



BR 60 .L52 v.17
Cyprian,
The treatises of S.
Caecilius Cyprian

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TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH



YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE: BUT
THINE EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. *Isaiah xxx. 20.*

 OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER;

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

MDCCCLIV.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
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IS
WITH HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
IN TOKEN OF
REVERENCE FOR HIS PERSON AND SACRED OFFICE,
AND OF
GRATITUDE FOR HIS EPISCOPAL KINDNESS.

THE
EPISTLES OF S. CYPRIAN,
BISHOP OF CARTHAGE AND MARTYR,
WITH
THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE,
ON THE
BAPTISM OF HERETICS.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
THE EXTANT WORKS OF S. PACIAN,
BISHOP OF BARCELONA.

WITH NOTES AND INDICES.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER;
J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Epistles of S. Cyprian exhibit in detail but one portion of his character of mind or thought. Unlike the collections preserved of S. Ambrose or S. Augustine, not one has survived, written upon a subject in any sense private, or to a private friend. It was remarked long since by S. Jerome¹, "Blessed Cyprian, like a most pure fountain, floweth sweetly and softly; and being wholly occupied in the exhortation to holy action, hemmed in by the straits of persecution, he no where discoursed on the Divine Scriptures." Of the Epistles which are preserved, one^a, at least, which is chiefly taken up with the Sacramental meanings of Holy Scripture, indicates, as well as his "Testimonies," a full possession of the system of Scriptural interpretation, which, whether by intuition or by tradition, was the heritage of the Ancient Church, as he in his turn aided to fix that meaning. That Epistle is like one flash from a mind we love, disclosing to us as it were a new world within it, enlarging and rearranging all our previous thoughts of it, and deepening our reverence towards it. Of a kind, which will with many command little sympathy now, it shews a reverential contemplation and grasp of the hidden meaning of Holy Scripture in its Sacramental aspect, which we must the more admire in one, whose duties, almost from the time of his conversion, were of intense and absorbing activity. One such has been preserved to us perhaps, to correct narrow views as to a mind, chiefly called to the "care of the Churches" and the external maintenance of things deeply internal, discipline and unity. Yet,

The No^a.
in the
margin
are of
the Ep.

^a 63.

¹ S. Jer. Ep. 49. ad Paul.

mostly, He Who distributeth even to His Saints as He wills, has withdrawn the rest from sight, and exhibited His servant to us, directly, only in the single yet manifold relations of the shepherd of his people, an eminent Pastor in the whole Church. So God “tempereth the body” together; and S. Cyprian the more occupies the place which his humility loved, while he has but the office of one member of the body, ministering eminently in the functions only of practical life, and leaving others to supply what from him is lacking.

His Epistles are not only mostly of the same stamp and character, but they even group² chiefly together round the difficult practical questions, with which his brief Episcopate was harassed. On him, indeed, fell well-nigh the care of the Western Church; during the eleven years of his Episcopate, he survived five Bishops of Rome, whose chief office appears to have been to prepare for that highest, their Martyrdom. At the most critical time, the Roman See was vacant for above a year³; when filled, the Episcopate of Cornelius was first to be vindicated against Novatian; it was opposed for a time even by Confessors in his own Church; a year later it was still unsettled and Cornelius himself was
^b 59. §. 2. daunted^b; that same year (A. 252.) saw S. Cornelius a Martyr
^c 99. and S. Lucius, his successor, in banishment; Pope Stephen's Episcopate alone passed beyond the third year, and even then important cases in Spain and Gaul were decided by
^c 67. the weight of S. Cyprian, in the one case^c against the pre-
^d 18. vious judgment of Stephen, in the other^d, through him; as, equally in the time of S. Cornelius, both decisions as to the lapsed, as well that which granted restoration after protracted
^e 55. 1. 5. penance^e, as their immediate restoration^f on the eve of the
^f 57. new persecution under Gallus, were first enacted by an African, and subsequently adopted by a Roman, Council.

^g Life, His Episcopate followed so closely^g upon his conversion,
^h 6. that the deep grace already visible alone took it out of the

² Small collections were made by 20. A. 250; S. Cornelius was not elected
 St. C. himself, Ep. 20. 25. 32. 35. just before Easter, A. 251. (Ep. 43. §. 2.)
³ S. Fabian's martyrdom was Jan. but was shortly after. (Ep. 44.)

Apostolic restriction, so that it has been a marvel, whence he, "having never learned," could be imbued so deeply and so accurately with the whole of Christian doctrine and discipline⁴. His Episcopate pointed him out to be demanded "for the lions^h," and, directedⁱ by God to retire, he^h 22. 59, was proscribed. Apart, in concealment, with few Clergyⁱ 16, 3. around him^k, in an exile of two^l years, he had in a new crisis,^k 29. when delay was ill brooked yet partial decisions dangerous, 43, 3. to hold together and unite the mind of the Western Church. The Roman See was vacant; in his own was a faction personally opposed to himself, seeking to win popularity by laxer measures^m, and supported by one laymanⁿ, as it seems, ^m 16, 34. with all secular influences; intestine divisions^o; the miserableⁿ 41. number of lapsed^p over the whole world, (the result of pre-^o 11, 3. vious laxity^q), forcing a decision yet aggravating its difficulty; ^p 10, 11. numbers liable in sickly seasons^r to be carried off by death,^q 11, 1. their denial of their Lord uncanceled, and Satan tempting ^r 18. them deeper to renounce willingly in deeds and a heathen life and the pleasures of sense^s Him, Whom they had un-^s 55, 4. willingly for fear of, or some through, extreme^t tortures denied ^t 11, 1. in word; among the lapsed themselves, various degrees of sin ⁵⁶. and penitence^u; Martyrs and Confessors led by over-easiness^x ^u 24, 25. or misguided by the factious presbyters to facilitate an in-^x 22, 27. discriminate or unrepentant admission^y; and exposing him ^y 15, 16. to odium^z and hard speeches^a from his people; the lapsed, ^z 3, 23. with the people, extorting restoration from some Bishops of less ^a 27, 2. devoted courage and demanding it of himself^b; the schismatics ^b 3, 5. offering freely the peace which they had not to give^c, and ^c 2, 33. withdrawing them from the hope of those Sacraments which ^c 43, 4. they pretended to restore; the motives of his retirement ^{5. de} Laps. misunderstood and for a time at least invidiously represented even by the Clergy at Rome^d, how much more by the factious^e ^d 8.

⁴ Baronius supposed that he must have been acquainted with our books as a heathen, "unless it be attributed to a miracle," (H. E. A. 250. §. 11.) Undoubtedly we are entitled to assume a higher illumination, see below. His account of the amazing infusion of

the Holy Spirit in his Baptism, must of necessity include enlightening as to Divine truth; since great sanctification implies it; and his very words (ad Don. §. 3. p. 3. Oxf. Tr.) can hardly stop short of it.

in his own people! whatever was done a precedent for the whole Church, his own Presbyters needing his presence, yet himself hindered still further from returning by the very confusion*, lest his return should be the occasion of disturbance, which the heathen powers might turn to evil! Any one must have the tenderness and holiness of S. Cyprian and his holy love of unity to estimate the intensity of suffering, at being unable at such a time to bind up the wounded, to raise the fallen, to gather in one those scattered from the fold.

The decision of the Church on the lapsed determined the course of schism; so that scarcely had she formally adopted the merciful side, when they who had used laxity professed severity^f. Scarcely then had S. Cyprian returned, when the schism of Novatus and Novatian broke out, and with imperfect information as to the events^g, amid misrepresentations diligently circulated by the emissaries of Novatian^h, he had to take measures to procure the recognition of S. Corneliusⁱ and to keep his Church in communion with the true Bishop.

Even the steadfast heart of S. Cornelius, which S. Cyprian so much extols, at one time sunk^k, shaken, it seems, by that which must be most trying to a religious mind, the dread lest, on occasion of religious discipline, those who might yet be saved should forsake the Church and be lost. S. Cyprian, having had to uphold his election, had now to encourage himself in the maintenance of the common discipline. Meanwhile, the dreadful pestilence which, it has been said, "from A. 250. to A. 265. raged without any interruption in every province, every city and almost every family of the Roman empire," had already begun; its severest ravages in Africa seem to be placed at this time^l; and continual preaching^m, arousing the people to the "profusion of exuberant

⁵ The ad Demetrian. and de Mortal. are placed then.

⁶ In the de Mortal. §. 14. he says, that it had been often revealed to him, "ut contestarer assidue et publice prædicarem," that we ought not to sorrow, &c. Although prædicarem might have been understood of that

very treatise, yet the addition of "assidue" and "publice" requires that it should have been "a frequent and public exhortation." S. Cyprian speaks of preaching as part of the Episcopal office and his own practice. Ep. lv, 11. n. z. lviii, 4. lxxx, 2. add Life, §. 18, p. xviii.

works" of charity, and his own unwearied "sleeplessness in the watchings of benevolence¹," may account for the fewness¹ Life, of the letters during this period. One more troubled period^{c.10,11.} was the herald of his rest. The decision of the Council of Carthage that the Novatians too were to be included in the African rite of baptizing heretics, brought on the controversy, to him the more deeply painful, in that he who had hitherto been the centre of union to the Church, now unexpectedly, gave occasion to distraction; he who had been the instrument of peace to the Roman Church, was rejected by her Bishop, his legates^m regarded as those with whom it is^{m 75,26.} prohibited "so much as to eat." One year of this sorrow brought him within a year of his glory. Oneⁿ year of rest^a Life, during his Christian life was given him, to set his Diocese in^{c.12 sqq.} order, and as a calm entry into the haven of his everlasting rest. On Aug. 30, A. 257, he received from Paternus his sentence of banishment; on Sept. 14, he saw the vision which assured him of martyrdom and foretold its manner and its day; on Sept. 14, A. 258, he was with his Lord. The few remaining Epistles are on the one subject, on which he ever kindles, "in expectation of the glory which shall be revealed," exhortations to martyrdom or preparation for his own. One is from his place of banishment, a second after his recal by Maximus, and on the very verge of his martyrdom, since it reports that of S. Sixtus, "the good and peace-making Bishop" of Rome, on Aug. 6; the last yet nearer, in retirement, until the Proconsul should arrive, closing with an injunction to tranquillity, in conformity with his whole life, and giving, in a few words of touching simplicity, his parting benediction.

The first of these periods of trouble was the most enduring, and to his tenderness of soul must have been the most afflicting trial. Yet the very greatness of the evil forbade present action. The higher his consciousness of the magnitude of his office, the more deeply his humility felt that, although the powers entrusted to him were absolute and independent, he had morally no right, in a matter of such

moment, to act alone. Meanwhile, his faith in God's protecting Presence in His Church was his stay. What duty required could not turn out to evil to any who were really His; those plants only would be finally rooted up, which the Heavenly Father had not planted^o. Appreciating in this way also, the unity of the Body of Christ, he wished what was enacted to be the act of the whole body, not in the modern way of suffrage, but by "advice of the Clergy, concurrence of the laity^p."

Any one who follows the course of the Epistles of this period, must be filled with admiration at his stedfast, unvarying course. He kept in view the point to which the vessel of the Church must be guided, but felt that there was One only, Whose Presence in the ship could bring it "immediately to the land whither they went." For the present, he saw that so deep a wound could not be slightly healed; most could but recover slowly, if at all, from a fall so exceeding; hasty and indiscriminate restoration had been but to profane Things Holy^q, and imperil those on whom they were prematurely bestowed^r; they who had cast themselves out of the body of Christ, were, if possible, to be roused to feel the intensity of their loss, that the sharp torture of their privation might awaken their dormant life, the fear of everlasting fire nerve them to overcome all other fears, the fearfulness of being without Christ gather up all their energies, that they be not without Him for ever^s. It is thus that God Himself often deals with the soul, withdrawing His Presence and allowing it to be tortured and darkened by the spectres and shadows of its former sins. It was easier perhaps, from having denied Christ to become His martyr, than to repent amid an easy restoration. Penitence after such falls must be itself a martyrdom.

His very energy at this time is employed in gaining all to his own patience and self-possession, that all might delay acting prematurely, in order that when God should permit them to be gathered together, all might act advisedly and as with one soul. To the Roman Clergy^t, the Martyrs and

^o 52, 4.
59, 8.

^p 14, 5.

^q 15, 1.
31, 7.
^r 15, 2.
16, 2, 17.

^s 19, 55.
§. 2. cf.
de Laps.
fin.
^p 176.

^t 20.

Confessors^t, his own Clergy^u, his people^s, the lapsed^y them-^t 15.
 selves, he writes in one even tone, pressing on all the^u 16. 19.
 necessity of one well-balanced tenor of action; he seems^{26. 32.}
 like one marshalling those scattered by the grievous inroad^{34. §. 2.}
 of the persecution into one united army; a centre of unity,
 attracting all to his own poised and stedfast rest. Acting him-
 self stedfastly on the principle, that "what concerned all
 in common," he "dared² not to prejudge and claim to himself^z 26.
 alone;" that what as a precedent^a, "concerned not a few, nor^a 34, 3.
 one Church, nor one Province," must be waited for "from the
 whole Church^b;" he could, with consistent energy, inculcate^b 20. 56.
 that "one^c rule of discipline and one consent be observed by^c 25 fin.
 all, according to the Lord's commands." Meantime, in
 conjunction with the Clergy of Rome, (who, with several
 neighbouring Bishops, concurred in the wisdom of his de-
 cision^d;) he made provision for the care of the lapsed, when^d 30, 8.
 sick^e, and had regard to individual cases, whenever this did^{11.}
 not forestall the judgment of the Church^f. From the first, he^t 24. 25.
 indicates the course which he thought healthful. The complaint
 that certain Presbyters admitted the lapsed to Communion with-
 out the due period of public penitence and formal restoration
 by the Bishop and Clergy of such as were approved^g, and his^g 15. 16.
 request to the Confessors that they would restrain their^{17. 26.}
 recommendations to such as had by penitence made "very
 nearly full amends^h," indicate that he was prepared to restore^h 15 fin.
 such as had fulfilled these conditions. But denying to
 himself the exercise of his individual authority, he carried
 with him the judgment of the whole Church; the counsel,
 suggested by one, became the act of all; and out of the
 perplexities of a new decision, when the variety of natural
 temperament⁷, strictness, lenity, firmness, pliability, or the

⁷ Antonianus occurs as an instance of those within the Church, who were perplexed by the milder course taken, (Ep. 55.) and the very detail in which St. C. meets his difficulties implies the extent to which they were entertained. The strictness of the African Church appears also incidentally in that some had wholly denied reconciliation to

adulterers, (§. 17.) the very extent to which the Novatian heresy actually spread, indicates the same. The same sensitiveness as to the purity of the Church, which carries some beyond the bounds, would exist in many of more dutiful mind within it; those who failed in a trial and were carried out of the barn-floor, would only be a portion

divers relations to the lapsed themselves, might have occasioned much disharmony, the Church emerged, reflecting in the unbroken unity of its mode of action the Oneness of its Author.

The same wonderful union of caution and promptness is visible in his measures to obtain the unanimous recognition of Cornelius. Convinced of the rectitude of his election from the first, he at once announced his consecration to the
 45, 1. Church at Carthageⁱ, refusing to allow lying reports to defile
 44, 45. the sanctity of the priesthood or the presence of the Altar^k.
 Yet in obtaining his recognition he awaited such evidence from Rome, as should overbear all doubt and ensure the
 45, 2. uniform recognition at the hands of all^l.
 48, 2.

Even in that question, in which he for the time failed, on heretical baptism, his measures seem most wonderfully adapted for obtaining unity. He overrules none, yet wins almost all; and there is perhaps hardly any more remarkable memorial of the unperceived influence of one mind over others, than the way in which the letter of Firmilian and the Council of Carthage echo his maxims and grounds of Scripture, so that the Council seems by the mouths of many to be uttering the thoughts of one. And even here it should be observed that the question was of practice only, not of principles or doctrines; for on the inefficacy of the Sacraments out of the Church S. Augustine concurred with S. Cyprian, while controverting the practice derived from it. The practice itself which S. Cyprian retained in the African Church, remained in the Eastern⁸, and appears to be adopted, although unrecognised, by the Roman Communion among ourselves.

Wisdom must have it in common with mere policy, that she chooses her measures well; it need hardly be said, that the measures of a great Saint cannot be chosen with a view to any thing merely external, not even the peace of the Church itself. Unity was the great object of S. Cyprian's

of those sifted by it. The strictness of 59, 20, 1.

the Laity even amid "joy at the return of the less culpable" is mentioned, Ep. 8 see, at length, Note G. on Tert. de Bapt. p. 280 sqq.

life, because it is the very centre of his doctrine, as flowing from love, the bond of all. Unity being an effluence from the Unity of God, a fruit of the Indwelling of His Spirit, His Bond, knitting and joining together His own^m, typified^m S. Firmilian. 75. in the Sacramentsⁿ and itself a Sacrament^o, faith in love, its §. 3. maintenance was not the maintenance of any thing outward,ⁿ 63, 10. but the developement of an inward grace. It must suffer of^o 45, 1. course from any injury of its outward form, but over and 69, 5. above any effects, one learns, on the very surface of S. Cyprian, 73, 9. something of its intrinsic beauty and propriety⁹. As being of grace, it is graceful, lovely, in and for itself; it is the visible expression of what is heavenly. As being a grace, it must emanate from within. The peace of the Church then must be the result of the peace of individuals, as heresy and schism are of their restlessness. S. Cyprian, in cultivating unity, cultivated it as a Christian grace; as such, it was an end in itself; the free union of different wills in one consent was an antagonist to self-will, a present cultivation of grace, a sight pleasing to Him Who purchased and "gave peace" to His own, a practising and prelude of the everlasting harmony.

The same temper then which S. Cyprian laboured to form in the whole Church, he studied to foster in his own; what he was in the greatest questions, that he was in the least: to his own people the same as to the whole Church. As he would not in the case of the lapsed forestall the judgment of the Church, so neither that of his own people as to subdeacons who had retired in persecution. "*I cannot make* P 34, 3. *myself sole judge*," are the words of one, who, by a moral necessity, could not act out of the unity in which he lived, whose individual existence was inseparable from the body of which he was the visible head. He would be nothing of himself, except the bond which binds all together, and thus he becomes (so to speak) the animating life of all, since his life is his Lord's in him. A proof how "the meek inherit

⁹ Of this sort, seems the *fitness* which St. C. sees in "one rule of discipline and one consent," e. g. Ep. 25.

the earth," and "having nothing, possess all things;" an instance also, that the highest conceptions of Episcopal authority lead in a well-ordered mind to the most self-denying moderation in their exercise. Episcopal authority, apart from the doctrine of the mystical unity of the Church, would be liable to be secular, arbitrary, despotic; in connection with it, it derives its qualities from Him, of Whom it is, and is essentially spiritual, parental, self-sacrificing. The Bishop, as conceived by S. Cyprian, though set over the Church, is yet in and of her; not, like a secular power, external to those it rules, nor again deriving authority from it, yet "set *in* her^q," the visible representative of the Invisible Head; the joint, compacting the members together, yet one with the Church, as the Church with him; on the one hand, deriving his authority by vicarious succession^r from the Apostles, "chosen," "ordained," "ruled," "inspired," "strengthened," "protected," by Christ¹⁰, on the other, by the unity of the Spirit which holds together invisibly each part of the Church and its whole, "in the Church, as the Church in the Bishop^s." The Bishop, independent in authority, was one organic whole with the Church. It belonged, then, to the oneness of the Church, that whatever was done, should emanate from her oneness and love, as the result of a concordant will, not be accepted only by a cold unparticipating obedience. The maxim accordingly of S. Ignatius for the people, "to do nothing without the Bishop," finds in S. Cyprian the counterpart for the Bishop, "do nothing without the Presbytery and the concurrence of the people;" in his well-known words, "from the beginning of my Episcopate, I resolved to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice and the concurrence of the people." If possible, he abated from his right^t, in order to gain the more loving concurrence to what he saw to be right. In the abstract he asserted his right to exercise alone the authority committed to him of God; held it back^u, while he might; when necessary he exercised it^x. But in pro-

¹⁰ Ep. 48 fin. see other passages in Index, v. *Bishop*.

portion as he felt the intensity of the Episcopal authority, from which, until compelled by the anxiety of the people, he had shrunk, he was tender in wielding that whose weight he knew. He revered his own authority, and His Majesty, "Who maketh Bishops," and could not use lightly what could not fall lightly, powers given him "to edification, and not to destruction."

Whom then modern infidelity has made almost its ideal of high-strained and arbitrary authority, we find uniformly refraining upon principle from exercising his authority alone, apologizing to his Clergy, when, through urgent circumstances, he even carried out, in union with a portion only, what had been agreed upon in common; and this in the appointment of men already approved, to the inferior offices of Reader and Subdeacon^y; explaining to them and to his^y 29. cf. people what he did alone even by Divine revelation^z; wishing^{38.} 40. no act of his to be concealed from his Clergy^a; giving^a 29. init. account of his acts to the Clergy of other Churches¹¹; so acting towards those who vexatiously and contemptuously opposed him, that, when compelled to speak of himself, he could even say, "our^b patience and easiness and kindliness^b 59, 22. are open to all who come; I forgive every thing; I overlook many things through my longing to unite the brotherhood—I am almost myself a delinquent in remitting delinquencies more than I ought;" "contempt^c of my authority I have^c 16, 2. ever habitually overlooked and endured;" and so humble, as to be able, after the example of our Blessed Lord, to speak of his own humility, as "known^d very well and loved^d 66, 2. both by the brethren and the very heathen."

Such being the feeling left from the larger collections of his letters, the insulated letters yet enhance the impression furnished by these, of a mind full of love¹², sympathising with all, putting itself forth on all occasions, yet in humility

¹¹ The Clergy of Rome remark on his humility herein, Ep. 30. 1. partly out of his own allowance, Ep. 7. 13. and Ep. 62. on the Numidian captives.

¹² see e. g. his care for the poor and confessors (Ep. 5. 7. 12. 14. 31. §. 6.)

in all. So striking indeed is that characteristic of great saints both in his letters to the Confessors and their answers to him, "in honour preferring one another," that those who know it not, would think it unreal, because so to them¹³. They are the gladliest of his letters, in which he can give fullest scope to his own secret longings^e; yet even here, amid his deference to those who had suffered for Christ, he omits not, when needed, whatever it must have cost him, admonition^f.

* 6. 10.
28. 37.
60. 61.
add 39.
58.
f 13.

The very severity of his language against heresy and schism and his keen perception of the heretical principle in all schism¹⁴, (which gives such value to his Epistles on heretical Baptism,) as also of the essentially schismatic character of all heresy, in him flow from intensity of love, which could feel how alien these are, in principle and their first spring, from the love of God, wherewith it loves. The holy may "hate" God's enemies "with a perfect hatred;" S. Paul, who "for his brethren could wish himself accursed from Christ," may pronounce "Anathema" on those who love Him not incorruptly; the "meekest of men" who prayed, "or else blot me also out of Thy book," may be "very wroth," and say, "Respect not Thou their offering."

Thus much may be said in explanation, if it may be, to some who have preconceived notions of this great Bishop. Else it is not for such as us to praise one, of whom, more than perhaps that of others, "the praise is in the Church" whose unity he loved. His day¹⁵ was early kept in East and West, throughout Africa, in Gaul, Spain, and Italy; in Rome itself, with whose S. Cornelius as he was united in life, so "in death, he was not divided," "confessing his Lord on the same day although not the same year¹⁶," their joint festival was known by the name of S. Cyprian alone¹⁷; he alone of all the saints

¹³ comp. e. g. Ep. 28. and 31. 76. and 77—79. and in like way those of Lucianus and Celerinus. There is, with this reverent sympathy, a little admonition intermingled to the Confessors at Carthage, as being their Bishop.

¹⁴ Möhler Patrologie, Cyprianus

p. 856.

¹⁵ See authorities in Tillemont H. E. Art. S. Cyprien art. 62. T. iv. 77.

¹⁶ S. Jerome de Vir. ill.

¹⁷ An old Roman Calendar calls the 6 weeks from Sept. 14, [his day until the Fest. Exalt. S. Crucis was

throughout the Church has been joined with the few saints of Rome commemorated in the Roman Canon. A touching recognition of the glories and excellences of one, who had been by them for a time rejected.

The Epistles of S. Cyprian are the more deeply interesting to us, in that he, who has been called "the ideal of a Christian Bishop," has been almost involuntarily chosen as the model of our Church. We seem to have felt how much we owe to God through him, as mitigating to us the difficulties of a position as yet unavoidable, and justifying our adherence to it. Gratitude to him, and the transparent sincerity of soul, which S. Augustine so often praises in him, have gained to his writings a love beyond, perhaps, what has been given to any other father, even in quarters, when a system of doctrine was entertained much at variance with his. He has been honoured, almost, as it were, as the Apostle of our Church. His writings present the theory of the Episcopate, which bears out our position on one side and the other; with an intense feeling of the responsibility of Bishops to their Lord, he claimed for each the right of acting with no human responsibility, and disclaimed for himself, as Primate, the right of controlling others". Consulted by others, in his own Province, he puts off from himself any right of judgment, and with humility responds to the humility which applies to him^o. In the most trying season of his life, when the decision of the African Council on the Baptism of heretics unexpectedly threatened the peace which he had ever fostered, and brought the rejection of his Communion by the Bishop of Rome, he maintained in act the abstract independence of Churches, which he had in theory maintained; abandoned not what he believed to be the ground of Holy Scripture and of former practice; and waited for the restoration of the peace which he himself broke not. Rejected, he himself broke no peace, so that, although involuntarily out of com-

instituted, when it was transferred to Sept. 16.] to Advent, 'the weeks after S. Cyprian.' The Calendar of Leo Allat. so counts the 9 weeks to Christ-

mas. S. Gregory the Great (Ep. ii. 32.) also calls the day by his name only. Tillem. l. c.

ⁿ 63, 1.
69, 3, 73,
23.
Conc. C.
Pref.
^o e. g. 3.

p. de
Bapt. c.
Doni. v.
25.

munion with Rome, St. Augustine says^p of him in contrast with Stephen, who “thought that they were to be put out of communion, who endeavoured to disturb the ancient practice as to the reception of heretics;” “he [St. C.] contrariwise, moved by the difficulty of the question itself, and most largely endued with the holy tendernesses of charity, thought he ought to abide in unity with those who held differently.”

It is not, of course, meant by this, that the mere negative side can adequately represent any truth; as well might the shadow which preserves the empty, unsubstantial, darkened form and outline, stand alone for the living substance which projects it. It were a perverted view of St. Cyprian’s doctrine of the Episcopate, which should place prominently the independence either of individual Bishops or of provincial Churches; it were to set up what they are not (the absence of dependence) as the ideal of what they are. S. Cyprian’s idea of the Episcopate is manifoldness in unity; many shepherds feeding our flock, yet therefore many, that they might act in unity against any who would waste it; “a large body, but cemented by the glue of mutual concord and bond of unity;” many rays, streams, branches, to diffuse every where light, fertility, nourishment, yet the connected issues from the One Source. Since charity, as the condition of the presence of the Holy Spirit, is the bond which unites them, so may we trust that we, amid a forced independence, share the unity whereby S. Cyprian was held with the whole body, if we have his reverence for unity and his love. It were some earnest of its presence, if we begin to desire unity earnestly among ourselves, to act on his words when communicating a vision, on the unavailableness or hindrance of prayers from a divided house^q.

q 11, 3.
comp.
60, 1.

Yet, in the mean time, not only does the doctrine of the Episcopate, held and acted upon by S. Cyprian, but the tests also of unity, which have been generally adopted from him, bear witness to our actual position. All subsequent experience has confirmed what his wonderful intuition into the true nature of Christian unity, and schism as its an-

tagonist, enabled him to discern, that a member really divided from the body, however it might for a time exist through the life which it brought with it from the parent stock, could not continue to have life and growth^r, and that those severed from “the^r 55, 1. unity and charity of the Church” could not have the Sacraments²⁰ of the Church. One might add, which he implies, although not formally drawn out, that heretical or schismatical bodies develope into further heresy. These tests were stamped anew by the thoughtful wisdom of S. Augustine, and have been verified in all times. Their negative voice is then of exceeding weight. We may thankfully accept and urge the tests, sometimes vaguely adduced against us. The more it can be shewn that they have never failed, the deeper their value to us; the truer and more unfailing the touchstone, the more surely is our Church, which stands it, gold. One has but to fix one’s mind on the manifold and multiplied tokens of life, which now after three centuries of trial in her seeming isolation, God is with enlarged bountifulness pouring into our Church, acting not individually alone upon her members, but leavening her as a whole, in order to feel with the fullest conviction that the “branch”¹⁸ which “brings forth more fruit in its age,” is not broken off; the stream flowing on, is not parted from its fountain; that through “the^s ordination of Bishops and the ordering of the Church,^s 37, 1. running down along the course of time and the line of succession,” she is joined on to Him Who ordered it. Our Apostolic succession is our title of inheritance; the life every where diffused and enlarging through our Church is a proof that, by God’s good Providence, that succession is not vitiated; the Sacramental life of individuals, and the witness given to them, attests to such as will receive It, His Presence in her Sacraments; His dealings with our whole Church, that He has some gracious design for her as a whole. Thus much may, perhaps, be said here, on account of the especial relation of S. Cyprian to ourselves; it may be the rather

¹⁸ De Unit. §. 4. p. 135. Oxf. Tr.

said, because insulated passages might readily be produced which might seem unfavourable to us. Yet in proportion as we understand in its full extent the heretical and schismatical character, and shrink not from the terms in which he describes it, the more we see that it belongs not to us. We know, again, that we have the succession; we see that there is vivid life; God bears witness to us, one by one, that we have the Sacraments; one other test our own Church gives with S. Cyprian, "the bond of peace" and the "spirit of concord;" if with our other gifts, we have charity, we may be the surer that we have unity. May God enlarge it!

It has been already said that such observations as the above on S. Cyprian can be intended only to explain to some, one part of his character, which men of this world mistake, as though because self-denial, humility, poverty, endurance, meekness, give power, or rather invite His Presence 'Whom none can gainsay or resist,' therefore the power were, to such, other than a burthen. Else, S. Augustine could not adequately praise him; how should we? But lest to draw attention to one point be to withdraw it from others, it may be remarked how in the Epistles also, single expressions have been loci classici, which have to the subsequent Church been evidence of the doctrine of the earlier, as, not to go further, ^{see, e.g.,} may be seen by the use of them in S. Augustine'. But, ^{on 51, 2.} indeed, although S. Cyprian is subject to the Church of ^{64.} which he was one bright star, there is yet one characteristic of his life which might well lead persons to approach his writings with especial reverence.

The words of S. Cyprian are not those only of one ever loved and revered in the Church as "a¹⁹ Catholic Bishop and Catholic Martyr, who, the greater he was, so much the more humbled himself in all things that he might find grace before God," who had himself first done all to which he exhorted, "taught²⁰ in life what he did, and did in death what he taught," whom God vouchsafed (in S. Augustine's words) "to predestinate among His saints before time, to create

¹⁹ S. Aug. de Bapt. c. Don. iii. §. 5.

²⁰ S. Aug. Serm. 312. in Nat. Cypr. M.

among men at the time most needed, to call erring, cleanse in defiling, form believing, teach obeying, rule teaching, aid fighting, crown conquering;" they were uttered amid a fulness of the presence of the Spirit, which we, in these last days, can hardly picture to ourselves. Conceive we, what it would be now, amid our manifold distractions, to be encompassed by guiding visions; to have the prophecy of Joel still fulfilled, "your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions;" our children warned and warning us by visions, which in ecstasy^a they saw with their eyes and heard and spoke;^a 16, 3. one who had forsaken all, called by distinct vision^{*} to over-^{*} 39. come his fears and venture on the Ministry of the Church, prophetic words foretelling when men by death should glorify God; and amid this effusion of the Holy Spirit to see one guided by revelations along the whole course of an anxious Episcopate, while feeling the weight of every word which fell from his mouth; in a time of relaxed discipline foretelling the persecution which should follow, as the result of our Lord's displeasure on disobedience and worldliness⁷,⁷ 11, 4. in the hottest persecution the peace which should shortly^{and} 1. come, and which was brought about by the sudden overthrow and death of a persecutor, in might and fierceness a type of Anti-Christ, in the midst of victory²; knowing whereon the² §. 7. protracted troubles depended, not on the might of adversaries,^{and} n. k. but on intestine discord^a, and the proving of the faith of^a §. 3. others^b; and himself by vision called to vigils and more earnest^b §. 7. intercession^c, frequently visited and rebuked to maintain the^c §. 5. commandments of the Lord "wholly pure, and inviolate^d;"^d 15, 2. out of the renewed peace, by abundant revelations, foreseeing fresh persecution²¹; and for himself, warned on things which seem least as well as greatest; the admission of a presbyter into his own presbytery^e; that God would avenge^e 40. disobedience to a Bishop^f; to instruct^g as to a change, which^f 66, 8. rendered the Holy Eucharist invalid; of the value^h of^g 63, 1. ^h 33, §. 2. penitence and alms in God's sight, to those who had denied

²¹ 57. §. 1. p. 138. and §. 4. frequenter ostenditur, 58. §. 1. 60. 4.

¹¹⁶ §. 3. the faith; at one time to retireⁱ from his see amid persecution, p. 42.
^k Life, at another, a year^k before, of the day on which he himself
 c. 13. should by his death glorify God; and so habituated to those
^{17.65, 8.} vouchsafements, as to await¹ them, when as yet he had them
 not. Add to this, that He whose "witness" he was, bore
 witness to him, after death; that he was seen thrice since, in
 glory; once²², as one to whom it had been "given to sit down
 Rev. 3, on the throne" of the Judge; and people might well shrink
 2. from judging for themselves of his words, by whom living
 the Holy Spirit spake, and who is now an assessor of their
 Judge.

The works of S. Pacian, which have been here subjoined, as they are kindred in subject, so may they be in some sort regarded as further fruits of the mind of S. Cyprian, whose writings S. Pacian quotes with reverence, and from whom he seems to have derived some of the texts he employs, his citations agreeing verbally also sometimes with S. Cyprian. Of his life all which is known is contained in the few words of S. Jerome, who dedicated his book *de viris illustribus* to his son Dexter, a Prefect of the Prætorium and his own friend²³, at whose suggestion it was written;

"Pacian, Bp. of Barcelona in the Pyrenees, of chastened²⁴ eloquence, eminent for his life as for his writings, wrote various works, of which is the *Cervus* and against the Novatians. He died lately in the reign of Theodosius, in extreme old age;" i. e. before A. 392. (in which, the 14th of Theod., S. Jerome wrote this book, *Præf.*) He was born then probably about 30 years after the martyrdom of S. Cyprian, was a younger

²² Ruinart *Acta S. Jacob. Marian.* c. 6. p. 226. add *Ib. Acta S. Mont.* §. 21. where he answers to Montanus, enquiring as to the suffering of martyrdom. "Far other doth the flesh suffer when the mind is in heaven. Nowise doth this body feel, when the whole soul hath devoted itself to God." see also *hcl.* p. 311. n. Both *Acta* are from

eye and ear witnesses.

²³ c. *Ruf. ii.* 24.

²⁴ "castigate eloquentiæ" *Vat.*; which Vallars also prefers; others "castitate et eloquentia," which seems less probable, since he was married. Nor is the construction so fluent. *Ver. castitate eloquentiæ.*

contemporary of Hosius, and through him joined on to the Council of Eliberis, and the restoration of discipline in the Spanish Church. His memory was kept with great affection at Barcelona on May 9, on which he is commemorated in the Martyrologium Romanum, in words taken from S. Jerome.

It is of the good Providence of God, that, of the same father, works should have come down, vindicating the doctrine of the Church on penitence,—as a doctrine, against the heresy of Novatian,—practically, against the neglect of careless sinners. The Epistles to Sympronian and the exhortation to Penitence, combined, shew how compatible are tenderness to the sinner with a strict and, as it would now seem, severe doctrine of penitence; that not earnest calls to a self-avenging¹ and self-chastening penitence, but the denial of¹ 2 Cor. 7, 11. its fruits and of the power of the keys, is the essence of Novatianism. Well versed as S. Pacian was in the writings of S. Cyprian, who also insists on the same *acts*^m of penitence, his^mdelaps. 21, 22. language approaches more both in style and vividness of expo- p. 275. stulation to that of Tertullian, whose work on penitence he Oxf. Tr. claims, as having been written by him while a Catholicⁿ. Itⁿ 3, 48. is hoped that from this very combination, his works might be useful in these days, in which, for want of that more frequent special application of the power of the keys, which our Church suggests, any mention of more earnest penitence is thought to partake of the hard and uncompassionating heresy of Novatian.

It remains to add, that for the Translation and the basis of the Index of S. Cyprian the Editors are indebted to the Rev. H. CAREY, M.A. of Worcester College; and for S. Pacian with the Index, to the Rev. C. H. COLLYNS, M.A. Student of Christ Church. For S. Cyprian the Benedictine text has been adopted, except in some few cases, (which have been noticed,) in which that of Bp. Fell seemed preferable. For S. Pacian the very valuable readings, noted in the margin of the Edition of Cardinal Aguirre, (Collect. Maxima Concil. Hisp. t. ii.) from a Vatican MS. of the ninth century, formerly

belonging to the Queen of Sweden, have been employed. Almost all its readings are improvements of the text; many places they clear up, in which before the meaning was altogether obscured. They are marked in the margin as V. or Vat. Some collations on the margin of the Edit. Par. 1538. Guillard. in the Bodleian, derived from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, (the source of which Dr. Bandinel kindly pointed out to the Editor,) have also been used. The MS. although a late one, in several places agrees with the Vatican MS. They are marked R. The Editions were also consulted for the Editor by Mr. COLLYNS. The collations of the Vat. MS. are wanting on the De Baptismo, but neither had the text the same difficulty.

E. B. P.

Ember Week after Whitsunday,

1844.

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- Page 13. line 4. *for* worthy to God *read* worthy to behold God
17. *omit* but
61. 14. *for* behold both tried servants of God *read* behold servants of
God approved
69. §. 3. 4. *for* his *read* His
86. 9. *for* proconsuls *read* Proconsul
13. *for* bashfulness? *read* bashfulness
123. text, 7 from bel. *for* unity *read* lenity
127. 26. *for* cannot utterly perish *read* perish not utterly
138. note, *for* frequentur *read* frequenter
156. ult. *for* "for the lions by popular" *read* "for the lions" by popular
160. 5. *for* province *read* colony
164. text, ult. *for* Church ^r, whence *read* Church ^s, whence ^t
165. 1. *for* priesthood ^s *read* priesthood
203. 5. *for* inventions *read* invention
268. n. s. and 316. *for* n. 6. *read* n. b.
286. not. col. 2. line 3. *for* Ep. 70. *read* Ep. 69.
305. §. 2. line 5. *for* whole whole *read* whose whole
331. §. 8. line 5. *for* kings *read* kings ^r
337. §. 4. line 13. *for* Novatian (in one place) *read* Novatus
340. §. 11. line 17. *for* because *read* because ⁱ
345. §. 22. line 4. *for* bare *read* bare ^r
350. §. 29. line 19. *for* in *read* is
353. heading, *for* form *read* for
372. §. 17. line 22. *for* penitence *read* penitence ^k
375. margin, *for* ²exomologis *read* ²exomologesis
379. §. 3. line 23. *for* Grace *read* Grace ^e
380. 21. *for* do *read* do ^e
23. *for* up *read* up ^e
384. 28. *for* covered *read* covered ^m

EPISTLES OF ST. CYPRIAN.

EPISTLE I.^a

*Cyprian to the Presbyters, and Deacons, and Laity assembled^b
at Furni, greeting.*

1. WE were greatly concerned, dearest brethren, I and my colleagues who were with me^c, and our fellow-presbyters who sat with us, at hearing that Geminus Victor our brother had, when leaving this world, by his last will appointed Geminus Faustinus, a presbyter, to be his executor: whereas it was long since decreed in a council of Bishops, that no one should by his will appoint one of the Clergy and ministers of God to be executor or guardian^d, since every one honoured with the holy priesthood and ordained to the clerical office, ought only to serve at the altar and sacrifices, and give himself wholly to prayers and supplications. For it is written, *No man that warreth for God, entangleth² Tim. himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please Him^{2, 4.} Who hath chosen him to be a soldier.* Since this is said

^a Pamelius assigned to this Epistle a later date, supposing the Geminus complained of to be the Geminus a Furnis, who was Bishop in the Council of Carthage, (see below.) Bp. Fell notes that he was probably not a Bishop, both on account of the act spoken of, and because S. Cyprian calls him "brother" not "colleague," that it is as likely that the other Geminus, here named, became a Bishop, that it was unlikely that in the Decian persecution a Presbyter should be named executor. He places it in the times of relaxed discipline before the persecution. (see de Laps. §. 4.)

^b Consistentes. Bp. Fell regards the word as equivalent to stantes "abiding in the faith." This sense, however, it

cannot have in other places, where (as in Ep. 36.) it is used by individuals of themselves. It may denote Christians, as gathered together, apart from the world in which they lived. An analogous use is given by Facc. Lex. from an inscription ap. Maffei Mus. Veron. p. 241. n. 5. cives Romani ex Italia et aliis provinciis in Rætia consistentes. In Ep. 48. §. 1. it is used of churches "Ecclesiarum istic consistentium," and "positi" as equivalent, "per omnes omnino istic positos."

^c Accidentally present at Carthage, (as in Ep. 32, 34.) not in Council, in which case the names of the Bishops are added.

^d An office which the Roman law did not permit to be refused.

2 *Priests under Law and Gospel not to have secular cares.*

Epist. of all, how much more ought not they to be tied down by
1. secular affairs and entanglements, who, being occupied in
A. 249. holy and spiritual things, may not withdraw from the Church,
and give up their time to earthly and secular business !

2. The type of which ordinance and duty the Levites of old
Numb. observed under the law ; so that when the eleven tribes
18, 20. divided the land, and portioned out their possessions, the
tribe of Levi, which was set apart for the temple and altar,
and the divine services, took no share in that division ; but
while others cultivated the soil, they cultivated only the
favour^e of God, and for their maintenance and support took
from the eleven tribes the tithes of the fruits produced. All
which was done by Divine authority and appointment, that
they who were engaged in divine services might be called
off by nought beside, nor compelled to think or act in
things of this world. Which same principle and rule is now
observed as to the Clergy, that they who by ordination are
advanced to the clerical office in the Church of the Lord,
should be in no way called off from their holy ministration,
nor tied down by secular troubles and business ; but that,
in the reverential contributions of the brethren, receiving
as it were tithes of the fruits of the earth, they may not
withdraw from the altar and sacrifices, but day and night
serve in heavenly and spiritual things.

3. Which the Bishops our predecessors religiously con-
sidering, and making a wholesome provision therein, enacted
that no brother departing out of this life should name a
clergyman to be executor or guardian ; and should any one
do this, no offering should be made for him, nor sacrifice on
his falling asleep¹. For he does not deserve to be named
at the altar of God in the prayer of the priests, who would
call the priests and ministers away from the altar. Since
then Victor, contrary to the decree lately made by the Priest-
hood in council, has dared to appoint Geminus Faustinus a
presbyter his executor, it cannot be allowed that any oblation
be made by you on his falling asleep, or any prayer offered
in his name in the Church. That so the decree of the
priesthood, made for holy and necessary ends, may be
upheld by us, and at the same time an example given to

¹ pro
dormi-
tione
ejus.

^e Aliis terram colentibus, ille tantum Deum coleret.

the rest of the brethren, that no one may call off to secular cares the priests and ministers of God who are engaged at His altar, and the Church. For so may any renewal of such deeds as to the Clergy be guarded against hereafter, if, what has now been done, shall be censured.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE II.^f

Cyprian to his brother Euchratius, greeting.

1. From your reverence towards me and marked affection, you have thought fit, dearest brother, to ask my opinion respecting a certain actor, who, being received among you, still perseveres in the same disgraceful^g calling, and, as a master and teacher, not for the instruction, but for the destruction, of boys, what he has himself unhappily learnt, imparts to others: you ask, whether such an one should communicate with us. I think it agreeable neither to the Divine Majesty, nor to the rules of the Gospel, that the modesty and honour of the Church should be disgraced by contagion so base and infamous. For since in the Law men are forbidden to *put* ^{Deut.} *on a woman's garment*, and all that do so are pronounced ^{22, 5.} accursed, how much greater must the crime be, not only to put on women's garments, but moreover by the exercise of an immodest^h art, to express base and relaxed and effeminate gestures?

2. Nor let any one plead that he has himself given over acting, while yet he teaches others. For he cannot be thought to have given over, who substitutes deputies, and who for his single self supplies many to take his place; contrary to the appointment of God, instructing and teaching, how a man may be debased into a woman, and his sex changed by art; and how the devil, who stains the workmanship of God, may be gratified by the sins of a maimed and enervated

^f This and the two following are placed at this date by Bps. Pearson and Fell, as belonging to, and illustrating the same relaxed times, which the Decian persecution followed upon,

and corrected.

^g 'Tert. de Spect. c. 22.

^h "He had nothing of an actor but immodesty." Apul. Apol. F.

EPIST. body. But if such an one pretends penury and want, his
 III. need too may be relieved amongst those who are supported
 A. 249. by the alms of the Church; at least if he be content with
 somewhat frugal but innocent food: nor let him think to be
 bought off from sinning by a pension, since this is not for
 our, but his, benefit. Would he more, he must seek what he
 will from those gains which sever men from the feast of
 Matt. 8, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and bring them down, ill and
 11. to their ill, fattened in this world, to the punishment
 of hunger and thirst eternal. Therefore as far as in thee
 lies, recall him from this depravity and shame, to the way
 of innocence, and to the hope of life; that so he may be
 content with the allowance of the Church, sparing indeed,
 but salutary. But should the Church there not be able to
 afford maintenance for those in want, he may remove to us,
 and receive here what is necessary for food and clothing;
 nor teach others without the Church things that lead to
 death, but himself learn in the Church the things that lead
 to salvation.

I bid thee, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE III.¹

Cyprian to his brother Rogatianus, greeting.

1. WE were much and painfully concerned, I and my
 colleagues who were with me, dearest brother, when your
 letter was read, in which you complained of your Deacon,
 that unmindful of your Priestly station, and forgetting his
 own office and ministry, he had harassed you by his
 reproaches and insults. You indeed have acted with great
 deference towards us, and according to your usual humility,
 in preferring to complain of him to us, when by the power
 of your Episcopacy, and the authority of your chair, you
 could have punished him at once; being assured that all
 we your colleagues would have been well pleased with

¹ Pam. placed this letter late, sup-
 posing Rogatianus to be the same
 mentioned in the Conc. Carth. Bp.
 Fell thinks, that the Bp. in that Coun-

cil must have been a junior Bishop, as
 delivering his opinion late, this Roga-
 tianus was aged.

whatsoever you should by virtue of your Priestly power have done to your refractory deacon; having, as to such, a divine warrant, the Lord God saying in the book of Deuteronomy, *And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, or unto the judge,* who shall be in those days, *that man shall die; and all the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously.* And, that we may know that this voice of God came forth with His true and supreme Majesty to honour and vindicate His priests, when three of the ministers, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, presumed to deal proudly towards Aaron the priest, and to raise their neck, and to make themselves equal with the priest who was set over them, *the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up,* and so they immediately paid the penalty of their sacrilegious presumption. And not only they, but the other two hundred and fifty also, the companions of their presumption, were consumed by a fire that burst forth from the Lord; that so it might be proved that the priests of God are avenged by Him Who maketh priests. In the book of Kings also, when Samuel the priest was despised by the Jews for his old age, (as you now,) the Lord spake out in anger and said, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me.* And to avenge this, He raised them up a king, Saul, to afflict them with great wrongs, and with all sorts of insults and hardships to tread down and keep under a proud people, that so the contempt of the priest might, by the Divine wrath, be avenged on a proud people. Solomon moreover in the Holy Spirit testifies and teaches, what is the priestly authority and power, saying, *Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence His priests;* and again, *Honour God with all thy soul, and honour His priests.* Of which precepts the blessed Apostle Paul was mindful, when, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, it was said to him, *Re- vilest thou thus God's high-priest?* and he answered, and said, *I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* Even our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, our King and Judge, and God, to the very day of His Passion retained the honour of priests and high-priests, although they retained neither the fear of God, nor the knowledge of His Christ.

ELIST. For when He had cleansed the leper, He said to him, *Go*
 111. *thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift.* With
 A. 249. that humility whereby He taught us also to be humble,
 MAT. 8, He still called him a priest, whom He knew to be profane.
 4.

Nay at the very eve of His Passion, when He was struck on
 John 18, the face, and it was said to Him, *Answerest thou the*
 22. *high-priest so?* He spake nothing reproachfully against
 the person of the high-priest, but rather maintained His
 ver. 23. own innocence, saying, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness*
of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou Me? All which
 things were therefore done by Him humbly and patiently,
 that we might have an example of humility and patience.
 For in that He shewed Himself such to false Priests, He
 taught what full and rightful honour belongeth to the
 true.

2. But Deacons should remember, that the Apostles, that is,
 Bishops and Governors, the Lord chose: but Deacons the
 Apostles, after the Lord's Ascension into heaven, appointed
 for themselves, as ministers to their Episcopacy and to the
 Church. If then we may presume in aught against God
 Who maketh Bishops, then may Deacons against us, by
 whom they are made. It behoves the Deacon then, of
 whom you write, to do penance for his presumption, and own
 the dignity of the Priest, and with entire humility make
 satisfaction to the Bishop set over him.

3. For these things—to please themselves, and with swelling
 pride despise their Bishop—are the beginnings of heretics,
 and the rise and essays of evil-minded schismatics. Thus
 is the Church deserted, thus a profane altar set up without,
 thus also rebellion against the peace of Christ, and the
 ordinance and unity of God. If therefore he shall further
 harass and weary you by his contumelies, you must put in
 force against him the power of your order, and either de-
 pose or excommunicate him. For if the Apostle Paul,
 1 Tim. 4, writing to Timothy, said, *Let no man despise thy youth,*
 12. *how much more may your colleagues say to you, "Let no*
man despise thy age?" And since you have written us word,
 that another has joined himself to this your Deacon, and
 become partner of his presumption and boldness, him also,
 and whoever else are of the like sort, and do any thing

against God's Priest, you may either restrain or excommunicate.

4. Only we exhort and admonish them rather to acknowledge their offence, and make satisfaction, and allow us to pursue our own course. For our wish and desire is rather to overcome the wrongs and injuries of men towards us, by clemency and forbearance, than to chastise them by our sacerdotal power.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE IV.^k

Cyprian, Cæcilins, Victor, Sedatus, Tertullus, with the Presbyters who were present with them, to their brother Pomponius, greeting.

1. WE have read, dearest brother, the letter you sent us by our brother Paconius, urgently desiring us to write you word what we think of those virgins, who, having once determined

^k The form of self-deceit spoken of in this Epistle was probably subsequent to the Apologists, Justin M. Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minutius Felix, since they could hardly have answered the calumnies against Christians in the tone they used, had this practice existed. (Dodw. Diss. Cypr. 3. §. 16.) It began, probably, at Antioch, (the title *συνιστάτορι* being first given by them,) with Paul of Samosata, who himself practised it, and permitted it to his Presbyters and Deacons. (Ep. Synod. c. Paul. ap. Eus. H. E. vii. 30.) The chief traces of it, subsequently, are also connected with Antioch, (as in the act of Leontius the Eusebian, deposed for it when a priest, but made Bishop of Antioch by Constantius, (S. Ath. Apol. de Fug. §. 26. Ep. ad Mon. §. 28.) and the Sermons of Chrysostom,) or Asia Minor and its neighbourhood. Conc. Ancy. (A.D. 314.) can. 19. and S. Basil, Ep. 55. ad Paregorium. S. Greg. Naz. Carn. ap. Bevereg. Pand. Can. Annot. p. 46. S. Greg. Nyss. de Virg. c. 23. The Canon of the Council of Nice (can. 3.) was probably occasioned by the same act of Leontius. (Dodw. l. c. §. 4. Bevereg. ad loc.) S. Jerome, (Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. §. 14.) was living in Palestine; S. Epiphanius (Hær. 78. §. 11.) in Cyprus.

The Concil. Turon. ii. (can. 11.) and so probably the Conc. Tolet. iv. (can. 42.) founded on the Council of Nice, do not contemplate this case only, but female domestics also. The excuse seems often to have been, that both parties were vowed to chastity, and so secure. This is implied in S. Jer. l. c. S. Bas. l. c. fin. S. Chrys. Hom. quod regulares feminae, &c. Conc. Turon. ii. It was maintained indignantly, and suspicious of it imputed to an evil conscience, (S. Chrys. l. c. S. Greg. Naz. l. c.) as in the case of a yet more dangerous practice, in this day, at Rome and Naples. It should be noted that the most shocking part of the practice alluded to in this Epistle, is not mentioned elsewhere, except in the case of the heretic Leontius, (l. c.) S. Chrysostom, l. c. §. 8. expressly states, that he regards it incredible that any should subject himself to the extreme disgrace *ὡς καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ καθέδρῳ ἐκλήρου*. The Canons also, which forbid it in the case of the Clergy, do not presuppose any thing disgraceful, but are precautionary, forbidding the dwelling of any females with unmarried clergy, (Justinian. Nov. 123. c. 29.) except those "to whom no suspicion could attach." (ib.)

Epist. IV.
A. 249. with self-restraint and firmness to preserve their estate, have afterwards been discovered to have continued in the same bed with men; of whom one, you say, is a Deacon; and that those who confess to have slept with men, assert their purity. With regard to which matter, since you have asked our advice, know that we do not depart from the Evangelic and Apostolic traditions, but steadily and firmly consult for our brethren and sisters, and by all useful and salutary methods uphold the discipline of the Church: for the Lord

Jer. 3, 15. speaks and says, *I will give you pastors according to Mine heart, which shall feed you with discipline:* and again it is

Wisd. 3, 11. written, *Whoso despiseth discipline is miserable:* and in the Psalms also the Holy Ghost admonishes and instructs us, saying, *Preserre discipline¹, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when His wrath shall suddenly be kindled against you.* In the first place therefore, dearest brother, in nothing must both bishops and people labour more earnestly than that we who fear God should observe with all diligence the precepts of His holy discipline; nor suffer our brethren to go astray, and live after their own devices and lusts, but that we should faithfully consult the eternal welfare of every one: nor suffer virgins to dwell with men,—I do not say not to sleep together, but not even to live together;—since as well the weakness of their sex as their yet unstayed age ought in all things to be reined in and directed by us, lest an occasion of hurting them be given to the devil, who is laying snares and on the watch to rage over

Eph. 4, 27. them, for the Apostle also says, *Do not give place to the devil.* The ship must be cautiously extricated from situations of danger, lest it be dashed to pieces amidst cliffs and rocks. Speedily must the goods be saved out of the burning, ere the flames reach them and they be burnt up. No one very close to danger is safe for long. Nor will a servant of God be able to escape the devil, who has entangled himself in the devil's snares. We must come speedily to the aid of such, that they may be separated, while yet they may be separated in innocence; for when they have by a guilty conscience become united, it is not our aid which can part them. Moreover,

¹ Psal. 2, 12. according to the an Aramaic, rather than a Heb. word, LXX. Chald. Vulg. בֶּרֶךְ "son" being they rendered it as though from בֶּרֶךְ.

we see what grievous falls many have hence met with, and through such illicit and perilous co-dwellings we have, with the utmost grief of mind, beheld very many virgins corrupted. But if they have sincerely dedicated themselves to Christ, let them continue to live modestly and chastely without scandal of any sort, and so persevering and steadfast await the recompense of their virgin estate. But if they will not or cannot persevere, it is better they marry, than fall into the ^{1 Cor. 7,} fire by their sins. They should assuredly cause no offence ^{9.} to their brethren or sisters, for it is written, *If meat make ^{1 Cor. 8,} my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.* ^{13.}

2. Nor let any think she can be defended by this excuse, that she may be examined and proved, whether she be a virgin; for the midwife's sight or touch may often be deceived. And though she prove to be in body a virgin, wherein she might be otherwise, yet may she have been otherwise defiled in her person, without discovery. Surely the very lying together, the very embracing, the very talking together, the act of kissing, and the foul and disgraceful deed that two should sleep near together,—what exceeding dishonour and criminality doth this confess! If a husband come and see his wife lying with another man, is he not indignant and maddened, and doth he not in the violence of his jealousy perhaps even seize the sword? What? How indignant and angered then must Christ our Lord and Judge be, when He sees a virgin, dedicated to Himself, and consecrated to His holiness, lying with a man! and what punishments does He threaten against such impure connections! Whose spiritual sword and coming Day of Judgment, that every one of the brethren may be enabled to escape, our duty is by all means to provide and endeavour.

3. And as all ought by all means to uphold discipline, much more is it the duty of Prelates and Deacons to take heed to this, who are to give an example and pattern to others in their own conversation and conduct. For how can they take charge of the integrity and continence of others, if corruptions and instruction in sin take their beginning in them? Therefore you have acted advisedly and with firmness, dearest brother, in excommunicating the Deacon, who

EPIST.
 IV.
 A. 219.
 † ab ob-
 stetrici-
 bus.

 often abode with a virgin, as also the others who were wont to sleep with virgins. But if they shall do penance for this their unlawful co-dwelling, and separate from one another, let the virgins be meanwhile carefully examined¹, and if they shall be found virgins, let them be received to communion and admitted into the Church; with this warning however, that if they afterwards return to the same men, or if they shall live with the same in one house and under the same roof, they must be cast out with severer censure, nor thenceforth may such be readily received into the Church. But if any of them shall prove to have been corrupted, let her undergo full penance, because she who hath been guilty of this crime is an adulteress, not against a husband, but Christ, and therefore when an adequate time has been apportioned, let her afterwards, her term of penance^m completed, return to the Church. But if they obstinately persevere, nor separate from one another; let them know that with such immodest obstinacy they can never be admitted by us into the Church, lest by their sins they set an example to the ruin of others.

Deut.
 17, 12.
 13.

4. Nor let them think that they still are in the way of life and salvation, if they will not obey the Bishops and Priests; for in Deuteronomy the Lord God says; *And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, or judge, whosoever he shall be, in those days, that man shall die, and all the people shall hear and fear, and do no more presumptuously.* God commanded them to be slain, who did not hearken unto His priests, and obey the judges appointed by Him for a season; then indeed they were slain with the sword, when the carnal circumcision was yet in force; but now that there hath begun to be a spiritual circumcision among the faithful servants of God, the proud and contumacious are killed by the spiritual sword, in that they are cast out of the Church. For they cannot have life out of it, because the house of God is one, and there cannot be salvation for any, except in the Church. But that the undisciplined perish, in that they neither listen to nor obey wholesome precepts, holy Scripture testifies, saying, *An undisciplined person loveth not one that re-*

Prov.
 15, 12.
 10.

^m exomologesi. see Note L. on Tert. p. 376 sqq. Oxf. Tr.

proveth him. And they who hate reproof shall be shamefully consumed. Therefore that none be consumed and perish for want of discipline, endeavour, dearest brother, as much as you can, to rule the brotherhood by wholesome counsels, and advise each one to his own salvation. *Strait* ^{Mat. 7,} *is the gate and narrow is the way, by which we enter into* ^{14.} *life; but exceeding great is the reward when we have passed through unto glory.* Let such as have once *made* ^{Mat. 19,} *themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake,* please ^{12.} God in all things; nor by the scandal of their wickedness offend the Priests of God, or the Church of the Lord. And though at present some of our brethren may seem to be made sorry^a by us, let us nevertheless abide by our wholesome persuasion, knowing that the Apostle also said, *Am I* ^{Gal. 4,} *therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?* ^{16.} But if they shall obey us, we shall have gained brethren, and have led them alike to salvation and honour by our admonitions. But if some perverse persons will not obey, let us follow the same Apostle, where he says, *If I pleased* ^{Gal. 1,} *men I should not be the servant of Christ.* If we cannot ^{10.} persuade some so as to make them please Christ, let us at all events, as far as in us lies, please Christ our Lord and God, by keeping His commandments.

I bid you, dearest brother and much longed for, heartily farewell in the Lord.

EPISTLE V.

A. 250.

Cyprian to his Presbyters and Deacons, his dearest brethren, greeting.

1. By the mercy of God, dearest brethren, I address you in safety^o, glad that all things are well with regard to your safety also. And since the state of the city¹ does not suffer me to be ^{1 Carthage.} with you at present, I entreat you by your faith and religion that you will perform both your own and my duty there; that so nothing be wanting either as regards discipline or diligence. As to what concerns the supply of necessities, either of those who, having confessed the Lord with a glorious

^a by the Church's censures. coll. ^o from the Decian persecution.
2 Cor. 2. F.

EPIST.
 VI.
 A. 250.

 voice, have been cast into prison, or of those who labour under poverty and indigence, and still abide in the Lord, I entreat that nothing be wanting: since the whole sum that was brought together, was distributed amongst the Clergy for such emergencies; that so several might have wherewithal to relieve the necessities and the pressure of individuals.

2. I entreat also that your wisdom and solicitude be not wanting in procuring quietness: for although the brethren from their great love are desirous to obtain access to and visit good confessors, on whom the Divine favour has already shed brightness by glorious beginnings, yet I think this must be done cautiously, and not in crowds, nor by many assembled at once; lest from this very thing jealousy be excited, and all access to them denied, and while unsated we wish for all, we lose all. Advise therefore and take heed that by moderation this may be done more safely: so that the Presbyters also, who there offer the Oblation with the Confessors, may severally take their turns with a different Deacon; because the change of persons, and the variety of those that meet together, lessens suspicion. For meek and humble in all things, as becomes the servants of God, we ought to yield to the times, and to have regard to quietness, and to take heed for the people.

Dearest brethren, and much longed for, I wish you ever heartily farewell; and that you keep me in remembrance. Salute the whole brotherhood. Victor the Deacon and they who are with me salute you. Farewell.

EPISTLE VI.

Cyprian to Sergius, Rogatianus, and the rest of the Confessors, everlasting health.

