiunt ea nec bona appellanda esse, sed commoda: uerborum
they-say them not goods to-be-called to-be but advantages of-words
certamini, non rerum examini deputandum est. Quid
to-a-contest not of-things to-an-examination to-be-assigned it-is what
enim interest, utrum aptius bona uocentur an commoda,
for matters-it whether more-aptly goods they-be-called or advantages
dum tamen ne his priuetur non minus Stoicus quam
while yet lest of-them he-be-deprived not less the-Stoic than
Peripateticus pauescat et palleat, ea non aequaliter appellando,
the-Peripatetic trembles and turns-pale them not equally by-naming
sed aequaliter aestimando? Ambo sane, si bonorum istorum
but equally by-valuing both indeed if of-goods these
seu commodorum periculis ad flagitium uel facinus urgeantur,
or of-advantages by-the-dangers to outrage or crime they-be-pressed
ut aliter ea retinere non possint, malle se dicunt haec
that otherwise them to-retain not they-can to-prefer themselves they-say these
amittere, quibus natura corporis salua et incolumis habetur,
to-lose by-which the-nature of-the-body safe and unharmed is-held
quam illa committere, quibus iustitia uiolatur. Ita mens, ubi
than those to-commit by-which justice is-violated so the-mind where

fixa est ista sententia, nullas perturbationes, etiamsi accidunt
fixed is this judgment no disturbances even-if they-befall
inferioribus animi partibus, in se contra rationem praeualere
the-lower of-the-mind parts in itself against reason to-prevail
permittit; quin immo eis ipsa dominatur eisque non
permits but rather over-them it-itself rules and-to-them not
consentiendo et potius resistendo regnum uirtutis exercet.
by-consenting and rather by-resisting the-reign of-virtue exercises
Talem describit etiam Vergilius Aenean, ubi ait:
such describes also Vergil Aeneas where he-says

Mens inmota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.
the-mind unmoved remains tears roll vain

V · THE PASSIONS IN CHRISTIAN MINDS

Scripture subjects the mind to God and the passions to the mind: we ask not whether the devout soul is angry, sad, or afraid, but why. Anger to correct a sinner, sadness to free the afflicted, fear for one in danger, no sane man would blame. The Stoics count mercy a vice, which Cicero praised as Caesar's most admirable virtue, yet on Epictetus' showing admit such passions in the wise. The holy angels punish without anger and help without pity or fear, yet bear the passions' names, as God is said to be angry without passion.

Non est nunc necesse copiose ac diligenter ostendere, quid
not it-is now necessary copiously and diligently to-show what
de istis passionibus doceat scriptura diuina, qua Christiana
about these passions teaches scripture divine in-which Christian
eruditio continetur. Deo quippe ipsam mentem subicit
learning is-contained to-God for the-very mind it-subjects

regendam et iuuandam mentique passiones ita moderandas
to-be-ruled and to-be-helped and-to-the-mind the-passions so to-be-moderated
adque frenandas, ut in usum iustitiae conuertantur. Denique
and to-be-bridled that into the-use of-justice they-be-turned finally
in disciplina nostra non tam quaeritur utrum pius animus
in discipline our not so-much is-it-asked whether a-devout mind
irascatur, sed quare irascatur; nec utrum sit tristis, sed unde
be-angry but why it-be-angry nor whether it-be sad but whence
sit tristis; nec utrum timeat, sed quid timeat. Irasci enim
it-be sad nor whether it-fear but what it-fear to-be-angry for
peccanti ut corrigatur, contristari pro adflicto ut liberetur,
with-one-sinning that he-be-corrected to-be-saddened for the-afflicted that he-be-freed
timere periclitanti ne pereat, nescio utrum quisquam
to-fear for-one-endangered lest he-perish I-know-not whether anyone
sana consideratione reprehendat. Nam et misericordiam
with-sound consideration would-blame for also mercy
Stoicorum est solere culpare; sed quanto honestius ille
of-the-Stoics it-is to-be-wont to-blame but how-much more-honorably that
Stoicus misericordia perturbaretur hominis liberandi quam
Stoic by-mercy would-have-been-disturbed for-a-man to-be-freed than
timore naufragii. Longe melius et humanius et piorum
by-fear of-shipwreck far better and more-humanely and of-the-devout
sensibus adcommodatius Cicero in Caesaris laude locutus
to-the-feelings more-fittingly Cicero in of-Caesar the-praise spoken
est, ubi ait: “Nulla de uirtutibus tuis nec admirabilior
has where he-says none of virtues your neither more-admirable
nec gratior misericordia est.” Quid est autem misericordia
nor more-pleasing than-mercy is what is moreover mercy
nisi alienae miseriae quaedam in nostro corde conpassio,
except of-another's wretchedness a-certain in our heart compassion
qua utique si possumus subuenire conpellimur? Seruit
by-which assuredly if we-can to-come-to-help we-are-compelled serves

autem motus iste rationi, quando ita praebetur misericordia,
moreover motion this reason when so is-furnished mercy
ut iustitia conseruetur, siue cum indigenti tribuitur, siue
that justice be-preserved whether when to-the-needy it-is-given or
cum ignoscitur paenitenti. Hanc Cicero locutor egregius
when pardon-is-granted to-the-penitent this Cicero the-speaker distinguished
non dubitauit appellare uirtutem, quam Stoicos inter uitia
not hesitated to-call a-virtue which the-Stoics among vices
numerare non pudet, qui tamen, ut docuit liber Epicteti,
to-number not are-ashamed who yet as taught the-book of-Epictetus
nobilissimi Stoici, ex decretis Zenonis et Chrysippi, qui
the-most-noble Stoic from the-decrees of-Zeno and of-Chrysippus who
huius sectae primas habuerunt, huiusce modi passiones
of-this sect the-first-place held of-this kind passions
in animum sapientis admittunt, quem uitiis omnibus
into the-mind of-the-wise-man admit whom from-vices all
liberum uolunt. Unde fit consequens, ut haec ipsa
free they-wish whence it-becomes consequent that these very-things
non putent uitia, quando sapienti sic accidunt, ut contra
not they-think vices when to-the-wise-man so they-befall that against
uirtutem mentis rationemque nihil possint, et una sit
the-virtue of-the-mind and-reason nothing they-can and one is
eademque sententia Peripateticorum uel etiam Platonicorum
and-the-same the-opinion of-the-Peripatetics or even of-the-Platonists
et ipsorum Stoicorum, sed, ut ait Tullius, uerbi controuersia
and of-the-Stoics themselves but as says Tully of-words controversy
iam diu torqueat homines Graeculos contentionis cupidiores
now long torments men little-Greeks of-contention more-desirous
quam ueritatis. Sed adhuc merito quaeri potest, utrum ad
than of-truth but still deservedly to-be-asked it-can whether to
uitae praesentis pertineat infirmitatem etiam in quibusque
of-life present pertains the-weakness even in all

bonis officiis huiusce modi perpeti affectus, sancti uero angeli
good offices of-this kind to-suffer affects the-holy but angels
et sine ira puniant, quos accipiunt aeterna Dei
both without anger punish those-whom they-receive by-the-eternal of-God
lege puniendos, et miseris sine miseriae conpassione
law to-be-punished and the-wretched without of-wretchedness compassion
subueniant, et periclitantibus eis, quos diligunt, sine
may-help and endangered to-those whom they-love without
timore opitulentur; et tamen istarum nomina passionum
fear they-bring-aid and yet of-these the-names of-passions
consuetudine locutionis humanae etiam in eos usurpentur
by-the-custom of-speech human even on them are-used
propter quandam operum similitudinem, non propter
on-account-of a-certain of-works likeness not on-account-of
affectionum infirmitatem, sicut ipse Deus secundum scripturas
of-affections weakness as himself God according-to the-scriptures
irascitur, nec tamen ulla passione turbatur. Hoc enim uerbum
is-angry nor yet by-any passion is-disturbed this for word
uindictae usurpauit effectus, non illius turbulentus affectus.
of-vengeance has-used the-effect not that turbulent affect

If the demons' minds were free of the passions and ruled them, Apuleius would not say they are tossed through every surge of thought. Their very mind, the higher part in which virtue and wisdom would rule, is subject to lusts, fears, and angers. What part of them then is free and wise, to please the gods and counsel men, when their mind, mastered by vice, bends whatever reason it has to deceiving, the more keenly the more the lust to harm possesses it?

Qua interim de sanctis angelis quaestione dilata uideamus
which meanwhile about the-holy angels question postponed let-us-see
quem ad modum dicant Platonici medios daemones inter deos
in-what to manner say the-Platonists the-middle demons between gods
et homines constitutos istis passionum aestibus fluctuare.
and men placed with-these of-passions surges to-fluctuate
Si enim mente ab his libera eisque dominante motus
if for with-mind from these free and-over-them ruling motions
huiusce modi paterentur, non eos diceret Apuleius simili
of-this kind they-suffered not them would-say Apuleius with-like
motu cordis et salo mentis per omnes cogitationum
motion of-heart and with-tossing of-mind through all of-thoughts
aestus fluctuare. Ipsa igitur mens eorum, id est pars
the-surges to-fluctuate the-very therefore mind their that is the-part
animi superior, qua rationales sunt, in qua uirtus et
of-the-mind higher by-which rational they-are in which virtue and
sapientia, si ulla eis esset, passionibus turbulentis inferiorum
wisdom if any to-them were over-passions turbulent of-the-lower
animi partium regendis moderandisque dominaretur, —
of-the-mind parts to-be-ruled and-to-be-moderated would-rule
ipsa, inquam, mens eorum, sicut iste Platonicus confitetur,
the-very I-say mind their as this Platonist confesses
salo perturbationum fluctuat. Subiecta est ergo mens
by-the-tossing of-disturbances fluctuates subjected is therefore the-mind

daemonum passionibus libidinum formidinum irarum adque
of-demons to-passions of-lusts of-fears of-angers and
huiusce modi ceteris. Quae igitur pars in eis libera est
of-this kind the-rest what then part in them free is
composque sapientiae, qua placeant dis et ad bonorum
and-possessed of-wisdom by-which they-may-please the-gods and to of-good
morum similitudinem hominibus consulant, cum eorum mens
morals the-likeness for-men may-take-counsel when their mind
passionum uitiis subiugata et obpressa, quidquid rationis
of-passions by-vices subjugated and oppressed whatever of-reason
naturaliter habet, ad fallendum et decipiendum tanto acrius
naturally it-has to deceiving and cheating so-much more-keenly
intendat, quanto eam magis possidet nocendi cupiditas?
bends as-much-as it more possesses of-harming the-desire

VII · THE POETS' FICTIONS AND THE DEMONS' QUARRELS

Apuleius was describing all demons, not only evil ones. The poets' fiction, he says, is to call gods those who are not and set them quarreling over the men they love or hate; it is not far from the truth because the demons so named are such. So Homer's Minerva restraining Achilles was a demon, the goddess being in the ether, and so were the partisans of Greeks or Trojans named Venus or Mars, like a crowd for its hunters and charioteers. He wished, it seems, that what the poets sang be believed of the demons, not of the gods themselves.

Quod si quisquam dicit, non ex omnium, sed ex malorum
but if anyone says not from all but from of-evil
daemonum numero esse, quos poetae quorundam hominum
demons the-number to-be those-whom the-poets of-certain men
osores et amatores deos non procul a ueritate confingunt
haters and lovers gods not far from the-truth feign

(hos enim dixit Apuleius salo mentis per omnes
these for said Apuleius with-the-tossing of-mind through all
cogitationum aestus fluctuare): quo modo istud intellegere
of-thoughts the-surges to-fluctuate in-what way this to-understand
poterimus, quando, cum hoc diceret, non quorundam, id
shall-we-be-able when when this he-said not of-some that
est malorum, sed omnium daemonum medietatem propter
is of-evil but of-all demons the-middleness on-account-of
aeria corpora inter deos et homines describebat? Hoc
airy bodies between gods and men he-described this
enim ait fingere poetas, quod ex istorum daemonum
for he-says to-feign the-poets that from of-these demons
numero deos faciunt et eis deorum nomina inponunt
the-number gods they-make and on-them of-gods the-names impose
et quibus uoluerint hominibus ex his amicos inimicosque
and to-whatever they-wished men from these friends and-enemies
distribuunt ficti carminis inpunita licentia, cum deos
they-distribute of-feigned song by-unpunished license though the-gods
ab his daemonum moribus et caelesti loco et beatitudinis
from these of-demons morals and by-heavenly place and of-blessedness
opulentia remotos esse perhibeat. Haec est ergo fictio
by-the-wealth removed to-be he-declares this is therefore the-fiction
poetarum deos dicere, qui di non sunt, eosque sub deorum
of-the-poets gods to-call who gods not are and-them under of-gods
nominibus inter se decertare propter homines, quos
the-names among themselves to-contend on-account-of men whom
pro studio partium diligunt uel oderunt. Non procul
according-to zeal of-parties they-love or they-hate not far
autem a ueritate dicit hanc esse fictionem, quoniam deorum
moreover from the-truth he-says this to-be fiction since of-gods
appellati uocabulis, qui di non sunt, tales tamen describuntur
called by-the-words who gods not are such yet are-described

daemones, quales sunt. Denique hinc esse dicit Homericam
the-demons as they-are finally hence to-be he-says Homeric
illam Mineruam, "quae mediis coetibus Graium cohibendo
that Minerva who amid the-assemblies of-the-Greeks by-restraining
Achilli interuenit." Quod ergo Minerua illa fuerit, poeticum
Achilles intervened that therefore Minerva that was poetic
uult esse figmentum, eo quod Mineruam deam putat
he-wishes to-be a-fiction by-this that Minerva a-goddess he-thinks
eamque inter deos, quos omnes bonos beatosque credit,
and-her among the-gods whom all good and-blessed he-believes
in alta aetheria sede conlocat, procul a conuersatione
in the-high ethereal seat places far from the-converse
mortalium; quod autem aliquis daemon fuerit Graecis
of-mortals that but some demon was to-the-Greeks
fauens Troianisque contrarius, sicut alius aduersus Graecos
favoring and-to-the-Trojans opposed as another against the-Greeks
Troianorum opitulator, quem Veneris seu Martis nomine
of-the-Trojans a-helper whom of-Venus or of-Mars by-the-name
idem poeta commemorat, quos deos iste talia non
the-same poet mentions whom as-gods this-one such-things not
agentes in habitationibus caelestibus ponit, et hi daemones
doing in dwellings heavenly places and these demons
pro eis, quos amabant, contra eos, quos oderant, inter
for those whom they-loved against those whom they-hated among
se decertauerint, hoc non procul a ueritate poetas
themselves contended this not far from the-truth the-poets
dixisse confessus est. De his quippe ista dixerunt,
to-have-said confessed he-has about these for these-things they-said
quos hominibus simili motu cordis et salo mentis per
whom to-men with-like motion of-heart and with-tossing of-mind through
omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare testatur, ut possint
all of-thoughts the-surges to-fluctuate he-testifies that they-may-be-able

amores et odia non pro iustitia, sed sicut populus similis
loves and hatreds not for justice but as the-people like
eorum in uenatoribus et aurigis secundum suarum studia
them in hunters and charioteers according-to their-own the-zeals
partium pro aliis aduersus alios exercere. Id enim uidetur
of-parties for some against others to-exercise this for seems
philosophus curasse Platonicus, ne, cum haec a poetis
the-philosopher to-have-taken-care Platonist lest when these-things by the-poets
canerentur, non a daemonibus mediis, sed ab ipsis dis,
were-sung not by the-demons middle but by the-gods themselves
quorum nomina poetae fingendo ponunt, fieri crederentur.
whose names the-poets by-feigning set to-be-done they-be-believed

VIII · APULEIUS' DEFINITION OF GODS, DEMONS, AND MEN

Apuleius' definition of demons gives them nothing shared with good men that the bad lack. He describes men as rational, eloquent, with immortal souls and dying limbs, anxious minds, slow wisdom, quick death; to the gods he gives blessedness. Had he thought some demons good, he would have given them some share in blessedness or wisdom. Sparing their worshipers, he still set them apart from the gods by their passions, joining them to the gods only by eternal bodies.

Quid? illa ipsa definitio daemonum parumne intuenda
what that very definition of-demons too-little to-be-looked-at
est (ubi certe omnes determinando conplexus est), quod
is where certainly all by-defining embraced he-has what
ait daemones esse genere animalia, animo passiua, mente
he-says demons to-be in-kind animals in-mind passive in-intellect
rationalia, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna? In quibus quinque
rational in-body airy in-time eternal in which five
commemoratis nihil dixit omnino, quod daemones cum
mentioned nothing he-said at-all which demons with

bonis saltem hominibus id uiderentur habere commune,
good at-least men that might-seem to-have common
quod non esset in malis. Nam ipsos homines cum aliquanto
which not were in the-evil for the-very men when somewhat
latius describendo conplecteretur, suo loco de illis
more-widely by-describing he-embraced in-his-own place about them
dicens tamquam de infimis adque terrenis, cum prius
saying as-it-were about the-lowest and earthly when first
dixisset de caelestibus dis, ut commendatis duabus
he-had-spoken about the-heavenly gods that with-commended two
partibus ex summo et infimo ultimis tertio loco de
parts from the-highest and lowest extremes in-the-third place about
mediis daemonibus loqueretur: "Igitur homines, inquit,
the-middle demons he-might-speak therefore men he-says
ratione cluentes, oratione pollentes, inmortalibus animis,
with-reason famed with-speech powerful with-immortal souls
moribundis membris, leuibus et anxiis mentibus, brutis et
with-dying limbs with-light and anxious minds with-brutish and
obnoxiis corporibus, dissimilibus moribus, similibus erroribus,
liable bodies with-unlike morals with-like errors
peruicaci audacia, pertinaci spe, casso labore, fortuna
with-stubborn boldness with-persistent hope with-vain labor with-fortune
caduca, singillatim mortales, cuncti tamen uniuerso genere
falling singly mortal all yet in-the-universal race
perpetui, uicissim sufficienda prole mutabiles, uolucri
perpetual by-turns with-to-be-supplied offspring changeable with-swift
tempore, tarda sapientia, cita morte, querula uita
time with-slow wisdom with-quick death with-complaining life
terras incolunt." Cum hic tam multa diceret, quae ad
the-lands inhabit when he so many-things said which to
plurimos homines pertinent, numquid etiam illud tacuit,
very-many men pertain surely-not also that he-kept-silent

quod nouerat esse paucorum, ubi ait "tarda sapientia"?
which he-knew to-be of-few where he-says with-slow wisdom
Quod si praetermisisset, nullo modo recte genus humanum
which if he-had-passed-over in-no way rightly the-race human
descriptionis huius tam intenta diligentia terminasset. Cum
of-description this with-so intent diligence he-would-have-defined when
uero deorum excellentiam commendaret, ipsam beatitudinem,
but of-the-gods the-excellence he-commended the-very blessedness
quo uolunt homines per sapientiam peruenire, in eis
whither wish men through wisdom to-arrive in them
adfirmauit excellere. Proinde si aliquos daemones bonos uellet
he-affirmed to-excel accordingly if some demons good he-wished
intellegi, aliquid etiam in ipsorum descriptione poneret,
to-be-understood something also in their description he-would-put
unde uel cum dis aliquam beatitudinis partem, uel cum
whence either with the-gods some of-blessedness part or with
hominibus qualemcumque sapientiam putarentur habere
men some-kind-of wisdom they-might-be-thought to-have
communem. Nunc uero nullum bonum eorum commemorauit,
common now but no good their he-mentioned
quo boni discernuntur a malis. Quamuis et eorum
by-which the-good are-distinguished from the-evil although also of-their
malitiae liberius exprimendae pepercerit, non tam ne
malice more-freely to-be-expressed he-refrained not so-much lest
ipsos, quam ne cultores eorum, aput quos loquebatur,
them as lest the-worshipers their among whom he-spoke
offenderet: significauit tamen prudentibus, quid de illis
he-might-offend he-signified yet to-the-prudent what about them
sentire deberent, quando quidem deos, quos omnes bonos
to-think they-ought since indeed the-gods whom all good
beatosque credi uoluit, ab eorum passionibus adque, ut
and-blessed to-be-believed he-wished from their passions and as

ait ipse, turbelis omni modo separauit, sola illos corporum
says he-himself tumults in-every way he-separated alone them of-bodies
aeternitate coniungens, animo autem non dis, sed hominibus
by-eternity joining in-mind but not to-gods but to-men
similes daemones apertissime inculcans; et hoc non sapientiae
like the-demons most-openly inculcating and this not of-wisdom
bono, cuius et homines possunt esse participes, sed
by-the-good of-which even men can to-be partakers but
perturbatione passionum, quae stultis malisque dominatur, a
by-disturbance of-passions which the-foolish and-evil rules by
sapientibus uero et bonis ita regitur, ut malint eam non
the-wise but and good so is-ruled that they-would-prefer it not
habere quam uincere. Nam si non corporum, sed animorum
to-have than to-conquer for if not of-bodies but of-minds
aeternitatem cum dis habere daemones uellet intellegi,
eternity with the-gods to-have demons he-wished to-be-understood
non utique homines ab huius rei consortio separaret,
not assuredly men from of-this thing the-fellowship would-he-separate
quia et hominibus aeternos esse animos procul dubio sicut
because also to-men eternal to-be souls far from-doubt as
Platonicus sentit. Ideo cum hoc genus animantum describeret,
the-Platonist thinks therefore when this kind of-living-beings he-described
inmortalibus animis, moribundis membris dixit esse homines.
with-immortal souls with-dying limbs he-said to-be men
Ac per hoc si propterea communem cum dis aeternitatem
and through this if for-this-reason common with gods eternity
non habent homines, quia corpore sunt mortales: propterea
not have men because in-body they-are mortal for-this-reason
ergo daemones habent, quia corpore sunt inmortales.
therefore demons have-it because in-body they-are immortal

What mediators are these, sharing with men the worse in the better part, the soul, and with the gods the better in the worse part, the body? The soul, however vicious, is better than the healthiest body, as soiled gold is dearer than pure lead. They hang as if head downward, joined to the gods in the part that serves; Sallust says the soul commands and the body serves, one shared with the gods, the other with beasts. Their eternity is the chain of the condemned.

Quales igitur mediatores sunt inter homines et deos, per
of-what-sort then mediators are-they between men and gods through
quos ad deorum amicitias homines ambiant, qui hoc cum
whom to of-the-gods the-friendships men may-canvass who this with
hominibus habent deterius, quod est in animante melius, id
men have worse which is in a-living-being better that
est animum; hoc autem habent cum dis melius, quod est in
is the-mind this but they-have with gods better which is in
animante deterius, id est corpus? Cum enim animans, id
a-living-being worse that is the-body since for a-living-being that
est animal, ex anima constet et corpore, quorum duorum
is an-animal of soul consists and body of-which two
anima est utique corpore melior, etsi uitiosa et infirma,
the-soul is assuredly than-the-body better although vicious and weak
melior certe corpore etiam sanissimo adque firmissimo,
better certainly than-the-body even most-healthy and most-firm
quoniam natura eius excellentior nec labe uitiorum
since the-nature its more-excellent nor by-the-stain of-vices
postponitur corpori, sicut aurum etiam sordidum argento seu
is-placed-after the-body as gold even dirty than-silver or
plumbo, licet purissimo, carius aestimatur: ista mediatores
lead though most-pure more-dearly is-valued these mediators
deorum et hominum, per quos interpositos diuinis
of-gods and of-men through whom placed-between to-divine-things

humana iunguntur, cum dis habent corpus aeternum,
human-things are-joined with gods have a-body eternal
uitiosum autem cum hominibus animum: quasi religio, qua
vicious but with men a-mind as-if the-religion by-which
uolunt dis homines per daemones iungi, in corpore sit,
they-wish to-gods men through demons to-be-joined in the-body be
non in animo constituta. Quaenam tandem istos mediatores
not in the-mind established what at-length these mediators
falsos adque fallaces quasi capite deorsum nequitia uel
false and deceitful as-if with-the-head downward wickedness or
poena suspendit, ut inferiorem animalis partem, id est
punishment hangs that the-lower of-the-animal part that is
corpus, cum superioribus, superiorem uero, id est animum,
the-body with the-higher the-higher but that is the-mind
cum inferioribus habeant, et cum dis caelestibus in parte
with the-lower they-have and with gods heavenly in the-part
seruiente coniuncti, cum hominibus autem terrestribus in
serving joined with men but earthly in
parte dominante sint miseri? Corpus quippe seruum est,
the-part ruling they-be wretched the-body for a-slave is
sicut etiam Sallustius ait: "Animi imperio, corporis seruitio
as also Sallust says of-the-mind the-command of-the-body the-service
magis utimur." Adiunxit autem ille: "Alterum nobis cum dis,
rather we-use he-added moreover he the-one to-us with gods
alterum cum beluis commune est," quoniam de hominibus
the-other with beasts common is since about men
loquebatur, quibus sicut beluis mortale corpus est. Isti
he-was-speaking to-whom as to-beasts mortal a-body there-is these
autem, quos inter nos et deos mediatores nobis philosophi
but whom between us and gods mediators for-us philosophers
prouiderunt, possunt quidem dicere de animo et corpore:
have-provided can indeed to-say about mind and body

alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum hominibus commune est;
the-one to-us with gods the-other with men common is
sed, sicut dixi, tamquam in peruersum ligati adque suspensi,
but as I-said as-if in reverse bound and hung
seruum corpus cum dis beatis, dominum animum cum
the-slave body with gods blessed the-master mind with
hominibus miseris habentes, parte inferiore exaltati, superiore
men wretched having in-part lower exalted in-higher
deiecti. Unde etiamsi quisquam propter hoc eos putauerit
cast-down whence even-if anyone on-account-of this them should-think
aeternitatem habere cum dis, quia nulla morte, sicut animalium
eternity to-have with gods because by-no death as of-animals
terrestrium, animi eorum soluuntur a corpore: nec
earthly the-minds their are-loosed from the-body not-even
sic existimandum est eorum corpus tamquam honoratorum
so to-be-judged is their body as-if of-the-honored
aeternum uehiculum, sed aeternum uinculum damnatorum.
an-eternal vehicle but an-eternal chain of-the-condemned

Plotinus, the best interpreter of Plato in times near ours, says of human souls: the merciful Father made their bonds mortal, lest they be held forever in this life's misery. The demons' wickedness was judged unworthy of that mercy and received an eternal body with its passive soul. With a mortal body and a blessed soul they would be happier than men; as it is, they are more wretched by their body's everlasting chain, and are not said to advance into gods.

Plotinus certe nostrae memoriae uicinis temporibus
Plotinus certainly of-our memory in-neighboring times
Platonem ceteris excellentius intellexisse laudatur. Is cum
Plato than-the-rest more-excellently to-have-understood is-praised he when
de humanis animis ageret: "Pater, inquit, misericors mortalia
about human souls treated the-Father he-says merciful mortal
illis uincla faciebat." Ita hoc ipsum, quod mortales sunt
for-them chains made so this very that mortal are
homines corpore, ad misericordiam Dei patris pertinere
men in-body to the-mercy of-God the-father to-pertain
arbitratus est, ne semper huius uitae miseria tenerentur.
judged he-has lest always of-this life by-wretchedness they-be-held
Hac misericordia indigna iudicata est iniquitas daemonum,
by-this mercy unworthy judged has-been the-iniquity of-demons
quae in animi passiui miseria non mortale sicut homines, sed
which in of-a-mind passive wretchedness not a-mortal as men but
aeternum corpus accepit. Essent quippe feliciores hominibus,
an-eternal body received they-would-be for happier than-men
si mortale cum eis haberent corpus et cum dis animum
if a-mortal with them they-had body and with gods a-mind
beatum. Essent autem pares hominibus, si cum animo
blessed they-would-be but equal to-men if with a-mind
misero corpus saltem mortale cum eis habere meruissent; si
wretched a-body at-least mortal with them to-have they-had-deserved if

tamen adquirerent aliquid pietatis, ut ab aerumnis uel in
yet they-acquired something of-devotion that from troubles at-least in
morte requiescerent. Nunc uero non solum feliciores hominibus
death they-might-rest now but not only happier than-men
non sunt animo misero, sed etiam miseriores sunt perpetuo
not they-are in-mind wretched but also more-wretched they-are by-the-perpetual
corporis uinculo. Non enim aliqua pietatis et sapientiae
of-body chain not for by-some of-devotion and of-wisdom
disciplina proficientes intellegi uoluit ex daemonibus
discipline progressing to-be-understood he-wished from demons
fieri deos, cum apertissime dixerit daemones aeternos.
to-be-made gods since most-openly he-said demons eternal

XI · THE PLATONISTS ON SOULS BECOME DEMONS

Apuleius also says men's souls are demons: of good merit they become lares; of bad, lemures or larvae; and if their merit is uncertain, manes gods. What an abyss this opens for ruined morals: the wicked, expecting to become larvae or manes gods, grow worse in their lust to harm, thinking to be invited by sacrifices after death to do harm. He says larvae are harmful demons made from men, and that the blessed are called in Greek eudaimones, good souls, that is, good demons, confirming that men's souls are demons.

Dicit quidem et animas hominum daemones esse et ex
he-says indeed also the-souls of-men demons to-be and from
hominibus fieri lares, si boni meriti sunt; lemures, si
men to-be-made lares if of-good merit they-are lemures if
mali, seu laruas; manes autem deos dici, si incertum est
bad or larvae manes but gods to-be-called if uncertain it-is
bonorum eos seu malorum esse meritorum. In qua opinione
of-good them or of-bad to-be merits in which opinion

quantam uoraginem aperiant sectandis perditis moribus, quis
how-great an-abyss they-open for-following ruined morals who
non uideat, si uel paululum adtendat? Quando quidem
not would-see if even a-little he-attends since indeed
quamlibet nequam homines fuerint, uel laruas se fieri
however worthless men were either larvae themselves to-become
dum opinantur, uel dum manes deos, tanto peiores fiunt,
while they-think or while manes gods so-much worse they-become
quanto sunt nocendi cupidiores, ut etiam quibusdam
as they-are of-harming more-desirous that even by-certain
sacrificiis tamquam diuinis honoribus post mortem se
sacrifices as-if by-divine honors after death themselves
inuitari opinentur, ut noceant. Laruas quippe dicit esse
to-be-invited they-think that they-may-harm larvae for he-says to-be
noxios daemones ex hominibus factos. Sed hinc alia
harmful demons from men made but hence another
quaestio est. Inde autem perhibet appellari Graece beatos
question it-is thence moreover he-declares to-be-called in-Greek the-blessed
εὐδαίμονας, quod boni sint animi, hoc est boni daemones,
eudaimonas because good are souls that is good demons
animos quoque hominum daemones esse confirmans.
the-souls also of-men demons to-be confirming

Apuleius sets the gods apart from men by the height of their place, the perpetuity of their life, and the perfection of their nature, with no near communion between them: the highest dwellings parted from the lowest by so vast a gulf, life there eternal and unfailing, here fleeting and makeshift, minds there raised to blessedness, here sunk to miseries. So he names three of the gods, a high place, eternity, and blessedness, and three contraries of men, the lowest place, mortality, and misery.

Sed nunc de his agimus, quos in natura propria descripsit
but now about these we-treat whom in nature proper he-described
inter deos et homines genere animalia, mente rationalia,
between gods and men in-kind animals in-intellect rational
animo passiua, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna. Nempe cum
in-mind passive in-body airy in-time eternal surely when
prius deos in sublimi caelo, homines autem in terra infima
first gods in lofty heaven men but on earth lowest
disiunctos locis et naturae dignitate secerneret, ita conclusit:
separated by-places and of-nature by-dignity he-distinguished so he-concluded
"Habetis, inquit, interim bina animalia: deos ab hominibus
you-have he-says meanwhile two animals gods from men
plurimum differentes loci sublimitate, uitae perpetuitate,
very-much differing of-place by-the-loftiness of-life by-the-perpetuity
naturae perfectione, nullo inter se propinquo communicatu,
of-nature by-the-perfection with-no among themselves near communication
cum et habitacula summa ab infimis tanta intercapedo
since both the-dwellings highest from the-lowest so-great an-interval
fastigii dispescat, et uiuacitas illic aeterna et indefecta sit,
of-elevation divides and the-vitality there eternal and unfailing is
hic caduca et subsiciua, et ingenia illa ad beatitudinem
here falling and makeshift and the-talents those to blessedness
sublimata, haec ad miserias infimata." Hic terna uideo
raised these to wretchedness lowered here three I-see

commemorata contraria de duabus naturae partibus ultimis,
mentioned contraries about the-two of-nature parts extreme
id est summis adque infimis. Nam tria quae proposuit
that is the-highest and lowest for three-things which he-set-forth
de dis laudabilia, eadem repetiuit, aliis quidem uerbis, ut
about the-gods praiseworthy the-same he-repeated in-other indeed words that
eis aduersa alia tria ex hominibus redderet. Tria deorum
to-them opposite other three from men he-might-render three of-the-gods
haec sunt: loci sublimitas, uitae perpetuitas, perfectio
these are of-place the-loftiness of-life the-perpetuity the-perfection
naturae. Haec aliis uerbis ita repetiuit, ut eis tria contraria
of-nature these in-other words so he-repeated that to-them three contraries
humanae condicionis obponeret. "Cum et habitacula, inquit,
of-human condition he-might-set-against since both the-dwellings he-says
summa ab infimis tanta intercapedo fastigii dispescat", quia
highest from the-lowest so-great an-interval of-elevation divides because
dixerat loci sublimitatem; "et uiuacitas, inquit, illic aeterna
he-had-said of-place the-loftiness and the-vitality he-says there eternal
et indefecta sit, hic caduca et subsiciua," quia dixerat
and unfailing is here falling and makeshift because he-had-said
uitae perpetuitatem; "et ingenia illa, inquit, ad beatitudinem
of-life the-perpetuity and the-talents those he-says to blessedness
sublimata, haec ad miserias infimata", quia dixerat naturae
raised these to wretchedness lowered because he-had-said of-nature
perfectionem. Tria igitur ab eo posita sunt deorum, id est
the-perfection three therefore by him set were of-the-gods that is
locus sublimis, aeternitas, beatitudo; et his contraria tria
a-place lofty eternity blessedness and to-these contrary three
hominum, id est locus infimus, mortalitas, miseria.
of-men that is a-place lowest mortality wretchedness

Rational beings must be blessed or wretched, and living things eternal or mortal; Apuleius calls demons eternal, so between gods and men they take eternity from above and misery from below: the gods' blessed eternity, men's wretched mortality, the demons' wretched eternity. He would have said wretched had he not blushed for their worshipers; under providence such misery means great malice. Good demons, eternal and blessed, would stand with the gods; a true middle, as man between beasts and angels, is mortal and blessed, or immortal and wretched.