1. I greet you, dearest and most blessed brethren, longing also myself to behold you, if the state of the city allowed me to come to you". For what could happen to me more wished for or joyful, than to be now close by your side, that ye might embrace me with those hands, which, pure and innocent, and upholding the Lord's faith, have spurned sacrilegious com-

* Pam. placed this Epistle at the time of S. Cyprian's banishment just before his martyrdom; Bp. Pearson points out that the words here, Ep. 5. and 12. imply

voluntary secession; their sameness, sameness of date; and that the persecution is a popular tumult (p. 15.) not from the magistracy.

pliances? What more sweet and sublime than now to kiss your lips, which with a glorious voice have confessed the Lord? and to be bodily looked upon by your eyes, which by despising the world have become worthy to God? But since I am not permitted to partake this joy, I send this letter in my stead to your ears and eyes, and hereby as well congratulate you, as exhort you to continue strong and stedfast in the confession of celestial glory; and having entered in the path of the Lord's favour, go on in the strength of the Spirit to receive your crown, having the Lord your protector and guide, Who said, *Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* O blessed prison, on which your^{20.} presence hath shed light^p! O blessed prison, which sends the men of God to heaven! O darkness shining above the sun itself, and brighter than this light of the world! where now are placed temples of God, and your members are hallowed by a divine confession! But let nothing then now have place in your hearts and minds, but the divine precepts, and heavenly commands, whereby the Holy Spirit hath ever animated you to the endurance of suffering. Let no one think of death, but immortality; nor temporary affliction, but eternal glory; for it is written, *Precious in the sight of God is the death of His saints.* And again; *A broken spirit is a sacrifice to God; a broken and a contrite heart God doth not despise.* And again where divine Scripture speaks of the torments which consecrate the martyrs of God, and sanctify them in the very trial of suffering: *Though they have suffered torments in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality: and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded; for God proved them, and found them worthy of Himself. As gold in the furnace hath He tried them, and received them as a burnt offering, and in due time regard shall be had unto them. The righteous shall shine, and shall run to and fro like sparks among the stubble. They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.*

2. When therefore ye consider that ye are to judge and reign with Christ the Lord, ye must needs rejoice, and for joy of the future trample on present afflictions; knowing that

^p See Tert. ad Mart. c. 2. p. 152. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. VI. A. 250. from the beginning of the world it hath been so ordained, that righteousness should toil there amid conflict with the world, for from the very first righteous Abel is slain; and thenceforth all the righteous and Prophets and Apostles who were sent. To all whom the Lord also in Himself set an example, shewing that those only who follow Him by His own way attain unto His kingdom, saying, *He that loveth his life in this world, shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.* And again, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul. But rather fear Him Who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* Paul also exhorts us, that we, who desire to attain unto the Lord's promises, ought to imitate the Lord in all things. *We are, he says, the children of God; and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together.* He adds moreover a comparison of the present time with the future glory, saying, *The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* Of which glory when we consider the brightness, it becomes us to bear with all afflictions and persecutions, because although *many are the afflictions of the righteous, yet they are delivered out of them all, who trust in God.*

3. Blessed too are those women, who are set with you in the same glory of confession; who holding to the Lord's faith, and with fortitude above their sex, not only themselves are close upon the crown, but have by their own constancy, given an example to other women also. And that nothing might be wanting to the glory of your body, that every, both sex and age, might with you be in honour, the Divine favour hath associated even youths¹ with you in the same glorious confession; setting before our eyes things of such sort, as the illustrious youths Ananias, Azarias, and Misael once did; from whom, when shut up in the furnace, the fire retreated, and the flames gave a place of refreshing, the Lord being present with them, and proving that the burning of hell can have no power against His confessors and martyrs, but that they who believe in God, under all trials continue unharmed and secure. And, I beg of you,

¹pueros.
 Song of
 3 Chil-
 dren, v.
 27.

consider more deeply, as becomes your religion, what must have been the faith of those youths, which could obtain such abundance of favour from the Lord¹. For being prepared¹ for every thing, as we all ought to be, they said to the king, *O king Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter; for our God, Whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.* Although they believed, and from their faith knew that they might be delivered even from their present punishment, yet they would not boast of this, nor claim it for themselves, saying, *But if not;* lest the virtue of their confession might be lessened without the testimony of suffering. They added, that God is able to do all things, but yet did not so confide in this, as to desire to be freed at the moment, but thought on that glory of eternal liberty and safety. Which faith let us too retaining, and meditating thereon day and night, with our whole heart alive to God, despising things present, think only on those to come, the enjoyment of an eternal kingdom, the embrace and kiss² of the Lord, the beholding of God. That so ye may follow in all things Rogatianus the presbyter, that glorious old man, who, to the honour of our time, is preparing the way for us by his religious constancy and the Divine grace, and who, with our brother Felicissimus ever calm and temperate, receiving the onset of the ensavaged populace, first prepared for

¹ "The Rabbins so explain Deut. 34, 5. "על פי 'by the mouth of the Lord.' 'At that same time, the Ever-Blessed kissed him, and took away his breath by the kiss of His mouth;' Devarim Rabba ad loc. only the Jews apply this name to the most peaceful death, Christians to the most violent, as the most to be longed for." [F.] comp. also Cant. 1, 2. from which Maimonides (More Nev. iii. 51.) says that the Rabbins took the name מת כנשיקה "died by a kiss," i. e. through exceeding love from the pleasure of intensely apprehending God. He says that Moses, (i. e.) Aaron, (Num. 33, 38.) and Miriam alone were supposed to have

died thus. See further Berach. f. 8. 1. ed. Pinner, and the places there quoted. Here, however, and Ep. 37, below, it is used not of the death of Christians, but of the vouchsafement of the love of our Lord after death; as Cant. 1, 2. is interpreted of the highest union with our Lord here, the Holy Communion, (de Sacr. ii. 5.) or of the Sacraments, (S. Ambr. de Isaac, c. 3. §. 8.) or of the direct illumination of the mind by the Spirit of Divine knowledge through love, (ib. §. 8. conf. S. Herm. 1. 3. Simil. 9. §. 11.) In a vision of Perpetua, it was shewn to her, "osculati sumus Illum," (Acta Perp. et Felic. Ruinart. p. 98.)

¹ plenius promereri Dominum. Dan. 3, 16—18.

16 *St. C. absent for the sake of his flock; his care for the poor.*

Epist. you a reception in prison, and, as it were, marking out the
VII. ground for you, still leads you on the way. Which, that it
A. 250. may be accomplished in you, we entreat of the Lord with continual prayers, that so, from beginnings leading on to the summit, those whom He hath brought to confession, He may also advance to the crown.

Dearest and most blessed brethren, I bid you ever heartily farewell in the Lord, and may you arrive at the crown of celestial glory. Victor the Deacon, and they who are with me, salute you.

EPISTLE VII.

Cyprian to the Presbyters, and Deacons, his dearest brethren, greeting.

I greet you, dearest brethren, by God's grace in safety, anxious to come soon to you, and to satisfy as well my own as your longing, and that of all the brethren. It behoves me however to have regard to the common peace, and for a while, although with weariness of my spirit, to absent myself from you, lest my presence should provoke the jealousy and violence of the heathens; and so I, who ought most to consult the quiet of all, should be the occasion of the peace being broken. When therefore you shall write word that things are settled and that I may come, or if the Lord shall first vouchsafe to direct me¹, I will then come to you. For where could I be either more advantageously, or joyfully, than there where God willed me both to believe and have my growth[†]? Of the widows, and infirm, and all the poor, I entreat you to take diligent care. Strangers moreover, should any be in want, you may supply from my own portion, which I left with Rogatianus our brother-presbyter, and lest that portion be now all expended, I have sent another supply by Naricus, the Acolythe, that the relief of those that are in difficulty may be more abundant and prompt.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and remember me. Salute your brotherhood in my name, and exhort them to have me in remembrance.

[†] in grace, since his conversion and baptism.

¹ by revelation.
see bel.
pp. 25,
27, and
note.

EPISTLE VIII.*

1. We have learnt from Crementius, the subdeacon, who has come to us from you, that the blessed Pope Cyprian has for a certain reason retired; and that herein he did rightly, as being a remarkable person, and the strife was just impending, which God hath permitted in the world, as an occasion of conflict between the adversary and His own servants; willing also that this contest should manifest to Angels and men, that he who conquers shall be crowned; but the conquered will bear the sentence against himself, which sentence has been made known to us. And since it is incumbent on us, who seem to be set over the flock, to guard it instead of the shepherd; the same will be said to us if we be found to be negligent, as to our predecessors, who were such negligent guardians; that *we have not sought that which was lost; and have not* ^{Ezek. 34, 4. 3.} *brought back that which was strayed; and have not bound up that which was broken; but have eaten their milk, and clothed ourselves with their wool.* Moreover also the Lord Himself, fulfilling what was written in the Law and the Prophets, teaches, saying, *I am the good Shepherd, Who* ^{John 10, 11. 12.} *lay down My life for My sheep; but he that is an hireling, and whose own the sheep are not, when he seeth the wolf coming, leaveth them and fleeth, and the wolf scattereth them.* To Simon too He thus speaks; *Lovest thou Me?* ^{John 21, 16.} *He answered, I do love Thee: He saith unto him, Feed My sheep.* That this word was fulfilled, we know from the very act whereby he departed¹; and the rest of the disciples¹ his martyrdom.

2. We would not therefore, brethren best beloved, that ye should be found mercenaries, but good shepherds, since ye know that no trifling peril hangs over you, if ye exhort not your brethren to stand fast in the faith, lest the brotherhood,

* The tone of this Epistle, written by the Roman Clergy, during the vacancy of the See, after the martyrdom of Fabian, is not a little invidious to S. Cyprian, who, as well as Dionysius the Great, (Eus. H. E. vi. 40) had by a vision been warned to flee. Perhaps, on account of that invidiousness, the writers suppress their names, omitting the usual salutation, which gives occa-

sion to S. Cyprian gently to reprove them. (Ep. 9.)

† The Bishop of each place, Rome and Carthage, (the See of which also they represent as in a manner vacant,) whose office the Presbyters were, as far as they could, to supply. Rigalt says, "of Christ," Whose representative every Minister in his degree is.

going headlong to idol-worship, be entirely uprooted. Nor do we exhort you to this in word only, but you may learn from several that came from us to you, how that, by God's help, we both have done and still do all these things with all solicitude and worldly hazard, having before our eyes the fear of God and eternal punishment, more than the fear of man and brief suffering: not deserting the brotherhood, but exhorting them to stand in the faith, and that they should be prepared to go with the Lord. Moreover those that were ascending^u whereunto they were constrained, we have recalled to the Church boldly in faith; although some, overcome by the terror itself, (either because they were remarkable persons, or being seized by the fear of man,) fell: these however, separated from us, we do not abandon, but have and do yet exhort them to undergo penance, if by any means they may obtain pardon from Him Who is able to grant it; lest, if they be deserted by us, they should become worse. Ye see therefore, brethren, that ye also ought to do the same, that even those who have fallen, by your exhortation amending their minds, should they be seized, may on a repeated trial confess¹, that so they may correct their former error.

3. Other things too which are incumbent on you also we here subjoin: that if any, who have fallen into this temptation, begin to be seized with sickness, and repent of what they have done, and desire communion, they ought assuredly to be holpen. Whether any be widows, or sick, who are unable to maintain themselves, or whether they be in prison, or shut out of their own houses, they too should have some to minister to them. Moreover catechumens seized with sickness, must not be deceived^s, but assistance should be given them. And especially if the bodies of martyrs and others are not buried, great peril hangs over those whose duty this is. By whomsoever of you then, and on whatsoever occasion this duty shall be performed, we are sure that he will be accounted a good servant, and so he who *has been faithful in a very little, will have authority over ten cities.* May God,

Luke
19, 17.

^u To the Capitol to sacrifice, de Laps. [§. 6. p. 158, Oxf. Tr.] Cone. Elib. can. 59. [F.] The Martyrol. Rom. Nov. 29. mentions a "Capitol" at Thou-

louse. Baron. adds those at Capua, Beneventum, Treves, Constantinople.

^s in their hope of Baptism.

Who giveth all things to them that hope in Him, grant that we may all be found engaged in these works. The brethren, who are in bonds, salute you, as do the Presbyters, and the whole Church, which also with the utmost solicitude watches for all who call upon the Name of the Lord. We beg of you also in turn, be mindful of us. Know that Bassianus has arrived; and we beg of you, who have a zeal for God, to transmit copies of this Epistle to whomsoever you can, on fitting occasions, or make occasion for yourselves, or despatch a messenger, that they stand strong and stedfast in the faith.

We bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE IX.

Cyprian to his brethren, the Presbyters and Deacons abiding at Rome, greeting.

1. When there was an uncertain rumour amongst us, dearest brethren, of the departure of that good man my colleague¹, ¹ Fabian and I was in suspense what to think, I received an Epistle² ²not now extant. from you, sent me by Crementius the subdeacon, wherein I was fully informed of his glorious departure: and I rejoiced that he had gone on to his consummation with honour, suited to the integrity of his administration. Wherein I heartily congratulate you also that ye honour his memory with a testimony so public and illustrious; so as to make known to me what is both so glorious to yourselves as regards the memory of your Bishop, and may give me too an example of faith and virtue. For, in how much the fall of a Bishop is pernicious in leading to the lapse of his followers, in so much, contrariwise, is it useful and salutary, when a Bishop by the constancy of his faith makes himself an example to be imitated by his brethren. I have also read an Epistle³, wherein³ Ep. 8. it is not plainly expressed, either who wrote it, or to whom it was written. And whereas in the same Epistle as well the writing, as its purport, and the very paper itself, led me to suspect that something had either been taken from it, or altered in it; I have sent back to you the very Epistle itself, that you may ascertain whether it be the same which you gave to Crementius the subdeacon to carry: for it is a very serious matter, if the truth of a clerical Epistle has been cor-

EPIST. X.
A. 250. rupted by any falsehood or fraud. That we may know this therefore, examine whether the writing and subscription is yours; and write me word what the truth is.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE X.

Cyprian to the Martyrs and Confessors in Jesus Christ our Lord, and God the Father, everlasting peace.

1. I rejoice and am exceeding glad, most brave and most blessed brethren, to have heard of your faith and virtue wherein our Mother the Church glories. She gloried indeed lately, when with a resolute confession that punishment was received, which made exiles of the Confessors of Christ. But the present confession, by how much it hath more fortitude in suffering, by so much is it nobler and higher in honour. The combat has increased; increased also is the glory of the combatants. Neither have ye hung back from the conflict through fear of tortures, but the tortures themselves have more and more incited you to the conflict; courageous and stedfast, ye have returned with eager devotedness to meet the extremest struggle. And of your number, some I learn are already crowned, some are closer and closer upon the crown of victory; but all, whom the prison has enclosed in one glorious band, are animated with an equal and common glow of courage to wage the strife, as becometh soldiers of Christ in His holy camp: that so no blandishments may cheat the uncorrupted firmness of faith, no threats alarm, no anguish or tortures overcome, for *greater is He that is in us, than he that is in the world*; nor can earthly punishment avail more to cast down, than Divine protection to lift up. This has been proved in the glorious struggle of the brethren, who, leaders of the rest to victory over tortures, gave an example of courage and faith, having maintained the strife, until the strife itself sunk, overcome. With what praises shall I extol you, most valiant brethren? With what herald voice adorn the stoutness of your hearts, and the perseverance of your faith? Ye have endured the severest torturing even to the consummation of glory, and yielded not to suffering, but suffering rather yielded to you. An end of pain, which tortures gave not, the crown hath given. To this end did the aggravated tortures

1 John
4, 4.

so long endure, not to overthrow your stedfast faith, but to send the servants of God more quickly to their Lord. The crowd of by-standers witnessed wondering the heavenly conflict, the conflict of God, the spiritual conflict, the battle of Christ; that His servants stood with voice unfettered, with minds unbroken, with courage given of God, of secular weapons indeed naked, but armed and trustful in the armour of faith. The tortured stood more resolute than the torturers; and the racked and mangled limbs vanquished the grappling-hooks that racked and mangled them. Long though it raged, the oft-renewed blow could not vanquish a faith invincible, although the closure of their bowels was torn open, and now in God's servants not limbs, but wounds*, were tortured. There flowed blood, that might extinguish the blazes of persecution, quench the flames and fires of hell by its glorious gore. Oh! what a spectacle was that to the Lord, how sublime, how great, how acceptable to the eyes of God, the fealty and devotion of His soldiery! as it is written in the Psalms, the Holy Ghost speaking to us at the same time and admonishing us, *Precious in the sight* Ps. 116, *of the Lord is the death of His saints.* Precious is this^{15.} death, which purchases immortality at the price of its own blood; which receives a crown from the consummation of valour. How did Christ rejoice there, how gladly in such His servants did He both fight and conquer, the Guardian of their faith, and giving to believers so much as he who taketh of His hand believeth that he receiveth⁷. He was present at His own conflict; the champions and maintainers of His own Name He uplifted, strengthened, animated. And He who once overcame death for us, ever overcomes it in us. *When they deliver you up, He says, take no thought* Mat. 10, *what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same* 19, 20. *hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh in you.* The present conflict has afforded a proof of this. A voice full of the Holy Spirit burst forth from the martyr's mouth, when the most blessed Mappalicius amid his torments said to the

* "His body—all wound and tumour, and contracted, having lost outwardly the human form." Ep. Eccl. Lugd. ap. Eus. v. 1.
⁷ ad Donat. §. 4. p. 4. Oxf. Tr.

Epist. Proconsul, "To-morrow thou shalt see a fight." And what
 X.
 A. 250. he said with the testimony of courage and faith, the Lord fulfilled. A heavenly fight was exhibited, and the servant of God in the conflict of the promised fight was crowned. Such is the struggle which the Prophet Esaias foretold, saying, *It will be no small contest for you with men, since God Himself appoints the struggle*¹. And to shew what sort of struggle this would be, he added, saying, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and ye shall call His name Emmanuel*. This is the fight of our faith, whereby we engage, whereby we conquer, whereby we are crowned. This is that fight which the blessed Apostle Paul has shewn us, in which we must run, and attain unto a crown of glory.

1 Cor. 9, 24. 25. *Know ye not, he says, that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every one that striveth is temperate in all things; now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible*. Shewing also his own conflict, and declaring that he should himself soon be a sacrifice to the
 2 Tim. 4, 6—8. Lord, he says, *I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that Day; and not to me only, but unto all them that love His appearing*.

2. This fight therefore before predicted by the Prophets, appointed by the Lord^a, accomplished by the Apostles, Mappalicus in his own and his colleagues' name promised anew to the Proconsul. Nor has his faithful voice failed in its promise: the fight he pledged himself to, he exhibited; and the palm, that he deserved, he has received. My hearty desire and at the same time my exhortation to you is, that the rest of you follow that now most blessed Martyr, and the others his partners in the same conflict; in faith, stedfast; in suffering, patient; in tortures, victorious; that so, those whom the bond of confession and the hostelry of the prison have united together, the consummation of their valour, and the heavenly crown, may also unite; that ye, by

¹ Is. 7, 13, so quoted Iren. iii. 26.
 Tert. adv. Jud. c. 9. Testim. ii. 9.

^a Tert. ad Mart. c. 3. p. 154. Oxf. Tr.

your joy, may wipe away the tears of your mother the Church, who bewails the fall and death of very many; and by the stirring force of your example confirm the steadfastness of the rest also who stand. If the battle shall challenge you, if the day of your conflict shall come, war valiantly, fight steadfastly, knowing that ye fight under the immediate eye of the Lord, that by the confession of His Name ye will reach unto His glory; for He is not one who only looks upon His servants, but Himself also wrestleth in us, Himself engageth^a, Himself on the issue of our conflict alike crowneth, and is crowned.

3. But if, before the day of your conflict, peace shall, by the mercy of the Lord, arrive, yet let your will continue steadfast, and your conscience glory; nor let any of you be sorrowful, as falling short of those who, having endured the tortures before you, and having overcome and trampled on the world, are gone to the Lord in the path of glory. For the Lord is *He Which searcheth the reins and heart*; He discerneth^{Rev. 2, 23.} secret things, and beholdeth the hidden. To earn the crown of God, His testimony alone, Who will hereafter judge, sufficeth. Therefore, dearest brethren, either condition is alike noble and illustrious. That is the more secure, to hasten to the Lord through the consummation of victory; this the more joyful, having received a furlough after glory gained, to flourish in the praises of the Church. How blessed is our Church, whom the greatness of the Divine favour thus illuminates! on whom in these our times the glorious blood of Martyrs sheds radiance! Before, she was white in the good works of the brethren, now is she empurpled in the blood of Martyrs. Her garlands lack neither the lily nor the rose. Now let every one contend for the fullest meed of either honour. Let them win a crown either white with good works, or purple with suffering. In the heavenly camp both peace^b and war have their own garlands, where-with the soldier of Christ may be crowned for victory.

^a "I now suffer, what I suffer;" [in childbearing] "but there" [when exposed to the beasts] "will Another be in me, Who will suffer in me, because I also shall suffer for Him." Answer of Felicitas, Acta Perp. §. 15. Ruinart,

p. 99. "in whom Christ Himself suffering, wrought mighty wonders," Ep. Eccl. Lugd. ap. Eus. v. 1. of Sanctus. "clothed with Christ, the Mighty and Invincible Warrior," ib. of Blandina.

^b de Zeilo et Liv. §. 9. p. 275. Oxf. Tr.

24 *Falls the chastisement of former luxury and worldliness.*

EPIST.
XI.
A. 250. Most valiant and most blessed brethren, I heartily wish
you ever farewell in the Lord, and that ye remember me.
Farewell.

EPISTLE XI.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons his brethren,
greeting.*

1. I know, dearest brethren, that, out of the fear which we all owe to God, ye also are instant in continual supplication and earnest prayer, yet, though thus piously concerned, I cannot but myself also remind you, that to appease and obtain mercy of the Lord, we should mourn not in words only, but with fasting and tears and all other methods of entreaty. For we must know and confess, that the pressure of this so dreadful devastation, which hath wasted the largest portion of our flock, and is still wasting them, has come upon us for our sins, in not keeping the way of the Lord, nor observing the heavenly commandments given us to our salvation. Our Lord fulfilled the will of the Father, and we do not fulfil the will of our Lord; eager about our property or our gains^c, seeking to exalt ourselves, giving ourselves up to emulation and dissension; careless about single-mindedness and the faith, renouncing the world in words only not in deeds^d, each of us pleasing himself, and displeasing all men. We are
Luke 12, 47. smitten therefore as we deserve, as it is written, *That servant which knoweth his Master's will, and obeyeth not His will, shall be beaten with many stripes.* But what stripes, what buffetings do we not deserve, when even the confessors, who ought to be an example of good conduct to others, do not observe the discipline of the Church! Therefore whilst some were unduly elated by a swelling and immodest boasting of their confession, the tortures overtook them, tortures wherein the torturer ceases not, without escape of condemnation, without the consolation of death; tortures which do not dismiss them speedily to their crown, but rack them until they overthrow their faith; except perhaps that God in His mercy removed one here and there in the midst of his torments, and

^c see de Laps. c. 4. p. 156. Oxf. Tr. fin. c. Cresc. Don. ii. 15. de Bapt. c.
^d quoted by S. Aug. de Fid. et Op. Don. iv. 2.

so he attained his crown, not by the full ending of his trial, but by the suddenness of death.

2. This we suffer for our sins and deserts, as rebuke of Holy Scripture forewarned us, saying, *If they forsake My law, and walk not in My judgments; if they break My statutes, and keep not My commandments; then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes.* Therefore we feel His rod and His stripes, as neither pleasing Him by our good deeds, nor making amends^e for our sins. Let us from our inmost hearts and with our whole soul implore the mercy of God, because He Himself hath added, *Nevertheless My loving-kindness will I not utterly take from them.* Let us ask, and we shall receive; and if, for the grievousness of our offences, we receive slowly and not at once, let us knock, for *to him that knocketh it shall be opened*, if but our prayers, groaning, and tears knock at the door, and these instant and continued, for such must even united prayer be.

3. For, which the more moved and compelled me to write this Epistle unto you, ye ought to know, (since the Lord has deigned to manifest and reveal it,) that it was thus declared in a vision^f, "Ask, and ye shall have." Next, the people who stood by were enjoined to intercede for certain persons pointed out to them. In doing this however there issued forth discordant voices and opposite desires, and this exceedingly displeased Him Who had said, "Ask, and ye shall have," because the people agreed not in their prayers, nor was there among the brethren one uniform consent and blended harmony, seeing it is written, *God maketh men to be of one mind in a house*; and we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that *the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and of one soul*; and the Lord hath charged us

^e satisfacimus, see Note K. on Tert. p. 369. Oxf. Tr.

^f S. Cyprian, out of humility, in communicating his visions, almost throughout, uses indefinite words, avoiding whatever might explicitly declare that it was himself to whom they were vouchsafed. This will clear up whatever indistinctness there may any where be in the relation. Thus in this place, S. Cyprian seems to have

seen a solemn assembly in which he was surrounded by his people. He himself was first bidden, "ask, and ye shall receive;" next, the people around him ("plebs assistens" as "qui nobis assidebant," Ep. i.) were enjoined to unite their intercessions, as was usual in behalf of the lapsed. The only exception in which S. Cyprian names himself, is when he was censured. below, §. 5.

Epist. with His own voice, saying, *This is My commandment, that*
N.L. *ye love one another* ; and again, *I say unto you, that if two*
A. 250. *of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they*
John 15, *shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father Which is*
12. *in heaven.* But if two agreeing shall prevail so much,
Mat. 18, what, were there agreement among all? what if, in accord-
John 11, ance with the *peace*, which our Lord *gave* us, all the brethren
27. should agree? We had long since obtained of the Divine mercy what we ask for, nor should we be so long tossing in this peril of our salvation and our faith. Yea, rather, these evils would never have fallen upon the brethren, if the whole brotherhood had been of one mind.

4. For this also was shewn, how there sat the Father of a family, a Youth also sitting on His Right Hand, with a sorrowful countenance, His face leaning on His hand, and saddened with a mixture of anxiety and resentment. But another standing on His left side carried a net, which he made as if he would cast, to catch the people that stood
1 S. Cy- around; and when he who saw this¹ wondered what it
prian meant, it was said to him, that the Youth, who sat thus on
himself. the Right Hand, was grieved and sorrowed because His commands were not observed; and that he on the left hand exulted, because an opportunity was given him of obtaining from the Father of the family leave to destroy. This was shewn long before the storm of this present desolation arose. And now we have seen fulfilled what had been shewn, that whilst we despise the commandments of the Lord, whilst we observe not the salutary precepts of the law given us, the enemy gains a power to hurt; and by the cast of his net encloses us too ill-armed and off our guard to resist.

5. Be we instant in prayer, groaning with continual supplications. For know, dearest brethren, I was not long since reproved in a vision for this also, that we were drowsy in prayer, and watched not therein. Now the God Who
Heb. 12, *chasteneth whom He loveth*, when He chasteneth, chasteneth
6. that He may amend, amendeth that He may save. Let us therefore shake off and burst the bonds of sleepiness, and be instant and watch in prayer, as the Apostle Paul exhorts us,
Col. 4, 2. saying, *Continue in prayer, and watch in the same.* For Apostolic men also ceased not to pray day and night; and

our Lord Himself also, the Author of our rule of life, and *the Way* of our example, prayed often and with watching, as we read in the Gospel, *He went out into a mountain to pray*, Luke 6, *and continued all night in prayer to God:* and we may be ^{12.} assured that when He prayed, He prayed for us, since He Himself was not a sinner, but bore the sins of others. But so truly did He pray for us, that we read in another place, *And the Lord said to Peter, Behold, Satan hath desired to* Luke 22, 31. *have you, that he might sift you as wheat, but I have prayed* ^{32.} *for thee that thy faith fail not.* If He then both toiled and watched and prayed for us and for our sins, how much more ought we to be *instant in prayer* and supplication, and first of all to entreat the Lord Himself, and then through Him to make satisfaction^g to God the Father? We have an Advocate and Intercessor for our sins, Jesus Christ our Lord and God, if only we repent that we have sinned in time past, and, confessing and acknowledging our sins whereby we now offend the Lord, stedfastly purpose if but for the time to come to walk in His ways, and to stand in awe of His commandments.

6. The Father chastises and protects us, yet so as we are stedfast in the faith through tribulation and distress, clinging fast to His Christ, as it is written, *Who shall separate us* Rom. 8, *from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or* ^{35.} *persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?* None of these can separate believers, none can rend off those that cleave on to His Body and Blood. Such persecution is a sifting and searching of the breast. God would have us sifted and proved, as He has ever proved His own; nor yet when He hath tried, hath His aid ever failed believers.

7. Finally, for the least of all his servants, although set in the midst of very many sins^h, and unworthy of His favour, did He, out of His goodness towards us, give this chargeⁱ, “Bid him be secure, for peace is at hand^k: but for the short intervening

^g See note K. on Tert. p. 369 sqq. Oxf. Tr.

^h As Tert. calls himself, “*peccatorem omnium notarum*,” de pen. fin. F.

ⁱ To the Youth in the vision, for S. Cyprian.

^k At the time of this vision, there

was no human prospect of the cessation of the persecution; it did cease shortly after in consequence of the sudden and unexpected overthrow and death of Decius, in his expedition against the Goths. Dodwell (Diss. Cyp. iv.) gives the following instances of the continu-

EPIST. XI.
A. 250. delay, there are still some to be proved." But by these divine mercies we are admonished as to a sparing diet also and moderation in drinking, lest worldly enticements enervate our breasts, now lifted on high by strength from above, and the mind, weighed down by too abundant feasting, be less watchful unto prayer.

8. I ought not to conceal these several things, nor confine them to my own breast, for by them every one of us may be both instructed and guided. Nor should ye again keep this letter concealed among yourselves, but should communicate it to the brethren for perusal. For to intercept those things by which the Lord vouchsafes to admonish and instruct us, is the part of one who would not have his brother admonished and instructed. Let them know that we are being proved by our Lord, and never, for the severity of the present pressure, fall off from that faith whereby we have once believed in Him.

Eph. 4,
22.
Luke 9,
62.
Gen. 19,
26. 9. Let every one, reviewing his sins, even now *put off the conversation of the old man*. For *no man looking back, and putting his hand to the plough, is fit for the kingdom of God*¹. And Lot's wife, who having been freed looked back contrary to the command, forfeited her past deliverance. Let us not regard the things behind, whither the devil recalls, but the things before, whither Christ calls. Let us raise our eyes to heaven, that the earth seduce us not

ance of revelations between the Apostolic times and those of S. Cyprian; to S. Ignatius, of divisions in the Church, and how they were to be healed, (Ep. ad Philad. §. 9.) to S. Polycarp, as to the mode of his martyrdom, and throughout life, (Ep. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Eus. iv. 15.) to Quadratus, (Eus. iii. 37.) Ammia of Philadelphia and others, (Aster. Urb. ap. Eus. v. 17.) Alexander of Phrygia and Attalus, (Ep. Eccl. Vienn. et Lugd. ap. Eus. iv. 1 et 3.) Satorus et Perpetua (Acta Perpet. et Felic. Ruinart. p. 93.) and generally (Præf. ib. p. 93.) S. Justin M. speaks of them as still continuing in his own times, (Dial. c. Tryph. §. 82.) and the "spirit of foreknowledge" as still received, (ib. §. 39.) as does S. Irenæus, (among other gifts) of those who have foreknowledge of future events and visions and pro-

phetic sayings, (2. 32. [57.] 4.) (see also v. 6. 1. quoted Tert. de Præscr. c. 14. p. 448. not. h. Oxf. Ed.) Eusebius says (v. 3.) that "the very many and various wonderful works of the Divine grace, still wrought in different Churches in the time of Montanus and his companions, occasioned many to believe that they also prophesied." Asterius Urbanus, after the death of Maximilla, supposes that the prophetic gift would always continue in the Church. (ib. c. 17.) In the same period was S. Gregory Thaumaturgus; and the visions of S. Dionysius, related by himself, (ap. Eus. H. E. vi. 40. vii. 7.) are contemporary with S. Cyprian; both were by vision warned to flee in persecution.

¹ Luke 9, 62. Some Greek Mss. still keep this order. F.

by its delights and allurements. Let each one pray to God, not for himself only, but for all the brethren, even as the Lord taught us to pray, where He enjoins not to each a private prayer, but bade us, when we pray, to pray for all in one common prayer and unanimous supplication. If the Lord shall behold us humble and peaceable, closely united to each other, in awe of His wrath, corrected and amended by the present tribulation, He will place us in safety from the assaults of the enemy. Discipline hath led the way, pardon will follow. Let us only with simplicity and unanimity entreat the Lord, unceasing in asking, assured of receiving, adding to our entreaties groaning and tears, as they should entreat who are placed between the wailing heaps of the overthrown, and a remnant yet trembling, between a wide carnage of the fallen, and the small band of those yet firmly standing. Let us beg that peace be speedily restored, that aid be soon granted in our hidings and our perils, that those things be fulfilled which the Lord vouchsafeth to reveal to His servants, the restoration of the Church, the security of our salvation; after showers, a cloudless sky; after darkness, light; after storms and whirlwinds, a placid calm; the holy succours of Parental love, the wonted mighty works of Divine power, whereby both the blasphemy of persecutors may be repressed, the penitence of the lapsed be restored, and the bold and stedfast confidence of the persevering may glory.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and remember me. Salute the brotherhood in my name, and exhort them to remember us. Fare ye well.

EPISTLE XII.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren,
greeting.*

1. Though I know, dearest brethren, that you have been frequently admonished in my Epistles to shew all diligence towards those that, with glorious voice, have confessed the Lord, and are imprisoned for His sake; yet I must from time to time press it upon you, that nothing of care be

EPIST. wanting to those^m to whom nothing is wanting of glory.
XII.
A. 250. And would that the state of the city and my station would suffer me to be now with you: readily and gladly would I in my wonted ministry fulfil all the offices of love towards our most valiant brethren. But I pray you let your diligence take the place of my duty, and do all things that ought to be done towards those over whom the Divine favour hath shed lustre by such high degrees of faith and courage. To the bodies of those too, who, though they were not tortured in prison, yet depart by the outlet of a glorious death, let there be shewn a more affectionate watchfulness and care. For their courage or honour is not the less, so as to hinder their being admitted into the company of the blessed martyrs. As far as in them lay, they endured whatsoever they were prepared and ready to endure. He who hath offered himself to torture and to death under the Eyes of God, has suffered whatever he was willing to suffer. For he was not wanting to the torture, but the

Mat. 10, 32. torture to him. *Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father Which is in*

ver. 22. *heaven, saith the Lord. These did confess Him. He that endureth unto the end shall be saved, saith the Lord. These have endured; the untainted and unspotted merits of their courage carried them even to the end. Again it is written,*

Rev. 2, 10. *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.* These have continued *faithful unto death*, stedfast, and invincible. When to our willingness and confession in prison and in bonds is added the termination of death, the glory of martyrdom is perfected.

2. Moreover, mark the days on which they depart, that we may celebrate their memories among the commemorations of the martyrs: although indeed Tertullus, our most faithful and devoted brother, besides his other solicitude and care which he shews to the brethren in all sorts of service, (and who moreover is not behind-hand in the care of their remains,) hath written and still writes, and acquaints me with the days on which our blessed brethren in prison pass by the way of a glorious death to immortality; and oblations and sacrifices in commemoration of them are here celebrated

by us, which, the Lord protecting, we shall soon celebrate with you. To the poor also, (as I have often written word before,) let no care or attention on your part be wanting, to those at least who, standing in the faith, and boldly fighting on our side, have not deserted the camp of Christ; to whom indeed we should now shew greater love and care, since neither driven by poverty, nor cast down by the storm of persecution, they serve faithfully with the Lord, and have given to the other poor also an example of faith.

Dearest brethren, and much longed for, I bid you ever heartily farewell, and that ye remember me. Salute the brotherhood in my name. Farewell.

EPISTLE XIII.

*Cyprian to Rogatianus the Presbyter, and the other
Confessors, his brethren, greeting.*

1. Both heretofore, dearest and most courageous brethren, have I sent you Epistles, wherein I congratulated your faith and valour with words of exultation; and now again my voice findeth no gladlier utterance, than with joyous heart repeatedly and ever to declare the glory of your name. For what wish could I form higher, or better, than this, that I see the flock of Christ illumined by the honour of your confession? for whereas all the brethren must needs rejoice in this, the greatest share in the common joy must be the Bishop's. For the glory of the Church is the glory of the Prelate. In proportion as we grieve over those, whom the hostile storm has thrown down, do we rejoice over you, whom the devil has not been able to overcome.

2. I exhort you however by our common faith, by the true and sincere affection of my heart for you, that ye, who have overcome the adversary in this first encounter, uphold your glory by a brave and persevering constancy. We are still in the world, still engaged in warfare, daily do we fight for our lives. You must use diligence, that after these beginnings there be the increase also, and that that may be perfected in you which ye have already, with such blessed openings, begun. It is little to have been able to attain any thing,

EPIST. XIII. it is more to be able to keep what you have attained. Just
A. 250. as both the faith itself, and saving birth¹, not received merely,
† Bap- but guarded, giveth life. Neither does the attainment of
tism. itself, but its being worked out to completion, keep a man
unto God. The Lord taught this in His ministry, saying,
John 5, *Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse*
14. *thing come unto thee.* Suppose Him now saying this to His
Confessor, “Behold, thou art made a Confessor, sin no more,
lest a worse thing come unto thee.” Solomon moreover, and
Saul, and many others, as long as they walked in the ways of
the Lord, were able to retain the grace given unto them;
when they left the Lord’s discipline, His grace also left
them. We must persevere in the straight and narrow path
to praise and glory: and since meekness and humility, and
the even tenor of a good life is suitable to all Christians,
Is. 66, 2. according to the word of the Lord, Who *looketh to no one,*
but him that is humble, and meek, and that trembleth at
His word, so it especially behoves you Confessors to observe
and fulfil this, who have been set as an example to the rest
of the brethren, as such whose conduct all ought to be
provoked to follow in their lives and actions. For as the
Rom. 2, *Jews, through whom the Name of God is blasphemed among*
24. *the Gentiles,* are become aliens from God; so contrariwise
they are dear to God, through whose obedience the Name of
the Lord is magnified by a testimony to His praise; as it is
Matt. 5, written, the Lord Himself fore-monishing and saying, *Let*
16. *your light so shine before men, that they may see your good*
works, and glorify your Father Which is in heaven. And
Philip. Paul the Apostle says, *Shine as lights in the world.* And
2, 15. Peter in like manner exhorts; *As strangers,* he says, *and*
1 Pet. 2, *pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the*
11. 12. *soul; having your conversation honest among the Gentiles;*
that, whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may,
by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify the
Lord. Which indeed, the most of you, to my joy, do take
heed to, and being made better by the honour of your very
confession, guard and uphold its glory by peaceable and
virtuous lives. But some, I hear, cast a stain on your
number, and undo the praise of a most excellent name
by their evil conversation: whom you yourselves also, as

tending and preserving your own honour, ought to reprove, and check, and correct. For how great a scandal is it to your name, when one of you spends his time in drunkenness and revelling; another returns to that country whence he was banished, and, being taken, perishes, not now as a Christian, but as a criminalⁿ. Some are puffed, and swell, I hear; though it is written, *Be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He also spare not thee.* Rom. 11, 20, 21. Our Lord was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth. *I am not rebellious, He says, neither do I gainsay. I gave My back to the smiters, and My cheeks to the palms of their hands: I hid not My face from shame and spitting.* Isa. 50, 5. 6. And dare any one now, living by Him and in Him, to lift up himself, and walk proudly, forgetting both the deeds which He did, and the commands which He delivered to us by Himself, or by His Apostles? But *if the servant is not greater than his Lord,* John 13, 16. they who follow the Lord, should in humility, and meekness, and silence, tread in His steps: for the more any one shall abase himself, the more exalted shall he be, for the Lord says, *He that is least among you, the same shall be great.* Luke 9, 48.

3. What next is that? how detestable must that seem to you, which I have heard with the deepest anguish and sorrow of mind! That there are not wanting those who by a base and infamous concubinage, yet more defile the temples of God, those members which had been sanctified after confession, and bathed in light^o, promiscuously mingling their beds with women's, wherein, though their consciences be free from actual guilt, yet in this alone their sin is great, that by their offence an example is given to the ruin of others¹. 1 see Ep.

4. Moreover there should be no contentions nor emulations⁴ among you, for the Lord left His peace to us, and it is written, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.* John 14, 27. Lev. 19, 18. Mat. 22, 39. Gal. 5, 15. From railing and reviling, I beseech you, abstain;

ⁿ For having returned from banishment, unpermitted.

^o Illustrata, φωτισθέντα, "enlightened." For martyrdom is a Baptism of blood. [F.] Yet although the whole

man is enlightened by Baptism, it seems doubtful whether the term would be applied to his outward frame only. A middle term, however, has been chosen.

Epist. XIV.
A. 250.
1 Cor. 6, 10.
 for, *revilers shall not inherit the kingdom of God*; and the tongue that hath confessed Christ, must be kept whole and pure with its own honour. For he who, following the commandment of Christ, speaks things peaceable, and good, and righteous, daily confesses Christ. We had once renounced the world, when we were baptized. But now have we really renounced the world, when, tried and approved by God, forsaking all we have, we followed the Lord, and stand and live in His faith and fear.

† in vision, Ep. 11.
 5. Let us strengthen one another with mutual exhortations, and more and more advance in the Lord; that so, when of His mercy He shall give that peace, which He has promised¹ to give, we may return to the Church new and almost other men, and both our brethren and the heathens may find us in every thing corrected and reformed; and they who before admired our glory in our courage, may now admire the obedience in our lives. And although both some little while ago, when ye were still in prison², and now again I have written most fully to our Clergy, that whatever may be required either for your food or clothing be supplied, yet I myself also have sent you 250 pieces, out of the slender sum I had with me for my expenses; other 250 I had sent a little before. Victor also, lately a Reader, now a Deacon, who is with me, sent you 175. But it gladdens me to know that very many of our brethren, out of their affection, vie with each other, and by their contributions help your necessities.

¹see Ep. 5.
²see Ep. 5.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and remember me.

EPISTLE XIV.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren, greeting.

1. I had wished, dearest brethren, that my Epistles should greet all my Clergy stedfast and in safety. But since this adverse storm, which overthrew the greater portion of my people, hath added this accumulation also to my sorrows, that its desolating sway has reached a portion of the Clergy too; I pray the Lord, that you at least, who, I learn, stand fast both in faith and courage, I may, by the Divine mercy, henceforward greet in safety also. And although some

motives would persuade me, that I should hasten to you in person, as, first, my desire and longing towards you, which is my highest wish ; and next, that we may consider together, and after they have, with counsel of many, been examined, may adjust accurately those matters regarding the government of the Church, which the common weal requires: nevertheless it has appeared better to continue still for a while in retirement and quiet, out of regard to other considerations which concern the peace and safety of us all, whereof our very dear brother Tertullus¹ will give you an account; who ^{1 Ep. 12. §. 2.} in addition to his other forethought, which he employs most intensely on the things of God, was also the author of this advice, that I should be cautious and temperate, nor rashly expose myself to public view, especially in that place where I had been so frequently demanded² and sought out. Relying ^{2 Ep. 20 init.} then on your love and fidelity, which I know so well, I both exhort and charge you by this Epistle, that ye, whose presence there is no way invidious, and by no means so dangerous, act in my stead in performing those things which the government of the Church requires.

2. Meanwhile, let as much care as possible and in every possible way be taken of the poor ; of such, I mean, as have stood in unshaken faith, and have not deserted the flock of Christ; that means be supplied to them, through your diligence, to support them in their poverty, lest what the persecution effected not as regards their faith, want should effect as regards their necessities. To the glorious Confessors also let a more affectionate care be shewn. And although I know that very many of these have been supported by the vowed affection^a of brethren ; yet if there are any, who are in need of either clothing or supplies, (as I formerly wrote you word, while they were still in prison,) let them be supplied with whatever is necessary, only let them know, and be instructed by you, what, according to the lessons of Scripture, ecclesiastical discipline requires of them ; to be humble, modest, and quiet, that they may retain the honour of their name, and they who

^a “ Perhaps those called in the early Church *Parabolani*.” [F.] The earliest mention of these is A.D. 415, yet as a body previously existing, charged with the care of the sick poor, and deriving

their name from the perils of their office through contagion. Those here mentioned seem to have been under a vow, “ *fratrum voto et dilectione suscepti*.”

EPIST. XIV. have gained glory by their confession, may gain glory by
 A. 250. their lives also: let them make themselves worthy, that, in
 all things seeking the favour of the Lord, they may in the
 consummation of their praise attain unto the heavenly crown.
 For more remaineth than what seemeth accomplished, in that
 Ecclus. 11, 28. it is written, *Praise no man before his death.* And again,
 Rev. 2, *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of*
 10. *life.* And the Lord also says, *He that endureth to the end,*
 Mat. 10, *the same shall be saved.*
 22.

3. Let them imitate the Lord, Who, at the very season of His
 Passion, shewed greater humility, not pride. For then He
 John 13, washed His disciples' feet, saying, *If I, your Lord and*
 14. 15. *Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one*
another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye
should do as I have done to you. Let them follow also the
 example of the Apostle Paul, who after oft-repeated imprison-
 ment, after scourgings, after exposure to wild beasts, in all
 things continued meek and humble; nor after he had been
 caught up to the third heaven and paradise, did he proudly
 2 Thess. 3, 8. assume ought to himself, saying, *Neither did we eat any*
man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and
travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to
any of you.

4. These several things, I entreat you, instil into our
 brethren. And since he that humbleth himself shall be
 exalted, now it is that they should the more fear the
 snares of the adversary, who the more vehemently attacks
 the stronger, and, becoming the more fierce because he is
 conquered, endeavours to vanquish his victor. May the
 Lord grant that I may both see them soon again, and by
 wholesome exhortations settle their minds to maintain the
 glory they have won. For I grieve when I hear that some
 of them wickedly and proudly run to and fro, and give
 themselves up to folly and discord; that they defile by illicit
 concubinage the members of Christ, which have already
 confessed Christ; nor will be ruled by the Deacons or
 Presbyters, but, by the evil lives of a few, cause the honour
 and glory of many and good confessors to be tarnished; of
 whom they ought rather to stand in awe, lest, condemned by
 their testimony and judgment, they be excluded from their

fellowship. For he is in the end an illustrious and true confessor, on account of whom the Church afterwards is not ashamed, but glories.

5. As regards the matter whereon our fellow-Presbyters, Donatus and Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius, wrote to me, I could give no answer by myself; in that from the beginning of my Episcopacy I resolved to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice and the concurrence of the people; but when, by the grace of God, I shall have come to you, we will consult together of the things which either have been, or are to be, done, as besecms our respective stations.

I bid you, most dear and much longed for brethren, ever heartily farewell; and be mindful of me. The brotherhood, that is with you, greet much from me; and bid them remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XV.

Cyprian to the Martyrs and Confessors, his very dear brethren, greeting.

1. The anxiety of my station, and the fear of the Lord, oblige me, most valiant and most blessed Martyrs, to admonish you by my Epistles, that they, by whom faith in the Lord is so devotedly and valiantly maintained, ought moreover to maintain the law and discipline of the Lord. For as it behoves all the soldiers of Christ to guard the injunctions of their Commander, so it is more in keeping, that ye should more diligently obey His precepts, in that ye have been made an example to the rest, both of constancy, and of the fear of God. And I had trusted indeed that the Presbyters and Deacons, who are with you, were advising and instructing you most fully in the law of the Gospel, as was ever done in times past under my predecessors; that the Deacons visiting the prisons, by their advice and by precepts from the Scriptures, guided the requests of the Martyrs. But now with the utmost pain of mind I learn, that the divine precepts so far from being suggested there to you, are even hindered, so that the very things which are done of your-

Epist. XV. A. 250. selves, as regards God, cautiously, and as regards God's priest, respectfully, are undone by certain Presbyters, who consider neither the fear of God, nor the honour of the Bishop. For whereas you sent letters to me, wherein you desired that your requests might be examined, and peace granted to certain lapsed, at such time as, the persecution having ended, we should have begun to meet with our Clergy, and to be re-assembled; they, contrary to the law of the Gospel, contrary also to your respectful petition, before penance undergone, before confession made of their most grievous and extreme sin, before imposition of hands by the Bishops and Clergy in token of their repentance, dare to make oblations for them, and to give them the Eucharist, that is, to profane the sacred Body of the Lord; though it is written, *Whoever shall eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.*

1 Cor.
11, 27.

2. The lapsed indeed may be excused in this. For who that is dead in sin would not hasten to obtain life? Who would not hurry to arrive at his own salvation? But it belongs to those set over them to observe the commandment, and to instruct their haste or their ignorance, lest they who should be shepherds of the sheep become their slayers. For to concede these things, which turn to destruction, is to deceive. Nor so is the fallen raised, but rather by the offence against God is thrust headlong into ruin. Let them then learn, if even from you, what they should have taught you. Let them keep your petitions and requests for the Bishop, and wait for fit and settled times to grant peace on your entreaty. It cometh first, that the mother receive peace from the Lord, then that your desires for the peace of her sons be considered. And whereas I hear, most valiant and most dear brethren, that you are importuned by the shamelessness of some, and that your modesty suffers violence; I entreat you with all possible earnestness, that, mindful of the Gospel, and considering what and what sort of concessions the Martyrs before you made, how anxious they were in all cases, you also would anxiously and cautiously weigh the requests of your petitioners; since, as friends of the Lord, and hereafter to judge with Him, ye must look

into the behaviour, and works, and deserts of every one; ye must examine also the kind and quality of their several sins, lest if any thing should have been hastily and unworthily either promised by you, or confirmed by us, our Church should have occasion to blush before the very Gentiles. For we are frequently visited¹ and rebuked, and admonished to keep the commandments of the Lord pure^{1 in vi-} and inviolate; which I know also still ceaseth not among sions you, so that the Divine judgment instructs very many of you also in the discipline of the Church.

3. But all this can be ordered, if ye would restrain the petitions made to you with a devout regard to religion; discovering and checking those, who either having respect to persons, shew partiality in distributing your favours, or seek profit from an illicit traffic. On this matter I have written both to the Clergy and the people, both² which^{2 Epp. 16, 17.} Epistles I have desired should be read to you. In this too ye ought to correct and conform the practice to your own carefulness, designating by name those to whom ye desire peace to be granted. For I hear that to some such letters as these are given, "Let such an one with his friends be admitted to communion." Which was never in any instance done by the Martyrs, so that an uncertain and blind petition should hereafter heap odium upon us. For it leaves a wide opening when it is said, "Such an one with his friends;" for twenty, or thirty, or more may be brought to us, who may be declared to be the relatives and kindred, freedmen and domestics of him that receives the letter. Therefore I beg of you, that those whom ye yourselves see, whom ye know, whose penitence you behold approaching very near to a full amends, you would designate by name in the letter, and so address your letters to us agreeably to the faith and to discipline.

Most valiant and most beloved brethren, I wish you ever farewell in the Lord, and that ye remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XVI.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren, greeting.

1. Long have I patiently endured, dearest brethren, in hopes that my forbearing silence would tend to quietness. But since the immoderate and headlong presumption of certain persons threatens by its temerity to confound the honour of the Martyrs, the modesty of the Confessors, and the tranquillity of the whole people; I may not longer hold my peace, lest my too great silence should lead alike to the peril of the people and of ourselves. For what peril must we not fear from the displeasure of the Lord, when some of the Presbyters, mindful neither of the Gospel, nor of their own station, and moreover nothing heeding the future Judgment of the Lord, nor the Bishop now set over them, do that which was never at any time attempted under our predecessors, with contempt and dishonour of the Bishop arrogate sole authority to themselves?

2. Would that they did not arrogate this to the utter overthrow of our brethren's safety. Contumely to my Episcopal authority I could dissemble and endure as I ever have dissembled and endured it: but now there is no room for dissembling; when our brethren are deceived by some of you, who, not having the means of restoring them to salvation, desire to please, and so do injure the lapsed still more. For that it is a most heinous sin, which the persecution has forced them to commit, themselves know who have committed it; since our Lord and Judge has said, *Mat. 10, 33. Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny Me, him will I also deny.* And again He has said, *Mark 3, 28, 29. All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies; but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, shall not have forgiveness, but is guilty of eternal sin.* The blessed Apostle has also said; *1 Cor. 10, 21. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be par-*

reus est æterni peccati; so some [F.] so also Copt. Arm. Goth. Vulg. It. Greek copies have ἀμαρτίας [D. or (exe. Brix. Tol.) S. Ath. S. Aug. ap. ἀμαρτήματος E.L.] instead of κρίσις. Scholz.

takers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils. He that conceals these words from our brethren, deceives them unhappy; that, whereas by undergoing due penance they might by their prayers and good works appease God as a Father and Merciful, they are seduced to perish more utterly; and they, who might have raised themselves again, fall still lower. For whereas in lesser sins sinners do penance for an appointed time, and, according to the rules of discipline, come to confession^r, and by laying on of hands of the Bishop and Clergy, recover the right of communion; now, while their time is unfinished, the persecution still continues, the peace of the Church itself not yet restored, they are admitted to communion, their names are offered: and, penance not yet performed, confession not yet made, the hands of the Bishops and Clergy not yet laid upon them, the Eucharist is given to them, whereas it is written, *Whosoever shall* ^{1 Cor.} *eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall* ^{11, 27.} *be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.*

3. They however are not so guilty, who are less acquainted with the law of Scripture; but they will be guilty, who, being in authority, do not suggest these things to the brethren, that so, being instructed by those set over them, they may do all things in the fear of God, and with the observance established and prescribed by Him. Moreover they expose the blessed Martyrs to odium; and entangle the glorious servants of God with the Priest of God; for though mindful of my station, they have addressed letters to me, and entreated that their requests should be then examined, and peace granted, when our Mother the Church should herself first, through the Lord's mercy, have obtained peace, and the Divine protection have brought me back to His Church; yet these Presbyters, setting aside the honour, which the blessed Martyrs with the Confessors retain towards me, despising the law of the Lord, and that observance which the same Martyrs and Confessors charge them to keep, before the fear of persecution is extinguished, before my return, nay almost before the departure of the Martyrs themselves, they, I say, communicate with the lapsed, and offer the Oblation, and give them the holy Eucharist: though

^r exomologesis, see on Tertull. de penit. not. L, p. 376.

Epist. XVII. A. 250. even if the Martyrs, in the fervour of their glory, should gaze less steadily on the words of Scripture, and desire somewhat more, they should be reminded by the Presbyters and Deacons, as was always heretofore done. Wherefore the divine censure ceases not to chastise us by night and day, for besides nightly visions, by day also the innocent age^s of children among us is filled with the Holy Ghost, and in ecstacy they see with their eyes, and hear, and speak those things wherein the Lord vouchsafes to admonish and instruct us. But ye shall hear all when the Lord, Who bade me retire, shall bring me back to you. Meanwhile let certain rash, and incautious, and swelling persons among you, *who fear not God nor regard man*, be assured, that if they shall longer persevere in the same, I will use that admonition which the Lord bids me use; so that they shall be restrained meanwhile from offering, and have to plead their whole cause both before me and the Confessors themselves and the whole people, when, by permission of the Lord, we shall begin to be re-assembled in the bosom of our Mother the Church. I have written on this to the Martyrs and Confessors, and to the people, both which Epistles I have desired should be read to you.

Luke 18, 2.

Most dear brethren, and much longed for, I wish you ever heartily farewell in the Lord, and that ye remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XVII.

Cyprian to his brethren of the Laity, who stand fast in the faith, greeting.

2 Cor. 11, 29. How ye lament and grieve over the fall of our brethren, I know from myself, dearest brethren, who also lament and grieve with you for each of them, and suffer and feel what the blessed Apostle said; *Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?* And again in his Epistle 1 Cor. 12, 26. he writes, *Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer*

^s This expression was adduced (de Bapt. c. 28. p. 277. n. o. Oxf. Tr.) to illustrate one of Tertullian; S. Cyprian however qualifies and corrects his "master's" expression; for in 'T. it is used of mere absence of actual sin in

unbaptized children; in St. C., of baptismal purity. S. Jerome (in Is. 12, 16.) uses it in a popular way, "non innoxie pareitor ætati," but T. allows himself, for the time, to found an argument upon it.

with it; or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it. I too suffer and grieve for our brethren, who having lapsed and fallen prostrate under the violence of the persecution, have torn away part of our bowels with them, and inflicted equal pain on us through their wounds: which the Divine mercy is able to remedy. But we, I think, must not be hasty, nor do any thing incautiously and hurriedly; lest the rash seizure of reconciliation provoke the more heavily the Divine displeasure. The blessed Martyrs have written to me about certain persons, requesting that their desires may be considered. When peace is first given to us all by the Lord, and we have begun to return to the Church, each case shall be examined in your presence, and with aid of your judgment. I hear however that some of the Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor considering what the Martyrs have written to me, nor reserving to the Bishop the honour due to his priesthood and chair, have already begun to communicate with the lapsed, and to offer the Oblation for them, and to give them the holy Eucharist, whereas they ought by a due course to attain hereto. For since in lesser offences, which are not committed against God^t, penance is done for an appointed time, and confession made, with enquiry into the life of him who is doing penance, nor may any come to communion, except hands shall first have been laid on him by the Bishop and Clergy, how much more in these most grievous and extremest sins, ought all things to be observed, with caution and reserve, according to the discipline of the Lord! This our Presbyters and Deacons ought indeed to have advised you, that so they might tend the sheep committed to them, and instruct them in the way of attaining salvation according to the Divine appointment. I know both the meekness and the fear of our people, that they would have been watchful in appeasing and deprecating the wrath of God, had not certain of the Presbyters, in order to please, deceived them. Do then even ye

^t Directly, as in the denial of the Faith, and so involving all others, (whence Tert. calls idolatry, "the primary offence of the human race, the chief guilt of the world, the whole ground of Judgment." de Idol. init. and St. C. Ep. 36 init. "such an exceeding and immeasurable crime.")

S. Jerome uses the word "levius," l. vii. in Is. c. 18. "For compared with blasphemy, every sin is lighter." There is no reference then here to venial sins. See on this passage note L. on Tertullian, t. i. p. 377. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. guide them individually^a, and by your advice and restraint
XVIII. temper the minds of the lapsed in accordance with the divine
A. 250. precepts. Let no one gather prematurely a bitter fruit. Let no one before he have carefully repaired it, again entrust to the deep his ship shattered and broken by the waves. Let no one hasten to recover and clad himself in a tattered garment, until he have seen it mended by a skilful workman, and have received it dressed from the hands of the fuller. I pray they may listen patiently to our advice, await our return, that when, by the mercy of God, we shall come to you, having summoned several of my colleagues, we may, after the discipline of the Lord and in the presence of the Confessors, and your judgments also had^s, examine the letters and requests of the blessed Martyrs. On this subject I have written to the Clergy, and to the Martyrs and Confessors, both which Epistles I have desired to be read to you.

Dearest brethren, and much longed for, I wish you ever farewell in the Lord, and that ye remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XVIII.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren^s, greeting.

I wonder, dearest brethren, that ye have never replied to the many Epistles I have repeatedly written to you; though both the interests and needs of our brotherhood would so be best ordered, if, being informed by you, I might so give more accurate advice as to the things to be done. Since however I see that there is as yet no opening for my coming to you, and summer has already begun, a season troubled with continual and severe sicknesses, I think that the cases of our brethren should be met; so that they, who have received letters from the Martyrs, and may be helped by

^a The pastoral office being towards congregations, that of the laity to individuals.

^s Conc. Carth. iv. can. 23. "Let not the Bishop hear the cause of any, save in the presence of the Clergy and people," add Ep. 44. fin. 19, 30, 31, 31.

67. S. Clem. Ep. i. §. 44. f. Ben.

^y An ancient Ms. says, "at Capua." An African Capua is also probably intended, Can. Eccl. Afr. can. 48. as also in the fragment published by Bp. F. (sheet h. infr.) Ben.

their privilege with God, if they are seized with any ailment or danger of sickness, may, without waiting for my presence, make confession of their sin before any Presbyter at hand, or if a Presbyter shall not be found, and death approaches, then even before a Deacon; that so receiving imposition of hands unto repentance, they may go to the Lord with that peace, which the Martyrs in their letters to me have requested for them. The rest of the people too that have lapsed, do you cherish by your presence: and that they abandon not the faith and the Lord's mercy, do you cheer them by your consolation; for neither, if, meek and humble and truly doing penance, they shall continue in good works, will they be left without the help and aid of the Lord, so that they too shall not be holpen by divine remedies. To the Catechumens also, should any be overtaken by sudden danger, and be near their end, let not your vigilance be wanting, nor let the mercy of the Lord be denied to them that implore the Divine grace.

Dearest brethren, I bid you ever heartily farewell, and be mindful of me. Greet the whole brotherhood in my name, and admonish and beg them to remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XIX.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren,
greeting.*

I have read your letter, dearest brethren, wherein you write that you have not failed in wholesome counsel to our brethren, that, laying aside indiscreet haste, they should wait reverently and patiently for God: that so, when through His mercy we shall have come together, we may consult on all matters conformably to Ecclesiastical discipline; especially in that it is written; *Remember from whence thou art* Rev. 2, *fallen, and repent.* But he repents, who, meek and patient,^{5.} mindful of the divine precepts, and obeying the Priests of God, deserves well of the Lord by his submission and righteous works. Since however you inform me that some are too forward, and urgently press to receive communion; and you desire me to give you some regulation in this

EPIST.
 XX.
 A. 250.

 matter; I think that I wrote fully enough on this subject in my last Epistle, that they who have received letters from the Martyrs, and may by their aid be holpen with the Lord amid their sins, if they begin to be sore pressed by any sickness or peril, may (after they have confessed and received imposition of hands from you) be remitted unto the Lord with the peace promised them by the Martyrs. But for the rest, who, not having obtained letters from the Martyrs, complain invidiously; since this is a case that concerns not a few, nor one Church, nor one Province, but the whole world, let them await from the protection of the Lord the public peace of the Church itself. For this is becoming to the modesty and discipline and character of us all; that the Bishops meeting with the Clergy, and in the presence of the laity who stand fast, to whom also, for their faith and fear, honour is to be shewn, may settle all things with the due reverence of common consultation. But how irreverent is it, and pernicious even to those who are thus urgent, if, when those who were banished and driven from their country, and spoiled of all their goods, have not yet returned to the Church, some of the lapsed hasten to anticipate the Confessors themselves, and to enter the Church before them. If too they are in so great haste, they have what they require in their own power, the state of things itself offering them more than they ask. The battle is still waging; the lists are daily held; if they truly and firmly repent of the deed, and the fervour of their faith is vehement; whosoever cannot brook delay, may be crowned.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and that ye remember me. Greet the whole brotherhood in my name, and exhort them to remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XX.

*Cyprian to his brethren the Presbyters and Deacons
 assembled at Rome, greeting.*

I. Whereas I have learnt, dearest brethren, that what I have done, and am now doing, has been reported to you without due straightforwardness and fidelity, I have thought it neces-

sary to write this Epistle to you, wherein an account might be given you of my acts, discipline, and diligence. For, as the commandments of the Lord^z direct, as soon as the first onset of disturbance arose, and the populace with violent clamour demanded me^{zz}, I, not regarding so much my own safety, as the general quiet of the brethren, withdrew for a while; lest, by my obstinate presence, the sedition, which had begun, should be more exasperated. Yet, though *absent*^{1 Cor.} *in body*, neither *in spirit*, nor act, nor advice was I wanting,^{5, 3.} so as to fail to consult, for my brethren, to the best of my poor ability, wherein I could, according to the injunctions of the Lord. What I have done, my Epistles will tell you, which I sent, as occasion required, to the number of thirteen, and which I have transmitted to you. In these neither advice to the Clergy, nor exhortation to the Confessors, nor reproofs, when necessary, to the banished¹, nor addresses and per-^{1 Ep. 13.} suasions to the whole brotherhood that they entreat the mercy of God, were wanting on my part; so far as according to the law of faith, and the fear of God, my poor ability was able to endeavour, the Lord suggesting. But after, when the torture came, my counsel found its way both to our brethren who had already been tortured, and to those still imprisoned that they might be tortured, in order to strengthen and confirm them. Moreover when I discovered that such as had defiled their hands and lips with sacrilegious contact^a, or had at least polluted their conscience with impious certificates^b, were canvassing the Martyrs every where, and were also corrupting the Confessors with importunate and fulsome entreaties, so that, without any discrimination or enquiry into the several cases, thousands of letters were daily given against the rules of the Gospel, I wrote Epistles whereby, to the utmost of my power, to recall the Martyrs and Confessors by my counsel to the Lord's precepts. Towards the Presbyters and Deacons also the vigour of the priestly authority was not wanting, so that some, less mindful of discipline, and who with a precipitate rashness had already begun to receive

^z Matt. 10, 23. see on Ep. 31. p. 71.
n. b.

^{zz} For the lions, see Ep. 14. §. 1. Life,
§. 8. p. viii. Oxf. Tr. Tert. de Spect. c.
26. and note r.

^a By sacrificing, or eating things
sacrificed.

^b The Libellatici, see de Laps. §. 17.
p. 170. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. the lapsed to communion, were checked by my interposition.
 XX. I have also, as much as I could, composed the minds of the
 A. 250. people, and have instructed them that Ecclesiastical discipline
 must be upheld.

2. But afterwards, when some of the lapsed, either of their
 own accord, or some one inciting them, broke out into bold
 demands, so as to endeavour to extort by violence the peace
 promised them by the Martyrs and Confessors, I twice wrote
 on this subject also to the Clergy, and ordered my Epistles to
 be read to them, directing, (if so I might by any means
 mitigate their violence at present,) that any who, having
 received letters from the Martyrs, were departing this life,
 should, having confessed, and received imposition of hands
 unto repentance, be remitted to the Lord with the peace
 promised them by the Martyrs. Nor in this did I lay down
 a law, or rashly make myself its author. But whereas it
 seemed right that both honour should be shewn to the
 Martyrs, and yet the violence of those, who desired to throw
 every thing into confusion, be checked, and moreover, having
 read your letter, lately sent to my Clergy through Crementius
 the Subdeacon, to the effect that those should be holpen
 who, having lapsed, were seized with sickness, and who
 repenting desired communion—I thought it right to abide
 by what was your opinion also, lest our conduct in the
 Ministry, which ought to be united and to agree in all things,
 should in some respect differ. As to the cases of the rest,
 notwithstanding they have received letters from the Martyrs,
 I ordered them to be entirely deferred; and to be reserved
 until my return: that so, when the Lord shall have vouch-
 safed us peace, and several Bishops shall have met together,
 we may, with the assistance of your counsel also, set in order
 and restore every thing.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XXI.

Celerinus to Lucianus, greeting.