Inter haec terna deorum et hominum quoniam daemones
among these three of-gods and men since demons
medios posuit, de loco nulla est controuersia; inter
in-the-middle he-placed about place no is controversy between
sublimem quippe et infimum medius locus aptissime habetur
lofty for and lowest the-middle place most-fittingly is-held
et dicitur. Cetera bina restant, quibus cura adtentior
and is-called the-other two remain on-which care more-attentive
adhibenda est, quem ad modum uel aliena esse a
to-be-applied is in-what to manner either alien to-be from
daemonibus ostendantur, uel si eis distribuantur, ut
demons they-may-be-shown or if to-them they-be-distributed as
medietas uidetur exposcere. Sed ab eis aliena esse non
middleness seems to-demand but from them alien to-be not
possunt. Non enim sicut dicimus locum medium nec
they-can not for as we-say the-place middle neither
summum esse nec infimum, ita daemones, cum sint
highest to-be nor lowest so demons since they-are
animalia rationalia, nec beatos esse nec miseros, sicuti sunt
animals rational neither blessed to-be nor wretched as are
arbusta uel pecora, quae sunt sensus uel rationis expertia,
shrubs or cattle which are of-sense or of-reason devoid

recte possumus dicere. Quorum ergo ratio mentibus inest,
rightly we-can to-say whose therefore reason in-minds is-present
aut miseros esse aut beatos necesse est. Item non possumus
either wretched to-be or blessed necessary it-is likewise not we-can
recte dicere nec mortales esse daemones nec aeternos. Omnia
rightly to-say neither mortal to-be demons nor eternal all
namque uiuentia aut in aeternum uiuunt, aut finiunt morte
for living-things either into eternity live or end by-death
quod uiuunt. Iam uero iste tempore aeternos daemones
what they-live now indeed this-one in-time eternal demons
dixit. Quid igitur restat, nisi ut hi medii de duobus
called what then remains except that these middle-ones of the-two
summis unum habeant et de duobus infimis alterum? Nam
highest one have and of the-two lowest the-other for
si utraque de imis habebunt aut utraque de summis,
if both from the-lowest they-will-have or both from the-highest
medii non erunt, sed in alterutram partem uel resiliunt
middle not they-will-be but to one-or-other side either they-spring-back
uel recumbunt. Quia ergo his binis, sicut demonstratum
or they-sink-down because therefore of-these two as shown
est, carere utrisque non possunt, acceptis ex utraque parte
it-has-been to-lack both not they-can taken from each side
singulis mediabuntur. Ac per hoc quia de infimis habere
single-ones they-will-mediate and through this because of the-lowest to-have
non possunt aeternitatem, quae ibi non est, unum hoc de
not they-can eternity which there not is one this from
summis habent; et ideo non est alterum ad conplendam
the-highest they-have and therefore not is the-other for completing
medietatem suam, quod de infimis habeant, nisi miseriam.
middleness their-own which from the-lowest they-may-have except wretchedness

Est itaque secundum Platonicos sublimium deorum uel
there-is and-so according-to the-Platonists of-the-lofty gods either
beata aeternitas uel aeterna beatitudo; hominum uero
a-blessed eternity or an-eternal blessedness of-men but
infimorum uel miseria mortalis uel mortalitas misera;
the-lowest either a-mortal wretchedness or mortality wretched
daemonum autem mediorum uel misera aeternitas uel aeterna
of-demons but the-middle either a-wretched eternity or an-eternal
miseria. Nam et quinque illis, quae in definitione daemonum
wretchedness for also in-five those which in the-definition of-demons
posuit, non eos medios, sicut promittebat, ostendit; quoniam
he-placed not them middle as he-promised he-showed since
tria dixit eos habere nobiscum, quod genere animalia, quod
three he-said them to-have with-us that in-kind animals that
mente rationalia, quod animo passiua sunt; cum dis autem
in-intellect rational that in-mind passive they-are with gods but
unum, quod tempore aeterna; et unum proprium, quod
one that in-time eternal and one proper that
corpore aeria. Quo modo ergo medii, quando unum habent
in-body airy in-what way then middle when one they-have
cum summis, tria cum infimis? Quis non uideat relicta
with the-highest three with the-lowest who not would-see abandoned
medietate quantum inclinentur et deprimantur ad infima?
the-middleness how-much they-incline and are-pressed-down to the-lowest
Sed plane etiam ibi medii possunt ita inueniri, ut unum
but plainly even there middle they-can so to-be-found that one
habeant proprium, quod est corpus aerium, sicut et illi
they-may-have proper which is a-body airy as also those
de summis adque infimis singula propria, di corpus
of the-highest and lowest single proper-things the-gods a-body
aetherium hominesque terrenum; duo uero communia sint
ethereal and-men earthly two but common be

omnibus, quod genere sunt animalia et mente rationalia.
to-all that in-kind they-are animals and in-intellect rational
Nam et ipse cum de dis et hominibus loqueretur:
for also he-himself when about gods and men he-spoke
"Habetis, inquit, bina animalia", et non solent isti deos nisi
you-have he-says two animals and not are-wont these gods except
rationales mente perhibere. Duo sunt residua, quod sunt
rational in-intellect to-declare two are remaining that they-are
animo passiua et tempore aeterna; quorum habent unum
in-mind passive and in-time eternal of-which they-have one
cum infimis, cum summis alterum, ut proportionali ratione
with the-lowest with the-highest the-other that with-proportional reason
librata medietas neque sustollatur in summa, neque in infima
balanced the-middleness neither be-raised to the-highest nor to the-lowest
deprimatur. Ipsa est autem illa daemonum misera aeternitas
be-pressed-down it-itself is but that of-demons wretched eternity
uel aeterna miseria. Qui enim ait "animo passiua", etiam
or eternal wretchedness who for says in-mind passive also
"misera" dixisset, nisi eorum cultoribus erubuisset.
wretched he-would-have-said unless their at-the-worshipers he-had-blushed
Porro quia prouidentia summi Dei, sicut etiam ipsi
further because by-the-providence of-the-highest God as even they-themselves
fatentur, non fortuita temeritate regitur mundus, numquam
confess not by-chance rashness is-ruled the-world never
esset istorum aeterna miseria, nisi esset magna malitia.
would-be of-these the-eternal wretchedness unless there-were great malice

Si igitur beati recte dicuntur eudaemones, non sunt
if therefore the-blessed rightly are-called eudaemones not are
eudaemones daemones, quos inter homines et deos isti in
eudaemones the-demons whom between men and gods these in
medio locauerunt. Quis ergo est locus bonorum daemonum,
the-middle have-placed what then is the-place of-good demons

qui supra homines, infra deos istis praebeant adiutorium, illis
who above men below gods to-these may-furnish help to-those
ministerium? Si enim boni aeternique sunt, profecto et beati
service if for good and-eternal they-are assuredly also blessed
sunt. Aeterna autem beatitudo medios eos esse non sinit, quia
they-are eternal but blessedness middle them to-be not allows because
multum cum dis conparat multumque ab hominibus separat.
much with the-gods it-joins and-much from men separates
Unde frustra isti conabuntur ostendere, quo modo daemones
whence in-vain these will-try to-show in-what way demons
boni, si et inmortales sunt et beati, recte medii constituantur
good if both immortal they-are and blessed rightly middle may-be-placed
inter deos inmortales ac beatos et homines mortales ac
between gods immortal and blessed and men mortal and
miseros. Cum enim utrumque habeant cum dis, et beatitudinem
wretched since for both they-have with gods both blessedness
scilicet et inmortalitatem, nihil autem horum cum hominibus
namely and immortality nothing but of-these with men
et miseris et mortalibus: quo modo non potius remoti sunt
both wretched and mortal in-what way not rather removed are-they
ab hominibus disque coniuncti, quam inter utrosque medii
from men and-to-gods joined than between both middle
constituti? Tunc enim medii essent, si haberent et ipsi duo
placed then for middle they-would-be if they-had also themselves two
quaedam sua, non cum binis alterutrorum, sed cum singulis
certain their-own not with the-two of-either but with single-ones
utrorumque communia; sicut homo medium quiddam est, sed
of-both common as man a-middle something is but
inter pecora et angelos, ut, quia pecus est animal inrationale
between cattle and angels that because a-beast is an-animal irrational
adque mortale, angelus autem rationale et inmortale, medius
and mortal an-angel but rational and immortal middle

homo est, sed inferior angelis, superior pecoribus, habens
man is but lower than-angels higher than-cattle having
cum pecoribus mortalitatem, rationem cum angelis, animal
with cattle mortality reason with angels an-animal
rationale mortale. Ita ergo cum quaerimus medium inter
rational mortal so therefore when we-seek a-middle between
beatos inmortales miserosque mortales, hoc inuenire debemus,
the-blessed immortals and-the-wretched mortals this to-find we-ought
quod aut mortale sit beatum, aut inmortale sit miserum.
which either mortal be blessed or immortal be wretched

XIV · WHETHER MEN CAN BE HAPPY THOUGH MORTAL

Whether man can be both happy and mortal is a great question: some, looking humbly at their state, denied it while he lives mortally; others dared say the wise can be happy though mortal. If so, why are these not the mediators, sharing blessedness with the blessed immortals and mortality with the wretched mortals? Being happy they would envy no one, and would help the wretched to happiness, to become immortal after death and be joined to the angels.

Utrum et beatus et mortalis homo esse possit, magna est inter
whether both blessed and mortal man to-be can great is among
homines quaestio. Quidam enim condicionem suam humilius
men the-question some for the-condition their-own more-humbly
inspexerunt negaueruntque hominem capacem esse posse
have-viewed and-denied man capable to-be to-be-able
beatitudinis, quamdiu mortaliter uiuit. Quidam uero extulerunt
of-blessedness as-long-as mortally he-lives some but have-exalted
se et ausi sunt dicere sapientiae compotes beatos esse
themselves and dared have to-say of-wisdom possessed blessed to-be
posse mortales. Quod si ita est, quur non ipsi potius
to-be-able mortals but if so it-is why not they-themselves rather

medii constituuntur inter mortales miseros et inmortales
middle are-placed between mortals wretched and immortals
beatos, beatitudinem habentes cum inmortalibus beatis;
blessed blessedness having with the-immortal blessed
mortalitatem cum mortalibus miseris? Profecto enim, si beati
mortality with the-mortal wretched assuredly for if blessed
sunt, inuident nemini (nam quid miserius inuidentia?) et
they-are they-envy no-one for what more-wretched than-envy and
ideo mortalibus miseris, quantum possunt, ad consequendam
therefore for-mortals wretched as-much-as they-can for obtaining
beatitudinem consulunt, ut etiam inmortales ualeant esse
blessedness take-counsel that also immortal they-may-be-able to-be
post mortem et angelis inmortalibus beatisque coniungi.
after death and to-angels immortal and-blessed to-be-joined

XV · THE MEDIATOR CHRIST JESUS

If, as is far likelier, all men are wretched while mortal, the mediator must be both man and God, whose blessed mortality leads men to blessed immortality: he became mortal without weakening the Word's divinity and did not remain so, raising his flesh. The good angels cannot be between, being blessed and immortal; the evil can, immortal and wretched. He is mediator not as the Word but as man, and leads us not to the angels but to the Trinity in whom they too are blessed.

Si autem, quod multo credibilius et probabilius disputatur,
if but what much more-credibly and more-probably is-argued
omnes homines, quamdiu mortales sunt, etiam miseri sint
all men as-long-as mortal they-are also wretched be
necesse est, quaerendus est medius, qui non solum homo, uerum
necessary it-is to-be-sought is a-middle who not only man but
etiam deus sit, ut homines ex mortali miseria ad beatam
also god be that men from mortal wretchedness to blessed

inmortalitatem huius medii beata mortalitas interueniendo
immortality of-this middle the-blessed mortality by-intervening
perducat; quem neque non fieri mortalem oportebat, neque
may-lead whom neither not to-become mortal it-behooved nor
permanere mortalem. Mortalis quippe factus est non infirmata
to-remain mortal mortal for made he-was not weakened
Verbi diuinitate, sed carnis infirmitate suscepta; non autem
of-the-Word the-divinity but of-flesh the-weakness taken-up not but
permansit in ipsa carne mortalis, quam resuscitauit a
he-remained in the-very flesh mortal which he-raised from
mortuis; quoniam ipse est fructus mediationis eius, ut nec
the-dead since itself is the-fruit of-mediation his that not-even
ipsi, propter quos liberandos mediator effectus est, in
those on-account-of whom to-be-freed mediator made he-was in
perpetua uel carnis morte remanerent. Proinde mediatorem inter
perpetual even of-flesh death should-remain accordingly a-mediator between
nos et Deum et mortalitatem habere oportuit transeuntem
us and God both mortality to-have it-behooved passing
et beatitudinem permanentem, ut per id, quod transit,
and blessedness permanent that through that which passes
congrueret morituris, et ad id, quod permanet, transferret
he-might-fit the-about-to-die and to that which remains he-might-transfer
ex mortuis. Boni igitur angeli inter miseros mortales et beatos
from the-dead good therefore angels between wretched mortals and blessed
inmortales medii esse non possunt, quia ipsi quoque et beati
immortals middle to-be not can because they also both blessed
et inmortales sunt; possunt autem medii esse angeli mali, quia
and immortal are can but middle to-be angels evil because
inmortales sunt cum illis, miseri cum istis. His contrarius
immortal they-are with those wretched with these to-these contrary
est mediator bonus, qui aduersus eorum inmortalitatem et
is the-mediator good who against their immortality and

miseriam et mortalis esse ad tempus uoluit, et beatus in
wretchedness both mortal to-be for a-time willed and blessed in
aeternitate persistere potuit; ac sic eos et inmortales superbos
eternity to-persist could and so them both immortal proud
et miseros noxios, ne inmortalitatis iactantia seducerent ad
and wretched harmful lest of-immortality by-the-boasting they-seduce to
miseriam, et suae mortis humilitate et suae beatitudinis
wretchedness both his-own of-death by-the-humility and his-own of-blessedness
benignitate destruxit in eis, quorum corda per suam fidem
by-the-kindness he-destroyed in those whose hearts through his-own faith
mundans ab illorum inmundissima dominatione liberauit.
cleansing from their most-unclean dominion he-has-freed

Homo itaque mortalis et miser longe seiunctus ab
man and-so mortal and wretched far separated from
inmortalibus et beatis quid eligat medium, per quod
the-immortal and blessed what may-he-choose as-middle through which
inmortalitati et beatitudini copuletur? Quod possit delectare
to-immortality and blessedness he-may-be-coupled what might to-delight
in daemonum inmortalitate, miserum est; quod posset
in of-demons the-immortality wretched is what might
offendere in Christi mortalitate, iam non est. Ibi ergo
to-offend in of-Christ the-mortality now not is there therefore
cauenda est miseria sempiterna; hic mors timenda
to-be-guarded-against is wretchedness everlasting here death to-be-feared
non est, quae non esse potuit sempiterna, et beatitudo
not is which not to-be could everlasting and blessedness
amanda est sempiterna. Ad hoc se quippe interponit
to-be-loved is everlasting for this himself for interposes
medius inmortalis et miser, ut ad inmortalitatem beatam
the-middle immortal and wretched that to immortality blessed
transire non sinat, quoniam persistit quod inpedit,
to-pass not he-may-allow since persists what binders

id est ipsa miseria; ad hoc se autem interposuit
that is the-very wretchedness for this himself but interposed
mortalis et beatus, ut mortalitate transacta et ex mortuis
the-mortal and blessed that with-mortality passed both from the-dead
faceret inmortales, quod in se resurgendo monstrauit,
he-might-make immortals which in himself by-rising he-showed
et ex miseris beatos, unde numquam ipse discessit.
and from wretched blessed whence never he-himself departed
Alius est ergo medius malus, qui separat amicos; alius
other is therefore the-middle evil who separates friends other
bonus, qui reconciliat inimicos. Et ideo multi sunt medii
the-good who reconciles enemies and therefore many are middle
separatores, quia multitudo, quae beata est, unius Dei
separators because the-multitude which blessed is of-one God
participatione fit beata; cuius participationis priuatione
by-participation becomes blessed whose of-participation by-deprivation
misera multitudo malorum angelorum, quae se obponit
wretched the-multitude of-evil angels which itself sets-against
potius ad inpedimentum, quam interponit ad beatitudinis
rather for hindrance than interposes for of-blessedness
adiutorium, etiam ipsa multitudine obstrepit quodam modo,
help even the-very by-(its)-multitude it-clamors in-a-certain way
ne possit ad illud unum beatificum perueniri, ad quod ut
lest it-be-possible to that one blessing to-be-arrived to which that
perduceremur, non multis, sed uno mediatore opus erat,
we-might-be-led not of-many but of-one mediator need there-was
et hoc eo ipso, cuius participatione simus beati, hoc est
and this him himself whose by-participation we-are blessed that is
Verbo Dei non facto, per quod facta sunt omnia. Nec
the-Word of-God not made through which made were all-things nor
tamen ob hoc mediator est, quia Verbum; maxime
yet on-account-of this mediator is-he because the-Word most

quippe inmortale et maxime beatum Verbum longe est a
for immortal and most blessed the-Word far is from
mortalibus miseris; sed mediator, per quod homo, eo ipso
mortals wretched but mediator through which man by-this itself
utique ostendens ad illud non solum beatum, uerum etiam
assuredly showing to that not only blessed but also
beatificum bonum non oportere quaeri alios mediatores, per
blessing good not to-behoove to-be-sought other mediators through
quos arbitremur nobis peruentionis gradus esse moliendos,
whom we-may-judge for-us of-arrival steps to-be to-be-built
quia beatus et beatificus Deus factus particeps humanitatis
because the-blessed and blessing God made partaker of-humanity
nostrae conpendium praebuit participandae diuinitatis suae.
our a-shortcut furnished of-participating divinity his-own
Neque enim nos a mortalitate et miseria liberans
nor for us from mortality and wretchedness freeing
ad angelos inmortales beatosque ita perducit, ut eorum
to angels immortal and-blessed so he-leads that by-their
participatione etiam nos inmortales et beati simus; sed ad
participation also we immortal and blessed may-be but to
illam Trinitatem, cuius et angeli participatione beati sunt.
that Trinity whose also the-angels by-participation blessed are
Ideo quando in forma serui, ut mediator esset, infra
therefore when in the-form of-a-servant that mediator he-might-be below
angelos esse uoluit, in forma Dei supra angelos mansit;
angels to-be he-willed in the-form of-God above angels he-remained
idem in inferioribus uia uitae, qui in superioribus uita.
the-same in lower-things the-way of-life who in higher-things the-life

It is not true, as Apuleius says Plato said, that no god mingles with man. If demons are defiled by men they cannot cleanse them; if not, they are better than the gods. The highest God, Plato says, flashes on wise minds like white light in deep darkness, yet is not defiled by them; why set the gods far off? The stars, their visible gods, are seen and their rays touch every unclean thing without stain; sight, voice, and smell defile no god.

Non enim uerum est, quod idem Platonicus ait Platonem
not for true is what the-same Platonist says Plato
dixisse: "Nullus Deus miscetur homini"; et hoc praecipuum
to-have-said no God mingles with-man and this chief
eorum sublimitatis ait esse specimen, quod nulla adtrectatione
their of-loftiness he-says to-be the-mark that by-no handling
hominum contaminantur. Ergo daemones contaminari fatetur,
of-men they-are-contaminated therefore demons to-be-contaminated he-confesses
et ideo eos, a quibus contaminantur, mundare non possunt
and therefore those by whom they-are-contaminated to-cleanse not they-can
omnesque inmundi pariter fiunt, et daemones contrectatione
and-all unclean equally become both demons by-the-handling
hominum et homines cultu daemonum. Aut si et
of-men and men by-the-worship of-demons or if both
contrectari miscerique hominibus, nec tamen contaminari
to-be-handled and-to-be-mingled with-men nor yet to-be-contaminated
daemones possunt, dis profecto meliores sunt, quia
demons can than-the-gods assuredly better they-are because
illi, si miscerentur, contaminarentur. Nam hoc deorum
those if they-mingled would-be-contaminated for this of-the-gods
dicitur esse praecipuum, ut eos sublimiter separatos humana
is-said to-be the-chief-thing that them loftily separated human
contrectatio contaminare non possit. Deum quidem summum
handling to-contaminate not can God indeed highest

omnium creatorem, quem nos uerum Deum dicimus, sic a
of-all the-creator whom we the-true God call so by
Platone praedicari adseuerat, quod ipse sit solus qui non
Plato to-be-proclaimed he-asserts that he-himself is alone who not
possit penuria sermonis humani quauis oratione uel modice
can by-the-poverty of-speech human by-any discourse even moderately
conprehendi; uix autem sapientibus uiris, cum se
to-be-grasped scarcely but to-wise men when themselves
uigore animi quantum licuit a corpore remouerunt,
by-the-vigor of-mind as-much-as was-allowed from the-body they-removed
intellectum huius Dei, id quoque interdum uelut in altissimis
the-understanding of-this God this also sometimes as-if in deepest
tenebris rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicare.
darkness with-most-rapid flash a-light bright to-gleam-through
Si ergo supra omnia uere summus Deus intellegibili et
if then above all-things truly the-highest God by-intelligible and
ineffabili quadam praesentia, etsi interdum, etsi tamquam
ineffable a-certain presence although sometimes although as-if
rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicans, adest
with-most-rapid flash a-light bright gleaming-through is-present
tamen sapientium mentibus, cum se quantum licuit a
yet of-wise-men to-the-minds when themselves as-much-as was-allowed from
corpore remouerunt, nec ab eis contaminari potest: quid est
the-body they-removed nor by them to-be-contaminated can what is-it
quod isti di propterea constituuntur longe in sublimi loco,
that these gods for-this-reason are-placed far in lofty place
ne contrectatione contaminentur humana? Quasi uero aliud
lest by-handling they-be-contaminated human as-if indeed other
corpora illa aetheria quam uidere sufficiat, quorum luce terra,
bodies those ethereal than to-see suffices whose by-light the-earth
quantum sufficit, inlustratur. Porro si non contaminantur sidera,
as-much-as suffices is-illuminated further if not are-contaminated the-stars

cum uidentur, quos deos omnes uisibiles dicit: nec daemones
when they-are-seen which gods all visible he-calls neither demons
hominum contaminantur aspectu, quamuis de proximo
of-men are-contaminated by-the-sight although from near
uideantur. An forte uocibus humanis contaminarentur,
they-be-seen or perhaps by-voices human would-they-be-contaminated
qui acie non contaminantur oculorum, et ideo
who by-the-gaze not are-contaminated of-eyes and therefore
daemones medios habent, per quos eis uoces hominum
demons middle have through whom to-them the-voices of-men
nuntientur, a quibus longe absunt, ut incontaminatissimi
may-be-announced from whom far they-are-absent that most-uncontaminated
perseuerent? Quid iam de ceteris sensibus dicam? Non
they-may-persist what now about the-other senses shall-I-say not
enim olfaciendo contaminari uel di possent, si adessent,
for by-smelling to-be-contaminated either gods could if they-were-present
uel cum adsunt daemones possunt uiuorum corporum
or when they-are-present demons can of-living bodies
uaporibus humanorum, si tantis sacrificiorum cadauerinis
by-the-vapors human if by-so-great of-sacrifices cadaverous
non contaminantur nidoribus. In gustandi autem sensu nulla
not they-are-contaminated by-reeks in of-tasting but the-sense by-no
necessitate reficiendae mortalitatis urgentur, ut fame adacti
necessity to-be-restored of-mortality they-are-pressed that by-hunger driven
cibos ab hominibus quaerant. Tactus uero in potestate est.
foods from men they-seek touch but in power is
Nam licet ab eo potissimum sensu contrectatio dicta
for although from that especially sense handling named
uideatur, hactenus tamen, si uellent, miscerentur hominibus,
it-seems thus-far yet if they-wished they-would-mingle with-men
ut uiderent et uiderentur, audirent et audirentur. Tangendi
that they-might-see and be-seen hear and be-heard of-touching

autem quae necessitas? Nam neque homines id concupiscere
but what need for neither men that to-desire
auderent, cum deorum uel daemonum bonorum conspectu uel
would-dare when of-gods or of-demons good by-the-sight or
conloquio fruerentur; et si in tantum curiositas progrederetur,
conversation they-enjoyed and if into so-far curiosity advanced
ut uellet: quonam pacto quispiam posset inuitum tangere
that it-wished in-what way anyone could unwilling to-touch
deum uel daemonem, qui nisi captum non potest passerem?
a-god or demon who unless captured not can a-sparrow
Videndo igitur uisibusque se praebendo et loquendo
by-seeing therefore and-to-sight themselves by-offering and by-speaking
et audiendo di corporaliter misceri hominibus possent.
and by-hearing the-gods bodily to-mingle with-men could
Hoc autem modo daemones si miscentur, ut dixi, et non
in-this but way demons if they-mingle as I-said and not
contaminantur, di autem contaminarentur, si miscerentur:
are-contaminated the-gods but would-be-contaminated if they-mingled
incontaminabiles dicunt daemones et contaminabiles deos. Si
uncontaminable they-call demons and contaminable the-gods if
autem contaminantur et daemones, quid conferunt hominibus
but are-contaminated also demons what confer-they on-men
ad uitam post mortem beatam, quos contaminati mundare
for life after death blessed whom contaminated to-cleanse
non possunt, ut eos mundos dis incontaminatis possint
not they-can that them cleansed to-gods uncontaminated they-may-be-able
adiungere, inter quos et illos medii constituti sunt? Aut si
to-join between whom and those middle placed they-are or if
hoc eis beneficii non conferunt, quid prodest hominibus
this to-them of-benefit not they-confer what profits to-men
daemonum amica mediatio? An ut post mortem non ad
of-demons the-friendly mediation or that after death not to

deos homines per daemones transeant, sed simul uiuant
the-gods men through demons may-pass but together may-live
utrique contaminati ac per hoc neutri beati? Nisi forte quis
both contaminated and through this neither blessed unless perhaps someone
dicat more spongiarum uel huiusce modi rerum mundare
say in-the-manner of-sponges or of-this kind things to-cleanse
daemones amicos suos, ut tanto ipsi sordidiores fiant,
demons friends their-own that by-so-much themselves dirtier they-become
quanto fiunt homines eis uelut tergentibus mundiores. Quod
as become men by-them as-if wiping cleaner but
si ita est, contaminatioribus di miscentur daemonibus, qui, ne
if so it-is with-more-contaminated the-gods mingle demons who lest
contaminarentur, hominum propinquitatem contrectationemque
they-be-contaminated of-men the-nearness and-handling
uitarunt. An forte di possunt ab hominibus contaminatos
avoided or perhaps the-gods can by men contaminated
mundare daemones, nec ab eis contaminari, et eo modo
to-cleanse the-demons nor by them to-be-contaminated and in-that way
non possent et homines? Quis talia sentiat, nisi quem
not could also men who such-things would-think except whom
fallacissimi daemones deceperunt? Quid quod, si uideri
the-most-deceitful demons have-deceived what that if to-be-seen
et uidere contaminat, uidentur ab hominibus di, quos
and to-see contaminates are-seen by men the-gods whom
uisibiles dicit, “clarissima mundi lumina” et cetera sidera,
visible he-calls the-brightest of-the-world lights and the-other stars
tutioresque sunt daemones ab ista hominum contaminatione,
and-safer are demons from this of-men contamination
qui non possunt uideri, nisi uelint? Aut si non uideri,
who not can to-be-seen unless they-wish or if not to-be-seen
sed uidere contaminat, negent ab istis clarissimis mundi
but to-see contaminates let-them-deny by these brightest of-the-world

luminibus, quos deos opinantur, uideri homines, cum radios
lights which gods they-think to-be-seen men when the-rays
suos terras usque pertendant. Qui tamen eorum radii
their-own to-the-lands all-the-way they-extend which yet their rays
per quaeque inmunda diffusi non contaminantur, et di
through all unclean-things diffused not are-contaminated and the-gods
contaminarentur, si hominibus miscerentur, etiamsi esset
would-be-contaminated if with-men they-mingled even-if there-were
necessarius in subueniendo contactus? Nam radiis solis
necessary in helping contact for by-the-rays of-the-sun
et lunae terra contingitur, nec istam contaminat lucem.
and moon the-earth is-touched nor this contaminates light

XVII · THE MEDIATOR MUST BE LIKE GOD, NOT A DEMON

Augustine wonders that men who put the bodily below the intelligible speak of bodily contact in the blessed life. Plotinus says: we must flee to our dear fatherland, where the Father is; the voyage is to become like God. The only distance from God is unlikeness, and the soul is unlike him the more it desires changeable things. To heal this we need a mediator fitted to us by a mortal body and remaining above by his spirit's justice: the man Christ Jesus, whom flesh could not defile.

Miror autem plurimum tam doctos homines, qui cuncta
I-wonder but very-much so learned men who all
corporalia et sensibilia prae incorporalibus et intellegibilibus
bodily and sensible-things beside incorporeal and intelligible
postponenda iudicauerunt, cum agitur de beata uita,
to-be-placed-after have-judged when it-is-treated about blessed life
corporalium contrectationum facere mentionem. Ubi est illud
of-bodily handlings to-make mention where is that
Plotini, ubi ait: "Fugiendum est igitur ad carissimam
of-Plotinus where he-says to-be-fled it-is therefore to the-dearest

patriam, et ibi pater, et ibi omnia. Quae igitur, inquit,
fatherland and there the-father and there all-things what then he-says
classis aut fuga? Similem Deo fieri." Si ergo deo quanto
fleet or flight like to-God to-become if therefore to-god by-how-much
similior, tanto fit quisque propinquior, nulla est ab illo
more-like by-so-much becomes each nearer no is from him
alia longinquitas quam eius dissimilitudo. Incorporali uero
other distance than his unlikeness to-the-incorporeal but
illi aeterno et incommutabili tanto est anima hominis
that eternal and unchangeable by-so-much is the-soul of-man
dissimilior, quanto rerum temporalium mutabiliumque
more-unlike by-as-much of-things temporal and-changeable
cupidior. Hoc ut sanetur, quoniam inmortali puritati, quae in
more-desirous this that it-be-healed since to-immortal purity which in
summo est, ea quae in imo sunt mortalia et inmunda
the-highest is those-things which in the-lowest are mortal and unclean
conuenire non possunt, opus est quidem mediatore; non
to-agree not can need is indeed of-a-mediator not
tamen tali, qui corpus quidem habeat inmortale propinquum
yet of-such who a-body indeed has immortal near
summis, animum autem morbidum similem infimis (quo
to-the-highest a-mind but diseased like to-the-lowest by-which
morbo nobis inuideat potius ne sanemur, quam adiuuet ut
disease to-us he-may-begrudge rather lest we-be-healed than help that
sanemur); sed tali, qui nobis infimis ex corporis mortalitate
we-be-healed but of-such who to-us lowest by of-the-body mortality
coaptatus inmortali spiritus iustitia, per quam non
fitted by-the-immortal of-spirit justice through which not
locorum distantia, sed similitudinis excellentia mansit in
of-places by-distance but of-likeness by-excellence he-remained in
summis, mundandis liberandisque nobis uere diuinum praebeat
the-highest to-be-cleansed and-to-be-freed for-us truly divine may-furnish

adiutorium. Qui profecto incontaminabilis Deus absit ut
help who assuredly uncontaminable God far-be-it that
contaminationem timeret ex homine quo indutus est,
contamination he-should-fear from the-man with-whom clothed he-was
aut ex hominibus inter quos in homine conuersatus est. Non
or from men among whom in man lived he-has not
enim parua sunt haec interim duo, quae salubriter sua
for small are these meanwhile two which wholesomely by-his-own
incarnatione monstrauit, nec carne posse contaminari ueram
incarnation he-showed neither by-flesh to-be-able to-be-contaminated true
diuinitatem, nec ideo putandos daemones nobis esse meliores,
divinity nor therefore to-be-thought demons than-us to-be better
quia non habent carnem. Hic est, sicut eum sancta scriptura
because not they-have flesh this is as him the-holy scripture
praedicat, mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus,
proclaims the-mediator of-God and of-men the-man Christ Jesus
de cuius et diuinitate, qua patri est semper aequalis,
about whose both divinity by-which to-the-father he-is always equal
et humanitate, qua nobis factus est similis, non hic
and humanity by-which to-us made he-was like not here
locus est ut conpetenter pro nostra facultate dicamus.
the-place is that fittingly according-to our ability we-may-speak

The false mediators, wretched and malign in spirit though famous for many effects, try by the distances of places and the lightness of their airy bodies to call us back from the soul's progress; they offer no way to God but block it. We rise to God not by bodily height but by spiritual likeness. Who would seek cleansing on a way where men defile, demons are defiled, and gods can be, rather than from the God no one can defile, among the undefiled angels?

Falsi autem illi fallacesque mediatores daemones, qui,
false but those and-deceitful mediators the-demons who
cum per spiritus inmunditiam miseri ac maligni multis
though through of-spirit uncleanness wretched and malign by-many
effectibus clareant, per corporalium tamen locorum
effects they-be-renowned through of-bodily yet places
interualla et per aeriorum corporum leuitatem a prouectu
the-intervals and through of-airy bodies the-lightness from the-progress
animorum nos auocare adque auertere moliuntur, non
of-minds us to-call-away and to-turn-aside strive not
uiam praebent ad Deum, sed ne uia teneatur, inpediunt.
a-way they-offer to God but lest the-way be-held they-hinder
Quando quidem et in ipsa uia corporali (quae falsissima
since indeed even in the-very way bodily which most-false
est et plenissima erroris, qua non iter agit iustitia;
is and most-full of-error by-which not journey makes justice
quoniam non per corporalem altitudinem, sed per
since not through bodily height but through
spiritalem, hoc est incorporalem, similitudinem ad Deum
spiritual that is incorporeal likeness to God
debemus ascendere) — in ipsa tamen uia corporali, quam
we-ought to-ascend in the-very yet way bodily which
daemonum amici per elementorum gradus ordinant inter
of-demons the-friends through of-elements the-grades arrange between

aetherios deos et terrenos homines aeriis daemonibus
ethereal gods and earthly men with-airy demons
mediis constitutis, hoc deos opinantur habere praecipuum,
in-the-middle placed this the-gods they-think to-have as-chief
ut propter hoc interuallum locorum contrectatione non
that on-account-of this interval of-places by-handling not
contaminentur humana. Ita daemones contaminari potius ab
they-be-contaminated human so demons to-be-contaminated rather by
hominibus, quam homines mundari a daemonibus credunt,
men than men to-be-cleansed by demons they-believe
et deos ipsos contaminari potuisse, nisi loci altitudine
and the-gods themselves to-be-contaminated to-have-been-able unless of-place by-the-height
munirentur. Quis tam infelix est, ut ista uia mundari se
they-were-protected who so unhappy is that by-this way to-be-cleansed himself
existimet, ubi homines contaminantes, daemones contaminati,
he-should-think where men contaminating demons contaminated
di contaminabiles praedicantur, et non potius eligat
the-gods contaminable are-proclaimed and not rather would-choose
uiam, ubi contaminantes magis daemones euitentur et ab
the-way where contaminating rather demons are-avoided and by
incontaminabili Deo ad ineundam societatem incontaminatorum
the-uncontaminable God for entering the-fellowship of-uncontaminated
angelorum homines a contaminatione mundentur?
angels men from contamination are-cleansed

Some demon-worshipers, Labeo among them, say that others call angels those whom they call demons; so something must be said of the good angels, whom they prefer to call good demons. In scripture we read of angels good and bad, but never of good demons; demons there always mean malign spirits. Hardly any pagan, however learned, would say to his slave in praise: you have a demon. Why offend so many ears, when the name of angels avoids it?

Sed ne de uerbis etiam nos certare uideamur, quoniam
but lest about words also we to-contend may-seem since
nonnulli istorum, ut ita dixerim, daemonicolarum, in quibus
some of-these that so I-may-say of-demon-worshipers among whom
et Labeo est, eosdem perhibent ab aliis angelos dici, quos
also Labeo is the-same declare by others angels to-be-called whom
ipsi daemones nuncupant, iam mihi de bonis angelis
they-themselves demons name now to-me about good angels
aliquid uideo disserendum, quos isti esse non negant, sed eos
something I-see to-be-discussed whom these to-be not deny but them
bonos daemones uocare quam angelos malunt. Nos autem,
good demons to-call than angels they-prefer we but
sicut scriptura loquitur, secundum quam Christiani sumus,
as scripture speaks according-to which Christians we-are
angelos quidem partim bonos, partim malos, numquam uero
angels indeed partly good partly evil never but
bonos daemones legimus; sed ubicumque illarum litterarum
good demons do-we-read but wherever of-those letters
hoc nomen positum reperitur, siue daemones, siue daemonia
this name placed is-found whether demons or demonic-spirits
dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur spiritus. Et hanc
they-be-called not except malign are-signified spirits and this
loquendi consuetudinem in tantum populi usquequaque
of-speaking custom into so-far the-peoples everywhere

secuti sunt, ut eorum etiam, qui pagani appellantur et
followed have that of-those even who pagans are-called and
deos multos ac daemones colendos esse contendunt, nullus
gods many and demons to-be-worshiped to-be contend no-one
fere sit tam litteratus et doctus, qui audeat in laude
almost be so lettered and learned who would-dare in praise
uel seruo suo dicere: "Daemonem habes"; sed quilibet hoc
even to-slave his-own to-say a-demon you-have but whoever this
dicere uoluerit, non se aliter accipi, quam maledicere
to-say should-have-wished not himself otherwise to-be-taken than to-curse
uoluisse, dubitare non possit. Quae igitur nos causa conpellit,
to-have-wished to-doubt not could what then us cause compels
ut post offensionem aurium tam multarum, ut iam paene
that after the-offense of-ears so many that now almost
sint omnium, quae hoc uerbum non nisi in malam partem
they-be of-all which this word not except in an-evil part
audire consuerunt, quod diximus cogamur exponere, cum
to-hear have-been-accustomed what we-have-said we-be-compelled to-explain when
possimus angelorum nomine adhibito eandem offensionem,
we-can of-angels with-the-name applied the-same offense
quae nomine daemonum fieri poterat, euitare?
which by-the-name of-demons to-be-done could to-avoid

The name daemones*, a Greek word, comes from knowledge. The apostle says knowledge puffs up, charity builds up; knowledge profits only with charity, and without it swells into pride. So the demons have knowledge without charity, and are so puffed up that they demand the divine honors they know are owed to the true God. Against that pride men's souls, like the demons not in knowledge but in pride, do not know the power of God's humility shown in Christ.*

Quamquam etiam ipsa origo huius nominis, si diuinos
although also the-very origin of-this name if divine
intueamur libros, aliquid adfert cognitione dignissimum.
we-look-at books something brings of-knowledge most-worthy
Daemones enim dicuntur (quoniam uocabulum Graecum est)
demons for are-called since the-word Greek is
ob scientiam nominati. Apostolus autem spiritu sancto
on-account-of knowledge named the-apostle but by-the-spirit holy
locutus ait: Scientia inflat, caritas uero aedificat; quod recte
speaking says knowledge puffs-up charity but builds-up which rightly
aliter non intellegitur, nisi scientiam tunc prodesse, cum caritas
otherwise not is-understood except knowledge then to-profit when charity
inest; sine hac autem inflare, id est in superbiam inanissimae
is-present without this but to-puff-up that is into pride of-most-empty
quasi uentositatis extollere. Est ergo in daemonibus scientia
as-it-were windiness to-raise there-is therefore in demons knowledge
sine caritate, et ideo tam inflati, hoc est tam superbi sunt,
without charity and therefore so puffed-up that is so proud they-are
ut honores diuinos et religionis seruitutem, quam uero Deo
that honors divine and of-religion the-service which to-the-true God
deberi sciunt, sibi satis egerint exhiberi, et quantum
to-be-owed they-know to-themselves enough they-have-striven to-be-shown and as-much-as
possunt aput quos possunt adhuc agant. Contra superbiam
they-can with whom they-can still they-do against the-pride

porro daemonum, qua pro meritis possidebatur genus
further of-demons by-which according-to merits was-possessed the-race
humanum, Dei humilitas, quae in Christo apparuit, quantam
human of-God the-humility which in Christ appeared how-great
uirtutem habeat, animae hominum nesciunt inmunditia
power it-has the-souls of-men know-not by-the-uncleanness
elationis inflatae, daemonibus similes, non scientia sed superbia.
of-elation puffed-up to-demons like not in-knowledge but in-pride

XXI · HOW THE LORD MADE HIMSELF KNOWN TO THE DEMONS

The demons knew the Lord clothed in the weakness of flesh: what have we to do with you, Jesus of Nazareth? They had knowledge without charity, dreading his punishment, not loving his justice. He made himself known to them as far as it behooved, not as to the holy angels who share his eternity, but by temporal signs, to terrify those from whose tyranny he would free the predestined. When he hid himself, their prince doubted and tempted him; after that he was known ever more, and none dared resist his command.

Ipsi autem daemones etiam hoc ita sciunt, ut eidem
themselves moreover the-demons even this so know that to-the-same
Domino infirmitate carnis induto dixerint: Quid nobis et
Lord with-the-weakness of-flesh clothed they-said what to-us and
tibi, Iesu Nazarene? Venisti perdere nos? Clarum est
to-you Jesus Nazarene have-you-come to-destroy us clear it-is
in his uerbis, quod in eis et tanta scientia erat, et
in these words that in them both so-great knowledge was and
caritas non erat. Poenam suam quippe formidabant ab
charity not was punishment their-own for they-dreaded from
illo, non in illo iustitiam diligebant. Tantum uero eis
him not in him justice they-loved so-much indeed to-them

innotuit, quantum uoluit; tantum autem uoluit, quantum
he-became-known as-much-as he-willed so-much but he-willed as-much-as
oportuit. Sed innotuit non sicut angelis sanctis, qui eius,
it-behooved but he-became-known not as to-angels holy who his
secundum id quod Dei Verbum est, participata aeternitate
according-to that which of-God the-Word he-is participated eternity
perfruuntur, sed sicut eis terrendis innotescendum fuit, ex
enjoy but as to-them to-be-terrified to-become-known it-was from
quorum tyrannica quodam modo potestate fuerat liberaturus
whose tyrannical in-a-certain way power he-had-been about-to-free
praedestinatos in suum regnum et gloriam semper ueracem
the-predestined into his-own kingdom and glory always truthful
et ueraciter sempiternam. Innotuit ergo daemonibus non
and truthfully everlasting he-became-known therefore to-demons not
per id quod est uita aeterna et lumen incommutabile,
through that which he-is the-life eternal and the-light unchangeable
quod inluminat pios, cui uidendo per fidem, quae
which illuminates the-devout for-which to-be-seen through faith which
in illo est, corda mundantur, sed per quaedam temporalia
in him is hearts are-cleansed but through certain temporal
suae uirtutis effecta et occultissimae signa praesentiae, quae
of-his-own power effects and of-most-hidden signs presence which
angelicis sensibus etiam malignorum spirituum potius quam
to-angelic senses even of-malign spirits rather than
infirmitati hominum possint esse conspicua. Denique quando
to-the-weakness of-men could to-be conspicuous finally when
ea paululum subprimenda iudicauit et aliquanto altius
them a-little to-be-suppressed he-judged and somewhat more-deeply
latuit, dubitauit de illo daemonum princeps eumque tentauit,
lay-hidden doubted about him of-demons the-prince and-him tempted
an Christus esset explorans, quantum se tentari ipse
whether the-Christ he-was exploring as-far-as himself to-be-tempted he-himself

permisit, ut hominem, quem gerebat, ad nostrae imitationis
permitted that the-man whom he-bore to our of-imitation
temperaret exemplum. Post illam uero tentationem, cum
he-might-temper the-example after that but temptation when
angeli, sicut scriptum est, ministrarent ei, boni utique
the-angels as written it-is ministered to-him good assuredly
et sancti ac per hoc spiritibus inmundis metuendi et
and holy and through this to-spirits unclean to-be-feared and
tremendi, magis magisque innotescebat daemonibus quantus
to-be-trembled-at more and-more he-became-known to-demons how-great
esset, ut ei iubenti, quamuis in illo contemtibilis uideretur
he-was that to-him ordering although in him contemptible might-seem
carnis infirmitas, resistere nullus auderet.
of-flesh the-weakness to-resist no-one dared

XXII · THE KNOWLEDGE OF ANGELS AND OF DEMONS

The good angels think cheap the knowledge of bodily things that puffs up the demons; they love the charity of God, despising all below him, themselves included, to enjoy the good by which they are good. They know even temporal things more surely, seeing their causes in the Word through whom the world was made. The demons foresee much by signs and long experience, often deceived; the holy angels know the changes of times in God's eternal laws and his will.