As I write this to you, my lord and brother, I am both glad and sorrowful; glad in that I have heard you are imprisoned for the Name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and have confessed His Name before the magistrates of this world; sorrowful, in that since I accompanied you, I have never been able to receive a letter from you. And just now a double sorrow weighs upon me; for that although you knew that Montanus, our common brother, was coming from you out of prison to me, yet you have not signified to me how you fare, or what is being done about you. This, indeed, usually happens to the servants of God, especially to those who are set for the confession of Christ. For I know that each one no longer regards the things of the world, in that he hopes for a heavenly crown. For I have said that perhaps you have forgotten to write to me. For, if I, out of the lowest place, may be named to thee as thine, or as brother, if I am worthy of the name of Celerinus—still when I too was in the same empurpled confession, I remembered my oldest brethren: and I mentioned them in my Epistles, and that their ancient dearness still continued with me, and mine. However, dearest brother, I pray the Lord that if you should be first washed in that sacred Blood, and have suffered for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, before my Epistle reaches you in this world; or now should it reach you, that you would write in answer to me. So may He crown you, Whose Name you have confessed. For I believe that although we see not each other in this world, yet in that to come we shall embrace in the presence of Christ. Beg that I too may be worthy to be crowned in your number. Know, however, that I am set in great tribulation, and night and day so call to mind your ancient affection, as if you were present with me, God alone knoweth. Therefore I beg of you to grant my

* Both this Epistle and the answer seem written by persons little versed in writing, Confessors probably of the less instructed sort. (see Ep. 15 and 27. §. 1.) The meaning given is in some few places conjectural.

EPIST. request, and mourn with me over the death of my sister, who
 XXI. in this time of desolation has fallen from Christ. For she
 A. 250. has sacrificed, and provoked the anger of the Lord: this is manifest to us. For whose deeds I, in this period of Easter joy, weeping day and night, have in sackcloth and ashes spent my days in tears, and still spend them to this present day, until aid be given by our Lord Jesus Christ, and pity obtained through you or through those my Masters who shall have been crowned, from whom you will entreat, that these dreadful wrecks of the Faith may be pardoned; for I bear in mind your ancient affection, so that you will grieve with all for our sisters, whom you also know well, I mean, Numeria and Candida; for whose sins, since they have us as brethren, we ought to hold watch. For I believe that Christ will have respect to their repentance and good works, which they have done towards our colleagues in banishment who have come from you, from whom too you will hear of their works:—I believe, I say, that Christ will pardon them on the entreaty of you His Martyrs. For I hear that you have received the ministry of those that have confessed unto blood. Happy thou! to fulfil those wishes which thou always longedst for; ever sleeping on the ground. Thou hast wished to be imprisoned for His Name, which has now befallen thee, as it is written, *The Lord grant thee according to thine own heart.*

Fr. 20, 4. And now made a priest of God over them, yet the same their minister^d, hath reviewed the case. Therefore, my lord, I beg and entreat by our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would refer the matter to the rest, your colleagues, your brethren, my lords, and entreat of them, that whoever of you shall first be crowned, will remit that so great sin, to those our sisters Numeria and Candida. Moreover, this latter I have ever called Etecura^e, God is my witness, because she gave money for herself that she might not sacrifice; but she seems only to have gone up to the *Tria Fata*^f, and after

^d The text is probably corrupt, *Et nunc super ipsos factus antistes Dei recognovit idem minister*. The context bears out some such contrast, that Lucianus was set over the other martyrs, but ministered to them.

^e Dodw. supposes Etecura to be Candida, so called in the sense of ἀτυχούσα "unhappy," or ἀκούσα "unwilling."

The sense might be that he had not now only, but ever, thought her guilt less deep. Rig. renders, "For Etecura herself I ever called back," i. e. from sacrificing, in which however "semper" seems to have no force.

^f near the Forum, on the way to the Capitol.

that to have come down. I know therefore that she has not sacrificed. When their cause was lately heard, the ruling Presbyters bade them wait as they are, until a Bishop^e is appointed. But as far as you may by your holy prayers and petitions, in which we confide, since ye are friends, and moreover witnesses of Christ, that you will indulge us in all things—I entreat therefore, dearest lord, Lucianus, that you would remember me, and grant my petition. So may Christ confer upon you that holy crown, which He has given you not only in confession, but also in holiness of life, wherein you have ever run, and been an example to the saints, and ever a witness. I entreat that you will refer this matter to all my lords, your brethren, the Confessors, that these my sisters may obtain assistance from you. This too you should know, lord and brother, that not only do I entreat this for them, but Statius also, and Severianus, and all the Confessors, who have come hither from you, to whom these our sisters went down in the harbour, and brought up to the city; wherein they have ministered to as many as sixty-five, and to this day tend them in all things. For all are with them. But I ought not to trouble your pious breast further, for I know the promptness of your will. Macarius greets you, with his sisters Cornelia and Emerita, who rejoice in your empurpled confession, and that of all the brethren, and Saturninus, who himself also has wrestled with the devil, and who has confessed the Name of Christ, and who boldly confessed when tortured by the grappling-irons, and who earnestly begs and entreats the same. Your brethren Calphurnius, and Maria, and all the holy brethren, greet you. This too you should know, that I have written also to my lords, your brethren, and I beg you would read my Epistle to them.

EPISTLE XXII.

Lucianus to Celerinus his lord, and if I am worthy so to be called, Colleague in Christ, greeting.

I have received your letter, most dearly beloved lord and brother, in which you have so overwhelmed me with obliga-

^e in place of Fabian.

EPIST. tions, that I was almost overset by excess of joy, so that your
 XXII. letter, which I too wished, after so long an interval, to read, in
 A. 250. which you deigned to make mention of me, I rejoiced above
 measure at reading, through the kindness of your so great
 condescension; who writing to me, say, "If I am worthy to
 be called your brother;" and this, of a man who confessed
 the Name of God with fear, before a more petty tribunal.
 For thou, by God's will, in thy confession didst not only
 drive back the great dragon himself, the pioneer^b of Anti-
 christ, [but] by that voice and those deific words, which I
 know, hast conquered, as a lover of the faith, and jealous
 for the doctrine of Christ, with that lively energy, which
 I know in you, wherein I rejoice that you abide. Now,
 dearest, already to be numbered among the Martyrs, thou
 hast been pleased to oppress me by thy letter, in which thou
 hast signified of our sisters; of whom would that the mention
 arose not in the commission of so great a crime. Then in truth
 we should not shed so many tears, as now. Thou shouldest
 know what has been done about us. When the blessed
 Martyr Paulus was still in the body, he called me, and said
 to me, "Lucian, I charge thee before Christ, that if any one
 shall ask peace of thee after I am summoned away, grant it
 in my name." Moreover all of us whom the Lord, in this
 so great tribulation, hath deigned to summon, all of us by
 mutual compact, have by our letters given peace to all.
 Thou seest then, brother, that part hereof Paulus hath en-
 joined to me; we too gave our sentence in behalf of all, of
 whom we also were in this tribulationⁱ, when we were com-
 manded, by the Emperor's order, to be put to death by
 hunger and thirst, and were shut up in two dungeons, that
 they might subdue us by hunger and thirst, and moreover
 by suffocation from smoke; and our distress was intolerable,
 such as no one could endure^k; but now we have attained to
 the very brightness itself^l. Therefore, dearest brother, greet

^b The Emperor Decius.

ⁱ This seems said in humility; the confessors and the lapsed were involved in one common trial, belonged to one body, and so the confessors might the rather be called upon to relieve the lapsed. In the former part of the sentence, Bp. Fell's text furnishes a comment on the obscurer Benedictine.

^k Sed et ignis vapore: et pressura nostra erat intolerabilis F. & Vat. sed et ignis ab opere pressuræ nostræ, Edd. et Bal.

^l A freer air, F. or it may be like, "Thou hast made us pass through fire and water, and broughtest us out into a wealthy place."

Numeria and Candida, who shall be^m according to the injunction of Paulus, and of the other Martyrs, whose names I subjoin; of Bassus, in the mines"; of Mappalicus, at the torture; of Fortunio, in prison; of Paulus, after the torture; of Fortunata, Victorinus, Victor, Herennius, Credula, Herena, Donatus, Firmus, Venustus, Fructus, Julia, Martial, and Aristo, who, by God's will, were starved to death in prison, to whom you will in a few days hear that we too are joined: for this day, wherein I write my letter, eight days have passed, since we have been again close imprisoned; and before those eight days, for five intervening days, we received a morsel of bread, and water by measure. Therefore, brother, I beg, that, as here, the Lord hath begun to give peace to the Church herself, not only these our sisters, but such others also whom you know to be near to our mind, may, according to the desire of Paulus, and our writing, having laid their causes before the Bishop, and made confession, have peace. All my Colleagues greet you; do you greet the Confessors of the Lord, who are there with you, whose names you mentioned; amongst whom are Saturninus with all his companions, but who is also my colleague, and Maris, Collecta, and Emerita, Calphurnius, and Maria, Sabina, Spesina, and the sisters, Januaria, Dativa, Donata. We greet Saturus with his family, Bassianus, and all the Clergy, Uranius, Alexius, Quintianus, Colonica, and all whose names I have not written, because I am now weary, therefore they must pardon me.

I heartily wish you well, Alexius, and Getulicus, and the money-changers, and the sisters. My sisters, Januaria and Sophia, greet you, whom I commend unto you.

EPISTLE XXIII.

All the Confessors to Pope Cyprian, greeting.

Know that we have granted peace to all of whose behaviour since the commission of their crime you are satisfied; and we desire, through you, to make known this decision to other Bishops also. We wish you to maintain

^m The sentence is probably unfinished.

ⁿ Bp. F. has been followed in receiving Rig.'s conjecture "petrario." It is

favoured by Vat. Lat. Grat. "in perario" or "imperario." The Edd. have pejerario, Bod. 1. pegrario, cod. Bal. pignerario.

EPIST. peace with the holy Martyrs. Lucianus wrote this, there
XXIV. being present, of the Clergy, an Exorcist and a Reader.
A. 250.

EPISTLE XXIV.

Caldonius to Cyprian, and his fellow-Presbyters at Carthage, greeting.

The necessity of the times requires that we do not rashly grant the peace of the Church. But I have thought fit to write to you, that they, who, after they had sacrificed, were put to the trial a second time, have been banished. They seem, therefore, to me to have purged their former sin, in that they leave possessions and houses, and, doing penance, follow Christ. For instance, Felix, one very near to me in bonds, (and whom I know very intimately,) who served in the office of presbyterⁿ under Decimus, Victoria his wife, and Lucius, all faithful, have been banished, and have left their property, which the Exchequer has now escheated. There is a woman also, by name Bona, who was dragged by her husband to sacrifice, who (conscious that she did not herself commit the crime, for they held her hands and themselves sacrificed) began to cry out against them, "I did it not, ye did it;" so she also was sent into banishment. When therefore all these asked for peace, saying, "We have recovered the Faith which we had lost, and have done penance, and have publicly confessed Christ;" although I think they ought to obtain peace, yet I have put them off for your advice, lest I should seem inconsiderately to anticipate you in any thing. If then any thing shall be determined by you in common, write to me.

Greet your friends, ours you. I wish you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XXV.

Cyprian to his brother Caldonius, greeting.

We have received your letter, dearest brother, which is exceedingly modest, and full of sincerity and faith. Nor do

ⁿ Presbyterium subministrabat, as Presbytery or Consistory. This had Vicar or Curate. Bp. Fell thinks it probably been Presbyterio. may perhaps mean, ministered to the

we wonder, that you, well versed and skilled in the Lord's Scriptures, do every thing cautiously and advisedly. But you have judged rightly as to granting peace to our brethren, which they, by their true penitence, and the glory of their confession of the Lord, have earned for themselves, being *justified by their words*, by which they had before *condemned* themselves. Since then they have purged all their sin, and, the Lord aiding them, have wiped off their former stain by this later¹ courage, they ought not to lie any longer, as it were prostrate, under the devil; they who, having been banished and deprived of all their property, have raised themselves up again, and begun to stand with Christ. And would that so the rest also, repenting after their fall, might be restored to their former state: whom, now being urgent with us, and rashly and importunately extorting peace, that you may know, how we have treated, I have sent you a book^p, with five letters which I wrote to the Clergy, and to the people, to the Martyrs also and the Confessors. These letters, already sent to very many of our Colleagues, have been approved, and they have written in answer that they will persevere in the same purpose with me, according to the Catholic faith. Which fact do you also transmit to as many of our Colleagues as you can; that so one rule of discipline and one consent may be observed by us all, according to the Lord's commands.

Mat. 12, 37.

¹ Posteriore F. with 6

Eng. Mss. and some old Mss. ap. Bal.

Dearest brother, I bid you ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XXVI.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren, greeting.

The Lord speaketh and saith, *Upon whom shall I look*, Isa. 66, *but upon the man that is humble, and peaceable, and that trembleth at my words?* This whereas we ought all to be, so ought they especially who must labour, that after their grievous lapse, they may by true penitence and entire humility, win the favour of the Lord. But I have read the

^p Probably the de Lapsis. For although the first few lines allude to the close of the Decian persecution, these may have been substituted afterwards.

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XXVI.
A. 250.

letter of the whole body of Confessors, which they wish through me to be notified to all my Colleagues, and in which they desire that the peace granted by themselves may be confirmed to those of whose behaviour since the commission of their crime we are satisfied. Which matter since it demands the advice and opinion of us all, I dare not prejudge, and claim to myself alone what concerns us in common. In the mean while, then, we must abide by the letters, which I very lately wrote to you; copies of which I have already sent to many of my Colleagues also; who have written back word that they approve my determination, and that we must not depart from it, until, peace having been restored to us by the Lord, we may meet together, and examine the case of each. Moreover, that you may know what my colleague Caldonius wrote to me, and what I wrote to him in answer, I enclose herewith copies of both letters: all which I beg of you to read to our brethren, that they may be more and more composed to patience, nor to their former sin add yet another, in that they will neither obey me nor the Gospel, nor suffer their cases to be examined conformably to the letters of all the Confessors.

Dearest brethren, I bid you ever heartily farewell, and that ye remember me. Greet the whole brotherhood. Farewell.

EPISTLE XXVII.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons abiding at Rome,
his brethren, greeting.*

1. Since my former Epistle to you, dearest brethren, in which my conduct was explained, and some slight account given of my discipline and diligence, there hath occurred another matter, of which also you ought not to be uninformed. For our brother Lucianus, himself also one of the Confessors, glowing indeed in faith and strong in courage, but insufficiently grounded in the reading of the word of the Lord, has attempted certain things, making himself for some while past, an authority to the ignorant populace, in that letters

written in his hand have been given to many persons indiscriminately, in the name of Paulus. Whereas Mappalicus the martyr, being cautious and modest, regardful of the law and discipline, gave no letters contrary to the Gospel, but, moved by domestic piety, recommended only that peace should be granted to his mother⁹, who had lapsed: Saturninus also, being still in prison after the torture, issued no letters of that sort. But Lucianus, not only while Paulus was still in prison, gave letters in his name indiscriminately written with his own hand, but even after his decease, continued to do the same in his name, saying that he had been ordered so to do by Paulus; not knowing that the Lord must rather be obeyed than the fellow-servant. In the name of Aurelius too, a youth who has endured the torture, many letters have been given, written with the hand of the same Lucianus, because Aurelius did not know how to write. To check this practice in some degree, I wrote a letter to them, which I sent to you under cover of my last Epistle; wherein Ep. 20. I failed not to beg and persuade them, that they would have regard to the law of the Lord, and to the Gospel.

2. But after I had sent this letter to them, in the hope that something might be done as it were more moderately and temperately, the same Lucianus wrote a letter in the name of all the Confessors, whereby the whole bond of faith, and the fear of God, and the commandment of the Lord, and the sanctity and strength of the Gospel, were well-nigh dissolved. For he wrote in the name of all, that they had granted peace to all; and that they wished this sentence to be notified through me to other Bishops, a copy of which letter I have transmitted to you. There is added indeed, "of whose behaviour since the commission of their crime you are satisfied." A course which stirs up greater odium against me, in that when I have begun to hear and examine the cases of individuals, I must seem to deny to many, what all now insist that they have received from the Martyrs and Confessors.

3. Moreover, the beginning of this sedition has already shewn itself; for in some cities of my province the multitude have

⁹ and sister, F. and some Mss.

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A. 250. assailed their rulers, and alarming and overruling such as had not sufficient courage of mind or strength of faith, compelled them to grant them forthwith that peace, which they all clamorously declared to have been given them by the Martyrs and Confessors. With me too some turbulent persons, who in time past were with difficulty ruled by me and whose cases were put off till my return, kindled by this letter as by a firebrand, have begun to act more harshly, and to extort the peace so granted them.

4. I have sent you a copy of what I have written to my Clergy on this occasion. Moreover, what my colleague Caldonius, according to his integrity and faith, wrote to me, and what I wrote in answer, I have sent for your perusal. I have sent you also a copy of the letter of Celerinus, a good and valiant Confessor, which he wrote to the same Confessor, Lucianus, together with the answer of Lucianus; that you might know both my labour and diligence in all matters, and the truth itself; how moderate and cautious Celerinus the Confessor is, and how modest through humility and awe of our religion; but Lucianus, as I have said, is less skilled in understanding the Lord's Scripture, and by his too great easiness hath caused trouble, exposing my scrupulous behaviour to odium. For whereas the Lord
Mat. 28, 19. has said, that *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, nations are to be baptized*, and past sins remitted in Baptism; he, ignorant of the commandment and the law, bids peace be given, and sins remitted in the name of Paulus, and this he says was given him in charge by Paulus, as you will perceive by the letter of the same Lucianus to Celerinus. Wherein he by no means considered, that not martyrs make the Gospel, but by the Gospel are martyrs made; for Paul also the Apostle, whom the Lord called *a chosen vessel unto Him*, hath said in one of his Epistles, *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another Gospel: which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach*

Gal. 1, 6—9.

any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.

5. Your letter however, which I received, addressed to my Clergy, arrived opportunely, as did that which the blessed Confessors, Moyses, Maximus, Nicostratus, and the rest, sent to Saturninus, Aurelius, and the rest, wherein the full vigour of the Gospel, and the firm discipline of the law of the Lord, are upheld. When I was labouring herein, and resisting the torrent of odium with all the strength of faith, your language aided me much, so that it was of God that the work was shortened, and that before my last Epistle reached you, you should make known to me, that your opinion strongly and unanimously coincided with mine conformably to the law of the Gospel.

I bid you, dearest and much-longed for brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XXVIII.

Cyprian to Moyses and Maximus, Presbyters¹, and to the rest of the Confessors, his dearly beloved brethren, greeting.

1. The glory of your faith and courage, most valiant and most blessed brethren, I already knew from report; greatly rejoiced and exceedingly congratulating you, that the especial favour of our Lord Jesus Christ hath, by the confession of His Name, prepared you for the crown. For ye, being made chiefs and leaders in the encounter of our time, advanced the ensigns of the heavenly warfare. Ye by your courage began the spiritual struggle, which God hath willed should now be carried on. Ye by your immoveable strength, and unshaken stedfastness, broke the first onset of the rising war. Thence opened the happy prelude of the battle. Thence began the tokens of victory. It hath happened that here martyrdoms have been perfected by the torture. But he who leading the attack was made an example of courage to

¹ of Rome. Their imprisonment with Nicostratus a Deacon after the martyrdom of Fabius is mentioned in an old Catalogue of Bishops of Rome. (see

also Ep. 31.) Maximus is named also (as well as Moses) by Cornelius, ap. Eus. H. E. vi. 3. [B.]

Epist. his brethren, shares with the Martyrs in honour. The
 XXVIII. crowns braided by your hands ye have sent from you to us,
 A. 250. and ye have pledged your brethren from the *cup of salvation*^s.

2. To this glorious opening of Confession, and to the precludes of a victorious warfare, hath now been added the upholding of discipline, which I learnt from the energy of your letter lately written to your Colleagues who with you are joined to the Lord in confession, anxiously warning that the holy precepts of the Gospel, and the life-giving commandments once delivered to us, be upheld with firm and resolute exactness. Behold another lofty step to your glory, behold a second title, joined with that of Confession, for obtaining favour of God: to stand with a firm tread, and in this conflict to remove by the strength of faith those who attempt to make an inroad on the Gospel, and who raise unholy hands to throw down the precepts of the Lord, to have already furnished the first proofs of courage, and now to furnish lessons of discipline. The Lord after His Resurrection sending forth His Apostles chargeth them, and saith,

Mat. 28, *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth; go ye,*
 18—20. *therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* And John the Apostle, mindful of the charge,

1 John afterwards in his Epistle lays it down, *Hereby*, he says, *we*
 2, 3. 4. *do know that we know Him, if we keep His commandments. He that saith he knoweth Him, and keepeth not His commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* In advising that these precepts be observed, you keep the divine and heavenly commandments. This is to be a Confessor of the Lord, this is to be a Martyr of Christ, to maintain one's profession inviolate, and a steadfast firmness in all things. For, to be willing to become a Martyr through^t the Lord, while we endeavour to destroy the Lord's

^s Ps. 116, 12. is interpreted of "drinking" of His "Cup" of sufferings, (as v. 13. "dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints,") by S. Ambr. l. 5. in Luc. § 59. col. 1369. S. Aug. ad loc. (Ps. 115, 13. §. 5.) Prosper, Pacian. Ep. 2 fin. Cassiodor. ad loc. Theodt. ad loc. Orig. Theods. ad loc. ap. Cord.; of our Lord's

own Passion, S. Ambr. in Ps. 37. §. 17. and thence of His Blood in the Cup of the H. Euch. S. Ambr. l. c. S. Ath. ad loc. ap. Cord. "anagogical Interpreters," ap. S. Chrys. ad loc.

^t by His help; Bal. in text, præter, in notes, præter, most old MSS. per.

precepts; to use against Him the honour He hath given thee; to become in a manner a rebel with the weapons received from Him; this is, to be willing to confess Christ, and to deny the Gospel of Christ. I rejoice, therefore, on your account, most valiant and most faithful brethren; and greatly as I congratulate the Martyrs honoured here for the glory of their courage, so do I and as greatly congratulate you for the crown of the Lord's discipline. The Lord hath poured forth His favour in many kinds of bounty, He distributeth the spiritual praise and glory of good soldiers in abundant variety. We also are partakers of your honours, we reckon your glory our own, whose times are brightened with such full happiness, that our age has been allowed to behold both tried servants of God, and soldiers of Christ, crowned.

I bid you, most valiant and most blessed brethren, ever heartily farewell, and remember me.

EPISTLE XXIX.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren,
greeting.*

Wishing nothing to be concealed from you, dearest brethren, I send you copies, as well of what has been written to me, as of my answers; and I trust my answer will not be displeasing to you. Moreover I should acquaint you by my own Epistle, that for urgent reasons I have written to the Clergy in the City¹. And because it was fitting I¹ Rome. should write by Clergy; but I am aware that very many of our own are absent, and that the few, who are there, scarcely suffice for the performance of the daily services; it became necessary to appoint some others, who might be sent; you are to know, then, that I have made Saturus a Reader, and Optatus the confessor a Subdeacon; whom we had already, by common advice, made next to the Clergy; having previously, on Easter day, appointed Saturus to read once and again; and when, with the Presbyters and Doctors², we had

¹ The "Doctor," originally an office furnished with distinct gifts of the Holy Spirit, (1 Cor. 12, 28. 29. Eph. 4, 11. Acts 13, 1.) appears to have continued longer in the African Church, than in others, as a distinct class of Presbyters.

EPIST. made careful trial of the Readers, we appointed Optatus
XXX. from among them to be a teacher of the Hearers; examining
A. 250. whether, in both, all things corresponded to what ought to
be found in such as were being prepared for the Clergy. I
have done nothing new then in your absence; only, what
had been long since begun by the common advice of us all,
has, on an urgent occasion, been completed.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and
that ye remember me. Greet the brotherhood. Farewell.

EPISTLE XXX.

To Pope Cyprian, the Presbyters and Deacons, abiding
at Rome, greeting.*

1. Although a mind, conscious of its own integrity, and
upheld by the strength of Evangelical discipline, and made
its own true witness as to the heavenly decrees, is wont to
be content with God alone for Judge, and neither to seek
the praises nor to fear the accusations of another; yet they
are worthy of double honour, who, knowing that their con-
science is subject to God only as Judge, yet desire that
their proceedings may be approved also by their very
brethren. That you, brother Cyprian, should do this, is no
wonder, who, according to your innate modesty and
diligence, have wished us to be found, not so much judges,
as partners, in your counsels; that we, while we approve
what you have done, might share the praise with you, and be
partakers of your counsels, because we concur with them.
For we are all thought to have laboured together, wherever
we are found united in the same agreement of censure and
discipline.

2. For what is either in peace so fitting, or in the war of
persecution so necessary, as to uphold a due strictness of

At least, they are mentioned distinctly,
and, it seems, as an order, Tert. de
Præser. c. 3 and 14. as "endowed with
the grace of knowledge," (see p. 448,
note h. Oxf. Fr.) here, and Aeta Perp.
et Fel. ap. Ruinart. p. 99. (quoted by
Dodw. Diss. 6. who also refers to the
separate mention of them in S. Herm.

l. i. vis. 3. l. ii. mand. 4. l. iii. simil. 9.
§. 15. 16. 25.) The "Presbyters" and
"teachers of the brethren in the vil-
lages" are also named separately by
S. Dionysius. (ap. Eus. vii. 24.)

* The actual writer was Novatian,
(Ep. 55.) to whom in an ancient Ms.
Ep. 36. is ascribed.

divine discipline? which whosoever shall relax, must needs continually beat about on the unstable tide of things, and be carried hither and thither by the various and uncertain gusts of affairs, and the rudder as it were of good counsel being wrenched out of his hands, he must dash the ship of the Church's safety against the rocks; so that it is evident that the safety of the Church can no otherwise be provided for, than that, if any make against it, they be cast aside as adverse waves, and the exact rule of discipline be adhered to, as a helm of safety in a storm.

3. Nor has this advice been now of late only thought of by us, nor have these aids against the presumptuous been, with us, any sudden accession, but such is read to have been the ancient strictness, ancient fidelity, and ancient discipline, amongst us. For the Apostle would not have given us such praise, where he says, *Your faith is spoken of throughout* Rom. 1, *the world*, unless this vigorousness had derived its root of⁸ faith from that time and thenceforwards; from which praise and glory to have degenerated were the greatest crime. For it is a less disgrace never to have reached the heraldry of praise than to have fallen from its summit. It is a less crime not to have been honoured with a good testimony, than to have lost the honour of good testimonies; less, to have lain unpraised, unhonoured, without panegyric for good deeds, than, disinherited of the faith, to have lost the praise that had become our's. For those things which are advanced to any one's honour, unless upheld by anxious and solicitous toil, do but swell the imputation of criminality the most grievous.

4. That we do not say this feignedly, our former Epistles have proved, in which we distinctly declared our opinion not only against those, who by the lawless production of ungodly certificates had betrayed themselves as infidels, deeming they could so escape the snares of the Devil which entangled them, whereas through this very act of witnessing to him, they were no less held by him, than if they had approached the ungodly altars; but against those too who had adopted the certificates, though not present when they were framed, since they had virtually made themselves present, by procuring them to be so written. For he is not free from guilt,

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 who has bidden the thing be done ; nor is he a stranger to the crime, by whose consent, although he did not commit the crime, it is still publicly rehearsed of him ; and since the whole sacrament of faith is understood to be comprised in the confession of the Name of Christ, whoso resorts to fallacious tricks in excuse, has denied Him ; and whoso would seem to have complied either with edicts or laws put forth against the Gospel, has already obeyed them, in that he wished to seem to have obeyed them. Moreover against those also, who had polluted their hands and lips by unlawful sacrifices, their own minds being before polluted, whence too their very hands and lips were polluted, we have shewn our fidelity and concurrent censure.

5. Far be it from the Roman Church to relax her vigour by such unholy easiness, and to weaken the nerves of discipline, to the overthrow of the majesty of faith ; that, while not only do our brethren lie around, overthrown in heaps, but others are still falling, the remedy of communion be applied, which, too hastily imparted, can never profit, and new wounds through mistaken mercy be imprinted on the old wounds of their fall, and repentance be torn from the unhappy souls to their greater ruin. For where can the medicine of “loosing” avail, if even the very physician, by cutting short repentance, letteth loose new perils ? If he only covers over the wound, nor suffers the needful remedies of time to heal the scar ? This is not to cure, but, if we would speak truth, to kill.

6. However from the Confessors too, in this place, whom the honour of their confession still confines in prison, and whom, in the warfare for the Gospel, their faith hath already once crowned in a glorious confession,—from them you have letters agreeing with our own, wherein they have asserted the severity of Gospel discipline, and have held back the scandalous petitions from doing shame to the Church. Had they not done this, the breaches in Gospel discipline would not easily be repaired ; especially since none could so fitly uphold unimpaired the strength and dignity of Evangelical vigour, as they who had given themselves up to the rage of the enemy to be tortured and mangled for the Gospel, that they might not deservedly lose the honour of martyrdom, by

wishing on occasion of martyrdom to betray the Gospel. For he who does not guard what he hath, in that whence he hath it, doth, while he violates the tenure of what he possesseth, forfeit his possession.

7. On which subject, we ought, and do, give you our deepest and most abundant thanks, that you enlightened the darkness of their prison by your letters ; that you came to them, in what way you could enter ; that you refreshed their minds, strong in their own faith and confession, by your exhortations and letters ; that commending their happiness with deserved praises, you inflamed them to a much more ardent desire of heavenly glory ; that you gave an impulse to their forwardness ; that those who, as we believe and hope, are about to be conquerors, you animated with the force of your language ; so that although the whole may seem to proceed from the faith of the Confessors and the Divine grace, yet in some sort they may seem indebted to you in their martyrdom.

8. But to return to the subject whence we have somewhat digressed, what sort of letters we sent to Sicily also you will find subjoined. On us, however, there lieth a further necessity for delaying this matter, in that, since the decease of Fabianus of most honoured memory, on account of the difficulties of circumstances and the times, we have no Bishop yet appointed, who should settle all these matters, and might, with authority and counsel, take account of those who have lapsed. However, in a business of such vast magnitude we agree with what you also have yourself fully expressed ; that the peace of the Church must be awaited, and then, in a full conference of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Confessors, with those of the laymen also who have stood, account be taken of the lapsed. For it seems to us both very invidious and oppressive, to examine without advice of many, what many have committed, and for one to pass sentence, when so great a crime is known to have spread and extended itself among great numbers ; neither indeed can a decree be firm, which shall not appear to have the consent of numbers. Look how almost the whole world lieth waste, and the remnants and ruined heaps of the fallen lying on all sides. There is demanded then a largeness of counsel proportioned

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 to the wide extent of the sin. Let not the medicine be less than the wound; let not the remedies be fewer than the deaths; that inasmuch as they who fell, therefore fell, because with a blind rashness they neglected caution, so should those who strive to repair this damage, use all deliberation in counsel, lest any thing being done as it ought not, should be considered by all as not binding.

9. With one and the same purpose, therefore, with the same prayers and weeping, let both us, who seem as yet to have escaped the ruins of this time, and those also who seem to have fallen under its violence, deprecate the Divine Majesty, and entreat peace for the Church's name. Let us cherish, guard, strengthen one another by our mutual prayers. Let us pray for the lapsed, that they may be raised up. Let us pray for those who stand, that they may not be tempted so as to fall. Let us pray, that those who are reported to have fallen, acknowledging the heinousness of their sin, may learn not to desire an instantaneous and too hasty cure. Let us pray that the fruit of pardon may follow in the penitence of the lapsed; that being conscious of their crime they may cheerfully lend us their patience for a while, nor disturb yet more the still shaken condition of the Church; lest they be found to have lighted up persecution within the Church, and turbulence also be added to their many crimes. For shamefacedness especially becomes those, who lie condemned, as unashamed to sin. Let them indeed knock at the doors, but by no means break them open. Let them come to the threshold of the Church, but by no means leap over it. Let them watch at the gates of the heavenly camp, but armed with modesty, whereby they may know that they have been deserters. Let them resume the trumpet of their prayers, but not to sound a charge to battle. Let them arm themselves with weapons of modesty, and resume the shield of faith which, by denying it through fear of death, they had parted with; but let them think that, in this armour thus late resumed, they are armed against the devil, not against the Church, who mourns their fall. Much will they be profited by modest petitions, bashful entreaty, needful humility, patience not inactive. Let them send forth tears as ambassadors for their sorrows; let groans

uttered from their inmost breast plead their cause, shewing their sorrow and shame for the crime committed.

10. Nay, if they have a thorough horror of the magnitude of their guilt and shame, if they treat with hand truly skilful the deadly stroke in their breast and conscience, and the deep and wide recesses of their wound, be they ashamed even to beg; only that on the other hand not to have begged the aid of reconciliation were matter of yet greater peril and shame. But be all this within the sacrament of the Faith^{*}; be a due regard to time a law in their very entreaty; be it with humble entreaty; be it then with submissive prayer; for he too who is asked should be softened, not forced; and as the Divine clemency should be regarded, so should the Divine censure; for as it is written, *I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst Me*; so is it written, *Whosoever shall deny Me before men*, ^{32.} *him will I also deny before My Father, and before His* ^{Mat. 10, 33. Luke 12, 9.} *angels*. For God, as He is merciful, so is He one Who exacteth obedience to His precepts, and that careful; and as He invites to the feast, so him that *hath not on the* ^{Mat. 22, 12, 13.} *wedding garment*, He *casts out* of the assembly of the saints, *bound hand and foot*. He hath prepared heaven, but He hath prepared hell too. He hath prepared a place of refreshment, but He hath prepared also eternal punishments. He hath prepared *light inapproachable*, but He hath prepared also a vast and eternal darkness of perpetual night.

11. We then here, desiring to observe this moderate and tempered course in the treatment of these cases, have for a long time,—many of us, and moreover with several Bishops in our neighbourhood, or at no great distance, and such as the heat of this persecution had driven from other distant provinces,—been of opinion that nothing new should be done before the appointment of a Bishop, yet have thought that the care of the lapsed must be tempered with moderation; and that, meanwhile, as long as it pleaseth God to delay the gift of a Bishop, the case of those who can bear the delay

^{*} In Sacramento, i. e. fidei as above, [§. 4. p. 64. and Test. iii. 50.] Tert. de Anima, [c. 1. and Sacramento alone, de Præscr. c. 20. s. nostrum Apol. c. 15. de Idol. c. 6. adv. Marc. v. 5. s. nostra Apol. c. 47.] who also calls the Mosaic law, Sacramentum Judaicum, as opposed to ours, (nostrum,) Apol. c. 19. Here then "the law of the Gospel." [F.]

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 should be kept in suspense; but that to those, whose life hastening to its close admits of no delay, when they have done penance and often professed a detestation for their deeds, if with tears, with groaning, with weeping, they have given signs of unfeigned sorrow and penitence, when, in man's sight, no hope of life is left,—that so at length, with caution and solicitude, relief be granted them, God Himself only knowing what He will do with such, and in what way He will adjust the balance of His Judgment; ourselves however taking anxious heed, that neither should wicked men commend our too ready compliance, nor the truly penitent blame our severity as cruel.

Most blessed and most glorious Pope, we bid you ever heartily farewell in the Lord, and remember us.

EPISTLE XXXI.

To Pope Cyprian, Moyses and Maximus Presbyters, and Nicostratus and Rufinus Deacons, and the other Confessors who are with them, persevering in the faith of the truth, in God the Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and in the Holy Ghost, greeting.

I. Set, as we are, amidst various and manifold sorrow, brother, encompassed by the fallen heaps of many brethren throughout almost the whole world, the chief consolation which hath reached us hath been, that by the receipt of your letters we have been cheered, and obtained refreshment for the griefs of our troubled spirits. Whence we are now able to understand the grace of Divine Providence, that perhaps for no other reason He willed to keep us so long confined in the bonds of imprisonment, than that being prepared and more mightily animated by your letters, we might attain the destined crown with a more ready cheerfulness. For your letters have shone in upon us, as in a storm a serene air; in a troubled sea a longed for calm; rest amid toil; health in peril and pain; in thickest darkness a bright and shining light; we so drank them in with thirsty spirits, and received with them famished longing, as with joy to find ourselves sufficiently fed and invigorated by them for

the struggle with the enemy⁷. The Lord will repay you for this your charity, and return you the fruit due to so good a work. For he no less deserves the reward of a crown who has exhorted, than he who has also suffered; he is no less deserving of praise who has taught, than he who has also acted; he is no less to be honoured who hath admonished, than he who has fought; except indeed that sometimes a greater weight of glory redounds to him who instructed, than to him who has proved himself a docile disciple. For the one perhaps would not have had the excellence he has shewn, had not the other taught.

2. We repeat it again therefore, we have received, brother Cyprian, great joy, great consolation, great ease, especially that you have described with such glorious and fitting praises, the glorious, I will not say death, but immortality, of Martyrs. For such a close ought to be accompanied with such words, that the things related may be described as they were really done. In your letters then we have beheld those glorious triumphs of the Martyrs, and with our own eyes, in a manner, have followed them on their way to heaven; and have contemplated them placed amidst angels, and the *Powers* and *Dominions* in heaven. We in a manner heard too with our own ears the Lord giving the testimony promised them, before the Father. This it is then which day by day raises our courage, and inflames us to the attainment of so great honour. Mat. 10, 32.

3. For what more glorious, or what more happy can be vouchsafed to any man from the Divine favour, than to confess the Lord God in the very act of expiring in the very hands of His murderers? than amidst the various and exquisite torments of the fury of the secular power, the body racked and tortured and mangled, to confess Christ the Son of God, with a free though departing spirit? leaving the world to seek heaven? quitting men to stand amidst angels? breaking through all worldly impediments, to stand free in the sight of God? to gain a heavenly kingdom without any delay⁸? to become the colleague with

⁷ The strength of those condemned to the gladiatorial shows was kept up by a previous full diet, ad Don. c. 5. p. 5. Tert. Apol. c. 42. hence the "cena libera" of the Martyrs (Acta

Perp. §. 17.) which furnishes the image here.

⁸ See de Exh. Mart. §. 12. p. 300, l. Oxf. Tr.

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A. 250. Christ in suffering for the Name of Christ? by the Divine mercy to be made the judge of one's own judge? to have brought away an unspotted conscience from the confession of His Name? not to have obeyed human and profane laws contrary to the Faith? to have borne a public witness to the truth? by dying to have overcome that very death, which is dreaded by all? by death itself to have attained immortality? torn and tortured by all the instruments of cruelty, to have overcome the torture by the tortures themselves? by strength of courage to have wrestled successfully with all the agonies of a mangled body? not to have shuddered at one's own blood streaming forth? enduring through faith^a, to begin to love our punishments? to think it loss to their life not to have departed out of it?

4. For to this battle the Lord, as it were with the trumpet of His Gospel, rouseth us, saying, *He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me.* And he that loveth his own soul more than Me, is not worthy of Me. *And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after Me, is not worthy of Me.* And again, *Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you, and hate you: rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for so did their fathers persecute the prophets which were before you.* And again, *Ye shall stand before governors and kings; and the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the son; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved.* And, *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me in My throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down on the throne of My Father.* Moreover the Apostle asks; *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter; nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us.*

5. When we read and compare these things and the like in the Gospels, and in our Lord's words feel as it were torches put under us to kindle our faith; not only do we

^a "supplicia sua post fidem amare and then, upon endurance, to love sufferings, i. e. first to endure in faith,

no longer dread the enemies of the truth, we even challenge^b them; and in the very fact that we have not yielded, we have already conquered the enemies of God, and have over-

^b This may more naturally, and, according to the principles of S. Cyprian, would, relate to the bold defiance of the Heathen magistrate, by the Christians when brought before him, not that they offered themselves to martyrdom. See the last Epist., and Passio, ej. e Vet. Cod. ap. Fell. p. 11. "Cyprian said, since the rule of the Church forbids that any present himself [for martyrdom] &c." The Church of Smyrna calls the martyrdom of S. Polycarp, after he had withdrawn himself, "a martyrdom according to the Gospel. For he wished to be given up, as did The Lord, that we also might become imitators of Him, not considering only our own things, and also those of others." (Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Vales. ad Eus. iv. 15.) The same principles are given by S. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 10. p. 597. ed. Pott. (on our Lord's words Matt. 10, 23.) and vii. 11. p. 871. by Origen also in Matt. tom. x. §. 23. and in Joann. 18, 12. t. 28. c. 18. and S. Ambr. de Off. i. 37. §. 187. S. Aug. c. Gaud. Donat. i. §. 40. (quoting the Acta of St. C. see Oxf. Tr. p. xx.) S. Ambr. l. c. and the Church of Smyrna in their Ep. assign the reason, (see c. 5. ed. Usser. and ap. Vales. ad Eus. iv. 15.) lest any over-confidently expose himself to perils to which he is unequal; Origen also, the want of charity in aggravating the condemnation of the heathen. Yet this no ways excludes the contrary practice, when some sudden emergency occurred, and holy people might know themselves to be led by the Spirit of God; as when S. Romanus could not bear the sight of Christians sacrificing, and rebuked them, "out of zeal for the honour of God," and so was martyred, (Eus. de Mart. Pal. c. 2.) or SS. Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander, "kindled by a divine glow of faith," (Martyrol. Rom. Mart. 28.) or, amid the general consternation, S. Apphianus, seized the Prætor's arm when sacrificing, "the Divine power which led him thereto speaking aloud by his very act," (Eus. ib. c. 4.) or SS. Antoninus, Zebinas, and Germanus cried to one to cease from his error, (ib. c. 9.) or S. Aedesius struck one, (ib. c. 5. and note.) These were inspired to strike terror into the Heathen, and our Lord Who gave them

strength to endure, or wrought miracles as to their bodies, (c. 4 fin. c. 9 fin.) sanctioned it. Such is every where the judgment even of Eusebius. Of the like kind was it, when all the Christians of a city in one body presented themselves to the Proconsul. (Tert. ad Scap. c. 5.) The willingness to die appears to have hindered the persecution. Again, the self-oblation of Christians, who had once denied, (Eus. v. 1.) was but the rescinding of a denial of our Lord. Else it is even remarkable in the persecution of Verus, how the Christians waited to be seized. (Ib.) Other cases (as of the virgin, who cried out from the crowd, "And how long tormentest thou thus savagely my sister?" (ib. c. 8.) seem the effects of an involuntary but divine sympathy, giving occasion to noble suffering. (See ib.) In each case, "Wisdom was justified of her children;" the discernment to meet or to avoid such perils, Origen says, "belongs to the wise in Christ," (tom. 16. on S. Matt. §. 1.) See further Pearson, Vindic. Ign. c. 9. and de Laps. c. 8. p. 159. not. g. Oxf. Tr. The relation in the Acta S. Stephani, that at the beginning of the persecution of Valerian, some Christians hid themselves, "others betraying themselves (se prodentes) obtained the crown of martyrdom," (ap. Baron. Ann. 259. §. 21.) seems to relate to such as had been already accused, who might know that their hour was come, and so were guided by the act of our Lord, (S. Joh. 18, 4. 5.) as when S. Phocas told the soldiers sent to slay him, "I am that Phocas;" (S. Asterius Hom. in Phocam M. ap. Combefis. t. i. p. 176, 7.) or S. Polycarp, in the end, would not escape. (Ep. Eccl. Smyrn. ap. Eus. iv. 15.) The present passage seems rather to relate to the "good confessions" of the Faith, or the readiness of Christians for the torture, whereby the heathen persecutors were the more provoked; as when S. Polycarp, with a groan, echoed the words, *αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀλλοίους* (l. c.) or S. Pothinus, "Thou shalt know, if thou art worthy;" (Martyrs of Lyons, ib. v. 1.) or S. Romanus, *τοῦ μοι τὸ πῦρ* (Mart. Pal. c. 2.) or SS. Saturninus and Satorus, "Thou us, God thee will judge." (Acta Perpet. §. 18.)

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 come the nefarious laws against the Faith. And though we have not yet shed our blood, but are prepared to shed it, no one may think this postponement clemency, for it injures us, it interposes a hindrance to our glory, it puts off heaven, it delays the glorious sight of God. For in a contest of this sort, in a battle of this sort where it is the fight of faith, not to put off martyrs by delay is true clemency. Pray therefore, dearest Cyprian, that the Lord may day by day more and more richly and readily arm and adorn us by His grace, and confirm and strengthen us by the might of His power; and, as the good Captain, having hitherto exercised and trained His soldiers in the camp of our prison-house, He would now lead them out to the intended field of battle; that He would give us the divine armour, those weapons which know not defeat, *the breastplate of righteousness*, which is never wont to be broken, *the shield of faith*, which cannot be pierced through, *the helmet of salvation*, which cannot be cloven, and *the sword of the Spirit*, which is not used to be blunted. For to whom should we rather give in charge to ask these things for us, than to so reverend a Bishop; as destined victims asking aid of the Priest?

6. Behold another joy to us, that, though you have, from the circumstances of the times, been for a while separated from the brethren, yet you have not been wanting in the duties of your Episcopal charge; that you have frequently strengthened the Confessors by your letters; that you have defrayed also necessary expenses from your own rightful funds; that you have ever shewn yourself in a manner present in all things; that in no part of your duty have you halted as a deserter.

7. But what most powerfully excited us to exceeding joy, we cannot suppress, or rather we must record it with the full testimony of our approbation. For we perceive that you have, with befitting severity, and deservedly, reproved both those who, unmindful of their sins, in your absence, with hasty and precipitate eagerness, had extorted peace from the Presbyters, and those who, without heed to Matt. 7. the Gospel, had, with sacrilegious readiness, given *the holy*^e

^e See on Tert. de Spect. c. 25. p. 314. not. n. Oxf. Tr.

of the Lord *unto dogs*, and *pearls to swine*: whereas a great sin, which has spread with incredible desolation over almost the whole world, ought only, as you write, to be dealt with, with caution and moderation, in a consultation of all the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and laymen too who have stood fast, as you yourself in your letters testify; lest while we attempt unseasonably to repair the ruins, we should be found to occasion other and greater. For where have we left the divine word, if pardon is so easily granted to sinners? their minds indeed are to be cherished, and nurtured to the time of their maturity, and they are to be instructed from the Holy Scriptures how vast a sin, and above all sins, they have committed. Nor let them be emboldened by this, that they are many; rather be they the more restrained by this very fact, that they are not few. The boldness of numbers does not usually avail to the extenuation of a crime; but rather these things, shame, modesty, patience, discipline, humility, and submission, awaiting the judgment of others on itself, abiding others' sentence on what concerns itself. This is it that proves penitence; this is it that bringeth healing over a deep-sunk wound; this is it that restores and builds up the ruins of a soul overthrown; this, which quells and checks the vapour that teems from their noisome sins. A physician will not give to the sick the diet of healthy frames; lest, by unseasonable food, he should inflame, not check, the rage of the disease; lest, in a word, what might by fasting have been more early reduced, he through impatience feed and protract by undigested food.

8. Cleansed then by good works must be the hands polluted with impious sacrifices; the wretched lips, defiled with unholy food, must be purified with the words of true penitence. The mind must be broken up, renewed, and consecrated in the inmost recesses of the faithful heart. Frequent penitential groanings must be heard. Not once alone, but oftentimes must tears of faithfulness be poured from their eyes; that those very eyes, which have with guilt looked upon the idols, may, by tears, appeasing God, wash out the crimes they had committed. In disease nothing is so necessary as patience. The distempered struggle with their pain; and at length hope for health, if by en-

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duration they can overcome their pain. For treacherous is the scar which the physician has too hastily healed over; and the cure is undone by any casualty, if the remedies be not applied securely because slowly. A flame is easily re-kindled into a conflagration, unless the whole fire be extinguished to the very last spark. In like way, such as these¹ should know that their case is better provided for by the very delay, and that remedies are more sure from needful caution.

¹ The
lapsed.

9. In fine, where will be found such as are now shut up in the keeping of a filthy prison for confessing Christ, if they who have denied Him do not peril their faith? where they who are bound and encompassed by chains for the Name of God, if they are not deprived of Communion, who have not retained the confession of God? Where the Martyrs in prison, to lay down their glorious lives, if they who have abandoned the faith, feel not the magnitude of their perils and their sins? But if they pretend too great impatience and demand communion with unenduring haste, in vain do they cast forth, from their petulant and unbridled mouths, those querulous and invidious reproaches, unavailing against the truth: for they might of their own right have retained that, which now on a necessity, sought by their own free-will, they are compelled to ask for. For the Faith which was able to confess Christ, might have been preserved also by Christ, in communion with Him.

Most blessed and most glorious Pope, we bid thee ever heartily farewell in the Lord, and be mindful of us.

EPISTLE XXXII.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren,
greeting.*

1. That you may know, dearest brethren, what I have written to the Clergy at Rome, and what answer they have sent me, and what likewise Moyses and Maximus Presbyters, and Nicostratus and Rufinus Deacons, and the other Confessors who are set with them in prison, have written in answer to my Epistles, I have sent copies of the whole for your perusal. Do ye take all the care ye can, that what I

have written, and they have answered, be made known to our brethren. And if any Bishops of foreign Churches, my Colleagues, or Presbyters, or Deacons, are with you, or shall come among you, let them hear the whole from you. If also they wish to take copies of the Epistles and to take them home, let them have liberty to transcribe them. Although I have already charged our brother Saturus, the Reader, that he would permit all to copy them who so wish ; that in settling for the present, in whatever degree, the affairs of the Church, one consent, and that conformable to the Faith, may be observed by all. For the rest however, as I have written to very many of my Colleagues, we will consider what is to be done more at large in a full council, when, by God's permission, we shall be enabled to meet together.

Dearest and much longed-for brethren, I bid you ever heartily farewell. Salute the brotherhood. Farewell.

EPISTLE XXXIII.

Cyprian to the Lapsed.

Our Lord, whose precepts and warnings we ought to observe, determining the honour of a Bishop and the ordering of His own Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter, *I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and on this* Mat. 16,
rock will I build My Church ; and the gates of hell shall 18. 19.
not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Thence the ordination of Bishops, and the ordering of the Church, runs down along the course of time and line of succession, so that the Church is settled upon her Bishops ; and every act of the Church is regulated by these same Prelates. Since then this is founded on the divine law, I marvel that some have had the bold temerity to write to me, as if they were addressing letters in the name of the Church ; whereas the Church consisteth of the Bishops, and Clergy, and all who stand. Far be it that the mercy of the Lord and His invincible might should allow the number of the lapsed

EPIST. XXXIII. to be called the Church; whereas it is written, *God is not*
 A. 250. *the God of the dead, but of the living.* We wish indeed
 Mat. 22. that all may be made to live, and with supplications and
 32. groans we pray that they may be restored to their ancient state. But if some of the lapsed will have it that they are the Church, and if the Church is with them and in them, what remains, than that they be entreated by us, that they would vouchsafe to admit us into the Church? Submissive then, peaceable, and modest, must they needs be, who, mindful of their sin, ought to appease God, and not write in the name of the Church, when they should rather feel aware that they are writing to the Church.

2. But there have written to me lately some of the lapsed who are humble, and meek, and trembling, and fearing God, and who have ever shewn in the Church a noble and enlarged charity^d; and have ascribed their work to the Lord, knowing that He has said, *When ye shall have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.* Which things they considering, although they had received letters from the Martyrs, yet, that their amends¹ might be allowed of the Lord, wrote to me, with entreaty, that they acknowledged their sin, and were performing sincere penance, yet that they did not rashly, or with importunity, press their reconciliation; but awaited my presence, saying that reconciliation itself would be more grateful to them, if they should receive it when I was present. How much I congratulate these, God is witness; Who hath vouchsafed to discover^e what such servants earn of His mercy. Having lately received these letters, and now reading your's written in a different tone, I beg you to distinguish your several requests, and, whoever you are who have now sent these letters, subscribe your names to the petition, and transmit it to me with your several names. For I must first know whom I have to answer; then, I will write in answer to each of your requests, according as I may be able in the mediocrity of my station and line of conduct.

Luke
17, 10.

¹ satisfactio

^d gloriose et granditer operati sunt. S. Cyprian so uses the words, operari, operationes, commonly. See de Op. et Eleem. p. 232 sqq. Oxf. Tr.

^e ostendere, i. e. by vision. The same humble way of writing as before. See Ep. xi. p. 25. n. f.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell; and that you would live peaceably and quietly, according to the Lord's discipline. Farewell.

EPISTLE XXXIV.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, his brethren,
greeting.*

Ye have done^f rightly and according to discipline, dearest brethren, in that with the advice of my Colleagues who were with you, ye have determined not to communicate with Gaius, Presbyter of Didda, and his Deacon; who, having been frequently detected in their perverse errors, communicating with the lapsed and offering their oblations, and having been, once and again, as you wrote to me, warned by my Colleagues not to do so, have obstinately persisted in their presumption and boldness, so deceiving certain brethren of our people; whose good we are anxious to consult with all humility, and whose safety we tend, not with feigned adulation, but with sincere faith; advising them to entreat the Lord with true penitence and mourning and entire sorrow; for it is written, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent.* And again Holy Scripture saith, *Thus saith the Lord; When thou shalt return and mourn, then shalt thou be saved, and shalt know where thou hast been.* But how can they mourn and repent, whose mourning and tears some of the Presbyters intercept, rashly thinking that communion is to be restored to them, not considering that it is written, *They who call you happy^f cause you to err, and destroy the way of your paths.* No wonder that our wholesome and true counsel produces no good, while the healthful truth is hindered by pernicious smoothness and flattery; and the wounded and diseased minds of the lapsed suffer what the rich and infirm often suffer bodily; while they reject wholesome food and beneficial beverage, as bitter and loathsome, and long for the things which seem sweet and pleasurable for the present, they bring upon them de-

^f Is. 3, 12. "They which lead thee," although that of the E. V. is the chief sense.
E. V. The Hebrew word includes both, sense.

struction and death, by their inattention and disobedience:
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2. Do you therefore, according to my Epistles, counselling this faithfully and healthfully, not withdraw from these wiser counsels. And read these same Epistles to my Colleagues also should any either be with you, or come among you, that with unanimity and concert, we may take wholesome counsel for mollifying and healing the wounds of the lapsed; purposing to consider more fully concerning all, when, by God's mercy, we shall begin again to come together. Meanwhile, if any rash and intemperate person, whether of our Presbyters and Deacons, or of strangers, shall presume to communicate with the lapsed before our sentence is given, let him be forbidden our communion, having hereafter to give account of his temerity before us all, when, by God's permission, we shall meet together.

3. Ye desired me also to give my opinion concerning Philumenus and Fortunatus, Subdeacons, and Favorinus an Acolythe, who withdrew in the middle of the persecution, and have now come back. In this matter I cannot make myself sole judge, since many of the Clergy are still absent, and have not thought right, even thus late, to return to their place. The case of each must be considered separately, and decided more fully and more accurately, with advice not only of my Colleagues, but of the whole people. For a case which will for the future constitute a precedent, as regards the ministers of the Church, must be weighed and pronounced with mature deliberation. Meanwhile let it suffice that they refrain from receiving the monthly dividend, not as being deprived of the ecclesiastical ministry, but that all matters may be reserved entire until my return.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell. Salute the whole brotherhood, and fare ye well.

EPISTLE XXXV.

*Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons abiding at Rome,
his brethren, greeting.*

As well our mutual affection, as our common principles require, dearest brethren, that I should withhold from you none of the things transacted here among us, that so, in what concerns the well-ordering of the Church, we may have one common plan. For after I had written you the Epistle which I sent by Saturus the Reader and Optatus the Subdeacon, concerning the deliberate rashness^g of certain of the lapsed, who shrunk from penance and from appeasing God, they wrote to me not requesting peace to be granted them, but claiming it as already granted, because they say that Paulus has given peace to all; as you will read in their letter, of which I send you a copy. Moreover of the brief answer I wrote them for the present, and of the letter which I afterwards wrote to my Clergy; of these too, that you may know the whole matter, I send you copies. But if after all, their temerity shall not be checked either by mine, or your letters, and they will not obey wholesome counsel, I shall take those steps which the Lord, according to the Gospel, has commanded Mat. 18,
17. F. to be taken.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell. Fare ye well.

EPISTLE XXXVI.¹

¹ See
Ep. 30.

*To Pope Cyprian, the Presbyters and Deacons abiding at
Rome, greeting.*

1. When we had read your letters, dearest brother, which you sent by Fortunatus the Subdeacon, we were stricken with twofold sorrow, and overwhelmed with double grief, that there was no rest allowed you in such a pressure of persecution, and that the ungoverned petulance of the lapsed

^g de quorundam lapsorum prospecta temeritate. Fell, from Bodl. 1. de quor. prosp. tem.; Bal. quor. laps. conspirata temeritas—litteras ad me fecerunt, which is unlike the usual construction of St. C.

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brethren was shewn to be carried to a perilous boldness of language. But, though these things we have mentioned grievously cast down our minds, yet your vigour, and the severity shewn by you according to the Gospel discipline, lightens this heavy burthen of our grief; in that thou both restrainest justly the wickedness of some, and by exhorting to repentance, shewest the legitimate way to safety.

2. It surprises us indeed exceedingly that they should have thought of rushing to such lengths, as, with so much urgency, at such an unripe and bitter season, on occasion of a crime and sin so vast and enormous, not to beg for peace, but to claim it, yea to say that they have it already in heaven. If they have it, why do they ask for what they already possess? but if it is proved by their very asking for it, that they have it not, why do they not await their judgment from whom they have thought right to ask for that peace, which consequently they have not? But if they think they have from any other source the privilege of communion, let them endeavour to compare it with the Gospel, that so it may fully avail them, if it does not disagree with the Gospel rules. But how can that give Gospel communion, which seemeth to be opposed to Gospel truth? For since every prerogative gives the privilege of indulgence on this condition only, that it be not at variance with his will with whom it seeketh association, then, because this is at variance with His Will with Whom it seeketh association, it must needs lose the indulgence and privilege of the association.

3. Let them consider then what they are attempting to do in this matter. For if they say that the Gospel gives one sentence, and the Martyrs another; by bringing the Martyrs in collision with the Gospel, they will be endangered on both sides. For both will the majesty of the Gospel appear broken and prostrate, if it can be set aside by the novelty of another decree, and the glorious crown of confession be taken from the head of the Martyrs, if they be found not to have obtained it by upholding of that Gospel by which they become Martyrs^b, so that it harmonizeth well that none should more avoid deciding aught against the

^b Ep. 27. 38. de Laps. §. 13. p. 166, 7. Oxf. Tr.

Gospel, than he who from the Gospel laboureth to earn the name of Martyr. We would moreover be informed of this, if Martyrs on no other account become Martyrs, than that by not sacrificing they might retain the peace of the Church even to the shedding of their own blood, lest being overcome by the pains of the torture, they losing that peace, lose their salvation, how can they hold that the salvation which, had they sacrificed, they thought they should not attain, is to be granted to those who are reported to have sacrificed, whereas they ought to uphold in others the same law, which themselves laid down for their own guidance?

4. In this business too we perceive that they have advanced against their own cause the very thing, which they thought made for them. For if the Martyrs thought that peace was to be granted to them, why did not they themselves grant it? why, as themselves admit, did they refer them to the Bishops? For he who orders a thing to be done, can surely do what he orders to be done. But as we understand, and as the matter speaks and declares for itself, the most holy Martyrs thought right to observe both ways a due attention both to modesty and truth. For because they were importuned by many, in referring them to the Bishop they thought to consult their own modesty, so as to be no further troubled; and in not communicating with them themselves, they judged that the purity of the Gospel law was to be kept untainted.

5. Do you however, brother, out of your charity, never desist quieting the minds of the lapsed, and applying the medicine of truth to those that err; though the temper of the sick usually rejects the pains which would heal them. This wound of the lapsed is but now fresh, and the tumor yet unabated. And therefore we are sure, that when, by a longer lapse of time, this impetuosity shall wear away, they will be grateful for this very delay with a view to a more lasting cure, provided only that none arm them to their own peril, and instructing them amiss, instead of the wholesome remedies of delay, should demand for them the deadly poison of over-hasty communion.

6. For we cannot believe that, without the instigation of certain persons, all would have dared so petulantly to claim

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peace for themselves. We know the faith of the Carthaginian Church, we know her training, we know her humility. Whence too we have been surprised to note some things thrown out even harshly against you by letter; whereas we have often heard of your mutual love and charity, expressed in many instances of reciprocal affection one towards the other. Time it is then that they do penance for their sin, that they prove their sorrow for their lapse, that they shew bashfulness, that they manifest humility, that they give signs of modesty; that by submission they invite the clemency of God towards them, that by due honour shewn in God's Priestⁱ, they draw down the Divine mercy upon them. How much better had their letters been, if the intercession of those that stand had been aided by their humility; for that which is asked is more easily obtained, when he for whom it is asked, is worthy to obtain what is asked.

ⁱ See
Ep. 59.

7 As regards Privatus¹ of Lambesa, you have acted in your wonted manner, in wishing to inform us of this matter, as one about which we are concerned, for it becomes us all to watch for the body of the whole Church, whose members are dispersed through every various province. But even before your letter came, the fraud of that crafty man did not escape us. For heretofore when from the same troop of wickedness, Futurus came, a standard-bearer of Privatus, and fraudulently attempted to obtain letters of communion from us, it neither escaped us who he was, nor did he receive the letters he wished.

We wish you ever farewell in the Lord.

EPISTLE XXXVII.

Cyprian to Moyses and Maximus, Presbyters, and to the rest of the Confessors, his brethren, greeting.

1. Celerinus^k, a companion both of your faith and courage, and a soldier of God in glorious conflicts, hath, by his coming,

ⁱ in Dei sacerdote F. e Bodl. 1.

^k See Ep. 39. (23. 34.) He is mentioned also with much praise by Cornelius, ap. Eus. H. E. vi. 43. His mar-

tyrdom with that of his parentage, Laurentius, Ignatius, Celerina, (below,) is commemorated on Feb. 3. see Martirol. Rom. ed. Baron.

made you all and every one, dearest brethren, present to my affection; in him I have beheld you all; and when he spoke sweetly and often of your love towards me, in his words I heard you speak. I rejoice exceedingly when, by such as he, such tidings are brought from you. I too am in a manner there with you, in your prison; I, who am so fixed in your hearts, believe that I experience with you the graces^κ of the Divine favour. Your individual love connects me with your glory; the Spirit alloweth not love to be separated. Your confession, my affection, imprisoneth. I too am mindful of you day and night; and when in the Sacrifices I make my prayer with many, and when I pray apart in my private prayers, I beg of the Lord a full accomplishment to your praises and your crowns. But my littleness is unequal to repay you. More do ye bestow, when ye mention me in prayer, ye who now breathing only heavenly things, and meditating only divine, are, by the very delay of your suffering, mounting to greater height, and by the long interval not protracting, but increasing your glory. The first and single confession maketh blessed. Ye confess as oft as asked to retire from prison, through faith and courage ye prefer the prison. Your praises multiply with the days; the increase of your deserts keeps pace with the revolutions of months. He conquers once who suffers at once. But he who continuing under abiding punishment grapples with pain, and is not conquered, is daily crowned.

2. Let magistrates then, consuls or proconsuls, march on in procession, let them, in the ensigns of their year's dignity and their twelve fasces, have their boast. Behold a heavenly dignity is sealed in you by the brightness of a year's honours; and in the duration of its glorious victory has already surpassed the revolving circle of the returning year. The rising sun and the waning moon gave light to the world, but to you the Same Who made both sun and moon was a greater light in prison; and the brightness of Christ, shining in your hearts and minds, irradiated with that eternal and shining light[™], the, to others, horrible and deadly darkness of a place of punishment. The winter season passed through its changes

¹ Ornamenta B. with 9 old MSS. or and old Edd.
hortamenta, incitements F. with 10, [™] Tert. ad Mart. c. 2. p. 152. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. of moons; but ye, imprisoned, endured the season of winter
 XXXVII. in the winter of persecution. On Winter there came soft
 A. 250. Spring, joyous amid her roses, and crowned with flowers; but
 ye had roses and flowers from the delights of paradise, and
 heavenly garlands crowned your heads. Summer cometh,
 rich in the plenteousness of harvest, and the threshing-floors
 are full of corn; but ye, who have sowed glory, reap the fruit
 of glory, and, placed on the floor of the Lord, see the chaff
 burnt up with inextinguishable fire, yourselves, as winnowed
 grains of wheat and precious corn, being now cleansed and
 laid up, ye account the abode of a prison your garner. Nor in
 Autumn is spiritual grace wanting to fulfil the offices of that
 season. Abroad the vintage is pressed, and the grape, the
 glory of the cups hereafter, is trodden in the presses. Ye,
 rich clusters from the vineyard of the Lord, and branches
 with now ripened fruit, trodden on by the weight of worldly
 pressure, squeezed in the prison as your winepress, pour
 forth blood for wine, and, strong in the endurance of suffering,
 drink gladly the cup of martyrdom. Thus with the servants
 of God the year rolls round. Thus is the change of seasons
 hallowed by spiritual well-doings and heavenly rewards.

3. Blessed to the full are they, who from among you, travelling
 along these tracks of glory, have already left the world, and,
 their journey of courage and of faith ended, have reached the
¹ Ep. 6, embrace and kiss¹ of the Lord, the Lord Himself rejoicing.
 fin. But your glory is not less, who, being still set in the conflict,
 and to follow the glory of your companions, long carry on the
 battle, and stedfast in unmoved and unshaken faith, daily in
 your noble deeds exhibit a spectacle before God. The longer
 your battle, the more exalted your crown. One is the strife,
 yet thronged with a manifold frequency of conflicts. Hunger
 ye overcome, and despise thirst, and by strength of courage
 trample on the squalidness of a prison and the horrors of the
 place of torture. There punishment is subdued, the torture
 is worn out; death is not feared, but desired; in that it is
 vanquished by the reward of immortality, forasmuch as he
 who conquers is crowned with eternal life. What must now
 be the mind in you, how exalted and enlarged the breast,
 wherein such and so great things revolve! Where nothing
 but the commands of God and the rewards of Christ are

thought of! There is only the will of God; and although ye are still placed in the flesh, ye no longer live the life of the present world, but of that to come.

4. It remains, dearest brethren, that ye be mindful of me; that, in the midst of your great and divine meditations, ye bear me in your mind and spirit, and I be in your supplications and prayers, when that voice, brightened by the purifying of confession, and honoured for its even tenor in its glory, reacheth unto the ears of God, and, heaven being opened to it, passing from these parts of the conquered world unto the realms above, it obtaineth from the mercy of God what it asketh. For what can ye ask from the tender mercy of the Lord, which ye will not be accounted worthy to obtain, who have thus observed the commandments of the Lord; who have held to the discipline of the Gospel by the sincere vigour of your faith, who, the honour of your courage untarnished, standing manfully by the precepts of the Lord, and by His Apostles, have strengthened the tottering faith of many by the truth of your martyrdom? Truly witnesses of the Gospel, and truly Martyrs of Christ, rooted and stayed in Him, and *founded with massive weight on the Rock*, ye have joined discipline with courage, have provoked others to the fear of God, have made your own martyrdoms an example.

I bid you, most brave and most blessed brethren, ever heartily farewell, and that ye remember me.

EPISTLE XXXVIII.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, and to the whole people, greeting.

1. In clerical ordinations, dearest brethren, my custom is to consult you beforehand, and by common advice to weigh the character and merits of each. But testimonies of men need not be awaited, when anticipated by the sentence of God. Aurelius our brother, an illustrious youth, already approved by the Lord and dear to God, in years only tender, but in the renown of courage and of faith advanced; falling short in the nature of his age, but exceeding in honour, has striven here in a double conflict; twice confessing, and twice ennobled by his victorious confession; being both banished

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A. 250. when first he conquered in the course^m, and when he fought anew in a harder conflict, triumphant and victorious in the battle of suffering. As often as the adversary wished to challenge the servants of God, so often he, a most ready and valiant soldier, both fought and conquered. It had been little, first to have engaged in sight of a few, when he was banished; he was counted worthy to encounter also in the forum with more glorious courage, that after the magistrates he might conquer the proconsuls also, and after exile he might overcome the torture. Nor do I see which most to extol in him, the glory of his wounds, or the modesty of his behaviour; that he is ennobled by the honour of his courage, or praiseworthy for his admired bashfulness? So lofty is he in dignity, and lowly in humility, that it appears he is by Providence reserved to be an example to others of ecclesiastical discipline, in what way the servants of God should in Confession conquer by courage, and after Confession be eminent for good conduct.

2. Such a one merited a higher degree of clerical ordination and larger accessions, estimated, as he ought, not after his years, but his deserts. But for the present I thought right that he should begin with the office of reading. For nothing is more fitting for that voice, which has confessed the Lord with a glorious attestation, than to sound abroad in the solemn reading of the divine word; than after lofty words, which delivered forth the witness of Christ, to read the Gospel of Christ, whence His witnesses are made; after the rack to come to the desk; in the one place to have been a spectacle to the multitude of Gentiles, in the other to be beheld by the brethren; there to have been heard amid the wondering amazement of the surrounding populace, here to be heard with the joy of the brotherhood.

3. Know therefore, dearest brethren, that he has been ordained by me and my Colleagues who were with me: tidings, which I know you will gladly welcome, and desire that very many such may be ordained in our Church. And whereas joy is ever eager, and gladness cannot bear delay, he reads on the Lord's day for the while with us, that is, by his solemn initiation in the office of reading, he gives a prelude

^m in cursu Edd. and B. incursu, at the first onset, F. with 2 old Mss. excursu, skirmish, 2 old Mss.

of peace. Be ye instant in prayer, and aid my supplication by yours, that the mercy of the Lord, being favourable to us, may soon restore the priest to his people, and with the priest a Martyr for their reader.

I bid you, dearest brethren, in God the Father and Christ Jesus, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XXXIX.

Cyprian to the Presbyters, and Deacons, and the whole people, his brethren, greeting.

1. We should acknowledge and embrace, beloved brethren, the Divine blessings, wherewith in our times the Lord hath vouchsafed to adorn and honour His Church, by granting a respite to His good Confessors, and glorious Martyrs; that they who have nobly confessed Christ, should afterwards adorn the Clergy of Christ in ecclesiastical administrations. Exult therefore and rejoice with us, when you read our Epistle, wherein I and my Colleagues, who werewith me, report to you, that Celerinus our brother, renowned alike for his courage and his character, has been joined to our Clergy, not by human suffrage, but by Divine favour. Who, when he hesitated to assent to the Church, was, by her own admonition and exhortation in a vision by night, compelled not to hold out against our persuasions. For she had more authority, and also constrained him; for it was not right or becoming that he should be without ecclesiastical honour, whom the Lord had so honoured with the dignity of heavenly glory. He in the warfare of our time was the first, he amongst the soldiers of Christ led the van, he in the hot outset of the persecution engaged with the very chief and author of the attack; while by the invincible firmness of his conflict he vanquished his adversary, opened to others a road to victory; himself victorious not with a brief summary of wounds, but miraculously triumphant amid the close and abiding pressure of a long wrestling with tortures. For nineteen days, fenced in the close-keeping of the prison, he lay on the rack and in irons. But when his body was laid in chains, his spirit remained free and at large^a. His flesh wasted

^a Tert. ad Mart. §. 2. p. 153. Oxf. Tr.

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away by a long endurance of hunger and thirst; but his soul, living by faith and courage, God fed with spiritual nourishment. He lay amidst tortures, mightier than his tortures; in prison greater than his imprisoners; prostrate, loftier than those who stood; bound, firmer than the chains that bound him; judged, higher than his judges; and although his feet were bound in the stocks, yet the serpent was trodden on, crushed, and conquered. Bright marks of wounds shine in his glorious body; the traces stamped thereon stand out, plain to sight, on the sinews and limbs of one worn by long wasting. Great and wonderful are the things which the brotherhood have to hear of his virtues and praises. And if there be one like Thomas, who believeth not on hearing, ocular proof is not wanting, so that what he heareth he may also see. To the servant of God the glory of his wounds gave the victory; the memorial of his scars preserve that glory. Nor is this a strange or new title of glory to our most beloved Celerinus. He walks in the steps of his own kindred; he is equalled to his ancestors and relatives, by the likeness of the honour vouchsafed by God. His grandmother Celerina^a was long since crowned with martyrdom. His paternal and maternal uncles too, Laurentius and Ignatius, who also formerly warred in the armies of this world, but true and spiritual soldiers of God, whilst they overthrew the devil by the Confession of Christ, earned wreaths and crowns from the Lord by a glorious suffering. We continually offer oblations for them, as you remember, whenever we celebrate the sufferings and days of the Martyrs in the annual commemoration. He then could neither be degenerate nor inferior, whom the dignity and high-souled nobility of his family so called forth by domestic examples of courage and of faith. But if in a family of the world it is matter of distinction and praise to be a patrician, how much greater the praise and honour, to become of noble birth in heavenly distinction! I know not which to call more blessed, whether them for a posterity so illustrious, or him for an origin so glorious. So equally doth the Divine favour flow to and fro amid them, that both the dignity of their offspring adorns

^a S. Aug. Sermon. 48 and 174 are stated to have been delivered in the basilica of Celerina. The same pro-

bably is mentioned in Victor Vit. de Pers. Afr. l. i. [B. P. viii. 676.] B.

their crown, and the loftiness of his race sheds lustre on his glory.

2. This man, coming to me, dearest brethren, with such vouchsafements from the Lord, illustrious by the testimony and wonder of the very person^p who had persecuted him, what else was to be done than that he should be placed on the pulpit, that is, on the tribunal of the Church, that, placed on the eminence of a loftier station, and conspicuous to the whole people conformably to the brightness of his honour, he may read the precepts and the Gospel of the Lord, which he courageously and faithfully follows? Be the voice, which hath confessed the Lord, daily heard in the words which the Lord hath spoken! Be it considered whether there is any higher degree to which he may be advanced in the Church!

3. There is nothing wherein a Confessor can more benefit the brethren, than if, while the reading of the Gospel is heard from his mouth, whoso hears, would imitate the faith of the Reader. He ought to be joined with Aurelius in reading, with whom also he had been joined in a fellowship of divine honour, with whom he had been united in all distinctions of virtue and praise. Both equal, and each resembling the other; highly exalted in glory, yet as lowly in modesty; exalted by Divine favour, humbling themselves in their own quiet and calm demeanour; giving examples to all, alike of courage and of conduct; formed both for persecution and for peace; praiseworthy, in the one for strength, in the other for modesty. In such servants the Lord rejoiceth. In Confessors of this kind He glorieth, whose walk and conversation so contributes to the heralding of their glory, that it gives to others an example of discipline. To this end Christ willed them to remain longer here in the Church; to this end, withdrawn from the midst of death, by a sort of resurrection, if I may so speak, wrought on them, He reserved them in safety; that while nothing more exalted in honour, nothing more lowly in humility, is seen by the brethren, the brotherhood may follow and imitate these same persons. Understand then that they are for the present appointed Readers,

^p Decius. This with an expression in the beginning of this Ep. and in Ep. 22. implies that some temporary impression was made on the Emperor by this en-

durance of Celerinus, or that at least he felt himself baffled, and that some testimony was wrung from him.

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 because it was fitting that the *candle* should be *set in a candlestick*, whence *it may give light to all*, and their glorious countenances be placed on a higher station, where, beheld by all the surrounding brotherhood, they may to the beholders furnish an incitement to glory. But understand that I have already designed them for the honour of the Presbytery, that they may be honoured with the same allowances as the Presbyters, and share the monthly divisions in equal quantities, hereafter to sit with us in their advanced and strengthened years; though in no respect can one be accounted inferior in age, who has fulfilled his age by the greatness of his glory.

I bid you, dearest and much longed for brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XL.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons, and the whole people, dearest and much longed for brethren, greeting.

I must announce to you, dearest brethren, what pertaineth both to the common joy, and to the exceeding glory of our Church. For you are to know that I have been admonished and instructed by a Divine vouchsafement, to enrol Numidicus the presbyter in the number of the Carthaginian presbyters, and that he should sit with us among the Clergy, in the lustre of the brightest light of Confession, and exalted by the glory of his courage and faith; who, by his exhortations, sent before himself a numerous band of Martyrs, slain by stones and the flames; and who with joy beheld the wife at his side, burnt (I should rather say preserved) together with the rest. He himself half-burnt and buried under the stones and left for dead, when shortly after, his daughter, with the anxious devotion of piety, sought the corpse of her father, being found half dead, and extricated and brought to life, unwillingly^a remained behind from among the companions whom himself had sent before; but this, as we see, was the occasion of his remaining, that the Lord might join him with our Clergy, and might adorn with glorious priests the number of our presbytery, that was desolate by the lapse of some. And

^a *invitus*. The Ben. has *invictus*, but no authorities are given.

indeed he shall be promoted, when God shall permit, to a higher degree in his quarter, when by the favour of the Lord we have returned amongst you. Meanwhile let what is shewn¹ be done, that we receive this gift with thanksgiving,^{1 in vision} hoping from the Lord's mercy many more ornaments of the same kind; that so, when the strength of the Church is renewed, He may cause men so meek and humble to flourish in honour in our consistory.

I bid you, dearest and much longed for brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XLI.

A. 251.

Cyprian to Cudonius and Herculannus, his Colleagues; also to Rogatianus and Numidicus, his fellow-Presbyters, greeting.

I was exceedingly afflicted, dearest brethren, at the receipt of your letter; that, whereas it has ever been my purpose and wish to hold together our whole brotherhood in safety, and to preserve the flock unspoiled according as charity requires; yet ye now announce that Felicissimus hath planned many wicked and treacherous devices; so that beyond his old frauds and extortions, of which I had already known much, he hath now attempted also to divide a portion of the people from their Bishop, that is, to separate sheep from the shepherd, and sons from their parent, and to scatter the members of Christ. And whereas I sent you as my deputies, to discharge with certain sums the necessary expenses of our brethren; and, if any would follow their trades, to aid their purposes, by such an addition as need required; and at the same time to ascertain their ages, conditions, and deserts; that so I, on whom this care is incumbent, might best know them all, and promote to offices of ecclesiastical administration whosoever are worthy and humble and meek, he however has interfered, so that no one be relieved, nor the things, that I desired, be by diligent enquiry ascertained; he has threatened our brethren too, who first came to be relieved, with reckless assumption of power and violent menaces, that those who chose to obey us should not communicate with him in death. And whereas after all these things, he, neither moved by the dignity of my office, nor

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A. 251. deterred by your authority and presence, of his own impulse disturbing the quiet of the brethren, hath cast himself forth with many more, with headlong madness declaring himself leader of a faction and chief of sedition, (wherein indeed I rejoice that very many brethren have withdrawn from this boldness, and have preferred to remain contented under you, that so they may abide with their mother the Church, and receive her pay at the Bishop's hands; which moreover I feel assured others also will peaceably do, and will soon withdraw from their rash error;)—meanwhile whereas Felicissimus has threatened, that they should not communicate with him in death, who have obeyed us, that is, who communicate with us; let him receive the sentence which he has first pronounced; and let him know that he is excommunicated by us; since to his fraud and extortion, whereof we are cognizant by the clear truth, the crime of adultery is also added; which brethren of ours, grave men, have announced that they have detected, and have solemnly declared that they will prove. All which matters we will then take cognizance of, when, by God's permission, we shall have met together with more of our Colleagues. Moreover Augendus, who, regarding neither the Bishop nor the Church, has equally associated himself with him in this conspiracy and faction, if he shall continue longer with him, must bear the sentence which that factions and rash man has brought down upon himself. Moreover, whosoever shall join himself to his conspiracy and faction, must know that he cannot communicate in the Church with us, who of his own accord has chosen to be separated from the Church. Read this my Epistle to our brethren, and transmit it also to the Clergy at Carthage, adding the names of those who have joined themselves to Felicissimus.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and remember me. Farewell.

EPISTLE XLII.

Caldonius with Herculanus and Victor, his Colleagues; also with Rogatianus and Numidicus, Presbyters, to Cyprian, greeting.

We have deprived Felicissimus and Augendus of com-

St. C. writes to warn, his return being hindered by faction. 93

munion, also Repostus of the exiles, and Irene of the Confessors, and Paula the sempstress; which thou oughtest to be informed of by my¹ subscription. We have likewise deprived Sophronius, and Soliassus ———^m also one of the exiles.

EPISTLE XLIII.

Cyprian to the whole people, greeting.

1. Although, dearest brethren, Britius^a a most faithful and upright Presbyter, and also Rogatianus and Numidicus, Presbyters, Confessors and illustrious through the glory of the Divine favour, and moreover the Deacons, good men, and in all services devoted to the government of the Church, with the rest of the ministers, give you the full attention of their presence, and cease not to confirm you severally by constant exhortations, and besides to guide and restore the minds of the lapsed by wholesome counsel; nevertheless I, as far as I am able, admonish, and, in what way I can, visit you by my Epistles. By Epistles, I say, dearest brethren; for the malignity and perfidy of certain Presbyters has brought this to pass, that I cannot come to you before Easter-Day^o; in that, mindful of their old conspiracy and retaining their ancient venom against my Episcopate^p, yea against your suffrage and the judgment of God, they renew their old attack upon us, and with their wonted treachery again resume their unholy machinations. And indeed by God's Providence, when we neither wished nor desired it, nay even pardoned them and were silent, they have received the punishment they deserved, so that, not ejected by us, they have of their own accord ejected themselves; they have from their own consciences passed sentence upon themselves; in accordance with your and the Divine suffrages, the conspirators and wicked men have voluntarily expelled themselves from the Church. Now it is made apparent whence

¹ Caldonius.

^m Budinarius. The meaning is not known. Salmas. (ap. Bal.) conjectures "Butinarius from *Butina* a cruet;" Bal. suggests its apparent connexion with "Budin," but that there are no traces of the word in Lat.

^a F. Virtius or Viritus, B.

^o on which the lapsed would have claimed from him, of right, to be restored to Communion.

^p which they opposed. See life of St. C. by Pontius, §. 7. p. vii. Oxf. Tr.

the faction of Felicissimus came, on what root and what support it rested. These men formerly gave encouragement and advice to certain Confessors, not to agree with their Bishop and thereby uphold ecclesiastical discipline in faith and quietness according to the precepts of the Lord, and preserve the glory of their confession by an uncorrupt and spotless conversation. And as if it had not been enough to have corrupted the minds of certain Confessors, and to have wished to arm a portion of our broken brotherhood against the Priesthood of God; they have now turned themselves with their envenomed deceit to the destruction of the lapsed, calling off from the cure of their wounds the sick and wounded, who from the calamity of their fall are not fit or firm-knit enough to receive stronger counsel; and by the falsehood of a delusive peace invite them to a destructive precipitancy, leaving off the prayers and entreaties, whereby the Lord, by long and continual amends, is to be appeased. But, I beseech you, brethren, be vigilant against the snares of the devil, and, anxious for your own salvation, watch with all diligence against this deadly cheat.

2. This is another persecution, and another trial. Those five presbyters are nothing else than^p those five chief persons, who were lately joined with the magistrates in the edict, to subvert our faith, and by prevarication from the truth draw aside the weak hearts of the brethren into deadly snares. The same method now, the same overthrow of the Faith, is anew brought about by the five presbyters joined with Felicissimus, to the ruin of salvation; that God be not entreated, nor he who has denied Christ, seek mercy of the Same Christ Whom he has denied; that after a fault committed, penitence also be taken away; the Lord be not appeased through the Bishops and Priests; but that, the priests of the Lord being abandoned, a new tradition of unholy institution should rise up against ecclesiastical discipline; and although it has once been determined as well by us, as by the Confessors and Clergy of the City^q, as also by all the Bishops established in our province or

^p i. e. the object being the same, the overthrow of the faith, compassed by the same author, Satan, these, alike his instruments, are representatives and emblems of the other persecutors of the

Church, the same principle of evil in a different form.

^q Rome, to which Moyses also and the other Confessors who wrote to St. C. belonged.

beyond seas^r, that nothing new be done in the cause of the lapsed, until we have all met together, and by mutual advice have settled some sentence, tempered alike with discipline and mercy; yet have they rebelled against this our counsel, and all priestly authority and power is destroyed by factious conspiracies.

3. What suffering do I now endure, dearest brethren, that I cannot myself come to you at present, I cannot myself approach you individually, myself exhort you according to the precepts of the Lord and His Gospel! Exile for now two years sufficed not, nor the mournful separation from your presence and sight, perpetual sorrow and mourning, which, in my solitude without you, rends me asunder with continual lamentation; nor my tears flowing by day and night, that your Bishop, whom ye made with so great love and zeal^s, is not allowed even yet to greet you, not even yet to throw himself into your embraces. There is yet heaped upon my wasting spirit this greater sorrow, that amid anxiety and need so great, I cannot in person come forth to you, in that through the threats and plots of perfidious men, we must beware, lest on our approach a greater tumult should arise amongst you; and whereas a Bishop should in all things provide for peace and tranquillity, he himself appear to have given occasion to sedition, and anew to have roused the persecution. Hence however, most beloved brethren, hence I as well warn as advise you, not hastily to believe pernicious counsel, not to lend an easy assent to deceitful words, not to take darkness for light, night for day, hunger for food, thirst for drink, poison for medicine, death for health. Let not their age or authority impose upon you, answering to the old wickedness of the two elders; as they attempted to corrupt and violate the chaste Susanna, so do these by adulterous doctrines attempt to corrupt the chastity of the Church, and violate evangelical truth. The Lord crieth aloud and saith, *Hearken not unto the words of false prophets, for the visions of their own hearts deceive them. They speak, but not out of the mouth of the*

Hist. of
Sus.

^r Equally those of Italy; hence appeals to Rome were forbidden by the African Canons under the title "appeals beyond seas;" African Bishops were forbidden to go beyond seas, without

advice of the Primate, as were judgments beyond seas. Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr. c. 23. 25. 56. 94. Bal.

^s See life by Pontius, §. 6. p. vi. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. Lord. *They say to them that despise the word of the Lord,*
 XLIII. *Ye shall have peace*¹.
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4. They now offer peace, who themselves have not peace. They promise to bring back and recal the lapsed to the Church, who have themselves departed from the Church. There is One God, and One Christ, and one Church, and one Mat.16, chair founded by the word of the Lord on the Rock". Another 18. altar cannot be set up, nor a new priesthood made, besides the Luke11, one altar and one priesthood. *Whosoever gathereth elsewhere,* 23. *scattereth.* Adulterous, impious, sacrilegious, is that whatsoever is so framed by human madness, that the ordinance of God is violated. Depart far from the contagion of such men, and by 2Tim.2, flight *shun their words as a cancer* and a pestilence, the Lord 16. 17. forewarning and saying, *They are blind leaders of the blind:* Mat.15, 14. *but if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.* They hinder your prayers, which, with us, ye pour forth day and night to God, that ye may appease Him by a due satisfaction. They hinder your tears, with which ye wash away the crime of committed sin. They hinder the peace, which ye truly and faithfully entreat of the mercy of the Lord, nor know they Deut. that it is written, *And that prophet, and dreamer of dreams,* 13, 5. *that hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, shall be put to death.* Let no one make you, dearest brethren, to err from the ways of the Lord. Let no one hurry you Christians from the Gospel of Christ. Let no one take sons of the Church from the Church. Let them who will perish, perish alone by themselves. Let them remain alone without the Church, who have withdrawn from the Church. Let them alone be without Bishops, who have rebelled against their Bishops. Let them alone undergo the punishment of their conspiracy, who formerly, according to your suffrages, now according to God's judgments, have deserved to undergo the sentence of their own conspiracy and malignity.

Mark 7, 5. The Lord admonisheth us in His Gospel, saying, *Ye reject* 9. *the commandment of God, that ye may establish your own tradition.* Let those who reject the commandment of God, and attempt to establish their own tradition, be firmly and resolutely

¹ Jer. 23, 16. 17. so quoted also de Unit. Eccl. §. 10. p. 138. Oxf. Tr. and 17 old Mss. Petrum Rig. and F. with 4 old Mss. see further Note

² Petram Bal. with the old Edd. Q. on Tertullian, p. 492. Oxf. Tr.

& thereby Satan cheats men of what in a wrong way they seek. 97

repelled by you. Let one fall suffice the lapsed. Let no one by his circumvention overthrow those wishing to rise. Let no one prostrate and sink yet deeper those that are down, for whom we pray that they may be lifted up by the hand and arm of God. Let no one turn away from all hope of recovery those that are half alive, and that entreat they may recover their ancient state of health. Let no one extinguish every light in the way of salvation to them that are stumbling in the darkness of their fall. The Apostle instructeth, saying, *If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His doctrine, he is proud, knowing nothing;—from such withdraw thyself.* ^{1 Tim. 6, 3—5.} And again he says, *Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them.* ^{Ephes. 5, 6. 7.} It is not fitting that, deceived by vain words, ye should begin to be partakers of their wickedness. Depart from such, I beseech you, and acquiesce in our counsels, who daily pour forth continual prayers to the Lord for you, who desire that you should be recalled to the Church by the Lord's mercy, who pray of God for the most entire peace, first for the Mother, then also for her children. To our prayers and entreaties do ye join your prayers and entreaties also, to our weeping unite your tears. Avoid wolves, who separate sheep from the shepherd. Avoid the poisoned tongue of the devil, who *from the beginning* of the world, always deceitful and a *liar*, lies, that he may deceive; flatters, that he may harm; promises good, that he may give evil; offers life, that he may kill. Now too his words are plain, and his poisons manifest. He offers peace, that peace may not be attained; he promises safety, that he who has sinned may not come to safety; he holds out a Church, while he is compassing that whoso believes him, may perish entirely from the Church.

6. Now is the time, most beloved brethren, that both ye who stand, should persevere manfully, and by continued steadfastness preserve your glorious stability, which ye retained during the persecution; and if any by the wiles of the adversary have fallen, that in this second temptation ye consult faithfully for your hope and peace; and, that the Lord may pardon you, withdraw not from the priests of the Lord: for it is written,

EPIST. *And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not*
 XLIV. *hearken unto the priest or unto the judge that shall be in*
 A. 251. *those days, even that man shall die.* This is the latest and
 Deut. last temptation of this persecution; which also shall, by the
 17, 12. protection of the Lord, soon pass away, so that after Easter-Day

I shall be again restored to you with my Colleagues; in whose presence we shall be able to arrange and perfect the things that are to be done, both according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all, as hath been already determined*. But if any one refusing to do penance, and to make satisfaction to God, shall go over to the party of Felicissimus and his satellites, and shall join himself to the heretical faction, let him know that he cannot afterwards return to the Church and communicate with the Bishops and people of Christ.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell, and that ye continue instant with us in prayer, entreating the mercy of the Lord.

EPISTLE XLIV.

Cyprian to Cornelius, his brother, greeting.

There have come to us, dearest brother, Maximus, a Presbyter, Augendus, a Deacon, and one Machæus and Longinus, sent by Novatian. But as we learnt, both from the letter they brought with them, and from their own language and assertion, that Novatian had been made Bishop, we, troubled at the wickedness of an illegal ordination made contrary to the Catholic Church, forthwith determined to forbid them our communion, refuting meanwhile and rebutting the things they essayed obstinately and pertinaciously to assert. For both I and very many Colleagues who had come together to me, awaited the arrival of our colleagues Caldonius and Fortunatus, (whom we had lately sent as ambassadors to thee and our fellow-Bishops who were present at thy ordination,) that upon their return and reporting to us the truth of what was done, the wickedness of the adverse party might, through their means, be repressed

* sicut semel placuit, Epp. 14—36. preecedent in the beginning of his episcopate.
 Rig. understands the words of some

by greater authority and clear proof. There arrived however Pompeius^y and Stephanus our colleagues, who also, for our information how things stood among you, adduced manifest proofs and testimonies becoming their gravity and fidelity, that it was not even necessary that they who had come from Novatian should be further heard. Who, when they broke in upon us, in our worship on a stationary-day^z, and that with invidious reproaches and turbulent clamour, and demanded that the charges which they said they brought and could prove should be publicly taken cognizance of by us and by the people, we denied that it became our gravity, to suffer the honour of our Colleague, already chosen and ordained, and approved by the worthy sentence of many, to be further canvassed by the malicious voice of rivals. And because it would be tedious to detail in an Epistle the unlawful attempts in which they have been refuted and checked, and in which they have been detected of causing heresy, ye shall hear every thing most fully from our fellow-Presbyter Primitivus, as soon as he shall reach you. And that no term may ever be put to their mad presumption, here too they are endeavouring to rend asunder the members of Christ into schismatical parties, and to divide and mangle the body of the Catholic Church ; insomuch that running up and down, from door to door, through the houses of many, and from town to town, through several cities, they seek to themselves companions in their obstinacy and their error. To whom we have once given this answer, nor do we cease to charge them, that laying aside their pernicious dissension and strife, they know that it is an impiety to desert their Mother, and acknowledge and understand, that when a Bishop is once made and approved by the testimony and judgment of his Colleagues and the people, another can by no means be appointed : if therefore they regard their own peace and fidelity, if they confess themselves to be maintainers of the Gospel of Christ, they must first return to the Church.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

^y Epp. 48 and 74.

^z See on Tert. de Orat. c. 19. p. 311. n. a. Oxf. Tr.

EPISTLE XLV.

*Cyprian to Cornelius, his brother, greeting*EPIST.
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A. 251.

1. As became servants of God, and especially legitimate and peace-making Priests, we lately sent, dearest brother, our colleagues Caldonius and Fortunatus; that not only by the persuasion of our Epistles, but by their own presence and the advice of you all, they might endeavour, as far as they could, and labour effectually to bring back the members of the divided body to the unity of the Catholic Church, and to knit them together in the bond of Christian love. But since the self-willed and inflexible obstinacy of the adverse party has not only refused the arms and embraces of her who is their root and mother, but has also, with discord increasing and widening worse and worse, appointed a Bishop for itself, and contrary to the mystery of the Divine appointment and of catholic unity once delivered, has set up an adulterous and opposed head without the Church; when we received both your and our Colleagues' letters, and when our colleagues Pompeius and Stephanus, good men and much beloved by us, arrived, by whom all these things to our common sorrow^a were alleged and proved beyond all question, as the sanctity and truth alike of divine tradition and ecclesiastic institution required, we have directed our Epistles to you. And moreover having notified these same things throughout our province^b to our several Colleagues, we have charged them that our brethren be sent on with letters from them also to you. Although indeed our mind and purpose had been already made known to our brethren and all the laity here, when lately, on the receipt of letters from both parties, we read yours, and intimated in the

^a tristitia, Rig. and F. c Cod. Benev. letitia, Bal. with the old Edd. and Mss. Bal. supposes this "joy" to refer to news brought by Pompeius and Stephanus, that Maximus and the other Confessors had returned to the Church; yet to this there is no allusion.

^b Africa, Numidia, and the two

Mauritanias, as subject to the see of Carthage, [F.] comp. Ep. 45. [48.] cod. Cam. Eccl. Afr. c. 55. where Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, says that he has the care of all the Churches. The Rheims Ms. has "our Provinces," Salvian iv. 4. speaks of "the Africas." B.

hearing of every one your ordination to the Episcopate. Mindful also of the common honour, and having regard to the gravity and sanctity of the priesthood, we rejected those bitter accusations which the adverse party had heaped together in a libel transmitted to us; as well considering and weighing, that in so large and solemn an assembly of brethren, when the Priests of God were sitting together and the Altar was set^c, such things ought neither to be read or heard. For neither are things to be readily brought forward and incautiously and hastily published, which, written by some contentious hand, may occasion scandal to the hearers, and perplex with uncertainty brethren at a distance and living across the seas. Let them beware, who, serving their own rage or passions, and regardless of the Divine law and sanctity, are eager to toss abroad even for a time what they cannot prove, and when they are unable to destroy and undo innocence, are content to bespot it by lying reports and false rumours.

2. Assuredly, as becomes Prelates and Priests, pains must be taken, that such things, when they are written by any, be rejected by us. For what would become of that which we learn and teach to have been written, *Keep thy tongue from evil*, Ps. 34, *and thy lips from speaking guile?* and elsewhere, *Thy mouth* ^{13.} *was full of malice, and thy tongue embraced deceit.* *Thou* ^{Ps. 50,} *satest and spakest against thy brother, thou slanderedst* ^{19. 20.} *thine own mother's son*; also what the Apostle says, *Let no* ^{Eph. 4,} *corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that* ^{29.} *which is good to the edifying of faith, that it may minister grace unto the hearers.* Moreover we shall shew that men ought so to act¹, if, whenever such things are written by the ¹accord-
calumnious presumption of some, we suffer them not to be ^{ing to}
read amongst us. Wherefore, dearest brother, when such ^{the te-}
things were written to me against^d you and your fellow- ^{nor of}
Presbyters sitting with you^e, in a tone of religious simplicity, ^{these}
^{pas-}
^{sages.}

^c a temporary Altar, where they were assembled, the state of things perhaps not permitting the Council to be held in the Church. Bal. says, "It is very probable that the Altars were then raised for the occasion, on account

of the harassing of the enemies of the Cross of Christ."

^d adversum, Edd. et eodd. Vett. ap. Bal. de Rig. F. et Ben. ex err. typ.

^e as opposed to the schism of Novatian.

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 not ringing with the yells of maledictions and revilings, I ordered them to be read to the Clergy and people. But whereas we wished for written communications from our Colleagues who were present at your ordination, we were not forgetful of the ancient practice, nor sought any thing new: for it were enough that you by letters announced that you were made Bishop, had there not been a dissentient faction on the opposite side, who by their slanderous and calumnious fictions disturbed the minds and perplexed the hearts of many, as well of our Colleagues as of our brethren. For composing which matter, we deemed it necessary to obtain thence in writing the sure and substantial authority of our Colleagues; who in their letters setting forth testimonials worthy of your conversation and life and discipline, have taken away even from your rivals and from such as delight either in novel or crooked ways, every pretence of doubt or dissent; and according to my advice the minds of the brethren, that were tossed on this sea, poised^f by this sound method, have sincerely and stedfastly approved your priesthood. For this, brother, very especially we both do and ought to labour; that we strive to hold fast, as much as we can, the unity appointed by the Lord, and through the Apostles delivered to us their successors, and, as much as in us lies, that we gather into the Church the straying and wandering sheep, which the froward faction of some, and the temptation of heresy, separate from their mother; leaving those only to remain without, who persist in their obstinacy or madness, and will not return to us; who will hereafter have to give account to the Lord, of the division and separation they have caused, and of their abandonment of the Church.

3. But in regard to the cause of certain Presbyters here and Felicissimus, that you may know what has been done here, our Colleagues have sent to you letters subscribed by their own hands. What their opinion and what their sentence is, after hearing the parties, you will learn from their letters. But you will do better, brother, if you will also cause the copies of those letters to be read to the brethren with you, which, for our mutual affection, I sent very lately for your perusal

^f libratæ F. libratum Bal. which embarrasses the construction.

by our colleagues, Caldonius and Fortunatus; which I had written concerning the same Felicissimus and his Presbytery to my Clergy and people here, which also describe the order and method of the whole transaction; that as well here as there the brotherhood may be informed of all things by us. I have now sent again copies of the same by Mettius the Subdeacon, and Nicephorus the Acolythe.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XLVI.

Cyprian to Maximus, and Nicostratus, and the other Confessors, greeting.

Since ye have frequently perceived from my Epistles, dearest, both what honour I have in my language shewn to your confession, and what love for the united brethren, I entreat you to believe and acquiesce in these present Epistles, in which I both write and consult with simplicity and faithfulness for you and your conduct and estimation. For it oppresses and saddens me, and the insupportable sorrow of a stricken and almost prostrate spirit weighs me down, on finding that you in those parts, contrary to ecclesiastical ordinance, contrary to the evangelical law, contrary to the unity of Catholic appointment, had agreed that another Bishop should be made; that is, what is neither right, nor may be done, that another Church should be constituted, the members of Christ torn asunder, the one mind and body of the Lord's flock rent by divided rivalry. Wherefore, I entreat that in you at least that unlawful division of our brotherhood may not continue, but that, mindful of your confession and the divine tradition, ye return to the mother whence ye have departed, whence ye came to the glory of confession, to the exulting joy of the same mother. Nor think that so ye maintain the Gospel of Christ, while ye separate yourselves from the flock of Christ and from His peace and concord; whereas it rather befits glorious and good soldiers to sit down within their own camp, and, stationed within, to do and to give heed to such things as are to be performed in common. For since our unanimity

EPIST.
XLVIII.
A. 251. and concord ought not on any account to be broken, and whereas we cannot leave the Church and go forth without and come to you, we beg and entreat, with every exhortation we can, that ye would rather return to the Church your mother, and to our brotherhood.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XLVII.

Cyprian to Cornelius his brother, greeting.

I have deemed it a point of conscience for myself and needful for you, dearest brother, to write a short Epistle to the Confessors who are with you, and who, seduced by the obstinacy and perverseness of Novatian and Novatus, have withdrawn from the Church ; in which Epistle I would prevail with them, from mutual affection, to return to their mother, that is, the Catholic Church. This Epistle I have given order should be first read to you by Mettius the Subdeacon, lest any one should pretend that I have written any thing else than is contained in it. I have moreover charged the same Mettius, who is sent by me to you, to act in this matter according to your pleasure, and if you shall think that the same Epistle should be given to the Confessors, in that case to deliver it.

I bid you, dearest brother, heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XLVIII.

Cyprian to Cornelius his brother, greeting.

I. I have read your letter, dearest brother, which you sent by Primitivus our brother-Presbyter, whereby I find that you were disturbed, that, whereas letters from the Adrumetine colony in the name of Polycarp were directed to you, after Liberalis and I had met in that same place, letters had been directed thence to the Presbyters and Deacons. This I wish you to know and be assured, was not done from any levity or intended affront. But when several of our order, who had met together, had determined, after sending our co-prelates Caldonius and Fortunatus ambassadors to you, that, in the mean time, all things

should remain as they were, until these same Colleagues should return to us, having either restored peace among you, or ascertained the exact truth, the Presbyters and Deacons in the Adrumetine colony, in the absence of our co-prelate Polycarp, were ignorant of what we had determined amongst ourselves. But when we came amongst them, they too, as others also, having become acquainted with our purpose, at once coincided with it, that so there might be no difference of proceeding in any of the Churches settled here.

2. Certain persons however sometimes disturb men's minds by their reports, representing some things otherwise than the truth is. For we, furnishing all who sail hence with a rule, lest in their voyage they any way offend, know well that we have exhorted them to acknowledge and hold to the root and womb^g of the Catholic Church. But as our province is of very wide extent, (for it has Numidia and Mauritania^h annexed to it,) lest the fact of a schism in the City might perplex with uncertainties the minds of those absent, we determined, having by aid of those Bishops ascertained the exact truth and obtained better authority for approving your ordination, then at length, all scruples being removed from the breast of every one, to send Epistles to you from all, every where throughout the province, (as is being done,) that so all our Colleagues might approve of and hold to thee and thy communion, that is as well to the unity as the charity of the Catholic Church. All which, to our joy, has been brought about by God, and our design has through His Providence come to pass. For thus both the truth and the dignity of your Episcopate are alike established in the clearest and most manifest light, and by the most solid proof; so that from the answers of our Colleagues, who thence have written to us, and from the report and testimony of our co-prelates, Pompeius and Stephanus, Caldonius and Fortunatus, the requisite origin, and just method, and excellent purity, of your ordination may be known by all. That we with the

^g i. e. the Church adhering to the lawful Bishop, which is the root on which individuals grow, the Mother of their second birth. The passage refers

to Cornelius, as the lawful Bishop, not specially to the see of Rome.

^h or, the two Mauritania's, F. for it was now divided.

EPIST. rest, our Colleagues, may stably and firmly administer our
 XLIX. office, and uphold the peace of the Catholic Church in the
 A. 251. unity of concord, the Divine favour will bring to pass: the Lord, Who vouchsafes to choose and appoint priests for Himself in His own Church, protecting them when chosen and appointed by His good will and succour, inspiring them in their government, and supplying both vigour for restraining the contumacy of the wicked, and lenity for encouraging the penitence of the lapsed.

I bid thee, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE XLIX.

Cornelius to Cyprian, his brother, greeting.

1. As we suffered great solicitude and anxiety for those Confessors who had been circumvented and almost led astray and estranged from the Church by the deceit and malice of that crafty impostor¹, so were we filled with joy proportionate, and gave thanks to Almighty God and to Christ our Lord, when they, perceiving their error, and discovering the envenomed and, as it were, serpent craftiness of that malignant man, returned, as themselves profess, with singleness of purpose, to the Church whence they had departed. And, first of all, certain brethren of approved faith, lovers of peace, desirous of unity, reported the yet swelling pride of some, the softened temper of others, yet without sufficient evidence for us readily to believe that they were thoroughly changed. But afterwards Urbanus and Sidonius, Confessors, came to our fellow-Presbyters, declaring that Maximus the Confessor and Presbyter, equally with themselves, desired to return to the Church; but since there had preceded many things evil-intentioned by them, which you too have been made acquainted with by our co-Prelates and by my Epistles, so that confidence could not at once be placed in them, it seemed good that what they had sent by way of message, should be heard from their own mouths and confession. When they were come, and were charged by the Presbyters with what they had done, and that very lately many letters full of calumnies and revilings had been sent in their name through all the Churches, and had

¹ Novatian.

disturbed nearly all the Churches; they affirmed that they had been circumvented, nor knew what the letters contained, only that, being misled, they too had been guilty of schismatical acts and been the causers of heresy^a, so as to suffer hands to be laid upon him¹, as on a Bishop. When these and other¹ Novatian. things had been charged against them, they intreated that they might be effaced and altogether forgotten. The whole proceedings therefore being laid before me, it seemed good that the Presbyters should be assembled. There were there also five Bishops, who to-day also were present, in order that by weighty advice, it might be settled by consent of all, what ought to be done regarding their persons. And that you may know the feeling of all and the advice of each, it seemed good that our several opinions, which you will find subjoined, should be brought to your knowledge. This done, there came to the presbytery Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Macharius, and several brethren who had joined with them, begging with the most earnest entreaties, that what had been done before might be forgotten, and no mention thereof made; and that henceforth, as if nothing had been either done or said, all things on both sides being forgiven, they would hereafter present to God a heart clean and pure, following the evangelical injunction which says, *Blessed are the pure* Matt. 5, 8. *in heart, for they shall see God.*

2. What remained was, that this whole proceeding should be communicated to the people, that they might see those established in the Church, whom they had so long seen and mourned wandering and straying. When their purpose was known, there was a great concourse of the brotherhood. All with one voice gave thanks to God, expressing the joy of their heart in tears; embracing them, as if they had this day been liberated from the tortures of their prison. And that I may set down their own words, "We," they say, "acknow-

^a or, "only they had subscribed them, misled by his craftiness, and had entrusted themselves wholly to schismatical men, and been, &c." 2 old Mss. ap. F. The Ver. Ms. "only they had been deceived so as to suffer hands, &c." The Ben. for "hæresis auctores," has "hæreticis auct.," which can hardly mean less than "suggested to the heretics, or to heretical men, that they

should suffer, &c." which does not agree with the context, that they were the instruments of others, not the originators of evil, nor with the account of Pacian, see p. 111. n. m. nor with that of Cornelius, ap. Eus. vi. 43. One Ms. only ap. F. has "hæreticis," but wholly changing the order; Bal. gives no authority for the Ben. reading.

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 A. 251.

ledge Cornelius Bishop of the most holy Catholic Church, chosen by God Almighty and Christ our Lord. We confess our error, we have suffered from imposture. We were circumvented by crafty and perfidious speeches. For although we seemed to hold as it were some communion with a schismatic and heretic, yet our mind was ever sincere in the Church. For we are not ignorant that there is One God, One Christ the Lord, Whom we confessed, One Holy Ghost, that there should be one Bishop¹ in the Catholic Church." Who would not be moved by that profession of theirs, and so allow them, settled in the Church, to make good what they had confessed before the powers of the world? Wherefore we directed Maximus the Presbyter to resume his place. The rest we received with the vehement approbation of the people. But all things have we left to Almighty God, in Whose power all things are reserved. This account therefore, dearest brother, written at the same hour and the same moment, we have transmitted to you, and Niecephorus the Acolythe, who was prepared to go down and embark, I dispatched to you in the instant, that so, without any delay intervening, as if you were present with the Clergy here and in this assembly of the people, you might give thanks to Almighty God and to Christ our Lord. But we believe, nay we are fully confident, that the rest also, who are joined in this error, will shortly return to the Church, when they see their leaders acting with us. I think, dearest brother, that you ought to send this Epistle to the other Churches also, that all may know that the deceit and pervariation of this schismatic and heretic are daily being brought to nought.

Fare thee well, dearest brother.

¹ i. e. one Episcopate, each particular Church being the miniature of the whole, each Bishop, the representative of Christ, the Chief Bishop; so that all Bishops being in their several stations, as one and the same, because representing The Same, there was, as it were, but one Bishop. Whoever then set up a Bishop in any see, where one was already, broke the oneness of the whole Episcopate. see Ep. 43. §. 4. comp. de Unit. Eccl. §. 1. p. 134. Oxf. Tr. Ep.

55. §. 5. Ep. 59. §. 5. Ep. 3. §. 3. p. 6. In like way S. Agobard says, that in one sense all Christians are "one Priest." "We ought, I think, very briefly to premise, that all true believers, being members of the Chief Priest, i. e. our God and Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, are by Him made unto His Father a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, and are, under the Chief Head, one Priest." (de priv. et jur. Sacerd. c. 2. referred to by Bal.)

EPISTLE L.

Cornelius to Cyprian, his brother, greeting.

That nothing might be wanting to the future punishment of this wicked man, though thrown prostrate by the powers of God, (when Maximus and Longinus and Machæus had been rejected by you,) he has risen anew, and, as I signified to you in a former Epistle which I sent by Augendus the Confessor, I suppose that Nicostratus^k and Novatus and Evaristus and Primus and Dionysius have by this time reached you. Care must be taken then, that it be made known to all our fellow-Bishops and brethren, that Nicos-tratus stands charged with many crimes, and that he has not only defrauded and robbed his secular patroness whose affairs he managed; but also, which is reserved for his perpetual punishment, has carried away considerable deposits of the Church: that Evaristus has been the leader of a schism, and that Zetus has been appointed in his place, Bishop of the people over whom he before presided. But this man through his malice and insatiable wickedness designed things worse and of greater extent than what he habitually practised amongst his own people, so that thou mayest perceive what sort of leaders and abettors that schismatic and heretic hath joined with him, ever at his side.

Fare thee well, dearest brother.

EPISTLE LI.¹

Cyprian to Cornelius, his brother, greeting.

I both have, I assure you, dearest brother, and do render without ceasing, the deepest thanks to God the Father Almighty and to His Christ, our Lord and God and Saviour, because the Church is by Divine Providence so protected, that its unity and sanctity is not continually nor entirely defiled by the obstinacy of heretical perfidy and wickedness. For we have read your letter, and felt an unbounded and exulting joy at the completion of our common longings: viz. that

^k We seem forced to think this Nicostratus to be the Confessor and Deacon already mentioned in former Epp.; for St. C. (Ep. 52.) speaks of him as having been a Confessor and Deacon, and whereas Maximus and Nicostratus had been joined together throughout, Ep.

49 speaks of the restoration of Maximus only. He became a Bishop among the Novatians; of his evil character, see further, Ep. 52. p. 112.

¹ Written before the receipt of Ep. 50. to which Ep. 52. is the reply.

EPIST. L1.
 A. 251.

 Maximus the Presbyter and Urbanus Confessors, with Sidonius and Macharius, have returned to the Catholic Church, that is, that they, having laid aside their error, and having abandoned their schismatical, yea their heretical, madness, have in soundness of faith sought again the abode of unity and truth, that whence they had gone forth to glory, thither they might return glorious, and they who had confessed Christ, should not afterwards desert the camp of Christ, nor they fail in the trial of their steadfastness to charity and unity¹, who had not been overcome by strength or power. Hereby is their praise entire, safe, and unspotted, hereby the dignity of the Confessors uncorrupt and solid, that they have withdrawn from deserters and renegades, have left the betrayers of the faith and the assailants of the Catholic Church. Good cause had the Clergy and people and the whole brotherhood, to receive them on their return, as you write, with the utmost joy, for when Confessors retain their own glory and return to unity, every one accounts himself a partner and sharer of their glory. The gladness of that day² we can estimate from our own feelings. For if here, on receipt of your letter which you sent concerning their confession, the whole body of the brethren rejoiced, and welcomed with the utmost alacrity those tidings of common congratulation; what must have been the case there, where the whole matter and occasion of rejoicing was carried on in the very presence and eyes of all! For since the Lord in His Gospel says that there is the highest *joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth*, how much greater the joy as well in earth as in heaven, over Confessors who return to the Church of God to their own glory and praise, and who by the faithfulness and testimony of their example prepare for others the way of returning! For here that error had carried along some of our brethren, in that they seemed to follow the communion of Confessors. But now that this error is removed, a light has been shed into the breasts of all, and the Church Catholic has been shewn to be one, and that it cannot be separated or divided. Nor will any one henceforth be easily deceived by the loquacity of a frantic schismatic; since it has been proved that good and glorious soldiers of Christ could not long by another's artifice and perfidy be detained without the Church.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

¹ Tentatur
 caritatis
 atque
 unitatis
 fide 8
 Mss. F.
 11 Mss.
 Bal.
 Man.

² diei
 most old
 Mss. 2
 Edd. rei
 old Edd.
 and 3
 old Mss.
 B.

Luke 15,
 7.

EPISTLE LII.

Cyprian to Cornelius, his brother, greeting.

1. You have acted, dearest brother, both with diligence and affection, in dispatching to us in haste Nicephorus the Acolythe, both to announce to us the glorious tidings of the return of the Confessors, and to warn us against the new and pernicious machinations of Novatian and Novatus^m to assail the Church of Christ. For when that mischievous faction of heretical wickedness, itself already lost, and bringing destruction on those who join it, had arrived here on the one day, on the day following Nicephorus with your letter overtook them. From which we learnt, and have begun to teach and instruct others, that Evaristus from a Bishop now no longer remains even a layman, but that banished

^m Of these Novatus, an African Priest, is called the original Here-siarch. (S. Aug. Hær. 38. Primas. Hær. 38. Euseb. Chron. S. Jer. de Vir. Ill. c. 7. Pacian. Ep. 3. B. P. iv. 310. F.) He seems to have become such, as matter of policy, rather than by any positive tenets of his own. Being a brutish and fraudulent person, of lost character, who only escaped excommunication through the breaking out of the Decian persecution, (§. 2.) he took originally the low side, joining himself with the party of Felicissimus, one like himself, had him ordained Deacon, and with him admitted the lapsed without any penitence. Fleeing to Rome to escape his sentence, (Pac. Ep. 3.) he there joined himself with Novatian. Novatian himself had also taken the milder side. (Ep. 36. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. D.) Yet he had been a Stoic philosopher, (S. Cyp. Ep. 60. §. 3. and 55. §. 13. and 20. Pacian. Ep. 2. p. 308. col. 1. 2.) had been baptized only on a sick bed; was not confirmed; during the persecution he shut himself up, renounced his Orders, and almost the Gospel, sooner than expose himself to danger in ministering to the brethren [the Confessors], he "would," he said, "no longer be a Presbyter, for" he was "a lover of another philosophy." (Corn. ap. Eus. vi. 43.) Him Novatus found disappointed at not being elected Bishop of Rome which he had hoped, trusting,

it seems, to his philosophic talents and eloquence, and jealous of Cornelius. Novatus saw his weak points, urged him and removed his doubts, (nutantem impellit, dubitantem fovet, Pac. x.) infused into the Confessors discontent that Cornelius had communicated with the lapsed, obtained letters from them appointing him, (Pac. ib. 310. F.) and found three uninformed Bishops in a corner of Italy to consecrate him. (Corn. l. c.) After this, Novatus was sent to Africa to appoint heretical Bishops, and "frame a human Church," (see Ep. 50, and 55. §. 20.) and disappears from sight. Satan had employed him to entangle one abler than himself, and then he was cast aside. Eusebius gives the summary, "Novatus was cut off from the Church, and Novatian carried on the heresy." (Chron. t. 2. p. 299. ed. Arm.) It appears that Novatian at first refused Communion to the lapsed only, (Ep. 55. §. 22.) whether he afterwards followed out his own principles, or left his heresy to be enlarged and systematized by others, is unknown. He is not distinguished by subsequent writers from those after him, nor does it seem likely that one trained in philosophy should not follow out his system. Like Pelagius and Celestius, he put forward his orthodoxy on the doctrine of the Trinity, and wrote upon it.

EPIST.
LII.
A. 251. from his chair and people, and exiled from the Church of Christ, he wanders about through other distant provinces, and himself having made shipwreck of truth and faith, contrives the like wreck for some like himself. But that Nicostratus, having lost the sacred administration of the diaconate, for having by sacrilegious fraud subtracted the Church's revenues, and withheld the deposits of widows and orphans, did not so much wish to come to Africa, as, from consciousness of his rapines and dreadful crimes, to escape thither from the City. And now a deserter and renegade from the Church, as if to change the clime were to have changed the man, he still further boasts and declares himself a Confessor, whereas one who hath denied the Church of Christ, can no longer either be called or be a Confessor of Christ.

Eph. 5,
31. 32. 2. For since Paul the Apostle says, *For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the Church;*—since, I say, the blessed Apostle says this, and by his holy voice bears witness to the unity of Christ and the Church, fitted together with indissoluble bonds, how can he be with Christ, who is not with the spouse of Christ, and in His Church? or how can he assume to himself the charge of ruling or governing the Church, who hath robbed and defrauded the Church of Christ?

3. For of Novatus no news need have been sent from you to us, but rather he should have been made known by us to you, as one ever eager for innovation, frantic with the rapacity of an insatiable avarice, puffed up with the arrogance and stupor of swelling pride, always known for evil to the Bishops here, ever, as a heretic and perfidious, condemned by the voice of the whole priesthood; ever inquisitive in order to betray; a flatterer, to the end that he may deceive; never faithful to love; a torch and fire-brand to light up the flames of sedition; a whirlwind and tempest to make shipwrecks of faith; a foe to quiet; an adversary to tranquillity; an enemy to peace. Lastly, when Novatus departed from among you, that is, when the storm and whirlwind departed, a calm in part succeeded there, and glorious and good Confessors, who had left the Church

at his incitation, after he had left the City, returned to the Church. It is the same Novatus, who amongst us scattered the first flames of discord and schism, who separated some of the brethren here from their Bishop, who amid the very persecution, was to our's as another persecution in overthrowing the minds of the brethren. He it is, who, without my permission or knowledge, of his own factiousness and ambition, made^o Felicissimus his follower Deacon; and in company with his own storm, sailing to Rome also, to overthrow the Church, he there contrived similar and like plots, rending a portion of the laity from the Clergy, cleaving asunder the concord of the brotherhood, who were closely knit together and mutually loved each other. In short, as Rome from her greatness ought to have precedency of Carthage, there he committed greater and more grievous crimes. He who here made a Deacon against the Church, there made a Bishop. Nor should any one wonder at this in such men. The wicked are ever overborne by their own madness, and after they have committed crimes, are hurried on by the very consciousness of a guilty mind. Nor can they continue in the Church of God, who have not observed its deific and ecclesiastical discipline^p, either in the conversation of their lives or the peaceableness of their behaviour. Orphans robbed by him, widows defrauded, treasures of the Church too denied and withheld, exact this punishment of him, which we behold in his madness. His father too died of hunger in the street, and was not afterwards in death even buried by him. The womb of his wife was stricken by his heel, and miscarriage quickly following, the offspring was brought forth, the father being its murderer. And now he dares to condemn the hands of those that sacrifice; although his own feet are more guilty, by which the son, who was being born, was murdered. This consciousness of crime he long

^o constituit: i. e. though ordained by others, as, immediately after, *Episcopum fecit*, of Novatian, whereas he obtained three Bishops to consecrate him, (see ab. on Ep. 15. p. 111, note n.) Cassian, *Collat.* iv. 1, relates that Paphnutius, a Presbyter, "wishing to provide a worthy successor for himself, advanced (provexit) him to the honor of the Presbyterate," i. e. recommended

him, as was the rule of Abbots, *Gaz. ad loc.* People now speak of persons being "made Bishops" by the civil power.

^p de zel. et liv. §. 8. p. 274. Rig. quotes also "the deific Scriptures," (*Crescens à Cirta in Conc. Carth. §. 8.* *Elius the Proconsul, ap. Optat. i. fin.*) i. e. which retain in Christians "the Divine Nature," whereof they have been made "partakers."

111 *Badmen leaving the Church for a stall, not escape, her sentence*

EPIST. LIII.
A. 251. since dreaded. For this cause he felt assured that he would not only be removed from the Presbytery, but prohibited from communion: and at the urgent desire of the brethren, the day of trial, when his cause was to be heard before us, was coming on, had not the persecution intervened; which he welcoming from a desire to gain an escape from condemnation, hath committed all these crimes and wrought this confusion: and so he, who was to be expelled from the Church and excluded, has by a voluntary departure anticipated the judgment of the priesthood, as if to forecome the sentence were to have escaped the punishment.

4. But as regards the rest of the brethren, whom we mourn to have been deceived by that crafty impostor, we labour that they may flee their perilous nearness to him, that they may escape the deadly toils of his solicitation, that they may return to the Church from which he has deserved to be by Divine judgment expelled. These indeed we trust, the Lord helping, may through His mercy return. For no one can perish, but he of whom it is plain that he must

Mat. 15, 13. perish⁹, in that the Lord says in His Gospel, *Every plant which My heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.*

He therefore who has not been planted in the precepts and lessons of God the Father, can alone depart from the Church; alone, forsaking the Bishop, continue in madness with schismatics and heretics. But the rest the mercy of God the Father, and the forbearance of Christ our Lord, and our own patience, will unite with us.

I bid thee, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LIII.

To Cyprian, their brother, Marimus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Macharius, greeting.

We are assured, dearest brother, that you also rejoice with us, with equal fervency, that we, having well deliberated, especially consulting the advantage and peace of the Church, having passed by all former transactions and left them to the

⁹ i. e. none will remain in his schism and perish in it, but he who would perish for the sinfulness of his life. "The wicked alone would continue schismatics." F.

judgment of God, have made peace with Cornelius our Bishop and the whole Clergy. That this took place to the joy of the whole Church, and with the affections of all the brethren in our behalf, thou oughtest to have the fullest assurance by these our own Epistles.

We pray, dearest brother, that thou mayest for many years fare well.

EPISTLE LIV.

Cyprian to Maximus, Presbyter, as also to Urbanus, Sidonius, and Macharius, his brethren, greeting.

1. When I read your Epistle, dearest brethren, which you sent to me concerning your return, and the peace of the Church, and full restoration of the brotherhood, I confess that I rejoiced as greatly as I had before rejoiced, when I was informed of the glory of your confession, and, myself a partaker of your joy, heard of the heavenly and spiritual praise of your warfare. For this also is another confession of your faith and praise, to confess that the Church is one, and not to be partakers of the error or rather wickedness of others; to seek again the same camp whence ye went forth, whence ye issued forth, with most resolute courage, to wage war and subdue the adversary. For thither should the trophies from the battle be carried back, whence arms for the battle had been received; lest whom Christ had prepared for glory, these, when covered with glory, the Church of Christ should not retain. But now, in the peace of the Lord, ye have held the even tenour conformable to your faith, and the law of undivided charity and concord; and by your walk ye have given to others an example of affection and peace; so that the truth of the Church and the unity of the Gospel Sacrament, held by us, is also knit together by your consent and band; and Confessors of Christ become not guides to error, who had been praiseworthy patterns of virtue and honour. How much others may congratulate you, or how much each for himself may exult, must be left to them; I for my part confess that I congratulate you more, and more than others exult in this your peaceful return and charity. For you

EPIST.
LIV.
A. 252. ought in all plainness to hear what was in my breast. I grieved exceedingly and was heavily afflicted, that I could not communicate with those whom I had once begun to love. When, on your going out from prison, schismatical and heretical error overtook you, it was as if your glory had remained in prison. For there the honour of your name seemed to have stayed behind, when soldiers of Christ did not return to the Church from prison, into which they had before entered with the praises and congratulations of the Church.

Mat. 13, 25. 2. For^r although tares are seen in the Church, yet our faith or charity ought not to be hindered, so that, because we see that there are tares in the Church, we ourselves should depart from the Church. We only must labour that we may be wheat, that when the wheat shall begin to be gathered into the garners of the Lord, we may receive fruit according to our labour and toil. The Apostle saith in his Epistle,

2 Tim. 2, 20. *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour.* Let us take pains, dearest brethren, and labour as much as we can, to be vessels of gold or of

Psa. 2, 9. silver. But to *break the vessels of earth* is granted to the Lord alone, to Whom also *the rod of iron* is entrusted.

John 13, 16. *The serrant cannot be greater than his Lord.* Nor can any one claim for himself that which the Father hath granted to the Son Alone; so as to think that he can take *in his hand the fan* for winnowing or *purging the floor*, or can by human judgment *separate all* the tares from the wheat. That is a proud obstinacy and sacrilegious presumption, which a phrenzied wickedness assumes to itself. And while some even assume to themselves a dominion greater than a mild justice allows, they perish from the Church; and while they evidently exalt themselves, blinded by the swelling of their own pride, they lose the light of truth. On which account we too observing a due temperament, and having regard to the balance of the Lord, and considering the love and mercy of God the Father, have long and deeply pondered with ourselves and weighed what should be done, with due moderation. All which ye may see thoroughly on perusing the

^r Quoted by S. Aug. c. Cresc. Gramm. 108. ad Macr. Donat. c. 3. Brevie. ii. 34. 37. c. Gaud. Donat. ii. 3. Ep. Collat. c. Donat. c. 10.

tracts*, which I have lately read here, and which on account of our mutual affection I have already transmitted for your perusal, wherein neither censure is wanting to reprove the lapsed, nor medicine to heal. The unity also of the Catholic Church, my poor ability has expressed as far as it was able. This book I now more than ever trust will be acceptable to you, in that ye now read it so as to approve and love it, inasmuch as what we have written to you in words, ye fulfil in act, when ye return to the Church in the unity of charity and peace.

I bid you, dearest and much longed for brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LV.

Cyprian to Antonianus, his brother, greeting.

I. I received your first letter, dearest brother, firmly upholding the concord of the sacerdotal College, and cleaving to the Catholic Church, wherein you signified that you did not communicate with Novatian, but followed my advice, and agreed with Cornelius our brother-Bishop to hold one uniform course. You wrote also, that I should transmit a copy of the same letter to our colleague Cornelius, that so, laying aside all anxiety, he might know that you held communion with him, that is, with the Catholic Church. There arrived, however, afterwards your second letter, sent by Quintus our brother-Presbyter, in which I perceive that your mind, influenced by a letter of Novatian, has begun to waver. For whereas you had firmly resolved on your course, in harmony with the rest, you have in this letter desired me to write back to you, what heresy Novatian has introduced; or on what principle Cornelius communicates with Trophimus and the sacrificers. As to which, if indeed from solicitude for the faith you are carefully anxious, and diligently search into the truth of a doubtful matter, the anxious suspense of a mind agitated by holy fear is not to be blamed. But since I see that, after the opinion expressed in your first letter, you have been disturbed by a letter from

EPIST. Novatian, I lay this down, dearest brother, in the first place;
 LV. that men of gravity, once with stedfast firmness *founded*
 A. 252. *on the rock*, are not moved, I say not by a light breath, but
 Mat. 7, by a gale or a whirlwind; lest their mind doubtful and un-
 24. certain be frequently tossed by various opinions, as it were
 by the blasts of wind rushing on them, and be changed from
 their purpose with a certain reprehensible levity. That the
 letter of Novatian may not occasion this either in you or
 any other, I will, as you have desired, dearest brother,
 briefly give you an account of the whole matter.

2. And first of all, since you seem troubled by my conduct too, my own character and cause must be cleared before you, lest any think that I have lightly receded from my purpose; and whereas in the first instance and at the outset I upheld evangelical vigour, I seem to have afterwards bent my mind from discipline and its former strictness, so as to think that peace is to be given laxly to such as have polluted their consciences by accepting certificates, or have been guilty of the abominable sacrifices. Both which courses were adopted by me not without reasons for a long time balanced and pondered. For when the battle was still being fought and the struggle of a glorious contest was hotly raging in the persecution, the courage of the warriors was to be roused by every exhortation, to their utmost energy; and especially the spirits of the lapsed were to be roused strongly with the trumpet, as it were, of my voice, that they might not only follow the way of penitence with prayers and lamentations, but,—since an opportunity was offered of renewing the contest and regaining salvation,—that, chided by my voice, they might rather be provoked to the zeal of confession and the glory of martyrdom. In fine, when my Presbyters and Deacons had written to me of certain persons, that they were uncontrolled, and pressed too hastily to receive communion, writing back to them in an Epistle, now

¹ Ep. 19. extant¹, I added this; “If too they are in so great haste, they have what they require in their own power, the state of things itself offering them more than they ask. The battle is still waging; the lists are daily held; if they truly and firmly repent of the deed, and the fervour of their faith is vehement; whosoever cannot brook delay, may be crowned.”