His igitur angelis bonis omnis corporalium temporaliumque
to-these therefore angels good all of-bodily and-temporal
rerum scientia, qua inflantur daemones, uilis est: non quod
things the-knowledge by-which are-puffed-up the-demons cheap is not that
earum ignari sint, sed quod illis Dei, qua sanctificantur,
of-them ignorant they-be but that to-them of-God by-which they-are-sanctified
caritas cara est, prae cuius non tantum incorporali, uerum etiam
the-charity dear is beside whose not only incorporeal but also

incommutabili et ineffabili pulchritudine, cuius sancto amore
unchangeable and ineffable beauty whose holy by-love
inardescunt, omnia, quae infra sunt et, quod illud est, non
they-burn all-things which below are and what that is not
sunt seque ipsos inter illa contemnunt, ut ex toto,
they-are and-them themselves among those-things they-despise that from the-whole
quod boni sunt, eo bono, ex quo boni sunt, perfruantur. Et
what good they-are that good from which good they-are they-may-enjoy and
ideo certius etiam temporalia et mutabilia ista nouerunt,
therefore more-surely even temporal and changeable these-things they-know
quia eorum principales causas in Verbo Dei conspiciunt,
because their principal causes in the-Word of-God they-behold
per quod factus est mundus; quibus causis quaedam
through which made was the-world by-which causes some-things
probantur, quaedam reprobantur, cuncta ordinantur. Daemones
are-approved some are-rejected all are-ordered demons
autem non aeternas temporum causas et quodam modo
but not the-eternal of-times causes and in-a-certain way
cardinales in Dei sapientia contemplantur, sed quorundam
cardinal in of-God the-wisdom contemplate but of-certain
signorum nobis occultorum maiore experientia multo plura
signs to-us hidden by-greater experience much more-things
quam homines futura prospiciunt; dispositiones quoque suas
than men future foresee the-dispositions also their-own
aliquando praenuntiant. Denique saepe isti, numquam illi
sometimes they-foretell finally often these never those
omnino falluntur. Aliud est enim temporalibus temporalia et
at-all are-deceived other is for from-temporal temporal-things and
mutabilibus mutabilia coniectare eisque temporalem et
from-changeable changeable-things to-conjecture and-into-them a-temporal and
mutabilem modum suae uoluntatis et facultatis inserere,
changeable measure of-their-own will and ability to-insert

quod daemonibus certa ratione permissum est; aliud autem
which to-demons by-fixed reason permitted is other but
in aeternis adque incommutabilibus Dei legibus, quae in eius
in the-eternal and unchangeable of-God laws which in his
sapientia uiuunt, mutationes temporum praeuidere Deique
wisdom live the-changes of-times to-foresee and-of-God
uoluntatem, quae tam certissima quam potentissima est
the-will which as most-certain as most-powerful is
omnium, spiritus eius participatione cognoscere; quod sanctis
of-all of-the-spirit his by-participation to-know which to-the-holy
angelis recta discretione donatum est. Itaque non solum
angels by-right discretion given is and-so not only
aeterni, uerum etiam beati sunt. Bonum autem, quo beati
eternal but also blessed they-are the-good but by-which blessed
sunt, Deus illis est, a quo creati sunt. Illius quippe
they-are God to-them is by whom created they-were his for
indeclinabiliter participatione et contemplatione perfruuntur.
unswervingly the-participation and contemplation they-enjoy

If the Platonists prefer to call these beings gods, there is no quarrel over words, so long as they are immortal yet made, blessed by cleaving to their maker. Scripture names the God of gods, yet the gods of the nations are demons, and men in God's people are called gods. The Platonists give demons the angels' ministry, but that name must be kept from the angels. The blessed are no mediators for wretched mortals; the wretched middle beings begrudge us blessedness; the good want worship only for the one God.

Hos si Platonici malunt deos quam daemones dicere eisque
these if the-Platonists prefer gods than demons to-call and-them
adnumerare, quos a summo Deo conditos deos scribit
to-number-among those-whom by the-highest God founded gods writes
eorum auctor et magister Plato: dicant quod uolunt; non
their author and master Plato let-them-say what they-wish not
enim cum eis de uerborum controuersia laborandum est.
for with them about of-words controversy to-be-labored is
Si enim sic inmortales, ut tamen a summo Deo factos,
if for so immortal that yet by the-highest God made
et si non per se ipsos, sed ei, a quo facti sunt,
and if not through them themselves but to-him by whom made they-were
adhaerendo beatos esse dicunt: hoc dicunt quod dicimus,
by-cleaving blessed to-be they-say this they-say which we-say
quolibet eos nomine appellent. Hanc autem Platonicorum esse
by-whatever them name they-may-call this but of-the-Platonists to-be
sententiam, siue omnium siue meliorum, in eorum litteris
the-opinion whether of-all or of-the-better in their letters
inueniri potest. Nam et de ipso nomine, quod huius modi
to-be-found can for also about the-very name that of-this kind
inmortalem beatamque creaturam deos appellant, ideo inter
immortal and-blessed creation gods they-call therefore between

nos et ipsos paene nulla dissensio est, quia et in nostris
us and them almost no dissension is because also in our
sacris litteris legitur: Deus deorum dominus locutus est, et
sacred letters is-read the-God of-gods the-lord spoken has and
alibi: Confitemini deo deorum, et alibi: Rex magnus
elsewhere confess to-the-god of-gods and elsewhere a-king great
super omnes deos. Illud autem ubi scriptum est: Terribilis
above all gods that but where written it-is terrible
est super omnes deos, quur dictum sit, deinceps ostenditur.
he-is above all gods why said it-was next is-shown
Sequitur enim: Quoniam omnes di gentium daemonia,
it-follows for since all the-gods of-the-nations demons
Dominus autem caelos fecit. Super omnes ergo deos dixit,
the-Lord but the-heavens made above all therefore gods he-said
sed gentium, id est quos gentes pro dis habent, quae sunt
but of-the-nations that is whom the-nations as gods hold which are
daemonia; ideo terribilis, sub quo terrore Domino dicebant:
demons therefore terrible under which terror to-the-Lord they-said
Venisti perdere nos? Illud uero, ubi dicitur: Deus deorum,
have-you-come to-destroy us that but where is-said the-God of-gods
non potest intellegi deus daemoniorum; et rex magnus
not can to-be-understood the-god of-demons and a-king great
super omnes deos absit ut dicatur rex magnus super
above all gods far-be-it that be-said a-king great above
omnia daemonia. Sed homines quoque in populo Dei eadem
all demons but men also in the-people of-God the-same
scriptura deos appellat. Ego, inquit, dixi, di estis et filii
scripture gods calls I he-says said gods you-are and sons
Excelsi omnes. Potest itaque intellegi horum deorum
of-the-Most-High all it-can and-so to-be-understood of-these gods

deus, qui dictus est deus deorum, et super hos deos rex
the-god who called is the-god of-gods and over these gods a-king
magnus, qui dictus est rex magnus super omnes deos.
great who called is a-king great above all gods
Verum tamen cum a nobis quaeritur: si homines dicti
but yet when from us it-is-asked if men called
sunt di, quod in populo Dei sunt, quem per angelos
were gods because in the-people of-God they-are whom through angels
uel per homines adloquitur Deus, quanto magis inmortales
or through men addresses God how-much more the-immortal
eo nomine digni sunt, qui ea fruuntur beatitudine, ad
of-that name worthy are who that enjoy blessedness to
quam Deum colendo cupiunt homines peruenire: quid
which God by-worshiping desire men to-arrive what
respondebimus nisi non frustra in scripturis sanctis expressius
shall-we-answer except not in-vain in the-scriptures holy more-expressly
homines nuncupatos deos, quam illos inmortales et beatos,
men named gods than those immortal and blessed
quibus nos aequales futuros in resurrectione promittitur, ne
to-whom we equal about-to-be in the-resurrection it-is-promised lest
scilicet propter illorum excellentiam aliquem eorum nobis
namely on-account-of their excellence any of-them for-us
constituere deum infidelis auderet infirmitas? Quod in homine
to-establish as-god unfaithful should-dare weakness which in a-man
facile est euitare. Et euidentius dici debuerunt homines
easy it-is to-avoid and more-evidently to-be-called ought men
di in populo Dei, ut certi ac fidentes fierent eum
gods in the-people of-God that certain and trusting they-might-become him
esse Deum suum, qui dictus est deus deorum; quia etsi
to-be God their-own who called is the-god of-gods because although
appellentur di inmortales illi et beati, qui in caelis sunt,
they-be-called gods the-immortal those and blessed who in the-heavens are

non tamen dicti sunt di deorum, id est di hominum in
not yet called were gods of-gods that is gods of-men in
populo Dei constitutorum, quibus dictum est: Ego dixi, di
the-people of-God established to-whom said it-was I said gods
estis et filii Excelsi omnes. Hinc est quod ait apostolus:
you-are and sons of-the-Most-High all hence it-is that says the-apostle
Etsi sunt qui dicuntur di, siue in caelo siue in terra, sicuti
although there-be who are-called gods whether in heaven or on earth as
sunt di multi et domini multi: nobis tamen unus Deus
there-are gods many and lords many for-us yet one God
Pater, ex quo omnia et nos in ipso, et unus Dominus
the-Father from whom all-things and we in him and one Lord
Iesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum.
Jesus Christ through whom all-things and we through him

Non multum ergo de nomine disceptandum est, cum
not much therefore about the-name to-be-disputed is since
res ipsa ita clareat, ut ab scrupulo dubitationis aliena
the-thing itself so is-clear that from the-scruple of-doubt estranged
sit. Illud uero, quod nos ex eorum inmortalium beatorum
it-is that but that we from their immortal blessed
numero missos esse angelos dicimus, qui Dei uoluntatem
number sent to-be angels we-say who of-God the-will
hominibus adnuntiarent, illis autem non placet, quia hoc
to-men might-announce to-them but not pleases because this
ministerium non per illos, quos deos appellant, id est
ministry not through those whom gods they-call that is
inmortales et beatos, sed per daemones fieri credunt,
immortal and blessed but through demons to-be-done they-believe
quos inmortales tantum, non etiam beatos audent dicere, aut
whom immortal only not also blessed they-dare to-call or
certe ita inmortales et beatos, ut tamen daemones bonos,
certainly so immortal and blessed that yet demons good

non deos sublimiter conlocatos et ab humana contrectatione
not gods loftily placed and from human handling
semotos, quamuis nominis controuersia uideatur, tamen ita
set-apart although of-name a-controversy it-may-seem yet so
detestabile est nomen daemonum, ut hoc modis omnibus a
detestable is the-name of-demons that this in-ways all from
sanctis angelis nos remouere debeamus. Nunc ergo ita liber
the-holy angels we to-remove ought now therefore so book
iste claudatur, ut sciamus inmortales et beatos, quodlibet
this be-closed that we-may-know the-immortal and blessed by-whatever-name
uocentur, qui tamen facti et creati sunt, medios non esse
they-be-called who yet made and created were middle not to-be
ad inmortalem beatitudinem perducendis mortalibus miseris,
to immortal blessedness for-to-be-led mortals wretched
a quibus utraque differentia separantur. Qui autem medii
from whom by-both difference they-are-separated who but middle
sunt communem habendo inmortalitatem cum superioribus,
are common by-having immortality with the-higher
miseriam cum inferioribus, quoniam merito malitiae miseri
wretchedness with the-lower since by-the-desert of-malice wretched
sunt, beatitudinem, quam non habent, inuidere nobis possunt
they-are the-blessedness which not they-have to-begrudge to-us they-can
potius quam praebere. Unde nihil habent amici daemonum
rather than to-furnish whence nothing have the-friends of-demons
quod nobis dignum adferant, quur eos tamquam adiutores
which to-us worthy they-may-bring why them as helpers
colere debeamus, quos potius ut deceptores uitare debemus.
to-worship we-ought whom rather as deceivers to-avoid we-ought
Quos autem bonos et ideo non solum inmortales, uerum
whom but good and therefore not only immortal but
etiam beatos deorum nomine sacris et sacrificiis propter
also blessed by-the-name of-gods with-rites and sacrifices on-account-of

uitam beatam post mortem adipiscendam colendos putant,
life blessed after death to-be-obtained to-be-worshiped they-think
qualescumque illi sint et quolibet uocabulo digni sint, non
of-whatever-sort they be and by-whatever name worthy be not
eos uelle per tale religionis obsequium nisi unum Deum
them to-wish through such of-religion homage except one God
coli, a quo creati et cuius participatione beati sunt,
to-be-worshiped by whom created and whose by-participation blessed they-are
adiuuante ipso in sequenti libro diligentius disseremus.
with-the-help of-him in the-following book more-diligently we-shall-discuss

BOOK X

I · WHETHER THE BLESSED WISH WORSHIP FOR THEMSELVES

All men wish to be happy; who are happy and how is disputed. Book VIII chose the Platonists because they saw that the soul is happy only by sharing the light of the God who made it. The question now is whether the immortals in heaven, whom they call gods or good demons and we angels, wish us to worship them or only their God. Latin has no one word for latreia: worship, religion, and devotion are paid to men and kin too. If the blessed love us, they wish us blessed from their own source.

Omnium certa sententia est, qui ratione quoquo modo
of-all certain the-opinion is who reason in-whatever way
uti possunt, beatos esse omnes homines uelle. Qui autem
to-use can blessed to-be all men to-wish who but
sint uel unde fiant dum mortalium quaerit infirmitas,
they-be or whence they-become while of-mortals seeks the-weakness
multae magnaeque controuersiae concitatae sunt, in quibus
many and-great controversies stirred-up were in which
philosophi sua studia et otia contriuerunt, quas in
philosophers their-own pursuits and leisure have-worn-out which into
medium adducere adque discutere et longum est et non
the-midst to-bring and to-discuss both long it-is and not
necessarium. Si enim recolit qui haec legit, quid in libro
necessary if for recalls who these-things reads what in the-book
egerimus octauo in eligendis philosophis, cum quibus haec
we-did eighth in choosing philosophers with whom this
de beata uita, quae post mortem futura est, quaestio
about the-blessed life which after death about-to-be is the-question
tractaretur, utrum ad eam uni Deo uero, qui etiam effector
might-be-handled whether to it to-one God true who also the-maker
est deorum, an plurimis dis religione sacrisque seruiendo
is of-the-gods or to-very-many gods by-religion and-rites by-serving

peruenire possimus: non etiam hic eadem repeti
to-arrive we-can not also here the-same-things to-be-repeated
expectat, praesertim cum possit relegendo, si forte oblitus est,
he-expects especially since he-can by-rereading if perhaps forgotten has
adminiculari memoriam. Elegimus enim Platonicos omnium
to-prop (his)-memory we-chose for the-Platonists of-all
philosophorum merito nobilissimos, propterea quia sapere
philosophers deservedly the-noblest for-this-reason because to-understand
potuerunt licet inmortalem ac rationalem uel intellectualem
they-were-able although immortal and rational or intellectual
hominis animam nisi participato lumine illius Dei, a quo
of-man the-soul unless participated by-the-light of-that God from whom
et ipsa et mundus factus est, beatam esse non posse; ita
both it-itself and the-world made was blessed to-be not to-be-able so
illud, quod omnes homines adpetunt, id est uitam beatam,
that which all men seek that is the-life blessed
quemquam isti adsecuturum negant, qui non illi uni optimo,
anyone they about-to-attain deny who not to-that one best
quod est incommutabilis Deus, puritate casti amoris
which is the-unchangeable God with-the-purity of-chaste love
adhaeserit. Sed quia ipsi quoque siue cedentes uanitati
has-cleaved but because they-themselves also whether yielding to-the-vanity
errorique populorum siue, ut ait apostolus, euanescentes in
and-to-the-error of-the-peoples or as says the-apostle becoming-vain in
cogitationibus suis multos deos colendos ita putauerunt
thoughts their-own many gods to-be-worshiped so thought
uel putari uoluerunt, ut quidam eorum etiam daemonibus
or to-be-thought wished that some of-them even to-demons
diuinos honores sacrorum et sacrificiorum deferendos esse
divine honors of-rites and of-sacrifices to-be-offered to-be
censerent, quibus iam non parua ex parte respondimus:
they-judged to-whom already not small in part we-have-answered

nunc uidendum ac disserendum est, quantum Deus donat,
now to-be-seen and to-be-discussed it-is as-far-as God grants
inmortales ac beati in caelestibus sedibus dominationibus,
the-immortal and blessed in heavenly seats dominions
principatibus potestatibus constituti, quos isti deos et
principalities powers established whom they gods and
ex quibus quosdam uel bonos daemones uel nobiscum
of whom some either good demons or with-us
angelos nominant, quo modo credendi sint uelle a nobis
angels name in-what way to-be-believed they-are to-wish by us
religionem pietatemque seruari; hoc est, ut apertius dicam,
religion and-devotion to-be-kept this is that more-openly I-may-say
utrum etiam sibi an tantum Deo suo, qui etiam
whether also to-themselves or only to-God their-own who also
noster est, placeat eis ut sacra faciamus et sacrificemus, uel
ours is it-pleases them that rites we-perform and we-sacrifice or
aliqua nostra seu nos ipsos religionis ritibus consecremus.
some-things our or us ourselves of-religion by-the-rites we-consecrate
Hic est enim diuinitati uel, si expressius dicendum est, deitati
this is for to-divinity or if more-expressly to-be-said it-is to-deity
debitus cultus, propter quem uno uerbo significandum,
the-due worship on-account-of which by-one word to-be-signified
quoniam mihi satis idoneum non occurrit Latinum,
since to-me sufficiently suitable not occurs Latin
Graeco ubi necesse est insinuo quid uelim dicere. Λατρείαν
with-Greek where necessary it-is I-insinuate what I-wish to-say latreia
quippe nostri, ubicumque sanctarum scripturarum positum
for ours wherever of-the-holy scriptures placed
est, interpretati sunt seruitutem. Sed ea seruitus, quae
is interpreted have service but that service which
debetur hominibus, secundum quam praecipit apostolus seruos
is-owed to-men according-to which instructs the-apostle slaves

dominis suis subditos esse debere, alio nomine Graece
to-masters their-own subject to-be to-be-bound by-another name in-Greek
nuncupari solet; λατρεία uero secundum consuetudinem, qua
to-be-called is-wont latreia indeed according-to the-usage in-which
locuti sunt qui nobis diuina eloquia condiderunt, aut semper
spoken have who for-us the-divine utterances composed either always
aut tam frequenter ut paene semper ea dicitur seruitus, quae
or so frequently that almost always that is-called service which
pertinet ad colendum Deum. Proinde si tantummodo cultus
pertains to worshiping God accordingly if only worship
ipse dicatur, non soli Deo deberi uidetur. Dicimur enim
itself be-said not to-the-only God to-be-owed it-seems we-are-said for
colere etiam homines, quos honorifica uel recordatione uel
to-worship also men whom honorific either by-remembrance or
praesentia frequentamus. Nec solum ea, quibus nos
by-presence we-frequent nor only those-things to-which ourselves
religiosa humilitate subicimus, sed quaedam etiam, quae
with-religious humility we-subject but certain-things also which
subiecta sunt nobis, perhibentur coli. Nam ex hoc uerbo
subject are to-us are-said to-be-tended for from this word
et agricolae et coloni et incolae uocantur, et ipsos deos non
both farmers and colonists and inhabitants are-called and the-very gods not
ob aliud appellant caelicolas, nisi quod caelum colant, non
for other they-call heaven-dwellers except that heaven they-tend not
utique uenerando, sed inhabitando, tamquam caeli quosdam
assuredly by-venerating but by-inhabiting as-if of-heaven certain
colonos; non sicut appellantur coloni, qui condicionem debent
colonists not as are-called colonists who the-condition owe

genitali solo, propter agriculturam sub dominio possessorum,
to-native soil on-account-of agriculture under the-dominion of-the-owners
sed, sicut ait quidam Latini eloquii magnus auctor:
but as says a-certain of-Latin eloquence great author

Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni.
a-city ancient there-was Tyrian held colonists

Ab incolendo enim colonos uocauit, non ab agricultura. Hinc
from inhabiting for colonists he-called not from agriculture hence
et ciuitates a maioribus ciuitatibus uelut populorum examinibus
also cities by greater cities as-if of-peoples by-swarms
conditae coloniae nuncupantur. Ac per hoc cultum quidem non
founded colonies are-named and through this worship indeed not
deberi nisi Deo propria quadam notione uerbi huius omnino
to-be-owed except to-God by-a-proper certain notion of-word this altogether
uerissimum est; sed quia et aliarum rerum dicitur cultus, ideo
most-true it-is but because also of-other things is-said worship therefore
Latine uno uerbo significari cultus Deo debitus non potest.
in-Latin by-one word to-be-signified the-worship to-God due not can
Nam et ipsa religio quamuis distinctius non quemlibet,
for also itself religion although more-distinctly not any-whatever
sed Dei cultum significare uideatur (unde isto nomine
but of-God the-worship to-signify it-may-seem whence by-that name
interpretati sunt nostri eam, quae Graece θρησκεία dicitur):
interpreted have ours that which in-Greek threskeia is-called
tamen quia Latina loquendi consuetudine, non inperitorum,
yet because by-Latin of-speaking custom not of-the-unskilled
uerum etiam doctissimorum, et cognationibus humanis adque
but also of-the-most-learned both to-kinships human and
adfinitatibus et quibusque necessitudinibus dicitur exhibenda
affinities and to-whatever ties is-said to-be-shown

religio, non eo uocabulo uitatur ambiguum, cum de
religion not by-that word is-avoided the-ambiguity when about
cultu deitatis uertitur quaestio, ut fidenter dicere ualeamus
the-worship of-deity turns the-question that confidently to-say we-may-be-able
religionem non esse nisi cultum Dei, quoniam uidetur hoc
religion not to-be except the-worship of-God since seems this
uerbum a significanda obseruantia propinquitatis humanae
word from to-be-signified observance of-kinship human
insolenter auferri. Pietas quoque proprie Dei cultus
unusually to-be-taken-away devotion also properly of-God the-worship
intellegi solet, quam Graeci εὐσέβειαν uocant. Haec
to-be-understood is-wont which the-Greeks eusebeia call this
tamen et erga parentes officiose haberi dicitur. More
yet also toward parents dutifully to-be-had is-said by-the-custom
autem uulgi hoc nomen etiam in operibus misericordiae
but of-the-crowd this name also in works of-mercy
frequentatur; quod ideo arbitror euenisse, quia haec
is-frequented which therefore I-judge to-have-come-about because these-things
fieri praecipue mandat Deus eaque sibi uel pro
to-be-done especially commands God and-these to-himself either for
sacrificiis uel prae sacrificiis placere testatur. Ex qua loquendi
sacrifices or before sacrifices to-please be-testifies from which of-speaking
consuetudine factum est, ut et Deus ipse dicatur pius;
the-custom done was that even God himself be-called devout
quem sane Graeci nullo suo sermonis usu εὐσεβῆν uocant,
whom indeed the-Greeks by-no their-own of-speech usage eusebes call
quamuis εὐσέβειαν pro misericordia illorum etiam uulgus
although eusebeia for mercy of-them also the-crowd
usurpet. Unde in quibusdam scripturarum locis, ut distinctio
uses whence in certain of-the-scriptures places that the-distinction
certior appareret, non εὐσέβειαν, quod ex bono cultu, sed
surer might-appear not eusebeia which from good worship but

θεοσέβειαν, quod ex Dei cultu conpositum resonat, dicere
theosebeia which from of-God worship compounded resounds to-say
maluerunt. Utrumlibet autem horum nos uno uerbo enuntiare
they-preferred either but of-these we in-one word to-express
non possumus. Quae itaque λατρεία Graece nuncupatur et
not can that-which and-so latreia in-Greek is-named and
Latine interpretatur seruitus, sed ea qua colimus Deum;
in-Latin is-interpreted service but that by-which we-worship God
uel quae θρησκεία Graece, Latine autem religio dicitur, sed
or which threskeia in-Greek in-Latin but religion is-called but
ea quae nobis est erga Deum; uel quam illi εὐσέβειαν, nos
that which to-us is toward God or which they eusebeia we
uero non uno uerbo exprimere, sed Dei cultum possumus
but not in-one word to-express but of-God the-worship can
appellare: hanc ei tantum Deo deberi dicimus, qui uerus est
to-call this to-that only God to-be-owed we-say who true is
Deus facitque suos cultores deos. Quicumque igitur sunt in
God and-makes his-own worshipers gods whoever therefore are in
caelestibus habitationibus inmortales et beati, si nos non amant
heavenly dwellings immortal and blessed if us not they-love
nec beatos esse nos uolunt, colendi utique non sunt. Si
nor blessed to-be us they-wish to-be-worshiped assuredly not are if
autem amant et beatos uolunt, profecto inde uolunt, unde et
but they-love and blessed they-wish assuredly thence they-wish whence also
ipsi sunt; an aliunde ipsi beati, aliunde nos?
they-themselves are or from-elsewhere they-themselves blessed from-elsewhere we

There is no conflict with these philosophers here: they wrote that the blessed are made blessed by an intelligible light that is God and other than they. Plotinus says even the soul of the universe is blessed only as ours is, by a light it is not but which made it, as the moon shines by the sun. This agrees with the gospel: John was not the light, but bore witness to the true light. So a rational soul like John's is no light to itself, and John confesses: of his fullness we have all received.

Sed non est nobis ullus cum his excellentioribus philosophis
but not is for-us any with these more-excellent philosophers
in hac quaestione conflictus. Viderunt enim suisque litteris
in this question conflict they-saw for and-in-their-own letters
multis modis copiosissime mandauerunt hinc illos, unde et
in-many ways most-copiously committed hence them whence also
nos, fieri beatos, obiecto quodam lumine intellegibili, quod
us to-become blessed presented a-certain by-light intelligible which
Deus est illis et aliud est quam illi, a quo inlustrantur, ut
God is to-them and other it-is than they by whom they-are-illumined that
clareant adque eius participatione perfecti beatique subsistant.
they-may-shine and of-his by-participation perfect and-blessed they-may-subsist
Saepe multumque Plotinus adserit sensum Platonis explanans,
often and-much Plotinus asserts the-sense of-Plato explaining
ne illam quidem, quam credunt esse uniuersitatis animam,
not that even which they-believe to-be of-the-universe the-soul
aliunde beatam esse quam nostram, idque esse lumen quod
from-elsewhere blessed to-be than ours and-that to-be the-light which
ipsa non est, sed a quo creata est et quo intellegibiliter
it-itself not is but by which created it-was and by-which intelligibly
inluminante intellegibiliter lucet. Dat etiam similitudinem
illuminating intelligibly it-shines he-gives also a-likeness
ad illa incorporea de his caelestibus conspicuis amplisque
to those incorporeal-things from these heavenly conspicuous and-ample

corporibus, tamquam ille sit sol et ipsa sit luna. Lunam
bodies as-if he be the-sun and she be the-moon the-moon
quippe solis obiectu inluminari putant. Dicit ergo ille
for of-the-sun by-the-placing to-be-illumined they-think says therefore that
magnus Platonicus animam rationalem, siue potius intellectualis
great Platonist the-soul rational or rather intellectual
dicenda sit, ex quo genere etiam inmortalium beatorumque
to-be-called it-may-be of which kind also of-the-immortal and-blessed
animas esse intellegit, quos in caelestibus sedibus habitare non
the-souls to-be he-understands whom in heavenly seats to-dwell not
dubitat, non habere supra se naturam nisi Dei, qui fabricatus
he-doubts not to-have above itself a-nature except of-God who fabricated
est mundum, a quo et ipsa facta est; nec aliunde illis
has the-world by whom also it-itself made was nor from-elsewhere to-those
supernis praeberi uitam beatam et lumen intellegentiae
on-high to-be-furnished the-life blessed and the-light of-understanding
ueritatis, quam unde praebetur et nobis, consonans euangelio,
of-truth than whence is-furnished also to-us agreeing with-the-gospel
ubi legitur: Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat
where is-read there-was a-man sent from God to-whom the-name was
Iohannes; hic uenit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet
John he came for witness that witness he-might-bear
de lumine, ut omnes crederent per eum. Non erat ille
about the-light that all might-believe through him not was he
lumen, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat
the-light but that witness he-might-bear about the-light it-was
lumen uerum, quod inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in
the-light true which illumines every man coming into
hunc mundum. In qua differentia satis ostenditur animam
this world in which difference sufficiently is-shown the-soul
rationalem uel intellectualem, qualis erat in Iohanne, sibi
rational or intellectual such-as was in John to-itself

lumen esse non posse, sed alterius ueri luminis participatione
light to-be not to-be-able but of-another true light by-participation
lucere. Hoc et ipse Iohannes fatetur, ubi ei perhibens
to-shine this also himself John confesses where to-him bearing
testimonium dicit: Nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus.
witness he-says we all from fullness his have-received

III · THE TRUE WORSHIP OF GOD

Had the Platonists glorified God as God, they would have confessed one God of gods to be worshiped by the immortals and by us. We owe him latreia, for we are his temple, all together and each; our heart is his altar, his only Son our priest, our blood shed for his truth our victims, holy love our incense. The highest good is to cleave to him: love God with all your heart, and your neighbor as yourself. An immortal power that loves us wishes us subject to him, and if it worships God, it does not wish to be worshiped in his place.

Quae cum ita sint, si Platonici uel quicumque alii
which-things since so they-are if the-Platonists or whoever others
ista senserunt cognoscentes Deum sicut Deum glorificarent
these-things thought knowing God as God would-glorify
et gratias agerent nec euanescerent in cogitationibus suis
and thanks would-give nor would-become-vain in thoughts their-own
nec populorum erroribus partim auctores fierent, partim
nor of-the-peoples to-the-errors partly authors would-become partly
resistere non auderent: profecto confiterentur et illis
to-resist not would-dare assuredly they-would-confess both for-those
inmortalibus ac beatis et nobis mortalibus ac miseris, ut
immortal and blessed and for-us mortal and wretched that

inmortales ac beati esse possimus, unum Deum deorum
immortal and blessed to-be we-may-be-able one God of-gods
colendum, qui et noster est et illorum.
to-be-worshiped who both ours is and theirs

Huic nos seruitutem, quae λατρεία Graece dicitur, siue in
to-him we the-service which latreia in-Greek is-called whether in
quibusque sacramentis siue in nobis ipsis debemus. Huius
whatever sacraments or in us ourselves we-owe of-him
enim templum simul omnes et singuli templa sumus, quia
for the-temple at-once all and each temples we-are because
et omnium concordiam et singulos inhabitare dignatur; non
both of-all the-concord and each to-inhabit he-deigns not
in omnibus quam in singulis maior, quoniam nec mole
in all than in each greater since neither by-mass
distenditur nec partitione minuitur. Cum ad illum sursum
is-distended nor by-division is-diminished when to him upward
est, eius est altare cor nostrum; eum Unigenito
it-is his is the-altar heart our him with-the-Only-Begotten
eius sacerdote placamus; ei cruentas uictimas caedimus,
his as-priest we-appease to-him bloody victims we-slay
quando usque ad sanguinem pro eius ueritate certamus:
when even to blood for his truth we-strive
eum suauissimo adolemus incenso, cum in eius conspectum
him sweetest we-honor with-incense when in his sight
pio sanctoque amore flagramus: ei dona eius in nobis
devout and-holy with-love we-blaze to-him the-gifts his in us
quoque ipsos uouemus et reddimus; ei beneficiorum eius
also ourselves we-vow and we-render to-him of-benefits his
sollemnitatibus festis et diebus statutis dicamus sacramusque
with-solemnities festal and on-days appointed we-dedicate and-we-consecrate
memoriam, ne uolumine temporum ingrata subrepat obliuio;
the-memory lest by-the-rolling of-times ungrateful creep-in forgetfulness

ei sacrificamus hostiam humilitatis et laudis in ara
to-him we-sacrifice the-victim of-humility and of-praise on the-altar
cordis igne feruidam caritatis. Ad hunc uidendum, sicut
of-the-heart with-fire glowing of-charity for him to-be-seen as
uideri poterit, eique cohaerendum ab omni peccatorum
to-be-seen he-will-be-able and-to-him to-be-cleaved-to from every of-sins
et cupiditatum malarum labe mundamur et eius nomine
and of-desires evil stain we-are-cleansed and his by-the-name
consecramur. Ipse enim fons nostrae beatitudinis, ipse
we-are-consecrated he-himself for the-fount of-our blessedness he-himself
omnis adpetitionis est finis. Hunc eligentes uel potius religentes
of-every desire is the-end him choosing or rather re-choosing
(amiseramus enim neglegentes) — hunc ergo religentes, unde
we-had-lost for neglecting him therefore re-choosing whence
et religio dicta perhibetur, ad eum dilectione tendimus, ut
also religion named is-said to him by-love we-tend that
perueniendo quiescamus, ideo beati, quia illo fine perfecti.
by-arriving we-may-rest therefore blessed because by-that end perfected
Bonum enim nostrum, de cuius fine inter philosophos
the-good for our about whose end among philosophers
magna contentio est, nullum est aliud quam illi cohaerere,
great contention is none is other than to-him to-cleave
cuius unius anima intellectualis incorporeo, si dici potest,
of-whom alone the-soul intellectual incorporeal if to-be-said it-can
amplexu ueris inpletur fecundaturque uirtutibus. Hoc bonum
by-the-embrace true is-filled and-is-made-fruitful with-virtues this good
diligere in toto corde, in tota anima et in tota uirtute
to-love with whole heart with whole soul and with whole strength
praecipimur; ad hoc bonum debemus et a quibus diligimur
we-are-commanded to this good we-ought both by whom we-are-loved
duci, et quos diligimus ducere. Sic conplentur duo illa
to-be-led and whom we-love to-lead thus are-fulfilled two those

praecepta, in quibus tota lex pendet et prophetae: Diliges
commandments on which whole the-law hangs and the-prophets you-shall-love
Dominum Deum tuum in toto corde tuo et in tota anima
the-Lord God your with whole heart your and with whole soul
tua et in tota mente tua, et: Diliges proximum tuum
your and with whole mind your and you-shall-love neighbor your
tamquam te ipsum. Ut enim homo se diligere nosset,
as you yourself that for man himself to-love might-know
constitutus est ei finis, quo referret omnia quae
established was for-him an-end to-which he-might-refer all-things which
ageret, ut beatus esset; non enim qui se diligit aliud
he-did that blessed he-might-be not for who himself loves other
uult esse quam beatus. Hic autem finis est adhaerere Deo.
wishes to-be than blessed this but end is to-cleave to-God
Iam igitur scienti diligere se ipsum, cum mandatur de
now then to-one-knowing to-love him himself when is-commanded about
proximo diligendo sicut se ipsum, quid aliud mandatur, nisi
the-neighbor to-be-loved as him himself what other is-commanded except
ut ei, quantum potest, commendet diligendum Deum? Hic
that to-him as-much-as he-can he-commend to-be-loved God this
est Dei cultus, haec uera religio, haec recta pietas, haec
is of-God the-worship this true religion this right devotion this
tantum Deo debita seruitus. Quaecumque igitur inmortalis
the-only to-God due service whatever therefore immortal
potestas quantalibet uirtute praedita si nos diligit sicut
power with-however-great virtue endowed if us loves as
se ipsam, ei uult esse subditos, ut beati simus, cui
it itself to-him wishes to-be subject that blessed we-may-be to-whom
et ipsa subdita beata est. Si ergo non colit Deum,
also it-itself subject blessed is if therefore not it-worships God
misera est, quia priuatur Deo; si autem colit Deum, non
wretched it-is because it-is-deprived of-God if but it-worships God not

uult se coli pro Deo. Illi enim potius diuinae
it-wishes itself to-be-worshiped instead-of God to-that for rather divine
sententiae suffragatur et dilectionis uiribus fauet, qua
to-the-sentence it-votes and of-love to-the-strength favors in-which
scriptum est: Sacrificans dis eradicabitur, nisi Domino soli.
written is sacrificing to-gods shall-be-uprooted except to-the-Lord alone

IV · SACRIFICE DUE TO THE ONE TRUE GOD

Much from the worship of God has been carried over to honors paid to men, from excessive humility or pestilent flattery, yet those so honored were held to be men; no one has thought sacrifice due except to one he knew, thought, or feigned to be a god. How ancient sacrifice is in the worship of God the two brothers Cain and Abel show: God rejected the elder's sacrifice and regarded the younger's.

Nam, ut alia nunc taceam, quae pertinent ad religionis
for that other-things now I-may-pass-over which pertain to of-religion
obsequium, quo colitur Deus, sacrificium certe nullus
the-homage by-which is-worshiped God sacrifice certainly no-one
hominum est qui audeat dicere deberi nisi deo. Multa
of-men is who would-dare to-say to-be-owed except to-god many
denique de cultu diuino usurpata sunt, quae honoribus
finally from worship divine usurped were which to-honors
deferrentur humanis, siue humilitate nimia siue adulatione
were-paid human whether by-humility excessive or by-flattery
pestifera; ita tamen, ut, quibus ea deferrentur, homines
pestilent so yet that to-whom they were-paid men
haberentur, qui dicuntur colendi et uenerandi, si autem
were-held who are-said to-be-worshiped and to-be-venerated if but
multum eis additur, et adorandi: quis uero sacrificandum
much to-them is-added also to-be-adored who indeed to-be-sacrificed-to

censuit nisi ei, quem deum aut sciuit aut putauit aut
judged except to-him whom a-god either he-knew or thought or
finxit? Quam porro antiquus sit in sacrificando Dei cultus,
feigned how further ancient is in sacrificing of-God the-worship
duo illi fratres Cain et Abel satis indicant, quorum
two those brothers Cain and Abel sufficiently indicate of-whom
maioris Deus reprobauit sacrificium, minoris aspexit.
of-the-elder God rejected the-sacrifice of-the-younger regarded

V · THE SACRIFICES GOD DOES NOT REQUIRE

God needs neither cattle nor man's justice; worship profits man, not God. The fathers' sacrifices signified what is done in us; the visible sacrifice is the sacred sign of the invisible: a sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit, a contrite heart. Where God refuses slaughtered cattle he asks for the heart: offer God a sacrifice of praise; to do judgment and love mercy; I desire mercy rather than sacrifice. All the commanded sacrifices of tabernacle and temple signify the love of God and neighbor.