3. But what was to be determined in the case of the lapsed I deferred; that when quiet and tranquillity had been bestowed, and the Divine mercy should allow the Bishops to meet together, then, the advice of all being given and weighed, we might, on comparison of all things, determine what ought to be done. But if any, before our Council were held, and before sentence given by advice of all, should choose rashly to communicate with the lapsed, that person should be forbidden communion¹. Of which also I wrote very fully to ¹Ep.34. Rome to the Clergy², then still acting without a Bishop, and ²Ep.27. to the Confessors³, Maximus the Presbyter, and others at ³Ep.28. that time imprisoned, now in the Church united with Cornelius. That I wrote this you may learn from their answer; for they thus expressed themselves in their Epistle⁴; ⁴Ep.30. "However, in a business of such vast magnitude we agree with what you also have yourself fully expressed; that the peace of the Church must be awaited, and then, in a full conference of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Confessors, with those of the laymen also who have stood, account be taken of the lapsed." It was added moreover, Novatian being then the writer, and reciting with his own voice what he had written, and Moyses the Presbyter, at that time a Confessor, now a Martyr, subscribing, that peace should be granted to the lapsed who were sick and at the point of death. Which Epistle was sent throughout the world, and made known to all the Churches and all the brethren.

4. However, according to what had been before determined, when the persecution was lulled, and opportunity given for meeting together, a large number of Bishops, whom their own faith and the protection of the Lord had preserved uninjured and safe, met together, and the Divine Scriptures being adduced on both sides, we balanced our resolution with wholesome moderation; so that neither should hope of communion and peace be altogether denied to the lapsed, lest through desperation they should fall away still further, and because the Church was shut against them, following the world, should live as heathens; nor yet on the other hand should evangelical strictness be relaxed, so that they might rush in haste to communion; but that penance should be long protracted, and the Fatherly clemency entreated with

EPIST. mourning, and the cases, and purposes, and exigencies of
 L.V. each be examined; as is expressed in a tract, which I trust
 A. 252. has reached you, where the several heads of our determinations are collected together.

5. And lest the number of Bishops in Africa should seem insufficient, we wrote to Rome also on this subject to our colleague Cornelius, who himself likewise, in a Council held with very many^a of our co-Prelates, agreed in the same opinion with us, with like solemnity and wholesome moderation. Whereof it has now become necessary to write to you, that you may know that I did nothing lightly, but, according to what I had before comprised in my Epistles, deferred every thing to the common decision of our Council, and in the mean time communicated with no one of the lapsed, so long as there was opportunity whereby the lapsed might obtain not only pardon, but even a crown. But afterwards, as the agreement of our College, and the benefit from recovering the brotherhood and healing the wound required, I submitted to the necessity of the times, and thought right to provide for the safety of many, and now not to recede from these things, which have once in our Council by common consent been determined; notwithstanding that many things are tossed to and fro by the voices of many, and lies against the priests of God, uttered from the devil's mouth, are scattered every where to break the concord of Catholic unity. But it behoves you as a good brother and a fellow-Bishop loving peace, not readily to receive what malignants and apostates say; but to weigh what your Colleagues, moderate and grave men, do, from an examination of our lives and discipline.

6. I come now, dearest brother, to the character of Cornelius our colleague; that you, with us, may more truly know Cornelius, not from the lies of malignants and detractors, but from the judgment of the Lord God, Who made him a Bishop, and from the testimony of his fellow-Bishops, the whole number of whom throughout the whole world have unanimously agreed. For,—which, with praise and honour, commends our beloved Cornelius to God and Christ and His

^a de Lapsis.

^u sixty, Eus. H. E. vi. 43 init. held A. 251. Bp. P.

Church, and also to all his fellow-Prelates,—he did not on a sudden arrive at the Episcopate, but promoted through all ecclesiastical offices, and having often deserved well of the Lord in Divine Services, he mounted to the lofty summit of the Priesthood¹, along all the steps of holy duty. Moreover, ¹Episcopate. he neither himself asked nor wished for the Episcopate, nor, as others², whom the swelling of their own arrogance and ²Novatian. pride inflates, seized it; but quiet in all respects and meek, and such as they are wont to be, who are chosen of God to this office, agreeably to the retirement of his virgin-contineney, and to the humility of his innate and guarded modesty, he does not, as some, use violence to be made a Bishop; but himself suffered violence so as to receive the Episcopate by compulsion. And he was made Bishop by very many of our Colleagues then present in the city of Rome, who sent to us letters, touching his ordination, remarkable for their high and honourable testimony and praise. Cornelius, moreover, was made Bishop by the judgment of God and His Christ, by the testimony of almost all the Clergy, by the suffrages of the people who were then present, and by the College of ancient Priests and good men; at a time when no one had been made before him, when the place of Fabian, that is, when the place of Peter and the rank of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant. This therefore being filled by the will of God, and ratified by the consent of all of us, whosoever would thenceforward be made Bishop, must necessarily be made without; nor can he have ordination of the Church, who does not maintain the unity of the Church. Whosoever he be, although greatly boasting of himself, and claiming very much for himself, he is profane, an alien, without the pale. And since after the first there cannot be a second, whosoever is made after one, who ought to be alone, is no longer second, but none at all.

7. Moreover, after he had taken on him the Episcopate, not by canvassing nor by force, but by the will of God, Who maketh priests, what an excellent courage was there in the very taking of his Episcopate! what strength of mind! what firmness of faith! which we ought with simple heart both thoroughly to consider and commend—that he sat fearless at Rome in the sacerdotal chair, at that time when a tyrant, a persecutor of the Priests

EPIST. of God, was threatening whatever can or cannot be uttered,
 LV.
 A. 252. one who would with much more patience and endurance
 hear that a rival prince was raised against himself, than a
 Bishop of God established at Rome. Is not this man,
 dearest brother, to be extolled with the highest testimony
 for courage and faith? Is not he to be accounted amongst
 glorious Confessors and Martyrs, who sat so long awaiting
 the executioners of his own body, and the avengers of an
 enraged tyrant, who when Cornelius should resist their
 deadly edicts, and by the vigour of his faith trample on their
 threats and racks and tortures, should either come upon him
 with the sword, or crucify him, or burn him with fire, or
 mangle his bowels and limbs by some unheard-of kind of
 punishment? Although the Majesty and Goodness of the
 protecting Lord protected, when made, the Bishop whom
 He willed to be made, yet Cornelius, as far as regards his
 devotedness and fear of God, suffered whatever he could
¹ Ep. 12. suffer¹, and first by his priesthood vanquished the tyrant,
 who was afterwards vanquished by arms and in war^{*}.

8. But I would not have you wonder that some disgraceful
 and malignant rumours are spread abroad respecting him;
 since you know that this is ever the work of the devil, to
 wound the servants of God with lies, and defame their
 glorious name by false opinions; that they who shine in
 the light of their own conscience, may be sullied by reports
 of others. But you are to know that our Colleagues have
 examined and ascertained most truly that he has not,
 as some report, been tainted by any stain of a certificate,
 nor has he mingled in sacrilegious communion with Bishops
 who sacrificed, but has at length united those with us, whose
 cause was heard and their innocence approved. For with
 respect to Trophimus also, of whom you desired word to be
 written you, the case is not as the rumour and lying of
 malignants has reported it to you. For, as our predecessors
 have often done, our dearest brother, in bringing together
 our brethren, submitted to necessity. And since a very
 great part of the people had seceded with Trophimus,
 when Trophimus now returned to the Church, and made

^{*} With the Goths, A. 251. alluded to, ad Demetr. §. 10. p. 210. de Laps. init.
 p. 152. Oxf. Tr.

satisfaction, and with penitent entreaty confessed his former error, and with entire humility and submission brought back the brotherhood which he had lately drawn away, his prayers were heard; and not so much Trophimus, as a very large number of the brethren who were with Trophimus, were admitted to the Church of the Lord; who all would not have returned to the Church, had they not come with Trophimus in their company. The matter then having been debated there with very many of our Colleagues, Trophimus was received; for whom the return of the brethren, and salvation restored to many, made satisfaction. Yet Trophimus was admitted to communicate only as a layman, not as the letters of malignants have reported to you, as if he occupied the place of a priest.

9. Moreover, what is told you of Cornelius, that he communicates indiscriminately with those who have sacrificed, this also originates in the feigned rumours of apostates. For neither can they who withdraw from us, praise us, nor ought we to expect to please them, who displeasing us and rebelling against the Church, violently persevere in soliciting the brethren to leave the Church. Wherefore, whatsoever is circulated about Cornelius and about us, do not readily listen to or believe, dearest brother. For if any are seized with sickness, to them, as hath been determined, relief is given in danger. However, after relief has been given and peace granted to them in peril, they cannot be suffocated by us, or strangled, or by our hands hurried on to death; as if, because peace is granted to them as dying, they must needs die who have received peace; whereas the tokens of Divine mercy and Fatherly unity rather appear herein, that they, who in the gift of peace, receive the pledge of life, by receiving peace are held here also in life. Wherefore, if, when peace has been received, a reprieve is granted by God, no one ought to charge this on the priests, when once it has been determined that brethren in peril be relieved^y.

^y They were still held to continual penitence, Pacian [Ep. 3. p. 311. C.] "I might perhaps allow this, [that the remedy for sin was an occasion of it,] if luxury were accounted penitence, on which such toil is imposed, the 'destruction of the flesh' enjoined, continual

tears, unending groans," [F.] and p. 110. H. "it [penitence] is the toil of the few, who after falling arise, who after wounds recover, who are holpen by tearful words, who recover life through destruction of the flesh."

EPIST.
LV.
A. 252.

10. Nor must you think, dearest brother, as appears to some, that takers of certificates should be put on a par with those who have sacrificed; since even among those who have sacrificed, the condition and case is frequently different. For we should not put on a par one who forthwith and willingly sprung forward to the dreadful sacrifice, and of him who having struggled and long resisted came by compulsion to this fatal work; one who betrayed both himself and all his, and one who, of himself, approaching to the danger, in lieu of all, protected wife and children and his whole house by exposing himself to peril; one who compelled inmates or friends to the deed, and one who spared inmates and neighbours, nay received under the shelter of his own roof very many brethren who withdrew to banishment and flight, shewing and presenting to the Lord many souls alive and safe, which may entreat for one wounded.

11. Since then there is much diversity even among those who have sacrificed, what inclemency were it, how rank and bitter, to join takers of certificates with those who have sacrificed? whereas he who has taken a certificate may say, "I had before read, and from the Bishop's discourses² had learnt not to sacrifice to idols, and that a servant of God ought not to worship images; therefore, that I might not do this which was not lawful, (when an opportunity of obtaining a certificate was offered, which also I should not have taken, had not the opportunity been held out,) I either went to the magistrate or commissioned another, who was going, to say, that I am a Christian, that it is not lawful for me to sacrifice, that I cannot approach the altars of the devil, that I give money

² Episcopo tractante, i. e. preaching. Vinc. Lirin. Common. c. 28. says, that it was the title then given to the "Doctor" of H. Ser.; in c. 23. he names them separately "o Sacerdos, o Tractor, o Doctor." (see ab. p. 61. n. n.) St. C. speaks of it again as his own, (Ep. 81. as Pontius, Life, §. 18. p. xviii.) or an Episcopal office (Ep. 58. §. 4) used by the schismatic Bishops also (de unit. Eccl. c. 20.) Optatus [vii. 6.] says it "belongs to Bishops," in such sense probably, that in Africa, (Possid. Vita S. Aug. c. 5. comp. S. Aug. Ep. 29. §. 7. Conc. Carth. iv. can. 33.) and in certain Churches, (S. Jer. Ep. 52. ad Nepotian. §. 7.) it was contrary to usage that a Presbyter

should discourse (tractare) in presence of the Bishop; whence Valerius, who delegated the office to S. Aug., was opposed by some Bishops, (Possid. ib.) He changed the custom generally, (S. Aug. Ep. 31. ad Aurel. §. 1.) The word is taken more largely of any exposition of H. Ser. (Ep. 77. init. de op. et eleem. §. 9. p. 239. Oxf. Tr.) and sermons being chiefly expositions of H. Ser. tractatores are commentators. S. Jer. adv. Helv. §. 6. Cassiodor. Praef. de div. Lect. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. ii. 9. (quoted by Juret. ad Iv. Ep. 7.) and Claudian. Mamert. de stat. an. l. 2. Severus Dial. i. quoted by Gaz. ad Cassian. Instt. v. 34. p. 138.

to this end, that I be not compelled to do what is not lawful." Now however, he who has been tainted by a certificate,—when he has learnt from our admonitions that he ought not to have done even this, and that although his hands be clear and no contagion of deadly food hath polluted his mouth, his conscience is polluted,—weeps, when he hears us, and laments, and is now convinced that he has sinned, and, misled not so much through guilt as error, gives proof that henceforward he is prepared and ready.

12. If we reject the penitence of these, who have some reasonable confidence in their own conscience, forthwith, with wife and children whom they kept safe, they are hurried to heresy and schism by the temptation of the devil; and it will be imputed to us in the Day of Judgment, that we have not cared for the wounded sheep, and yet for one wounded have lost many whole; and whereas the Lord, leaving the ninety and nine that were whole, sought the one that was strayed and wearied, and, when found, Himself carried it on His own shoulders, we not only do not seek the lapsed, but even drive away those that come: and whereas false prophets cease not now to lay waste and rend the flock of Christ, we give an opening to dogs and wolves, so that whom the deadly persecution destroyed not, these we by our severity and inhumanity destroy. And what will become, dearest brother, of what the Apostle says? *I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved. Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ.* And again; *To the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the weak.* And again; *Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it.* 1 Cor. 10, 33;
15, 1.

13. Different are the principles of philosophers and Stoics, dearest brother, who say that all sins are alike; and that a serious man ought not easily to be moved. But wide is the interval between Christians and philosophers. And since the Apostle says, *Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit,* those things are to be avoided which come not of the elemency of God, but spring from the presumption of an over-rigid philosophy. But of Moses we find it said in the Scriptures; *Now the man* Col. 2, 8.
Numb. 12, 3.

EPIST. L.V.
A. 252.
Luke 6, 36.
Matt. 9, 12.
Moses was very meek : and the Lord in His Gospel says, Be ye merciful, as your Father also had mercy on you ; and again, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. What healing-art can he practise, who says, " I cure none but the whole, who have no need of a physician ?" Our aid, our remedies, we should give to the wounded. Nor should we account them dead, but rather that they lie half-alive, whom we see wounded in the fatal persecution ; who, if they were quite dead, could never afterwards become either Confessors or Martyrs.

14. But since there is in them what by subsequent penitence may revive, by penitence strength is armed to faith and courage, which could not be armed, if any one should fall away through despair, if, harshly and cruelly separated from the Church, he should betake himself to gentile ways and the world's deeds, or, rejected by the Church, should go over to heretics and schismatics. Where, although he should be afterwards slain for the Name, yet being placed without the Church, and severed from unity and charity, he could not be crowned in death. It was determined then, dearest brother, that, the cases of each being examined, takers of certificates be for the time admitted, that to those who have sacrificed relief should be

Ps. 6, 5.
given in their last moments, because in the grave there is no confession, nor can any one be urged by us to penitence, if the fruit of penitence is withdrawn. Should the battle first come, strengthened by us, he will be found armed for the battle ; but should sickness press upon him before the battle, he departs with the consolation of peace and communion.

15. For we do not anticipate the judgment of the Lord Who will come to judge, but that if He shall find a sinner's penitence full and entire, He will then ratify what has been here determined by us. But if any has deluded us by a

Gal. 6, 7.
1 Sam. 16, 7.
feigned penitence, God Who is not mocked, and Who looketh on the heart of man, will judge of those whom we have not seen through, and the Lord will correct the sentence of His servants : meanwhile, dearest brother, we ought to

Prov. 18, 19.
old vers.
Gal. 6, 1, 2.
remember that it is written, a brother that helpeth a brother shall be exalted : and that the Apostle has also said, Considering yourselves, lest ye also be tempted, bear ye one

another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. Also ^{1 Cor.} that rebuking the proud and breaking down their arrogance ^{10, 12.} he writes in his Epistle, *Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.* And in another place he says, *Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own Master he standeth or falleth: yea, he shall be holden up,* ^{Rom.} *for God is able to make him stand.* John too proves that ^{14, 4.} Jesus Christ the Lord is the Advocate and Propitiator for our sins, saying, *My little children, these things write I* ^{1 John} *unto you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an* ^{2, 1, 2.} *Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins.* Paul also the Apostle hath written in his Epistle, *If while we were yet sinners* ^{Rom. 5,} *Christ died for us, much more, being now justified by His* ^{8, 9.} *Blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him.* Considering then His pity and clemency, we ought not to be so severe and hard, nor pitiless in fostering the brethren; but we ought to mourn with them that mourn, and *weep with* ^{Rom.} *them that weep,* and, as far as we can, to raise them up ^{12, 15.} by the aid and solace of our love; neither, on the one hand, merciless and unyielding in repressing their penitence, nor, on the other, relaxed and easy in hastily conceding communion. Behold! a wounded brother lieth maimed by the adversary in battle. On the one side the devil attempts to slay him whom he hath maimed; on the other, Christ exhorts, that he, whom He hath redeemed, cannot utterly perish. Which of the two shall we assist? on whose side stand? Whether shall we favour the devil that he may kill, and as the Priests and Levites in the Gospel, pass by our ^{Luke 10,} brother lying half dead? or shall we not, as priests of God ^{30—32.} and Christ, imitating what Christ both taught and did, snatch the wounded from the jaws of the adversary, that we may preserve him cured for God his Judge?

16. Nor must you think, dearest brother, that either the courage of the brethren will be hereby lessened, or martyrdoms fail, because penitence is conceded to the lapsed, and because the hope of peace is offered to the penitent. The strength of true believers remains immoveable, and with those who fear and love God with all their heart, their integrity holds on, firm and stedfast. For to adulterers also

EPIS. F. is a time for penitence allowed by us, and peace given. Yet
 LV. doth not the virgin-state therefore fail in the Church, nor
 A. 252. the glorious resolve of continence grow languid through
 others' sins. The Church flourishes, crowned with so many
 virgins, and chastity and modesty preserve the tenor of their
 own glory, nor is the vigour of continence broken, because
 penitence and pardon are allowed to the adulterer. It is
 one thing to stand for pardon, another to arrive at glory:
 Matt. 5, one thing, being *cast into prison, not to go out thence, till*
 25. 26. one has *paid the last farthing*, another to receive at once
 the reward of faith and courage: one thing, being tortured
 by long anguish for sins, to be long cleansed, and purged
 by fire, another to have purged all sins by suffering: lastly,
 one thing to wait in suspense to the Day^a of Judgment for

^a pendere in Diem iudicii B. from
 5 old Mss. cod. Germ. opt. notæ. (al-
 leged by P. Constant Prof. ad S. Hil.
 §. 229.) and Ed. Manut. Die "in the
 Day of Judgment" F. The line over the
 e, designating the m, is more likely to
 have been omitted than added.

This passage is explained of suffer-
 ing in this life by Rigalt (whose
 general laxity, however, leaves him
 very little claim to authority) and Ba-
 luzius, among Roman Catholic Inter-
 preters of S. Cyprian, by Albaspinæus
 Obs. ii. 12. p. 278. by Bp. Fell in our
 Church, and by Daille (de pœn. et
 satisf. iv. 10.) The objection that the
 language would seem hyperbolic, is
 founded perhaps only on the laxity of
 modern penitence, and our practical
 ignorance of excommunication. We
 know not also what it is to have
 directly denied our Lord, and by that
 act to be cut off from His body, with
 His sentence, so often alleged by St.
 C., ever before the eyes, "Whoso
 denieth Me before men, Him will I
 also deny before My Father." Yet
 whoever knows any thing of deep con-
 sciousness of sin, may think the expres-
 sion "to be purged through fire" not
 too strong for the inward consuming,
 and torture, and drying of the bones,
 and "fire" is used for the sufferings of
 God's displeasure by the penitent, Ps.
 102, 3. The words also of Siricius,
 when distinctly speaking of perpetual
 penitence in this life, are altogether
 parallel to those in this place, using
 all its metaphors (Ep. ad Himmer. art.
 6. T. i. Cone. p. 690. quoted by Daille
 from Rivetus) "so far as they, thrust

back to their prisons (ergastulis) be-
 wailing so heinous an offence with con-
 tinuous lamentation, may be refined by
 the purifying fire (purificatorio-igne
 decoqui) of penitence, so that indul-
 gence may come to their relief, only at
 the very point of death, out of mere
 mercy, through the grace of the Com-
 munion." The text also here quoted
 by S. Cyprian (S. Matt. 5, 25. Luke
 12, 58.) is by S. Augustine in the
 same Church, and by most fathers,
 interpreted of a prison from which they
 should never come forth, Hell. S.
 Ambr. in S. Luc. S. Hil. in S. Matt.
 S. Aug. de serm. Dom. in monte l. i.
 §. 30. Theoph. in S. Luc. S. Jerome
 in S. Matt. implies the same. Tertul-
 lian (de anim. fin.) applies it apparently
 to a fore-suffering of hell. Stapleton
 Antid. Ev. says that "few Catholics
 interpret it of Purgatory." The first
 clause "ad veniam stare" is certainly
 most naturally interpreted of penance;
 (it is so used Ep. 60. §. 2. "stare
 ad criminis veniam") the last "to
 wait in suspense to the Day of Judg-
 ment," is inconsistent, at least, with
 the modern Roman doctrine of Pur-
 gatory, according to which souls
 therein, from the first, know of their
 salvation, and, when released from
 Purgatory, ascend at once to heaven.
 Yet it is a more awful thought, that
 some souls may to the very Day of
 Judgment, throughout the intermediate
 state, be uncertain of their doom; yet
 S. Ambrose (de Cain. ii. 2.) using
 nearly the same word as St. C. "sus-
 penditur," says, "The soul is freed
 from the body, and yet after the end of

the sentence of the Lord, another to be at once crowned by the Lord.

17. And indeed amongst our predecessors, some of the Bishops here in our province thought that peace ought not to be granted to adulterers, and entirely closed against adultery the place of penitence. They did not however withdraw from the college of their fellow-Bishops, nor break the unity of the Catholic Church by the inflexibility of their harshness or censure; so that, because, by some, peace was granted to adulterers, he who did not grant it should be separated from the Church. But so long as the bond of concord remains, and the inseparable Sacrament of the Catholic Church endureth, each Bishop orders and directs his own proceedings, having hereafter to give account of his intentions to the Lord^b.

16. But I wonder that some are so obstinate as to suppose that penitence is not to be allowed to the lapsed, or to think that pardon is to be denied to the penitent, when it is written, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the* Rev. 2,
first works. Which surely is said to one who it is plain had⁵
fallen, and whom the Lord exhorts to rise again by works; because it is written, *Alms do deliver from death:* and not Tob. 4,
surely from that death which the Blood of Christ hath once 10.
extinguished, and from which saving Baptism and the grace of our Redeemer hath freed us; but from that which afterwards creeps in by sins. In another passage also time is allowed for repentance, and the Lord threatens him that does not do penance: *I have, He saith, many things against* Rev. 2,
thee, because thou sufferest thy wife^c Jezebel, which calleth 20—22.
herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce My servants to
commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols,
and I gave her a space to repent of her fornication; and

this life, still hangs in suspense, through the uncertainty of the future Judgment. So truly is there no end, where an end is thought to be." And S. Greg. Nyss. (de beatitud. t. i. p. 809. quoted by Daillé) describes how, in the sight of the glories of heaven and the punishment of hell, "the whole human race, from the first creation to the consummation of all things, shall stand in suspense (*μεταξὺς*) between fear and hope

of the future, trembling oftentimes at the event of the things looked-for either way, and they who have lived with a good conscience, mistrusting what shall be, when they see others dragged down to the fearful darkness, by an evil conscience as by an executioner."

^b Ep. 59. §. 19. and not. m. ib. fin.

^c Matthei and Scholz receive *σου* into the text, Griesbach, as probable.

EP1ST. *she will not repent of her fornication. Behold, I will cast*
 LV. *her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her*
 A. 252. *into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.*
 The Lord surely would not have exhorted these persons to
 repentance, except that He promises pardon to penitents^d.
 Luke And in the Gospel He saith, *I say unto you, that likewise*
 15, 7. *joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more*
than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repent-
 Wisd. 1. *ance.* For since it is written, *God made not death, neither*
 13. *hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living;* therefore
 He Who would have no one to perish, desireth sinners to
 repent, and by repentance to return again to life. Therefore
 Joel 2, also He cries aloud by Joel the prophet, and says, *And now*
 12. 13. *thus saith the Lord your God, Turn ye even to Me with all*
your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with
mourning; and rend your heart and not your garments, and
return unto the Lord your God, for He is gracious and
merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth
Him of the evil He hath inflicted. In the Psalms also we
 read the judgment alike and clemency of God, at the same
 time punishing that He may correct, and when He hath
 Ps. 89, corrected, preserving; *I will visit,* He saith, *their transgres-*
 32. 33. *sions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes.* Never-
theless, My lovingkindness will I not utterly take from them.

19. The Lord also in His Gospel, shewing the compas-
 sion of God the Father, says, *What man is there of you,*
 Matt. 7, *whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? or if*
 9-11. *he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being*
evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how
much more shall your Heavenly Father give good things to
them that ask Him? Here the Lord compares a father after
 the flesh, and the eternal and abundant compassion of God
 the Father. Wherefore if that evil father upon earth, being
 grievously offended by a sinful and wicked son, should he
 afterward see the same son reformed, and, the sins of his
 former life laid aside, restored by penitent sorrow to sober
 and good conduct and to innocent behaviour, both rejoices
 and welcomes him; and receiving him, whom he had before
 cast out, embraces him with the yearning of paternal joy:

^d Comp. Tert. de Pæn. c. 8. p. 363. Oxf. Tr.

how much more doth that One and True Father, good, merciful, and full of loving-kindness, yea, Goodness and Mercy and Loving-kindness itself, rejoice over the repentance of His own sons! nor doth He threaten wrath to the penitent or those that mourn and lament, but rather promises pardon and forgiveness. Whence the Lord in the Gospel pronounces *them that mourn blessed*, because he who mourns, invites Mat. 5, mercy; he who is froward and proud, heaps up wrath against⁴ himself and punishment in the Judgment to come. Wherefore, dearest brother, we have determined, that they who do not repent nor testify sorrow for their sins with all their heart and with open profession of their grief, are to be altogether forbidden the hope of communion and peace, if in sickness and peril they begin to entreat for it; because, not repentance for sin, but the warning of impending death, compels them to ask, nor does he deserve to receive solace in death, who has not thought that he should die.

20. As regards the character of Novatian, dearest brother, of whom you have desired word should be written you, what heresy he had introduced; you should know in the first place that we ought not even to be curious as to what he teaches, since he teaches without the Church. Whosoever he be, and whatsoever he be, he is not a Christian, who is not in the Church of Christ. Although he may boast himself and in lofty words proclaim his own philosophy or eloquence, he who has retained neither brotherly love nor ecclesiastical unity, has lost even what he had before. Unless he seem to you to be a Bishop, who when a Bishop has been made in the Church by sixteen fellow-Bishops, endeavours by intrigue to be by deserters made an adulterous and strange Bishop: and whereas there is one Church from Christ throughout the whole world, divided into many members, and one Episcopate, diffused throughout an harmonious multitude of many Bishops, he, notwithstanding the tradition of God, notwithstanding the unity of the Catholic Church every where compacted and joined together, attempts to make a human Church, and sends his new apostles through very many cities, that he may establish certain recent foundations of his own institution: and whereas there have been already ordained, through all provinces and through every city, Bishops, in

EPIST. age venerable, in faith sound, in trials proved, in persecution
 LV. banished, he dares to create other false bishops over them.

A. 252. As if he could either traverse the whole world with obstinate perseverance in his novel attempt, or disjoin the compact structure of the ecclesiastical body by the dissemination of his own discord; not knowing that schismatics are always impetuous at the beginning, but are incapable of growth; nor can they augment what they have unlawfully begun, but, together with their ungodly rivalry, soon fail. But he could not hold the Episcopate, even had he been made Bishop first, since he has fallen away from the body of his fellow-Bishops and from the unity of the Church; for the Apostle admonishes us that we should bear with one another, and not depart from the unity which God hath appointed, and

Eph. 4, says, *Bearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the*
 2. *unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.* He therefore who keeps neither *the unity of the Spirit*, nor *the bond of peace*, and separates himself from the band of the Church and from the college of priests, can retain neither the power nor the honour of a Bishop, in that he would not uphold either the unity or the peace of the Episcopate.

21. Moreover, what swelling of arrogance is it, what forgetfulness of humility and lenity, what vaunting of his own arrogance, that any dare, or think that he can do, what the Lord granted not even to the Apostles; to think that he can distinguish the tares from the wheat, or, as if it were granted to him to carry *the fan* and to *purge the floor*, to attempt to separate the chaff from the wheat? And whereas
 2 Tim. the Apostle says, *But in a great house there are not only*
 2, 20. *ressels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth*; he seemeth to select *the vessels of gold and silver*, but to despise, reject, condemn, those of wood and of earth; whereas *the vessels of wood* are only to be burnt in the Day of the Lord by the burning of the Divine conflagration, and
 Ps. 2, 9. those *of earth* are to be broken by Him to Whom *the rod of iron* has been given.

Rev. 2, 22. Or if he sets himself up for a *searcher and judge of*
 23. *the heart and reins*, let him judge in all cases alike, and since he knows it is written, *Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee*; let him

separate the covetous and adulterous from his side and from his company ; forasmuch as the case of an adulterer is much more grave and worse than of the taker of a certificate, since the one has sinned by compulsion, the other by choice^e ; the one, thinking it enough for him that he sacrificed not, has been deceived through error, the other a violater of another's bed, or entering a brothel, into the sewers and miry quagmires of the rabble, has by detestable filthiness polluted a sanctified body and the temple of God, as the Apostle says, *Every sin that a man doeth is without the body ; but* ^{1 Cor. 6, 18.} *he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body.* To which very persons, however, penitence is conceded, and hope, through sorrow and making amends, is left, as the same Apostle says, *I fear lest when I come to* ^{2 Cor. 12, 21.} *you, I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleannesses and fornications and lasciviousnesses which they have committed.*

23. Nor let the new heretics flatter themselves in this, that they say they do not communicate with idolaters ; whereas there are amongst them both adulterers and covetous^f, who are held convicted in the guilt of idolatry, according to the Apostle, who says, *For know this and understand, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous* ^{Eph. 5, 5.} *man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.* And again, *Mortify therefore* ^{Col. 3, 5.} *your members which are upon the earth, putting off fornication, uncleanness, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which are idolatry, for which things' sake the wrath of God cometh.* For since our bodies are the members of Christ, and we are each of us the temple of God, whoso by adultery violates the temple of God, violates God ; and who in committing sin does the will of the devil, serves dæmons and idols. For neither do evil deeds come of the Holy Spirit, but from the instigation of the adversary ; and concupiscences, born of the unclean spirit, drive men to act against God and to serve the devil. So it comes to pass, that if they say one is polluted by another's sin, and if by their own assertion they contend that the idolatry of a delinquent

^e Tert. de Pudic. fin.

^f See above, p. 111. note m. on Ep. 52.

EPIST. passes on to another not delinquent; they cannot, according
LV. to their own words, be excused from the crime of idolatry,
A. 252. since it is plain from Apostolic proof that adulterers and
 covetous, with whom they communicate, are idolaters. But
 with us, according to our faith, and the express rule of
 divine teaching, the principle of truth agrees, that every one
 is bound by his own sin, and that one cannot be made
Ezek. guilty for another, since the Lord forewarns and says, *The*
18, 20. *righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the*
wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. And again,
2 King's *The fathers shall not die for the children, nor the children*
14, 6. *die for the fathers; every man shall die for his own sin.*
 We then, reading and holding this, think that no one should
 be debarred the fruit of satisfaction or the hope of peace;
 knowing, according to the faithfulness of the divine
 Scriptures, God Himself being the Author and exhorting
 thereto, both that sinners are brought back to repentance,
 and that pardon and forgiveness are not to be denied to the
 penitent.

24. O mockery of a deluded brotherhood! O trea-
 cherous deception of wretched and bewildered mourners!
 O ineffectual and vain tradition of heretical institution! to
 exhort to penitence for amends, and to take away from the
 amends all healing power; to say to our brethren, ‘lament
1 operari and shed tears and groan day and night, and do¹ abundant
 and continual deeds of mercy for washing away and purging
 thy sin, but after all these thou shalt die without the Church:
 whatsoever things pertain to peace, thou shalt do, but none
 of the peace which thou askest shalt thou obtain.’ Who
 would not forthwith perish? who would not through very
 desperation fall away? who would not divert his mind from
 all purpose of sorrowing? Thinkest thou a husbandman
 could labour, if thou shouldest say, ‘Till the field with all
 the skill of husbandry; attend diligently to its culture; but
 thou shalt reap no harvest, thou shalt press no vintage, thou
 shalt receive no fruit from thy olive-yard, thou shalt gather
 no apples from the trees?’ Or if persuading one to the
 ownership and employment of vessels, thou shouldest say to
 him, ‘Brother, buy timber from the best woods; lay down
 the keel of very strong and choice oak; spend largely on

rudder, cordage, sails, that the ship be framed and furnished; but when thou hast done all this, thou shalt derive no benefit from its employment and its voyages?' It is to shut up and cut off the passage of grief and the way of repentance; so that whereas in all the Scriptures the Lord God encourages those that return to Him and are penitent, by our hardness and cruelty in intercepting the fruit of repentance, repentance itself is taken away. But if we find that no one should be prohibited from doing penance, and that to those who entreat and implore the mercy of the Lord, according as He is merciful and of tender pity, peace may be granted by His priests; the groaning of the sorrowers must be allowed, and the fruit of repentance not denied to them that mourn. And because *there is no confession in the grave*, nor can the course of Ps. 6, 5. confession take place there; they, who from their whole heart repent and entreat, ought to be received within the Church, and in it be reserved for the Lord, Who when He shall come to His Church, will surely judge of those whom He shall find within it. But apostates and deserters, or adversaries and enemies, and dividers of the Church of Christ, even if without the Church they have been slain for His Name, cannot, according to the Apostle, be admitted to the peace of the Church, since they have maintained neither *the unity of the Spirit* nor of the Church. ^{Comp. 1 Cor. 13, 3.}

25. These few things out of many, dearest brother, I have for the present briefly run over according to my ability, in order that I might satisfy your wishes, and might join you more and more to the fellowship of our College and Body. But if you should have opportunity and means of coming to us, we shall be able to confer further together, and to discuss more fully and more at large, what may make for a salutary concord.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LVI.

Cyprian to Fortunatus, Aghymus, Optatus, Privation, Donatulus, and Felix, his brethren, greeting.

Ye have written me word, dearest brethren, that when ye were in the city of Capsa in order to the ordination of a Bishop,

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LVI.
A. 252.

Superius, our brother and colleague, laid before you, that Ninus, Clementianus, Florus, our brethren, who had been before seized in the persecution, and having confessed the Name of the Lord, had overcome the violence of the magistracy and the onset of the infuriated populace, had afterwards, when racked by severe tortures before the Proconsul, been subdued by the vehemence of the tortures, and by protracted rackings, had fallen from the degree of glory, to which, with full constancy of faith, they were approaching; yet that, after this grievous fall sustained not willingly but of necessity, they had not for these three years ceased from doing penance. Concerning whom ye have thought fit to consult, whether it were now right to admit them to communion. And indeed as regards my own opinion, I think that the mercy of the Lord will not be wanting to these, who are known to have stood in the battle, confessed the Name of the Lord, overcome the violence of the magistracy and the onset of the raging populace by the resoluteness of immoveable faith, suffered imprisonment long, amidst the threats of the Proconsul, and the fury of the surrounding populace, withstood the tortures which mangled and racked them: so that what at the last is found subdued by the infirmity of the flesh, may be relieved by the excuse of preceding deserts; and it may be enough for such to have lost glory, yet that we ought not to close against them the place of pardon also, and deprive them of fatherly compassion and our communion; to whom we think it may suffice, for entreating the clemency of the Lord, that for three years, as ye write, they have sorrowed continually and mournfully with the deepest penitential lamentation. I certainly do not think that peace is incautiously and rashly entrusted to those, who, we see, by the fortitude of their warfare, were not before wanting in the battle, and who, should the conflict be hereafter renewed, may win back their lost glory. For since it was determined in council that in peril of sickness, relief should be given and peace granted to the penitent, they surely ought to have precedence in obtaining peace, who, we see, have not fallen through infirmity of mind, but who having engaged in the battle and being wounded, have been unable, through weakness of the flesh,

to uphold the crown of their confession ; especially since when they desired to die they were not allowed to be slain, but tortures ceased not to rack their wearied frames, until at last they might—not overcome faith, which is unconquered, but wear out the flesh, which is weak. However, since ye have written that I should discuss this same matter very fully with several of my Colleagues, and a thing of such moment demands greater and more earnest consideration from a conference of many, and since now almost all, in the beginning of the Paschal solemnities, are at home with the brethren ; as soon as they have fulfilled the celebration of the solemnities among their people, and have begun to resort to me, I will discuss the matter more fully with each, so that a positive resolution on the question you have proposed may be determined by us and sent to you in writing, having been duly weighed by the advice of many Prelates.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LVII.

Cyprian, Liberalis, Caldonius, Nicomedes, Cæcilius, Junius, Marrutius, Felix, Successus, Faustinus, Fortunatus, Victor, Saturninus, another Saturninus, Rogatian, Tertullus, Lucianus, Sattius, Secundinus, another Saturninus, Eutyches, Amplus, another Saturninus, Aurelius, Priscus, Herculaneus, Victoricus, Quintus, Honoratus, Manthaneus, Hortensianus, Verianus, Iambus, Donatus, Pomponius, Polycarpus, Demetrius, another Donatus, Privatianus, another Fortunatus, Rogatus, and Munnulus, to Cornelius, our brother, greeting.

1. We had determined some time ago, dearest brother, having advised with one another, that they who in the fierce warfare of the persecution had been overthrown by the adversary and had fallen, and had defiled themselves by forbidden sacrifices, should do full penance for a long while, and if danger of sickness should press hard upon them, they should receive peace at the very point of death. For it was not right, nor did the compassion of The Father and Divine

EPIST.
LVII.
A. 252.

Matt.
16, 19.

clemency permit that the Church should be closed against those that knocked, and the aid of the hope of salvation be denied to them that grieved and entreated, so that in their departure from the world they should be sent to the Lord without communion and peace; forasmuch as He Himself, Who gave the law, has permitted, that things *bound in earth* should be *bound also in heaven*; and that things might be *loosed* there, which were here first *loosed* in the Church. But since we see the day of another persecution has again begun to draw near, and we are warned by frequent and continual foreshewings^g, that we should be armed and prepared for the conflict which the enemy proclaims; that we should also by our exhortations prepare the people, by Divine vouchsafement committed to us, and should collect together within the Lord's camp all and every soldier of Christ, who desire arms and are eager for battle—necessity then compelling, we have determined that peace is to be granted to those who have not departed from the Church of the Lord, but from the first day of their fall have not ceased to do penance and to lament and to entreat the Lord, and that they ought to be armed and accoutred for the impending battle. For we must obey adequate foreshewings and warnings, that so the sheep be not abandoned in peril by the shepherds, but the whole flock collected together, and the army of the Lord armed for the struggle of heavenly warfare. For well was it, so that relief was given to the sick in their last moments, to allow the grief of penitence to be protracted, while quiet and tranquillity yet continued, which admitted of our long postponing the tears of the penitent, and giving a late relief in sickness to the dying. But now peace is necessary not for the sick but for the strong; not to the dying but the living must we grant communion; so as not to leave unarmed and naked, whom we rouse and exhort to battle, but fortify them with the protection of the Body and Blood of Christ: and since the Eucharist is ordained for this, that It may be a safeguard to them that receive It, those whom we would have safe against the adversary, we must arm with the defence of the fulness of the Lord. For how

^g Ostensionibus, as in the close of the Ep., “Divinitus frequentur ostenditur,”

i. e. in visions, see ab. Ep. xi. p. 25. n. f. p. 27. n. k.

do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in confession of the Name, if, when about to engage, we deny them the Blood of Christ? or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we do not first by the right of communion admit them to drink the Cup of the Lord in the Church?

2. A difference ought to be made, dearest brother, between those who have either apostatized, and, having returned to the world which they had renounced, live as heathens, or having deserted to heretics, daily take up parricidal arms against the Church, and those who departing not from the threshold of the Church, and continually and sorrowfully imploring the consolations of God the Father, profess that they are now prepared for battle, to stand bravely and fight for the Name of their Lord and for their own salvation. At such a time as this, we grant peace not to sleepers, but to men on their watch; we grant peace not amid pleasures, but in arms; we grant peace not for quiet, but for battle. If as we hear of them and desire and believe, they shall stand bravely, and together with us shall prostrate the adversary in conflict, it will not repent us that we have granted peace to men so strong, nay it will be the especial honour and glory of our Episcopate, to have given peace to Martyrs; so that we who, as priests, daily celebrate the Sacrifices of God, shall prepare oblations and victims for Him.

3. But if (which may the Lord avert from our brethren!) any one of the lapsed should deceive, so as craftily to ask for peace, and at the time of impending battle receive communion, not purposing to fight, he deceives and misleads himself; concealing one thing in his heart, and uttering another with his mouth. We, as far as it is allowed us both to behold and judge, behold the face of each; we cannot search the heart and see through the mind. Of these judgeth the Searcher and Discerner of hidden things, Who will soon come, and *will judge of the secrets and hidden things of the heart*. But the evil ought not to be a hindrance to the good; rather the evil should be aided by the good. Nor should peace therefore be denied to those about to suffer martyrdom, because there are some who will deny¹; ¹ Christ.

EPIST. since for this cause peace should be given to all about to
 LVII. engage, lest through our ignorance he be the first to be
 A. 252. passed over, who is, in the conflict, to be crowned.

1 as his 4. Nor let any one say, that he who *taketh up*¹ martyrdom,
 cross is baptized in his own blood; and that peace from the
 Luke 9, Bishop is not necessary for him, who will attain peace in his
 23. own glory, and receive a greater reward from the favour of
 the Lord. First, he cannot be fit for martyrdom, who is not
 armed by the Church for battle; and his courage fails,
 which the Eucharist, received, lifteth not up, and kindleth
 not. For the Lord in His Gospel saith, *But when they*
 Matt. deliver you up, take no thought what ye shall speak; for it
 10, 19. shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak. For it
 20. is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father Which
 speaketh in you. But since He saith, that *the Spirit of the*
Father speaketh in those that are delivered up, and that are
 appointed to confess His Name, how can he be found pre-
 pared or fit for confession, who has not first, by receiving
 peace, received *the Spirit of the Father*, Who, strengthening
 His servants, Himself *speaketh* and confesseth in us? Then,
 if one, leaving all he hath, shall flee, and, while he is in
 lurking-places and solitudes, shall by chance fall among
 robbers, or shall die in a fever or through exhaustion: will
 it not be imputed to us that so good a soldier, who left all
 he had, and disregarding house, and parents, and children,
 chose rather to follow His Lord, departed without peace and
 without communion? Will not slothful negligence or cruel
 harshness be ascribed to us in the Day of Judgment; that we,
 shepherds, would neither in peace heal the sheep committed
 and entrusted to us, nor in battle arm them? Would not that
 be brought heavily against us by the Lord, which by His
 Ezek. Prophet He crieth out, saying, *Ye eat the milk, and ye*
 34, 3-6. *clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed;*
but ye feed not my flock. The weak have ye not strength-
ened, neither have ye healed that which was sick,
neither have ye comforted that which was broken, neither
have ye brought again that which strayed, neither have ye
sought that which was lost; and that which was strong ye
wore out with labour: and My sheep were scattered, because
there was no shepherd, and they became meat to all the

The soldiers of Xt to be gathered in one, when conflict coming. 141

beasts of the field, and none did search after them or bring them back. Therefore thus saith the Lord; Behold, ^{Ezek.} *I am against the shepherds, and I will require My sheep at* ^{34, 10.} ^{16.} *their hands, and cause them to cease from feeding My sheep; neither shall they feed them any more, and I will deliver My sheep from their mouth, and I will feed them with judgment.* Lest therefore the sheep committed to us by the Lord should be demanded back out of our mouth, with which we deny peace, with which we manifest against them rather the harshness of human cruelty than Divine and Fatherly clemency; it hath seemed good to us, the Holy Spirit suggesting, and the Lord by many and plain visions admonishing, since the enemy is foretold and shewn to be now close upon us, to gather the soldiers of Christ within the camp, and having examined the case of each, to grant peace to the fallen¹, yea, rather, to supply arms to those about to ¹ lapsis. fight. Which we trust will be approved also by you in contemplation of the mercy of The Father. But if there shall be found any one of our Colleagues, who, when the struggle is at hand, thinks that peace is not to be granted to brethren and sisters, he will give account to the Lord in the Day of Judgment of his own unseasonable severity or inhuman rigour. We, as suited our faith and charity and solicitude, have put forward those things whereof we were conscious, that the day of strife has drawn near, that a violent enemy will soon rise up against us, that a battle, not such as it was, but much more severe and vehement^h, is approaching. This is frequently manifested to us by God; of this the providence and mercy of the Lord often forewarns us, of Whose aid and compassion we, who trust in Him, may be secure: for He Who in peace foretelleth the coming battle to His soldiers, will, when warring, give them victory in the conflict.

We bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

^h Cornelius received his martyrdom in it; else the persecution by Gallus was not so fierce as the Decian; but Bp. Fell notices, that the gift of interpreting was different from that of pro-

phesying, 1 Cor. 12, 10. St. C. was forewarned of the persecution and its fierceness, not of the relative degree of it.

EPIST.
LVIII.
A. 252.

EPISTLE LVIII

Cyprian to the people assembled at Thibarisⁱ, greeting.

1. I had thought, dearest brethren, and earnestly wished, if the posture of affairs and the condition of the times allowed, in accordance with your repeated desires, to have come to you in person, and being present among you, by my exhortation, poor as it is, to strengthen the brotherhood. But since I am detained by affairs so urgent, as to put it out of my power to make a distant excursion hence, or long to be absent from the people over whom by the favour of God I preside, I send meanwhile this Epistle to you in my stead. For since, by the vouchsafement of the Lord instructing me, I am frequently impelled and warned, I ought to bring to your conscience also the anxious warning given to me. For ye ought to know and believe, and hold for certain, that the day of trouble has begun to impend over our heads^k, and that the setting of the world and the time of Antichrist approaches, so that we must all stand ready for battle, nor think of any thing but the glory of life eternal, and the crown of confessing the Lord, nor think that the things which are coming are such as those which have passed. A more severe and fiercer struggle now hangs over us, to which the soldiers of Christ must prepare themselves by faith untainted, and by sturdy courage; considering that they therefore daily drink the Cup of the Blood of Christ, that they too may be able to shed their blood for Christ. For this is to desire to be found with Christ, to imitate what Christ both taught and did; as John the Apostle saith, *He that saith he abideth in Christ, ought himself also so to walk, even as He walked.* The blessed Apostle Paul also

¹ John
2, 6.

Rom. 8, exhorteth and teacheth, saying, *We are children, and if*
16. 17.

ⁱ In the Coll. Carth. the Catholic and Donatist Bishops of Thibaris are named among the Bishops of the Province Byzacium.

^k All persecutions for the Name of Christ being heralds and types of the times of Antichrist, and bound up with it, intimations of a persecution were

intimations also of his coming, although "the times and seasons" were hidden from the Apostles as well as the Prophets of the O. T. and even from the Son as man. On the expectation of Antichrist and the end of the world, see Sermons on Antichrist, Tracts, No. 83.

Suffering for Christ unites us, as the older saints, to love of God. 143

children of God, then heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified together.

2. All which things must now be considered by us, that no one may desire aught of the world, now perishing, but may follow Christ, Who both liveth for ever, and quickeneth His servants settled in the faith of His Name. For the time is at hand, most dearly beloved brethren, which our Lord long since foretold and taught would come, saying, *The time* ^{John 16,} *cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth* ^{2—4.} *God service. And these things they will do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor Me. But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them.* Nor should any one wonder that we are harassed with continual persecutions, and are frequently hemmed in by harrowing pressure, since the Lord has before foretold that these things would be in the last times, and has prepared us for the warfare by the teaching and encouragement of His own words; Peter also, His Apostle, hath taught, that persecutions take place to the end that we be proved, and we too, after the example of the righteous who went before, be, by death and suffering, united to the love of God. For he has written in his Epistle, saying, *Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery* ^{1 Pet. 4,} *trial which is to try you, lest ye fall off as though some* ^{12—14.} *strange thing happened unto you; but as often as ye partake in Christ's sufferings, rejoice in all things, that, when His glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Name of the Majesty and Power of the Lord resteth upon you: which on their part is blasphemed, but on our part is glorified.* But the Apostles taught us those things which themselves also learnt from the Lord's precepts and the commands of God, our Lord Himself namely strengthening us, and saying, *There is no man that hath* ^{Luke 18,} *left house, or land, or parents, or brethren, or sisters, or* ^{29. 30.} *wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive sevenfold¹ more in this present time, and in the*

¹ septies, Test. iii. 16. de Exh. and so late as Greg. ix. Ep. ad Germ. Mart. §. 12. D. and others ap. Scholz. ap. Raynald, A. 1232. §. 51. B.

EPIST. LVIII.
 A. 252.
 Luke 6,
 22. 23.

world to come life everlasting. And again He says, Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and shall separate you from their company, and shall cast you out, and shall reproach your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.

Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for, behold, your reward is great in Heaven. The Lord would have us rejoice in persecutions and leap for joy, because when persecutions come, then the crowns of faith are given, then the soldiers of God are proved, then the heavens are opened to Martyrs.

Mat. 10,
32. 33.
 3. For we have not so given in our names for warfare^m, as to think only of peace, and decline and refuse warfare, since our Lord, the pattern of humility endurance and suffering, first walked in the same warfare, that so what He taught should be done, He should first do, and what He exhorteth to suffer, Himself should first suffer for us. Let it be ever before your eyes, most beloved brethren, that He, Who Alone hath received all judgment from the Father, and Who will hereafter come to judge, hath already published the sentence of His Judgment and future cognizance, fore-
Mat. 10,
32. 33.
warning and testifying, that He will confess those before His Father who confess Him, and will deny those who deny Him. If we could escape death, we might rightly fear death. But since it must needs be that one subject to death should die, we should embrace the occasion offered by Divine promise and favour, and accomplish the ending of life with the reward of immortality, nor fear to be slain, who know that, when slain, we are crowned.

4. Nor let any one, most beloved brethren, when he shall behold our people put to flight and dispersed through fear of persecution, be troubled, because he does not see the brotherhood assembled, nor hear Bishops instructingⁿ. All cannot be then together, who may not slay, but who must be slain^o. Wheresoever in those days each of the brethren shall be separated for a while, through the necessities of the times, in body not in spirit, from the flock, let him not be

^m before Baptism, see S. Aug. Conf. ix. 6. and note b. Oxf. Tr.

ⁿ tractantes, see ab. p. 124. not. z. on Ep. 55.

^o Tert. Apol. c. 37. p. 79. Oxf. Tr. Lucif. Cal. de Moriendo pro Dei Fil. ap. B.

shaken at the terrors of that flight, nor, when withdrawing and hiding himself, be alarmed at the solitude of a desert. He is not alone, to whom Christ is a companion in flight^p. He is not alone, who keeping *the temple of God*, wheresoever^{1 Cor. 3,} he be, is not without God. And if, when flying in solitude^{16.} and on the mountains, a robber assault, wild beasts attack, hunger or thirst or cold afflict him^q, or, when hastening over the sea in hurried voyage, tempest and storm overwhelm him, Christ every where beholdeth His own soldier fighting, and to him that dieth in persecution for the honour of His Name He giveth the reward which He has promised that He will give in the resurrection. Nor is the glory of martyrdom less, ^{Luke} that he has not perished publicly, and among numbers, when^{14, 14.} the cause of his perishing is that he perishes for Christ. Sufficient for a testimony of his martyrdom is That Witness, Who proveth Martyrs and crowneth them.

5. Let us imitate, dearest brethren, righteous Abel, who initiated martyrdoms^r, being first slain for righteousness' sake. Let us imitate Abraham the friend of God, who hesitated not to offer up his son as a sacrifice with his own hands, obeying God with a devoted faith. Let us imitate the three children, Ananias, Azarias, and Misahel, who, neither terrified by reason of their youth, nor broken by captivity, when Judæa was conquered and Jerusalem taken, by the power of faith overcame the king in his own kingdom, who, when commanded to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had made, proved themselves stronger than both the menaces of the king and than the flames, proclaiming and testifying their faith by these words; *O* ^{Dan. 3,} *king Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in* ^{16—18.} *this matter. For the God Whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, that we do not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.* They believed that they

^p Quoted by Fulg. ad Thrasim. ii. 17. B. robbers, and wild beasts?" B. add Poss. Vit. Aug. c. 28.

^q Many did so die in persecutions. Ruf. vi. 31. "Why should I mention what vast multitudes, wandering in deserts and in mountains, were destroyed by hunger, thirst, cold, fatigue.
^r De bon. pat. §. 5. p. 255. Oxf. Tr. S. Chrys. Hom. 8. adv. Jud. §. 8. t. i. p. 686. Prosper de Prom. et Præd. Dei i. 6. B.

Epist. could escape according to faith, but they added, *and if not,*
 LVIII. that the king should know that they could even die for the
 A. 252. God Whom they worshipped. For this is the strength of
 virtue and faith, to believe and to know that God can deliver
 from present death, and yet not to fear death, nor to yield;
 that faith may be proved the more mightily. The undefiled
 and unconquerable might of the Holy Spirit burst forth from
 their mouth, that the words which the Lord spake in His

Mat. 10, Gospel may be found true; *But when they shall seize you,*
 19. 20. *take no thought what ye shall speak: for it shall be given*
you in that hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that
speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.
 He said, that what we may speak and answer is given to us
 in that hour, and supplied by Divine power, and that it is
 not we who then speak, but the Spirit of God the Father;
 Who, since He neither departs nor is divided from them that
 confess, Himself both speaketh and is crowned in us. So
 also Daniel, when called upon to adore the idol Bel
 whom the people and king then worshipped, in asserting the
 honour of his God, broke forth with the full freedom of faith,
 saying, *I worship nothing but the Lord my God, Who hath*
 Bel 4. *created the heaven and the earth.*
 or Dan. 14, 4.

lxx. 6. What of the severe tortures of the blessed Martyrs in
 the Maccabees¹, and the manifold penalties of the seven
 brethren, and the mother comforting her children in punish-
 ment, and herself too dying with her children? do they not
 afford proofs of a mighty virtue and faith, and by their
 sufferings exhort us to the triumph of martyrdom? What of
 the Prophets, whom the Holy Spirit inspired with a fore-
 knowledge of the future? What of the Apostles, whom the
 Lord chose? Do not these righteous slain, teach us also to
 die for righteousness' sake? The Nativity of Christ com-
 menced forthwith with the martyrdom of infants, so that they
 who were *two years old and under* were put to death for
 His Name's sake. An age not yet capable of conflict, proved
 fit for a crown. That it might appear that they are innocent
 who are put to death for the sake of Christ, innocent infancy
 was slain for His Name's sake. It was shewn that no one is
 free from the perils of persecution, when even such accom-
 plished martyrdom.

¹ see de
 Exhort.
 Mart.
 c. 11.

Matt. 2,
 16.

Christians, as servants, suffer for the Son Who suffered to make us sons. 1 17

7. How grave a charge then must it be against a Christian man, that the servant should be unwilling to suffer, when his Lord has before suffered: and that we should be unwilling to suffer for our sins, when He, Who had no sin of His own, suffered for us? The Son of God suffered that He might make us sons of God; and the son of man is not willing to suffer, that he may continue a son of God. If we labour under the hatred of the world, Christ first endured the hatred of the world. If we are exposed to contumely in this world, if to exile, to torment, the Creator and Lord of the world experienced still heavier things, Who also admonisheth us, saying, *If the world hate you, remember that it hated Me before you. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Remember the word that I said unto you; The servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you.* Whatever our Lord and God taught, He also did; that the disciple might have no excuse, who learns and does not. John 15, 18—20.

8. Nor let any one of you, dearest brethren, be so alarmed by the dread of the persecution at hand, or at the now impending advent of Antichrist, as not to be found armed for all things by the Evangelical exhortations, and by heavenly precepts and warnings. Antichrist cometh, but upon him cometh also Christ. The enemy wastes and rages, but immediately also the Lord followeth to avenge our sufferings and our wounds. The adversary is wroth and threatens, but there is One Who can free from his hands. He is to be dreaded, Whose wrath no one can elude, Himself forewarning and saying, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear Him Which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.* And again, *He that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.* And in the Revelation He instructs and forewarns, saying, *If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God mixed in the cup of His indignation, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the* Mat. 10, 28.
John 12, 25.
Rev. 14, 9—11.

EPIST. *holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; and the*
 LVIII. *smoke of their torment shall ascend up for ever and ever,*
 A. 252. *and they shall have no rest day nor night, who worship the*
beast and his image.

9. Men are trained and prepared for secular contests, and they account it a great mark of honour, if they happen to be crowned in the sight of the people and the presence of the emperor. Behold a sublime and mighty contest, glorious with the prize of a heavenly crown, in which God beholds us contending: and extending His vision over those whom He hath vouchsafed to make sons, He delighteth in beholding our struggle. God beholds us fighting and engaging in the conflict of faith; His angels behold us. Christ also beholds us. How great the dignity of glory, how great the happiness, to engage in the Presence of God, and to be crowned by Christ our Judge!

10. Let us arm ourselves, most beloved brethren, with all our might, and be prepared for the contest with minds undefiled, with faith entire, with devoted courage. Let the camp of God go forth to the battle which is denounced against us. Let those yet whole arm themselves, lest they lose the benefit of having lately stood. Let the fallen too arm, that even the fallen recover what he has lost. Let honour incite those that have stood, grief the fallen, to the battle. The blessed Apostle Paul teaches us to arm and
 Eph. 6, prepare, saying, *We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but*
 12—17. *against powers, and the rulers of this world and this darkness, against spirits of wickedness in high places. Wherefore put on the whole armour, that ye may be able to withstand in the most evil day; that when ye have done all, ye may stand, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the devil, and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.* Let us take these arms, let us fortify ourselves with these spiritual and heavenly safeguards, that in the most evil day we may

⁹ Tota arma. Dei is omitted in the also omits it; he has universitatem
 old Mss. [B.] Ambrosiaster ad loc. armorum.

be able to resist and hold out against the threats of the devil. Let us put on the breastplate of righteousness, that our breast may be fortified and safe against the darts of the enemy. Let our feet be shod and armed with the discipline of the Gospel; that when the serpent shall begin to be trodden on by us and bruised, he may have no power to bite and overthrow us. Let us boldly bear the *shield of faith*, under whose shelter every *dart of the enemy* may be *quenched*. Let us receive also for a covering of our heads the *helmet of salvation*, that our ears may be fortified, that they hear not the savage edicts: our eyes, that they behold not the detestable images; our forehead, that the seal^t of God be preserved entire: our mouth fortified, that the victorious tongue may confess its Lord Christ. Let us also arm the right hand^u with the *sword of the Spirit*, that we may boldly reject the deadly sacrifices, and mindful of the Eucharist, the hand which has received the Lord's Body, may embrace the Lord Himself, from Him to receive hereafter the reward of heavenly crowns.

11. Oh, what and how great will that day be, most beloved brethren, in which the Lord shall begin to reckon up His people, and by the searching of His divine knowledge to distinguish the merits of each, to send the guilty to hell, and to kindle on our persecutors the perpetual burning of penal fire, but to dispense to us the reward of our faith and devotion! What will be the glory, and how great the joy, to be admitted to see God; to be so honoured as, with Christ thy Lord God, to receive the joys of eternal salvation and light! To greet Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Patriarchs, and Prophets, and Apostles, and Martyrs; with the righteous and the friends of God in the kingdom of heaven to rejoice in the pleasures of immortality vouchsafed to us; to receive

^t The Cross in Holy Baptism, from Rev. 9, 4. See Traets, No. 67. c. ii. 1. p. 135 sqq. and Note E. de Unit. Eccl. §. 15. p. 144. Oxf. Tr.

^u Which received the Holy Eucharist, and would be the instrument of the idolatrous sacrifice, see on Tert. de Idol. e. xi. p. 235. n. i. It were the more awful to sin with that hand, which had touched the Body of the Lord. see Tert. de Idol. e. 7. and note

n, p. 228. S. Ambrose (ap. Theodoret H. E. v. 18.) to Theodosius, "how wilt thou stretch out the hands still dropping with the blood of that unjust slaughter?" or how with such hands would you receive the All-holy Body of the Lord?" S. Chrys. Cat. 2. ad Illum. §. 2. "Think What thou receivest in thy hand, and keep it clean from all covetousness and rapine." see further Bingham, 15. 5. 6.

EPIST. LIX. there what *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man.* For that we receive greater
 A. 252. 1 Cor. 2, things than we here either do or suffer, the Apostle declares,
 9. Rom. 8, saying, *The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come hereafter, which shall be revealed in us.* When that revelation shall come, when the glory of God shall shine upon us, we, honoured with the favour of God, shall be as happy and joyful, as they will remain guilty and miserable, who, being deserters of God or rebelling against God, have done the will of the devil, so that they must needs be tormented together with him in inextinguishable fire. Let these things, most beloved brethren, sink deep into your hearts: let this be the preparation of our armour, this our meditation day and night, to have before our eyes and all our senses, and ever to ponder in our thoughts, the punishment of the wicked and the rewards and gains¹ of the righteous; what torments the Lord threatens to those who deny Him, what glory, on the other hand, He promises to them that confess Him. If while we are thinking and meditating on these things the day of persecution shall come upon us, the soldier of Christ, instructed by His precepts and warnings, will not dread the engagement, but will be prepared for the crown.

¹ merita

My dearest brethren, I bid you ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LIX.

Cyprian to his brother Cornelius, greeting.

1. I have read the letter, dearest brother, which you sent by our brother Saturus the Acolyte^x, full throughout of brotherly love, ecclesiastical discipline, and priestly authority, in which you signify to me, that Felicissimus, no new enemy of Christ, but long since excommunicated for his very many and grievous crimes, and condemned not only by my sentence, but by that of very many fellow-Bishops, has also been rejected by you at Rome²; and that, when he came, encompassed by a crowd and faction of desperate

² illic

^x Mentioned before Ep. 29. 32. 35. On the office, see Bingham 3. 3. It is first mentioned at this date.

persons, he was expelled from the Church with that decisive vigour with which it behoves a Bishop to act. Long before indeed had he, with others like himself, been expelled thence by the Majesty of God and the severity of Christ the Lord and our Judge, lest the author^y of schism and disagreements, the fraudulent use of money entrusted to him, the defiler of virgins, the destroyer and corrupter of many marriages, should, by the disgrace of his presence and by immodest and incestuous contagion, further violate the hitherto uncorrupt, holy, chaste spouse of Christ.

2. However, on reading your second letter, brother, which you subjoined to the first, I was much surprised, when I perceived that you were somewhat moved by the menaces and threats of those who had come to you; when, as you have written word, they assailed you, threatening with the utmost

^y i. e. as promoting it, Pam. Rig. and Prior, as though Novatus had been the "author" of the Schism. Yet the grounds of the schisms were different, nor, although united in a degree by the interests of a joint rebellion, is it clear that they ever became one. Felicissimus was a turbulent, factious, self-important (Ep. 41.) layman, (Ep. 52. §. 3.) full of sin, (Ep. 41. here and below, §. 22.) His resistance to St. C. began in secular matters, perhaps, like Judas, because St. C.'s arrangements left no room for his "frauds." (Ep. 41.) He seems to have been an ignorant "friend of the Church," supposing his own communicating with it of importance, perhaps on account of his wealth, (his "extortions" are named, Ep. 41.) whence the threat that others should "not communicate *with him*." (ib.) At first, he seems to have given some secular weight to those who joined him, (whence St. C. speaks of the "faction of Felicissimus," (Ep. 43. §. 1.) "the five Presbyters joined with F." (§. 2.) "the party of F. and his satellites," (§. 4. p. 98.) afterwards he himself seems to have given way before the greater powers of Novatus, became his satellite and through him was made a deacon. (Ep. 52. l. c.) Yet St. C. has been thought still to distinguish between the two schisms, in that having spoken of Fortunatus, who was appointed by Felicissimus, having been made Bishop by "a few inveterate heretics," he proceeds to speak of the party of Novatian as

distinct and appointing a Bishop for themselves. "Nam *et* pars N." §. 10. And this although called the party of Novatian, not of Novatus, yet it was in Africa that it made Maximus a Bishop. The five schismatical or degraded Bishops, also, who laid hands on Fortunatus, do not appear in connexion with Novatus. Fortunatus also was almost instantly forsaken by those, over whom the heretics had made him Bishop, where ever the seat of Novatian lasted. The party of Felicissimus has been thought also to be alluded to by the author of the treatise ad Novat. heret. as a small dwindled few, distinct from the Novatians, *perversissimi isti Novatiani vel nunc infelicissimi pauci* §. 2. (Pam. and Tillemont H. E. S. Cyprien art. 30. t. iv. p. 49.) and what follows, (which T. says he does not understand) corresponds with the state of the two parties; "among the one the Episcopate is coveted shamelessly and without any of the rules of ordination," (Novatian's ambition and his consecration by three Bishops intoxicated, and to a See already occupied, see p. 111, note m. and Corn. ap. Eus. vi. 43.) "among the others, their own Sees and the thrones given them by God are abandoned," (Privatus, Bishop of Lambes, who was chief in appointing Fortunatus, was a condemned, Jovinus, Maximus, and Repostus, were lapsed Bishops, and so had eminently abandoned their Sees,) St. C. calls Felic. "the standard-bearer of the sedition." §. 10.