Quis autem ita desipiat, ut existimet aliquibus usibus Dei
who but so would-be-foolish that he-should-think for-some uses of-God
esse necessaria, quae in sacrificiis offeruntur? Quod cum
to-be necessary the-things-which in sacrifices are-offered which although
multis locis diuina scriptura testetur, ne longum faciamus,
in-many places divine scripture testifies lest long we-make
breue illud de psalmo commemorare suffecerit: Dixi Domino,
brief that from the-psalm to-recall will-suffice I-said to-the-Lord
Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges. Non
God my are you since of-goods my not you-need not
solum igitur pecore uel qualibet alia re corruptibili adque
only therefore of-cattle or of-any other thing corruptible and
terrena, sed ne ipsa quidem iustitia hominis Deus egere
earthly but not the-very even justice of-man God to-need

credendus est, totumque quod recte colitur Deus homini
to-be-believed is and-the-whole that rightly is-worshiped God to-man
prodesse, non Deo. Neque enim fonti se quisquam
to-profit not to-God nor for to-the-fountain himself anyone
dixerit consuluisse, si biberit; aut luci, si uiderit.
would-say to-have-served if he-has-drunk or to-the-light if he-has-seen
Nec quod ab antiquis patribus alia sacrificia facta sunt in
nor that by ancient fathers other sacrifices made were in
uictimis pecorum, quae nunc Dei populus legit, non facit,
victims of-cattle which now of-God the-people reads not does
aliud intellegendum est, nisi rebus illis eas res fuisse
other to-be-understood is except by-things those those things to-have-been
significatas, quae aguntur in nobis, ad hoc ut inhaereamus
signified which are-done in us to this that we-may-cleave
Deo et ad eundem finem proximo consulamus. Sacrificium
to-God and to the-same end to-the-neighbor we-may-look-to the-sacrifice
ergo uisibile inuisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum
therefore visible of-the-invisible sacrifice the-sacrament that is the-sacred
signum est. Unde ille paenitens aput prophetam uel ipse
sign is whence that penitent with the-prophet or the-very
propheta quaerens Deum peccatis suis habere propitium: Si
prophet seeking God to-sins his-own to-have propitious if
uoluisses, inquit, sacrificium, dedissem utique; holocaustis
you-had-wished he-says sacrifice I-would-have-given assuredly in-holocausts
non delectaberis. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus:
not you-will-be-delighted the-sacrifice to-God a-spirit troubled
cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernet. Intueamur
a-heart contrite and humbled God not will-spurn let-us-observe
quem ad modum, ubi Deum dixit nolle sacrificium,
in-what to manner where God he-said not-to-wish sacrifice
ibi Deum ostendit uelle sacrificium. Non uult ergo
there God he-showed to-wish sacrifice not he-wishes therefore

sacrificium trucidati pecoris, sed uult sacrificium contriti
the-sacrifice of-slaughtered cattle but he-wishes the-sacrifice of-a-contrite
cordis. Illo igitur quod eum nolle dixit, hoc significatur,
heart by-that therefore which him not-to-wish he-said this is-signified
quod eum uelle subiecit. Sic itaque illa Deum nolle
which him to-wish he-added so and-so those-things God not-to-wish
dixit, quo modo ab stultis ea uelle creditur, uelut suae
he-said in-what way by fools them to-wish he-is-believed as-if his-own
gratia uoluptatis. Nam si ea sacrificia quae uult (quorum
for-the-sake of-pleasure for if those sacrifices which he-wishes of-which
hoc unum est: cor contritum et humiliatum dolore
this one is the-heart contrite and humbled by-the-sorrow
paenitendi) nollet eis sacrificiis significari, quae uelut
of-repenting he-did-not-wish by-those sacrifices to-be-signified which as-if
sibi delectabilia desiderare putatus est: non utique de his
to-himself delightful to-desire thought he-was not assuredly about these
offerendis in lege uetere praecepisset. Et ideo mutanda
to-be-offered in the-law old he-would-have-instructed and therefore to-be-changed
erant opportuno certoque iam tempore, ne ipsi Deo
they-were fitting and-fixed now at-a-time lest to-the-very God
desiderabilia uel certe in nobis acceptabilia, ac non potius
desirable or certainly in us acceptable and not rather
quae his significata sunt crederentur. Hinc et alio
the-things-which by-these signified are they-be-believed hence also in-another
loco psalmi alterius: Si esuriero, inquit, non dicam tibi;
place of-psalm another if I-shall-hunger he-says not I-shall-say to-you
meus est enim orbis terrae et plenitudo eius. Numquid
mine is for the-circle of-the-earth and the-fullness of-it surely-not
manducabo carnes taurorum aut sanguinem hircorum potabo?
shall-I-eat the-flesh of-bulls or the-blood of-goats shall-I-drink
Tamquam diceret: Utique si mihi essent necessaria, non
as-if he-were-saying assuredly if to-me they-were necessary not

a te peterem, quae habeo in potestate. Deinde subiungens
from you I-would-seek what I-have in power then adding
quid illa significent: Immola, inquit, Deo sacrificium
what those-things signify offer he-says to-God the-sacrifice
laudis et redde Altissimo uota tua et inuoca me in die
of-praise and render to-the-Most-High vows your and call-on me in the-day
tribulationis, et eripiam te et magnificabis me. Item aput
of-tribulation and I-will-deliver you and you-shall-glorify me likewise with
alium prophetam: In quo, inquit, adprehendam Dominum,
another prophet in what he-says shall-I-lay-hold-of the-Lord
adsumam Deum meum excelsum? Si adprehendam illum in
shall-I-take-up God my high if I-lay-hold-of him in
holocaustis, in uitulis anniculis? Si acceptauerit Dominus in
holocausts in calves yearling if will-accept the-Lord in
milibus arietum aut in denis milibus hircorum pinguium? Si
thousands of-rams or in ten thousands of-goats fat if
dedero primogenita mea inpietatis, fructum uentris mei pro
I-give firstborn my of-ungodliness the-fruit of-belly my for
peccato animae meae? Si adnuntiatum est tibi, homo, bonum?
the-sin of-soul my if announced was to-you O-man good
Aut quid Dominus exquirat a te nisi facere iudicium et
or what the-Lord requires from you except to-do judgment and
diligere misericordiam et paratum esse ire cum Domino
to-love mercy and ready to-be to-go with the-Lord
Deo tuo? Et in huius prophetae uerbis utrumque distinctum
God your and in of-this prophet the-words each distinguished
est satisque declaratum illa sacrificia per se ipsa non
is and-sufficiently declared those sacrifices through them themselves not
requirere Deum, quibus significantur haec sacrificia, quae
to-require God by-which are-signified these sacrifices which
requirit Deus. In epistula, quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos: Bene
requires God in the-epistle which is-inscribed to the-Hebrews well

facere, inquit, et communicatores esse nolite obliuisci; talibus
to-do he-says and sharers to-be do-not forget by-such
enim sacrificiis placetur Deo. Ac per hoc ubi scriptum
for sacrifices it-is-pleasing to-God and through this where written
est: Misericordiam uolo quam sacrificium nihil aliud quam
is mercy I-wish rather-than sacrifice nothing other than
sacrificium sacrificio praelatum oportet intellegi; quoniam
sacrifice to-sacrifice preferred it-behooves to-be-understood since
illud, quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est
that which by all is-called sacrifice a-sign is
ueri sacrificii. Porro autem misericordia uerum sacrificium
of-the-true sacrifice further but mercy the-true sacrifice
est; unde dictum est, quod paulo ante commemoraui:
is whence said it-is what a-little before I-recalled
Talibus enim sacrificiis placetur Deo. Quaecumque igitur
by-such for sacrifices it-is-pleasing to-God whatever-things therefore
in ministerio tabernaculi siue templi multis modis de
in the-ministry of-the-tabernacle or of-the-temple in-many ways about
sacrificiis leguntur diuinitus esse praecepta, ad dilectionem
sacrifices are-read divinely to-have-been commanded to the-love
Dei et proximi significando referuntur. In his enim duobus
of-God and of-neighbor by-signifying are-referred in these for two
praeceptis, ut scriptum est, tota lex pendet et prophetae.
commandments as written it-is whole the-law hangs and the-prophets

A true sacrifice is every work done to cleave to God in holy fellowship, referred to the end in which we are truly blessed; even mercy not done for God's sake is none. Man consecrated to God and dead to the world is a sacrifice, and the body offered as arms of justice. So the whole redeemed city is offered to God through the great priest who offered himself in the form of a servant: many, one body in Christ, the sacrifice the church celebrates at the altar.

Proinde uerum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur ut
accordingly a-true sacrifice is every work which is-done that
sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum
holy in-fellowship we-may-cleave to-God referred namely to that
finem boni, quo ueraciter beati esse possimus. Unde et
end of-good by-which truly blessed to-be we-can whence even
ipsa misericordia, qua homini subuenitur, si non propter
the-very mercy by-which to-a-man help-is-given if not on-account-of
Deum fit, non est sacrificium. Etsi enim ab homine
God is-done not is a-sacrifice although for by man
fit uel offertur, tamen sacrificium res diuina est, ita ut
it-is-done or is-offered yet a-sacrifice a-thing divine is so that
hoc quoque uocabulo id Latini ueteres appellauerint. Unde
by-this also word it the-Latins ancient have-called whence
ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus et Deo deuotus, in
the-very man of-God in-the-name consecrated and to-God devoted in
quantum mundo moritur ut Deo uiuat, sacrificium est.
so-far-as to-the-world he-dies that to-God he-may-live a-sacrifice is
Nam et hoc ad misericordiam pertinet, quam quisque in
for also this to mercy pertains which each-one on
se ipsum facit. Propterea scriptum est: Miserere animae
him himself does for-this-reason written it-is have-mercy-on soul
tuae placens Deo. Corpus etiam nostrum cum temperantia
your pleasing God the-body also our when by-temperance

castigamus, si hoc, quem ad modum debemus, propter
we-chasten if this in-what to manner we-ought on-account-of
Deum facimus, ut non exhibeamus membra nostra arma
God we-do that not we-may-present members our as-arms
iniquitatis peccato, sed arma iustitiae Deo, sacrificium est.
of-iniquity to-sin but as-arms of-justice to-God a-sacrifice it-is
Ad quod exhortans apostolus ait: Obsecro itaque uos, fratres,
to which exhorting the-apostle says I-beseech and-so you brothers
per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora uestra hostiam
by the-mercy of-God that you-present bodies your a-victim
uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium
living holy to-God pleasing reasonable service
uestrum. Si ergo corpus, quo inferiore tamquam famulo
your if therefore the-body which lower as-if a-servant
uel tamquam instrumento utitur anima, cum eius bonus et
or as-if instrument uses the-soul when its good and
rectus usus ad Deum refertur, sacrificium est: quanto magis
right use to God is-referred a-sacrifice is how-much more
anima ipsa cum se refert ad Deum, ut igne amoris eius
the-soul it-itself when itself refers to God that by-the-fire of-love his
accensa formam concupiscentiae saecularis amittat eique
kindled the-form of-concupiscence worldly it-may-lose and-to-him
tamquam incommutabili formae subdita reformetur, hinc
as-if unchangeable to-form subjected it-may-be-reformed hence
ei placens, quod ex eius pulchritudine acceperit, fit
to-him pleasing because from his beauty it-has-received it-becomes
sacrificium! Quod idem apostolus consequenter adiungens:
a-sacrifice which the-same apostle consequently adding
Et nolite, inquit, conformari huic saeculo; sed reformamini in
and do-not he-says be-conformed to-this world but be-reformed in
nouitate mentis uestrae ad probandum uos quae sit uoluntas
the-newness of-mind your for proving you what be the-will

Dei, quod bonum et bene placitum et perfectum. Cum
of-God what good and well pleasing and perfect since
igitur uera sacrificia opera sint misericordiae siue in nos
therefore true sacrifices works are of-mercy whether toward us
ipsos siue in proximos, quae referuntur ad Deum, opera
ourselves or toward neighbors which are-referred to God works
uero misericordiae non ob aliud fiant, nisi ut a miseria
but of-mercy not for other are-done except that from misery
liberemur ac per hoc ut beati simus (quod non fit
we-may-be-freed and through this that blessed we-may-be which not happens
nisi bono illo, de quo dictum est: Mihi autem adhaerere
except by-good that about which said it-is for-me but to-cleave
Deo bonum est): profecto efficitur, ut tota ipsa redemta
to-God good is assuredly it-is-brought-about that whole the-very redeemed
ciuitas, hoc est congregatio societasque sanctorum, uniuersale
city that is the-congregation and-fellowship of-the-saints universal
sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum, qui
a-sacrifice be-offered to-God through the-priest great who
etiam se ipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, ut tanti
also him himself offered in the-passion for us that of-so-great
capitis corpus essemus, secundum formam serui. Hanc
a-head the-body we-might-be according-to the-form of-a-servant this
enim obtulit, in hac oblatus est, quia secundum hanc
for he-offered in this offered he-was because according-to this
mediator est, in hac sacerdos, in hac sacrificium est. Cum
mediator he-is in this priest in this sacrifice he-is since
itaque nos hortatus esset apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora
and-so us exhorted had the-apostle that we-present bodies
nostra hostiam uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile
our a-victim living holy to-God pleasing reasonable
obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo,
service our and not we-be-conformed to-this world

sed reformemur in nouitate mentis nostrae: ad probandum
but we-be-reformed in the-newness of-mind our for proving
quae sit uoluntas Dei, quod bonum et bene placitum et
what be the-will of-God what good and well pleasing and
perfectum, quod totum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus: Dico
perfect which whole sacrifice we ourselves are I-say
enim, inquit, per gratiam Dei, quae data est mihi, omnibus,
for he-says through the-grace of-God which given was to-me to-all
qui sunt in uobis, non plus sapere, quam oportet sapere,
who are among you not more to-be-wise than it-behooves to-be-wise
sed sapere ad temperantiam; sicut unicuique Deus partitus
but to-be-wise unto temperance as to-each God apportioned
est mensuram fidei. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra
has the-measure of-faith as for in one body many members
habemus, omnia autem membra non eosdem actus habent: ita
we-have all but members not the-same acts have so
multi unum corpus sumus in Christo; singuli autem alter
many one body we-are in Christ individually but one
alterius membra, habentes dona diuersa secundum gratiam,
of-another members having gifts diverse according-to the-grace
quae data est nobis. Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: multi
which given was to-us this is the-sacrifice of-Christians many
unum corpus in Christo. Quod etiam sacramento altaris
one body in Christ which also in-the-sacrament of-the-altar
fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur,
to-the-faithful known celebrates the-church where to-her is-shown
quod in ea re, quam offert, ipsa offeratur.
that in that thing which she-offers she-herself is-offered

The immortals in heaven, blessed by sharing their creator, love us mercifully and wish us to sacrifice not to them but to him whose sacrifice, with us, they know themselves to be. With them we are one city of God; one part sojourns in us, the other helps from above. From that city came down through angels the scripture: he who sacrifices to gods shall be uprooted, except to the Lord alone. Such miracles attested that law that it is plain to whom the blessed wish us to sacrifice.

Merito illi in caelestibus sedibus constituti inmortales et
rightly those in heavenly seats established immortal and
beati, qui creatoris sui participatione congaudent, cuius
blessed who of-creator their-own in-participation rejoice whose
aeternitate firmi, cuius ueritate certi, cuius munere sancti sunt,
by-eternity firm whose by-truth certain whose by-gift holy they-are
quoniam nos mortales et miseros, ut inmortales beatique
since us mortal and wretched that immortal and-blessed
simus, misericorditer diligunt, nolunt nos sibi
we-may-be mercifully they-love they-do-not-wish us to-themselves
sacrificari, sed ei, cuius et ipsi nobiscum sacrificium
to-be-sacrificed but to-him of-whom also they-themselves with-us the-sacrifice
se esse nouerunt. Cum ipsis enim sumus una ciuitas
themselves to-be know with them for we-are one city
Dei, cui dicitur in psalmo: Gloriosissima dicta sunt de te,
of-God to-which is-said in the-psalm most-glorious-things said are of you
ciuitas Dei; cuius pars in nobis peregrinatur, pars in illis
O-city of-God of-which part in us is-sojourning part in them
opitulatur. De illa quippe superna ciuitate, ubi Dei uoluntas
gives-aid from that for supernal city where of-God the-will
intellegibilis adque incommutabilis lex est, de illa superna
intelligible and unchangeable law is from that supernal
quodam modo curia (geritur namque ibi cura de nobis) ad
in-a-certain way court is-conducted for there care about us to

nos ministrata per angelos sancta illa scriptura descendit, ubi
us ministered through angels holy that scripture descended where
legitur: Sacrificans dis eradicabitur, nisi Domino soli. Huic
is-read sacrificing to-gods shall-be-uprooted except to-the-Lord alone to-this
scripturae, huic legi, praeceptis talibus tanta sunt adtestata
scripture to-this law to-precepts such so-great were attested
miracula, ut satis appareat, cui nos sacrificari uelint
miracles that sufficiently it-may-appear to-whom us to-be-sacrificed they-wish
inmortales ac beati, qui hoc nobis uolunt esse quod sibi.
the-immortal and blessed who this for-us wish to-be which for-themselves

VIII · THE MIRACLES THAT CONFIRMED GOD'S PROMISES

The miracles attesting God's promises are many: Abraham's barren wife bearing in old age, the flame between his divided victims, the angels who foretold Sodom's burning and Lot's deliverance, and Lot's wife turned to salt. Through Moses Pharaoh's magicians were overcome, ten plagues completed, and the sea divided; in the desert came sweetened waters, manna, and quails, enemies laid low while Moses' hands made the cross, rebels swallowed by the earth, water from the rock, and the bronze serpent Hezekiah later destroyed.

Nam nimis uetera si commemorem, longius quam satis
for too old-things if I-should-recall further than enough
est reuoluere uidebor, quae miracula facta sint adtestantia
it-is to-unroll I-shall-seem what miracles done were attesting
promissis Dei, quibus ante annorum milia praedicit Abrahae,
to-the-promises of-God by-which before of-years thousands he-foretells to-Abraham
quod in semine eius omnes gentes benedictionem fuerant
that in seed his all nations blessing were
habiturae. Quis enim non miretur eidem Abrahae filium
about-to-have who for not would-wonder to-the-same Abraham a-son

peperisse coniugem sterilem eo tempore senectutis, quo
to-have-borne wife barren at-that time of-old-age when
parere nec fecunda iam posset, adque in eiusdem Abrahae
to-bear not-even a-fertile already could and in of-the-same Abraham
sacrificio flammam caelitus factam inter diuisas uictimas
sacrifice a-flame from-heaven made between divided victims
cucurrisse, eidemque Abrahae praedictum ab angelis caeleste
to-have-run and-to-the-same Abraham foretold by angels the-heavenly
incendium Sodomorum, quos angelos hominibus similes
burning of-Sodom which angels to-men like
hospitio susceperat et per eos de prole uentura Dei
with-hospitality he-had-received and through them about offspring coming of-God
promissa tenuerat, ipsoque inminente iam incendio miram
the-promises he-had-held and-the-very impending already the-burning wondrous
de Sodomis per eosdem angelos liberationem Loth filii
from Sodom through the-same angels deliverance of-Lot of-the-son
fratris eius, cuius uxor in uia retro respiciens adque in
of-brother his whose wife on the-way back looking and into
salem repente conuersa magno admonuit sacramento neminem
salt suddenly turned great warned by-a-sacrament no-one
in uia liberationis suae praeterita desiderare debere? Illa
on the-way of-deliverance his-own past-things to-desire ought those-things
uero quae et quanta sunt, quae iam per Moysen pro populo
but which and how-great are which now through Moses for the-people
Dei de iugo seruitutis eruendo in Aegypto mirabiliter
of-God from the-yoke of-slavery to-be-rescued in Egypt wondrously
gesta sunt, ubi magi Pharaonis, hoc est regis Aegypti,
done were where the-magicians of-Pharaoh that is of-the-king of-Egypt
qui populum illum dominatione deprimebat, ad hoc facere
who people that with-domination oppressed to this to-do
quaedam mira permissi sunt, ut mirabilius uincerentur!
certain wonders permitted were that more-wondrously they-might-be-conquered

Illi enim faciebant ueneficiis et incantationibus magicis,
they for did by-sorceries and incantations magical
quibus sunt mali angeli, hoc est daemones, dediti; Moyses
to-which are evil angels that is demons devoted Moses
autem tanto potentius, quanto iustius, nomine Dei, qui
but so-much more-powerfully as more-justly in-the-name of-God who
fecit caelum et terram, seruientibus angelis eos facile
made heaven and earth serving angels them easily
superauit. Denique in tertia plaga deficientibus magis
overcame finally at the-third plague failing the-magicians
decem plagae per Moysen magna mysteriorum dispositione
ten plagues through Moses great of-mysteries by-arrangement
conpletae sunt, quibus ad Dei populum dimittendum
completed were to-which for of-God the-people to-be-released
Pharaonis et Aegyptiorum dura corda cesserunt. Moxque
of-Pharaoh and of-the-Egyptians hard hearts yielded and-soon
paenituit, et cum abscedentes Hebraeos consequi conarentur,
they-repented and when departing the-Hebrews to-pursue they-tried
illis diuiso mari per siccum transeuntibus unda hinc adque
those divided the-sea over the-dry crossing the-wave hence and
hinc in sese redeunte cooperti et obpressi sunt. Quid de
hence into itself returning covered and overwhelmed were what about
illis miraculis dicam, quae, cum in deserto idem populus
those miracles shall-I-say which when in the-desert the-same people
ductaretur, stupenda diuinitate crebuerunt: aquas, quae
was-led stupendous by-divinity abounded waters which
bibi non poterant, misso in eas, sicut Deus praeceperat,
to-be-drunk not could cast into them as God had-instructed
ligno amaritudine caruisse sitientesque satiasse; manna
wood bitterness to-have-lacked and-the-thirsting to-have-sated manna
esurientibus uenisse de caelo et, cum esset colligentibus
to-the-hungry to-have-come from heaven and when was for-the-gatherers

constituta mensura, quidquid amplius quisque collegerat,
fixed a-measure whatever more each-one had-gathered
exortis uermibus putruisse, ante diem uero sabbati duplum
arisen with-worms to-have-rotted before the-day but of-the-sabbath double
collectum, quia sabbato colligere non licebat, nulla
gathered because on-the-sabbath to-gather not it-was-permitted by-no
putredine uiolatum; desiderantibus carne uesci, quae tanto
rot violated for-those-desiring on-flesh to-feed which so-great
populo nulla sufficere posse uidebatur, uolatilibus castra
to-a-people none to-suffice to-be-able seemed with-birds the-camp
conpleta et cupiditatis ardorem fastidio satietatis extinctum;
filled and of-desire the-ardor by-the-disgust of-satiety extinguished
obuios hostes transitumque prohibentes adque proeliantes
opposing enemies and-the-passage forbidding and fighting
orante Moyse manibusque eius in figuram crucis extentis
praying Moses and-hands his into the-figure of-a-cross stretched
nullo Hebraeorum cadente prostratos; seditiosos in populo
no-one of-the-Hebrews falling laid-low the-seditious in the-people
Dei ac sese ab ordinata diuinitus societate diuidentes ad
of-God and themselves from ordained divinely fellowship dividing for
exemplum uisibile inuisibilis poenae uiuos terra dehiscente
an-example visible of-invisible punishment alive the-earth gaping
submersos; uirga percussam petram tantae multitudini
swallowed with-a-rod struck the-rock for-so-great multitude
abundantia fluenta, fudisse; serpentum morsus mortiferos,
abundant streams to-have-poured of-serpents the-bites deadly
poenam iustissimam peccatorum, in ligno exaltato adque
the-penalty most-just of-sins on wood raised and
prospecto aeneo serpente sanatos, ut et populo subueniretur
looked-upon bronze serpent healed that both the-people might-be-helped
adflicto, et mors morte destructa uelut crucifixae mortis
afflicted and death by-death destroyed as-if of-crucified death

similitudine signaretur? Quem sane serpentem propter
by-the-likeness might-be-signified which indeed serpent on-account-of
facti memoriam reseruatum cum postea populus errans
of-the-deed the-memory preserved when afterward the-people erring
tamquam idolum colere coepisset, Ezechias rex religiosa
as an-idol to-worship had-begun Hezekiah the-king with-religious
potestate Deo seruiens cum magna pietatis laude contriuit.
power God serving with great of-devotion praise crushed

IX · PORPHYRY BETWEEN THEURGY AND ITS REJECTION

These miracles were done by simple faith, not by the arts called magic, goetia, or the more honorable theurgy, all bound by demons' rites under angels' names. Porphyry wavers: he hesitantly promises a purification by theurgy, yet denies it leads back to God, calls it dangerous and unlawful, then says it cleanses the spiritual part of the soul, not the intellectual. He tells of a good Chaldean whose purification an envious rival blocked by binding the powers, and concludes that theurgy works evil as well as good and that gods suffer passions.

Haec et alia multa huiusce modi, quae omnia commemorare
these-things and others many of-this kind which all to-recall
nimis longum est, fiebant ad commendandum unius Dei
too long it-is were-done for commending of-one of-God
ueri cultum et multorum falsorumque prohibendum.
true the-worship and of-many and-false-ones to-be-forbidden
Fiebant autem simplici fide adque fiducia pietatis,
they-were-done but by-simple faith and by-confidence of-devotion
non incantationibus et carminibus nefariae curiositatis arte
not by-incantations and spells of-nefarious curiosity by-art
conpositis, quam uel magian uel detestabiliori nomine
composed which either magic or more-detestable by-name

goetian uel honorabiliori theurgian uocant, qui quasi
goetia or by-a-more-honorable theurgy they-call who as-if
conantur ista discernere et inlicitis artibus deditos alios
try these-things to-distinguish and to-illicit arts devoted some
damnabiles, quos et maleficos uulgus appellat (hos enim
damnable whom also sorcerers the-crowd calls these for
ad goetian pertinere dicunt), alios autem laudabiles uideri
to goetia to-belong they-say others but praiseworthy to-seem
uolunt, quibus theurgian deputant; cum sint utrique ritibus
they-wish to-whom theurgy they-assign although are both by-rites
fallacibus daemonum obstricti sub nominibus angelorum.
deceitful of-demons bound under the-names of-angels

Nam et Porphyrius quandam quasi purgationem animae
for also Porphyry a-certain as-it-were purification of-the-soul
per theurgian, cunctanter tamen et pudibunda quodam
through theurgy hesitantly yet and bashful in-a-certain
modo disputatione promittit; reuersionem uero ad Deum hanc
way by-argument promises the-return but to God this
artem praestare cuiquam negat; ut uideas eum inter
art to-furnish to-anyone he-denies so-that you-may-see him between
uitium sacrilegae curiositatis et philosophiae professionem
the-vice of-sacrilegious curiosity and of-philosophy the-profession
sententiis alternantibus fluctuare. Nunc enim hanc artem
with-opinions alternating to-waver now for this art
tamquam fallacem et in ipsa actione periculosam et
as deceitful and in the-very action dangerous and
legibus prohibitam cauendam monet; nunc autem uelut eius
by-laws forbidden to-be-shunned he-warns now but as-if to-its
laudatoribus cedens utilem dicit esse mundandae parti
praisers yielding useful he-says to-be to-be-cleansed for-the-part
animae, non quidem intellectuali, qua rerum intellegibilium
of-the-soul not indeed to-the-intellectual by-which of-things intelligible

percipitur ueritas, nullas habentium similitudines corporum;
is-perceived the-truth no having likenesses of-bodies
sed spiritali, qua corporalium rerum capiuntur imagines.
but the-spiritual by-which of-bodily things are-caught the-images
Hanc enim dicit per quasdam consecrationes theurgicas,
this for he-says through certain consecrations theurgic
quas teletas uocant, idoneam fieri adque aptam susceptioni
which teletae they-call suitable to-become and fit for-the-reception
spirituum et angelorum et ad uidendos deos. Ex quibus
of-spirits and of-angels and for seeing gods from which
tamen theurgicis teletis fateretur intellectuali animae nihil
yet theurgic teletae he-would-confess to-the-intellectual soul nothing
purgationis accedere, quod eam faciat idoneam ad uidendum
of-purification to-accrue which it may-make suitable for seeing
Deum suum et perspicienda ea, quae uere sunt. Ex quo
God its-own and to-be-discerned those-things which truly are from which
intellegi potest, qualium deorum uel qualem uisionem
to-be-understood it-can of-what-sort of-gods or what-sort-of vision
fieri dicat theurgicis consecrationibus, in qua non
to-come-about he-says by-theurgic consecrations in which not
ea uidentur, quae uere sunt. Denique animam rationalem
those-things are-seen which truly are finally the-soul rational
siue, quod magis amat dicere, intellectualem, in sua posse
or what more he-loves to-say intellectual into its-own to-be-able
dicit euadere, etiamsi quod eius spiritale est nulla theurgica
he-says to-escape even-if what of-it spiritual is by-no theurgic
fuerit arte purgatum; porro autem a theurgo spiritalem
has-been art purified further but by the-theurgist the-spiritual
purgari hactenus, ut non ex hoc ad inmortalitatem
to-be-purified thus-far that not from this to immortality
aeternitatemque perueniat. Quamquam itaque discernat a
and-eternity it-may-arrive although and-so he-distinguishes from

daemonibus angelos, aeria loca esse daemonum, aetheria
demons angels airy places to-be of-demons ethereal
uel empyrea disserens angelorum, et admoneat utendum
or empyrean discussing of-angels and he-advises to-be-used
alicuius daemonis amicitia, quo subuectante uel paululum
of-some demon the-friendship by-whom carrying-up even a-little
a terra possit eleuari quisque post mortem, aliam
from the-earth may-be-able to-be-lifted each-one after death another
uero uiam esse perhibeat ad angelorum superna consortia:
but way to-be he-asserts to of-the-angels supernal fellowships
cauendam tamen daemonum societatem expressa quodam
to-be-shunned yet of-demons the-society express in-a-certain
modo confessione testatur, ubi dicit animam post mortem
way by-confession he-testifies where he-says the-soul after death
luendo poenas cultum daemonum a quibus circumueniebatur
by-paying penalties the-worship of-demons by whom it-was-ensnared
horrescere: ipsamque theurgian, quam uelut conciliatricem
to-shudder-at and-the-very theurgy which as go-between
angelorum deorumque commendat, aput tales agere potestates
of-angels and-of-gods he-commends with such to-act powers
negare non potuit, quae uel ipsae inuideant purgationi
to-deny not he-could which either themselves begrudge the-purification
animae, uel artibus seruiant inuidorum, querelam de hac
of-the-soul or to-the-arts serve of-the-envious the-complaint about this
re Chaldaei nescio cuius expromens: “Conqueritur, inquit,
thing of-a-Chaldean I-know-not whose setting-forth complains he-says
uir in Chaldaea bonus, purgandae animae magno in
a-man in Chaldea good to-be-purified of-the-soul great in
molimine frustratos sibi esse successus, cum uir ad
effort frustrated for-him to-have-been the-successes when a-man for
eadem potens tactus inuidia adiuratas sacris precibus
the-same-things powerful touched by-envy adjured by-sacred prayers

potentias adligasset, ne postulata concederent. Ergo et
the-powers had-bound lest the-things-requested they-should-grant therefore both
ligauit ille, inquit, et iste non soluit." Quo indicio dixit
bound that-one he-says and this-one not loosed by-which evidence he-said
apparere theurgian esse tam boni conficiendi quam mali
to-appear theurgy to-be as-much of-good to-be-accomplished as of-evil
et aput deos et aput homines disciplinam; pati etiam deos
both with gods and with men a-discipline to-suffer also the-gods
et ad illas perturbationes passionesque deduci, quas
and to those perturbations and-passions to-be-brought-down which
communiter daemonibus et hominibus Apuleius adtribuit;
in-common to-demons and to-men Apuleius attributes
deos tamen ab eis aetheriae sedis altitudine separans et
the-gods yet from them of-the-ethereal seat by-the-height separating and
Platonis adserens in illa discretione sententiam.
of-Plato asserting in that distinction the-opinion

X · THEURGY'S FALSE PURIFICATION

Porphyry admits that gods adjured by an envious man could be terrified from purifying a soul and not freed by a good one. Who does not see these are the fictions of deceiving demons? Good gods would favor the purifier. Why did the Chaldean find no greater god to compel them? O illustrious theurgy, where envy commands more than beneficence obtains! What its purified see is Satan transformed into an angel of light, turning himself, like Proteus, into every shape.

Ecce nunc alius Platonicus, quem doctiorem ferunt,
behold now another Platonist whom more-learned they-report
Porphyrius, per nescio quam theurgicam disciplinam etiam
Porphyry through I-know-not what theurgic discipline even
ipsos deos obstrictos passionibus et perturbationibus dicit,
the-very gods bound by-passions and perturbations he-says

quoniam sacris precibus adiurari terrerique potuerunt, ne
since by-sacred prayers to-be-adjured and-to-be-terrified they-could lest
praestarent animae purgationem, et ita terreri ab eo, qui
they-should-furnish to-the-soul purification and so to-be-terrified by him who
imperabat malum, ut ab alio, qui poscebat bonum, per
commanded evil that by another who asked good through
eandem artem theurgicam solui illo timore non possent
the-same art theurgic to-be-released from-that fear not they-could
et ad dandum beneficium liberari. Quis non uideat haec
and for giving a-benefit to-be-freed who not would-see these-things
omnia fallacium daemonum esse commenta, nisi eorum
all of-deceitful demons to-be the-fictions unless of-them
miserrimus seruus et a gratia ueri liberatoris alienus?
the-most-wretched slave and from the-grace of-the-true liberator estranged
Nam si haec aput deos agerentur bonos, plus ibi utique
for if these-things with gods were-done good more there assuredly
ualeret beneficus purgator animae quam maleuolus inpeditor.
would-avail the-beneficent purifier of-the-soul than the-malevolent hinderer
Aut si dis iustis homo, pro quo agebatur, purgatione
or if to-gods just the-man for whom it-was-done of-purification
uidebatur indignus, non utique ab inuido territi nec, sicut
seemed unworthy not assuredly by the-envious terrified nor as
ipse dicit, per metum ualentioris numinis inpediti, sed
he-himself says through fear of-a-stronger divinity hindered but
iudicio libero id negare debuerunt. Mirum est autem, quod
by-judgment free it to-deny they-ought wonderful it-is but that
benignus ille Chaldaeus, qui theurgicis sacris animam purgare
kindly that Chaldean who with-theurgic rites the-soul to-purify
cupiebat, non inuenit aliquem superiorem deum, qui uel plus
desired not found some superior god who either more
terreret adque ad bene faciendum cogeret territos deos,
might-terrify and to well doing might-compel the-terrified gods

uel ab eis terrentem conpesceret, ut libere bene facerent;
or from them the-terrifier might-restrain that freely well they-might-do
si tamen theurgo bono sacra defuerunt, quibus ipsos
if yet to-the-theurgist good the-rites were-lacking by-which the-very
deos, quos inuocabat animae purgatores, prius ab illa timoris
gods whom he-invoked of-the-soul purifiers first from that of-fear
peste purgaret. Quid enim causae est, quur deus potentior
plague he-might-purify what for of-cause is why a-god more-powerful
adhiberi possit a quo terreantur, nec possit a quo
to-be-applied can by whom they-may-be-terrified nor can by whom
purgentur? An inuenitur deus qui exaudiat inuidum et
they-may-be-purified or is-found a-god who may-hear the-envious and
timorem dis incutiat ne bene faciant; nec inuenitur deus
fear to-the-gods may-strike lest well they-do nor is-found a-god
qui exaudiat beneuolum et timorem dis auferat ut
who may-hear the-benevolent and fear from-the-gods may-take-away that
bene faciant? O theurgia praeclara, o animae praedicanda
well they-may-do O theurgy illustrious O of-the-soul to-be-proclaimed
purgatio, ubi plus imperat inmunda inuidentia, quam inpetrat
purification where more commands unclean envy than obtains
pura beneficentia! Immo uero malignorum spirituum cauenda
pure beneficence rather indeed of-malign spirits to-be-shunned
et detestanda fallacia, et salutaris audienda doctrina. Quod
and to-be-detested the-deceit and saving to-be-heard the-doctrine that
enim qui has sordidas purgationes sacrilegis ritibus operantur
for who these sordid purifications with-sacrilegious rites perform
quasdam mirabiliter pulchras, sicut iste commemorat, uel
certain wondrously beautiful as he recalls either
angelorum imagines uel deorum tamquam purgato spiritu
of-angels images or of-gods as-if with-purified spirit
uident (si tamen uel tale aliquid uident), illud est, quod
see if yet even such something they-see that is what

apostolus dicit: Quoniam satanas transfigurat se uelut
the-apostle says that satan transforms himself as-if
angelum lucis. Eius enim sunt illa phantasmata, qui miseras
an-angel of-light his for are those phantasms who wretched
animas multorum falsorumque deorum fallacibus sacris cupiens
souls of-many and-false gods by-deceitful rites desiring
inretire et a uero ueri Dei cultu, quo solo mundantur
to-ensnare and from the-true of-true God worship by-which alone they-are-cleansed
et sanantur, auertere, sicut de Proteo dictum est,
and are-healed to-turn-away as of Proteus said it-is

formas se uertit in omnes,
shapes himself he-turns into all

hostiliter insequens, fallaciter subueniens, utrobique nocens.
hostilely pursuing deceitfully helping on-both-sides harming

XI · PORPHYRY'S LETTER TO ANEBO

Porphyry was wiser writing to Anebo the Egyptian, as one asking, exposing the sacrilegious arts. He rejects all demons as imprudent, yet calls some kindly; he wonders that gods are compelled by victims and threatened by men, and reports others' view of a deceitful spirit feigning gods and the souls of the dead. Those who trouble the gods over fugitives or estates, he says, cultivate wisdom in vain.

Melius sapuit iste Porphyrius, cum ad Anebontem scribit
better was-wise this Porphyry when to Anebo he-writes
Aegyptium, ubi consulenti similis et quaerenti et prodit
the-Egyptian where to-one-consulting like and to-one-asking both he-betrays
artes sacrilegas et euertit. Et ibi quidem omnes daemones
the-arts sacrilegious and overturns and there indeed all demons

reprobat, quos dicit ob inprudentiam trahere humidum
he-rejects whom he-says on-account-of imprudence to-draw moist
uaporem et ideo non in aethere, sed in aere esse
vapor and therefore not in the-ether but in the-air to-be
sub luna adque in ipso lunae globo; uerum tamen
beneath the-moon and in the-very of-the-moon globe but yet
non audet omnes fallacias et malitias et ineptias, quibus
not he-dares all the-deceits and malices and follies by-which
merito mouetur, omnibus daemonibus dare. Quosdam namque
rightly he-is-moved to-all demons to-give certain for
benignos daemones more appellat aliorum, cum omnes
kindly demons by-the-custom he-calls of-others although all
generaliter inprudentes esse fateatur. Miratur autem quod
generally imprudent to-be he-confesses he-wonders but that
non solum di adliciantur uictimis, sed etiam conpellantur
not only the-gods are-enticed by-victims but also are-compelled
adque cogantur facere quod homines uolunt; et si corpore
and are-forced to-do what men wish and if by-body
et incorporalitate di a daemonibus distinguuntur, quo
and incorporeality the-gods from demons are-distinguished in-what
modo deos esse existimandum sit solem et lunam et uisibilia
way gods to-be to-be-thought it-is the-sun and the-moon and the-visible
cetera in caelo, quae corpora esse non dubitat; et si di
other-things in heaven which bodies to-be not he-doubts and if gods
sunt, quo modo alii benefici, alii malefici esse dicantur; et
they-are in-what way some beneficent others maleficent to-be are-said and
quo modo incorporalibus, cum sint corporei, coniungantur.
in-what way to-incorporeals since they-are corporeal are-joined
Quaerit etiam ueluti dubitans, utrum in diuinantibus et
he-asks also as-if doubting whether in the-divining and
quaedam mira facientibus animae sint passiones an aliqui
certain wonders doing of-the-soul are passions or some

spiritus extrinsecus ueniant, per quos haec ualeant; et
spirits from-outside come through whom these-things they-can-do and
potius uenire extrinsecus conicit, eo quod lapidibus et
rather to-come from-outside he-conjectures from-this that with-stones and
herbis adhibitis et adligent quosdam, et aperiant clausa ostia,
herbs applied both they-bind certain-people and open closed doors
uel aliquid eius modi mirabiliter operentur. Unde dicit alios
or something of-this kind wondrously they-work whence he-says others
opinari esse quoddam genus, cui exaudire sit proprium,
to-think to-be a-certain kind to-which to-hear is proper
natura fallax, omniforme, multimodum, simulans deos et
by-nature deceitful all-formed multiform feigning gods and
daemones et animas defunctorum, et hoc esse quod efficiat
demons and souls of-the-dead and this to-be what brings-about
haec omnia quae uidentur bona esse uel praua; ceterum
these-things all which seem good to-be or depraved but
circa ea, quae uere bona sunt, nihil opitulari, immo uero
about those-things which truly good are nothing to-help rather indeed
ista nec nosse, sed et male conciliare et insimulare
these-things not-even to-know but both badly to-conciliate and to-accuse
adque inpedire nonnumquam uirtutis sedulos sectatores,
and to-hinder sometimes of-virtue the-zealous followers
et plenum esse temeritatis et fastus, gaudere nidoribus,
and full to-be of-rashness and of-pride to-rejoice in-fumes
adulationibus capi, et cetera, quae de hoc genere
by-flatteries to-be-taken and the-other-things which about this kind
fallacium malignorumque spirituum, qui extrinsecus in animam
of-deceitful and-malign spirits who from-outside into the-soul
ueniunt humanosque sensus sopitos uigilantesue deludunt,
come and-human senses lulled or-waking delude
non tamquam sibi persuasa confirmat, sed tam tenuiter
not as-if to-himself persuaded he-confirms but so tenuously

suspicatur aut dubitat, ut haec alios adserat opinari. Difficile
he-suspects or doubts that these-things others he-asserts to-think difficult
quippe fuit tanto philosopho cunctam diabolicam societatem
for it-was for-so-great a-philosopher the-whole diabolical society
uel nosse uel fidenter arguere, quam quaelibet anicula
either to-know or confidently to-accuse than any-whatever little-old-woman
Christiana nec cunctatur esse, et liberrime detestatur.
Christian nor she-hesitates to-exist and most-freely detests
Nisi forte iste et ipsum, ad quem scribit, Anebontem
unless perhaps he even the-very to whom he-writes Anebo
tamquam talium sacrorum praeclarissimum antistitem et alios
as of-such rites the-most-illustrious high-priest and others
talium operum tamquam diuinorum et ad deos colendos
of-such works as divine and to gods to-be-worshiped
pertinentium admiratores uerecundatur offendere.
pertaining admirers is-ashamed to-offend

Sequitur tamen et ea uelut inquirendo commemorat,
he-follows yet and those-things as-if by-inquiring he-recalls
quae sobrie considerata tribui non possunt nisi malignis
which soberly considered to-be-attributed not they-can except to-malign
et fallacibus potestatibus. Quaerit enim quur tamquam
and deceitful powers he-asks for why as-if
melioribus inuocatis quasi peioribus imperetur, ut iniusta
better-ones invoked as-if worse-ones are-commanded that unjust
praecepta hominis exsequantur; quur adtrectatum re
precepts of-a-man they-carry-out why one-touched by-a-thing
Veneria non exaudiant inprecantem, cum ipsi ad
Venereal not they-hear praying although they-themselves to
incestos quosque concubitus quoslibet ducere non morentur;
incestuous any couplings any-whatever to-lead not delay
quur animantibus suos antistites oportere abstinere denuntient,
why from-animals their high-priests to-be-bound to-abstain they-announce

ne uaporibus profecto corporeis polluantur, ipsi uero et
lest by-vapors assuredly bodily they-be-polluted they-themselves but both
aliis uaporibus inliciantur et nidoribus hostiarum, cumque
by-other vapors are-enticed and by-the-fumes of-victims and-though
a cadaueris contactu prohibeatur inspector, plerumque
from of-a-corpse contact is-forbidden the-inspector mostly
illa cadaueribus celebrentur; quid sit, quod non daemoni
those-things with-corpses are-celebrated what it-is that not to-a-demon
uel alicui animae defuncti, sed ipsi soli et lunae aut
or to-some soul of-the-dead but to-the-very sun and moon or
cuicumque caelestium homo uitio cuilibet obnoxius intendit
to-whatever of-the-heavenly-ones a-man to-vice any liable directs
minas eosque territat falso, ut eis extorqueat ueritatem.
threats and-them terrifies falsely that from-them he-may-extort the-truth
Nam et caelum se conlidere comminatur et cetera similia
for also heaven himself to-shatter he-threatens and other-things similar
homini inpossibilia, ut illi di tamquam insipientissimi pueri
to-man impossible that those gods as-if most-foolish boys
falsis et ridiculis comminationibus territi quod imperatur
by-false and ridiculous threats terrified what is-commanded
efficiant. Dicit etiam scripsisse Chaeremonem quendam,
may-carry-out he-says also to-have-written Chaeremon a-certain
talium sacrorum uel potius sacrilegiorum peritum, ea,
of-such rites or rather of-sacrileges skilled those-things
quae aput Aegyptios sunt celebrata rumoribus uel de Iside
which among the-Egyptians are celebrated by-rumors either about Isis
uel de Osiri marito eius, maximam uim habere cogendi
or about Osiris husband her the-greatest force to-have of-compelling
deos, ut faciant imperata, quando ille, qui carminibus
the-gods that they-do the-things-commanded when he who by-spells
cogit, ea se prodere uel euertere comminatur, ubi se
compels them himself to-betray or to-overturn threatens where himself

etiam Osiridis membra dissipaturum terribiliter dicit, si facere
also of-Osiris the-members about-to-scatter terribly he-says if to-do
iussa neglexerint. Haec adque huius modi uana
the-things-ordered they-neglect these-things and of-this kind vain
et insana hominem dis minari, nec quibuslibet, sed
and insane-things a-man to-the-gods to-threaten nor to-any-whatever but
ipsis caelestibus et siderea luce fulgentibus, nec sine
to-the-very heavenly and starry with-light shining nor without
effectu, sed uiolenta potestate cogentem adque his terroribus
effect but with-violent power compelling and by-these terrors
ad facienda quae uoluerit perducentem, merito Porphyrius
to doing what he-wished leading rightly Porphyry
admiratur; immo uero sub specie mirantis et causas
wonders rather indeed under the-appearance of-one-wondering and the-causes
rerum talium requirentis dat intellegi illos haec agere
of-things such seeking he-gives to-be-understood those these-things to-do
spiritus, quorum genus superius sub aliorum opinatione
spirits whose kind above under of-others the-opinion
descripsit, non, ut ipse posuit, natura, sed uitio fallaces,
he-described not as he-himself put by-nature but by-vice deceitful
qui simulant deos et animas defunctorum, daemones autem
who feign gods and souls of-the-dead demons but
non, ut ait ipse, simulant, sed plane sunt. Et quod ei
not as says he-himself they-feign but plainly they-are and that to-him
uidetur herbis et lapidibus et animantibus et sonis certis
it-seems with-herbs and stones and animals and sounds certain
quibusdam ac uocibus et figurationibus adque figmentis,
certain and voices and figurations and figments
quibusdam etiam obseruatis in caeli conuersione motibus
certain also observed in of-heaven the-revolution motions
siderum fabricari in terra ab hominibus potestates idoneas
of-the-stars to-be-fabricated on earth by men powers suitable

uariis effectibus exsequendis, totum hoc ad eosdem ipsos
for-various effects to-be-carried-out all this to the-same very
daemones pertinet ludificatores animarum sibimet subditarum
demons pertains mockers of-souls to-themselves subjected
et uoluptaria sibi ludibria de hominum erroribus
and pleasurable for-themselves sports from of-men the-errors
exhibentes. Aut ergo re uera dubitans et inquirens ista
displaying either therefore in truth doubting and inquiring these-things
Porphyrius ea tamen commemorat, quibus conuincantur
Porphyry those-things yet he-recalls by-which they-may-be-convicted
et redarguantur, nec ad eas potestates, quae nobis ad beatam
and refuted nor to those powers which to-us for blessed
uitam capessendam fauent, sed ad deceptores daemones
life to-be-seized favor but to deceiving demons
pertinere monstrentur; aut, ut meliora de philosopho
to-pertain they-be-shown or that better-things about the-philosopher
suspicemur, eo modo uoluit hominem Aegyptium talibus
we-may-suspect in-that way he-wished the-man Egyptian to-such
erroribus deditum et aliqua magna se scire opinantem
errors devoted and some great-things himself to-know thinking
non superba quasi auctoritate doctoris offendere, nec aperte
not proud as-if by-authority of-a-teacher to-offend nor openly
aduersantis altercatione turbare, sed quasi quaerentis et
of-one-opposing by-altercation to-disturb but as-if of-one-seeking and
discere cupientis humilitate ad ea cogitanda conuertere
to-learn desiring by-the-humility to those-things to-be-thought to-turn
et quam sint contemnenda uel etiam deuitanda monstrare.
and how-much they-be to-be-despised or even to-be-avoided to-show
Denique prope ad epistulae finem petit se ab eo doceri,
finally near to of-the-letter the-end he-asks himself by him to-be-taught
quae sit ad beatitudinem uia ex Aegyptia sapientia.
what be to blessedness the-way from Egyptian wisdom

Ceterum illos, quibus conuersatio cum dis ad hoc esset, ut
but those to-whom converse with the-gods for this was that
ob inueniendum fugitiuum uel praedium conparandum, aut
for finding a-fugitive or an-estate to-be-bought or
propter nuptias uel mercaturam uel quid huius modi mentem
on-account-of marriage or trade or what of-this kind the-mind
diuinam inquietarent, frustra eos uideri dicit coluisse
divine they-disturbed in-vain them to-seem he-says to-have-cultivated
sapientiam; illa etiam ipsa numina, cum quibus conuersarentur,
wisdom those even very divinities with whom they-conversed
etsi de ceteris rebus uera praedicerent, tamen quoniam
although about other things true they-foretold yet since
de beatitudine nihil cautum nec satis idoneum monerent,
about blessedness nothing cautious nor sufficiently suitable they-advised
nec deos illos esse nec benignos daemones, sed aut illorum
neither gods those to-be nor kindly demons but either of-those
quod dicitur fallax, aut humanum omne commentum.
what is-called deceiver or human all a-fiction

Wonders that do not refer us to the one God's worship are the demons' mockeries. Miracles done by angels to commend the worship of the one God, in whom alone is the blessed life, are done by God working in them. The invisible God works visible miracles, as he made the visible world, a greater wonder than any done in it; man himself is a greater miracle than any done through man. God moves temporal things unmoved, and hears in his angels as in his temple.

Verum quia tanta et talia geruntur his artibus, ut
but because so-great and such-things are-done by-these arts that
uniuersum modum humanae facultatis excedant: quid restat,
the-whole measure of-human faculty they-exceed what remains
nisi ut ea, quae mirifice tamquam diuinitus praedici
except that those-things which wondrously as-if divinely to-be-foretold
uel fieri uidentur nec tamen ad unius Dei cultum
or to-be-done seem nor yet to of-one God the-worship
referuntur, cui simpliciter inhaerere fatentibus quoque
are-referred to-whom simply to-cleave confessing also
Platonicis et per multa testantibus solum beatificum
the-Platonists and through many-things testifying the-only beatifying
bonum est, malignorum daemonum ludibria et seductoria
good is of-malign demons the-mockeries and seductive
inpedimenta, quae uera pietate cauenda sunt, prudenter
hindrances which with-true devotion to-be-shunned are prudently
intellegantur? Porro autem quaecumque miracula siue per
be-understood further but whatever miracles whether through
angelos siue quocumque modo ita diuinitus fiunt, ut Dei
angels or in-whatever way so divinely are-done that of-God
unius, in quo solo beata uita est, cultum religionemque
one in whom alone the-blessed life is the-worship and-religion
commendent, ea uere ab eis uel per eos, qui nos
they-commend those-things truly by them or through them who us

secundum ueritatem pietatemque diligunt, fieri ipso Deo
according-to truth and-devotion love to-be-done the-very God
in illis operante credendum est. Neque enim audiendi sunt,
in them working to-be-believed is nor for to-be-heard are
qui Deum inuisibilem uisibilia miracula operari negant, cum
who God invisible visible miracles to-work deny since
ipse etiam secundum ipsos fecerit mundum, quem certe
he-himself even according-to themselves made the-world which certainly
uisibilem negare non possunt. Quidquid igitur mirabile fit
visible to-deny not they-can whatever therefore wonderful is-done
in hoc mundo, profecto minus est quam totus hic mundus,
in this world assuredly less is than whole this world
id est caelum et terra et omnia quae in eis sunt, quae
that is heaven and earth and all-things which in them are which
certe Deus fecit. Sicut autem ipse qui fecit, ita modus
certainly God made as but he-himself who made so the-way
quo fecit occultus est et inconprehensibilis homini.
in-which he-made hidden is and incomprehensible to-man
Quamuis itaque miracula uisibilium naturarum uidendi
although and-so the-miracles of-visible natures of-seeing
adsiduitate uiluerint, tamen, cum ea sapienter intuemur,
by-the-assiduity have-grown-cheap yet when them wisely we-regard
inusitatissimis rarissimisque maiora sunt. Nam et omni
than-the-most-unusual and-rarest greater they-are for even than-every
miraculo, quod fit per hominem, maius miraculum
miracle which is-done through man greater a-miracle
est homo. Quapropter Deus, qui fecit uisibilia caelum et
is man wherefore God who made the-visible heaven and
terram, non dedignatur facere uisibilia miracula in caelo
earth not disdains to-make visible miracles in heaven
uel terra, quibus ad se inuisibilem colendum excitet
or earth by-which to himself invisible to-be-worshiped he-may-rouse

animam adhuc uisibilibus deditam; ubi uero et quando
the-soul still to-visible-things devoted where but and when
faciat, incommutabile consilium penes ipsum est, in cuius
he-may-do-it the-unchangeable counsel with himself is in whose
dispositione iam tempora facta sunt quaecumque futura sunt.
disposition already the-times made are whatever to-come are
Nam temporalia mouens temporaliter non mouetur, nec aliter
for temporal-things moving temporally not he-is-moved nor otherwise
nouit facienda quam facta, nec aliter inuocantes exaudit
knows things-to-be-done than things-done nor otherwise those-invoking he-hears
quam inuocaturos uidet. Nam et cum exaudiunt angeli
than about-to-invoke he-sees for even when hear angels
eius, ipse in eis exaudit, tamquam in uero nec manu
his he-himself in them hears as-if in true nor by-hand
facto templo suo, sicut in hominibus sanctis suis, eiusque
made temple his-own as in men holy his-own and-his
temporaliter fiunt iussa aeterna eius lege conspecta.
temporally are-done the-commands eternal his by-the-law beheld

It should not trouble us that the invisible God appeared to the fathers: as the sound that conveys a thought is not the thought, so the form in which he was seen was not what he is, and they knew it. Moses spoke with him and still asked: show me yourself. Since the law was given in the edicts of angels to a whole nation, great things were done on the mountain before the people, for Israel did not believe Moses as Sparta believed Lycurgus; the signs showed the creature serving its creator.

Nec mouere debet, quod, cum sit inuisibilis, saepe uisibiliter
nor to-trouble ought that although he-be invisible often visibly
patribus apparuisse memoratur. Sicut enim sonus, quo
to-the-fathers to-have-appeared he-is-recorded as for the-sound by-which
auditur sententia in silentio intellegentiae constituta, non est
is-heard a-thought in the-silence of-understanding established not is
hoc quod ipsa: ita et species, qua uisus est Deus in
this which itself so also the-appearance in-which seen was God in
natura inuisibili constitutus, non erat quod ipse. Verum
nature invisible established not was what he-himself but
tamen ipse in eadem specie corporali uidebatur, sicut illa
yet he-himself in the-same appearance bodily was-seen as that
sententia ipsa in sono uocis auditur; nec illi ignorabant
thought itself in the-sound of-the-voice is-heard nor they were-ignorant
inuisibilem Deum in specie corporali, quod ipse non erat,
invisible God in appearance bodily what he-himself not was
se uidere. Nam et loquebatur cum loquente Moyses et
themselves to-see for both was-speaking with the-one-speaking Moses and
ei tamen dicebat: Si inueni gratiam ante te, ostende mihi
to-him yet he-said if I-have-found grace before you show to-me
temet ipsum, scienter ut uideam te. Cum igitur oporteret Dei
you yourself knowingly that I-may-see you since therefore it-behooved of-God
legem in edictis angelorum terribiliter dari, non uni homini
the-law in the-edicts of-angels terribly to-be-given not to-one man

paucisue sapientibus, sed uniuersae genti et populo ingenti:
or-to-few wise but to-the-whole nation and to-the-people huge
coram eodem populo magna facta sunt in monte, ubi
in-the-presence-of the-same people great-things done were on the-mountain where
lex per unum dabatur, conspiciente multitudine metuenda
the-law through one was-given beholding the-multitude fearful
et tremenda quae fiebant. Non enim populus Israel sic
and dreadful the-things-which were-done not for the-people Israel so
Moysi credidit, quem ad modum suo Lycurgo Lacedaemonii,
Moses believed in-what to manner their-own Lycurgus the-Lacedaemonians
quod a Ioue seu Apolline leges, quas condidit, accepisset. Cum
that from Jupiter or Apollo the-laws which he-founded he-had-received when
enim lex dabatur populo, qua coli unus iubebatur
for the-law was-given to-the-people by-which to-be-worshiped one was-commanded
Deus, in conspectu ipsius populi, quantum sufficere diuina
God in the-sight of-the-very people as-far-as to-suffice divine
prouidentia iudicabat, mirabilibus rerum signis et motibus
providence judged by-wonderful of-things signs and motions
apparebat ad eandem legem dandam creatori seruire creaturam.
it-appeared for the-same law to-be-given the-creator to-serve the-creature

As one man's education advances by stages, so the human race's that belongs to God's people rose from temporal to eternal; even when visible rewards were promised, the one God was to be worshiped. Whatever angels or men give is in the Almighty's power. Plotinus proves providence reaches down to flowers and leaves, whose fit numbers come from the intelligible form; so the Lord: consider the lilies of the field. The weak soul does best to expect even lowly goods from God.

Sicut autem unius hominis, ita humani generis, quod
as but of-one man so of-the-human race which
ad Dei populum pertinet, recta eruditio per quosdam
to of-God the-people belongs the-right instruction through certain
articulos temporum tamquam aetatum profecit accessibus, ut
junctures of-times as-if of-ages advanced by-approaches that
a temporalibus ad aeterna capienda et a uisibilibus
from temporal-things to eternal-things to-be-grasped and from visible-things
ad inuisibilia surgeretur; ita sane ut etiam illo tempore,
to invisible-things one-might-rise so indeed that even at-that time
quo uisibilia promittebantur diuinitus praemia, unus tamen
in-which visible were-promised divinely rewards one yet
colendus commendaretur Deus, ne mens humana uel pro
to-be-worshiped might-be-commended God lest the-mind human even for
ipsis terrenis uitae transitoriae beneficiis cuiquam nisi uero
the-very earthly of-life transitory benefits to-anyone except true
animae creatori et domino subderetur. Omnia quippe, quae
of-the-soul to-the-creator and lord might-be-subjected all-things for which
praestare hominibus uel angeli uel homines possunt, in unius
to-furnish to-men either angels or men can in of-one
esse Omnipotentis potestate quisquis diffitetur, insanit. De
to-be of-the-Almighty the-power whoever denies is-insane about
prouidentia certe Plotinus Platonicus disputat eamque a
providence certainly Plotinus the-Platonist argues and-it from

summo Deo, cuius est intellegibilis adque ineffabilis pulchritudo,
the-highest God whose is intelligible and ineffable beauty
usque ad haec terrena et ima pertingere flosculorum adque
even to these earthly and lowest-things to-reach of-little-flowers and
foliorum pulchritudine conprobat; quae omnia quasi abiecta et
of-leaves by-the-beauty he-proves which all as-if cast-off and
uelocissime pereuntia decentissimos formarum suarum numeros
most-swiftly perishing most-fitting of-forms their-own numbers
habere non posse confirmat, nisi inde formentur, ubi forma
to-have not to-be-able he-confirms unless thence they-be-formed where form
intellegibilis et incommutabilis simul habens omnia perseuerat.
intelligible and unchangeable at-once having all-things abides
Hoc Dominus Iesus ibi ostendit, ubi ait: Considerate lilia
this the-Lord Jesus there shows where he-says consider the-lilies
agri, non laborant neque nent. Dico autem uobis, quia
of-the-field not they-labor nor spin I-say but to-you that
nec Salomon in tota gloria sua sic amictus est, sicut unum
not-even Solomon in all glory his so clothed was as one
ex eis. Quod si faenum agri, quod hodie est et cras
of them but if the-grass of-the-field which today is and tomorrow
in clibanum mittitur, Deus sic uestit: quanto magis uos,
into the-oven is-cast God so clothes how-much more you
modicae fidei? Optime igitur anima humana adhuc terrenis
of-little faith best therefore the-soul human still by-earthly
desideriis infirma ea ipsa, quae temporaliter exoptat bona
desires weak those very-things which temporally it-longs-for goods
infima adque terrena uitae huic transitoriae necessaria et
lowest and earthly for-life this transitory necessary and
prae illius uitae sempiternis beneficiis contemnenda, non
beside of-that life everlasting benefits to-be-despised not
tamen nisi ab uno Deo expectare consuescit, ut ab illius
yet except from one God to-expect grows-accustomed that from his

cultu etiam in istorum desiderio non recedat, ad quem
worship even in of-these-things the-desire not it-may-withdraw to whom
contemtu eorum et ab eis auersione perueniat.
by-contempt of-them and from them by-turning-away it-may-arrive

XV · THE MINISTRY OF THE HOLY ANGELS

So providence ordered the times that the law of the one God's worship was given in the edicts of angels, God appearing visibly through creation, not in his substance, and speaking in human words, though in his nature he speaks eternally. His messengers hear it with the mind's ear and carry it into the visible world. The law, given at its time, held earthly promises signifying eternal things, and commanded the worship of the one God who made heaven and earth.

Sic itaque diuinae prouidentiae placuit ordinare temporum
so and-so to-divine providence it-pleased to-order of-the-times
cursum, ut, quem ad modum dixi et in actibus apostolorum
the-course that in-what to manner I-said and in the-acts of-the-apostles
legitur, lex in edictis angelorum daretur de unius ueri
is-read the-law in the-edicts of-angels might-be-given about of-one true
Dei cultu, in quibus et persona ipsius Dei, non quidem
God the-worship in which also the-person of-the-very God not indeed
per suam substantiam, quae semper corruptibilibus oculis
through his-own substance which always to-corruptible eyes
inuisibilis permanet, sed certis indiciis per subiectam
invisible remains but by-certain signs through subjected
creatori creaturam uisibiliter appareret et syllabatim per
to-the-creator the-creature visibly might-appear and syllable-by-syllable through
transitorias temporum morulas humanae linguae uocibus
the-transitory of-times brief-delays of-human tongue in-the-sounds
loqueretur, qui in sua natura non corporaliter, sed spiritaliter,
might-speak who in his-own nature not bodily but spiritually

non sensibiliter, sed intellegibiliter, non temporaliter, sed, ut ita
not sensibly but intelligibly not temporally but as so
dicam, aeternaliter nec incipit loqui nec desinit; quod aput
I-may-say eternally neither begins to-speak nor ceases what with
illum sincerius audiunt, non corporis aure sed mentis,
him more-purely hear not of-the-body with-the-ear but of-the-mind
ministri eius et nuntii, qui eius ueritate incommutabili
ministers his and messengers who his truth unchangeable
perfruuntur inmortaliter beati: et quod faciendum modis
enjoy immortally blessed and what to-be-done in-ways
ineffabilibus audiunt et usque in ista uisibilia adque sensibilia
ineffable they-hear and even into these visible and sensible-things
perducendum, incunctanter adque indifficulter efficiunt. Haec
to-be-carried-through unhesitatingly and without-difficulty they-effect this
autem lex distributione temporum data est, quae prius
but law by-distribution of-times given was which first
haberet, ut dictum est, promissa terrena, quibus tamen
should-have as said it-has-been promises earthly by-which yet
significarentur aeterna, quae uisibilibus sacramentis celebrarent
might-be-signified eternal-things which with-visible sacraments might-celebrate
multi, intellegerent pauci. Unius tamen Dei cultus apertissima
many might-understand few of-one yet God the-worship most-open
illic et uocum et rerum omnium contestatione praecipitur,
there and of-voices and of-things all by-the-witness is-commanded
non unius de turba, sed qui fecit caelum et terram et
not of-one from the-crowd but who made heaven and earth and
omnem animam et omnem spiritum, qui non est quod
every soul and every spirit which not is what
ipse. Ille enim fecit, haec facta sunt, adque ut sint
he-himself he for made these-things made were and that they-may-be
et bene se habeant, eius indigent, a quo facta sunt.
and well themselves may-hold of-him they-need by whom made they-were

Which angels should we believe about eternal life: those who demand rites for themselves, or those who say all worship is owed to the one God? Let the Platonists, theurgists, or rather periurgists, answer. Even without miracles devotion could tell pride from true religion, and God gave greater miracles to those who forbid worship of themselves. The pagans' wonders, the Penates moving, Tarquin's whetstone, the Vestal's sieve, do not compare. If those who seek sacrifice are evil demons, the one God whom good angels serve is our protection, and we ourselves ought to be his sacrifice.

Quibus igitur angelis de beata et sempiterna uita
which then angels about the-blessed and everlasting life
credendum esse censemus? Utrum eis, qui se religionis
to-be-believed to-be do-we-judge whether those who themselves of-religion
ritibus coli uolunt sibi sacra et sacrificia
by-the-rites to-be-worshiped wish for-themselves rites and sacrifices
flagitantes a mortalibus exhiberi, an eis, qui hunc omnem
demanding by mortals to-be-shown or those who this all
cultum uni Deo creatori omnium deberi dicunt eique
worship to-one God the-creator of-all to-be-owed say and-to-him
reddendum uera pietate praecipiunt, cuius et ipsi
to-be-rendered with-true devotion instruct whose also they-themselves
contemplatione beati sunt et nos futuros esse promittunt?
by-contemplation blessed are and us about-to-be to-be promise
Illa namque uisio Dei tantae pulchritudinis uisio est et
that for vision of-God of-so-great beauty a-vision is and
tanto amore dignissima, ut sine hac quibuslibet aliis
of-so-great love most-worthy that without this with-whatever other
bonis praeditum adque abundantem non dubitet Plotinus
goods endowed and abounding not doubts Plotinus
infelicissimum dicere. Cum ergo ad hunc unum quidam
most-unhappy to-call since therefore to this one certain

angeli, quidam uero ad se ipsos latria colendos signis
angels certain but to them themselves with-latria to-be-worshiped by-signs
mirabilibus excitent, et hoc ita, ut illi istos coli
wonderful rouse and this so that those these to-be-worshiped
prohibeant, isti autem illum prohibere non audeant: quibus
forbid these but him to-forbid not dare which
potius sit credendum, respondeant Platonici, respondeant
rather be to-be-believed let-answer the-Platonists let-answer
quicumque philosophi, respondeant theurgi uel potius
whatever philosophers let-answer the-theurgists or rather
periurgi; hoc enim sunt omnes illae artes uocabulo digniores;
the-periurgists this for are all those arts by-the-word more-worthy
postremo respondeant homines, si ullus naturae suae sensus,
finally let-answer men if any of-nature their-own sense
quod rationales creati sunt, ex aliqua parte uiuit in eis;
that rational created they-were in some part lives in them
respondeant, inquam, eisne sacrificandum sit dis uel
let-them-answer I-say whether-to-them to-be-sacrificed is to-gods or
angelis, qui sibi sacrificari iubent, an illi uni, cui
angels who to-themselves to-be-sacrificed order or to-that one to-whom
iubent hi qui et sibi et istis prohibent? Si nec
order these who both to-themselves and to-those forbid if neither
isti nec illi ulla miracula facerent, sed tantum praeciperent,
these nor those any miracles should-do but only should-instruct
alii quidem ut sibi sacrificaretur, alii uero id uetarent,
some indeed that to-themselves sacrifice-be-made others but it should-forbid
sed uni tantum iuberent Deo: satis deberet pietas ipsa
but to-one only should-order God sufficiently ought devotion itself
discernere, quid horum de fastu superbiae, quid de
to-discern which of-these from the-haughtiness of-pride which from
uera religione descenderet. Plus etiam dicam: si tantum hi
true religion descended more even I-shall-say if only these

mirabilibus factis humanas animas permouerent, qui sacrificia
by-wonderful deeds human souls should-move who sacrifices
sibi expetunt, illi autem, qui hoc prohibent et uni
for-themselves seek those but who this forbid and to-one
tantum Deo sacrificari iubent, nequaquam ista uisibilia
only God to-be-sacrificed order by-no-means these visible
miracula facere dignarentur: profecto non sensu corporis,
miracles to-do should-deign assuredly not by-the-sense of-the-body
sed ratione mentis praeponenda eorum esset auctoritas.
but by-the-reason of-the-mind to-be-preferred their would-be the-authority
Cum uero Deus id egerit ad commendanda eloquia
since but God this has-done for commending the-utterances
ueritatis suae, ut per istos inmortales nuntios non sui
of-truth his-own that through these immortal messengers not their-own
fastum, sed maiestatem illius praedicantes faceret maiora,
haughtiness but the-majesty his proclaiming he-might-do greater
certiora, clariora miracula, ne infirmis piis illi, qui sacrificia
surer clearer miracles lest to-the-weak devout those who sacrifices
sibi expetunt, falsam religionem facilius persuaderent,
for-themselves seek a-false religion more-easily might-persuade
eo quod sensibus eorum quaedam stupenda monstrarent:
from-this that to-the-senses their certain stupendous-things they-might-show
quem tandem ita desipere libeat, ut non uera eligat
whom at-last so to-be-foolish might-please that not true-things he-chooses
quae sectetur, ubi et ampliora inuenit quae miretur?
which he-may-follow where also ampler-things he-finds which he-may-wonder-at

Illa quippe miracula deorum gentilium, quae commendat
those for miracles of-the-gods gentile which commends
historia (non ea dico, quae interuallis temporum occultis
history not those I-say which at-intervals of-times by-hidden
ipsius mundi causis, uerum tamen sub diuina prouidentia
of-the-very world causes but yet under divine providence

constitutis et ordinatis monstrosa contingunt; quales
established and ordered monstrous happen such-as
sunt inusitati partus animalium et caelo terraque rerum
are unusual births of-animals and in-heaven and-earth of-things
insolita facies, siue tantum terrens siue etiam nocens, quae
an-unaccustomed face either only terrifying or also harming which
procurari adque mitigari daemonicis ritibus fallacissima
to-be-expiated and to-be-mitigated by-demonic rites by-the-most-deceitful
eorum astutia perhibentur; sed ea dico, quae ui ac
their cunning are-said but those I-say which by-force and
potestate eorum fieri satis euidenter apparet, ut est
power their to-be-done sufficiently evidently appears as is
quod effigies deorum Penatium, quas de Troia Aeneas
that the-images of-the-gods Penates which from Troy Aeneas
fugiens aduexit, de loco in locum migrasse referuntur;
fleeing brought from place to place to-have-migrated are-reported
quod cotem Tarquinius nouacula secuit: quod Epidaurius
that a-whetstone Tarquin with-a-razor cut that the-Epidaurian
serpens Aesculapio nauiganti Romam comes adhaesit;
serpent to-Aesculapius sailing to-Rome as-companion clung
quod nauem, qua simulacrum matris Phrygiae uehebatur,
that the-ship in-which the-statue of-the-mother Phrygian was-carried
tantis hominum boumque conatibus inmobilem redditam
by-so-great of-men and-of-oxen efforts immovable rendered
una muliercula zona adligatam ad suae pudicitiae
one little-woman with-a-girdle bound to of-her-own chastity
testimonium mouit et traxit; quod uirgo Vestalis, de cuius
the-testimony moved and drew that a-virgin Vestal about whose
corruptione quaestio uertebatur, aqua inpleto cribro de
corruption the-question turned with-water filled with-a-sieve from
Tiberi neque perfluente abstulit controuersiam) — haec
the-Tiber not flowing-through removed the-controversy these-things

ergo adque huius modi nequaquam illis, quae in populo
therefore and of-this kind by-no-means to-those-things which in the-people
Dei facta legimus, uirtute ac magnitudine conferenda sunt;
of-God done we-read in-power and greatness to-be-compared are
quanto minus ea, quae illorum quoque populorum, qui
how-much less those-things which of-those also peoples who
tales deos coluerunt, legibus iudicata sunt prohibenda adque
such gods worshiped by-the-laws judged were to-be-forbidden and
plectenda, magica scilicet uel theurgica! quorum pleraque
to-be-punished magical namely or theurgic of-which most
specie tenus mortalium sensus imaginaria ludificatione
in-appearance only of-mortals the-senses by-imaginary mockery
decipiunt, quale est lunam deponere, "donec subpositas, ut
deceive such-as is the-moon to-draw-down until placed-beneath as
ait Lucanus, propior despumet in herbas;" quaedam uero
says Lucan nearer it-froths onto herbs certain-things but
etsi nonnullis piorum factis uideantur opere coaequari,
although to-some of-the-devout to-deeds they-may-seem in-work to-be-equaled
finis ipse, quo discernuntur, incomparabiliter haec nostra
the-end itself by-which they-are-distinguished incomparably these our
ostendit excellere. Illis enim multi tanto minus sacrificiis
shows to-excel by-those for many so-much less with-sacrifices
colendi sunt, quanto magis haec expetunt; his
to-be-worshiped are as-much more these-things they-seek by-these
uero unus commendatur Deus, qui se nullis talibus
but one is-commended God who himself of-no such-things
indigere et scripturarum suarum testificatione et eorundem
to-need both of-scriptures his-own by-the-testimony and of-the-same
postea sacrificiorum remotione demonstrat. Si ergo angeli
afterward of-sacrifices by-the-removal demonstrates if therefore angels
sibi expetunt sacrificium, praeponendi eis sunt, qui
for-themselves seek sacrifice to-be-preferred to-them are who

non sibi, sed Deo creatori omnium, cui seruiunt. Hinc
not to-themselves but to-God the-creator of-all whom they-serve hence
enim ostendunt quam sincero amore nos diligant, quando
for they-show how with-sincere love us they-love when
per sacrificium non sibi, sed ei nos subdere uolunt,
through sacrifice not to-themselves but to-him us to-subject they-wish
cuius et ipsi contemplatione beati sunt, et ad eum
whose also they-themselves by-contemplation blessed are and to him
nos peruenire, a quo ipsi non recesserunt. Si autem
us to-arrive from whom they-themselves not have-withdrawn if but
angeli, qui non uni sed plurimis sacrificia fieri uolunt,
angels who not to-one but to-very-many sacrifices to-be-made wish
non sibi, sed eis dis uolunt, quorum deorum angeli
not to-themselves but to-those gods they-wish of-which gods angels
sunt: etiam sic eis praeponendi sunt illi, qui unius Dei
they-are even so to-them to-be-preferred are those who of-one God
deorum angeli sunt, cui sacrificari sic iubent, ut alicui
of-gods angels are to-whom to-be-sacrificed so they-order that to-any
alteri uetent, cum eorum nullus huic uetet, cui uni isti
other they-forbid since of-them none to-this-one forbids to-whom alone these
sacrificari iubent. Porro si, quod magis indicat eorum superba
to-be-sacrificed order further if which more indicates their proud
fallacia, nec boni nec bonorum deorum angeli sunt, sed
deceit neither good nor of-good gods angels they-are but
daemones mali, qui non unum solum ac summum Deum,
demons evil who not one only and highest God
sed se ipsos sacrificiis coli uolunt: quod maius quam
but them themselves with-sacrifices to-be-worshiped wish what greater than
unius Dei contra eos eligendum est praesidium, cui seruiunt
of-one God against them to-be-chosen is protection whom serve

angeli boni, qui non sibi, sed illi iubent ut sacrificio
angels good who not to-themselves but to-him order that with-sacrifice
seruiamus, cuius nos ipsi esse sacrificium debemus?
we-serve of-whom we ourselves to-be the-sacrifice we-ought

XVII · THE ARK OF THE COVENANT

The law was placed in the ark of the testimony, not because God is contained in a place, but because testimony to his will came from there. A cloud by day and fire by night led the camp; the Jordan stood still for the ark; Jericho's walls fell when it was carried round seven times; captured, it threw down the enemy's idol, and was sent back on a cart drawn by heifers that went straight to the Hebrews. These signs attest a religion that forbids sacrifice to any but the one God.