EPIST. LIX.
 A. 252. desperation, that if you would not receive the letters they brought, they would read them publicly, and utter much base and disgraceful, and worthy of their mouth. But if the case be so, dearest brother, that the audacity of men most abandoned is to be feared, and what the bad cannot accomplish by right and equity, they can by temerity and desperation, then is the vigour of Episcopacy, and the majestic and divine power of governing the Church, perished; nor can we any longer continue, or are we now, Christians, if it is come to this, that we are to dread the menaces and snares of the abandoned. For Gentiles and Jews and heretics menace, and all, whose breast and mind the devil has possessed, daily attest their envenomed madness by furious language. We must not however therefore yield, because they threaten; nor is the adversary and enemy therefore greater than Christ, because he claims and assumes so much to himself in the world. With us, dearest brother, must the strength of faith abide immoveable, and our courage, firm and unshaken, as with the strength and massiveness of an opposing rock, should endure against all the inroads and violence of the roaring waves.

3. Nor does it matter whence alarm or peril come to a Bishop, who lives exposed to alarms and perils, and yet is made glorious by these very alarms and perils. For we must not think on and regard the menaces of Gentiles or Jews exclusively, when we see that the Lord Himself was laid hold on^z by His brethren, and was betrayed by him whom Himself had chosen amongst His Apostles; at the beginning of the world also none but a brother slew righteous Abel; and an enraged brother pursued Jacob fleeing; and Joseph when a boy was sold by his brethren; in the Gospel too we read, that it is foretold that *a man's foes shall be rather they of his own household*, and that they who have been first knit together by the sacrament of unity^a shall be they who shall

^z detentum, in allusion probably to S. Mark 3, 21. The reprint of the Ben. Text (Paris 1836.) inserts the conjecture of Bal. "desertum," which the first editors did not, as contrary to the old Mss. and edd.

^a Sacramentum unanimittatis, as below, Ep. 73. §.9. s. unitatis; the natural unity of a household, as well as the

spiritual unity of the Church, flowing from and being a type, of the unity of God, (Mal. 2, 10. 15.) and being wrought by His Spirit, Who "maketh men to be of one mind in an house," whether a single family, or that of the Church. Bp. Fell says, "of brotherhood or matrimony," Rig. "as are father and son; ambo conjuges, ambo fratres."

betray one another. It matters not who betrays or rages, since God permits those to be betrayed whom He appoints to be crowned. For it is neither ignominy to us to suffer from our brethren what Christ suffered, nor is it glory to them to do what Judas did. But what vaunting is it in them, what swelling, inflated, and vain boasting in those threateners, there to menace me absent, when here they have me present in their power! Their revilings, whereby they daily wound themselves and their own life, I fear not; the clubs and swords and staves which they hold out with parricidal words, I dread not. As far as in them lies, such are homicides before God: yet cannot they kill, unless the Lord permit them to kill. And whereas I must *die once*, they slay daily by hatred and words, and by their sins.

4. But ecclesiastical discipline is not on that account to be abandoned, dearest brother, or priestly censure to be relaxed, because we are harassed by revilings, or assailed by alarms, for holy Scripture interposes and warns us, saying, *He who presumes and is proud, the man that boasteth of himself, who hath enlarged his desire as hell, shall accomplish nothing.* And again, *Fear not the words of a sinful man, for his glory shall be dung and worms. To-day he is lifted up, and to-morrow he shall not be found, because he is returned unto his dust, and his thought shall perish.* And again; *I have seen the wicked exalted and raised above the cedars of Libanus: I went by, and, lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, but his place was not to be found.* Exaltation, and swelling, and arrogant and proud boasting, have their birth, not of the teaching of Christ Who inculcates humility, but of the spirit of Antichrist, whom the Lord by the prophet upbraids, and says, *Thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit on a lofty mountain above the lofty mountains to the north, I will ascend above the clouds, I will be like the Most High.* And he added, *Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the lowest depths of the earth, and they that see thee shall marvel at thee.* Whence also Divine Scripture in another place threatens such with like punishment, and says, *For the day of the Lord of Hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is lifted up and exalted.*

EPIST. 5. By his mouth therefore, and by his words, is every one
 LIX. immediately betrayed, and in speaking is discovered, whether
 A. 252. he hath Christ in his heart or Antichrist: according to what
 Mat. 12, the Lord says in His Gospel, *O generation of ripers, how*
 34, 35. *can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things; and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.* Whence also that rich sinner, who implores aid of
 Luke 16, Lazarus now laid in Abraham's bosom and dwelling in a
 23. place of refreshment, whereas *being in torment* he is burned by the heat of scorching fire, of all the parts of his body, suffers most vengeance in his mouth and tongue, because he had most sinned with his tongue and mouth. For since it
 1 Cor. 6, is written, *Neither shall revilers inherit the kingdom of*
 10. *God:* and again the Lord in His Gospel saith, *Whosoever*
 Matt. 5, *shall say to his brother, Thou fool, and whosoever shall say,*
 22. *Raca, shall be in danger of hell fire;* how can they escape the censure of the Lord the Avenger, who heap up such charges not on brethren only, but even on priests, to whom so much honour is vouchsafed by the favour of God, that whosoever should not obey His priest and him who for the time being judged here below, is to be instantly put to death? The Lord God speaks in the book of Deuteronomy, saying,
 Dent. *The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken*
 17, 12. *unto the priest or the judge, whosoever he shall be in those*
 12. *days that man shall die: and all the people, when they hear, shall fear, and shall do no more wickedly.* To Samuel likewise, when he was despised by the Jews, God
 1 Sam. saith, *They have not despised thee, but they have despised*
 8, 7. *Me.* And the Lord also in the Gospel saith, *He that heareth*
 Matt. 8, *you, heareth Me; he that heareth Me, heareth also Him that*
 4. *sent Me^b: and he that rejecteth you, rejecteth Me: he that rejecteth Me, rejecteth Him that sent Me.* And when He had cleansed the leper, He saith, *Go, shew thyself to the*

^b Luke 10, 16. The addition *Qui me audit et eum qui me misit*, occurs again Ep. 66. §. 3. It is found in D. W. and other authorities of Scholz. The

Ben. keep the whole in Ep. 66. (69.) and here, the latter part, but against Bal. note.

priest. And when afterwards in the time of His Passion He had received a blow from a servant of the High Priest, and the servant had said to Him, *Answerest thou the High Priest so?* the Lord said nothing contumeliously against the High Priest, nor detracted at all from the honour of the High Priest, but rather asserting and shewing His own innocence, said, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou Me?* Likewise in the Acts of the Apostles, afterwards, the blessed Apostle Paul, when it was said to him, *Revilest thou God's High Priest?* although they had begun to be sacrilegious and impious and bloody, having already crucified the Lord, and now no longer retained any thing of the priestly honour and authority, yet Paul, thinking on this, though now empty, name and but a sort of shadow of the priesthood, said, *I wist not that he was the High Priest; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the rulers of the people.*

6. There being such and so great examples with many others, whereby the priestly authority and power is confirmed; what sort of persons, think you, are they, who being the enemies of the priesthood and rebelling against the Catholic Church, are alarmed neither by the threatening of the Lord's forewarning, nor by the vengeance of future judgment? For this has been the very source whence heresies and schisms have taken their rise, that obedience is not paid to the priest of God, nor do they reflect that there is for the time one High Priest in the Church^c, and one judge for the time in Christ's stead; whom if the whole brotherhood would obey, according to the Divine injunctions, no one would stir in any thing against the College of Prelates; no one after the Divine sanction had, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of our fellow-Bishops, would make himself a judge, not of his Bishop, but of God: no one would by a rent of unity rend asunder the Church of Christ, no one, pleasing himself and swelling with pride,

^c i. e. in each Church, see Ep. 3. §. 3. p. 6. where the same statement is made as to each Bishop, Ep. 55. §. 6. p. 121. and §. 20. p. 131. Ep. 66. §. 2. and on Ep. 49. §. 2. p. 108. note i. The contrast is the same, when the Emperor

requiring the people to be satisfied with Felix, and give up Liberius, the true Bishop, they exclaim, "One God, One Christ, One Bishop." Theod. H. E. ii. 17.

EPIST. would found a new heresy separate and apart; unless any
 LIX. be of such sacrilegious temerity and of so abandoned mind,
 A. 252. as to think that a High Priest is made without the judgment
 of God, whereas the Lord says in His Gospel, *Are not two*
 Mat. 10, 29. *sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them does not fall*
on the ground without the will of your Father. When He
 saith that not even the least things are done without the
 will of God, does any one think that the very highest and
 chief things are done in the Church of God, without either
 God's knowledge or permission? and that chief priests, that
 is, His stewards, are not ordained by His appointment?
 This is not to have that faith, by which we live; this is not
 to give honour to God, by Whose will and arbitrement we
 know and believe that all things are ruled and governed.
 In truth, there are Bishops, not made by the will of God, but
 such as are made out of the Church, such as are made against
 the order and tradition of the Gospel, as the Lord Himself
 in the twelve Prophets lays it down, and says, *They have set*
 Hos. 8, 4. *up kings, but not by Me.* And again, *Their sacrifices are*
 Hos. 9, 4. *as the bread of mourning; all that eat thereof shall be*
polluted. And by Isaiah too the Holy Ghost crieth aloud
 Isa. 3, 1. and saith, *Woe unto you, rebellious children, saith the Lord,*
ye have taken counsel, but not of Me, and ye have made
a covenant, but not of My Spirit, that ye may add sin to
sin

7. But (I speak on provocation, I speak in sorrow, I
 speak on compulsion) when a Bishop is put in the place of
 one deceased, when in time of peace he is chosen by the
 suffrages of the whole people, when in persecution he is pro-
 tected by the aid of God, faithfully united to all his colleagues,
 approved by his own people in the exercise of his Episcopate
 for now four years; in times of quiet, attending to discipline;
 in stormy times proscribed^d with the very name of his
 Episcopate applied and added to him; in the circus, so often
 called for "to the lions," in the amphitheatre honoured by the
 testimony of the Lord's favour; again, on this very day on
 which I write this Epistle to you, on occasion of the sacrifices
 which by public edict the people were ordered to celebrate,
 anew demanded in the circus "for the lions by popular"

^d See Life, §. 8. p. vii. Oxf. Tr.

^e See ab. Ep. 20. p. 47. n. zz.

clamour; when such an one, dearest brother, is seen to be impugned by certain desperate and abandoned men removed without the Church, it is plain who impugns him;—not Christ indeed, Who alike appoints and protects priests; but he who, being the adversary of Christ and the enemy of His Church, for this end by his hostility persecutes the rulers of the Church, that its pilot being removed, he may with more fierceness and violence storm to the making shipwreck of the Church.

8. Nor, dearest brother, should it move any faithful person, who is mindful of the Gospel, and who remembers the warnings of the Apostle who foretels us, if *in the last days* certain proud persons, contumacious and enemies to the priests of God, either withdraw from the Church, or act against the Church, when both the Lord and His Apostles have before ^{John 16,} foreshewn that such should now be. Nor let any one wonder ^{2. Tim.} that the servant set over it, should be deserted by some, when ^{3, 1.}

His own disciples forsook the Lord Himself, performing the greatest miracles and mighty deeds, and by the testimony of His works setting forth the glory of God the Father. And yet He did not chide them when they withdrew, nor severely threaten them, but rather turning to His Apostles He said, *Will ye also go away?* observing therein the law, by which ^{John 6,} a man, left to his own free will and placed to act by his own ^{67.} free choice, himself for himself chooses either death or salvation^f. Peter however, on whom^g the Church has been built by the same Lord, one speaking for all, and answering in the voice of the Church, says, *Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou* ^{Mat. 15,} *hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure,* ^{13.} *that Thou art the Son of the Living God.* Signifying thereby and shewing, that they who depart from Christ, perish by their own fault; but that the Church which believes in Christ, and once holds what it had known, never departs from Him; and that they are the Church who remain in the house of God; but that they are not *the plant planted by God the*

^f “No one will deny that ‘man chooses death for himself,’ since the All-Merciful God very often complaineth thereof. But those are said ‘to choose salvation for themselves,’ who resist not the supplies of grace poured

forth with bounteous hand, inasmuch as, ‘we can do all things in Him Who strengtheneth us.’ The freed will most certainly is free.” F.

^g See note Q. on Tert. p. 492 sqq.

EPIST. LIX.
 A. 252.
 1 John
 2, 19.

Father, who, we see, are not rooted with the firmness of wheat, but are blown about like chaff with the breath of the evening scattering them, of whom also John in his Epistle says; They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us. Also Paul warns us not to be moved when the wicked perish from the Church, nor must faith be weakened by the withdrawal of the faithless: *For what, he says, if some of them have fallen from the faith, hath their unbelief made the faith of God of none effect? God forbid! for God is^h true, but every man a liar.*

Rom. 3.
 3. 4.

 9. As regards ourselves, dearest brother, it concerns our conscience to endeavour, that no one perish from the Church through our fault. But if any one shall perish of his own accord, and by his own sin, and refuse to do penance and return to the Church, we who consult for the health of all, shall be without blame in the Day of Judgment; they alone will be liable to punishment, who have not chosen to be healed by our wholesome counsel. Nor should the reproaches of the abandoned so move us, as to induce us to depart from the right way and from fixed rules, since the Apostle instructs us, saying, *If I pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.* There is a great difference whether one desire to obtain the favour of men or of God. If men are pleased, God is offended: but if to please God be the object of our earnest strife and toil, we should disregard the reproaches and revilings of men.

Gal. 1,
 10.

 10. But that I did not write to you on the instant, dearest brother, concerning that Fortunatus the pseudo-Bishop, set up by a few, and those inveterate, heretics, the matter was not of such moment as must needs forthwith and in haste be brought to your knowledge, as though it were great and formidable; especially since you were already enough acquainted with the name of Fortunatus, who is one of the five presbyters some time since renegade from the Church, and lately excommunicated by the sentence of our fellow-Bishops, many and most grave persons, who wrote to you on this subject during the past yearⁱ. You would also recognise Felicissimus, the standard-

^h est. So S. Aug. also Ambrosiast. Pelag.

ⁱ anno priore. Rig. seems to explain this "a former year;" he says, the

bearer of sedition, who is also comprised in the same Epistle sent to you long since by our fellow-Bishops; who was not only excommunicated by them here, but has lately been expelled from the Church by you at Rome. Confident that these things were well known to you, and being assured that they had a fixed place in your memory and rule, I did not think it necessary to announce to you with speed and urgency the follies of heretics. For it pertaineth neither to the majesty nor the dignity of the Catholic Church to be concerned as to the things which the shamelessness of heretics and schismatics compass among themselves. For Novatian's party also are reported to have made just now Maximus the presbyter, who was lately sent to us as legate from Novatian and rejected from our communion, their pseudo-Bishop in these parts; yet I did not write to you about this, because all these things are lightly regarded by us, and I had very recently sent to you the names of the Bishops appointed in these parts, who, in soundness and entireness of faith, preside over the brethren in the Catholic Church.

11. And this, by common consent, we therefore thought good to write to you, that it might be a compendious method for removing error and ascertaining truth, and that you and our Colleagues might know to whom to write, and from whom you should receive letters in return; but if any one beside those, whom we included in our letter, should dare to write to you, you should know that he was either polluted by sacrifice or certificate, or that he was one of the heretics, and so perverted and profane. However, having met with an opportunity, through one most intimate and a clerk, among other things with which you were to be made acquainted from these parts, I wrote to you about this Fortunatus, by Felicianus the Acolythe, whom you had sent with Perseus our colleague. But while our brother Felicianus is either delayed here by the wind, or is detained for the purpose of receiving other letters from us, he was anticipated by Felicissimus

meaning is the same as in *Discipulus prioris est posterior dies*. But there is no ground for doubting that St. C. returned, according to his intention, after Easter A. 251. (Ep. 43.) and that

the Council in which the case of the lapsed was considered, Felicissimus and the five Presbyters excommunicated, was forthwith held, (Ep. 55. §. 4. Ep. 45. §. ult.)

Epist. hastening to you. For so wickedness always hastens, as
 LIX. though by hastening it could prevail against innocence.
 A. 252.

12. But I acquainted you, brother, by Felicianus, that there had come to Carthage Privatus, an old heretic in the province of Lambesa, many years since^k, for many and heinous crimes, condemned by the sentence of ninety Bishops, and, as you must needs bear in mind, very severely noted by the letters of our predecessors Fabian and Donatus; who when he professed to wish to plead his cause before us in the Council^l held on the Ides of May just past, and was not suffered so to do, made this Fortunatus a pretended Bishop, one worthy of his College. There had also come with him a certain Felix, whom he had formerly set up as a pretended Bishop, without the Church, in heresy. Moreover in company with Privatus, a proud heretic, came Jovinus and Maximus, who for ungodly sacrificings and other crimes proved against them, were condemned by the sentence of nine Bishops and Colleagues, and were a second time excommunicated by very many of us, in a Council last year. With these four was joined also Repostus of Sturnica^m, who not only himself fell in persecution, but by sacrilegious counsel overthrew the greatest part of his own people. These five, with a few who have either sacrificed or have evil consciences, chose Fortunatus to be their pseudo-Bishop, that so by a harmony of crimes the ruler may be such as the ruled.

13. Hence too, dearest brother, you may at once discern the other falsehoods, which desperate and abandoned men have spread abroad amongst you; for that although, whether of the sacrificers or of heretics, not more than five pseudo-Bishops came to Carthage, and set up Fortunatus as an associate in their phrensy, yet they, as children of the devil and full of lies, have dared, as you write word, to boast that

^k Baronius (A. 242.) conjectures that the condemnation took place in that year, A. 240. perhaps because the profound peace of the Church gave opportunity for such a Council. Rig. quotes from Roman law that 10 years, (as being the first complete cycle of numbers,) was the first term accounted "a long time;" "nisi diu in libertate fuisset—non minus decennio." Arist. ap. Rig. Fabian, in whose Episcopate he

was probably condemned, was made Bp. A. 236, martyred Jan. 20, A. 250. Donatus must have been the immediate predecessor of St. C.

^l From which the Synodical Epistle Ep. 57. was sent to Cornelius.

^m The place is unknown, and the Mss. vary. F. conjectures Utinunensis, (Coll. Carth. c. 123.) cod. Lamb. having Utur- nicensis; Bal. Septimunicensis.

twenty-five Bishops were present. Which untruth they before vaunted here also among our brethren, saying that twenty-five Bishops were coming from Numidia, to appoint a Bishop for them. In which their lie when they were afterwards detected and confounded, (five only who had made shipwreck of the faith having met together, and these excommunicated by us,) they then sailed to Rome with the merchandize of their lies, as though the truth could not sail after them, and convict their false tongues by proof of the real fact. And this, brother, is real phrensy, not to think or be aware that falsehoods cannot long deceive; that night only lasts until day dawns, but that when the day is clear and the sun has arisen, darkness and obscurity give way to light, and the maraudings which by night prevail, cease. Finally, if you should enquire of them the names, they would not have even false names enough to give. So great is the scarcity amongst them even of wicked men, that they cannot collect twenty-five, either from sacrificers or from heretics. And yet to deceive the ears of the simple or the absent, the number is swollen by falsehood; as though even if this number were true, either the Church would be overcome by heretics, or righteousness by the unrighteous.

14. Nor does it become me, dearest brother, now to do the like with them, and to discourse at length of the things they have committed and still commit; since we are to consider, what it becomes the priests of God to utter and to write, nor ought resentment to speak in us so much as shame; nor ought I to appear provoked to bring together revilings rather than crimes and sins. Therefore I mention not the frauds committed in the Church. I pass by their conspiracies, and adulteries, and various kinds of delinquency. One portion only of their wickedness (which is not mine, nor man's, but God's cause,) I think ought not to be withheld, namely, that from the very first day of the persecution, while the recent crimes of delinquents were still glowing, and not only the altars of the devil, but the very hands and mouths of the lapsed were yet reeking with ungodly sacrifices, they ceased not to communicate with the lapsed, and to interfere with their doing penance.

15. God proclaims, *He that sacrificeth unto any gods,* Exod. 22, 20.

EPIST. *save unto the Lord only, shall be utterly destroyed.* And
 LIN. the Lord in the Gospel says, *Whosoever shall deny Me, him*
 A. 252. *will I deny.* And in another place the Divine indignation
 Mat. 10, and wrath is not silent, saying, *To them hast thou poured out*
 33. *a drink offering, and to them thou hast offered a meat offer-*
 Isa. 57, *ing; shall I not be angry for these things? saith the Lord.*
 6. Yet these interfere that God may not be entreated, Who
 Himself testifies that He is angry. These interfere that
 Christ may not be prevailed on by prayers and satisfactions,
 Who professes that He denies, whoso denies Him. We at
 the very time of persecution despatched letters on this matter,
 and were not listened to. In full council assembled, we
 determined, not only by our common consent, but with ter-
 rors added, that the brethren should do penance, that no one
 should hastily grant peace to those who did not penance.
 Yet they, sacrilegious against God, bold with impious fury
 against the priests of God, forsaking the Church, and lifting
 parricidal arms against the Church, (that they may perfect
 their work by the malice of the devil,) do their utmost that
 the Divine clemency heal not the wounded in His Church.
 By the deceitfulness of their lies they corrupt the penitence
 of the unhappy men, that satisfaction be not given to God in
 His anger; that he who before was either ashamed or afraidⁿ
 to be a Christian, afterwards seek not Christ his Lord; that
 he who had forsaken the Church, return not to the Church.
 All pains are taken that sins be not expiated by due satisfac-
 tions and lamentations, that wounds be not washed clean by
 tears. True peace is taken away by the lie of a false peace,
 the healthful bosom of the mother is shut up by the inter-
 ference of a stepmother, that the weeping and groaning from
 the breast and lips of the lapsed be not heard. Moreover
 the lapsed are constrained to revile the priests with the tongue
 and lips wherewith they had before offended in the Capitol^o;
 with contumelies and reproachful language to assail the con-
 fessors and virgins and all the several righteous, distinguished
 for their faith, and renowned in the Church. By these

ⁿ Pam. explains this 1st of the lapsed, then 2dly of the Libellatici, or, conversely, those who received Certificates may seem "ashamed," those overcome by tortures "afraid to be Christians."

^o of Carthage, where they had sacrificed, see Ep. 8. §. 2. p. 18. n. u. Many other instances of Capitols in the Provinces are furnished by Du Cange.

things indeed not so much the modesty, and humility, and shame of our people are wounded, as their own hope and life are rent in pieces. For not he who hears^p, but he who utters reviling, is to be pitied: not he who is smitten by a brother, but he who smites a brother, is a sinner under the law; and when the guilty injure the innocent, they suffer injury, who think they inflict it.

16. Hence too their mind is stricken, their conscience blunted, and their moral sense estranged. It is of God's wrath not to be conscious of sins, lest repentance follow, as it is written, *And the Lord hath poured out upon them the* Isa. 29, *spirit of deep sleep*; that is, that they may not return and ^{10.} be cured, and, after sinning, be healed by due entreaties and satisfactions. The Apostle Paul in one of his Epistles lays it down and says, *They received not the love of the truth,* 2 Thess. 2, 10. *that they might be saved; and for this cause God shall send* 11. 12. *them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.* It is the highest degree of blessedness, not to sin; the second, to acknowledge our sins. In the one, innocence continues entire and unstained to preserve us, in the other, there succeedeth a medicine to heal us: both of which they, by having offended God, have lost, and so both the grace is gone which is received by the sanctification of baptism, and the repentance whereby sin is cured cometh not to aid.

17. Thinkest thou, brother, that these are light sins against God, small and trifling offences, that the majesty of God, when offended, is not entreated? that the wrath and fire and Day of the Lord are not dreaded? that, when Antichrist is at hand, the faith of the militant people is disarmed, in that the discipline of Christ and His fears are taken away? Let the laity see to it how *they* may heal this. A weightier task is laid on the priests, in asserting and vindicating the Majesty of God, that we seem in no respect negligent in this matter; since the Lord admonishes us, and says, *And* Mal. 2, *now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you. If ye will* ^{1. 2.} *not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory unto*

^p Quoted by S. Jer. Ep. 17. ad Mar- one Ms. Bal. corrects, patitur, "en- cum, but not verbatim. From him and dures."

EPIST. *My Name, saith the Lord, I will even send a curse upon you,*
 LIX. *and I will curse your blessings.* Is honour then given to
 A. 252. God, when the Majesty and judgment of God is so despised, that whereas He says He is indignant and wroth with them that sacrifice, and threatens them with eternal penalties and everlasting punishment, it is now proposed by the sacrilegious and declared, "be not the wrath of God thought of, be not the judgment of the Lord feared; none knock at the Church of Christ; but, penance done away, and no confession of sin made, the Bishops despised and trampled on, be peace proclaimed by the fallacious words of no true¹ presbyters; and, lest the fallen¹ should rise, or those placed without return to the Church, be communion offered the excommunicate!"

18. For these too it was not enough to have departed from the Gospel, to have deprived the lapsed of the hope of satisfaction and penance, to have withdrawn those entangled in frauds or stained with adulteries, or polluted by the deadly contagion of sacrifices, from every feeling or fruit of penance, that they entreat not God, nor make confession of their crimes in the Church; nor yet^r to have set up for themselves, without the Church and against the Church, a conventicle of their abandoned faction, as soon as there had streamed together a troop of persons of evil consciences who would not entreat and make satisfaction to God. After all this, they yet, in addition, having had a pseudo-Bishop ordained for them by heretics, dare to set sail, and to carry letters from schismatic and profane persons to the chair of Peter, and to the principal Church^r, whence the

¹ Ven. ap. F. and 9 old Mss. and old Edd. ap. Bal. add "non veris." The words are omitted by 11 old Mss. ap. Bal. but they may have been passed over from the similarity of the termination. Not only Presbyters against Bishops, but even they, as schismatics, no real Presbyters.

^r 9 Mss. ap. F. old Edd. and all the old Mss. ap. Bal. omit "nisi," constituisse then joins on with the preceding.

Rig. explains "established in the principal city" quoting Conc. Chalced. can. 28. "The fathers have given the first rank to the see of the elder Rome, on account of the empire of that city,"

and S. Iren. 3. 3. "propter potentiorē principalitatem" [or potiorē prince. "its more eminent original" principalitas for ἀρχή see on Tert. de Præser. c. 36. p. 470. n. i. Oxf. Tr. and de Præser. c. 31. where "principalitas" is used for "priority," "principalis" "prior" de anim. c. 43. S. Iren. had also just before called it "the most ancient."] see other passages in Barrow on the Pope's supremacy, Supp. v. c. 9. and S. Cypr. Ep. 52. §. 3. p. 113. Yet there seems no ground to limit its eminence to its greatness or extent as a Church founded in a royal city. It was an Apostolic Church, founded by two chief Apostles,

unity of the priesthood* took its rise, remembering not that they are the same Romans, whose faith has been commended by the Apostle, to whom faithlessness can have no access. Rom. 1,

19. But what is the occasion of their going to you, and^{8.} of their announcing that a pseudo-Bishop has been set up against the Bishops? for either they are well pleased with what they have done, and persevere in their wickedness: or if it displeases them and they withdraw, they know whither they should return. For since it has been decreed by our whole body, and is alike equitable and just, that every cause should be there heard where the offence has been committed"; and a portion of the flock has been as-

an original depository of Apostolic tradition, which Africa was not, and Africa had probably been converted by it, see Tert. de Præscr. l. c. and notes i. k. Only its eminence according to St. C. did not involve subjection.

^t As founded by S. Peter, on whom the whole Church was as a type of unity, (see de unit. Eccl. c. 3. Oxf. Tr. and note Q on Tert. p. 492.) The stranger then that schismatics could think a Church founded by S. Peter could countenance their schism.

^u "It was forbidden by a very ancient canon, 'that those cast out by any, should be admitted to hearing by others.' This rule the Nicene fathers (can. 5.) wished to be preserved entire 'to the Bishops in each Eparchy.' The Ep. of the Council of Africa to Pope Celestine, [cod. can. Eccl. Afr. fin.] 'Let thy holiness, as is worthy of thee, repel also the wickedness of Presbyters and other clerics, who would take refuge with thee; inasmuch too as by no decision of the fathers has the African Church been deprived of this, and the Nicene decrees have most explicitly committed, whether clerks of an inferior order, or the Bishops themselves to their Metropolitans. For most wisely and most justly did they consider, that business of any sort should be there determined, where it arose, nor would the grace of the Holy Spirit be wanting to the forethought of each' The 28th Canon Eccl. Afr. 'It hath been decreed that Presbyters and Deacons and the other inferior clergy, in any causes they may have, if they are dissatisfied with the tribunals of their own Bishops, the neighbouring Bishops may hear them, and let the Bishops called

in by them, with concurrence of their own Bishop, settle between them. Wherefore even if they think it right to appeal thereon, let them not appeal to the tribunals beyond the seas, but to the primates of their own provinces or to a general Council, as hath been often ordained as to Bishops also. But whoso shall persevere in appealing to tribunals beyond seas, be they by no one in Africa received to Communion." [Rig.] Hence also the Bishops at the Council of Antioch objected to Pope Julius that he communicated with S. Athanasius, reversing their condemnation, as "contrary to the laws of the Church," (Soz. iii. 8.) although wrongly on this ground too, that it was not the act of S. Julius alone, but of a Synod of above 50 Bishops, and ancient prescription, confirmed by the Council of Nice, allowed the acts of one Council to be revised by another. Ep. Jul. ap. S. Ath. Apol. c. Arian. §. 22.) S. Chrysostom (Ep. ad Innocent i. §. 1. t. iii. p. 516.) declined on this ground to hear the charges against Theophilus, "we, knowing the laws of the fathers, and shewing honour and respect to the man, and having his letters shewing that causes should not be drawn beyond the bounds of the province, but that the things of each Eparchy should be tried in the Eparchy, would not undertake to judge, but with much earnestness declined it," see also ab. p. 95. not. r. on Ep. 43. On the independent authority of each Bishop, see Ep. 55. §. 17. Ep. 69. fin. Ep. 72. fin. Ep. 73. fin. Præf. in Conc. Carth. and Conc. Antioch. can. 9. quoted by Barrow l. c. p. 254. Bal. quotes, L. 20. Cod. Theod. de accusat. et inscript. and L. 13. "Let

EPIST. LIX.
A. 252. signed to the several shepherds, which each is to rule and govern, having hereafter to give account of his ministry to the Lord; it therefore behoves those over whom we are set, not to run about from place to place, nor, by their crafty and deceitful boldness, break the harmonious concord of Bishops, but there to plead their cause, where they will have both accusers and witnesses* of their crime; unless perhaps some few desperate and abandoned men count as inferior the authority of the Bishops appointed in Africa, who have already given judgment concerning them, and have lately by the weight of their judgment condemned those persons' consciences, entangled in the bonds of many sins. Already has their cause been heard: already has sentence been given concerning them, nor does it accord with the authority of Prelates to incur blame for the levity of a changeable and inconstant mind, since the Lord teaches us, Matt. 5, and says, *Let your communication be, Yea, yea, Nay, nay.* 37. If the number of those who judged in their cause last year, be computed with the Presbyters and Deacons, more were then present at the hearing and judgment, than these same persons amount to, who appear now to be joined with Fortunatus.

20. For you ought to know, dearest brother, that since he was made a pseudo-Bishop by heretics, he has been deserted by almost all. For they, to whom in time past delusive hopes were held out, and deceitful promises given, that they were to return to the Church together;—these, when they saw that a pseudo-Bishop was set up amongst them, discovered that they were cheated and deceived, and day by day stream back, and knock at the door of the Church: we however, who must give account to the Lord, anxiously pondering, and carefully examining, who ought to be received and admitted to the Church. For to some, either their own crimes form so great a hindrance, or the brethren so resolutely and firmly object, that they cannot be received

the power of accusing not extend beyond the bounds of the province. For judgment on offences must take place there, where the offence is said to have been committed:†

* “Or how shall the judgment be-

yond seas itself be valid, whereto the persons needed as witnesses, through infirmity of sex or age or many other hindrances, cannot be brought.” Ep. Conc. Afr. b. c.

at all, without the scandal and peril of very many. For neither should some ulcerous parts be so brought together, as to occasion wounds in others that are whole and sound; nor is he a useful and prudent shepherd, who so mingles the diseased and tainted sheep with his flock, as to afflict his whole flock with the infection of their contagious malady^y.

21. Oh, that thou couldest be here with us, dearest brother, when those wicked and perverse men return from schism. Thou wouldest see what labour I have to persuade our brethren to patience, that stifling their grief of mind they would consent to receive and restore the wicked. For as they rejoice and are glad, when such as are bearable and less culpable return: so contrariwise they murmur and resist, as often as the incurable and froward, and such as have been contaminated either by adulteries or sacrifices, and who with all this are moreover proud, return in such manner to the Church, that they would corrupt the good dispositions within it. I scarcely persuade the people, rather I extort it from them, that they would allow such to be admitted. And the grief of the brotherhood appears the more reasonable, in that some few, who, when the people strove and spoke against it, were yet admitted by my easiness, have proved worse than they were before, and have not been able to keep their pledges of repentance, because neither was the repentance true, wherewith they returned.

22. But what shall I say of those, who have now sailed to you with Felicissimus guilty of every crime, sent as legates from Fortunatus their pseudo-Bishop, carrying to you letters as false, as he whose letters they carry is false; whose conscience is so manifoldly defiled, their life so execrable, so foul, that even if they were in the Church, such as they

^y In some old Edd. 10 old Mss. ap. Bal. one Ms. only out of those of Bp. Fell, (probably one of the 10 of Bal.) and in collations on the margin of a copy of ed. Manut. ap. Rig. there is added, "Regard not their numbers. For better is one who feareth the Lord, than a thousand ungodly sons, as the Lord spoke by the prophet, saying, 'My son, delight not in ungodly sons, though they multiply unto thee, since the fear of the Lord is not in them.' Eccli. 16, 1. 2." This clause is wanting

in all the Mss. which Pam. saw, and 13 old Mss. ap. Bal. It is omitted by Man. Pam. Fell, and by Rig. in the text, mentioned in a note. Nor are any of the 3 books of Solomon, or either of the books of Wisdom, any where in St. C. quoted with this formula "by the Prophet," but either as "Scripture" or "Solomon in the Holy Spirit," Ep. 3. p. 5. or "the Holy Ghost by Solomon," bel. §. 26. Ecclus. is quoted as Solomon's Conc. Carth. §. 27. (as in one Ms. here ap. Bal.)

EPIST. ought to be expelled from it? Moreover, knowing well their
LIX. own guilt, they dare not come to us, nor approach the
A. 252. threshold of the Church; but they wander about, without, through our province, to circumvent and despoil the brethren: and being now well known to all, and on all sides shut out for their crimes, they sail over thither to you also. For they have not the boldness to come near us, or to appear before us; in that the crimes alleged against them by the brethren are most grievous and most heinous. If they choose to submit to our judgment, let them come. Finally, if they can find any excuse or defence, let us see what sense they have of making amends, what fruit of penitence they can adduce. The Church here is not closed against any, nor the Bishop denied to any. Our patience and easiness and kindness are open to all who come. I wish all to return to the Church, I wish all our fellow-soldiers to be inclosed within the camp of Christ, and the dwelling-place of God the Father: I forgive every thing, I overlook many things, through my desire and longing to unite the brotherhood together. Even the sins which are committed against God[†], I do not weigh with the full strictness of religion; I am almost myself a delinquent in remitting delinquencies more than I ought. I welcome with a ready and entire affection those that return in penitence, who confess their sin, making humble and genuine amends.

23. But if there are any who suppose that they can return to the Church, not by prayers, but by menaces, or think that they can procure access for themselves, not by lamentations and satisfactions, but by terrors, let them be assured that the Church of the Lord stands closed against such, and that the camp of Christ, invincible and strong and fortified by the protection of the Lord, does not yield to menaces. A Priest holding fast the Gospel of God, and keeping the commandments of Christ, may be slain; he cannot be conquered. Zacharias, a priest of God, suggests and supplies us with an example of courage and faith, who, when he could not be alarmed by menaces and stoning, was slain in the temple of God; at the same time proclaiming and saying, what we too

[†] see ab. Ep. 17. p. 43. n. f.

proclaim and say against heretics, *Thus saith the Lord, Ye 2Chron. have forsaken the ways of the Lord, and the Lord will^{24, 20.} forsake you.*

24. For, because a few bold and wicked men forsake the heavenly and saving ways of the Lord, and not doing holy things are deserted of the Holy Spirit, we too must not therefore be forgetful of the Divine tradition, so as to think that the wickedness of angry men is mightier than the judgments of priests; or suppose that human endeavours avail more in attacking, than the Divine aid in protecting. In the dignity of the Catholic Church, dearest brother, is the faithful and uncorrupt majesty of the people placed within it, is the episcopal authority and power also to be therefore laid aside, that those who are set without the Church may say they wish to judge a prelate in the Church? heretics, a Christian? wounded, the sound? maimed, the whole? fallen, one who standeth? criminals, their judge? sacrilegious, a priest? What remains but that the Church give way to the Capitol, and that the priests withdrawing and removing the Altar¹ of the Lord, the images and idols with their¹ altare altars² pass into the sacred and venerable consistory of the² aras Clergy, and a wider and fuller scope be afforded Novatian for declaiming against us and reviling us? what else remains, if they who have sacrificed and publicly denied Christ, are not only entreated and admitted without doing penance, but moreover begin to domineer by the influence of their terror? If they ask for peace, lay they down their arms! If ready to give satisfaction, why threaten? or if they threaten, let them know that the priests of God are not afraid. For not even shall Antichrist, when he comes, enter the Church because he threatens; nor shall we yield to his arms and violence, because he professes that he will kill such as resist. Heretics arm us, when they think that we are alarmed by their menaces; nor do they cast us down³, but rather lift us up and kindle us, when they make peace itself worse to the brethren than persecution.

25. We hope indeed, that they may not accomplish in sin what in rage they speak; that they who sin by perfidious and cruel words, offend not also in deed. We entreat and

¹ in faciem 11 Mss. ap. Fell. Bal. with the old Edd. has "in pace," but alleges no Ms. authority.

EPIST. beseech God, Whom these cease not to provoke and exas-
 LIX. perate, that their hearts may be softened, that laying aside
 A. 252. their rage they may return to a sound mind; that their
 breasts, now mantled over with the darkness of sin, may be
 opened to the light of repentance; and that they rather beg
 that the prayers and supplications of the chief priest may be
 poured forth for their behalf, than themselves pour forth
 his blood. But if they shall continue in their phrenzy,
 and cruelly persevere in those their parricidal treacheries and
 menaces, there is no priest of God so weak, so prostrate and
 abject, so imbecile from human infirmity, as not to be of
 God upheld against the enemies and opposers of God, as not
 to have his lowliness and infirmity animated by the vigour
 and strength of his protecting Lord. To us it is of no
 moment, by whom or when we be slain, since we shall
 receive from the Lord the recompense of our death and our
 blood. Their *concision*^a is to be bewailed and lamented
 whom the devil so blinds, that, thinking not of the eternal
 punishments of hell, they endeavour to imitate the advent of
 Antichrist who is now approaching.

26. Now, though I am aware, dearest brother, that by
 reason of the mutual love which we owe and manifest
 towards each other, you always read my Epistles to the very
 eminent Clergy who there preside with you, and to your
 most holy and flourishing^b people; yet now I both exhort
 and beg of you, to do at my request, what on other occasions
 you do of your own accord and of courtesy, and read this my
 Epistle, that so, if any contagion of poisoned language or
 pestilent reports has crept in amongst the brethren, it may be
 wholly removed from their ears and hearts, and the sound and
 sincere affection of the good may be cleansed from every
 taint of heretical detraction. But for the future let our most
 beloved brethren resolutely decline and avoid the con-
 versation and intercourse of those *whose words spread as*

2 Tim.
2, 17.

^a Phil. 3, 2. The 'circumcision' of the Jew became the mere cutting off of a piece of flesh to their own hurt (*κατατομή*), an emblem of their own being "cut off from the holy root," (S. Basil. de Humil. §. 4. T. p. 159.) and of all who rending the body of Christ, are themselves, as worthless flesh, rent off. See S. Chrys. ad loc.

Hom. 10. and Chrysol. Hom. 114. ap. Heins. Exerc. ad loc.

^b Cornelius (ap. Eus. vi. 43.) enumerates, at this time, "44 Presbyters, 7 deacons, and as many sub-deacons, 42 acolythes, exorcists and readers with doorkeepers, 52, widows and in need above 1500." Optatus (ii. 4.) mentions "above 40 Basilicæ."

doth a canker: as the Apostle says, *Evil communications* ^{1 Cor. 15, 33.}
corrupt good manners. And again, *A man that is an* ^{Tit. 3,}
heretic after one^c admonition reject; knowing that he that ^{10, 11.}
is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of him-
self. And the Holy Ghost speaketh by Solomon, saying,
An ungodly man carrieth destruction in his mouth, and ^{Prov. 16, 2.}
hideth fire in his lips. He also warneth us again, saying,
Hedge in thy ears with thorns, and hearken not to a ^{Eccelus. 28, 28.}
perverse tongue. And again; *An evil doer giveth heed to* ^{Prov. 17, 4.}
the tongue of the wicked, but a righteous man does not listen
to false lips. Now although I know that our brethren with
you, fenced in by your foresight, yea, and very much on their
guard through their own vigilance, cannot be taken or
deceived by the poison of heretics, and that, in proportion
to the fear of God which is in them, the Divine authority
and precepts constrain them; yet my, be it solicitude or
affection, induced me to write this, even though superfluous,
unto you, that we should engage in no commerce with such,
join not in meals or conversation with the wicked, and
should be as separate from them as they have separated
themselves from the Church; for that it is written, *If he* ^{Mat. 18, 17.}
shall neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an
heathen man and a publican: and the blessed Apostle doth
not admonish only, but also commands to withdraw from
such; *We command you,* he says, *in the Name of our Lord*
Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every bro- ^{2 Thess. 3, 6.}
ther that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition
which he received of us. There can be no fellowship
between faith and faithlessness. He who is not with Christ,
who is an adversary of Christ, who is an enemy to His
unity and peace, cannot be joined with us. If they come
with prayers and amends, be they heard: if they heap up
revilings and menaces, be they rejected.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

^c see on Tert. de Præscr. Hær. §. 6. p. 439. n. f. Oxf. Tr.

EPISTLE LX.

Cyprian to his brother Cornelius, greeting.

We have received, dearest brother, the glorious testimony of your faith and courage, and with such exulting joy did we hear of the honour of your Confession, as to consider ourselves also partakers and sharers in your merits and praise. For since we have one Church, a mind undivided, and harmony indissoluble, what priest would not congratulate himself upon the praises of his brother priest, as if they were his own? or what brotherhood does not every where rejoice in the joy of the brethren? It cannot be expressed how great was the exultation among us, and how great the joy, when we had heard of your bravery and your victory, that to the brethren there you had been a leader to Confession; then too, that the confession of the leader had been enlarged through the unitedness of the brethren; so that, going before to glory, you have made many your companions in glory, and have persuaded the whole people to become a Confessor^d, having yourself been prepared, the first, to confess for all: so that we find not which we ought first to extol in you, whether your ready and firm faith, or the inseparable love of the brethren. Among you the courage of the Bishops leading the way has been publicly approved, the unitedness of the brotherhood following been manifested. Since with you is but one mind and one voice, the whole Roman Church has confessed. Bright, dearest brother, has been the faith which the blessed Apostle praised in you^e.

^d Confessorem. The sing. seems to have been chosen, in order to express the oneness of mind of the whole people, that they confessed as one man. All who knew that S. Cornelius had been singled out, joined in confessing that they too were Christians, (§. 2.) whether out of a divine sympathy, as in the case also of S. Cyprian, "the whole assembled of the brethren cried out, 'We will be beheaded with him,'" (Life, p. xxii.) or to shew the heathen the hopelessness of persecution. As Bishops were to flee or remain, accord-

ing as themselves only, or their flocks also, were sought, (see on de Laps. §. 8. p. 159. n. g.) so the people had a duty to offer themselves, if they might save their Bishop, else, unless called, to be still. see ab. p. 71, n. b. on Ep. 31. §. 5.

^e "Would you know how the Apostle designates each province by its own qualities? To this day remain the same traces of excellences and of errors. Of the Roman people the faith is praised. Where besides, with such zeal and numbers, doth such a concourse

This excellence of courage and firmness of strength he even then foresaw in the Spirit, and testifying to your deserts by proclaiming the future, while praising the parent, he arouses the children. Thus unanimous, thus brave, great are the examples ye have given to the other brethren, of unanimity and fortitude. Ye have taught them deep awe of God, firm adherence to Christ; that in peril people be joined to the priests; in persecution brethren be not separated from brethren; that united concord can never be overcome; that whatsoever is asked by all together^f, *the God of peace* granteth to the peace-makers.

2. The adversary had burst forth to shake with violent terror the camp of Christ. But with the same vehemence that he had come, with the same was he driven back and vanquished; and whatsoever dread and terror he brought, he found fortitude and strength proportionate. He had thought that he could again overthrow the servants of God; and that as novices and inexperienced he should in his wonted way shake them, as ill-prepared and unwatchful. One he first assailed, endeavouring as a wolf to part a sheep from the flock, as a hawk to separate a dove from the flight; for he who has not strength enough against all, tries to beset the loneliness of individuals. But repulsed alike by the faith and vigour of her united army, he perceived that the soldiers of Christ are now sober and watchful, that they stand armed for the battle; that they can die, but cannot be conquered; that they are on this very account invincible, because not afraid to die; nor do they in turn assail their assailants, since the guiltless may not kill even the guilty; but that readily they resign their lives and their blood; that, since such mighty wickedness and cruelty wasteth in the world, the speedier their departure from the wicked and the cruel. What a glorious spectacle was that in the Eyes of God! what joy to His Church in the sight of Christ, that to the battle wherewith the Enemy had sought to press in upon

flow to the Churches or the tombs of the Martyrs? Where doth the 'Amen' so re-echo like the thunder of heaven? Not that the Romans have any other faith than that of all the Churches of Christ, but that in them is greater

devotion, and simple readiness to believe. Again they are reproved for easiness and pride; easiness, as Rom. 16, 17—19. of pride, 11, 20 and 25. 12, 3. 15, 16." S. Jer. Præf. in Ep. ad Gal. l. 2. ^f see Ep. 11. §. 3.

EPIST. them, not single soldiers, but the whole camp went forth
 LX. together. For it is plain that all would have come, could
 A. 252. all have heard, since whoever did hear, ran promptly forward
 and came. How many lapsed among you have been restored
 by a glorious Confession! They stood courageously, and by
 the very anguish of repentance were made more courageous
 for the battle. So that it appeareth that they were before
 taken by surprise, and were shaken by panic at a thing new
 and unwonted, but afterwards returned to themselves; with
 constancy and firmness, annealed to all endurance a true
 faith and the strength gathered from the fear of God, and
 now stand no longer for pardon of sin, but for the crown of
 suffering.

3. What says Novatian to these things, dearest brother? does he yet lay aside his error? or rather (as is usual with men distracted) is he driven to the greater phrensy by our very blessings and prosperity? and as the glory of love and faith increaseth more and more with us, so does the insanity of dissension and envy gather fresh strength with him? does the unhappy man not yet heal his wounds, but even still more deeply wound both himself and his associates? brawling with noisy tongue to the ruin of the brethren; hurling darts of envenomed eloquence; hardened through the perverseness of secular philosophy, not peaceable through the gentleness of the wisdom of the Lord; a deserter of the Church, an enemy to pity, a murderer of penitence, a teacher of pride, a corrupter of truth, a destroyer of charity? Does he yet acknowledge who is the priest of God, which the Church and house of Christ, who the servants of God whom the devil assails, who Christians whom Antichrist attacks? For he doth not seek out those, whom he has already subdued, or desire to overthrow those whom he has already made his own. The foe and enemy of the Church despises and passes by as captives and conquered, those whom he has estranged from the Church and led without; he proceeds to assault those in whom he perceives Christ to dwell. Although even if any one from among such should have been apprehended, he has no ground to flatter himself as though he were set for the confession of the Name of Christ, since it is certain, that if such sort are put to death without the Church, this is no

crown of faith, but rather the punishment of faithlessness; nor will they *dwell* in the *House* of God among those of *one mind*, who, we see, have, through the phrensy of discord, withdrawn from the household of peace and of God.

4. We exhort to the utmost of our power, dearest brother, for the sake of the mutual affection whereby we are mutually joined together, that (since we are instructed by the providence of the Lord warning, and are admonished by the wholesome counsels of the Divine mercy, that the day of our contest and last struggle is now at hand,) we, with all our people, should not cease to give ourselves to fastings, to watchings, to prayers. Be we instant with continual groanings and frequent entreaties. For these are our heavenly arms, which make us stand and persevere courageously. These are our spiritual defences, and the divine weapons which protect us. Be we mindful of each other, in concord and of one mind, pray we ever on either side for one another, lighten we our burdens and distresses by mutual affection. And whichever of us shall by the speediness of the Divine vouchsafement go hence the first, let our love continue in the presence of the Lord, cease not our prayers for our brethren and sisters in presence of the mercy of the Father^g.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

^g apud Dominum—apud misericordiam Patris; no longer to Him only, but with Him, in His very Presence, and so more available. "Theodosia—came to certain in bonds, who themselves also confessed Christ and were sitting before the Prætorium, both out of kindness, and, as is likely, to request them when they came to the presence of the Lord to remember her." (Eus. de Mart. Palæst. c. 7. Mart. of S. Theodosia.) S. Jerome adv. Vigil. c. 7. "If Apostles and Martyrs, still in the body, can pray for the rest, while they must still be anxious about themselves, how much more, after their crowns, victories, and triumphs won!" Orig. de Orat. §. 12. t. i. p. 213, 14. ad de la Rue. "Nor doth the High Priest alone pray with those who pray truly, but the 'angels' also 'in heaven' who 'rejoice over one sinner that repenteth more than over ninety and nine just persons, who need no repentance,' and

the souls of the saints who fell asleep before us:—for whereas in this life knowledge is manifested to those accounted worthy, 'through a glass, darkly,' but then revealed 'face to face,' it were inconsistent if the like were not to be the case as to other excellencies, especially since what is laid up beforehand in this life is then really perfected. But one of the chiefest excellencies, according to the divine word, is love of our neighbour, which the saints, who have fallen asleep before us, must necessarily be supposed to have much more exceedingly towards those who are yet engaged in the strife of this life, than those who are yet beset with human infirmity, and but helping the weaker in a common strife. Not here alone does brotherly love fulfil that saying, 'if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, and if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.'

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EPISTLE LXI.

Cyprian with his Colleagues to his brother Lucius, greeting.

Lately too have we congratulated you, dearest brother, when the Divine favour, by a twofold honour, made you as well a Confessor as a Bishop in the administration of His Church. And now again no less do we congratulate you and your companions and the whole brotherhood, that the gracious and abundant protection of the Lord hath, with the same glory and praise to you, brought you back again to His own: that so the shepherd might be restored to feed the flock, the pilot to guide the ship, the ruler to rule the people, and it might appear that your banishment was so ordered of God, not that the Bishop, expelled and banished, should be wanting to the Church, but that he should return to the Church increased in greatness. For neither in the
 Dan. 3. three youths was the dignity of martyrdom the less, because, death baffled, out of the fiery furnace they came forth safe;
 Dan. 6. nor was the praise of Daniel less perfected, because he, who had been given to the lions for a prey, protected by the Lord, lived to glory. In the confessors of Christ, martyrdoms deferred lessen not the merits of Confession, but display the mightiness of the Divine protection. We see set forth in you, what the brave and illustrious youths declared before the king, that they were ready to be burnt in the flames, rather than serve his gods, or worship the image which he had set up; yet that the God Whom they worshipped, and Whom we too worship, was able to deliver them from the fiery furnace, and to deliver them from the
 Dan. 3, hands of the king and from present punishment. This we
 16. now find accomplished in the fidelity of your confession, and in the protection of the Lord over you; that whereas ye were prepared and ready to undergo every infliction, yet the Lord withdrew you from torture, and reserved you for the Church. In your return, the Bishop hath not been abridged of the dignity of his Confession, but rather his priestly authority increased; so that there standeth at the altar of God a priest, who not by words but by deeds, may exhort

^h See above, Ep. 58. p. 142. and n. k.

his people to take up the arms of confession and undergo martyrdom, and, now that Antichrist is at handⁱ, may prepare his soldiers for battle not only by the incitement of words and of his voice, but by an example of faith and courage.

2. We understand, dearest brother, and see clearly with the whole light of our heart, the salutary and holy purposes of the Divine Majesty, whence that unlooked-for persecution^j lately arose amongst you, whence the secular power suddenly burst forth against the Church of Christ, the Bishop and blessed martyr Cornelius, and you all: that, for the confounding and beating down of heretics, the Lord might shew, which is the Church, who its one Bishop^k, chosen by Divine appointment; which Presbyters are joined with the Bishop in the priestly dignity; which is the united and true people of Christ knit together by the love of the Lord's flock; who they were, whom the Enemy would attack, who, on the other hand, they whom the Devil would spare as being his own. For the adversary of Christ persecutes and assaults only the camp and soldiers of Christ. Heretics, once cast down and made his own, he despises and passes by. He seeks to overthrow those whom he sees to stand.

3. And would, dearest brother, we were now allowed to be with you on your return, that we too, who love you with mutual affection, might, with the rest, be present and share the glad fruit of your coming. What exultation of all the brethren there! what greeting and embracing as you severally met together! As they cling to your side, scarce can they be satisfied with kissing^l; scarce can the very gaze and eyes of the people be satiated with beholding. From the joy of your coming the brotherhood around you has begun to learn, what and how great gladness will follow, when Christ shall

ⁱ See above Ep. 58. p. 142. and n. k.

^j Under Gallus and Volusianus, who persecuted the Christians to appease the anger of the gods and avert the pestilence which was ravaging the empire, [F.] or as refusing to take part in the sacrifices ordered to that end. [Bp. P.]

^k See above Ep. 49. p. 108. n. i. and Ep. 59. p. 155. n. c.

^l Osculis for oculis, corrected by Bp. F. from Bod. 1. with which the

cod. Met. S. Arnulphi (ap. Bal.) agrees. Bal. adopted it; in the Ben. text oculis is retained. In the following, "De adventus vestrig audio," has been joined with what follows, as by Pam. and F.; the joy at the restoration of the Bishop, the representative and herald of Christ, through whom He visited His people, became a type of the joy at His own last Coming. Bal. and some old edd. join it with the preceding, whereby all the force of the words is lost.

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come, for since His Advent will soon draw nigh, a kind of picture has now gone before in you, that, as John His forerunner, *who prepared the way before Him*, preached that Christ was come; so now in the return of a Bishop a Confessor of the Lord and His Priest, it appeareth that the Lord also is now returning. But I and my Colleagues and all the brotherhood send this letter to you in our stead, dearest brother, and by this Epistle exhibiting to you our joy, we express the faithful devotedness of our love, here also in our sacrifices and in our prayers ceasing not to give thanks to God the Father, and to Christ His Son, our Lord, and to pray and entreat, that He Who is Himself Perfect and the Perfecter, may guard and perfect in you the glorious crown of your confession; Who also perhaps brought you back for this very purpose^m, that your glory may not be hidden, should the martyr's testimony of your Confession be consummated abroad. For a victim which affords to the brotherhood a pattern of courage and faith, ought to be immolated in the presence of the brethren.

We bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

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EPISTLE LXII.

Cyprian to Januarius, Maximus, Proculus, Victor, Modianus, Nemesianus, Nampulus, and Honoratus, his brethren, greeting.

1. With the utmost grief of mind and not without tears I have read the letter, dearest brethren, which from the anxiety of your affection you wrote to me concerning the captivityⁿ of our brethren and sisters. For who would not grieve at

^m This was fulfilled in the martyrdom of S. Lucius, shortly after. His day is probably March 4 or 5. Then his Episcopate lasted not 6, Eusebius says "under 8," months. (H. E. vii. 2.) S. Cyprian calls him a martyr (Ep. 68. §. ult.) Tillemont (Note 33. sur S. Cyprien) supposes that he died in prison, "his death being mentioned, not in the martyrology of Bucherius, but in the 'depositio Episcoporum,' where none are mentioned who are known to have died by tortures or the

sentence of the judge." The death in prison, as being a final and often exceeding (see e. g. Ep. 22. p. 52.) suffering for Christ was martyrdom and was so held. (see ab. Ep. 12. p. 20.) The Martyrol. Rom. says that he was beheaded.

ⁿ Numidian Bishops, for to such St. C. says Ep. 70. was written (Ep. 72. §. 1.) and in it the names of all these Bishops occur. The same is stated in the Ed. Man. and cod. Rem. Bal.

such misfortunes, or who would not reckon his brother's sorrow as his own, since the Apostle Paul speaks, and says, *Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it*; ^{1 Cor. 12, 26.} *or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it.* And in another place, he says, *Who is weak, and I am not* ^{2 Cor. 11, 29.} *weak?* Wherefore now too the captivity of the brethren is to be reckoned by us as our own captivity: and the grief of those in peril is to be accounted as our grief: since in truth we are joined into one body, and not affection only, but religion also ought to incite and encourage us to redeem the members of the brethren. For whereas the Apostle Paul again says, *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and* ^{1 Cor. 3, 16.} *that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* even if charity did not induce us to give assistance to the brethren, yet here we should consider that they are the temples of God which have been made captive; and that we ought not, by long delay regardless of their sorrow, to allow the temples of God to remain long captive; but should strive with our utmost strength, and with all speed endeavour by our ready services to earn the favour of Christ our Judge, and Lord, and God. For since the Apostle Paul says, *As many of you as have* ^{Gal. 3, 27.} *been baptized into Christ have put on Christ*, in our captive brethren Christ is to be contemplated, and to be redeemed from the peril of captivity, Who redeemed us from the peril of death; so that He Who rescued us from the jaws of the devil, and Who remaineth and dwelleth in us, may now Himself be rescued from the hands of barbarians; and He redeemed by a sum of money, Who redeemed us by the Cross and His Blood; Who for this reason suffers these things for the present to be done, that our faith may be tried, whether each of us would do for another what he would have

° S. Augustine (Ep. 199 ad Hesych. §. 46.) mentions "innumerable barbarous nations in Africa," of whom "very few only, and close on the Roman borders and at peace, had within a few years begun to be Christians." These were constantly infesting the Roman borders, whence Numidia had a legion always encamped in it, (Ptolem. Dio Hist. l. 55.) "for protecting the borders of the empire." (Tac. Hist. iv. 48. add Ann. iii. 9.) and

"was fenced by encampments on account of the multitude of the barbarian Moors encircling it, to restrain their marauding invasions." (Herodian. l. vii. speaking of this period.) S. Aug. (Ep. 111. ad Victorian. §. 7.) relates the restoration of a consecrated virgin, the family of her captors, who had been visited with disease, having been healed on her prayers, (from Bp. P. Ann. 253.)

done for himself, were he held in captivity by barbarians. For who that is mindful of humanity and reminded of mutual affliction, if he be a father, will not now reckon that his own sons are there? if he be a husband, will not with equal grief and shame for the conjugal bond consider his own wife to be there held in captivity? But how great must be the common grief and anxiety of us all, for the peril of the virgins who are there detained, for whom not the loss of liberty only, but of modesty is to be lamented; nor are the bonds of barbarians to be deplored, so much as the defilement of impure places and men¹; lest members dedicated to Christ^p, and for ever devoted by virtuous chastity to the praise of continence, should be polluted by the lust and contamination of the insolent.

¹ leno-
num ac
lupana-
rium.

Matt.
25, 36.

2. All these things according to your letter our brotherhood, taking into consideration and with sorrow enquiring into, have all promptly and cheerfully and bountifully contributed supplies of money to the brethren; being indeed ever, in accordance with the steadfastness of their faith, forward to the work of God, yet now still more kindled to healthful works by the contemplation of so great grief. For since the Lord in His Gospel says, *I was sick, and ye visited Me*; with how much higher reward to our work will He now say, “*I was captive, and ye redeemed Me?*” And whereas He further says, *I was in prison, and ye came unto Me*; how much more will it be when He shall begin to say, “*I was in the prison of captivity, and lay among barbarians shut up and in bonds, and ye delivered Me from that imprisonment of servitude,*” being to receive a reward from the Lord when the Day of Judgment shall come? In fine, we give you the most sincere thanks, for that ye have been pleased to make us partners of your solicitude, and of so good and needful a work; that ye have offered us fertile fields, in which we might sow the seeds of our hope, having to look for a harvest of most abundant fruit, which will grow

^p De hab. virg. c. 4. Ep. 4.

^q “The redemption of captives was always accounted in the Church among the first offices of charity, and Lactantius calls it ‘a great and excellent office of justice.’ [Institt. vi. 12.] S.

Ambrose, for this purpose, broke the consecrated vessels of the Church. (Off. 2. 48.) as did S. Augustine (for them and for the poor, Possid. Vit. § 24.) and Deogratias.” (Victor Vit. de pers. Vand. l. i.) F.

from this heavenly and saving culture. We have therefore sent you an hundred thousand sesterces¹, which have been^{1807. 5.} collected by the contributions of the clergy and laity who^{10.} are set here with us in the Church over which by the good pleasure of the Lord we preside: this you will dispense according to your discretion.

3. We wish indeed that nothing of this sort may again happen, and that our brethren, being protected by the Majesty of the Lord, may be kept safe from perils of this kind. If, however, for the searching out of the charity of our dispositions, and the trial of the faith of our hearts, any such thing should happen, on no account delay to write us word of it; being well assured that our Church and all the brotherhood here entreat by their prayers that this may not again happen; yet that if it does happen, they will cheerfully and bountifully contribute their aid.

4. But that ye may remember in your prayers our brethren and sisters, who have promptly and cheerfully laboured in this so needful work, that they may ever so labour, and that in requital of their good work, ye may present them before God in your Sacrifices and supplications, I have subjoined the names of each. I have moreover added the names of my Colleagues and fellow-Prelates, who being present here, contributed somewhat, according to their means, in the names of themselves and of their people; and, beside our own amount, I have set down and sent their several sums: of all these, as faith and charity require, ye ought to make mention in your supplications and prayers.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell. Remember us.

EPISTLE LXIII.

Cyprian to his brother Cæcilius, greeting.

1. Although I am aware, dearest brother, that most of the Bishops, who by the Divine favour are set over the Churches

¹ Probably Cæcilius of Bilta, Cone. Carth. §. 1. [B.] "The Ep. is written not against heretics, such as the Aquarii or Hydroparastatae, or Eneeritites, whose error consisted in thinking wine a profane thing, [see Bingham 15. 217.] but, as St. C. says, for persons erring through simplicity. It is quoted by S. Aug. de doctr. Christian. iv. 21. as written in a subdued style. F.

EPIST. of the Lord throughout the world, adhere to the method of
 LXIII. Evangelical truth and the tradition of the Lord, and do not,
 A. 253. by human* and novel practices, depart from what Christ our
 Master both enjoined and did; yet since some, either
 through ignorance or simplicity, in consecrating and ad-
 ministrating to the people the Cup of the Lord, do not the
 same as Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the Author and
 Teacher of this Sacrifice, did and taught; I have thought it
 a holy and necessary duty to write you this letter, that
 should any one be still held by this error, he may, having
 clearly seen the light of truth, return to the root and origin
 of the tradition of the Lord. Nor must you think, dearest
 brother, that I am writing my own and human opinions, or
 that I boldly take this on myself of my own mere will, for
 that I ever maintain my own mediocrity with humble and
 shame-faced moderation. But when any thing is enjoined
 by the inspiration and command of God, a faithful servant
 must needs obey the Lord; acquitted by all of assuming
 any thing arrogantly to himself, in that he is compelled
 to fear offending the Lord, unless he do what he is bidden.
 But you should know that I have been admonished[†], that in
 offering the Cup the tradition of the Lord be observed, nor
 ought else be done by us, than what the Lord has first done
 for us: that the Cup which is offered *in remembrance* of
 Him, should be offered mixed with wine. For whereas
 John 15, Christ says, *I am the true vine*; the Blood of Christ is not
 1. surely water, but wine. Nor can His Blood whereby we
 have been redeemed and quickened, appear to be in the Cup,
 when the Cup is without that wine, whereby the Blood of
 Christ is set forth, as is declared by the mystical meaning[†]
 and testimony of all the Scriptures.

2. For we find in Genesis also, as to the hidden Mystery

* As above, "a human Church" in contrast with the one once founded; (Ep. 55. §. 20.) "human tradition" to the "institution of God;" (Ep. 74. §. 3.) "human error" to "Divine tradition" (ib. §. 12.)

† All the expressions used here imply that St. C. on this occasion also had a direct command from God to write. He had often before used the word *monere*, *admonere*, &c. of ad-

monitions and warnings vouchsafed by God' (see ab. Ep. 12. §. 8. p. 28. Ep. 16. §. 3. p. 42. Ep. 57. §. 1. p. 138 and §. 4. p. 141. Ep. 60. §. 4.) and here in addition, "*inspirante et mandante Domino*," "*jubetur*," and this in contrast to doing it of his own mind "*ultronea voluntate*," "*nostra et humana conscribere*," and assuming any thing to himself "*nihil sibi arroganter assumit*."

in Noah, that this same was promised, and that for them there was a figure of the Passion of the Lord, in that He drank wine; ^{Gen 19,} that he was drunken; that he was uncovered within his tent; ^{21.} that he was lying down with his thighs bared and open to view; that such nakedness of the father was noticed by his middle son, and told abroad; but was covered by two, the elder and the younger; and other circumstances which it is not necessary to follow out, since it suffices to embrace this alone, that Noah exhibiting a type of the future truth, did not drink water, but wine, and so pourtrayed a figure of the Passion of the Lord.

3. Likewise in the priest Melchizedech we see the mystery of the Sacrifice of our Lord prefigured, as Holy Scripture testifies, saying, *And Melchizedech king of Salem brought* ^{Gen.14,} *forth bread and wine.* But he was *the priest of the most* ^{18.} *High God, and blessed Abraham.* But that Melchizedech bore a type of Christ, the Holy Spirit declares in the Psalms, saying to the Son in the Person of the Father, *Before^u the* ^{Ps. 110,} *morning star I begat Thee; Thou art a Priest for ever after* ^{3, 4.} *the order of Melchizedech.* Which order assuredly is this, coming from that Sacrifice and thence descending, that Melchizedech was a priest of the most High God, that he offered bread and wine, that he blessed Abraham. For who is more a Priest of the most High God, than our Lord Jesus Christ, Who offered a Sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that same which Melchizedech had offered, that is, bread and wine, namely, His own Body and Blood? And that blessing going before with respect to Abraham, belonged to our people. For if *Abraham believed in God, and it was* ^{Gen.15,} *counted to him for righteousness;* then whoever believes ^{6.} in God and lives by faith, is found righteous, and is shewn long since to have been blessed and justified in faithful Abraham; as the blessed Apostle Paul proves, saying, *Abra-* ^{Gal. 3,} *ham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righ-* ^{6—9.} *teousness. Ye know then that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. But the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before to Abraham, that in him all nations should be blessed. So then they which be of faith are*

^u Testim. i. 29. p. 31. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. LXIII. A. 253. Matt. 3, 9. Luke 19, 9. *blessed with faithful Abraham.* Whence in the Gospel we find, that *from stones are raised*, that is, from the Gentiles are gathered, *children unto Abraham.* And when the Lord praised Zacchæus, He answered and said, *This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham.* In Genesis therefore, that the blessing of Abraham by Melchizedech the priest might be duly celebrated, the figure of the Sacrifice of Christ goes before, appointed namely in bread and wine, which thing the Lord accomplishing and fulfilling, offered bread and the cup mixed with wine, and He Who is the fulness of truth, fulfilled the truth of the prefigured image.

4. Moreover by Solomon, the Holy Spirit, shewing beforehand a type of the Sacrifice of the Lord, making mention of the Victim slain, and of the bread and wine, yea, also of the Altar and of the Apostles, saith, *Wisdom^x hath builded her house, she hath underlaid her seven pillars; she hath killed her sacrifices; she hath mingled her wine in the cup; she hath also furnished her table. She hath sent forth her servants, calling together, with voice uplifted, to her Cup, saying, Whoso is simple, let him turn in to me. And to those that want understanding she hath said, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled for you.* He sets forth the mingled wine, that is, he foretells by prophetic voice the Cup of the Lord mingled with water and wine; that in the Passion of the Lord that may appear to be done which had been before predicted. In the blessing of Judah^y also, this same is signified, where a figure of Christ is expressed therein also, that He should be *praised by His brethren*, and that they should *bow down before Him*, that He should press on *the neck of His enemies* yielding and fleeing, with those *hands* with which He bore the Cross and overcame death: that He is *the lion of the tribe of Judah*, and should *couch*, sleeping in His Passion, and *rise up* and be the *hope of the Gentiles.* To which Holy Scripture adds *and says, He shall wash His garments in wine, and His clothes in the blood of grapes.* But when the blood of grapes is mentioned, what else is shewn than the wine of the Cup of the Blood of the Lord? Moreover in Isaiah the

see Gen. 49, 8. 9.

^x Test. ii. 2. p. 40.

^y Test. i. 21. p. 34.

Holy Spirit testifies this same of the Passion of the Lord, saying, *Wherefore art Thou red in Thine apparel, and Thy garments like him that treadeth in a wine-vat?* Can water make apparel red? or is it water in the wine-vat which is trodden by the feet, or squeezed out by the press? Mention is therefore made of wine, that the Blood of the Lord may be understood; and what was afterwards manifested in the Cup of the Lord, might be foreshewn in the predictions of the Prophets. The treading and pressure of the wine-vat is also dwelt upon: because as men cannot come to the drinking of wine unless the cluster be first trodden and pressed, so neither could we drink the Blood of Christ, unless Christ had been first trodden on and pressed, and first drank of the Cup, in which He should give believers to drink.

5. But as often as water alone is mentioned in the sacred Scriptures, Baptism is alluded to, as we see is intimated in Isaiah^z, *Remember ye not, he says, the former things, neither consider the things of old. Behold, I will do a new thing, which now shall spring forth, and ye shall know it. I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in a dry place; to give drink to My people, My chosen; My people whom I have purchased, that they might shew forth My praise.* There God by the Prophet foretold, that among nations in places which had before been dry, rivers should afterwards flow abundantly, and should water the chosen people of God, that is, those made sons of God by the regeneration of Baptism. It is also again proclaimed and foretold, that the Jews, if they should be athirst, and seek after Christ, should drink with us, that is, should attain the grace of Baptism. *If they shall be athirst, he says, He will lead them through the deserts, water out of the rock will He bring forth for them; the rock shall be cleft, and the waters shall gush out, and My people shall drink.* This is fulfilled in the Gospel, when Christ, Who is *the Rock*, is cleft by a stroke of the spear in His Passion; Who also admonishing as to what had been before foretold by the Prophet, crieth out and says, *If any man thirst, let him come and drink. He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow*

^z Test. i. 12. p. 40. see also Tract 67. on Holy Baptism, p. 383.

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A. 253. *riviers of living water*^a. And that it might be more manifest that the Lord there speaks not of the Cup, but of Baptism, the Scripture added, *But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive*. For by Baptism the Holy Spirit is received, and so they that are baptized and have obtained the Holy Spirit, come to drink of the Cup of the Lord. Nor let that move any one, that when Holy Scripture speaks of Baptism, it says that we thirst and drink, for that the Lord also in the Gospel says, *Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness*; for that which is received by hungry and thirsty longing, is more fully and abundantly imbibed. As also in another place the Lord speaks to the Samaritan woman, saying, *Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst*^b. In which too the Baptism of saving water is signified, which in truth is once received, nor ever again repeated. But the Cup of the Lord is both continually thirsted for and drunk in the Church.

6. Nor have we need of many arguments, dearest brother, to prove that by the name of water Baptism is always signified, and that we ought so to understand it; since the Lord, at His coming, manifested the truth of Baptism and of the Cup, in that He commanded that the unfailing water, the water of eternal life, be given to believers in Baptism; but by the example of His own authority He taught that the Cup should be mingled by the union of wine and water. For taking the Cup on the eve of His Passion, He blessed it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, *Drink ye all of this: for this is My Blood of the New Testament, Which is shed for many for the remission of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in My Father's Kingdom*. Wherein we find that the Cup which the Lord offered was mixed, and that that was wine, which He called His Blood. Whence it is apparent that the Blood of Christ is not offered, if there is no wine in the Cup; nor the Sacrifice of the Lord celebrated by a legitimate consecration, unless our oblation and sacrifice

Mat. 26, 27—29. ^a John 7, 37. 38. see other authorities, Tract 67, p. 381.

^b John 4, 13. 14. see Tract 67, l. c.

corresponds with His Passion. But how shall we drink new wine of the fruit of the vine with Christ in the Kingdom of the Father, if in the Sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ, we do not offer wine, nor mingle the Cup of the Lord according to the Lord's institution?

7. The blessed Apostle Paul also, chosen and sent by the Lord, and appointed a preacher of the truth of the Gospel, lays down the very same in his Epistle, saying, *The Lord¹ Jesus, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread,^{11, 23—26.} and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, This is My Body Which is given for you, this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the Cup, when He had supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in My Blood; this do, as oft as ye drink It, in remembrance of Me: for as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till He come.* If then it is both commanded by the Lord, and the same thing is confirmed and delivered by His Apostle, that as often as we drink, in remembrance of the Lord, we do the same which the Lord also did, we discover that what was commanded is not observed by us, unless we also do the very same that the Lord did, and mingling the Cup of the Lord in like manner, depart not from the Divine authority. But that we must not at all depart from the Evangelical precepts, and that the disciples also ought to observe and do the same which their Master taught and did, the blessed Apostle elsewhere more urgently and strongly teaches, saying, *I wonder that ye are^{Gal. 1, 6—9.} so soon removed from Him That called you into grace, unto another Gospel, which is not another, but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we or an Angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* Since then neither the Apostle himself nor an angel from heaven can preach or teach otherwise than Christ has once taught and His Apostles preached, I marvel much whence this practice has arisen, that in some places, contrary to Evangelical and Apostolic discipline,

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8. The mystery whereof the Holy Spirit omitteth not in the Psalms also, making mention of the Cup of the Lord, and saying, *Thy inebriating Cup, how good is it*^c: but the Cup that inebriateth must surely be mixed with wine. For water cannot inebriate any one. But the Cup of the Lord so inebriateth as Noah, in Genesis, drinking wine was inebriated. But because the inebriation of the Cup and Blood of the Lord is not such as the inebriation of this world's wine, when the Holy Spirit said in the Psalm, *Thy inebriating Cup*, He added, *how good is it*; because in truth the Cup of the Lord so inebriates them that drink it as to make them sober, as to bring back their minds to spiritual wisdom, so that each should recover from this world's savour to the perception of God: and as by that common wine the mind is dissolved, and the soul relaxed, and all sadness laid aside, so when the Blood of the Lord and the saving Cup hath been drunk, the memory of the old man is laid aside, and there cometh a forgetfulness of his *former conversation in the world*, and the sad and mournful breast, which before was oppressed with the choking sense of sins, is set free by the joy of Divine forgiveness; which then only can gladden him who drinks It in the Church of the Lord, if What is drunken retains the Truth of the Lord.

9. But how perverse is it, and how wilful, when the Lord at the marriage-feast made of water wine, for us to make of wine, water; when too that Mystery ought to admonish and instruct us, that in the Sacrifices of the Lord we should rather offer wine! For because among the Jews spiritual grace had failed, wine also failed; *For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts was the house of Israel*; but Christ, teaching and shewing that the Gentiles succeeded them, and that we afterwards, by the merit of Faith, should attain to that place which the Jews had lost, made of water wine, that is, He shewed that, the Jews failing, the people of the

John 2, 9.

Is. 5, 7.

^c Ps. 23, 5. see also S. Ambr. in Ps. Ps. 64, §. 15. S. Aug. in Ps. 35, §. 14. 35, §. 19. Ps. 1, §. 33. and in Ps. 118. Ps. 103, Enarr. 3, §. 13. Theodoret in lit. 13, §. 24. lit. 21, §. 4. S. Hil. in Ps. 22, 5.

Gentiles should the more flow in and meet together at the nuptials of Christ and His Church. For that waters signify peoples, Holy Scripture declares in the Revelations, saying, *The waters which thou savest, on which the whore sitteth, are* Rev. 17,
15.
peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues.

10. This too we perceive is contained in the Mystery of the Cup. For because Christ loves us all in that He bore our sins also, we see that in the water the people are intended, but that in the wine is shewn the Blood of Christ. But when in the Cup water is mingled with wine, His people are united to Christ, and the multitude of believers are united and conjoined with Him in Whom they believe. Which union and conjunction of water and wine is so mingled together in the Cup of the Lord, that that commixture cannot again be separated. Whence neither can the Church, that is, the people settled in the Church, faithfully and stedfastly persevering in what they have believed, be by aught separated from Christ, that its indissoluble affection should not ever adhere and abide with Him. Thus then in consecrating the Cup of the Lord, water alone cannot be offered, as neither can^d wine alone. For if any

^d "i. e. so long as the received practice remains. Yet it is to be observed, that what is said to contain a mystery does not always remain unaltered and inviolable in the Church. Formerly the faithful used a somewhat larger loaf in the Eucharist, that all who partook of It might be shewn to be 'one bread,' and to be made partakers of the communion of the broken Body of the Lord. Then it became the practice to use wafers, but the mystical meaning is not lost; for they represent the pieces of silver, the price of the Body of the Lord. In this same Ep., St. C. relates that the H. Eucharist was at first celebrated by the Lord at night, nor was this without a mystery (§. 13.); but he subjoins, 'but we in the morning celebrate the Resurrection of the Lord,' whence also that will appear, that 'we wish to walk in the light of Christ.' Again, by the decree of Eugenius, the Roman Pontiff, it is ordained that water be mingled with the Cup to be consecrated, in 'small quantity;' and so, by the superabundance of the wine above the quality of the water, is sig-

nified the superabundance of the merits of Christ our Lord and His Dignity above the human nature and the sins of the human race. Yet not less suitably by the use of wine alone, is it shewn that we are saved by the merits of Christ alone and by His Blood. In like way the Greeks pour warm water into the consecrated Cup, to signify (as Balsamon explains in Can. 32. Cone. Trull.) 'that what flowed from the holy Side of our Lord J. C. are life-giving.' The Latins use cold water, in witness that Christ really died, and that we are saved only by His Death. In like manner, in Baptism; formerly trine immersion was required, as significant of the Trinity; then single followed, that we might profess that we acknowledge One God. [in the Spanish Church, see Bingham, 11. 11. 8.] Immersion also seemed necessary, that we might seem to be buried with Christ in Baptism; now, we are sprinkled with water, that we may be seen to be cleansed by the sprinkling of His Blood. In like way, milk and honey conjoined were added to the

Epist. LXIII. A. 253. should offer wine alone, this is as though the Blood of Christ were without us; but if there be water alone, the people begin to be without Christ. But when both are mingled, and by an infused union each is joined with the other, then the spiritual and heavenly Sacrament is perfected. Thus

water of Baptism, and were, on that account, offered as well as bread and wine, which however afterwards went into disuse according to the decrees of the Canons, the mystery of the Sacrament being thereby unimpaired. [F.] P. Lombard (4 Sent. Dist. 11.) gives the same gloss, "The words admit of an exception, 'ought not' unless done out of simplicity or ignorance, or 'can not,' i. e. 'ought not;' (which last is adopted by Durandus in 4 Sent. Dist. 11. qu. 5.) and a little before, "If any, with no purpose of introducing heresy, through forgetfulness or ignorance omit the water, the Sacrament doth not appear to be null [irritum], but such an one is gravely to be censured." In like way S. Thomas in 1 Cor. 11. and S. Bernard, Ep. 69. ad Guidon. Abbat. "They say that some other writer thinks otherwise, namely, that this Sacrifice cannot be without these things, i. e. bread, wine, and water, so that, should any of these be wanting, the rest are not sanctified. But of things of this sort, let each be satisfied in his own mind.—Nor do I deny that bread and wine mingled with water ought to be placed on the Altar together; rather, I assert that it ought not to be done otherwise. But it is one thing to blame negligence, another to deny the efficacy. It is one thing, I say, to say in blame, that any thing is not well done, another to assert falsely, that it is altogether not done." [quoted by Voss. de S. Cœna Domin. symbol. Disp. Theol. 22. Opp. t. 6. p. 440 sqq.] Bp. Fell further observes that it is doubtful, whether our Lord consecrated in pure or mingled wine, since either were used alike, (Tosephoth) [but it is said Berachoth, f. 50. 2. "The wise confess to R. Eliezer that the blessing is not said over the cup of wine, until they have put water to it." The Gemara adds, "because their wine was very strong, and it seemed not good to drink it without water."] "Whence Aquinas, (P. 3. qu. 74. art. 7. and qu. 83. art. 6. ad loc.) and Bonaventura (in 4 Sent. Dist. 11. p. 2. q. 3.) [Biel. Dist. iv. qu. 2. Concl. 5.] say that the admixture of water is

not of necessity, nor essential to the integrity of the Sacrament. The heresy of the Armenians was, that they held that water, of necessity, ought not to be mingled with the wine; and they were condemned by the Conc. quini-sex. [hence the schoolmen make the exception, "unless the water be omitted, to introduce heresy."] The Roman Church although it seem to decree that 'the Cup of the Blood of the Lord Christ ought not to be consecrated in pure water, nor in pure wine without water, but in wine mixed with water;' yet, if we consider it attentively, they mean that it should be consecrated in wine only; for they direct that the water should be added in a very small quantity, (in the words of Eugenius, modicissima,) and that there should be an interval between the mingling and the consecration, in order that the water might be turned into wine. (See Cat. Rom. c. 4. §. 17. Sacerdotale Rom. p. 1. Tr. 19. c. 2.) And to this effect a passage is wont to be cited from Aristot. de Generat. et corrupt. l. 1. c. ult. that the lesser passes into the predominant, as a drop of wine is not mingled with 10,000 Choëis of water, but its nature is lost and the whole becomes water. Then also the Greek practice is to be observed, of which Balsamo says, 'Before the holy Cup is consecrated, the warm water is not infused, but after the consecration;' and accordingly water, in their opinion, does not enter into the sacred Mystery, but follows on it." [F.] On the other hand, wine is declared essential, "but water without wine can in no wise be offered in the Sacrifice." P. Lomb. l. e. and an old Missal Eccl. S. Mart. Turon. ap. Bal. "if the consecration have been either of wine alone or of water without wine, the wine is accounted as a sacrament, but the water is not so accounted." Yet "Pope Innocent VIII. allowed the Norwegians to consecrate the Cup without wine, because, on account of the exceeding cold, wine imported in that country easily turns acid." Raphael Volaterran. l. 7. p. 159. ap. Bal.

then the Cup of the Lord is not water alone or wine alone, unless both are mingled together, as also the Body of the Lord cannot be meat alone, or water alone, unless both be united and joined together and compacted into one cohering Bread. In which Mystery also our people are shewn to be united, so that as many grains* collected and ground and mingled together make one bread; so in Christ, Who is the heavenly Bread, we may know that there is one Body, where-with our whole number is conjoined and united.

11. There is then no reason, dearest brother, that any should think that the practice of some few is to be followed, who may have heretofore supposed that water alone is to be offered in the Cup of the Lord. For we must ask, "whom have these same followed?" For if in the Sacrifice which Christ offered, Christ only is to be followed, then we ought to obey and do that which Christ did, and which He commanded should be done; for as much as He Himself says in the Gospel, *If ye do whatsoever I command you, henceforth I call you not servants but friends.* John 15, 14. 15. And that we must hear Christ alone, the Father also testifieth from heaven, saying, *This is My Well-Beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased;* Mat. 17, *hear ye Him.* Wherefore if we ought to hear Christ alone,^{5.} we ought not to attend to what another before us has thought should be done, but what Christ, Who is before all, first did. For neither is it fitting to follow the customs of men, but the truth of God; for that God speaks by the prophet Isaiah, and says, *In vain do they worship Me, teaching the doctrines* Is. 29, *and commandments of men.* And again the Lord in the 13. lxx. Gospel repeats this same, saying, *Ye reject the command-* Mark 7, *ment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.* More-^{9.} over in another place He lays it down and says, *Whosoever* Matt. 5, *shall break one of these least commandments and shall teach* 19. *men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.* But if it is unlawful to break even the least of the Lord's commandments, how much more to infringe those so great, so weighty, so concerning the very Sacrament of the Lord's Passion and our redemption, or by human tradition to change it into something else than was divinely appointed! For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the great

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22, 19.

High Priest of God the Father, and first offered Himself a Sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done in remembrance of Himself, surely that Priest truly acts in Christ's stead, who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full Sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he begins to offer it according as he sees Christ Himself offered it.

12. It remaineth that the whole discipline of religion and the truth is overthrown, unless what is spiritually enjoined is faithfully maintained. Unless indeed this be any one's fear in the morning Sacrifices, lest by the savour of wine he smell of the Blood of Christ. Yet so then the brotherhood is beginning to be kept back from the Passion also of Christ in persecution, while in the oblations they learn to be ashamed of the Blood and Blood-shedding of Christ^f. The

Mark 8, Lord moreover says in the Gospel, *Whosoever shall be*
38. *ashamed of Me, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed.*

Gal. 1, And the Apostle also speaks, saying, *If I pleased men, I*
10. *should not be the servant of Christ.* But how can we shed our blood for Christ, who are ashamed to drink the Blood of Christ?

13. Does any one soothe himself with this consideration, that although in the morning water alone is seen to be offered, yet "when we come to supper we offer the cup mixed?" Yet, when we sup, we cannot call the people together to our feast, so as in the presence of all the brotherhood to celebrate the truth^g of the Sacrament. "But then the Lord offered the mixed cup not in the morning, but after supper^h. Ought we then to celebrate That of the Lordⁱ after supper, that so by multiplying Eucharistsⁱ we may

ⁱ Domi-
nicum.

^f i. e. so are the Sacraments and the Passion of Christ and suffering for Christ joined together, that whoso is ashamed of the Blood of Christ in His Cup, will be ashamed to confess His Blood shed for him, or, by his witness of Him, to be joined in His Sufferings. The Holy Eucharist being the Sacrament of His Passion, and the communication of His Blood, to be ashamed of It, as He ordained It, is to be ashamed of His Blood and Passion.

^g That in water being no true or valid Sacrament.

^h See Tert. de Cor. c. 4 p. 164. Oxf. Tr. Rig. thinks that Tert. in that he says "*etiam antelucanis coetibus*" implies that It was celebrated "at the time of meals" also. The force of "*etiam*" is however doubtless "*even* before daylight" in contrast with the evening. The single exceptions of the Coena Domini, Thursday before Easter, (S. Aug. Ep. 54. ad Jan. c. 7.) or in Egypt or Thebais on the Saturday, (Socr. v. 22.) do not come into account.

ⁱ Frequentandis Dominicis; cele-

offer the mixed cup. It behoved Christ to offer at the evening of the day, that the very hour of the Sacrifice might intimate the setting and evening of the world, as it is written in Exodus, *And the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening.* And again in the Psalms,^{12, 6.} *Let the lifting up of My Hands be an evening sacrifice*^k. But we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning.

14. And because we make mention of His Passion in all Sacrifices, (for the Passion of the Lord is the Sacrifice which we offer,) we ought to do nothing else than what He did. For the Scripture says, *For as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till He come.* As often then as we offer the Cup in commemoration of the Lord and His Passion, do we what it is known the Lord did. Let any one see to it, dearest brother. If then any of our predecessors, either ignorantly or through simplicity, has not observed and retained this, which the Lord by His example and authority taught us to do, his simplicity may by the Lord's mercy be pardoned. But we cannot be excused who have now been admonished and instructed by the Lord, to offer the Cup of the Lord mingled with wine, as the Lord Himself offered it, and to address letters thereupon to our Colleagues, that every where the law of the Gospel and the tradition of the Lord may be observed, and there be no departure from what Christ both taught and did.

15. To disregard this any longer, and to persevere in the former error, what else is it than to incur the censure of the Lord, Who in the Psalm reproveth and saith, *What hast thou to do to declare My statutes, or that thou shouldest take My covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction, and casteth My words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.* For to declare the righteousness and covenant of the Lord, and not to do the same that the Lord did, what else is it than to cast away His words, and to

brating them not in the morning only, but in the evening. St. C. uses Dominicum celebrare, again, de Op. et El. c. 12. Dominice hostie de Unit. Eccl. §. 14. ^k Ps. 141, 2. quoted of the Crucifixion of our Lord, Test. ii. 20.

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A. 253. condemn the discipline of the Lord, and to commit, not earthly but spiritual thefts and adulteries, in that men steal from the truth of the Gospel the words and deeds of our Lord, corrupt and adulterate the Divine precepts? As it is written in Jeremiah, *What is the chaff to the wheat? therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal My words, every one from his neighbour, and cause My people to err by their lies and by their lightness.* Likewise in the same prophet in another place He saith, *She committed adultery with stocks and with stones, and yet for all this she turned not unto Me.* Which theft and adultery that it fall not upon us also, we ought to take anxious and awed and religious care. For if we are priests of God and Christ, I know not whom we ought to follow rather than God and Christ; since Himself expressly says in the Gospel, *I am the light of the world. He that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.* That we may not then *walk in darkness*, we ought to *follow Christ*, and observe His precepts; because Himself also, in another place, sending the Apostles, said, *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* Wherefore if we wish to walk in the light of Christ, we should not depart from His precepts and admonitions; giving thanks, that while He instructs us for the future what we ought to do, for the past He pardons wherein through simplicity we have erred. And because His second Advent now draws near to us, His benign and bountiful favour more and more enlightens our hearts with the light of truth.

16. It befits then our religion and our awe, and the very station and office of our priesthood, dearest brother, in mingling and offering the Cup of the Lord, to guard the truth of the tradition of the Lord; and, when the Lord warneth, to correct that wherein some are found to have erred, that so, when He shall begin to come in His heavenly Glory and Majesty, He may find that we abide by what He warned, observe what He taught, do what He did.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

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Cyprian and the rest, his Colleagues, who were present in Council, in number sixty-six, to Fidus their brother, greeting.

1. We have read your letter, dearest brother, in which you have informed us respecting Victor, formerly¹ a presbyter, that Therapius^m our colleague rashly¹, at a time^{temere} premature and with over-eager haste, granted him peace,^{many} before he had performed full penance, and had satisfied the^{old Mss.} Lord God, against Whom he had offended. Which thing^{2 omit it B.} troubled us much, that the authority of our decree should have been departed from, and peace granted to him, before the legitimate and full time of satisfaction, without the desire and knowledge of the people, when no sickness urged or necessity compelled. But after long weighing the matter amongst ourselves, it sufficed to reprimand our colleague Therapius, for having done this rashly, and to have warned him not to do the like again. But the peace once howsoever given by a priest of God we thought was not to be taken away, and have therefore allowed Victor to use the communion granted him.

2. But as regards the case of infants, who you say should not be baptized within the second or third day after their birth, and that respect should be had to the law of the ancient circumcision, whence you think that one newly born should not be baptized and sanctified within the eighth day, we all in our council thought very differently". For no one

¹ being now restored to lay-Communion only, as Trophimus, Ep. 55. §. 8. Full restoration, as in the case of Maximus, was very rare. see Bingham 17. 1. 4. and 5. 4.

^m à Bulla Cone. Carth. §. 61. Of Fidus, no more is known.

ⁿ "not" (S. Aug. observes) "forming any new decree, but maintaining the most assured faith of the Church," Ep. 166. ad Hieron. de orig. an. §. 24. "This question [of the Baptism on the 8th day] is so treated, as though, through the Providence of God, the Catholic Church were already confuting the Pelagian heretics, who were to arise so long after. For neither did he who

had asked advice, doubt thereon whether infants by their birth derived that original sin, which by re-birth they were to wash away, but he doubted whether the laver of regeneration, whereby he doubted not that original sin was to be removed, was to be given before the 8th day." S. Aug. c. 2. Epp. Pelag. iv. 8. (quoting three passages of the Ep.) In Sermon. 294, c. 20. he quotes it to shew "what the Church ever felt. It is not enough for them to discuss and dispute their impious novelties; they would also put us on the defensive, as though we taught something new. To this end then I read S. Cyprian, that ye may see that in the words which I

EPIST. LXIV.
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3. Moreover the truth of Holy Scripture declares to us that all, whether infants or elders, have the same equal participation of the Divine gift. Elisha, when he entreated 2 Kings 4, 34. God, so spread himself over the infant son of the widow who lay dead, that head was applied to head and face to face, and the limbs of Elisha spread over him were joined to the several limbs of the little one, and feet to feet. Which thing if it be considered with regard to the inequality of our birth and frame, an infant could not be made equal with one grown up and advanced in years, nor could its small limbs fit to and correspond with the larger. But therein is the Divine and spiritual equality expressed, that all men are alike and equal, in that they have been once made by God; and our age, in the growth of our bodies, may differ according to the world, not according to God; unless indeed the very grace also, which is given to the baptized, is granted, more or less, according to the age of the recipients; whereas the *Holy Ghost is not given by measure*, but through the clemency and mercy of the Father, equally to all. For as Gal. 2, 6. *God accepteth no man's person*, so neither, with well-weighed equality, any age; but giveth Himself as a Father to all, for the attainment of heavenly grace.

4. For whereas you say that an infant during the first days after its birth bears traces of uncleanness, so that any one of us would still shrink from kissing it, neither should this, we think, be a hindrance to giving it the heavenly grace; Tit. 1, 18. for it is written, *Unto the pure all things are pure*. Nor

have just delivered the meaning is according to the rule of faith, and the sense Catholic." To this he refers de gest. Pelag. c. 11.

ought any of us to shrink from that which God hath vouchsafed to make^p. For although an infant is yet fresh from its birth, yet it is not such that any one should shrink from kissing it in bestowing grace¹ and in making peace;¹ in Baptism. for that, in the kiss of an infant, each of us should, for very piety, think of the recent Hands of God, which we in a manner kiss, in the lately formed and recently born man, when we embrace that which God has made. For in that in the Jewish circumcision of the flesh the eighth day was observed, a mystery was given beforehand in a shadow and in a figure; but, when Christ came, it was accomplished in reality. For because the eighth day, that is, the first after the sabbath, was to be that, whereon our Lord would rise again and quicken us and give us the spiritual circumcision, this eighth day^q, that is, the first after the sabbath, and the Lord's day, was promised in a figure. Which figure ceased, when the reality afterwards came, and when the spiritual circumcision was given to us. On which account we think that no one should by that law which was before ordained be hindered from obtaining grace; nor should the spiritual circumcision be hindered by the circumcision in the flesh, but every one is by all means to be admitted to the grace of Christ, inasmuch as Peter also in the Acts of the Apostles speaks and says, *The Lord hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean.* Acts 10, 28.

5. But if any thing could hinder men from obtaining grace, much more might the more grievous sins hinder the adult and grown and elder men. If then even to the most grievous offenders, and who had before sinned much against God, when they afterwards believe, remission of sins is granted, and no one is debarred from Baptism and grace, how much more ought not an infant to be debarred,

^p "Certainly Christ loved that human being in its defilements—for him He came down from heaven; for him He preached; for him He humbled Himself to death and that the death of the Cross. He must have loved whom he purchased at an exceeding price.—With man He loved His birth

also, His flesh also. —Wilt thou make that to be an object of shame which He redeemed? that unworthy which had He not loved, He had not redeemed?" Tert. de Carm. Chr. c. 4.

^q See S. Justin dial. c. Tryph. §. 24. 41. and others quoted Tract 67. p. 325. note 1.

EPIST. LXV.
A. 253. who being newly born has in no way sinned, except that being born after Adam in the flesh, he has by his first birth contracted the contagion of the old death; who is on this very account more easily admitted to receive remission of sins, in that not his own but another's sins are remitted to him^r. And therefore, dearest brother, this was our opinion in council, that no one should by us be debarred from Baptism and the grace of God Who is merciful and gracious and loving to all. Which as it is to be observed and maintained towards all, much more do we think it to be observed towards infants and the newly born, who on this very account the more deserve our aid and the Divine mercy, that, immediately on the very dawn of their birth, lamenting and weeping, they do nothing else but entreat for pardon.

We bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXV.

Cyprian to his brother Epictetus, and to the laity abiding at Assuræ^s, greeting.

I. Heavily and grievously was I troubled, dearest brethren, on hearing that Fortunatianus, formerly Bishop amongst you, had now after his grievous fall desired to act as though all had been well, and had begun to claim the Episcopate to himself. Which thing saddened me, in the first instance on account of the unhappy man himself, who, being either utterly blinded by the mists of Satan, or deceived by the sacrilegious persuasion of certain persons, when he ought to make satisfaction and give himself day and night to tears and prayers and supplications, that so the Lord might be entreated for him, dares yet to claim to himself the priesthood which he betrayed; as if from the altars of the devil it were lawful to approach

^r S. Aug. remarks, Serm. 294. c. 20. with what simple confidence St. C. alleges the doctrine of original sin. "Of original sin there was no question, and so from that, of which there was no question, was solved the question which did arise." "See how, in no wise doubting of this, he solves that of which

there was doubt. He took this out of the foundation of the Church—to strengthen the stone which was tottering." The passage is quoted also by S. Jerome c. Pelag. iii. fin.

^s A town in Africa Zeugitana. Victor appears as its Bishop, Cone. Carth. 68.

the Altar of God: or as if he would not provoke the greater wrath and indignation of the Lord against himself in the Day of Judgment; who, unable to be a guide to the brethren to faith and virtue, becometh an instructor in faithlessness, and boldness, and temerity; and he who taught not the brethren to stand bravely in the battle, teaches those who have been vanquished and overthrown, not even to entreat for pardon. Whereas the Lord says, *To them ye have poured a drink* ^{Is. 57, 6.} *offering, and to them ye have offered a meat offering; should I not be angry for these things? saith the Lord.* And in another place, *He that sacrificeth unto any God, save unto* ^{Exod. 22, 20.} *the Lord only, shall be utterly destroyed.* Moreover the Lord again speaks and says, *They worship those whom their* ^{Is. 2, 8, 9.} *own fingers have made; and the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself, therefore I will not forgive them.* In the Revelations also we read the anger of the Lord threatening and saying, *If any man* ^{Rev. 14, 9—11.} *worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, mixed in the cup of His indignation, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torment shall ascend up for ever and ever: and they shall have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image.*

2. Since then the Lord threatens these torments, this punishment in the Day of Judgment, to those who obey the devil, and sacrifice to idols: how does he think that he can act as a Priest of God, who has obeyed and served the priests of the devil? or how does he think that his hand can be transferred to the Sacrifice of God and the prayer of the Lord, which has been in bondage to sacrilege and crime? Whereas God in the holy Scriptures forbids priests who are even in lighter guilt, to approach the Sacrifice, and says in Leviticus, *The man in whom there shall be any* ^{Levit. 21, 17.} *blemish or stain, shall not approach to offer gifts to God.* Likewise in Exodus, *And let the priests, which come near* ^{Exod. 19, 22.} *to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord forsake them.* And again, *When they come near unto the altar to minister* ^{Exod. 28, 43.} *at the holy place, they shall not bring sin upon them, lest*

EPIST. LXV. A. 253. *they die.* They therefore who have brought grievous sins upon them, that is, who by sacrificing to idols, have offered sacrilegious sacrifices, cannot claim to themselves the priesthood of God, nor offer any prayer in His sight for their brethren; for that it is written in the Gospel, *God heareth not a sinner; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth His will, him He heareth.* And yet the deep gloom of gathering darkness has so blinded the breasts of some, that they admit no light from the saving precepts, but having once turned from the straight path of the true way, they are hurried headlong down the precipice, through the night and mazes of their sins. Nor is it strange, if they now reject our counsels or the Lord's precepts, who have before denied the Lord.

John 9, 31.

3. They desire stipends and oblations and lucre, for which aforetime they hankered insatiably; for suppers also, and banquets, whose excess, amid indigestion enduring to the day, they lately breathed out, are they still eager; now most plainly evincing, that neither before was it godliness, but rather *their own belly* and gain, which, with profane covetousness, *they served.* Whence also we perceive and believe that this very censure has come by the searching judgments of God, that so they should no longer continue to stand at the Altar, and handle things chaste, themselves impure; faith, themselves faithless; religion, themselves profane; Divine, themselves earthly; holy, themselves sacrilegious.

Rom. 16, 18.

4. That such return not again to this profanation of the Altar and the corrupting of the brethren, we must keep watch, and with all energy strive, that as far as we can, we may keep them back from their boldness and their wickedness: that they attempt not still to act as priests, who, cast down to the lowest depths of death, have by the weight of their heavier fall, gone headlong deeper than the lapsed laity. But if the madness of these phrenzied persons shall continue incurable, and the Holy Spirit withdrawing from them, the blindness that has begun shall abide in its own darkness, our counsel must be to separate the brethren individually from their snares, and, lest any fall into the meshes of their error, to separate them from their contagion;

since neither can the Oblation be consecrated where the Holy Spirit is not, nor does the Lord grant grace to any through the prayers and supplications of one who has himself done violence to the Lord. But if Fortunatianus, either forgetful of his own crime through blindness from the devil, or having become a minister and servant of the devil, to deceive the brotherhood, shall persevere in this his madness, do ye labour as far as ye are able, and, amid this darkness of Satan's rage, recall the minds of the brethren from error, that they consent not easily to another's phrenzy, nor make themselves partakers of the sins of desperate men; but being whole, let them maintain the even course of their salvation, and the enduring vigour of that soundness, which they have preserved and guarded^t.

5. But let the lapsed, conscious of the greatness of their sin, cease not from imploring the Lord, nor leave the Catholic Church, which one and alone hath been established by the Lord; but enduring in their amends, and entreating the mercy of the Lord, let them knock at the door of the Church, that they may be received there where once they were, and return to Christ from Whom they departed. Nor let them listen to those who deceive them with a treacherous and deadly seduction, in that it is written, *Let* ^{Eph. 5,} *no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these* ^{6.} *things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them.* The contumacious then, and such as fear not God and withdraw entirely from the Church, let no one accompany. But if any be impatient of entreating his offended Lord, and obey not us, but shall follow the desperate and lost, he must impute it to himself, when the Day of Judgment shall come. For how will he be able to entreat the Lord in that Day, who has both aforetime denied Christ, and now the Church also of Christ, and not obeying Bishops, sound and stedfast and having life, has given himself over as a companion and partaker with the dying?

I bid you, dearest brethren and much longed for, ever heartily farewell.

^t *Salutis sue tenorem et integritatis—perpetuum vigorem* Bal. in note from cod. S. Arnulph.

EPIST.
LXVI.

EPISTLE LXVI.

A. 254. *Cyprian, who is also Thascius^a, to his brother Florentius, who is also Papiannus, greeting.*

I had thought, brother, that you were now at length turned to repentance, for having rashly in times past either listened or given credit to things concerning me so abominable, so base, so execrable even to Gentiles. But even now I perceive by your letter that you are still the same as before, that you believe the same things of me, and persist in what you believed; and lest perchance the excellence of your lustre as a martyr might be tarnished by communion with me, that you are enquiring diligently into my conduct, and, after the judgment of God Who maketh Bishops, are desirous of judging, I say not of me, (for of what account am I?) but of the judgment of God and of Christ. This is not to believe in God, this is to be a rebel against Christ, and against His Gospel, that whereas He says, *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? yet neither of them falls to the ground without the will of the Father*, and His majesty and truth prove that even the smallest things do not come to pass without the cognizance and permission of God, you suppose that the Priests of God are, without His cognizance, ordained in the Church? For to believe that those who are ordained are unworthy and incestuous, what else is it but to believe that not by God or through God are His Bishops appointed in the Church? Suppose you that my own testimony of myself is greater than God's? whereas the Lord Himself teacheth and saith, that if any one is *a witness of himself*, his *testimony is not true*, for that indeed every one would favour himself, nor would any bring forward things prejudicial and adverse against himself; but the trustworthiness of truth is then clear, when in the things avouched of us, another is our voucher and witness. *If*, He saith, *I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true: there is Another that beareth witness of Me*. But if the Lord Himself, Who will hereafter judge all things, would not be believed on His own testimony, but had rather

^a St. Cyprian's heathen name, which he had exchanged for Caecilius, that of the good old presbyter by whom he was converted. The inscription is probably a tacit rebuke of Florentius, who had so addressed him. [Pam.]

be approved on the judgment and testimony of God the Father, how much more does it behove His servants to attend to this, who are not only approved by the judgment and testimony of God, but even therein glory? With thee, however, the inventions of hostile and malignant men has prevailed against the Divine sentence, and against our conscience, stayed by the strength of its own faith; as if among lapsed and profane persons, removed without the Church, from whose breasts the Holy Spirit has departed, there could be other than a depraved mind, and a deceitful tongue, and envenomed hatred, and sacrilegious falsehoods, which whoso believes, must needs be found with them when the Day of Judgment shall come.

2. But as to thy saying, that Bishops should be humble, because both the Lord and His Apostles were humble, not only all the brethren but the Gentiles also very well know and love my humility; and you too once knew it and loved it, while you were yet in the Church and held communion with me. But which of us is far from humility, I, who daily serve the brethren, and with kindness and good wishes and joy receive all that come to the Church, or you who set yourself up as a Bishop of a Bishop, and as a judge of the judge for the time appointed by God? Whereas the Lord God says in Deuteronomy, *And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest or unto the judge who shall be in those days, even that man shall die, and all the people when they hear shall fear, and do no more presumptuously.* And again He speaks to Samuel, and says, *They have not despised thee, but they have despised Me.* And moreover the Lord in the Gospel, when it was said unto Him, *Answerest Thou the High Priest so?* maintaining the honour of the priesthood, and teaching that it ought to be upheld, said nothing against the High Priest, but only clearing His own innocence, answered, saying, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou Me?* The blessed Apostle also, when it was said to him, *Revilest thou God's High Priest?* spake nothing reproachful against the High Priest, whereas he might stedfastly have put himself forth against those who had crucified the Lord, and had now lost God and Christ, and the temple, and the priesthood. Yet, even though in false and deprived priests, respecting, if

Deut.
17, 12.
13.

John 18,
22, 23.

Acts 23,
4.

EPIST. but the very empty shadow of the priestly name, he said,
 LXVI. *I wist not, brethren, that he was the High Priest: for it is*
 A. 254. *written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy*
 Acts 23, *people.*

3. Unless perhaps I were a Priest to you before the persecution, when you held communion with me, but after the persecution I ceased to be a Priest! For the persecution coming raised you to the highest eminence of martyrdom, but me it sunk with the weight of proscription, when it was publicly proclaimed, "If¹ any one holdeth or possesseth any of the goods of Cæcilius Cyprian, a Bishop of the Christians;" so that even they who believed not in God appointing a Bishop, might yet believe the devil proscribing a Bishop. Nor do I boast of these things, but bring them forward with sorrow, since you set yourself up as a judge of God and Christ, Who says to the Apostles, and thereby to all Prelates, who by vicarious ordination are successors of the Apostles, *He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that heareth Me, heareth Him that sent Me: and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me.*

¹ see ab.
 Ep. 59.
 §. 7.

4. For thence have schisms and heresies arisen and do arise, in that the Bishop, who is one^s and presides over the Church, is by the proud presumption of some persons held in contempt, and a man, honoured by the favour of God, is by man deemed unworthy. For what swelling of pride is this, what arrogance of spirit, what inflation of the mind, to call prelates and priests to one's own cognizance, and if I am not cleared in your sight and absolved by your sentence, lo, for these six years past, neither has the brotherhood had a Bishop, nor the people a Prelate, nor the flock a shepherd, nor the Church a governor, nor Christ an Overseer², nor God a priest! Pupianus must come in aid and pronounce sentence, and accept the judgment of God and Christ, lest so large a number of believers as have been summoned away under my rule, should appear to have departed without hope of salvation and peace; and the multitude of new believers be adjudged to have attained no grace of Baptism

² anti-
 tes,
 Bishop.

^s see ab. Ep. 49. §. 2. p. 108, and n. i.

and of the Holy Spirit by my ministry^y: lest the peace granted and communion allowed, on our examination, to so many lapsed and penitents, be annulled by the authority of your judgment. Vouchsafe at length and deign to pronounce on us, and to confirm our Episcopate by the authority of your hearing, that God and His Christ may give you thanks, for that through you a president and ruler has been restored as well to Their Altar as to Their people.

5. Bees^z have a king, and herds a leader, and robbers keep faith. To a mercenary leader they submit with the full deference of humility^a. How much more simple and better than you are the brutes and dumb animals, and robbers though blood-stained and raging in the midst of swords and war? Among them a chief is acknowledged and feared, whom the Divine sentence has not appointed, but in whom an abandoned faction and a guilty crew have consented.

6. You say in truth, that a scruple on which you have fallen must be removed from your mind. You have fallen on it, but through your own irreligious credulity. You have fallen on it, but through your own sacrilegious mind and will, in that you easily listen to, readily believe, incestuous, impious, unutterable things against a brother, against a Priest; in that you defend other men's lies as if they were your own, your property; nor remember that it is written, *Hedge in thine ears with thorns, and hearken not to a wicked tongue*^b: and again, *A wicked doer giveth heed* Prov. 17, 4.
LXX.

^y Presbyters could not baptize without consent of the Bishop, (F.) (as our own Church requires in the Office for the Baptism of Adults,) see Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 8. Tert. de Bapt. c. 17. p. 275. Oxf. Tr. S. Jerome c. Lucif. c. 9. It would seem, however, from this place, as if St. C. himself baptized; else the supposed nullity of his Episcopate would not have affected the act. In the Exhort. Mart. also (Pref. p. 280. Oxf. Tr.) he speaks of it as his own act.

^z See de Idol. Van. §. 5. p. 17.

^a The text of Rig. and Fell has been followed, "et fidem servant Latrones; mancipi, obsequio pleno humilitatis obtemperant." The style is somewhat more broken than is usual with St. C. yet there may be an indignant

emphasis on mancipi, lit. "their hirer," a term used of the captain of banditti, by Cic. Orat. pro domo s. and Lucif. Calar. Apol. 2. pro S. Athanasio. The 2 oldest Edd. Spir. and Innom. ap. F. Memm. and Erasm. have "et ei fidem servant," a very bold metaphor, "the very beasts keep faith to their leader," but neither F. nor B. give any Ms. authority for it, amid much other variation.

^b Ecclus. 28, 28. so quoted by St. C. Ep. 59. fin. Testim. iii. 95. S. Ambr. in S. Luc. 3. and 2 other places; the Auct. Op. Imp. in S. Matt. Hom. 51. The LXX. has περιφραζον τὸ πᾶν σου ἀνάνθαις only. S. Hil. in Ps. 140. S. Amb. de Off. i. 3. Cassiod. in Ps. 40. follow the LXX. see Sabatier ad loc. The Syr. and Arab. vary in order from the LXX.

EPIST. LXVI.
A. 254. *to the tongue of the unjust, but a righteous man regards not lying lips.* Why did not martyrs, full of the Holy Ghost, and now by their passion very near the Presence of God and His Christ, fall on this scruple? These sent letters from their prison to Bishop Cyprian, acknowledging him to be a priest of God, and bearing witness to him. Why have not so many Bishops my colleagues fallen on this scruple, who, when they withdrew out of the way, were proscribed, or being seized, were cast into prisons and were in chains; or who, driven into exile, marched on in their glorious rank to the Lord; or who in some places sentenced to death, received heavenly crowns, being glorified by the Lord? Why have not any fallen on this scruple, among His own people who are with us and have by the favour of God been committed to us, among whom are so many confessors that have been put to the question and tortured, glorious through the memory of renowned wounds and scars? so many chaste virgins? so many praiseworthy widows? Lastly, why have not all the Churches throughout the whole world, who are joined with us in the bond of unity? Except indeed, as you have written, all these, holding communion with me, have become polluted by my polluted mouth, and by the contagion of my communion have lost the hope of eternal life; Papianus alone, sound, inviolate, holy, chaste, in that he would not mix himself with us, shall dwell alone in paradise and in the kingdom of heaven!

7. You have written too that the Church now hath a portion of herself in dispersion through my means; whereas the whole people of the Church are collected and united and joined together in undivided concord, they only remain without, who although they were within, ought to be cast out: nor doth the Lord, the Protector and Guardian of His people, suffer the wheat to be swept away from His floor, but the chaff alone can be separated from the Church, for that the Apostle says, *For what if some have fallen from the faith? shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid: yea, for God is true, but every man a liar.* The Lord also in the Gospel, when His disciples forsook Him for His words, turning to the twelve said, *Will ye also go away? Then Peter answered Him,*

Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure that Thou art the Son of the living God. There Peter speaks, upon whom the Church had to be built^c: teaching and shewing in the name of the Church^d, that although a contumacious and proud multitude of such as will not obey may withdraw, yet the Church does not depart from Christ, and they are the Church who are a people united to the Bishop, and a flock adhering to their own shepherd. Whence you ought to know that the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop; and if any be not with the Bishop, that he is not in the Church; and that they in vain flatter themselves, who, not having peace with the priests of God, creep in, and think that they secretly hold communion with certain persons; whereas the Church, which is catholic and one, is not separated nor divided; but is in truth connected and joined together by the cement of Bishops mutually cleaving to each other.

8. Wherefore, brother, if you will consider the majesty of God Who ordains Bishops; if you will at length have respect to Christ, Who by His will, and fiat, and Presence governs Prelates themselves and the Church with the Prelates; if you will deem of the innocence of Bishops, not according to human resentments, but the Divine judgment; if you begin though late to do penance for your temerity and pride and insolence; if you will give most ample satisfaction to God and His Christ, Whom I serve, and to Whom with pure and untainted mouth I unceasingly offer Sacrifice, as well in persecution as in peace, we may have some consideration of communion with you, retaining however respect and awe of the Divine censure; so that I should first consult my Lord, whether by His own manifestation and admonition He would allow peace to be granted to you, and that you should be admitted to the communion of His Church. For I remember what has been already shewn^e to me, yea what has been^f ostensuⁿ.
i. e. in
vision. enjoined by the authority of our Lord and God to an obedient and fearing servant, Who among other things which He vouchsafed to manifest and reveal, added this also; "Whoso

^c For the promise had not yet been made to him. [Bal.] see Note Q. on Tert. p. 492. Oxf. Tr.

^d Which (by his confession) he presented. Bal. from S. Aug. see ib.

EPIST. therefore believeth not Christ appointing a Bishop, shall
 LXVII. hereafter begin to believe Him avenging a Bishop." Although
 A. 254. I am aware that to some persons dreams appear ridiculous
 and visions trifling, yet assuredly it is to such as had rather
 believe against Bishops, than believe the Bishop. But
 Gen. 37, no wonder, since his brethren said of Joseph, *Behold this*
 19. 20. *dreamer cometh; come now therefore, let us slay him:*
 yet afterwards this dreamer attained what he had dreamed,
 they who would slay and who sold him were confounded:
 and so that they who before did not believe the words, after-
 wards believed the deeds. But as to the things that thou hast
 done, in time either of persecution or of peace, it were foolish
 for me to wish to judge you, since you rather set yourself up
 as judge of us. Thus much have I written out of the pure
 conscience of my mind, and my reliance on my Lord and
 God. Thou hast my Epistle, I thine. In the Day of Judgment
 before the tribunal of Christ both will be recited.

EPISTLE LXVII.

Cyprian, Cecilius, Primus, Polycarp, Nicomedes, Lucilianus,
Successus, Sedatus, Fortunatus, Januarius, Secundinus,
Pomponius, Honoratus, Victor, Aurelius, Sattius, Petrus,
another Januarius, Saturninus, another Aurelius, Venantius,
Quietus, Rogatianus, Tenax, Felix, Faustinus, Quintus,
another Saturninus, Lucius, Vincentius, Libosus, Geminus,
Marcellus, Iambus, Adelphius, Victorius, and Paulus, to
Felix, the Presbyter, and the people abiding at Legio¹ and
¹ Leon. *Asturica², also to Lælius the deacon and the people abiding*
² Astor- *at Emerita³, brethren in the Lord, greeting.*
³ Meri-
 da.

1. When we had met together, dearest brethren, we read your
 letters, which, according to the integrity of your faith and
 your fear of God, ye sent to us by Felix and Sabinus our
 fellow-Bishops, intimating that Basilides and Martialis, as
 being defiled with idolatrous certificates, and bound by the
 guilt of dreadful crimes, ought not to retain the Episcopate
 and administer the functions of priests of God: and ye desired
 us to write an answer to you on this subject, and to relieve
 your just and necessary solicitude by giving you our opinion,

whether for comfort or for aid. To this your desire, however, not so much our counsels, as the Divine precepts, give an answer, in which it is long since ordered by a heavenly voice and is prescribed by the law of God, who and what sort of persons ought to serve at the Altar, and to celebrate Divine Sacrifices. For in Exodus God speaks to Moses, and warns, saying, *Let the priests, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord forsake them.* ^{Exod. 19, 22.} And again: *And when they come near to the altar of the Holy One to minister, they shall not bring sin upon them, lest they die.* ^{Exod. 28, 43.} In Leviticus also the Lord enjoins, and says, *Whosoever hath any spot or blemish upon him, let him not approach to offer gifts to God.* ^{Levit. 21, 17.} Since these things have been declared and manifested to us, our ready obedience must needs be subject to the Divine precepts, nor in matters of this kind must human indulgence accept any man's person, or make concession to any, where the Divine authority interposes and lays down a law. For neither ought we to be unmindful of what the Lord spoke to the Jews by the Prophet Isaiah, rebuking and displeased with them, for disregarding the Divine precepts, and following doctrines of men: *This people, he saith, with their lips do honour Me, but their heart is removed far from Me: but in vain do they worship Me, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men.* ^{Isaiah 29, 13.} Thus also the Lord repeats in His Gospel, and says, *Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.* ^{Mark 7, 9.}

2. Keeping these things before our eyes, and anxiously and religiously considering them, we ought in the ordinations of Bishops to choose none but unblemished and upright priests, who holily and worthily offering Sacrifices to God, may be heard in the prayers which they make for the safety of the Lord's people*: since it is written, *God heareth not a* ^{John 9, 31.}

* The full intercessorial Eucharistic prayer, of which our Prayer for the Church militant is a part. It always began with the prayer for the safety and peace and well-being of the whole Church. (see Bingham, 15. 3. 1, and 12.) The Roman form uses the very word *incolumitas* "who offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety."

(Ass. Cod. Lit. iv. p. 156.) The Lit. of St. James, "and for the peace and well-being of the whole world, and of the holy Churches of God." (ib. v. 47.) The Lit. of St. Mark, "Remember, Lord, the holy City of Christ our God—and those who in the orthodox faith of Christ dwell therein, their peace and safety." (ib. vii. 28.) St. C. implies two things, 1) that the intercessions of a wicked man, being a priest, would not be heard: 2) that

EPIST. LXVII. *sinner; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth*
 A. 254. *His will, him He heareth.* Wherefore with the most careful diligence and impartial examination, must such be chosen to the priesthood as we know will be heard by God.

3. Nor let the people flatter themselves as if they can be free from the contagion of the offence, when communicating with a priest who is a sinner, and lending their consent to the unrighteous and unlawful Episcopate of their Prelate, since the Divine censure threatens by the Prophet Hosea, and says, *Their sacrifices shall be as the bread of mourning; all that eat thereof shall be polluted:* plainly teaching and shewing that all are altogether bound by sin, who have been polluted by the Sacrifices of a profane and unrighteous priest. This also we find manifested in Numbers, where Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, in opposition to Aaron the priest, claimed to themselves the privilege of sacrificing. There also the Lord commanded by Moses, that the people should be separated from them, lest, joined with the wicked, it also should be swept away by the same wickedness: *Depart,* he says, *from the tents of these hardened men, and touch nothing of theirs', lest ye perish together in their sins.* Wherefore a people which obeyeth the precepts of the Lord and feareth God, ought to separate itself from a Prelate^f who is a

Hos. 9,
4.

Numb.
16, 26.

the people, if they connived at his guilt, partook of it. Of the validity of the office St. C. says nothing. One sees not then why Bal. should have brought together instances of heretics who denied the validity of the H. Eucharist, if consecrated by a bad man. In the Præp. ad Missam there is a prayer, (ascribed to S. Ambrose,) "Since thou hast willed that I, a sinner, should stand between Thee and Thy people, although Thou seest no good in me, yet refuse not the office of the dispensation entrusted to me, nor through me unworthy let the price of their redemption be lost, for whom Thou didst deign to be the Atoning Sacrifice and their Redemption. For I bring before Thee, O Lord, (if Thou wilt graciously deign to behold) the tribulations of the people, the perils of the nations," &c.

^f Thus, S. Flavian and Diodorus are greatly praised for withstanding, as laymen, the Arian Bishop Leontius; on his ordination of Aetius, they threatened to withdraw from communion with him,

and so obtained the suspension of Aetius. (Theod. ii. 19.) S. Jerome and the monks of Palestine, under the direction of S. Epiphanius, renounced the communion of John of Jerusalem, so long as he would not clear himself from holding the errors of Origen. S. Epiph. had written "that without satisfaction as to his faith no one should venture to communicate with him." (S. Jer. adv. Joann. Jerus. v. fin. §. 40.) S. Jerome asks him, "Hath it any where been said to thee, or commanded thee, that without satisfaction as to the faith, we are to submit to your communion?" (ib. §. 43.) It is related in Platina and the Vit. et res gestæ Rom. Pont. t. i. p. 337 that many or most of the Clergy of Rome withdrew from the communion of Pope Anastasius ii. because, without advice had, he had communicated with Photinus, a Deacon of the communion of Acacius, and wished secretly to recal Acacius. Bellarmine treats both as calumnies, although on à priori grounds; still the history itself

sinner, nor mingle itself up with the Sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; especially since it has itself the power either of choosing worthy priests or rejecting the unworthy.

4. This too we see to be derived from Divine authority, that a priest should be chosen in presence of the people, in sight of all, and be approved worthy and fit by public sentence and testimony; as in Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, saying, *Take Aaron thy brother and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto the mount, before all the congregation: and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son, and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.* God commands a priest to be appointed before all the congregation, that is, He instructs and shews us that the ordinations of priests ought only to be solemnized with the knowledge of the people standing by, that so by their presence either the crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the merits of the good proclaimed, and so the ordination be right and lawful, as having been examined with the suffrage and judgment of all. This is afterwards observed in the Acts of the Apostles, in accordance with the Divine pattern, when Peter speaks to the people of ordaining an Apostle in the room of Judas: *Peter, it saith, stood up in the midst of the disciples, but the whole number of them was about a hundred and twenty.* And we find that the Apostles observed this not only in the ordination of Bishops and Priests, but also in that of Deacons, concerning which too it is written in their Acts, *Then the twelve called the whole multitude of the disciples, and said unto them.* This surely was therefore done so diligently and carefully, the whole people being called together, that no unworthy person might creep

would exhibit the principle. S. Gregory (Moral xxv. c. xvi. ed. Ben. al. xxi.) says, "If the faith be not perilled, it is the good and virtuous part to bear anything in a superior. Yet humble suggestions should be made, if perchance what is displeasing may be amended." When the faith then was perilled, inferiors were (which otherwise they were not) to judge. S. Chrysostom, on the other hand, extols the advice of S. Eustathius to the sounder part of the Church of Antioch, not to separate, when he himself was banished; "calling all, he bade them not to give place,

nor yield to the wolves, nor to betray the flock to them, but to remain within, silencing and convicting them, secluding the simpler sort of the brethren. And that he counselled well, the event shewed. For unless ye had then abode in the Church, the greater part of the city had been destroyed, the wolves devouring the sheep in the wilderness." (Hom. in S. Eustath. §. 4. t. ii. p. 608. Ben.) The protest against heresy in high places was in each case maintained, so as to free (as St. C. says) their own souls from partaking in it.

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A. 254. into the ministry of the Altar, or to the priestly office. For that unworthy persons are sometimes ordained not after the will of God, but after human presumption, and that such things, as not coming of a lawful and right ordination, are displeasing to God, God Himself declares by the Prophet Hos. 8, Hosea, saying, *They have set up for themselves a king, but not by Me.*

5. Wherefore the practice received from Divine tradition and Apostolic observance must be diligently upheld and kept, which is also kept by us and by almost all the provinces^g, namely, that to the due solemnization of ordinations, all the neighbouring Bishops of the same province should meet together among the people for whom a Prelate is ordained, and the Bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, who know most fully the lives of each, and are thoroughly acquainted with the character of every one from his conversation. This too we see was done among you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, so that by the suffrages of the whole brotherhood and by the judgment of the Bishops who had met together in their presence, and who had written to you concerning him, the Episcopate was conferred upon him, and hands were laid on him in the room of Basilides. Nor can it rescind an ordination rightly performed, that Basilides, after his crimes had been detected, and his conscience laid bare even by his own confession, canvassing to be unjustly restored to the Episcopate from which he had been justly deposed, went to Rome and deceived Stephen our colleague, residing at a distance and ignorant of what had been done and of the real truth. The effect of this is not to efface but to swell the crimes of Basilides, in that to his former sins is moreover added the guilt of deceit and circumvention. For he is not so much to be blamed, who through negligence was imposed upon, as he to be execrated who through fraud imposed upon him. But if Basilides could impose on man, on God he cannot, for it Gal. 6, is written, *God is not mocked.* Neither can deceit avail

7.

^g "When he (Alex. Severus, A. 222—35.) purposed to assign any as rulers of the provinces—he proposed their names—and said that it was a grievous thing, that when Christians

and Jews so did, publishing the names of priests who were to be ordained &c." Lamprid. in vit. ej. c. 45. see Bingham 4. 2. 4 sqq. and 17. 5. 3.

Martialis, that he who is also involved in heinous sins, should not forfeit his bishopric; for that the Apostle admonishes and says, *A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God.* Tit. 1,

6. Wherefore since (as ye, dearest brethren, have written,⁷ as also Felix and Sabinus our colleagues assert, and as another Felix of Cæsaraugusta^h, devout in faith and a defender of the truth, intimates in his letter) Basilides and Martialis have been defiled with the profane certificate of idolatry: and Basilides, moreover, besides the blot of the certificate, did, when lying sick, blaspheme against God, and hath confessed that he blasphemed, and, from his own wounded conscience, voluntarily laying down his bishopric, betook himself to do penance, deprecating the wrath of God, and accounting himself most happy, if he might be allowed to communicate even as a laymanⁱ; Martialis also, besides long frequenting in their College the foul and filthy feasts of Gentiles, and depositing his sons, after the manners of the nations who are without the Church, in the same College amid profane sepulchres, and burying them with strangers, has moreover acknowledged in public Acts, taken before a Ducenarian procurator^k, that he had served idolatrous worship, and had denied Christ: and since there are many other and heinous sins, in which Basilides and Martialis are held implicated; in vain do such attempt to usurp the Episcopate, it being evident that men of that mind can neither preside over the Church of Christ, nor ought to offer Sacrifices to God: especially since our colleague Cornelius, a peaceable and righteous priest, and by the favour of the Lord honoured also with martyrdom, long since decreed in conjunction with us and with all the Bishops constituted throughout the whole world, that such men might indeed be admitted to do penance, but must be kept back from the Orders of the clergy and the honour of the Priesthood.

^h Saragossa, probably its Bishop.

ⁱ See ab. Ep. 55. §. 8. p. 123. and Ep. 72. §. 2.

^k A collector of taxes, so called from the amount of his salary; this office was the highest of the sort. They took on themselves to imprison and torture for the exaction of debts. They turned this power against the Christians. Eulogius [ap. Phot. cod. 182.] quotes a

treatise of Novatian [the spurious *ἁλυσὶς Ναυάτρου*], “that during the reign of Decius and Valerian, Perennius, a Ducenarian, having received a command from them, essayed, by tortures the most grievous, and heavy punishments, to compel all the Christians in Rome and the neighbouring Eparchies to commit idolatry.” [Rig.]