Proinde lex Dei, quae in edictis data est angelorum, in qua
accordingly the-law of-God which in the-edicts given was of-angels in which
unus Deus deorum religione sacrorum iussus est coli,
one God of-gods by-the-religion of-rites ordered was to-be-worshiped
alii uero quilibet prohibiti, in arca erat posita, quae arca
others but any-whatever forbidden in the-ark was placed which ark
testimonii nuncupata est. Quo nomine satis significatur
of-testimony named was by-which name sufficiently is-signified
non Deum, qui per illa omnia colebatur, circumcludi solere
not God who through those all-things was-worshiped to-be-enclosed to-be-wont
uel contineri loco, cum responsa eius et quaedam humanis
or to-be-contained in-a-place since the-responses his and certain to-human
sensibus darentur signa ex illius arcae loco, sed uoluntatis
senses were-given signs from of-that ark the-place but of-will
eius hinc testimonia perhiberi; quod etiam ipsa lex erat in
his hence testimonies to-be-borne which also the-very law was on
tabulis conscripta lapideis et in arca, ut dixi, posita, quam
tablets written of-stone and in the-ark as I-said placed which

tempore peregrinationis in eremo cum tabernaculo, quod
in-the-time of-wandering in the-desert with the-tabernacle which
similiter appellatum est tabernaculum testimonii, cum debita
likewise called was the-tabernacle of-testimony with due
sacerdotes ueneratione portabant; signumque erat, quod per
the-priests veneration carried and-a-sign was that by
diem nubes apparebat, quae sicut ignis nocte fulgebat; quae
day a-cloud appeared which as fire by-night shone which
nubes cum moueretur, castra mouebantur, et ubi staret,
cloud when it-was-moved the-camp was-moved and where it-stood
castra ponebantur. Reddita sunt autem illi legi magni
the-camp was-pitched rendered were moreover to-that law of-great
miraculi testimonia praeter ista, quae dixi, et praeter uoces,
miracle testimonies besides these which I-said and besides the-voices
quae ex illius arcae loco edebantur. Nam cum terram
which from of-that ark the-place were-uttered for when to-the-land
promissionis intrantibus eadem arca transiret. Iordanes fluuius
of-promise for-those-entering the-same ark crossed Jordan the-river
ex parte superiore subsistens et ex inferiore decurrens et
from the-part upper standing and from the-lower running-down both
ipsi et populo siccum praebuit transeundi locum. Deinde
to-it and to-the-people a-dry furnished of-crossing place then
ciuitatis, quae prima hostilis occurrit more gentium
of-the-city which first hostile met-them by-the-custom of-the-nations
deos plurimos colens, septiens eadem arca circumacta muri
gods very-many worshiping seven-times the-same ark carried-around the-walls
repente ceciderunt, nulla manu oppugnati, nullo ariete
suddenly fell by-no band attacked by-no ram
percussi. Post haec etiam cum iam in terra promissionis
struck after these-things also when already in the-land of-promise
essent et eadem arca propter eorum peccata fuisset ab
they-were and the-same ark on-account-of their sins had by

hostibus capta. Hi, qui ceperant, in templo eam dei
enemies been-captured those who had-taken-it in the-temple it of-god
sui, quem prae ceteris colebant, honorifice conlocarunt
their-own whom before the-others they-worshiped honorably placed
abeuntesque clauserunt, apertoque postridie simulacrum, cui
and-going-away shut and-opened the-next-day the-statue to-which
supplicabant, inuenerunt conlapsum deformiterque confractum.
they-prayed they-found collapsed and-hideously broken
Deinde ipsi prodigiis acti deformiusque puniti arcam
then they-themselves by-portents driven and-more-hideously punished the-ark
diuini testimonii populo, unde ceperant, reddiderunt.
of-divine testimony to-the-people whence they-had-taken-it gave-back
Ipsa autem redditio qualis fuit! Inposuerunt eam plaustro
the-very but giving-back of-what-sort was-it they-placed it on-a-cart
eique iuuencas, a quibus uitulos sugentes abstraxerant,
and-to-it heifers from which the-calves sucking they-had-drawn-away
subiunxerunt et eas quo uellent ire siuerunt, etiam inde
they-yoked and them where they-would to-go they-allowed even thence
uim diuinam explorare cupientes. At illae sine duce homine
the-force divine to-explore desiring but they without a-guide man
adque rectore ad Hebraeos uiam pertinaciter gradientes
and director to the-Hebrews the-way stubbornly stepping
nec reuocatae mugitibus esurientium filiorum magnum
nor called-back by-the-lowings of-(their)-hungry young a-great
sacramentum suis cultoribus reportarunt. Haec adque
sacrament to-its-own worshipers carried-back these-things and
huius modi Deo parua sunt, sed magna terrendis salubriter
of-this kind to-God small are but great for-terrifying salutarily
erudiendisque mortalibus. Si enim philosophi praecipueque
and-instructing mortals if for the-philosophers and-especially
Platonici rectius ceteris sapuisse laudantur, sicut
the-Platonists more-rightly than-the-others to-have-been-wise are-praised as

paulo ante commemoraui, quod diuinam prouidentiam haec
a-little before I-recalled that divine providence these
quoque rerum infima adque terrena administrare docuerunt
also of-things lowest and earthly to-administer they-taught
numerosarum testimonio pulchritudinum, quae non solum
numerous by-the-testimony of-beauties which not only
in corporibus animalium, uerum in herbis etiam faenoque
in bodies of-animals but in herbs even and-hay
gignuntur: quanto euidentius haec adtestantur diuinitati,
are-produced how-much more-evidently these-things attest to-divinity
quae ad horam praedicationis eius fiunt, ubi ea religio
which at the-hour of-the-preaching his are-done where that religion
commendatur, quae omnibus caelestibus, terrestribus, infernis
is-commended which to-all heavenly earthly infernal
sacrificari uetat, uni Deo tantum iubens, qui solus diligens
to-be-sacrificed forbids to-one God only ordering who alone loving
et dilectus beatos facit eorumque sacrificiorum tempora
and loved blessed makes and-of-those sacrifices the-times
imperata praefiniens eaque per meliorem sacerdotem in
commanded predetermining and-them through a-better priest into
melius mutanda praedicens non ista se adpetere, sed
better to-be-changed foretelling not those-things himself to-seek but
per haec alia potiora significare testatur, non ut ipse
through these other better-things to-signify testifies not that he-himself
his honoribus sublimetur, sed ut nos ad eum colendum
by-these honors may-be-exalted but that we to him to-be-worshiped
eique cohaerendum igne amoris eius accensi, quod
and-to-him to-be-cleaved-to by-the-fire of-love his kindled which
nobis, non illi, bonum est, excitemur.
for-us not for-him good is may-be-roused

Whoever says these miracles are falsely written may as well say the gods care nothing for mortals, since they too won worship by wonders the nations' history records. This work answers not those who deny the divine, but those who prefer their gods to the founder of the holy city. The prophet says: for me it is good to cleave to God, not riches or pleasure or even my own virtue. If they believe their own books of miracles, why not believe these?

An dicet aliquis ista falsa esse miracula nec fuisse facta,
or will-say someone these false to-be miracles nor to-have-been done
sed mendaciter scripta? Quisquis hoc dicit, si de his
but mendaciously written whoever this says if about these
rebus negat omnino ullis litteris esse credendum, potest
things he-denies altogether to-any letters to-be to-be-believed he-can
etiam dicere nec deos ullos curare mortalia. Non enim
also to-say nor gods any to-care-for mortal-things not for
se aliter colendos esse persuaserunt nisi mirabilium
themselves otherwise to-be-worshiped to-be they-persuaded except of-wonderful
operum effectibus, quorum et historia gentium testis
of-works by-the-effects of-which also the-history of-the-nations witness
est, quarum di se ostentare mirabiles potius quam
is of-which the-gods themselves to-display wonderful rather than
utiles ostendere potuerunt. Unde hoc opere nostro, cuius
useful to-show could whence in-this work our of-which
hunc iam decimum librum habemus in manibus, non eos
this now the-tenth book we-have in hands not those
suscepimus refellendos, qui uel ullam esse uim diuinam
we-have-undertaken to-be-refuted who either any to-be power divine
negant uel humana non curare contendunt, sed eos, qui
deny or human-things not to-care-for contend but those who
nostro Deo conditori sanctae et gloriosissimae ciuitatis deos
to-our God the-founder of-the-holy and most-glorious city gods

suos praeferunt, nescientes eum ipsum esse etiam mundi
their-own prefer not-knowing him himself to-be also of-world
huius uisibilis et mutabilis inuisibilem et incommutabilem
this visible and changeable the-invisible and unchangeable
conditorem et uitae beatae non de his, quae condidit,
founder and of-life blessed not from these-things which he-founded
sed de se ipso uerissimum largitorem. Eius enim propheta
but from him himself the-most-true bestower of-him for the-prophet
ueracissimus ait: Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est.
most-truthful says for-me but to-cleave to-God good is
De fine boni namque inter philosophos quaeritur, ad quod
about the-end of-good for among philosophers it-is-asked to which
adipiscendum omnia officia referenda sunt. Nec dixit iste:
to-be-attained all duties to-be-referred are nor said he
Mihi autem diuitiis abundare bonum est, aut insigniri
for-me but in-riches to-abound good is or to-be-distinguished
purpura et sceptro uel diademate excellere, aut, quod nonnulli
with-purple and scepter or with-diadem to-excel or what some
etiam philosophorum dicere non erubuerunt: Mihi uoluptas
also of-philosophers to-say not blushed for-me the-pleasure
corporis bonum est; aut quod melius uelut meliores dicere
of-the-body good is or what better as-if better-men to-say
uisi sunt: Mihi uirtus animi mei bonum est; sed: Mihi,
seemed have for-me the-virtue of-mind my good is but for-me
inquit, adhaerere Deo bonum est. Hoc eum docuerat, cui
he-says to-cleave to-God good is this him had-taught to-whom
uni tantummodo sacrificandum sancti quoque angeli eius
alone only to-be-sacrificed holy also angels his
miraculorum etiam contestatione monuerunt. Unde et ipse
of-miracles even by-the-witness warned whence also he-himself
sacrificium eius factus erat, cuius igne intellegibili correptus
the-sacrifice his made had-become whose by-fire intelligible seized

ardebat, et in eius ineffabilem incorporeumque conplexum
he-burned and into his ineffable and-incorporeal embrace
sancto desiderio ferebatur. Porro autem si multorum deorum
with-holy desire was-borne further but if of-many gods
cultores (qualescumque deos suos esse arbitrentur) ab eis
the-worshipers of-whatever-sort gods their-own to-be think by them
facta esse miracula uel ciuilium rerum historiae uel libris
done to-be miracles either of-civil affairs to-the-histories or to-books
magicis siue, quod honestius putant, theurgicis credunt: quid
magical or what more-honorably they-think to-theurgic they-believe what
causae est, quur illis litteris nolint credere ista facta
of-cause is why those letters they-are-unwilling to-believe these-things done
esse, quibus tanto maior debetur fides, quanto super omnes
to-be to-which so-much greater is-owed faith as-much-as above all
est magnus, cui uni soli sacrificandum esse praecipiunt?
is great to-whom one alone to-be-sacrificed to-be they-instruct

XIX · THE VISIBLE SACRIFICE OFFERED TO THE INVISIBLE GOD

Visible sacrifices are signs of the invisible, as sounding words are signs of things. As we direct our words to him to whom we offer what they signify, so the visible sacrifice is owed only to him whose invisible sacrifice we ought to be. The angels then rejoice with us, and refuse such honor when offered, as scripture shows; Paul and Barnabas, taken for gods in Lycaonia, refused the victims. The demons demand it because they know it is owed to God.

Qui autem putant haec uisibilia sacrificia dis aliis congruere,
who but think these visible sacrifices to-gods other to-befit
illi uero tamquam inuisibili inuisibilia et maiori
to-him but as-if to-the-invisible invisible-ones and to-the-greater
maiora meliorique meliora, qualia sunt purae mentis et
greater-ones and-to-the-better better-ones such-as are of-pure mind and

bonae uoluntatis officia: profecto nesciunt haec ita signa esse
of-good will the-duties assuredly know-not these so signs to-be
illorum, sicut uerba sonantia signa sunt rerum. Quocirca
of-those as words sounding signs are of-things wherefore
sicut orantes adque laudantes ad eum dirigimus significantes
as praying and praising to him we-direct signifying
uoces, cui res ipsas in corde quas significamus
words to-whom the-things themselves in the-heart which we-signify
offerimus: ita sacrificantes non alteri uisibile sacrificium
we-offer so sacrificing not to-another visible sacrifice
offerendum esse nouerimus quam illi, cuius in cordibus
to-be-offered to-be let-us-know than to-him of-whom in hearts
nostris inuisibile sacrificium nos ipsi esse debemus. Tunc
our an-invisible sacrifice we ourselves to-be ought then
nobis fauent nobisque congaudent adque ad hoc ipsum nos
us they-favor and-with-us rejoice and to this very-thing us
pro suis uiribus adiuuant angeli quique uirtutesque
according-to their-own strength help angels each and-powers
superiores et ipsa bonitate ac pietate potentiores. Si autem
higher and by-the-very goodness and devotion more-powerful if but
illis haec exhibere uoluerimus, non libenter accipiunt,
to-them these-things to-show we-should-wish not willingly they-accept
et cum ad homines ita mittuntur, ut eorum praesentia
and when to men so they-are-sent that their presence
sentiatur, apertissime uetant. Sunt exempla in litteris
be-felt most-openly they-forbid there-are examples in letters
sanctis. Putauerunt quidam deferendum angelis honorem uel
holy thought certain to-be-paid to-angels the-honor either
adorando uel sacrificando, qui debetur Deo, et eorum sunt
by-adoring or by-sacrificing which is-owed to-God and their they-were
admonitione prohibiti iussique hoc ei deferre, cui uni
by-admonition forbidden and-ordered this to-him to-pay to-whom alone

fas esse nouerunt. Imitati sunt angelos sanctos etiam sancti
lawful to-be they-knew imitated have angels holy also holy
homines Dei. Nam Paulus et Barnabas in Lycaonia facto
men of-God for Paul and Barnabas in Lycaonia done
quodam miraculo sanitatis putati sunt di, eisque Lycaonii
a-certain miracle of-healing thought were gods and-to-them the-Lycaonians
uictimas immolare uoluerunt; quod a se humili pietate
victims to-sacrifice wished which from themselves with-humble devotion
remouentes eis in quem crederent adnuntiauerunt Deum.
removing to-them in whom they-should-believe announced God
Nec ob aliud fallaces illi superbe sibi hoc exigunt, nisi
nor for other deceivers those proudly for-themselves this demand except
quia uero Deo deberi sciunt. Non enim re uera, ut
because to-the-true God to-be-owed they-know not for in truth as
ait Porphyrius et nonnulli putant, cadauerinis nidoribus, sed
says Porphyry and some think in-cadaverous fumes but
diuinis honoribus gaudent. Copiam uero nidorum magnam
in-divine honors they-rejoice abundance indeed of-fumes great
habent undique, et si amplius uellent, ipsi sibi
they-have on-all-sides and if more they-wished they-themselves for-themselves
poterant exhibere. Qui ergo diuinitatem sibi adrogant
could to-display who therefore divinity to-themselves arrogate
spiritus, non cuiuslibet corporis fumo, sed supplicantis
spirits not of-any-whatever body by-the-smoke but of-the-suppliant
animo delectantur, cui decepto subiectoque dominentur,
by-the-mind are-delighted which deceived and-subjected they-may-dominate
intercludentes iter ad Deum uerum, ne sit homo illius
shutting-off the-road to God true lest be man his
sacrificium, dum sacrificatur cuipiam praeter illum.
sacrifice while sacrifice-is-made to-anyone besides him

The true mediator, the man Christ Jesus, in the form of God receives sacrifice with the Father, with whom he is one God, yet in the form of a servant chose to be the sacrifice rather than receive it, lest anyone think sacrifice due to any creature. So he is both priest and offering. Of this he willed the church's daily sacrifice to be the sacrament. The ancient sacrifices were many signs of this one, and to it all false sacrifices have yielded.

Unde uerus ille mediator, in quantum formam serui
whence true that mediator in so-far-as the-form of-a-servant
accipiens mediator effectus est Dei et hominum, homo
receiving mediator made was of-God and of-men the-man
Christus Iesus, cum in forma Dei sacrificium cum Patre
Christ Jesus although in the-form of-God sacrifice with the-Father
sumat, cum quo et unus Deus est, tamen in forma serui
he-receives with whom also one God he-is yet in the-form of-a-servant
sacrificium maluit esse quam sumere, ne uel hac occasione
sacrifice he-preferred to-be than to-receive lest even by-this occasion
quisquam existimaret cuilibet sacrificandum esse creaturae.
anyone should-think to-any to-be-sacrificed to-be creature
Per hoc et sacerdos est, ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio.
through this both priest he-is himself offering himself and the-oblation
Cuius rei sacramentum cottidianum esse uoluit ecclesiae
of-which thing the-sacrament daily to-be he-wished the-church's
sacrificium, quae cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam
sacrifice which since of-the-very head the-body it-is it itself
per ipsum discit offerre. Huius ueri sacrificii multiplicia
through him learns to-offer of-this true sacrifice manifold
uariaque signa erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cum hoc
and-various signs were the-sacrifices ancient of-the-saints since this
unum per multa figuraretur, tamquam uerbis multis res
one through many was-figured as-if by-words many a-thing

una diceretur, ut sine fastidio multum commendaretur. Huic
one were-said that without disgust much it-might-be-commended to-this
summo ueroque sacrificio cuncta sacrificia falsa cesserunt.
highest and-true sacrifice all sacrifices false have-yielded

XXI · THE POWER GRANTED TO DEMONS, AND THE MARTYRS

At set times demons may rouse persecution against the city of God; this proves useful to the church, filling the number of the martyrs, whom we might call heroes. The name is said to come from Juno, Hera in Greek, whose air holds the heroes; our martyrs would be heroes as conquerors of the airy powers. Vergil yields to Juno: though she says I am conquered by Aeneas, Helenus bids him win her with gifts. Porphyry reports that a good god comes only when the evil is appeased; our martyrs overcome by virtue, as Scipio did Africa.

Moderatis autem praefinitisque temporibus etiam potestas
moderated but and-predetermined at-times also power
permissa daemonibus, ut hominibus quos possident excitatis
permitted to-demons that through-men whom they-possess roused
inimicitias aduersus Dei ciuitatem tyrannice exerceant
enmities against of-God the-city tyrannically they-may-exercise
sibique sacrificia non solum ab offerentibus sumant
and-for-themselves sacrifices not only from those-offering they-may-receive
et a uolentibus expetant, uerum etiam ab inuitis
and from the-willing demand but also from the-unwilling
persequendo uiolenter extorqueant, non solum perniciosa non
by-persecuting violently extort not only harmful not
est, sed etiam utilis inuenitur ecclesiae, ut martyrum numerus
is but also useful is-found for-the-church that of-martyrs the-number
inpleatur; quos ciuitas Dei tanto clariores et honoratiores
be-filled whom the-city of-God so-much more-illustrious and more-honored

ciues habet, quanto fortius aduersus inpietatis peccatum
citizens has as-much-as more-bravely against of-ungodliness the-sin
et usque ad sanguinem certant. Hos multo elegantius, si
and even to blood they-strive these much more-elegantly if
ecclesiastica loquendi consuetudo pateretur, nostros heroas
ecclesiastical of-speaking the-custom permitted our heroes
uocaremus. Hoc enim nomen a Iunone dicitur tractum, quod
we-would-call this for name from Juno is-said drawn because
Graece Iuno Ἥρα appellatur, et ideo nescio quis filius
in-Greek Juno Hera is-called and therefore I-know-not which son
eius secundum Graecorum fabulas Heros fuerit nuncupatus,
her according-to of-the-Greeks the-fables Heros had-been named
hoc uidelicet ueluti mysticum significante fabula, quod aer
this namely as-if a-mystic-thing signifying the-fable that the-air
Iunoni deputetur, ubi uolunt cum daemonibus heroas habitare,
to-Juno be-assigned where they-wish with demons the-heroes to-dwell
quo nomine appellant alicuius meriti animas defunctorum.
by-which name they-call of-some merit the-souls of-the-dead
Sed a contrario martyres nostri heroes nuncuparentur, si, ut
but on the-contrary martyrs our heroes would-be-named if as
dixi, usus ecclesiastici sermonis admitteret, non quo eis
I-said the-usage of-ecclesiastical speech admitted not because for-them
esset cum daemonibus in aere societas, sed quod eosdem
was with demons in the-air fellowship but because the-same
daemones, id est aerias uincerent potestates et in eis ipsam,
demons that is the-airy they-conquered powers and in them herself
quidquid putatur significare, Iunonem, quae non usquequaque
whatever she-is-thought to-signify Juno who not everywhere
inconuenienter a poetis inducitur inimica uirtutibus et caelum
unfittingly by the-poets is-brought-in hostile to-virtues and heaven

petentibus uiris fortibus inuida. Sed rursus ei succumbit
to-those-seeking to-men brave envious but again to-her succumbs
infeliciter ceditque Vergilius, ut, cum aput eum illa dicat:
unhappily and-yields Vergil so-that while with him she says

Vincor ab Aenea,
I-am-conquered by Aeneas

ipsum Aenean admoneat Helenus quasi consilio religioso
the-very Aeneas should-admonish Helenus as-if by-counsel religious
et dicat:
and say

Iunoni cane uota libens, dominamque potentem
to-Juno sing vows willing and-the-mistress powerful
supplicibus supera donis.
with-suppliant overcome gifts

Ex qua opinione Porphyrius, quamuis non ex sua sententia,
from which opinion Porphyry although not from his-own opinion
sed ex aliorum, dicit bonum deum uel genium non uenire in
but from of-others says a-good god or genius not to-come into
hominem, nisi malus fuerit ante placatus; tamquam fortiora
a-man unless the-evil-one has-been before appeased as-if stronger
sint aput eos numina mala quam bona, quando quidem
be among them divinities evil than good since indeed
mala inpediunt adiutoria bonorum, nisi eis placata dent
the-evil hinder the-help of-the-good unless to-them appeased they-give
locum, malisque nolentibus bona prodesse non possunt;
place and-with-the-evil unwilling the-good to-profit not can
nocere autem mala possunt, non sibi ualentibus resistere
to-harm but the-evil can not to-themselves able to-resist

bonis. Non est ista uerae ueraciterque sanctae religionis
the-good not is this of-true and-truly holy religion
uia; non sic Iunonem, hoc est aerias potestates piorum
the-way not so Juno that is the-airy powers of-the-devout
uirtutibus inuidentes, nostri martyres uincunt. Non omnino,
the-virtues envying our martyrs conquer not at-all
si dici usitate posset, heroes nostri supplicibus donis,
if to-be-said customarily it-could heroes our by-suppliant gifts
sed uirtutibus diuinis Heran superant. Commodius quippe
but by-virtues divine Hera overcome more-fittingly for
Scipio Africanus est cognominatus, quod uirtute Africam
Scipio Africanus was surnamed because by-virtue Africa
uicerit, quam si hostes donis placasset, ut parcerent.
he-conquered than if enemies with-gifts he-had-appeased that they-might-spare

XXII · THE SAINTS' POWER AGAINST DEMONS

Men of God cast out the airy power by exorcism, not appeasement, praying to God against it; it conquers only through fellowship in sin, and is conquered in the name of him who took manhood without sin, priest and sacrifice, the mediator through whom our sins are purged. Purification comes by God's mercy, not our power, since even our virtue is his gift. By this grace we are ruled by faith in this life and led after it to the sight of unchangeable truth.

Vera pietate homines Dei aeriam potestatem inimicam
by-true devotion the-men of-God the-airy power hostile
contrariamque pietati exorcizando eiciunt, non placando,
and-contrary to-devotion by-exorcising cast-out not by-appeasing
omnesque tentationes aduersitatis eius uincunt orando non
and-all the-temptations of-adversity its they-overcome by-praying not
ipsam, sed Deum suum aduersus ipsam. Non enim aliquem
to-it but to-God their-own against it not for anyone

uincit aut subiugat nisi societate peccati. In eius ergo nomine
it-conquers or subjugates except by-fellowship of-sin in his therefore name
uincitur, qui hominem adsumsit egitque sine peccato, ut in
it-is-conquered who man assumed and-acted without sin that in
ipso sacerdote ac sacrificio fieret remissio peccatorum,
the-very priest and sacrifice might-come-about the-remission of-sins
id est per mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem
that is through the-mediator of-God and of-men the-man
Christum Iesum, per quem facta peccatorum purgatione
Christ Jesus through whom made of-sins the-purification
reconciliamur Deo. Non enim nisi peccatis homines separantur
we-are-reconciled to-God not for except by-sins men are-separated
a Deo, quorum in hac uita non fit nostra uirtute,
from God of-which in this life not comes-about by-our virtue
sed diuina miseratione purgatio, per indulgentiam illius,
but by-divine compassion the-purification through the-indulgence of-him
non per nostram potentiam; quia et ipsa quantulacumque
not through our power because even itself however-small
uirtus, quae dicitur nostra, illius est nobis bonitate concessa.
the-virtue which is-called ours his is to-us by-the-goodness granted
Multum autem nobis in hac carne tribueremus, nisi usque
much but to-ourselves in this flesh we-would-attribute unless until
ad eius depositionem sub uenia uiueremus. Propterea ergo
to its laying-down under pardon we-lived for-this-reason therefore
nobis per Mediatorem praestita est gratia, ut polluti carne
to-us through the-Mediator furnished was the-grace that polluted by-the-flesh
peccati carnis peccati similitudine mundaremur. Hac Dei
of-sin of-the-flesh of-sin by-the-likeness we-might-be-cleansed by-this of-God
gratia, qua in nos ostendit magnam misericordiam suam,
grace by-which toward us he-shows great mercy his-own
et in hac uita per fidem regimur, et post hanc uitam
both in this life through faith we-are-ruled and after this life

per ipsam speciem incommutabilis ueritatis ad perfectionem
through the-very sight of-unchangeable truth to perfection
plenissimam perducemur.
most-full we-shall-be-led

XXIII · THE PLATONISTS' PRINCIPLES OF PURIFICATION

Porphyry says the oracles answered that the teletae of moon and sun do not purify, so that no god's can, but that the principles can. As a Platonist he means God the Father and God the Son, the paternal intellect, and a middle between them, saying nothing clear of the Holy Spirit. Since Plotinus places the soul after the intellect, while Porphyry's middle is interposed, he doubtless meant what we call the Spirit of both. Philosophers speak with free words; we must speak by a fixed rule, lest license in words breed an impious opinion of the things.

Dicit etiam Porphyrius diuinis oraculis fuisse responsum
says also Porphyry by-divine oracles to-have-been answered
nos non purgari lunae teletis adque solis, ut hinc
us not to-be-purified of-the-moon by-the-teletae and of-the-sun that hence
ostenderetur nullorum deorum teletis hominem posse
it-might-be-shown of-no gods by-the-teletae a-man to-be-able
purgari. Cuius enim teletae purgant, si lunae solisque
to-be-purified whose for teletae purify if of-the-moon and-of-the-sun
non purgant, quos inter caelestes deos praecipuos habent?
not they-purify whom among the-heavenly gods chief they-hold
Denique eodem dicit oraculo expressum principia posse
finally by-the-same he-says oracle expressed the-principles to-be-able
purgare, ne forte, cum dictum esset non purgare teletas
to-purify lest perhaps when said it-had-been not to-purify the-teletae
solis et lunae, alicuius alterius dei de turba ualere
of-the-sun and of-the-moon of-some other god from the-crowd to-avail

ad purgandum teletae crederentur. Quae autem dicat esse
for purifying the-teletae might-be-believed what but he-may-say to-be
principia tamquam Platonicus, nouimus. Dicit enim Deum
the-principles as-a Platonist we-know he-says for God
Patrem et Deum Filium, quem Graece appellat paternum
the-Father and God the-Son whom in-Greek he-calls the-paternal
intellectum uel paternam mentem; de Spiritu autem sancto
intellect or the-paternal mind about the-Spirit but holy
aut nihil aut non aperte aliquid dicit; quamuis quem alium
either nothing or not openly anything he-says although whom other
dicat horum medium, non intellego. Si enim tertiam,
he-may-call of-these the-middle not I-understand if for the-third
sicut Plotinus, ubi de tribus principalibus substantiis
as Plotinus where about the-three principal substances
disputat, animae naturam etiam iste uellet intellegi, non
he-argues of-the-soul the-nature also he wished to-be-understood not
utique diceret horum medium, id est Patris et Filii
assuredly he-would-say of-these the-middle that is of-the-Father and of-the-Son
medium. Postponit quippe Plotinus animae naturam paterno
the-middle places-after for Plotinus of-the-soul the-nature to-the-paternal
intellectui; iste autem cum dicit medium, non postponit, sed
intellect he but when he-says middle not places-after but
interponit. Et nimirum hoc dixit, ut potuit siue ut uoluit,
interposes and doubtless this he-said as he-could or as he-wished
quod nos sanctum Spiritum, nec Patris tantum nec Filii
which we the-holy Spirit neither of-the-Father only nor of-the-Son
tantum, sed utriusque Spiritum dicimus. Liberis enim uerbis
only but of-both the-Spirit we-say with-free for words
loquuntur philosophi, nec in rebus ad intellegendum difficillimis
speak the-philosophers nor in things for understanding most-difficult
offensionem religiosarum aurium pertimescunt. Nobis autem
the-offense of-religious ears they-dread for-us but

ad certam regulam loqui fas est, ne uerborum licentia etiam
to a-fixed rule to-speak lawful it-is lest of-words the-license even
de rebus, quae his significantur, inpiam gignat opinionem.
about the-things which by-these are-signified an-ungodly may-beget opinion

XXIV · THE ONE TRUE PRINCIPLE WHO PURIFIES

We do not speak of two or three principles, as not of two or three gods, though each person is God; nor do we say with the Sabellians that the Father is the Son. Porphyry, subject to envious powers, would not see that Christ is the principle by whose incarnation we are purified, despising him in the flesh he took. The good mediator showed that sin is evil, not the flesh; not the flesh cleanses, but the Word that took it. Asked who he was, he answered: the principle. We were men but not just; in him human nature was just, and this mediation, the Mediator promised in the law given through angels, is the hand stretched out to the fallen.

Nos itaque ita non dicimus duo uel tria principia, cum de
we and-so so not say two or three principles when about
Deo loquimur, sicut nec duos deos uel tres nobis licitum est
God we-speak as nor two gods or three for-us lawful it-is
dicere quamuis de unoquoque loquentes, uel de Patre uel
to-say although about each-one speaking either about the-Father or
de Filio uel de Spiritu sancto, etiam singulum quemque
about the-Son or about the-Spirit holy even each-one individually
Deum esse fateamur, nec dicamus tamen quod haeretici
God to-be we-confess nor do-we-say yet what the-heretics
Sabelliani, eundem esse Patrem, qui est et Filius, et eundem
Sabellians the-same to-be the-Father who is also the-Son and the-same
Spiritum sanctum, qui est et Pater et Filius, sed Patrem
the-Spirit holy who is also the-Father and the-Son but the-Father
esse Filii Patrem, et Filium Patris Filium, et Patris
to-be of-the-Son the-Father and the-Son of-the-Father the-Son and of-the-Father

et Filii Spiritum sanctum nec Patrem esse nec Filium.
and of-the-Son the-Spirit holy neither the-Father to-be nor the-Son
Verum itaque dictum est non purgari hominem nisi
true and-so said it-is not to-be-purified a-man except
principio, quamuis pluraliter aput eos sint dicta principia.
by-the-principle although in-the-plural with them are said principles
Sed subditus Porphyrius inuidis potestatibus, de quibus
but subjected Porphyry to-envious powers of whom
et erubescebat, et eas libere redarguere formidabat,
both he-was-ashamed and them freely to-refute he-dreaded
noluit intellegere Dominum Christum esse principium,
was-unwilling to-understand the-Lord Christ to-be the-principle
cuius incarnatione purgamur. Eum quippe in ipsa carne
whose by-incarnation we-are-purified him for in the-very flesh
contemsit, quam propter sacrificium nostrae purgationis
he-despised which on-account-of the-sacrifice of-our purification
adsumsit, magnum scilicet sacramentum ea superbia non
he-assumed great namely the-sacrament by-that pride not
intellegens, quam sua ille humilitate deiecit uerus
understanding which by-his-own he humility cast-down the-true
benignusque Mediator, in ea se ostendens mortalitate
and-kindly Mediator in that himself showing mortality
mortalibus, quam maligni fallacesque mediatores non habendo
to-mortals which malign and-deceitful mediators not by-having
se superbius extulerunt miserisque hominibus adiutorium
themselves more-proudly exalted and-to-wretched men help
deceptorium uelut inmortales mortalibus promiserunt. Bonus
deceptive as-if immortal to-mortals promised the-good
itaque uerusque Mediator ostendit peccatum esse malum, non
and-so and-true Mediator showed sin to-be evil not
carnis substantiam uel naturam, quae cum anima hominis
of-the-flesh the-substance or the-nature which with the-soul of-man

et suscipi sine peccato potuit et haberi, et morte
both to-be-taken-up without sin could and to-be-had and by-death
deponi et in melius resurrectione mutari; nec ipsam
to-be-laid-down and into better by-resurrection to-be-changed nor the-very
mortem, quamuis esset poena peccati, quam tamen pro nobis
death although it-were the-penalty of-sin which yet for us
sine peccato ipse persoluit, peccando esse uitandam, sed
without sin he-bimself paid by-sinning to-be to-be-avoided but
potius, si facultas datur, pro iustitia perferendam. Ideo
rather if the-opportunity is-given for justice to-be-endured for-this-reason
enim soluere potuit moriendo peccata, quia et mortuus est,
for to-loose he-could by-dying sins because both dead he-was
et non pro peccato. Hunc ille Platonicus non cognouit esse
and not for sin him that Platonist not knew to-be
principium; nam cognosceret purgatorium. Neque enim
the-principle for he-would-know(-him) as-purifier nor for
caro principium est aut anima humana, sed Verbum per
the-flesh the-principle is or the-soul human but the-Word through
quod facta sunt omnia. Non ergo caro per se ipsam
which made were all-things not therefore the-flesh through it itself
mundat, sed per Verbum a quo suscepta est, cum Verbum
cleanses but through the-Word by which taken-up it-was when the-Word
caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. Nam de carne sua
flesh made was and dwelt among us for about flesh his-own
manducanda mystice loquens, cum hi qui non intellexerunt
to-be-eaten mystically speaking when those who not understood
offensi recederent dicentes: Durus est hic sermo, quis eum
offended withdrew saying hard is this saying who him
potest audire? respondit manentibus ceteris: Spiritus est qui
can to-bear he-answered to-the-remaining others the-Spirit it-is that
uiuificat, caro autem non prodest quidquam. Principium
gives-life the-flesh but not profits anything the-principle

ergo suscepta anima et carne et animam credentium
therefore taken-up the-soul and the-flesh both the-soul of-believers
mundat et carnem. Ideo quaerentibus Iudaeis quis esset
cleanses and the-flesh therefore to-the-asking Jews who he-was
respondit se esse principium. Quod utique carnales, infirmi,
he-answered himself to-be the-principle which assuredly fleshly weak
peccatis obnoxii et ignorantiae tenebris obuoluti nequaquam
to-sins liable and of-ignorance in-darkness wrapped by-no-means
percipere possemus, nisi ab eo mundaremur adque sanaremur
to-perceive we-could unless by him we-were-cleansed and healed
per hoc quod eramus et non eramus. Eramus enim
through this that we-were and not we-were we-were for
homines, sed iusti non eramus; in illius autem incarnatione
men but just not we-were in his but incarnation
natura humana erat, sed iusta, non peccatrix erat. Haec
the-nature human was but just not sinful was this
est mediatio, qua manus lapsis iacentibusque porrecta
is the-mediation by-which a-hand to-the-fallen and-lying stretched-out
est; hoc est semen dispositum per angelos, in quorum
was this is the-seed ordained through angels in whose
edictis et lex dabatur, qua et unus Deus coli
edicts also the-law was-given by-which both one God to-be-worshiped
iubebatur et hic Mediator uenturus promittebatur.
was-commanded and this Mediator about-to-come was-promised

By faith in this sacrament the ancient just were cleansed, before the law and under it. The psalmist who said for me it is good to cleave to God nearly slipped, seeing the ungodly flourish, until he entered God's sanctuary and understood their end; he found God himself his portion: whoever goes far from you shall perish. Meanwhile we hope and announce his praises. This is the city of God, whose angels wish us to worship with them the one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Huius sacramenti fide etiam iusti antiqui mundari pie
of-this sacrament by-faith even the-just ancients to-be-cleansed devoutly
uiuendo potuerunt, non solum antequam lex populo
by-living could not only before the-law to-the-people
Hebraeo daretur (neque enim eis praedicator Deus uel
Hebrew was-given nor for to-them as-preacher God or
angeli defuerunt), sed ipsius quoque legis temporibus,
angels were-lacking but of-the-very also law in-the-times
quamuis in figuris rerum spiritalium habere uideretur
although in figures of-things spiritual to-have it-seemed
promissa carnalia, propter quod uetus dicitur testamentum.
promises carnal on-account-of which old it-is-called testament
Nam et prophetae tunc erant, per quos, sicut per
for also prophets then were through whom as through
angelos, eadem promissio praedicata est, et ex illorum
angels the-same promise proclaimed was and from their
numero erat; cuius tam magnam diuinamque sententiam de
number was he-whose so great and-divine sentence about
boni humani fine paulo ante commemoraui: Mihi autem
of-the-good human the-end a-little before I-recalled for-me but
adhaerere Deo bonum est. In quo plane psalmo duorum
to-cleave to-God good is in which plainly psalm of-the-two
testamentorum, quae dicuntur uetus et nouum, satis
testaments which are-called old and new sufficiently

est declarata distinctio. Propter carnales enim terrenasque
is declared the-distinction on-account-of the-carnal for and-earthly
promissiones, cum eas inpiis abundare perspiceret, dicit
promises when them to-the-ungodly to-abound he-perceived he-says
pedes suos paene fuisse commotos et effusos in lapsum
feet his-own almost to-have-been moved and poured-out into a-fall
propemodum gressus suos, tamquam frustra Deo ipse
nearly steps his-own as-if in-vain God he-himself
seruisset, cum ea felicitate, quam de illo expectabat,
had-served when with-that happiness which from him he-expected
contemtores eius florere perspiceret; seque in rei huius
the-despisers of-him flourish he-perceived and-himself in of-thing this
inquisitione laborasse, uolentem quur ita esset adprehendere,
the-inquiry to-have-labored wishing why so it-was to-grasp
donec intraret in sanctuarium Dei et intellegeret in
until he-entered into the-sanctuary of-God and understood about
nouissima eorum, qui felices uidebantur erranti. Tunc eos
the-last-things of-those who happy seemed to-him-erring then them
intellexit in eo, quod se extulerunt, sicut dicit, fuisse
he-understood in that that themselves they-exalted as he-says to-have-been
deiectos et defecisse ac perisse propter iniquitates
cast-down and to-have-failed and to-have-perished on-account-of iniquities
suas; totumque illud culmen temporalis felicitatis ita eis
their-own and-all that summit of-temporal happiness so for-them
factum tamquam somnium euigilantis, qui se repente
done as-if the-dream of-one-awaking who himself suddenly
inuenit suis quae somniabat fallacibus gaudiis destitutum.
finds of-his-own which he-dreamed deceitful joys bereft
Et quoniam in hac terra uel in ciuitate terrena magni
and since in this land or in the-city earthly great
sibi uidebantur: Domine, inquit, imaginem illorum in
to-themselves they-seemed O-Lord he-says the-image of-them in

ciuitate tua ad nihilum rediges. Quod huic tamen utile
the-city your to nothing you-will-reduce that to-him yet useful
fuerit etiam ipsa terrena non nisi ab uno uero Deo
it-was even the-very earthly-things not except from one true God
quaerere, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, satis ostendit ubi
to-seek in whose power are all-things sufficiently he-shows where
ait: Velut pecus factus sum aput te, et ego semper tecum.
he-says as-if a-beast made I-am with you and I always with-you
Velut pecus dixit utique "non intellegens." "Ea quippe
as-if a-beast he-said assuredly not understanding those-things for
a te desiderare debui, quae mihi cum inpiis non possunt
from you to-desire I-ought which for-me with the-ungodly not can
esse communia, quibus eos cum abundare cernerem, putaui
to-be common with-which them when to-abound I-saw I-thought
me incassum tibi seruisse, quando et illi haec haberent,
myself in-vain you to-have-served when also they these-things had
qui tibi seruire noluissent. Tamen ego semper tecum, qui
who you to-serve had-been-unwilling yet I always with-you who
etiam in talium rerum desiderio deos alios non quaesiui." Ac
even in of-such things the-desire gods other not I-sought and
per hoc sequitur: Tenuisti manum dexterae meae, et
through this follows you-have-held the-hand of-right-(hand) my and
in uoluntate tua deduxisti me, et cum gloria adsumsisti
in will your you-have-led me and with glory you-have-taken-up
me; tamquam ad sinistram cuncta illa pertineant, quae
me as-if to the-left all those-things belong which
abundare aput inpios cum uidisset paene conlapsus est.
to-abound with the-ungodly when he-had-seen almost collapsed he-has
Quid enim mihi est, inquit, in caelo, et a te quid
what for for-me is he-says in heaven and from you what
uolui super terram? Reprehendit se ipsum iusteque
have-I-wished on earth he-rebukes him himself and-justly

sibi displicuit, quia, cum tam magnum bonum haberet
to-himself was-displeasing because although so great a-good he-had
in caelo (quod post intellexit), rem transitoriam, fragilem
in heaven which after he-understood a-thing transitory fragile
et quodam modo luteam felicitatem a suo Deo quaesiuit
and in-a-certain way muddy happiness from his-own God he-sought
in terra. Defecit, inquit, cor meum et caro mea, Deus
on earth has-failed he-says heart my and flesh my O-God
cordis mei, defectu utique bono ab inferioribus ad superna;
of-heart my by-failing assuredly good from lower-things to things-above
unde in alio psalmo dicitur: Desiderat et deficit anima
whence in another psalm it-is-said longs and fails soul
mea in atria Domini; item in alio: Defecit in salutare
my for the-courts of-the-Lord likewise in another has-failed for salvation
tuum anima mea. Tamen cum de utroque dixisset, id est
your soul my yet when about both he-had-said that is
de corde et carne deficiente, non subiecit: Deus cordis
about the-heart and flesh failing not he-added O-God of-heart
et carnis meae, sed Deus cordis mei. Per cor quippe
and of-flesh my but O-God of-heart my through the-heart for
caro mundatur. Unde dicit Dominus: Mundate, quae intus
the-flesh is-cleansed whence says the-Lord cleanse what within
sunt, et quae foris sunt munda erunt. Partem deinde suam
is and what outside is clean will-be portion then his-own
dicit ipsum Deum, non aliquid ab eo, sed ipsum. Deus,
he-says the-very God not something from him but himself God
inquit, cordis mei, et pars mea Deus in saecula; quod inter
he-says of-heart my and portion my God for ages because among
multa, quae ab hominibus eliguntur, ipse illi placuerit
many-things which by men are-chosen he-himself to-him pleased
eligendus. Quia ecce, inquit, qui longe se faciunt a te,
to-be-chosen because behold he-says who far themselves make from you

peribunt; perdidisti omnem, qui fornicatur abs te, hoc est,
shall-perish you-have-destroyed everyone who fornicates from you that is
qui multorum deorum uult esse prostibulum. Unde sequitur
who of-many gods wishes to-be the-prostitute whence follows
illud, propter quod et cetera de eodem psalmo
that on-account-of which also the-other-things from the-same psalm
dicenda uisa sunt: Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est,
to-be-said seemed have for-me but to-cleave to-God good is
non longe ire, non per plurima fornicari. Adhaerere autem
not far to-go not through very-many to-fornicate to-cleave but
Deo tunc perfectum erit, cum totum, quod liberandum est,
to-God then perfect will-be when all that to-be-freed is
fuerit liberatum. Nunc uero fit illud, quod sequitur:
shall-have-been freed now but is-done that which follows
Ponere in Deo spem meam. Spes enim quae uidetur, non
to-put in God hope my hope for which is-seen not
est spes; quod enim uidet quis, quid sperat? ait apostolus.
is hope what for sees one why does-he-hope says the-apostle
Si autem quod non uidemus speramus, per patientiam
if but what not we-see we-hope through patience
expectamus. In hac autem spe nunc constituti agamus quod
we-await in this but hope now established let-us-do what
sequitur, et simus nos quoque pro modulo nostro angeli
follows and let-us-be we also according-to measure our angels
Dei, id est nuntii eius, adnuntiantes eius uoluntatem et
of-God that is messengers his announcing his will and
gloriam gratiamque laudantes. Unde cum dixisset: Ponere
glory and-grace praising whence when he-had-said to-put
in Deo spem meam, ut adnuntiem, inquit, omnes laudes
in God hope my that I-may-announce he-says all praises
tuas in portis filiae Sion. Haec est gloriosissima ciuitas
your in the-gates of-the-daughter of-Zion this is the-most-glorious city

Dei: haec unum Deum nouit et colit; hanc angeli sancti
of-God this one God knows and worships this the-angels holy
adnuntiauerunt, qui nos ad eius societatem inuitauerunt
announced who us to its fellowship invited
ciuesque suos in illa esse uoluerunt; quibus non placet
and-citizens their-own in it to-be wished to-whom not it-pleases
ut eos colamus tamquam nostros deos, sed cum eis et
that them we-worship as our gods but with them both
illorum et nostrum Deum; nec eis sacrificemus, sed
their and our God nor to-them we-sacrifice but
cum ipsis sacrificium simus Deo. Nullo itaque dubitante,
with them a-sacrifice we-be to-God no-one and-so doubting
qui haec deposita maligna obstinatione considerat, omnes
who these-things laid-aside malign obstinacy considers all
inmortales beati, qui nobis non inuident (neque enim si
the-immortal blessed who us not begrudge nor for if
inuiderent, essent beati), sed potius nos diligunt, ut et
they-begrudged would-they-be blessed but rather us they-love that also
nos cum ipsis beati simus, plus nobis fauent, plus adiuuant,
we with them blessed may-be more us they-favor more they-help
quando unum Deum cum illis colimus, Patrem et Filium
when one God with them we-worship the-Father and the-Son
et Spiritum sanctum, quam si eos ipsos per sacrificia
and the-Spirit holy than if them themselves through sacrifices
coleremus.
we-worshiped

Porphyry, ashamed before the theurgists, wavered: some angels descend to theurgists pronouncing divine things, others declare the Father's will, and these are to be imitated rather than invoked. Then we need not fear offending the immortals by not sacrificing to them. Augustine asks him why he still trembles: why honor the angels drawn down by theurgy, the very powers the envious man bound? Does he dare raise that envy above the air among the starry gods?

Nescio quo modo (quantum mihi uidetur) amicis suis
I-know-not in-what way as-much-as to-me it-seems before-friends his-own
theurgis erubescebat Porphyrius. Nam ista utcumque
the-theurgists was-ashamed Porphyry for these-things somehow
sapiebat, sed contra multorum deorum cultum non libere
he-understood but against of-many gods the-worship not freely
defendebat. Et angelos quippe alios esse dixit qui deorsum
he-defended and angels for others to-be he-said who downward
descendentes hominibus theurgicis diuina pronuntient;
descending to-men theurgic divine-things pronounce
alios autem, qui in terris ea, quae Patris sunt, et
others but who on earth those-things which of-the-Father are and
altitudinem eius profunditatemque declarent. Num igitur
the-height his and-depth declare surely-not then
hos angelos, quorum ministerium est declarare uoluntatem
these angels whose ministry is to-declare the-will
Patris, credendum est uelle nos subdi nisi ei, cuius
of-the-Father to-be-believed is to-wish us to-be-subjected except to-him whose
nobis adnuntiant uoluntatem? Unde optime admonet etiam
to-us they-announce the-will whence best admonishes even
ipse Platonicus imitandos eos potius quam inuocandos.
himself the-Platonist to-be-imitated them rather than to-be-invoked
Non itaque debemus metuere, ne inmortales et beatos
not and-so we-ought to-fear lest the-immortal and blessed

uni Deo subditos non eis sacrificando offendamus. Quod
to-one God subjected not to-them by-sacrificing we-may-offend what
enim non nisi uni uero Deo deberi sciunt, cui et
for not except to-one true God to-be-owed they-know to-whom also
ipsi adhaerendo beati sunt, procul dubio neque per
they-themselves by-cleaving blessed are far-from doubt neither through
ullam significantem figuram, neque per ipsam rem, quae
any signifying figure nor through the-very thing which
sacramentis significatur, sibi exhiberi uolunt. Daemonum
by-sacraments is-signified to-themselves to-be-shown they-wish of-demons
est haec adrogantia superborum adque miserorum, a
is this arrogance proud and wretched from
quibus longe diuersa est pietas subditorum Deo nec
whom far different is the-devotion of-those-subjected to-God nor
aliunde quam illi cohaerendo beatorum. Ad quod bonum
from-elsewhere than to-him by-cleaving of-the-blessed for which good
percipiendum etiam nobis sincera benignitate oportet ut
to-be-perceived also to-us with-sincere kindness it-behooves that
faueant, neque sibi adrogent quo eis subiciamur, sed
they-favor nor to-themselves arrogate that to-them we-be-subjected but
eum adnuntient sub quo eis in pace sociemur. Quid
him announce under whom with-them in peace we-may-be-allied why
adhuc trepidas, o philosophe, aduersus potestates et ueris
still do-you-tremble O philosopher against the-powers both to-true
uirtutibus et ueri Dei muneribus inuidas habere liberam
virtues and of-the-true God to-the-gifts envious to-have a-free
uocem? Iam distinxisti angelos, qui Patris adnuntiant
voice already you-have-distinguished angels who of-the-Father announce
uoluntatem, ab eis angelis, qui ad theurgos homines nescio
the-will from those angels who to theurgist men I-know-not
qua deducti arte descendunt. Quid adhuc eos honoras, ut
what led by-art descend why still them do-you-honor that

dicas pronuntiare diuina? Quae tandem diuina pronuntiant,
you-say to-pronounce divine-things what at-last divine-things do-they-pronounce
qui non uoluntatem Patris adnuntiant? Nempe illi sunt,
who not the-will of-the-Father announce surely they are
quos sacris precibus inuidus adligauit, ne praestarent
whom by-sacred prayers the-envious-man bound lest they-should-furnish
animae purgationem, nec a bono, ut dicis, purgare
of-the-soul the-purification nor by the-good-man as you-say to-purify
cupiente ab illis uinculis solui et suae potestati
desiring from those bonds to-be-loosed and to-his-own power
reddi potuerunt. Adhuc dubitas haec maligna esse
to-be-restored could still do-you-doubt these malign to-be
daemonia, uel te fingis fortasse nescire, dum non uis
demons or yourself you-feign perhaps not-to-know while not you-wish
theurgos offendere, a quibus curiositate deceptus ista
the-theurgists to-offend from whom by-curiosity deceived these
perniciosa et insana pro magno beneficio didicisti?
pernicious and insane-things for a-great benefit you-have-learned
Audes istam inuidam non potentiam, sed pestilentiam, et
do-you-dare this envious not power but pestilence and
non dicam dominam, sed, quod tu fateris, ancillam potius
not I-will-say mistress but what you confess the-handmaid rather
inuidorum isto aere transcenso leuare in caelum et inter
of-the-envious this air crossed to-lift into heaven and among
deos uestros etiam sidereos conlocare, uel ipsa quoque
gods your even starry to-place or the-very also
sidera his obprobriis infamare?
stars with-these reproaches to-defame

Apuleius erred more humanely, keeping the passions among the demons below the moon; Porphyry learned from Chaldean masters to raise human vices into the ether. Thinking himself above theurgy as a philosopher, he sends others to theurgists to be purified in the spiritual soul. For the multitude Christ came, purifying mind, spirit, and body; Porphyry's own oracles called him holy and immortal, and Vergil sang that under him the traces of our crime, made void, would free the lands from fear. Theurgy defiles rather than purifies, and cannot give the eternal life Christ promises.

Quanto humanius et tolerabilius consectaneus tuus Platonicus
how-much more-humanely and more-tolerably follower your the-Platonist
Apuleius errauit, qui tantummodo daemones a luna
Apuleius erred who only the-demons from the-moon
et infra ordinatos agitari morbis passionum mentisque
and below ordered to-be-tossed by-diseases of-passions and-of-the-mind
turbelis honorans eos quidem, sed uolens nolensque
by-disturbances honoring them indeed but willing and-unwilling
confessus est: deos tamen caeli superiores ad aetheria spatia
confessed has the-gods yet of-heaven higher to the-ethereal spaces
pertinentes, siue uisibiles, quos conspicuos lucere cernebat,
belonging whether visible whom conspicuous to-shine he-saw
solem ac lunam et cetera ibidem lumina, siue inuisibiles, quos
the-sun and the-moon and the-other there lights or invisible whom
putabat, ab omni labe istarum perturbationum quanta
he-thought from every stain of-those perturbations with-as-much-as
potuit disputatione secreuit! Tu autem hoc didicisti non a
he-could argument he-separated you but this have-learned not from
Platone, sed a Chaldaeis magistris tuis, ut in aetherias
Plato but from the-Chaldean masters your that into the-ethereal
uel empyreas mundi sublimitates et firmamenta caelestia
or empyrean of-the-world heights and the-firmaments heavenly

extolleres uitia humana, ut possent di uestri theurgis
you-should-exalt the-vices human that might-be-able gods your to-the-theurgists
pronuntiare diuina; quibus diuinis te tamen per
to-pronounce divine-things than-which divine-things yourself yet through
intellectualem uitam facis altiorem, ut tibi uidelicet
the-intellectual life you-make higher that to-you namely
tamquam philosopho theurgicae artis purgationes nequaquam
as-if to-a-philosopher of-the-theurgic art the-purifications by-no-means
necessariae uideantur; sed aliis eas tamen inportas, ut
necessary may-seem but on-others them yet you-press that
hanc ueluti mercedem reddas magistris tuis, quod eos,
this as-it-were reward you-may-render to-masters your because those
qui philosophari non possunt, ad ista seducis, quae tibi
who to-philosophize not can to these-things you-seduce which for-you
tamquam superiorum capaci esse inutilia confiteris; ut
as-if of-higher-things capable to-be useless you-confess so-that
uidelicet quicumque a philosophiae uirtute remoti sunt,
namely whoever from of-philosophy the-virtue removed are
quae ardua nimis adque paucorum est, te auctore theurgos
which arduous too and of-few is you as-the-author theurgist
homines, a quibus non quidem in anima intellectuali, uerum
men by whom not indeed in the-soul intellectual but
saltem in anima spiritali purgentur, inquirant, et quoniam
at-least in the-soul spiritual they-may-be-purified may-seek-out and since
istorum, quos philosophari piget, incomparabiliter maior est
of-those whom to-philosophize irks incomparably greater is
multitudo, plures ad secretos et inlicitos magistros tuos,
the-multitude more to the-secret and illicit masters your
quam ad scholas Platonicas uenire cogantur. Hoc enim tibi
than to the-schools Platonic to-come are-compelled this for to-you
inmundissimi daemones, deos aetherios se esse fingentes,
the-most-unclean demons gods ethereal themselves to-be feigning

quorum praedicator et angelus factus es, promiserunt,
of-whom the-preacher and angel made you-are promised
quod in anima spiritali theurgica arte purgati ad Patrem
that in the-soul spiritual by-theurgic art purified to the-Father
quidem non redeunt, sed super aerias plagas inter deos
indeed not they-return but above the-airy regions among the-gods
aetherios habitabunt. Non audit ista hominum multitudo,
ethereal they-will-dwell not hears these-things of-men the-multitude
propter quos a daemonum dominatu liberandos Christus
on-account-of whom from of-demons the-domination to-be-freed Christ
aduenit. In illo enim habent misericordissimam purgationem
came in him for they-have the-most-merciful purification
et mentis et spiritus et corporis sui. Propterea quippe
both of-mind and of-spirit and of-body their-own for-this-reason for
totum hominem sine peccato ille suscepit, ut totum, quo
the-whole man without sin he took-up that the-whole of-which
constat homo, a peccatorum peste sanaret. Quem tu
consists man from of-sins the-plague he-might-heal whom you
quoque utinam cognouisses eique te potius quam uel
also would-that you-had-known and-to-him yourself rather than either
tuae uirtuti, quae humana, fragilis et infirma est, uel
to-your-own virtue which human fragile and weak is or
perniciosissimae curiositati sanandum tutius commisisses.
to-most-pernicious curiosity to-be-healed more-safely you-had-committed
Non enim te decepisset, quem uestra, ut tu ipse scribis,
not for you would-have-deceived he-whom your as you yourself write
oracula sanctum inmortalemque confessa sunt; de quo etiam
oracles holy and-immortal confessed have about whom also

poeta nobilissimus poetice quidem, quia in alterius adumbrata
the-poet most-noble poetically indeed because in of-another sketched
persona, ueraciter tamen, si ad ipsum referas, dixit:
the-person truly yet if to him-himself you-refer said

Te duce, si qua manent sceleris uestigia nostri,
you leading if any remain of-crime traces our
inrita perpetua soluent formidine terras.
made-void perpetual will-free from-fear the-lands

Ea quippe dixit, quae etiam multum proficientium in
those-things for he-said which even much of-those-advancing in
uirtute iustitiae possunt propter huius uitae infirmitatem,
the-virtue of-justice can on-account-of of-this life the-weakness
etsi non scelera, scelerum tamen manere uestigia, quae non
although not crimes of-crimes yet to-remain the-traces which not
nisi ab illo saluatore sanantur, de quo iste uersus expressus
except by that savior are-healed about whom this verse expressed
est. Nam utique non hoc a se ipso se dixisse Vergilius
is for assuredly not this from him himself himself to-have-said Vergil
in eclogae ipsius quarto ferme uersu indicat, ubi ait:
in of-the-eclogue its fourth nearly verse indicates where he-says

Ultima Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas;
the-last of-the-Cumaean has-come now of-song age

unde hoc a Cumaea Sibylla dictum esse incunctanter
whence this by the-Cumaean Sibyl said to-have-been unhesitatingly
apparet. Theurgi uero illi uel potius daemones deorum
appears the-theurgists but those or rather demons of-gods
species figurasque fingentes inquinant potius quam purgant
appearances and-figures feigning defile rather than purify

humanum spiritum falsitate phantasmatum et deceptoria
the-human spirit by-the-falsity of-phantasms and deceptive
uanarum ludificatione formarum. Quo modo enim purgent
of-empty by-mockery of-forms in-what way for would-they-purify
hominis spiritum, qui inmundum habent proprium? Alioquin
of-man the-spirit who unclean have their-own otherwise
nullo modo carminibus inuidi hominis ligarentur
in-no way by-spells of-an-envious man would-they-be-bound
ipsumque inane beneficium, quod praestaturi uidebantur,
and-the-very empty benefit which about-to-furnish they-seemed
aut metu premerent aut simili inuidentia denegarent.
either by-fear would-they-suppress or by-similar envy would-they-deny
Sufficit quod purgatione theurgica neque intellectualem
it-suffices that by-purification theurgic neither the-intellectual
animam, hoc est mentem nostram, dicis posse purgari, et
soul that is the-mind our you-say to-be-able to-be-purified and
ipsam spiritalem, id est nostrae animae partem mente
itself spiritual that is of-our soul the-part than-the-mind
inferiorem, quam tali arte purgari posse adseris,
lower which by-such art to-be-purified to-be-able you-assert
inmortalem tamen aeternamque non posse hac arte fieri
immortal yet and-eternal not to-be-able by-this art to-become
confiteris. Christus autem uitam promittit aeternam; unde
you-confess Christ but life promises eternal whence
ad eum mundus uobis quidem stomachantibus, mirantibus
to him the-world with-you indeed being-vexed wondering
tamen stupentibusque concurrit. Quid prodest quia negare
yet and-astounded runs-together what does-it-profit that to-deny
non potuisti errare homines theurgica disciplina et quam
not you-could to-err men by-the-theurgic discipline and as-many
plurimos fallere per caecam insipientemque sententiam
as-possible to-deceive through blind and-foolish opinion

adque esse certissimum errorem agendo et supplicando
and to-be most-certain error by-acting and supplicating
ad principes angelosque decurrere, et rursum, quasi ne
to princes and-angels to-run-down and again as-if lest
operam perdidisse uidearis ista discendo, mittis homines
effort to-have-lost you-seem these-things by-learning you-send men
ad theurgos, ut per eos anima spiritalis purgetur illorum,
to the-theurgists that through them the-soul spiritual be-purified of-those
qui non secundum intellectualem animam uiuunt?
who not according-to the-intellectual soul live

XXVIII · HOW PORPHYRY WAS BLINDED TO CHRIST

Porphyry sends men into error, though he admits the spiritual soul can be purified by continence without theurgy. Ignorance, he says, is purged only by the paternal mind; but he will not believe it is Christ, despising the body taken from a woman and the shame of the cross. So the prophecy is fulfilled: I will destroy the wisdom of the wise; Christ crucified, a stumbling block to the Jews and folly to the gentiles, to the called the power and wisdom of God.

Mittis ergo homines in errorem certissimum, neque hoc
you-send therefore men into error most-certain nor this
tantum malum te pudet, cum uirtutis et sapientiae
so-great evil you are-ashamed although of-virtue and of-wisdom
profitearis amatorem; quam si uere ac fideliter amasses,
you-profess-yourself the-lover which if truly and faithfully you-had-loved
Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam cognouisses
Christ of-God the-power and of-God the-wisdom you-would-have-known
nec ab eius saluberrima humilitate tumore inflatus uanae
nor from his most-salutary humility by-the-swelling puffed-up of-vain
scientiae resiluisses. Confiteris tamen etiam spiritalem
knowledge would-you-have-recoiled you-confess yet even the-spiritual

animam sine theurgicis artibus et sine teletis, quibus
soul without theurgic arts and without teletae on-which
frustra discendis elaborasti, posse continentiae uirtute
in-vain to-be-learned you-labored to-be-able of-continence by-the-virtue
purgari. Aliquando etiam dicis, quod teletae non post
to-be-purified sometimes also you-say that the-teletae not after
mortem eleuant animam, ut iam nec eidem ipsi, quam
death lift the-soul so-that now not-even to-the-same very which
spiritalem uocas, aliquid post huius uitae finem prodesse
spiritual you-call anything after of-this life the-end to-profit
uideantur; et tamen uersas haec multis modis et repetis,
they-may-seem and yet you-turn these-things in-many ways and repeat
ad nihil aliud, quantum existimo, nisi ut talium quoque
for nothing other as-far-as I-judge except that of-such also
rerum quasi peritus appareas et placeas inlicitarum artium
things as-if skilled you-may-appear and may-please of-illicit arts
curiosis, uel ad eas facias ipse curiosos. Sed bene, quod
the-curious or to them you-may-make yourself curious but well that
metuendam dicis hanc artem uel legum periculis uel ipsius
to-be-feared you-say this art either of-the-laws by-the-perils or of-the-very
actionis. Adque utinam hoc saltem abs te miseri audiant
action and would-that this at-least from you the-wretched may-hear
et inde, ne illic absorbeantur, abscedant aut eo penitus
and thence lest there they-be-swallowed may-depart or there at-all
non accedant. Ignorantiam certe et propter eam multa
not may-approach ignorance certainly and on-account-of it many
uitia per nullas teletas purgari dicis, sed per solum
vices through no teletae to-be-purified you-say but through only
πατρικὸν νοῦν, id est paternam mentem siue intellectum,
the-paternal intellect that is the-paternal mind or intellect
qui paternae est conscius uoluntatis. Hunc autem Christum
which of-the-paternal is aware will this but Christ

esse non credis; contemnis enim eum propter corpus ex
to-be not you-believe you-despise for him on-account-of the-body from
femina acceptum et propter crucis obprobrium, excelsam
a-woman received and on-account-of of-the-cross the-reproach lofty
uidelicet sapientiam spretis adque abiectis infimis idoneus
namely wisdom spurned and cast-down the-lowest-things fit
de superioribus carpere. At ille inplet, quod prophetae sancti
from the-higher-things to-pluck but he fulfills what the-prophets holy
de illo ueraciter praedixerunt: Perdam sapientiam sapientium
about him truly foretold I-will-destroy the-wisdom of-the-wise
et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo. Non enim suam in
and the-prudence of-the-prudent I-will-reject not for his-own in
eis perdit et reprobat, quam ipse donauit, sed quam
them he-destroys and rejects which he-himself gave but which
sibi adrogant, qui non habent ipsius. Unde commemorato
to-themselves arrogate who not have his whence recalled
isto prophetico testimonio sequitur et dicit apostolus: Ubi
this prophetic testimony follows and says the-apostle where
sapiens? ubi scriba? ubi conquisitor huius saeculi? Nonne
the-wise-man where the-scribe where the-disputer of-this world surely
stultam fecit Deus sapientiam huius mundi? Nam quoniam
foolish has-made God the-wisdom of-this world for since
in Dei sapientia non cognouit mundus per sapientiam
in of-God the-wisdom not knew the-world through wisdom
Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis saluos facere
God it-pleased God through the-foolishness of-preaching saved to-make
credentes. Quoniam quidem Iudaei signa petunt et Graeci
the-believers since indeed the-Jews signs seek and the-Greeks
sapientiam quaerunt; nos autem, inquit, praedicamus Christum
wisdom seek we but he-says preach Christ
crucifixum, Iudaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem
crucified to-the-Jews indeed a-stumbling-block to-the-gentiles but

stultitiam, ipsis uero uocatis Iudaeis et Graecis Christum
foolishness to-them but called Jews and Greeks Christ
Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam; quoniam stultum Dei
of-God the-power and of-God the-wisdom since the-foolish-thing of-God
sapientius est hominibus, et infirmum Dei fortius est
wiser is than-men and the-weak-thing of-God stronger is
hominibus. Hoc quasi stultum et infirmum tamquam sua
than-men this as-if foolish and weak as-if by-their-own
uirtute sapientes fortesque contemnunt. Sed haec est gratia,
virtue the-wise and-strong despise but this is the-grace
quae sanat infirmos, non superbe iactantes falsam beatitudinem
which heals the-weak not proudly boasting false blessedness
suam, sed humiliter potius ueram miseriam confitentes.
their-own but humbly rather true misery confessing

XXIX · THE INCARNATION THE PLATONISTS BLUSH TO CONFESS

Porphyry preaches the Father, the paternal intellect, and a middle, seeing the fatherland from afar but not holding the way, the incarnation; he confesses grace when he says few are granted to reach God by the intellect. Why is it incredible that God took a human soul and body, when they make the world and stars animals forever joined to bodies? Christ came humbly and they are proud; a Platonist said John's opening should be written in gold in every church, but the Word made flesh grew cheap to the proud.

Praedicas Patrem et eius Filium, quem uocas paternum
you-preach the-Father and his Son whom you-call the-paternal
intellectum seu mentem, et horum medium, quem putamus
intellect or mind and of-these the-middle whom we-think
te dicere Spiritum sanctum, et more uestro appellas
you to-say the-Spirit holy and by-custom your you-call

tres deos. Ubi, etsi uerbis indisciplinatis utimini, uidetis
three gods where although words undisciplined you-use you-see
tamen qualitercumque et quasi per quaedam tenuis
yet somehow and as-if through certain of-thin
imaginationis umbracula, quo nitendum sit; sed incarnationem
imagination shadows where to-be-striven is but the-incarnation
incommutabilis Filii Dei, qua saluamur, ut ad illa, quae
of-the-unchangeable Son of-God by-which we-are-saved that to those-things which
credimus uel ex quantulacumque parte intellegimus, uenire
we-believe or from however-small part we-understand to-come
possimus, non uultis agnoscere. Itaque uidetis utcumque,
we-may-be-able not you-wish to-acknowledge and-so you-see somehow
etsi de longinquo, etsi acie caligante, patriam in
although from afar although with-sight dimmed the-fatherland in
qua manendum est, sed uiam qua eundum est non tenetis.
which to-be-remained is but the-way by-which to-be-gone is not you-hold
Confiteris tamen gratiam, quando quidem ad Deum per
you-confess yet grace since indeed to God through
uirtutem intellegentiae peruenire paucis dicis esse concessum.
the-virtue of-understanding to-arrive to-few you-say to-be granted
Non enim dicis: Paucis placuit, uel: Pauci uoluerunt; sed
not for you-say to-few it-pleased or few wished but
cum dicis esse concessum, procul dubio Dei gratiam,
when you-say to-be granted far-from doubt of-God the-grace
non hominis sufficientiam confiteris. Uteris etiam hoc uerbo
not of-man the-sufficiency you-confess you-use even this word
apertius, ubi Platonis sententiam sequens nec ipse dubitas
more-openly where of-Plato the-opinion following nor you-yourself doubt
in hac uita hominem nullo modo ad perfectionem sapientiae
in this life man in-no way to perfection of-wisdom
peruenire, secundum intellectum tamen uiuentibus omne
to-arrive according-to the-intellect yet for-those-living all

quod deest prouidentia Dei et gratia post hanc uitam
that is-lacking by-the-providence of-God and grace after this life
posse conpleri. O si cognouisses Dei gratiam per Iesum
to-be-able to-be-fulfilled O if you-had-known of-God the-grace through Jesus
Christum dominum nostrum ipsamque eius incarnationem,
Christ Lord our and-the-very his incarnation
qua hominis animam corpusque suscepit, summum esse
by-which of-man the-soul and-body he-took-up the-highest to-be
exemplum gratiae uidere potuisses. Sed quid faciam? Scio
example of-grace to-see you-could-have but what shall-I-do I-know
me frustra loqui mortuo, sed quantum ad te adtinet:
myself in-vain to-speak to-a-dead-man but as-far-as to you pertains
quantum autem ad eos, qui te magnipendunt et te uel
as-far-as but to those who you highly-esteem and you either
qualicumque amore sapientiae uel curiositate artium, quas non
by-whatever-sort love of-wisdom or by-curiosity of-the-arts which not
debuisti discere, diligunt, quos potius in tua conpellatione
you-ought to-have-learned love whom rather in your address
adloquor, fortasse non frustra. Gratia Dei non potuit
I-address perhaps not in-vain the-grace of-God not could
gratius commendari, quam ut ipse unicus Dei Filius in
more-graciously to-be-commended than that he-himself the-only of-God Son in
se incommutabiliter manens indueretur hominem et spem
himself unchangeably remaining should-put-on man and the-hope
dilectionis suae daret hominibus homine medio, qua
of-love his-own should-give to-men with-man the-middle through-which
ad illum ab hominibus ueniretur, qui tam longe erat
to him from men there-might-be-coming who so far was
inmortalis a mortalibus, incommutabilis a commutabilibus,
immortal from mortals unchangeable from changeable-ones
iustus ab inpiis, beatus a miseris. Et quia naturaliter
just from the-ungodly blessed from the-wretched and because naturally

indidit nobis, ut beati inmortalesque esse cupiamus,
he-implanted in-us that blessed and-immortal to-be we-desire
manens beatus suscipiensque mortalem, ut nobis tribueret
remaining blessed and-taking-up the-mortal that to-us he-might-grant
quod amamus, perpetiendo docuit contemnere quod timemus.
what we-love by-enduring he-taught to-despise what we-fear
Sed huic ueritati ut possetis adquiescere, humilitate opus
but to-this truth that you-might-be-able to-acquiesce humility need
erat, quae ceruici uestrae difficillime persuaderi potest. Quid
was which to-neck your most-difficultly to-be-persuaded can what
enim incredibile dicitur, praesertim uobis qui talia sapitis,
for incredible is-said especially to-you who such-things understand
quibus ad hoc credendum uos ipsos admonere debeatis; quid,
by-which to this to-be-believed you yourselves to-admonish you-ought what
inquam, uobis incredibile dicitur, cum dicitur Deus adsumsisse
I-say to-you incredible is-said when it-is-said God to-have-assumed
humanam animam et corpus? Vos certe tantum tribuitis
a-human soul and body you certainly so-much attribute
animae intellectuali, quae anima utique humana est, ut eam
to-the-soul intellectual which soul assuredly human is that it
consubstantialem paternae illi menti, quem Dei Filium
consubstantial with-that paternal mind which of-God the-Son
confitemini, fieri posse dicatis. Quid ergo incredibile est,
you-confess to-become to-be-able you-say what then incredible is
si aliqua una intellectualis anima modo quodam ineffabili et
if some one intellectual soul in-a-way certain ineffable and
singulari pro multorum salute suscepta est? Corpus uero
singular for of-many the-salvation taken-up was the-body but
animae cohaerere, ut homo totus et plenus sit, natura ipsa
to-the-soul to-cohere so-that man whole and full be nature itself
nostra teste cognoscimus. Quod nisi usitatissimum esset,
our being-witness we-know which unless most-customary it-were

hoc profecto esset incredibilius; facilius quippe in fidem
this assuredly would-be more-incredible more-easily for into faith
recipiendum est, etsi humanum diuino, etsi mutabilem
to-be-received it-is although human to-divine although changeable
incommutabili, tamen spiritum spiritui, aut ut uerbis utar
to-unchangeable yet spirit to-spirit or that words I-may-use
quae in usu habetis, incorporeum incorporeo, quam corpus
which in use you-have incorporeal to-incorporeal than body
incorporeo cohaerere. An forte uos offendit inusitatus
to-incorporeal to-cohere or perhaps you offends the-unusual
corporis partus ex uirgine? Neque hoc debet offendere,
of-the-body birth from a-virgin nor this ought to-offend
immo potius ad pietatem suscipiendam debet adducere,
rather indeed to devotion to-be-undertaken ought to-lead
quod mirabilis mirabiliter natus est. An uero quod
that the-wonderful-one wondrously born was or indeed that
ipsum corpus morte depositum et in melius resurrectione
the-very body by-death laid-down and into better by-resurrection
mutatum iam incorruptibile neque mortale in superna
changed now incorruptible and-not mortal into the-heights
subuexit, hoc fortasse credere recusatis intuentes Porphyrium
he-carried-up this perhaps to-believe you-refuse looking-at Porphyry
in his ipsis libris, ex quibus multa posui, quos de
in these very books from which many-things I-have-set which about
regressu animae scripsit, tam crebro praecipere omne corpus
the-return of-the-soul he-wrote so often to-instruct every body
esse fugiendum, ut anima possit beata permanere cum
to-be to-be-fled that the-soul may-be-able blessed to-remain with
Deo? Sed ipse potius ista sentiens corrigendus fuit,
God but he-himself rather these-things thinking to-be-corrected was
praesertim cum de anima mundi huius uisibilis et tam
especially since about the-soul of-world this visible and so

ingentis corporeae molis cum illo tam incredibilia sapiatis.
huge bodily mass with him such incredible-things you-understand
Platone quippe auctore animal esse dicitis mundum et
Plato for as-author an-animal to-be you-say the-world and
animal beatissimum, quod uultis esse etiam sempiternum.
an-animal most-blessed which you-wish to-be also everlasting
Quo modo ergo nec umquam soluetur a corpore,
in-what way then neither ever will-it-be-loosed from body
nec umquam carebit beatitudine, si, ut beata sit anima,
nor ever will-it-lack blessedness if that blessed may-be the-soul
corpus sit omne fugiendum? Solem quoque istum et cetera
body be all to-be-fled the-sun also this and the-other
sidera non solum in libris uestris corpora esse fatemini,
stars not only in books your bodies to-be you-confess
quod uobiscum omnes homines et conspicere non cunctantur
which with-you all men also to-perceive not hesitate
et dicere; uerum etiam altiore, ut putatis, peritia haec
and to-say but also by-higher as you-think skill these
esse animalia beatissima perhibetis et cum his corporibus
to-be animals most-blessed you-assert and with these bodies
sempiterna. Quid ergo est, quod, cum uobis fides Christiana
everlasting what then is-it that when to-you the-faith Christian
suadetur, tunc obliuiscimini, aut ignorare uos fingitis, quid
is-urged then you-forget or not-to-know you feign what
disputare aut docere soleatis? Quid causae est, quur
to-argue or to-teach you-are-wont what of-cause is why
propter opiniones uestras, quas uos ipsi obpugnatis,
on-account-of opinions your which you yourselves attack
Christiani esse nolitis, nisi quia Christus humiliter
Christians to-be you-are-unwilling except because Christ humbly
uenit et uos superbi estis? Qualia sanctorum corpora in
came and you proud are of-what-sort of-the-saints the-bodies in

resurrectione futura sint, potest aliquanto scrupulosius inter
the-resurrection about-to-be be can somewhat more-scrupulously among
Christianarum scripturarum doctissimos disputari; futura
of-the-Christian scriptures the-most-learned to-be-disputed about-to-be
tamen sempiterna minime dubitamus, et talia futura,
yet everlasting not-at-all we-doubt and such about-to-be
quale sua resurrectione Christus demonstrauit exemplum.
as by-his-own resurrection Christ showed the-example
Sed qualiacumque sint, cum incorruptibilia prorsus et
but of-whatever-sort they-be since incorruptible altogether and
inmortalia nihiloque animae contemplationem, qua in Deo
immortal and-in-nothing of-the-soul the-contemplation by-which in God
figitur, inpedientia praedicentur uosque etiam dicatis esse in
it-is-fixed hindering they-are-proclaimed and-you even say to-be in
caelestibus inmortalia corpora inmortaliter beatorum: quid
the-heavenly-regions immortal bodies immortally of-the-blessed what
est quod, ut beati simus, omne corpus fugiendum esse
is-it that so-that blessed we-may-be all body to-be-fled to-be
opinamini, ut fidem Christianam quasi rationabiliter fugere
you-opine so-that the-faith Christian as-if reasonably to-flee
uideamini, nisi quia illud est, quod iterum dico: Christus
you-may-seem except because that is what again I-say Christ
est humilis, uos superbi? An forte corrigi pudet? Et
is humble you proud or perhaps to-be-corrected shames and
hoc uitium non nisi superborum est. Pudet uidelicet doctos
this vice not except of-the-proud is it-shames namely learned
homines ex discipulis Platonis fieri discipulos Christi,
men from disciples of-Plato to-become disciples of-Christ
qui piscatorem suo spiritu docuit sapere ac dicere: In
who a-fisherman by-his-own spirit taught to-know and to-say in
principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat aput Deum, et
the-beginning was the-Word and the-Word was with God and

Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio aput Deum. Omnia
God was the-Word this was in the-beginning with God all-things
per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil,
through him made were and without him made was nothing
quod factum est. In ipso uita erat, et uita erat lux
which made was in him life was and the-life was the-light
hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non
of-men and the-light in darkness shines and the-darkness it not
conprehenderunt. Quod initium sancti euangelii, cui nomen
comprehended which beginning of-the-holy gospel to-which the-name
est secundum Iohannem, quidam Platonicus, sicut a sancto
is according-to John a-certain Platonist as from the-holy
sene Simpliciano, qui postea Mediolanensi ecclesiae praesedit
old-man Simplician who afterward over-the-Milanese church presided
episcopus, solebamus audire, aureis litteris conscribendum et
as-bishop we-were-wont to-hear in-golden letters to-be-written and
per omnes ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum
through all churches in places most-eminent to-be-set-forth
esse dicebat. Sed ideo uiluit superbis Deus ille magister,
to-be said but therefore grew-cheap to-the-proud God that master
quia Verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis; ut
because the-Word flesh made was and dwelt among us so-that
parum sit miseris quod aegrotant, nisi se etiam in
little it-be for-the-wretched that they-are-sick unless themselves even in
ipsa aegritudine extollant et de medicina, qua sanari
the-very sickness they-exalt and about the-medicine by-which to-be-healed
poterant, erubescant. Non enim hoc faciunt ut erigantur,
they-could they-blush not for this they-do that they-may-be-raised
sed ut cadendo grauius adfligantur.
but that by-falling more-heavily they-may-be-afflicted

XXX · WHAT PORPHYRY CORRECTED IN PLATO

Porphyry corrected Plato in no small things: souls return not into beasts but only into men's bodies, ashamed to think a mother reborn as a mule might carry her son, though not that she might marry him as a girl. He held that the purified soul returns to the Father, never again held by evils, against the Platonist circle and Vergil's souls drinking Lethe to return to bodies; happiness resting on forgetting would rest on falsehood. Here the Platonist dissented for the better.

Si post Platonem aliquid emendare existimatur indignum,
if after Plato anything to-correct is-thought unworthy
quur ipse Porphyrius nonnulla et non parua emendauit?
why himself Porphyry some and not small-things corrected
Nam Platonem animas hominum post mortem reuolui
for Plato the-souls of-men after death to-be-rolled-back
usque ad corpora bestiarum scripsisse certissimum est. Hanc
even to the-bodies of-beasts to-have-written most-certain is this
sententiam Porphyrii doctor tenuit et Plotinus; Porphyrio
opinion of-Porphyry the-teacher held also Plotinus to-Porphyry
tamen iure displicuit. In hominum sane non sua quae
yet rightly it-displeased into of-men indeed not their-own which
dimiserant, sed alia noua corpora redire humanas animas
they-had-left but other new bodies to-return human souls
arbitratus est. Puduit scilicet illud credere, ne mater
judged he-has it-shamed namely that to-believe lest the-mother
fortasse filium in mulam reuoluta uectaret; et non puduit
perhaps the-son into a-mule rolled-back should-carry and not it-shamed
hoc credere, ubi reuoluta mater in puellam filio forsitan
this to-believe where rolled-back the-mother into a-girl to-the-son perhaps
nuberet. Quanto creditur honestius, quod sancti et ueraces
should-marry how-much is-believed more-honorably what the-holy and truthful
angeli docuerunt, quod prophetae Dei spiritu acti locuti
angels taught what the-prophets of-God by-the-spirit driven spoken

sunt, quod ipse quem uenturum Saluatorem praemissi
have what he-himself whom about-to-come as-Savior the-sent-before
nuntii praedixerunt, quod missi apostoli qui orbem terrarum
messengers foretold what the-sent apostles who the-circle of-the-lands
euangelio repleuerunt, — quanto, inquam, honestius creditur
with-the-gospel filled how-much I-say more-honorably is-believed
reuerti animas semel ad corpora propria quam reuerti totiens
to-return the-souls once to bodies their-own than to-return so-often
ad diuersa! Verum tamen, ut dixi, ex magna parte correctus
to different-ones but yet as I-said in great part corrected
est in hac opinione Porphyrius, ut saltem in solos homines
was in this opinion Porphyry so-that at-least into alone men
humanas animas praecipitari posse sentiret, beluinos autem
human souls to-be-cast-down to-be-able he-thought bestial but
carceres euertere minime dubitaret. Dicit etiam ad hoc Deum
prisons to-overturn not-at-all he-doubted he-says also for this God
animam mundo dedisse, ut materiae cognoscens mala
the-soul to-the-world to-have-given that of-matter knowing the-evils
ad Patrem recurreret nec aliquando iam talium polluta
to the-Father it-might-run-back nor ever now of-such polluted
contagione teneretur. Ubi etsi aliquid inconuenienter sapit
by-contagion be-held where although something unfittingly be-thinks
(magis enim data est corpori, ut bona faceret; non
rather for given it-was to-the-body that good-things it-might-do not
enim mala disceret, si non faceret), in eo tamen aliorum
for evil-things would-it-learn if not it-did in this yet of-the-other
Platonicorum opinionem et non in re parua emendauit,
Platonists the-opinion and not in a-thing small he-corrected
quod mundatam ab omnibus malis animam et cum Patre
that cleansed from all evils the-soul and with the-Father
constitutam numquam iam mala mundi huius passuram esse
established never now the-evils of-world this about-to-suffer to-be

confessus est. Qua sententia profecto abstulit, quod esse
confessed he-has by-which opinion assuredly he-took-away what to-be
Platonicum maxime perhibetur, ut mortuos ex uiuis, ita
Platonic most is-asserted as the-dead from the-living so
uiuos ex mortuis semper fieri; falsumque esse ostendit,
the-living from the-dead always to-be-made and-false to-be he-showed
quod Platonice uidetur dixisse Vergilius, in campos Elysios
what Platonically seems to-have-said Vergil into the-fields Elysian
purgatas animas missas (quo nomine tamquam per fabulam
purified souls sent by-which name as-if through a-fable
uidentur significari gaudia beatorum) ad fluuium Letheum
seem to-be-signified the-joys of-the-blessed to the-river Lethean
euocari, hoc est ad obliuionem praeteritorum:
to-be-called-forth that is to the-forgetting of-past-things

Scilicet inmemores supera ut conuexa reuisant
namely unremembering upper that the-vaults they-may-revisit
rursus et incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti.
again and may-begin into bodies to-wish to-return

Merito displicuit hoc Porphyrio, quoniam re uera credere
rightly displeased this Porphyry since in truth to-believe
stultum est ex illa uita, quae beatissima esse non poterit
foolish it-is from that life which most-blessed to-be not will-be-able
nisi de sua fuerit aeternitate certissima, desiderare animas
unless of its-own it-be eternity most-certain to-desire the-souls
corruptibilium corporum labem et inde ad ista remeare,
of-corruptible bodies the-stain and thence to these-things to-go-back
tamquam hoc agat summa purgatio, ut inquinatio requiratur.
as-if this does the-highest purification that defilement be-sought
Si enim quod perfecte mundantur hoc efficit, ut omnium
if for that perfectly they-are-cleansed this brings-about that of-all

obliuiscantur malorum, malorum autem obliuio facit corporum
they-forget of-evils of-evils but the-forgetting makes of-bodies
desiderium, ubi rursus inplicentur malis: profecto erit
the-desire where again they-may-be-entangled in-evils assuredly will-be
infelicitatis causa summa felicitas et stultitiae causa
of-unhappiness the-cause the-highest happiness and of-folly the-cause
perfectio sapientiae et inmunditiae causa summa mundatio.
the-perfection of-wisdom and of-uncleanness the-cause the-highest cleansing
Nec ueritate ibi beata erit anima, quamdiucumque erit,
nor by-truth there blessed will-be the-soul however-long it-will-be
ubi oportet fallatur, ut beata sit. Non enim beata erit
where it-behooves it-be-deceived that blessed it-may-be not for blessed will-it-be
nisi secura; ut autem secura sit, falso putabit semper se
unless secure that but secure it-may-be falsely it-will-think always itself
beatam fore, quoniam aliquando erit et misera. Cui
blessed to-be-about-to-be since sometime it-will-be also wretched to-whom
ergo gaudendi causa falsitas erit, quo modo de ueritate
then of-rejoicing the-cause falsehood will-be in-what way about the-truth
gaudebit? Vidit hoc Porphyrius purgatamque animam ob hoc
will-it-rejoice saw this Porphyry and-purified the-soul for this
reuerti dixit ad Patrem, ne aliquando iam malorum polluta
to-return he-said to the-Father lest ever now of-evils polluted
contagione teneatur. Falso igitur a quibusdam est Platonicis
by-the-contagion it-be-held falsely therefore by certain was Platonists
creditus quasi necessarius orbis ille ab eisdem abeundi et ad
believed as-if necessary circle that from the-same of-going-away and to
eadem reuertendi. Quod etiamsi uerum esset, quid hoc scire
the-same of-returning which even-if true it-were what this to-know
prodesset, nisi forte inde se nobis auderent praeferre
would-profit unless perhaps thence themselves to-us they-might-dare to-prefer
Platonici, quia id nos in hac uita iam nesciremus, quod
the-Platonists because it we in this life already did-not-know what

ipsi in alia meliore uita purgatissimi et sapientissimi
they-themselves in another better life most-purified and most-wise
fuerant nesciturі et falsum credendo beati futuri? Quod si
had-been about-not-to-know and the-false by-believing blessed about-to-be which if
absurdissimum et stultissimum est dicere, Porphyrii profecto est
most-absurd and most-foolish it-is to-say of-Porphyry assuredly is
praeferenda sententia his, qui animarum circulo alternantem
to-be-preferred the-opinion to-those who of-souls in-a-circle alternating
semper beatitudinem et miseriam suspicati sunt. Quod si ita
always blessedness and misery suspected have which if so
est, ecce Platonicus in melius a Platone dissentit; ecce uidit,
it-is behold a-Platonist for the-better from Plato dissents behold he-saw
quod ille non uidit, nec post talem ac tantum magistrum
what he not saw nor after such and so-great a-master
refugit correctionem, sed homini praeposuit ueritatem.
shrank-from correction but to-man he-preferred the-truth

XXXI · AGAINST THE SOUL COETERNAL WITH GOD

Why not believe divinity, which says the soul was created? The Platonists held that only what always was can be everlasting, and read the world's beginning as one of dependence, not of time, like a footprint under an eternal foot. But the soul's blessedness began in time and will be forever, so the argument fails. Let weakness yield to divine authority and to the blessed, who wish sacrifice only to God.

Quur ergo non potius diuinitati credimus de his rebus, quas
why then not rather to-divinity do-we-believe about these things which
humano ingenio peruestigare non possumus, quae animam
by-human ingenuity to-search-out not we-can which the-soul
quoque ipsam non Deo coaeternam, sed creatam dicit esse,
also itself not with-God coeternal but created says to-be

quae non erat? Ut enim hoc Platonici nollent credere,
which not was that for this the-Platonists should-be-unwilling to-believe
hanc utique causam idoneam sibi uidebantur adferre,
this assuredly cause suitable to-themselves they-seemed to-bring
quia, nisi quod semper antea fuisset, sempiternum deinceps
because unless what always before had-been everlasting thereafter
esse non posset; quamquam et de mundo et de his,
to-be not could although both about the-world and about those
quos in mundo deos a Deo factos scribit Plato, apertissime
whom in the-world gods by God made writes Plato most-openly
dicat eos esse coepisse et habere initium, finem tamen non
he-says them to-be to-have-begun and to-have a-beginning an-end yet not
habituros, sed per conditoris potentissimam uoluntatem in
about-to-have but through of-the-founder the-most-powerful will into
aeternum mansuros esse perhibeat. Verum id quo modo
eternity about-to-remain to-be he-asserts but it in-what way
intellegant inuenerunt, non esse hoc uidelicet temporis,
they-may-understand they-have-found not to-be this namely of-time
sed substitutionis initium. “Sicut enim, inquiunt, si pes ex
but of-substitution the-beginning as for they-say if a-foot from
aeternitate semper fuisset in puluere, semper ei subesset
eternity always had-been in dust always to-it would-be-beneath
uestigium, quod tamen uestigium a calcante factum nemo
a-footprint which yet footprint by the-treader made no-one
dubitaret, nec alterum altero prius esset, quamuis alterum
would-doubt nor the-one than-the-other earlier would-be although the-one
ab altero factum esset: sic, inquiunt, et mundus adque
by the-other made had-been so they-say both the-world and
in illo di creati et semper fuerunt semper existente
in it the-gods created and always have-been always existing
qui fecit, et tamen facti sunt.” Numquid ergo, si anima
who made and yet made they-were surely-not then if the-soul

semper fuit, etiam miseria eius semper fuisse dicenda
always was also the-misery its always to-have-been to-be-said
est? Porro si aliquid in illa, quod ex aeterno non fuit,
is further if something in it which from eternity not was
esse coepit ex tempore, quur non fieri potuerit, ut ipsa
to-be began from time why not to-happen could that itself
esset ex tempore quae antea non fuisset? Deinde beatitudo
should-be from time which before not had-been then the-blessedness
quoque eius post experimentum malorum firmior et sine
also its after the-experience of-evils firmer and without
fine mansura, sicut iste confitetur, procul dubio coepit ex
end about-to-remain as he confesses far-from doubt began from
tempore, et tamen semper erit, cum antea non fuerit. Illa
time and yet always will-be although before not it-was that
igitur omnis argumentatio dissoluta est, qua putatur nihil
therefore all argumentation dissolved is by-which it-is-thought nothing
esse posse sine fine temporis, nisi quod initium non
to-be to-be-able without end of-time except what a-beginning not
habet temporis. Inuenta est enim animae beatitudo, quae
has of-time found is for of-the-soul a-blessedness which
cum initium temporis habuerit, finem temporis non habebit.
though a-beginning of-time it-has-had an-end of-time not will-have
Quapropter diuinae auctoritati humana cedat infirmitas,
wherefore to-divine authority human let-yield weakness
eisque beatis et inmortalibus de uera religione credamus,
and-to-those blessed and immortal about true religion let-us-believe
qui sibi honorem non expetunt, quem Deo suo, qui
who for-themselves honor not seek which to-God their-own who
etiam noster est, deberi sciunt, nec iubent, ut sacrificium
also ours is to-be-owed they-know nor order that sacrifice
faciamus, nisi ei tantum, cuius et nos cum illis, ut
we-make except to-him only of-whom both we with them as

saepe dixi et saepe dicendum est, sacrificium esse debemus,
often I-said and often to-be-said it-is the-sacrifice to-be ought
per eum sacerdotem offerendi, qui in homine, quem
through that priest to-be-offered who in the-man whom
suscepit, secundum quem et sacerdos esse uoluit, etiam
he-took-up according-to whom also priest to-be he-wished even
usque ad mortem sacrificium pro nobis dignatus est fieri.
up to death a-sacrifice for us deigned has to-become

XXXII · THE UNIVERSAL WAY OF THE SOUL'S LIBERATION

This religion holds the universal way of the soul's liberation, the royal way. Porphyry says it had not yet come to his knowledge from philosophy, the Indians, or the Chaldeans, so he confesses one exists; he saw it persecuted and thought it would perish. It is the way promised to Abraham, the way of which Christ said, I am the way, preached from Jerusalem to all nations, cleansing the whole man. Its scriptures foretold what we now see fulfilled. These ten books answer those who prefer their gods; next, the rise, course, and ends of the two cities.

Haec est religio, quae uniuersalem continet uiam animae
this is the-religion which a-universal contains way of-the-soul
liberandae, quoniam nulla nisi hac liberari potest. Haec est
to-be-freed since none except by-this to-be-freed can this is
enim quodam modo regalis uia, quae una ducit ad regnum,
for in-a-certain way the-royal way which alone leads to the-kingdom
non temporali fastigio nutabundum, sed aeternitatis firmitate
not with-temporal loftiness tottering but of-eternity by-the-firmness
securum. Cum autem dicit Porphyrius in primo iuxta finem
secure when but says Porphyry in the-first near the-end
de regressu animae libro nondum receptum in unam quandam
about the-return of-the-soul book not-yet received into one certain

sectam, quae uniuersalem contineat uiam animae liberandae,
sect which a-universal may-contain way of-the-soul to-be-freed
uel a philosophia uerissima aliqua uel ab Indorum moribus
either from philosophy most-true some or from of-the-Indians the-customs
ac disciplina, aut inductione Chaldaeorum aut alia qualibet
and discipline or the-initiation of-the-Chaldeans or another any-whatever
uia, nondumque in suam notitiam eandem uiam historiali
way and-not-yet to his-own knowledge the-same way by-historical
cognitione perlatam: procul dubio confitetur esse aliquam, sed
cognition brought far-from doubt he-confesses to-be some-way but
nondum in suam uenisse notitiam. Ita ei non sufficiebat
not-yet to his-own to-have-come knowledge so to-him not sufficed
quidquid de anima liberanda studiosissime didicerat
whatever about the-soul to-be-freed most-studiously he-had-learned
sibique uel potius aliis nosse ac tenere uidebatur.
and-to-himself or rather to-others to-know and to-hold he-seemed
Sentiebat enim adhuc sibi deesse aliquam praestantissimam
he-felt for still to-himself to-be-lacking some most-excellent
auctoritatem, quam de re tanta sequi oporteret. Cum
authority which about a-thing so-great to-follow it-behooved when
autem dicit uel a philosophia uerissima aliqua nondum in
but he-says either from philosophy most-true some not-yet to
suam notitiam peruenisse sectam, quae uniuersalem contineat
his-own knowledge to-have-arrived a-sect which a-universal may-contain
uiam animae liberandae: satis, quantum arbitror, ostendit
way of-the-soul to-be-freed sufficiently as-far-as I-judge he-shows
uel eam philosophiam, in qua ipse philosophatus est, non
either that philosophy in which he-himself philosophized has not
esse uerissimam, uel ea non contineri talem uiam. Et quo
to-be most-true or in-it not to-be-contained such a-way and in-what
modo iam potest esse uerissima, qua non continetur haec
way now can to-be most-true in-which not is-contained this

uia? Nam quae alia uia est uniuersalis animae liberandae, nisi
way for what other way is universal of-the-soul to-be-freed except
qua uniuersae animae liberantur ac per hoc sine illa nulla
by-which all souls are-freed and through this without it no
anima liberatur? Cum autem addit et dicit: "uel ab Indorum
soul is-freed when but he-adds and says or from of-the-Indians
moribus ac disciplina, uel ab inductione Chaldaeorum uel
the-customs and discipline or from the-initiation of-the-Chaldeans or
alia qualibet uia", manifestissima uoce testatur neque
another any-whatever way with-most-manifest voice he-testifies neither
illis quae ab Indis neque illis quae a
in-those-things which from the-Indians nor in-those-things which from
Chaldaeis didicerat hanc uniuersalem uiam liberandae animae
the-Chaldeans he-had-learned this universal way of-to-be-freed soul
contineri; et utique se a Chaldaeis oracula diuina
to-be-contained and assuredly himself from the-Chaldeans oracles divine
sumsisse, quorum adsiduam commemorationem facit, tacere
to-have-taken of-which assiduous mention he-makes to-be-silent
non potuit. Quam uult ergo intellegi animae liberandae
not he-could which does-he-wish then to-be-understood of-the-soul to-be-freed
uniuersalem uiam nondum receptam uel ex aliqua uerissima
universal way not-yet received either from some most-true
philosophia uel ex earum gentium doctrinis, quae magnae
philosophy or from of-those nations the-doctrines which great
uelut in diuinis rebus habebantur, quia plus aput eas curiositas
as-if in divine things were-held because more among them curiosity
ualuit quorumque angelorum cognoscendorum et colendorum,
availed of-whatever angels to-be-known and to-be-worshiped
nondumque in suam notitiam historiali cognitione perlatam?
and-not-yet to his-own knowledge by-historical cognition brought
Quaenam ista est uniuersalis uia, nisi quae non suae
what-then this is universal way except that-which not its-own

cuique genti propria, sed uniuersis gentibus quae communis
to-each nation proper but to-all nations which common
esset diuinitus inpertita est? Quam certe iste homo non
should-be divinely imparted has-been which certainly this man not
mediocri ingenio praeditus esse non dubitat. Prouidentiam
with-mediocre ingenuity endowed to-be not he-doubts providence
quippe diuinam sine ista uniuersali uia liberandae animae
for divine without this universal way of-to-be-freed soul
genus humanum relinquere potuisse non credit. Neque
the-race human to-leave to-have-been-able not he-believes nor
enim ait non esse, sed hoc tantum bonum tantumque
for he-says not to-be but this so-great good and-so-great
adiutorium nondum receptum, nondum in suam notitiam
help not-yet received not-yet to his-own knowledge
esse perlatum; nec mirum. Tunc enim Porphyrius erat
to-have-been brought nor is-it-wonderful then for Porphyry was
in rebus humanis, quando ista liberandae animae uniuersalis
among affairs human when this of-to-be-freed soul universal
uia, quae non est alia quam religio Christiana, obpugnari
way which not is other than the-religion Christian to-be-attacked
permittebatur ab idolorum daemonumque cultoribus regibusque
was-permitted by of-idols and-of-demons worshipers and-kings
terrenis, propter adserendum et consecrandum martyrum
earthly for to-be-asserted and to-be-consecrated of-martyrs
numerum, hoc est testium ueritatis, per quos ostenderetur
the-number that is of-witnesses of-truth through whom it-might-be-shown
omnia corporalia mala pro fide pietatis et commendatione
all bodily evils for the-faith of-devotion and the-commending
ueritatis esse toleranda. Videbat ergo ista Porphyrius et
of-truth to-be to-be-borne he-saw therefore these-things Porphyry and
per huius modi persecutiones cito istam uiam perituram
through of-this kind persecutions quickly this way about-to-perish

et propterea non esse ipsam liberandae animae uniuersalem
and for-this-reason not to-be it of-to-be-freed soul universal
putabat, non intellegens hoc, quod eum mouebat et quod
he-thought not understanding this which him moved and which
in eius electione perpeti metuebat, ad eius confirmationem
in its choosing to-suffer he-feared to its confirmation
robustioremque commendationem potius pertinere.
and-more-robust commending rather to-pertain

Haec est igitur animae liberandae uniuersalis uia, id est
this is therefore of-the-soul to-be-freed the-universal way that is
uniuersis gentibus diuina miseratione concessa, cuius profecto
to-all nations by-divine compassion granted of-which assuredly
notitia ad quoscumque iam uenit et ad quoscumque
the-knowledge to whomever already has-come and to whomever
uentura est, nec debuit nec debebit ei dici: Quare
about-to-come is neither ought nor will-be-bound to-it to-be-said why
modo? et: Quare sero? quoniam mittentis consilium non est
now and why late since of-the-sender the-counsel not is
humano ingenio penetrabile. Quod sensit etiam iste, cum
to-human ingenuity penetrable which felt even he when
dixit, nondum receptum hoc donum Dei et nondum in
he-said not-yet received this gift of-God and not-yet to
suam notitiam fuisse perlatum. Neque enim propterea
his-own knowledge to-have-been brought nor for for-that-reason
uerum non esse iudicauit, quia nondum in fidem suam
true not to-be he-judged because not-yet into faith his-own
receptum fuerat uel in notitiam nondum peruenerat. Haec
received it-had-been or to knowledge not-yet had-arrived this
est, inquam, liberandorum credentium uniuersalis uia, de
is I-say of-to-be-freed believers the-universal way about
qua fidelis Abraham diuinum accepit oraculum: In semine tuo
which faithful Abraham the-divine received oracle in seed your

benedicentur omnes gentes. Qui fuit quidem gente Chaldaeus,
shall-be-blessed all nations who was indeed by-nation a-Chaldean
sed ut talia promissa perciperet et ex illo propagaretur
but that such promises he-might-perceive and from him might-be-propagated
semen dispositum per angelos in manu Mediatoris, in
the-seed ordained through angels in the-hand of-the-Mediator in
quo esset ista liberandae animae uniuersalis uia, hoc est
whom might-be this of-to-be-freed soul universal way that is
omnibus gentibus data, iussus est discedere de terra sua
to-all nations given ordered was to-depart from land his-own
et de cognatione sua et de domo patris sui. Tunc
and from kindred his-own and from the-house of-father his-own then
ipse primitus a Chaldaeorum superstitionibus liberatus
he-himself first from of-the-Chaldeans the-superstitions freed
unum uerum Deum sequendo coluit, cui haec promittenti
one true God by-following worshiped whom these-things promising
fideliter credidit. Haec est uniuersalis uia, de qua in sancta
faithfully he-believed this is the-universal way about which in holy
prophetia dictum est: Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat
prophecy said it-is God have-mercy-on us and bless
nos; inluminet uultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri,
us may-he-illumine face his-own upon us and have-mercy-on us
ut cognoscamus in terra uiam tuam, in omnibus gentibus
that we-may-know on earth way your among all nations
salutare tuum. Unde tanto post ex Abrahae semine carne
salvation your whence so-long after from of-Abraham the-seed flesh
suscepta de ipso ait ipse Saluator: Ego sum uia, ueritas et
taken-up about himself says himself the-Savior I am the-way the-truth and
uita. Haec est uniuersalis uia, de qua tanto ante praedictum
the-life this is the-universal way about which so-long before foretold
est: Erit in nouissimis diebus manifestatus mons
it-was there-shall-be in the-last days manifested the-mountain

domus Domini, paratus super cacumina montium et
of-the-house of-the-Lord prepared upon the-tops of-the-mountains and
extolletur super colles, et uenient ad eum uniuersae gentes
shall-be-exalted above the-hills and shall-come to it all nations
et ingredientur nationes multae et dicent: Venite, ascendamus
and shall-enter peoples many and shall-say come let-us-go-up
in montem Domini et in domum Dei Iacob; et
into the-mountain of-the-Lord and into the-house of-the-God of-Jacob and
adnuntiabit nobis uiam suam, et ingrediemur in eam. Ex Sion
he-will-announce to-us way his-own and we-shall-walk in it from Zion
enim prodiet lex et uerbum Domini ab Hierusalem. Via
for shall-go-forth the-law and the-word of-the-Lord from Jerusalem the-way
ergo ista non est unius gentis, sed uniuersarum gentium;
therefore this not is of-one nation but of-all nations
et lex uerbumque Domini non in Sion et Hierusalem
and the-law and-the-word of-the-Lord not in Zion and Jerusalem
remansit, sed inde processit, ut se per uniuersa diffunderet.
remained but thence proceeded that itself through all-things it-might-diffuse
Unde ipse Mediator post resurrectionem suam discipulis
whence himself the-Mediator after resurrection his-own to-the-disciples
trepidantibus ait: Oportebat inpleri quae scripta sunt in
trembling says it-behooved to-be-fulfilled what written are in
lege et prophetis et psalmis de me. Tunc aperuit illis
the-law and the-prophets and the-psalms about me then he-opened to-them
sensum, ut intellegerent scripturas, et dixit eis, quia
the-sense that they-might-understand the-scriptures and said to-them that
oportebat Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis tertio
it-behooved the-Christ to-suffer and to-rise from the-dead on-the-third
die et praedicari in nomine eius paenitentiam et remissionem
day and to-be-preached in name his repentance and remission
peccatorum per omnes gentes incipientibus ab Hierusalem.
of-sins through all nations beginning from Jerusalem

Haec est igitur uniuersalis animae liberandae uia, quam sancti
this is therefore the-universal of-the-soul to-be-freed way which the-holy
angeli sanctique prophetae prius in paucis hominibus ubi
angels and-the-holy prophets before in few men where
potuerunt Dei gratiam reperientibus et maxime in Hebraea
they-could of-God the-grace finding and most in the-Hebrew
gente, cuius erat ipsa quodam modo sacrata res publica
nation of-which was itself in-a-certain way consecrated the-thing public
in prophetationem et praenuntiationem ciuitatis Dei ex
for prophesying and foretelling of-the-city of-God from
omnibus gentibus congregandae, et tabernaculo et templo
all nations to-be-gathered both by-the-tabernacle and by-the-temple
et sacerdotio et sacrificiis significauerunt et eloquiis
and by-the-priesthood and by-sacrifices signified and in-utterances
quibusdam manifestis, plerisque mysticis praedixerunt: praesens
some manifest most mystic foretold present
autem in carne ipse Mediator et beati eius apostoli iam
but in the-flesh himself the-Mediator and blessed his apostles now
testamenti noui gratiam reuelantes apertius indicarunt, quae
of-the-testament new the-grace revealing more-openly indicated what
aliquanto occultius superioribus sunt significata temporibus,
somewhat more-hiddenly in-former were signified times
pro aetatum generis humani distributione, sicut eam
according-to of-the-ages of-the-race human the-distribution as it
Deo sapienti placuit ordinare, mirabilium operum diuinorum,
to-God wise pleased to-order of-wonderful works divine
quorum superius pauca iam posui, contestantibus signis.
of-which above a-few already I-have-set witnessing by-signs
Non enim apparuerunt tantummodo uisiones angelicae et
not for appeared only visions angelic and
caelestium ministrorum sola uerba sonuerunt, uerum etiam
of-heavenly ministers alone words sounded but also

hominibus Dei uerbo simplicis pietatis agentibus spiritus
by-men of-God by-the-word of-simple devotion acting spirits
inmundi de hominum corporibus ac sensibus pulsi sunt,
unclean from of-men the-bodies and senses driven were
uitia corporis languoresque sanati, fera animalia terrarum
the-vices of-the-body and-the-ailments healed the-wild animals of-the-lands
et aquarum, uolatilia caeli, ligna, elementa, sidera diuina
and of-the-waters the-birds of-heaven trees elements stars divine
iussa fecerunt, inferna cesserunt, mortui reuixerunt;
commands did the-infernal-things yielded the-dead revived
exceptis ipsius Saluatoris propriis singularibusque miraculis,
excepted of-the-very Savior own and-singular miracles
maxime natiuitatis et resurrectionis, quorum in uno maternae
most-of-all of-the-nativity and of-the-resurrection of-which in one of-maternal
uirginitatis tantummodo sacramentum, in altero autem
virginity only the-sacrament in the-other but
etiam eorum, qui in fine resurrecturi sunt, demonstrauit
also of-those who at the-end about-to-rise are he-showed
exemplum. Haec uia totum hominem mundat et inmortalitati
the-example this way the-whole man cleanses and for-immortality
mortalem ex omnibus quibus constat partibus praeparat.
the-mortal in all of-which he-consists parts prepares
Ut enim non alia purgatio ei parti quaereretur, quam
that for not another purification for-that part should-be-sought which
uocat intellectualem Porphyrius, alia ei, quam uocat
calls intellectual Porphyry another for-that which he-calls
spiritalem, aliaque ipsi corpori: propterea totum suscepit
spiritual and-another for-the-very body for-this-reason the-whole he-took-up
ueracissimus potentissimusque mundator adque saluator. Praeter
the-most-truthful and-most-powerful cleanser and savior besides
hanc uiam, quae, partim cum haec futura praenuntiantur,
this way which partly when these-things about-to-be are-foretold

partim cum facta nuntiantur, numquam generi humano
partly when done are-announced never to-the-race human
defuit, nemo liberatus est, nemo liberatur, nemo liberabitur.
was-lacking no-one freed was no-one is-freed no-one will-be-freed
Quod autem Porphyrius uniuersalem uiam animae liberandae
that but Porphyry the-universal way of-the-soul to-be-freed
nondum in suam notitiam historiali cognitione dicit esse
not-yet into his-own knowledge by-historical cognition says to-have-been
perlatam: quid hac historia uel inlustrius inueniri potest,
brought what than-this history either more-illustrious to-be-found can
quae uniuersum orbem tanto apice auctoritatis obtinuit,
which the-whole world with-so-great a-summit of-authority has-held
uel fidelius, in qua ita narrantur praeterita, ut futura
or more-faithfully in which so are-narrated past-things that future-things
etiam praedicantur, quorum multa uidemus inpleta, ex quibus
also are-foretold of-which many we-see fulfilled from which
ea quae restant sine dubio speremus inplenda? Non
those-things which remain without doubt let-us-hope to-be-fulfilled not
enim potest Porphyrius uel quicumque Platonici etiam in hac
for can Porphyry or whatever Platonists even in this
uia quasi terrenarum rerum et ad uitam istam mortalem
way as-if of-earthly things and to life this mortal
pertinentium diuinationem praedictionemque contemnere, quod
pertaining the-divination and-prediction to-despise which
merito in aliis uaticinationibus et quorumlibet modorum
rightly in other prophecies and of-whatever modes
uel artium diuinationibus faciunt. Negant enim haec uel
or arts divinations they-do they-deny for these-things either
magnorum hominum uel magni esse pendenda, et recte.
of-great men or great to-be to-be-valued and rightly
Nam uel inferiorum fiunt praesensione causarum, sicut
for either of-lower they-come-about by-the-foreseeing of-causes as

arte medicinae quibusdam antecedentibus signis plurima
by-the-art of-medicine by-certain preceding signs very-many-things
euentura ualetudine praeuidentur; uel inmundi daemones
about-to-happen in-health are-foreseen or unclean demons
sua disposita facta praenuntiant, quorum ius et in
their-own arranged deeds foretell of-which the-right both in
mentibus adque cupiditatibus iniquorum ad quaeque congruentia
the-minds and desires of-the-wicked to whatever fitting
facta ducendis quodam modo sibi uindicant, et in materia
deeds to-be-led in-a-certain way to-themselves they-claim and in the-matter
infima fragilitatis humanae. Non talia sancti homines in
lowest of-frailty human not such-things holy men in
ista uniuersali animarum liberandarum uia gradientes tamquam
this universal of-souls to-be-freed way walking as-if
magna prophetare curarunt, quamuis et ista eos non
great-things to-prophesy took-care although even these-things them not
fugerint et ab eis saepe praedicta sint ad eorum fidem
escaped and by them often foretold were for their faith
faciendam, quae mortalium sensibus non poterant intimari
to-be-made which of-mortals to-the-senses not could to-be-conveyed
nec ad experimentum celeri facilitate perduci. Sed alia
nor to proof with-swift facility to-be-brought but other-things
erant uere magna adque diuina, quae quantum dabatur cognita
were truly great and divine which as-far-as was-given known
Dei uoluntate futura nuntiabant. Christus quippe in carne
of-God the-will future-things they-announced Christ for in the-flesh
uenturus et quae in illo tam clara perfecta sunt adque
about-to-come and the-things-which in him so clear perfected were and
in eius nomine inpleta, paenitentia hominum et ad Deum
in his name fulfilled the-repentance of-men and to God
conuersio uoluntatum, remissio peccatorum, gratia iustitiae,
the-conversion of-wills the-remission of-sins the-grace of-justice

fides piorum et per uniuersum orbem in ueram diuinitatem
the-faith of-the-devout and through the-whole world in true divinity
multitudo credentium, culturae simulacrorum daemonumque
the-multitude of-believers of-the-worship of-images and-of-demons
subuersio et a tentationibus exercitatio, proficientium
the-overthrow and by temptations the-exercise of-the-advancing
purgatio et liberatio ab omni malo, iudicii dies,
the-purification and liberation from every evil of-judgment the-day
resurrectio mortuorum, societatis inpiorum aeterna damnatio
the-resurrection of-the-dead of-the-fellowship of-the-ungodly the-eternal damnation
regnumque aeternum gloriosissimae ciuitatis Dei conspectu
and-the-kingdom eternal of-the-most-glorious city of-God by-the-sight
eius inmortaliter perfruentis in huius uiae scripturis praedicta
his immortally enjoying in of-this way the-scriptures foretold
adque promissa sunt; quorum tam multa inpleta conspicimus,
and promised were of-which so many fulfilled we-behold
ut recta pietate futura esse cetera confidamus. Huius uiae
that with-right devotion about-to-be to-be the-rest let-us-trust of-this way
rectitudinem usque ad Deum uidendum eique in aeternum
the-rightness even to God to-be-seen and-to-him into eternity
cohaerendum in sanctarum scripturarum qua praedicatur
to-be-cleaved-to in of-the-holy scriptures by-which is-preached
adque adseritur ueritate quicumque non credunt et ob hoc nec
and asserted the-truth whoever not believe and for this nor
intellegunt, obpugnare possunt, sed expugnare non possunt.
understand to-attack can but to-overcome not can

Quapropter in decem istis libris, etsi minus quam
wherefore in ten these books although less than
nonnullorum de nobis expectabat intentio, tamen quorundam
of-some about us expected the-intention yet of-certain-people
studio, quantum uerus Deus et Dominus adiuuare dignatus
to-the-zeal as-much-as the-true God and Lord to-help deigned

est, satisfecimus refutando contradictiones inpiorum, qui
has we-have-satisfied by-refuting the-contradictions of-the-ungodly who
conditori sanctae ciuitatis, de qua disputare instituimus,
to-the-founder of-the-holy city about which to-dispute we-have-undertaken
deos suos praeferunt. Quorum decem librorum quinque
gods their-own prefer of-which ten books the-five
superiores aduersus eos conscripti sunt, qui propter bona
former against those written were who on-account-of the-goods
uitae huius deos colendos putant; quinque autem posteriores
of-life this gods to-be-worshiped think the-five but latter
aduersus eos, qui cultum deorum propter uitam, quae
against those who the-worship of-the-gods on-account-of the-life which
post mortem futura est, seruandum existimant. Deinceps
after death about-to-be is to-be-kept judge thereafter
itaque, ut in primo libro polliciti sumus, de duarum
and-so as in the-first book promised we-have about of-the-two
ciuitatum, quas in hoc saeculo perplexas diximus inuicemque
cities which in this world entangled we-said and-mutually
permixtas, exortu et procursu et debitis finibus quod
mixed the-rise and progress and due ends what
dicendum arbitror, quantum diuinitus adiuuabor, expediam.
to-be-said I-judge as-far-as divinely I-shall-be-helped I-will-set-forth