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7. Nor let it trouble you, dearest brethren, if with some in these last times, an unstedfast faith waver, or an unreligious fear of God vacillate, or peaceable concord endureth not. It has been foretold that these things should happen at the end of the world, and it was declared beforehand by the voice of the Lord, and by the testimony of the Apostles, that as the world is now failing and Antichrist approaching, every thing good shall fail, things evil and adverse shall increase.

See
Luke
18, 8.
2 Tim.
3, 1.

8. However, although in the last times, Evangelic vigour has not so failed in the Church of God, nor the strength of Christian courage and faith so languished, that there should not survive some among the priests who have no way sunk under these ruins and this shipwreck of faith, but, bold and stedfast, with full observance of fear, they uphold the honour of the Divine Majesty and the priestly dignity. We remember and observe well, that, although the rest sank down and

1 Mace.
2, 19.
1 Kings
19, 10.
Dan. 6,
20.

gave way, Mattathias boldly vindicated the law of God: that Elias, when the Jews fell off and departed from the faith of God, stood, and strove loftily: that Daniel, deterred neither by the loneliness of a strange country nor by the harassing of continual persecution, frequently and boldly gave a glorious mar-

Dan. 3,
12.

tyr-witness: that the three youths likewise, daunted neither by furnace nor by threats, faithfully withstood the Babylonian fires, and in their very captivity vanquished the victor king. Let the host whether of prevaricators or traitors look to it, who have now begun to rise up within the Church against the Church, and to weaken alike faith and truth. There yet remaineth with very many, a mind untainted and a faith entire and a soul devoted only to their Lord and God, nor does the faithlessness of others sink in ruins the Christian faith, but rather arouses and exalts it to glory, according to

Rom. 3,
3. 4.

the exhortation of the blessed Apostle Paul, who says, *For what if some of them have fallen from the faith? hath their unbelief made the faith of God of none effect? God forbid. For God is true, but every man a liar.* But if every man is a liar, and God only true, what else ought the servants and especially we priests of God to do, but abandon human errors and falsehoods, and keeping the precepts of the Lord, abide in the truth of God?

9. Wherefore although amongst our Colleagues some are found, dearest brethren, who think that the Deific discipline is to be neglected, and who rashly communicate with Basilides and Martialis, this ought not to disturb our faith, since the Holy Spirit threatens such in the Psalms, saying, *But thou hatest instruction, and castest My words behind thee: when thou sawest a thief thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.* He shews that they become sharers and partakers of other men's sins, who are united with the sinners. Moreover, Paul the Apostle writes the same, and says, *Whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, injurious, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, who knowing the judgment of God, did not consider, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not they only which commit them, but they also which have pleasure in them that do them.* That¹, he saith, *they which commit such things are worthy of death*, he makes manifest, and proves that they are worthy of death, and will come to punishment, not only who do evil things, but those also who *consent with those that do them*: who, while they are mingled in unlawful communion with the evil and sinners and such as do not penance, are polluted with the commerce of the guilty, and being joined in the guilt, are not separate in punishment. Wherefore, dearest brethren, we alike commend and approve the religious anxiety of your integrity and faith, and, as far as we are able, exhort you by our Epistles, not to mingle in unholy communion with profane and polluted Priests, but with religious awe uphold the firmness of your faith stedfast and sincere.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

LETTER LXVIII.^m

Cyprian to his brother Stephen, greeting.

Faustinus our colleague, stationed at Lyons, has more than once written to me, dearest brother, informing me of things,

¹ St. C. apparently repeats these words emphatically, insisting on the heavy judgment upon the sin. Bp. F. joins them to the following sentence; "since he says that they," &c. but St. C. is warning against being accomplices in sin, and it is not therefore likely that if he had been proving what he said,

he would have premised that part only, which does not contain the proof. Then also "quoniam" would be to be detached from the text of which it is a part. The Ben. simply join the words with the preceding; but there is no trace of any such addition to the text.

^m This Ep. is found in 6 old Mss. and

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which I well know have been already reported to you as well by him, as by the rest our fellow-bishops settled in the same province", namely, that Marcianus, who is stationed at Arles, has joined himself to Novatian, and has departed from the unity of the Catholic Church, and from the concord of our body and priesthood, holding that most harsh depravation of heretical presumption, that to the servants of God who repent and mourn and knock at the Church with tears and groaning and mourning, the solace and aid of Divine mercy and Fatherly lenity are closed, that the wounded are not admitted for the healing of their wounds, but, left without hope of peace and communion, are to be cast to the ravening of wolves and a prey to the devil. Wherein it is ours, dearest brother, to advise and come in aid who, considering the Divine clemency, and holding the balances in the government of the Church, do so exercise towards sinners a vigorous authority, as yet not to deny the medicine of the Divine goodness and mercy in raising the falling and curing the wounded.

2. Wherefore it behoves you to write a very full letter^o to our fellow-bishops established in Gaul, that they no longer suffer the froward and proud Marcianus, an enemy both to the mercy of God and the salvation of the brethren, to insult over our college, because he seemeth as yet not to be excommunicated by us, who this long while boasts and publishes, that, siding with Novatian and following his frowardness, he has separated himself from our communion; whereas Novatian himself, whom he follows, has been long ago excommunicated and adjudged an enemy to the Church; and when he sent legates to us into Africa, desiring to be admitted to our communion, he received in answer our sentence from a council of very many of us, priests here present; that he had by his own act put himself without, and that by none of us could he be received to communion, who had attempted to erect a profane altar, and to set up an adulterous chair, and to offer

is ascertained to have existed in 4 others, (of which one [Ver.] was the very oldest,) and in the *Editio princeps*. [P.] Its style is throughout S. Cyprian's, so that the question as to its genuineness, raised by Launoy, was a mere theory.

ⁿ Lyons and Vienne were then both included in the Province Narbonensis. *Amm. Marc.* l. 15. *Dio Cass.* l. 46. [P.]

^o Not such as touch but slightly on the subject, and are called "briefs," but treating fully of the whole state of the question as to the lapsed. So in the law of Theodosius and Honorius de *naviculariis per Africam*, are contrasted "per libellum aditio" and "plenaria interpellatio." [F.]

sacrilegious sacrifices in opposition to the true priest, to Cornelius, ordained a Bishop in the Catholic Church by the judgment of God and the suffrages of the Clergy and people. Accordingly, if he would come to himself and return to a sound mind, he should do penance, and return as a suppliant to the Church. How idle were it, dearest brother, when Novatian has been lately repulsed and cast back and excommunicated by the priests of God throughout the world, were we now to suffer his flatterers still to mock us, and to judge respecting the majesty and dignity of the Church. Let letters be addressed from thee to the Province and to the people dwelling at Arles, whereby Marcianus being excommunicated^p, another may be substituted in his room, and the

^p Marcianus had already cast himself out of the Church, and condemned himself, by joining a schismatic and heretical body condemned by the Church; the whole Episcopate of the Province had already declared against him; there remained only, formally to depose him from that see, which he retained in defiance of the whole Episcopate. It was but the final act, the execution of a decree originating with S. Cyprian, and received by the whole Church. This, Pope Gelasius lays down to be competent to any Bishop. "This not only the Apostolic, but any Bishop may do, sever from Catholic communion any persons or place whatsoever, according to the rule whereby his heresy is already condemned," (Ep. 4 quoted by Barrow, treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, Supp. 6. §. vii. p. 392. where instance are given.) It has been also further observed, how, throughout the letter, S. Cyprian speaks of the interference as a common duty and a common act; "it is our's, dearest brother, to advise and come in aid, who, holding the balances in the government of the Church;" &c. (§. 1.) "to insult over our College because he seemeth not as yet excommunicated by us;" (§. 2.) "therefore is the body of Bishops so large—that if any &c. the rest may come in aid;" (§. 3.) "this ought to be the case with us, dearest brother, that we should reeve to us, &c." (ib.) "since God so threateneth—what else must we do?" (§. 4.) "although we be many shepherds, we feed one flock." (ib.) Faustinus also, in the name of the other Bishops, had applied to S. Cyprian, more than once, equally with S. Stephen. The course,

then, seems to have been this; Marcianus, by joining a schismatical body, had brought himself under the condemnation of the Church; he was ipso facto excommunicate; the neighbouring Bishops, not strong enough to depose him, (the Bp. of Arles being the Metropolitan,) apply to the two chief Bishops of the Western Church, S. Stephen and S. Cyprian, to reinforce their authority; S. Cyprian (whom one must suppose to have written in answer to Faustinus) applies to S. Stephen, as occupying the first see, to enforce what was the sentence of the Church; the ultimate act was with the Bishops of the Province, who with the people at Arles were to elect another Bishop. The very strongest words "quibus abstento Marciano" are used equally by St. C. of the common act of the Bishops, *ne dum videatur abstentus a nobis.*" This is observed by Rigaltius. "In this case of Marcianus, Bishop of Arles, if the right of excommunication did belong solely to the Bishop of Rome, wherefore did Faustinus, Bishop of Lyons, advertise Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who was so far distant, concerning those very things touching Marcianus, which both Faustinus himself, and other Bishops of the same province, had before sent word of to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who lived nearest, being moreover of all Bishops the chief? It must either be said, that this was done because of Stephen's negligence; or, what is more probable, according to the discipline then used in the Church, that all Bishops of neighbouring places, but especially those presiding over the most eminent cities, should join their counsels for the welfare

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flock of Christ, which to this day is overlooked, scattered by him and wounded, be again collected together. Suffice it that many of our brethren in those parts have in these last years departed without peace; at all events, let the rest who survive be holpen, who both groan day and night, and entreating the mercy of our God and Father, implore the solace of our help.

3. For therefore, dearest brother, is the body of Bishops so large, united together by the glue of mutual concord and the bond of unity, that if any of our college should attempt to introduce heresy, and to rend and lay waste the flock of Christ, the rest may come in aid and, as good and merciful shepherds, gather the Lord's sheep into the fold. For what if any port on the sea shall, by breaches in its defences be laid open to storms and hazardous for ships, do not sailors direct their ships to other neighbouring ports, where is a safe approach and easy entrance and a secure station? if on a road any inn is found to be beset and occupied by robbers, so that whoever enters is a prey to the attacks of those who there lay wait; do not travellers, when this its character is known, seek other safer inns in their journey, where are trustworthy hostelries and lodgings, which betray not the wayfarer? This ought now to be so with us, dearest brother, that we should receive to us with prompt and kind humanity such of our brethren as, tossed amid the rocks of Marcianus, seek the safe harbour of the Church, and that we provide such an inn for travellers, as is that in the Gospel, where they who have been maimed and wounded by robbers may be taken in and cherished and protected by the host.

Luke
10, 34.

4. For what greater or better office have Bishops, than by diligent solicitude and wholesome remedies to provide for cherishing and preserving the sheep? since the Lord speaks and says, *The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up*

Ezek.
34, 4, 6.
10, 16.

of the Church, and see that Catholic Christianity receive no damage. Hence it was, that on the offence of Marcianus of Arles, the Bishop of Lyons writ letters to the Bishops of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the Bishop of Carthage, as being most remote, did write to the Bishop of Rome, as being his brother and colleague, who by rea-

son of his propinquity might more easily know and judge of the whole matter." Rigaltius too, however, seems anxious to understate the eminence, conceded to Rome. A deference does seem to be paid to him, not on account of his nearness only; he exercises an eminent authority, although only as the executive of the rules of the Universal Church.

that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; and My sheep were scattered because there is no shepherd, and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, and none did search or seek after them. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require My flock at their hand, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock; neither shall they feed them any more, and I will deliver My flock from their mouth, and I will feed them with judgment. Since then the Lord thus threateneth those shepherds by whom the Lord's sheep are neglected and perish, what else doth it behove us to do, dearest brother, than to manifest all diligence in gathering together and restoring the sheep of Christ, and to apply the medicine of fatherly mercy in curing the wounds of the lapsed, since the Lord also in the Gospel warneth us, and saith, *They that* ^{Mat. 9,} *be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.* For ^{12.} although we are many shepherds, yet we feed one flock, and ought to gather together and cherish all the sheep which Christ has sought by His own Blood and Passion; nor should we suffer our suppliant and grieving brethren to be cruelly despised, and trodden down by certain persons' proud presumption; since it is written, *The man that is proud and* ^{Habak.} *boastful, who hath enlarged his desire as hell, shall bring* ^{2, 5.} *nothing to perfection:* and such men the Lord in His Gospel blames and condemns, saying, *Ye are they which* ^{Luke} *justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts,* ^{16 15.} *for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.* Abominable and detestable, He saith, are they who please themselves, who puffed up and swelling arrogantly assume any thing to themselves. Since then Marcianus has begun to be of these, and, joining himself to Novatian, has become an enemy to mercy and pity, let him not pronounce but receive sentence, nor act as though judge of the College of Bishops, for that himself has by all the Bishops been judged.

5. For the glorious honour of our predecessors, the blessed martyrs Cornelius and Lucius, must be upheld; whose memory since we honour, much more ought you, dearest brother, to honour and uphold it, by your weight and authority,

EPIST. LXIX. who have been set in their stead and as their successor. For
 A. 254. they, full of the Spirit of God and in the midst of a glorious martyrdom, pronounced that peace should be granted to the lapsed, and by their letters sealed it, that, penance done, the fruits of communion and peace are not to be denied; which same thing we all every where every way pronounced. For there could not be a diverse sense among us in whom is One Spirit^g; and therefore it is plain that he does not hold the truth of the Holy Spirit with the rest, who, we see, thinks diversely. Signify plainly to us^r, who has been substituted at Arles in the room of Marcianus, that we may know to whom we should direct our brethren, and to whom write.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXIX.

Cyprian to his son Magnus, greeting.

1. In accordance with your religious diligence you have consulted my poor ability, my dearest son, and have asked, whether, among other heretics, they too, who come from Novatian, ought, after his profane washing, to be baptized and sanctified in the Catholic Church by the legitimate, true, and only Baptism^s of the Church. Concerning which matter, as far as the capacity of my faith, and the sanctity and truth of the holy Scriptures suggests, I answer, that no heretics and schismatics whatsoever have any power or authority. Wherefore Novatian neither ought nor can he be excepted, that he also, being without the Church and acting against the peace and love of Christ, be not reckoned among adversaries and antichrists. For neither did our Lord Jesus Christ, when He testified in His Gospel that *they* were His adversaries *who were not with Him*, designate any species of heresy, but shewed that all whatsoever, who *were not with Him*, and who, *gathering not with Him*, *scattered His flock*, were His

^g Holy Scripture, and the Church guided by the Holy Spirit, having clearly pronounced. Else, as Bal. observes, they shortly after did differ on heretical Baptism, wherein however the Church had not decided.

^r Through the *literæ communicatoræ*,

as S. Cyprian had arranged with Cornelius, Ep. 59. §. 11.

^s On the question of heretical Baptism in this and the following Epistles, see Note G on Tertullian, p. 280—297. Oxf. Tr.

adversaries, saying, *He that is not with Me is against Me*, ^{Luke 11, 23.} *and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth.* So neither did the blessed Apostle John distinguish any one heresy or schism, or set down that any were specially separated, but all who had gone out of the Church and who acted against the Church, he called antichrists, saying, *Ye have heard that* ^{1 John 2, 18.} *Antichrist shall come, and now are come many antichrists.* ^{19.} *Wherefore we know that it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us.* Whence it appears that all are adversaries of the Lord and antichrists, who are found to have departed from the charity and unity of the Catholic Church. Moreover the Lord in His Gospel lays it down, and says, *but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto* ^{Matt. 18, 17.} *thee as an heathen man and a publican.* But if they who despise the Church are accounted heathens and publicans, much more, surely, must rebels and enemies, who invent false altars and unlawful priesthoods and sacrilegious sacrifices and spurious names¹, needs be reckoned among heathens and publicans, since they who sin less and but neglect the Church, are by the sentence of the Lord adjudged to be heathens and publicans.

2. But that the Church is one², the Holy Ghost declares in the Song of Solomon, saying in the Person of Christ, *My* ^{Song of Solomon 6. 9. 15.} *dove, My undefiled is one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her.* Of whom also He saith in another place, *A garden inclosed is My sister,* ^{Song of Solomon 4, 12.} *My spouse: a spring sealed up, a well of living water*³. But if the spouse of Christ, which is the Church, *is a garden inclosed*, a thing closed cannot lie open to aliens and the profane. And if it *is a spring sealed up*; we can neither drink thence nor be sealed⁴, who, being placed without, has not access to the *spring*. The *well too of living water*, if it is one and also within, whoso is placed without cannot be enlivened and sanctified⁵ with that water, which they only who are within are permitted to use and to drink. This also

¹ καθαρῶν, "The pure," see S. Epiph. Hær. 59. S. Aug. Hær. 18. [Pam.]

² Comp. de Unit. Eccl. §. 3. p. 134. Oxf. Tr.

³ So quoted again Ep. 74. 13. Aug. de Gen. ad litt. ii. 21. de Bapt. c. Don.

v. 27. c. Cresc. ii. 14. [Bal.]

⁴ With the seal of Baptism, see ab. Ep. 58. §. 10. p. 149. n. t.

⁵ Quoted S. Aug. de Bapt. c. Donat. vii. 50.

EPIST. LXXIX. Peter, shewing that the Church is one, and that they only
 A. 254. who are in the Church can be baptized, laid down, saying,
 1 Pet. *In the ark of Noah few, that is, eight souls, were saved by*
 3, 20. *water, the like figure whereunto even Baptism shall save*
 21. *you*^a; proving and testifying that the one ark of Noah was
 a type of the one Church. If then in that Baptism of the
 cleansed and purified world^b he could be *saved by water* who
 was not *in the ark of Noah*; now also he may be enlivened by
 Baptism, who is not in the Church, to which alone Baptism
 has been granted. Moreover the Apostle Paul, declaring
 this same thing more expressly and clearly, writes to the
 Eph. 5, Ephesians, and says, *Christ loved the Church, and gave*
 25. 26. *Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with*
the washing of water. But if the Church which is loved by
 Christ is one, and which alone is cleansed by His washing,
 how can he that is not in the Church either be loved by
 Christ, or be washed and cleansed by His washing?

3. Wherefore since the Church alone hath the life-giving
 water and the power of baptizing and cleansing men, whoso
 says that any one can be baptized and sanctified by Novatian,
 must first shew and prove that Novatian is in the Church or
 presides over the Church. For the Church is one, and, being
 one, cannot be both within and without. For if it is with Nova-
 tian, it was not with Cornelius. But if it was with Cornelius,
 who, by a legitimate ordination succeeded the Bishop Fabianus,
 and whom, beside the honour of his priesthood, the Lord
 glorified also by martyrdom, Novatian is not in the Church;
 nor can he be accounted a Bishop, who, despising the
 Evangelic and Apostolic tradition, succeeding to nobody,
 has sprung from himself. For he can by no means have or
 hold to a Church, who has not been ordained in the Church.
 For that the Church is not without, nor can be separated or
 divided against itself, but retaineth the unity of an inseparable
 and undivided house, the truth of Holy Scripture declares, for
 that it is written of the sacrament of the passover and the
 lamb, which lamb designated Christ, *In one house shall it*
 Exod. *be eaten, ye shall not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad*
 12. 46. *out of the house.* Which also we see expressed respecting
 Rahab, who also bore an image of the Church; to whom it is

^a ὁμοῦς A. and other Mss. Syr. Arm.
 Vulg. Lat. [Scholz.]

^b See bel. Ep. 74. §. 13. and Tract
 67. on H. Baptism, p. 302. and n. 2.

commanded and said, *Thou shalt bring thy father and thy mother and thy brethren, and all thy father's household unto thee into thy house, and whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house into the street, his blood shall be upon him.* In which mystery is declared, that they who would live and escape from the ruin of the world, must be gathered into one only house, that is, into the Church. But whosoever of those so gathered shall go out of the house, that is, if any one, although having obtained grace in the Church, shall depart and go out from the Church, *his blood shall be upon him*, that is, to himself must he impute it that he perishes.

4. This the Apostle Paul explains, teaching and charging that *a heretic should be avoided, as perverse and a sinner and condemned of himself.* For he will be guilty of his own destruction, who not being cast out by the Bishop, is of his own accord a renegade from the Church, through heretical presumption *condemned of himself.* And therefore the Lord, intimating to us that unity cometh of Divine authority, declareth and saith, *I and My Father are One.* To which unity bringing His Church He further saith, *There shall be one fold and One Shepherd.* But if there is one flock, how can he be numbered as of the flock, who is not in the number of the flock? or how be accounted a shepherd, who, the true shepherd remaining and by successive ordination presiding in the Church of God, himself, succeeding to no one, and beginning from himself, becomes an alien and profane, an enemy to the Lord's peace and to the Divine Unity; not dwelling in the house of God, that is, in the Church of God, in which they only dwell who are of one heart and *one mind*? for that the Holy Ghost speaks in the Psalms, and says, *He is the God that maketh men to be of one mind in an house.* Moreover, even the very Sacrifices of the Lord do shew Christian unanimity knit together by firm and inseparable charity. For when the Lord calls bread, which is made up of the union of many grains, His

Josh. 2,
18. 19.

Tit. 3,
10. 1.

To John
10, 30.
John
10, 16.

Ps. 68,
6.

• S. Augustine comments on this de Bapt. c. Don. vii. 50. and argues from the same text, that neither were they real members of the Church, be they where they might, who were not of one heart and mind, but "envious, malevolent, and without love, contentious, and yet they baptized, and that their detest-

able perverseness diminished not any way nor injured the Sacrament of Christ, which was dispensed through them. Whence also it is that the Sacrament of Christ can be in them, and can be given by them, who are not in the Church of Christ."

EPIST. Body, He indicates our people whom He bore, united together: and when He calls wine which is pressed from many bunches and clusters and drawn into one, His Blood, He likewise signifies our flock joined together by the mingling of an united multitude. If Novatian is united to this Bread of the Lord, if he too is mingled in this Cup of Christ, he may also seem capable of having the grace of the one Baptism of the Church, if it be proved that he holds the unity of the Church.

5. Moreover, how inseparable the sacrament of unity is, and how without hope they are, and what exceeding perdition they purchase to themselves from the wrath of God, who make a schism, and, abandoning their Bishop, set up for themselves another false Bishop without, Holy Scripture declares in the Books of Kings, where ten tribes were severed from the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and, abandoning their king, set up another for themselves without, *The Lord*, it saith, *was very angry with all the seed of Israel, and removed them away, and delivered them into the hand of spoilers, until He had cast them out of His sight; for Israel was rent from the house of David, and they made themselves a king, Jeroboam the son of Nebat.* It is said, that *the Lord was very angry*, and gave them up to perdition, because they were separated from unity, and had set up for themselves another king. And so great was the anger of the Lord against those who had caused the schism, that even when the man of God was sent to Jeroboam to reproach him for his sins, and to foretel the vengeance that would follow, he was forbidden *to eat bread or drink water* with them; which when he did not observe, and against the command of God took food, he was immediately stricken by the majesty of the Divine judgment, so that returning thence he was slain in the way by jaws of a lion, who came against him. And does any one dare to say that the saving water of Baptism and heavenly grace can be in common with schismatics, with whom neither earthly food nor this world's drink ought to be in common? Further, the Lord satisfieth us in His Gospel, and spreads abroad a clearer light of knowledge, that those same who had then severed themselves from the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and, having left Jerusalem, had withdrawn to

2 Kings
17, 18.
20. 21.

1 Kings
13, 9.

Samaria, should be reckoned amongst profane and heathen. For when He first sent His disciples on the ministry of salvation, He charged them and said, *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not:* sending first to the Jews, He directs that as yet the Gentiles be passed by. But by adding, that *any city of the Samaritans* should be passed over, schismatics being there, He shews that schismatics are to be ranked with *Gentiles*. Matt. 10, 5.

6. But if any here object and say, that Novatian holds the same rule that the Catholic Church holds, baptizes with the same Creed wherewith we also baptize, acknowledges the same God the Father, the same Son Christ, the same Holy Ghost, and therefore can claim the power of baptizing, because he seems not to differ from us in the baptismal interrogatory:—whoso thinks that this may be objected, let him know in the first place, that we and schismatics have not one rule of the Creed, nor the same interrogatories. For when they say, “Dost thou believe remission of sins and eternal life by the holy Church?” they lie in their interrogatory, since they have no Church. Then moreover they themselves confess with their own mouths that remission of sins can only be given by the holy Church; and, not having this, they shew that sins cannot be remitted with them.

7. Nor can it avail such persons, that they are said to acknowledge the same God the Father as we, the same Son Christ, the same Holy Ghost. For Corah, Dathan, and Abiram also had learnt to acknowledge the same God with Aaron the priest and Moses; living by the same law and religion, they called on the One true God, Who was to be worshipped and called upon. Yet because transgressing the ministry of their station in opposition to Aaron the priest, (who had received the legitimate priesthood by the vouchsafement and appointment of God,) they claimed to themselves the privilege of sacrificing, stricken of God, they forthwith paid the penalty of their unlawful attempt; nor could sacrifices offered irreligiously and unlawfully against the rule of the divine appointment be accepted or avail. The very censers too, wherein incense had been offered unlawfully, that they might not thereafter be used by the priests, but might rather, for the correction of those that came after,

EPIST. exhibit a memorial of the Divine indignation and vengeance,
 LXIX. being by the Lord's command melted and cleansed by fire,
 A. 255. were spread out into broad plates and fastened to the altar,
 Numb. according as holy Scripture says, *To be a memorial unto*
 16, 40. *the children of Israel, that no stranger, which is not of the*
seed of Aaron, come near to offer incense before the Lord,
that he be not as Corah. And yet those had made no schism,
 nor gone without, in shameless and hostile rebellion against
 the priests of God; which these now do, who, rending the
 Church, and rebels against the peace and unity of Christ, at-
 tempt to set up a chair for themselves, and to assume the
 primacy^d, and to claim the privilege of baptizing and offering.
 But how can they bring to effect what they do, or by unlaw-
 ful endeavours obtain any thing from God, who against God
 essay things unlawful to them? Wherefore they who espouse
 Novatian or other like schismatics, in vain contend that any can
 be there baptized and sanctified by saving Baptism, where it
 is plain that the baptizer has not the privilege of baptizing.

8. And that it may be better understood how God rebuketh
 boldness of this kind, we find that in an act so heinous not
 the leaders and authors only, but all partakers in it are doomed
 to punishment, unless they separate themselves from com-
 munion with the wicked, the Lord commanding by Moses,
 Numb. and saying, *Depart from the tents of these most hardened*
 16, 26. *men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in their*
sin. And what the Lord threatened by Moses He fulfilled:
 so that whosoever did not depart from Corah, Dathan, and
 Abiram, immediately suffered punishment for his impious
 communion with them. By which example it is shewn and
 proved, that all will be subject both to guilt and punishment,
 who, with irreligious temerity, mingle themselves with schis-
 matics against prelates and priests. As also the Holy Ghost
 Hos. 9, testifies by the prophet Hosea, saying, *Their sacrifices shall*
 4. *be unto them as the bread of mourning; all that eat thereof*
shall be polluted. Teaching plainly and shewing, that all
 are joined with their leaders in punishment, whosoever have
 been polluted by their sin.

9. What acceptableness then can they have with God, on
 whom punishment is by God denounced? or how can such

^d i. e. the Episcopate. Ruf. v. 28.

justify and sanctify the baptized, who, being enemies to the priesthood, endeavour to usurp things foreign to them and unlawful, and of no right allowed to them? We wonder not, indeed, that in accordance with their wickedness they do claim them. For all must needs justify what they do, nor will they, when convicted, readily submit, although knowing that what they do is not lawful? But that is a subject of wonder, yea rather of indignation and grief, that Christians abet Antichrists*, and that betrayers of the faith and traitors to the Church, within, in the very Church herself, stand against the Church.

And yet, though otherwise pertinacious and indocile, these do at least confess this, that all whether heretics or schismatics have not the Holy Ghost, and therefore they can indeed baptize, but cannot give the Holy Ghost; and through this very confession they are held convicted by us, in that we shew that neither can such at all baptize, as have not the Holy Ghost. For whereas in Baptism all have their sins forgiven, the Lord shews and declares in His Gospel, that sins can be remitted by those only who have the Holy Ghost. For after His Resurrection, when He sendeth forth His disciples, He speaks to them and says, *As My Father hath sent Me, even so* John 20, 21. *send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on* 22, 23. *them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto them; and whosoever ye retain, they shall be retained.* In which place He shews, that he only can baptize and give remission of sins, who has the Holy Ghost. Moreover, John, who was to baptize Christ Himself our Lord, received the Holy Ghost before, while he was yet in his mother's womb, that it might Luke 1, 15. be certain and manifest that none could baptize but they who have the Holy Ghost. Therefore let such as uphold heretics or schismatics answer us, whether *they have the Holy Ghost* or no? If they have it, why do those baptized by them, when they come over to us, receive imposition of hands for the receiving of the Holy Ghost, whereas He must surely have been already received there, where, if He was, He could be given?

* Plainly the heretics, as in §. I. Ep. 70. §. 5. St. C. so far from so entitling whom he speaks, being Christians, Pope Stephen, (as Rig. says,) says the abetted Antichrists.

EPIST.
LXIX.
A. 255.

But if heretics and schismatics, baptized without, have not the Holy Ghost, and hands are therefore laid on by us, that they may receive here what, there, is not, nor can be given, it is plain that neither can remission of sins be given by those, who it is certain have not the Holy Ghost. And therefore that, in accordance with the Divine appointment and evangelic truth, they may obtain remission of sins and be sanctified and become temples of God, all persons whatsoever are to be baptized with the Baptism of the Church, who from adversaries and antichrists come to the Church of Christ.

11. You have enquired also, dearest son, what I think of those who in sickness and debility obtain the grace of God, whether they are to be accounted legitimate Christians, in that they are sprinkled, not washed, with the saving water. Wherein diffidence and modesty forbid me to prejudge any that he think not as he deems right, and act as he thinks. I, as far as my poor ability conceiveth, account that the Divine blessings can in no respect be mutilated and weakened, nor any less gift be imparted, where what is drawn from the Divine bounty is accepted with the full and entire faith both of the giver^f and the receiver. For in the saving Sacrament the contagion of sin is not so washed away, as, in the ordinary washing of the flesh, is the filth of the skin and body, so that there should be need of saltpetre, and other appliances, and a bath and pool, in which the poor body may be washed and cleansed. Far otherwise is the breast of the believer washed, otherwise is the mind of man cleansed by the worthiness of faith. In the saving Sacraments, when need compels, and God vouchsafes His mercy, His compendious methods confer the whole benefit on believers.

12. Nor should it disturb any one that the sick seem only to be sprinkled or affused with water, when they attain the grace of the Lord, since holy Scripture speaks by the prophet Ezekiel, and says, *Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness; and from all your idols will I cleanse you; a new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you.* Likewise in Numbers: *The man that shall be unclean until the even,*

Ezek.
36, 25.
26.

^f As he had said before of heretics, could not impart Him. that, not having the Holy Spirit, they

shall be purified on the third day and on the seventh day, ^{Numb. 19, 7.}
and shall be clean. But if he shall not be purified on the ^{19, 20.}
third day and on the seventh day, he shall not be clean; and
that soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the water of
sprinkling hath not been sprinkled upon him. And again:
And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Take the Levites ^{Numb. 8, 5, 6.}
from among the children of Israel, and cleanse them: and ^{7.}
thus shalt thou do unto them to cleanse them; thou shalt
sprinkle water of purifying upon them. And again: The ^{Numb. 19, 9.}
water of sprinkling is a purification. Whence it is apparent
 that the sprinkling also of water has like force with the saving
 washing, and that when this is done in the Church, where
 the faith both of the giver and receiver is entire, all holds
 good and is consummated and perfected by the power of the
 Lord and the truth of faith.

13. But whereas some call those who have obtained the
 grace of Christ by saving water and legitimate faith, not
 Christians but Clinics, I find not whence they take this name;
 unless perchance some of larger and more recondite learning
 discover those *κλινικοί* in Hippocrates and Socrates*. For I,
 who have learnt of a "Clinic" out of the Gospel, know
 that the infirmity of that paralytic, who lay helpless in
 his bed through a long period of life, no ways hindered him
 from the fullest attainment of heavenly strength; nor was he
 through the mercy of the Lord only raised from his bed, but
 with repaired and renovated strength that his very bed he car-
 ried. And therefore, as far as it is given me by faith to con-
 ceive and judge, my judgment is this; that whosoever shall
 in the Church have obtained the Divine grace by the law
 and rule of faith, be deemed a legitimate Christian. Or if
 any think that they have obtained nothing, in that they have
 only been affused with saving water, but are still empty and
 void, they must not be deceived, and so, if they escape the ills
 of their sickness and recover, be they baptized. But if they
 cannot be baptized who have been already sanctified by the
 Baptism of the Church, why lay a stumbling-block as to their
 own faith or the mercy of the Lord?

14. Or have they obtained the Lord's grace, but with a

* of Ephesus, under Trajan and methodical medicine. Tert. de Anim.
 Adrian, a well-instructed author in §. 6. B.

EPIST. LXIX. A. 255. more stinted and smaller measure of the Divine gift and of the Holy Spirit, so as to be accounted indeed Christians, yet not held equal to the rest? Nay, but the Holy Spirit is *not given by measure*, but is poured entire on the believer. For if the day arises alike to all, and if the sun is diffused over all with the like and equal light, how much more does Christ, the true Sun and Day, bestow the light of eternal life in His Church with a like equality? Which equality we find, in hidden mystery¹, celebrated in Exodus, when the manna flowed down from heaven, and, prefiguring the things to come, shewed the nourishment of the heavenly Bread and the food of Christ coming^h. For there without distinction either of sex or age, an omer was gathered alike by all. Whence it appeared that the mercy of Christ and the heavenly grace, which should afterwards follow, would be distributed equally to all, that without difference of sex, without distinction of age, without respect of persons, the gift of spiritual grace would be poured on all the people of God. True it is, that the same spiritual grace, which is received in Baptism equally by all believers, is afterwards either diminished or increased by our own conversation and conduct; as in the Gospel the Lord's seed is sown equally, but, according to the variety of soil, some is wasted, some, with a rich luxuriance of produce, is multiplied in a varied abundance of thirty, sixty, or a hundred fold. But again when each were called to receive a penny, why should that which is distributed equally by God be minished by human interpretations?

1 sacra-
mento
Exod.
16, 18.

Matt.
13, 3-8.
Matt.
20, 2.

15. But if any is troubled with this, that some of those who are baptized in sickness, are still tried by unclean sprits, let him know that the pertinacious wickedness of the devil hath power up to the saving water, but that in Baptism he loses all the poison of his wickedness. An example whereof we see in king Pharaoh, who having long struggled and lingered on in his perfidy, could hold out and prevail until he came to the water, whither when he had come, he was both conquered and destroyed. But that that sea was a sacred² sign of Baptism, the blessed Apostle Paul declares, saying, *Brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed*

Exod.
14, 2.

2 sacra-
mentum

^h to the faithful communicant, or in the Flesh.

through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea. And he added, *Now all these things* ^{1 Cor.} *were ensamples of us.* Which same is done at this day ^{10, 1. 2.} *also, in that the devil is scourged and scorched* ^{ibid. v.} *and tormented* ^{6.} by the power of God, by the exorcists, through the voice of man; and whereas he often says, that he is going out and will leave the men of God, yet in what he saith he deceiveth, and what was before done by Pharaoh, he practises with the same lying obstinacy and treachery. When however they come to the saving water and to the sanctification of Baptism, we ought to know and be confident that the devil is there overcome, and the man dedicated to God is by the Divine mercy set free. For if scorpions and serpents which prevail on dry ground^k, when cast into water, can prevail no longer, nor retain their venom; so neither can wicked spirits, which are called *scorpions and serpents*, (and yet are trodden under ^{Luke} foot by us through the power given by the Lord,) ^{10, 19.} remain in the body of a man, in which, baptized and sanctified, the Holy Ghost begins to dwell. This, lastly, we do in very deed experience, that those who on pressure of necessity have been baptized in sickness, and have received grace, are freed from the unclean spirit whereby they were before moved, live in the Church in praise and honour, and daily advance more and more, through the increase of faith, to the full growth of heavenly grace. And contrariwise some frequently of those baptized in good health, if afterwards they begin to sin, are shaken by the return of the unclean spirit; so that it is plain, that the devil is in Baptism by faith of the believer expelled; if faith afterwards fails, he returns. Unless indeed it appear right to some, that they who without the Church,

ⁱ See de Idol. Van. §. 4. p. 17. and n. c. Oxf. Tr. and Tert. Apol. §. 23. and n. 6. p. 60. Oxf. Tr. As in H. Ser. the devils ask our Lord, "Art Thou come to torment us before the time," (S. Matt. 8, 29.) so it appears that through the invocation of His Name, they suffered from the everlasting fire. In all the Baptismal exorcisms of the Ancient Church "fire" is mentioned, Holy Baptism being "with the Holy Ghost and with fire." The fire which purified the baptized, tormented Satan, whose, before, he was. (Lit. of James of Sarug. Ass. Cod. Lit. ii. 326.) or Satan was

bid to "depart to his own hell," (Greek Lit. Ass. i. 132. and James of Sarug l. c.) or he is said to be "driven forth by spiritual scourges and invisible torments, tortured and destroyed by all saints, being assigned to the eternal fire;" (Goth. and old Gall. Lit. Ass. i. 30.) or, "God" (naming the Holy Trinity) "shall cast thee forth from every creature of His, and out into fire unquenchable." (Jacob Lit. Ass. i. p. 237.) see there also Tract 69. on Holy Baptism, Note M. at the end, p. 266. 7. ed. 1.

^k See Tert. de Bapt. c. 1. p. 255. Oxf. Tr.

Epist. among adversaries and Antichrists, are by profane water
 LXX.
 A. 255. polluted, be held to be baptized; but they who are baptized
 in the Church, be thought to have attained less of the Divine
 mercy and grace; and so great respect be paid to heretics,
 that such as come thence should not be asked whether they
 have been washed or affused, whether they be Clinics or
 Peripatetics^a; but with us Faith in her perfect truth is to be
 subjected to question, and the Baptism of the Church to be
 denied her proper majesty and sanctity.

16. I have answered your letter, dearest son, as far as my
 poor and small ability enabled me, and I have shewn, as far
 as in me lies, what I think, prescribing to no one, that each
 Prelate determine not as he thinks right, having to give
 account of his own conduct to the Lord, according as the
 blessed Apostle Paul writes in his Epistle to the Romans,
 saying, *Every one of us shall give account for himself; let*
 Rom. 14, 12. *us not therefore judge one another.*
 13.

I bid thee, dearest son, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXX.^b

*Cyprian, Liberalis, Caldonius, Junius, Primus, Cæcilius,
 Polycarp, Nicomedes, Felix, Marrutius, Successus, Lucia-
 nus, Honoratus, Fortunatus, Victor, Donatus, Lucius,
 Herculanus, Pomponius, Demetrins, Quintus, Saturninus,
 Januarius, Marcus, another Saturninus, another Donatus,
 Rogatianus, Sedatus, Tertullus, Hortensianus, likewise
 another Saturninus, Sattius, to their brethren Januarius,
 Saturninus, Maximus, Victor, another Victor, Cassius,
 Proculus, Modianus, and Cittinus, Gargilius, Euty-
 cianus, another Gargilius, another Saturninus, Neme-
 sianus, Nampulus, Antonianus, Rogatianus, Honoratus,
 greeting.*

1. When we were together in council, dearest brethren,
 we read the letter which you addressed to us respecting those

^a i. e. whether lying down or walking, said in mockery, and implying perhaps that, as heretics, theirs was a heathen philosophy. Rīg. quotes a like saying from Seneca of one carried while lee-
 turing.

^b This Epistle was recognised by the Concil. Quini-sex. in Trullo, as a Canon valid in those parts. "Moreover the Canon set forth by Cyprian, Abp. of the Africans and Martyr, and the Synod with him, which prevailed in the

who are thought to be baptized by heretics and schismatics, whether, when they come to the one true Catholic Church, they ought to be baptized. Wherein, although ye yourselves also hold the Catholic rule in its truth and fixedness, yet since, out of our mutual affection, ye have thought good to consult us, we deliver not our sentence as though new, but, by a kindred harmony, we unite with you in that long since settled by our predecessors, and observed by us; thinking, namely, and holding for certain, that no one can be baptized without the Church, in that there is one Baptism appointed in the holy Church, and it is written, the Lord Himself speaking, *They have forsaken Me, the Fountain of* Jerem. *living water, and hewed them out broken cisterns that* ^{2, 13.} *can hold no water.* Again, holy Scripture admonishes us, and says, *Keep^c thee from the strange water, and drink not from a fountain of strange water.* The water then must first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest^d, that it may be able, by Baptism therein, to wash away the sins of the baptized; for the Lord says by the prophet Ezekiel, *Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be* Ezek. *cleansed from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will* ^{36, 25.} ^{26.}

regions of the afore-mentioned Bishops, and alone, according to the practice delivered down to them." (Can. 2. Bev. Pand. Can. t. i. p. 158.) It is prefixed to the Conc. Carth. as a Canon in the Synodic. (ib. p. 365.) Bp. F. says that "all the African Councils under Cyprian were then confirmed;" but the expression, "and moreover those in Carthage," probably refers to the later Canons, chiefly against the Donatists, which occur in the Synodicon after those of the Council of Sardica, in which order they are mentioned in the Canon. On the difference between this and the Greek view of heretical Baptism, see Note G. on Tert. de Bapt. p. 289 sqq. Oxf. Tr. S. Aug. replies in great detail (de Bapt. e. Don. l. iii—vii.) to the arguments used by St. C. in this Ep., in Ep. 71—74. and the Council of Carthage, (see below). His answer is a varied application of the one principle, that if Baptism in the Church is valid although administered by evil men who are themselves not *of* the Church, though *in* it outwardly, and if to evil men within the Church, it becomes valid, on their

subsequent penitence, without being again renewed, so may it be when administered by heretics and to heretics, although its grace is suspended for the time, while they are in heresy, as to evil men, while in their sins. S. Aug. agrees then with S. Cypr., that heretical Baptism avails not to heretics while such, disagrees, in that he thinks it becomes valid, when the hindrance to its availing ceases. Some of St. C.'s arguments seem somewhat of an *a priori* character, and these S. Aug. removes, but, resting upon the tradition of the Western Church, he was not aware that there was an opposed practice, equally traditional in the Eastern, arising, it has been conjectured, in the nature of the Greek heresies. (see note on Tert. p. 296.)

^c Prov. ix. fin. lxx. The same addition is quoted by Firmilian, Ep. 75. v. fin. in the Conc. Carth. § 5. by S. Ambr. and S. Aug. see Sabatier *ad loc.*

^d Sacerdos, i. e. the Bishop, whose office the consecration of the font especially was. see Bingham, xi. 10.

Epist. *I cleanse you ; a new heart also will I give you, and a new*
 LXX. *spirit will I put within you.* But how can he cleanse and
 A. 255. sanctify the water, who is himself unclean, and with whom the Holy Spirit is not? whereas the Lord says in Numbers,
 Numb. *And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be*
 19, 22. *unclean.* Or how can he that baptizeth give remission of sins to another, who cannot himself free himself from his own sins, out of the Church?

2. Moreover, the very interrogatory^c which is put in Baptism, is a witness of the truth. For when we say, "Dost thou believe in eternal life, and remission of sins through the holy Church?" we mean, that remission of sins is not given, except in the Church; but that, with heretics, where the Church is not, sins cannot be remitted. They, therefore, who claim that heretics can baptize, let them either change the interrogatory, or maintain the truth; unless indeed they ascribe a Church also to those who they contend have Baptism.

3. Anointed also must he of necessity be, who is baptized, that having received the chrism, that is, unction, he may be the anointed of God, and have within him the grace of Christ. Moreover, it is the Eucharist through which the baptized are anointed, the oil sanctified on the altar^b. But he cannot

^c S. Aug. answers throughout to this class of argument, As in the case of evil men "God vouchsafes to be present at His own Sacraments, hindered by no falsehood of men." (de Bapt. c. Donat. v. §. 28.)

^f S. Aug. says, l. c. in like way one who renounces the world in word not in deed, violates the interrogatory, still it is Baptism which he receives, which then avails, "when what he answers falsely, he fulfils truly."

^g See Ep. 69. §. 6. and Note P. on Tertull. (on the Apostles' Creed) p. 485.

^h There is considerable difficulty both as to the reading and construction. That of the old Edl. and Ed. Memm. and Bp. Fell has been retained, "Porro autem Eucharistia est unde baptizati unguntur, oleum in altari sanctificatum," with 6 Eng. Mss. 4 old Mss. ap. F. Bal. also names G. Erasmus, (followed by Pam.) substituted from conjecture "et" for "est" and "sanctificatur" for "sanctificatum." "More-

over the Eucharist and the oil, where-with the baptized are anointed is sanctified on the Altar. One should have at least expected "sanctificantur." Harduin, however, (Concil. t. i. p. 155.) says that this reading occurs in a Ms. of the Jesuits, and in others (if he was well informed) "optime nota." Baluzius adopts from the one very ancient Ms. Corb. a reading which would remove all difficulty, "oleo in altari sanctificato." But had this been the original reading, it is not likely that the other, oleum sanctificatum, should have come instead, whereas it is a frequent source of corruption in Mss. that the scribes alter the grammatical forms of words, standing in connection with others at a distance, so as to conform them to those near them; thus probably here, unguntur oleo for oleum, altari sanctificato for sanctificatum, without observing the sense of the whole passage. The meaning, however, of these two readings is probably the same; that since the oil was conse-

sanctify the creature of oil, who has neither Altar nor Church. Whence neither can the spiritual unction be with heretics, since it is acknowledged that the oil cannot be sanctified nor the Eucharist celebrated among them. But we ought to know and remember that it is written, *Let not the oil of a sinner* Ps. 141, *anoint my head*; which the Holy Ghost forewarned in the 5. lxx. Psalms, lest any, quitting the track, and wandering out of the path of truth, be anointed by heretics and adversaries of Christ. Moreover, when baptized, what kind of prayer can a profane priest and a sinner offer? in that it is written, *God heareth not a sinner; but if any man be a worshipper* John 9, 31. *of God, and doeth His will, him He heareth.*

4. But who can give what himself hath not? or how can he perform spiritual acts, who hath himself lost the Holy Spirit¹? Wherefore he is to be baptized and received, who

crated on the Altar, it was ultimately through the Holy Eucharist that the baptized were anointed, since it was through It that the oil was hallowed. Rīg. interprets that "the oil sanctified on the Altar was 'Eucharistia,'" i.e. as he explains it, that "the oil, through the *ἐπερωγίς*, i. e. the interpellation or invocation of the Name of God, was, through the praises and thanksgivings poured forth to God, blessed." He adds in proof, "Thus Matthew and Mark and John called the act of blessing Eucharistia, (eucharistiam dixerunt eulogiam,) and not in the institution of the Lord's Supper only, but also in the multiplying of the bread." [i.e. in Matt. 15, 36. 26, 37. Mark 8, 6. 14, 23. Luke 22, 17. 19. John 6, 11. 23. *εὐχαριστίῳ* "give thanks" is used in the same sense as *εὐλογίῳ* "bless," Matt. 14, 19. 26, 26. Mark 6, 41. 8, 7. 14, 22. Luke 24, 30.] But this interchange of the verbs falls far short of entitling the Chrism by the name already appropriated to the Holy Communion, Eucharistia, (for Eucharistium aliquid.) This seems, however, to have been the sense given by the Greek translators (Pundectæ Canon. ed. Bever. t. i. p. 366.) For, although they omit this clause, they seem to render the following, "quando constat oleum sanctificari et Eucharistiam fieri apud illos omnino non posse," freely, "it is plain to us that the oil can by no means be sanctified by them *eis εὐχαριστίαν*." Bp. F. reverses this construction apparently, as though the Holy

Eucharist were called "an anointing," quoting S. Clem. Alex. Pædag. ii. 2. "The blood of the Lord is two-fold, the Natural, whereby we were redeemed from corruption, the Spiritual, whereby we are anointed;" and S. Greg. Naz. Orat. i. 2. on "the Mystery anointed me," [but this is said of ordination]; and S. Chrys. Hom. 37. in Ep. ad Heb. §. 4. "Thou anointest with oil, and again becomes full of ill-savour." Put these illustrations fall short of this passage, in which the Eucharist would be called "oleum;" then, also, the context is of literal oil or chrism; and the words are so understood by S. Aug. de Bapt. c. Donat. v. 20. although not explaining the rest. Bal. also interprets it apparently of the H. Eucharist only. "Jerome (adv. Lucif.) says that Baptism is not to be given without the Eucharist. Which lasted long in the Church of God: yet this seems incompatible with his reading.

¹ St. C. seems here inadvertently to have adopted a saying of Tertullian, (de Bapt. c. 15.) S. Aug. answers to this and the above, in the same way, "how then does God hear a murderer, i.e. one who hateth his brother, praying, either over the water of Baptism, or the oil, or the Eucharist, or over their heads on whom hands are laid? If no one can give what he hath not, how can a murderer give the Holy Spirit? And yet such an one, within the Church, baptizeth. God then, even when such a one baptizeth, Himself giveth the Holy Spirit." (d. c. §. 28, 29.)

EPIST. comes uninitiated to the Church, that within he may be hal-
 LXX. lowed through the holy^k; for it is written, *Be ye holy, for I*
 A. 255. *I am holy, saith the Lord.* So that he who has been seduced
 Levit. into error and washed without, should, in the true Baptism of
 19, 2. the Church, put off this very thing also^l; that he, a man
 coming to God, while seeking for a priest, fell, through the
 deceit of error, upon one profane. But to acknowledge any
 case where they have baptized, is to approve the baptism of
 heretics and schismatics.

5. For neither can part of what they do be void and part
 avail. If he could baptize, he could also give the Holy
 Ghost. But if he cannot give the Holy Ghost, because, being
 set without, he is not with the Holy Ghost, neither can he
 baptize any that cometh; for that there is both one Baptism,
 and one Holy Ghost, and one Church, founded by Christ the
 Lord upon Peter^m, through an original and principle of unity;
 so it results, that since all among them is void and false,
 nothing that they have done ought to be approved by us.
 For what can be ratified and confirmed by God, which they
 do whom the Lord calls His enemies and adversaries, pro-
 Luke 11, 23. pounding in His Gospel, *He that is not with Me, is against*
Me; and he that gathereth not with Me, scattereth. And
 the blessed Apostle John also, keeping the commandments
 and precepts of the Lord, has written in his Epistle, *Ye have*
 1 John 2, 18, 19. *heard that Antichrist shall come; even now are there many*
Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time. They
went out from us, but were not of us; for if they had been
of us, they would no doubt have continued with us. Whence
 we too ought to infer and consider, whether they who are the
 adversaries of the Lord, and are called Antichrists, can give
 the grace of Christ. Wherefore we who are with the Lord,

^k “But what shall he do, if within also, he falls upon such as are unholy?” S. Aug. l. c. and so in the sequel that bad priests within the Church equally have not “this Spirit, equally are enemies of God.” S. Aug. sums up, “Wherefore what C. writes to Quintus, and, with his colleagues, to Saturninus and others, well considered, is no ways to be brought against the consent of the whole Catholic Church, of which they joyed to be members, and from

which they neither cut themselves off, nor allowed those who thought otherwise to be cut off; until at length, in the will of the Lord, by a plenary Council, although after many years, it appeared what was right, not by the enactment of any novelty, but by reinforcing antiquity.” §. 30. On this Council see Note G on Tert. p. 294. and note i.

^l among other sins.

^m See Note Q. on Tert. de Præser. Hier. p. 492 sqq.

and who hold the unity of the Lord, and according to this vouchsafement administer His priesthood in the Church, ought to repudiate and reject and account as profane, whatever His adversaries and Antichrists do; and to those who, coming from error and wickedness, acknowledge the true faith of the one Church, we should impart the reality of unity and faith by all the sacraments of Divine grace.

We bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXXI.

Cyprian to Quintus^a, his brother, greeting.

1. LUCIAN, our fellow-presbyter, has reported to me, dearest brother, that you have expressed a desire that I should make known to you my opinion as to those who seem to have been baptized by heretics and schismatics. Whereon that you may know what very many of ourselves, the bishops, with our fellow-presbyters, decreed lately in council, I send you a copy of our Epistle. For I know not on what presumption some of our Colleagues are led to think, that such as have been washed among the heretics ought not to be baptized when they come to us; because, they say, there is *One Baptism*. For Baptism is therefore one, because the Church is one, and Baptism cannot be out of the Church. For seeing there cannot be two Baptisms, if heretics truly baptize, then they have the Baptism. And whoso by his own authority allows this privilege to them, yields and allows to them, that the enemy and adversary of Christ seem to have the power of washing, purifying, and sanctifying man. But we say, that such as come thence are not rebaptized, but baptized by us. For neither do they receive any thing there, where there is nothing; but they come to us, that here they may receive, where is all grace and truth; for both grace and truth are one. Some, however, of our Colleagues had rather give honour to heretics, than agree with us; and whilst, for the assertion of

^a Bishop in Mauritania, Ep. 72. §. 2.

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A. 255.

one only Baptism, they will not baptize such as come to us, they thus either themselves make two Baptisms, in that they say that there is a Baptism among heretics also; or, assuredly, which is more grievous, they strive to set the filthy and profane washing of heretics above the true and only and legitimate Baptism of the Catholic Church; not considering that it is written, *He that is washed by one dead, what availeth his washing^b?* But it is plain that they who are not in the Church of Christ, are accounted amongst the dead, nor can another be quickened by him who himself liveth not; in that there is one Church, which having obtained the grace of eternal life, both liveth for ever, and quickeneth the people of God.

2. And they say, that herein they follow ancient custom; yet when among the ancients heresy and schisms were in their first beginnings, so that those involved therein were such as had departed from the Church, and had been before baptized in her; whom, on their return to the Church and doing penance, there was then no need to baptize. This we too at this day observe, so that when any are known to have been baptized among us, and from us to have gone to the heretics, if afterwards, acknowledging their sin, and laying aside their error, they return to the truth and to their parent, imposition of hands to repentance sufficeth; so that, because it had been a sheep, the Shepherd may receive back this strayed and wandering sheep into His fold. But if he who cometh from the heretics, was not before baptized in the Church, but comes an alien and profane, he must be baptized, that he may become a sheep; because there is one water in the holy Church, which maketh sheep. And, therefore, since there can be nothing in common to falsehood and truth, darkness and light, death and immortality, antichrist and Christ, we ought in all things to uphold the unity of the Catholic Church, and not in any thing yield to the enemies of faith and truth. Nor must we frame a prescription on custom, but prevail by

^b Ecclus. 34, 30. S. Aug. (Retr. i. 21. §. 3.) says, that in many African Mss. before the time of Donatus, the intermediate clause, "and again touches it," had been omitted, and thus this interpretation became natural, which the

full text does not admit. It was commonly so cited by Donatists. S. Aug. Ep. 108. §. 6. 173. §. 8. c. Ep. Parm. ii. §. 20. and 22. c. lit. Petil. i. 9. but also by Pacian. Ep. 3. (probably from St. C.) see Sabatier ad loc.

reason. For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose first¹,^{1 see} and on whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards^{Matt. 10, 2.} disputed with him about circumcision, claim or assume any thing insolently and arrogantly to himself; so as to say that he held the primacy, and should rather be obeyed of those late and newly come. Nor did he despise Paul, because he had before been a persecutor of the Church, but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily assented to the legitimate grounds which Paul maintained; giving us thereby a pattern of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously love our own opinions, but should rather account as our own any true and rightful suggestions of our Brethren and Colleagues for the common health and weal. Paul, too, providing for this, and faithfully consulting for concord and peace, laid down in his Epistle, saying, *Let the prophets*^{1 Cor. 14, 29.} *speak two or three, and let the others judge. But if any*^{30.} *thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.* In which passage he has taught and shewn, that many things are revealed to individuals for the better; and that we ought not each to strive pertinaciously for what he has once imbibed and held, but, if any thing has appeared better and more useful, willingly to embrace it. For to have what is better offered to us, is not to be instructed, not defeated; especially in things pertaining to the unity of the Church and to the truth of our hope and Faith: so that we, priests of God, and by His favour set over His Church, should know that remission of sins can only be given in the Church, nor can adversaries of Christ claim to themselves any share in His grace. This moreover Agrippinus², a man of excellent^{2 see on Ep. 73. §. 3.} memory, with the rest, Bishops with him, who at that time governed the Church of the Lord in the province of Africa and Numidia, did, when by common counsel duly weighed, establish, and confirm. Whose sentence, being both religious and legitimate and salutary, in accordance with the Catholic faith and Church, we also have followed. And that you may know what letters we have issued hereon, I have, for our mutual affection, transmitted to you a copy, as well for your own information as for that of our fellow-bishops in your parts.

I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell.

Cyprian and the rest, to Stephen their brother, greeting.

1. In order to the settling certain matters, and regulating them by the aid of our common counsel, we deemed it necessary, dearest brother, to assemble and hold a council^a, whereat many Prelates were gathered together. In which council many things were propounded and transacted. But whereon chiefly we thought it right to write to thee, and to confer with thy gravity and wisdom, is that which most concerneth the Episcopal authority, and the unity as well as dignity of the Catholic Church descending from the ordinance of the Divine appointment, namely, that they who have been washed without the Church, and have among heretics and schismatics been tainted by the defilement of profane water, when they come to us and to the Church, which is one, ought to be baptized; in that it sufficeth not to lay hands on them that they may receive the Holy Ghost, unless they receive also the Baptism of the Church. For then may they at length be fully sanctified, and become sons of God, if they be born of each Sacrament^b; since it is written, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* For we find in the Acts of the Apostles also, that this same is observed by the Apostles, and maintained in the truth of the saving faith. For when, in the house of Cornelius the centurion, upon the

John 3,
5.

^a St. C. (Ep. 73. init.) distinguishes this Council from that of which the Synodical letter is extant, (Ep. 70.) as having recently taken place, and including Numidian Bishops, (Ep. 73.) whereas Ep. 70. was directed to Numidian Bishops. (hel. §. 2.) This appears from the salutation to have been a Synodical letter, referring to the Acts, which are also distinct from those of the former. Bp. Pearson distinguishes the two Councils; Bal., referring to him, confounds them.

^b Confirmation being regarded as a part of Baptism, since by Baptism only are we re-born. Optatus, in the same sense, calls Baptism, Imposition of hands, and Unction "Mysteries of Baptism," (iv. 7. quoted by Bingham

12. 1. 4.) and the Bread and Wine are by divers authors called "Sacraments" or "two Sacraments," i. e. mystical parts of the One Sacrament, see further Bingham, l. c. and Tract 67. on Holy Baptism, p. 153, 4. Note 1. ed. 3. Bal. says "Baptism and the infusion of the H. Spirit," i. e. "Water and the Spirit," but the words of Nemesianus, (Conc. Carth. n. 5.) taken from this passage are decisive. The expression is perhaps taken from Tert. de vel. virg. c. 2. "The same Sacraments of the laver." Siricius also, Ep. ad Himer. (ap. Bal.) "The Sacraments of Baptism." And so also the Capitular. vii. 231. Bede H. E. ii. 9. iii. 1. and 3. Conc. Mog. (A. 847.) c. 3. quoted by Bal.

Gentiles who were there present, kindled with the glow of faith and believing in the Lord with the whole heart, the Holy Ghost had descended, filled with Whom they blessed God in divers tongues, still nevertheless the blessed Apostle Peter, mindful of the Divine command and of the Gospel, ordered that those same persons be baptized, who had already been filled with the Holy Ghost; that so nothing might seem to be omitted, or Apostolic authorities to have failed to observe in all things the law of the Divine command and of the Gospel. Acts 10, 47.

2. But that what heretics use is no Baptism, and that none profit by the grace of Christ, among those who oppose Christ, has lately been expressed in a letter written thereon to Quintus our Colleague, set in the Church in Mauritania, as also in a letter which our Colleagues before wrote to our fellow-Bishops presiding in Numidia, of both which I here subjoin copies. We add moreover and subjoin, dearest brother, by common consent and authority, that any presbyters or deacons also, who have either been before ordained in the Catholic Church, and have afterwards stood as faithless and rebels against the Church, or have among heretics been by false bishops and Antichrists against the appointment of Christ promoted by a profane ordination, and have essayed, in opposition to the one and Divine Altar, to offer false and sacrilegious sacrifices without,—even these, when they return, be received on this condition, that they communicate as laymen, and deem it enough that they are admitted to peace who have been the enemies of peace; nor ought they, on their return, to retain those arms of ordination and of honour, wherewith they rebelled against us. For it behoveth priests and ministers, who serve at the Altar and Sacrifices, to be unblemished and unspotted, for that the Lord God speaks in Leviticus, and says, *No man that hath a stain or blemish, shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord.* Levit. 21, 21. In Exodus likewise He ordereth the same, and saith, *Let the priests which come near to the Lord God sanctify themselves,* Exod. 19, 22. *lest the Lord forsake them.* And again, *When they come near unto the Altar in the Holy Place, they shall not bear iniquity upon them, lest they die.* Exod. 28, 43. But what greater iniquity can there be, or what fouler stain, than to have stood against

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 Christ? to have scattered *His Church, which He purchased* and founded *with His own Blood?* forgetful of Evangelic peace and love, to have fought with the rage of hostile discord against the one-minded and concordant people of God? These, although themselves afterwards return to the Church, cannot however restore and bring back with them those who, seduced by them and overtaken by death without, have perished out of the Church without communion and peace; whose souls, in the Day of Judgment, will be demanded at their hands, who were the authors and leaders in their perdition. Wherefore it is enough that to such on their return there be granted pardon. But still in the household of faith faithlessness ought not to be promoted. For what do we reserve for the good and innocent, and such as do not depart from the Church, if we honour those who have departed from us, and have stood against the Church?

3. These things, dearest brother, by reason of our mutual respect and single-hearted affection, we have brought to thy knowledge, believing that what is alike religious and true will, according to the truth of thy religion and faith, be approved by thee also. But we know that some will not lay aside what they have once imbibed, nor easily change their resolves, but keeping the bond of peace and concord with their colleagues, retain certain practices of their own which have been once adopted among them. In this matter we neither do violence to any, nor lay down a law, since each Prelate hath, in the government of the Church, his own choice and will free, hereafter to give account of his conduct to the Lord.

We bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXXIII.

Cyprian to Jubaianus his brother, greeting.

1. You have written to me, dearest brother, desiring to know the bearings of my mind concerning the baptism of heretics, who being placed without, and set down out of the

Church, claim to themselves a matter over which they have neither right nor power. This baptism we cannot account valid or lawful, since plainly among them it is unlawful^c. And whereas we have already expressed in our letters what we think hereon, I have, as a compendious method, sent you a copy of those same letters, what we decreed in Council when very many of us were met together, what also I afterwards replied to Quintus our Colleague, enquiring of the same matter. And now too when we had met together, Bishops of the provinces both of Africa and Numidia, to the number of seventy-one, we again confirmed this same by our sentence, ruling that there is one Baptism, that appointed in the Catholic Church, and that accordingly, whosoever come from the adulterous and profane water, to be cleansed and sanctified by the truth of the saving water, are not re-baptized, but baptized by us.

2. Nor does that disturb us, dearest brother, which you mention in your letter, that the Novatians re-baptize those whom they withdraw from us; since what the enemies of the Church do, no way concerneth us, so long as we ourselves uphold the honour of our office, and the stedfastness of reason and truth. For Novatian, after the manner of apes, which, not being men, yet mimic the things of men, wishes to claim to himself the authority and truth of the Catholic Church, although himself not in the Church; nay, further, a rebel and enemy to the Church. For, knowing that there is but one Baptism, this one he claimeth to himself, that so he may say the Church is with him, and may make us to be heretics. But we, who hold the head and root of the one Church, know assuredly and are confident, that he, being out of the Church, hath no hallowed office, and that the fountain of Baptism which is one, is with us, where he too was himself formerly baptized, when he held fast the wisdom and truth of Divine unity. But if Novatian thinks that those baptized in the Church, are to be re-baptized without, out of the Church, he ought to have begun with himself; that he first should be re-baptized with an alien and heretical baptism, who thinks that men are to be baptized without, after the Baptism of the Church, yea, and against the Church. But

^c i. e. since unlawful for them to confer, it is unlawful, when received.

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what a thing were this, that because Novatian presumes to do this, we should think that we may not do it! What then? Because Novatian usurps also the honour of the sacerdotal Chair, ought we therefore to renounce the Chair? Or because Novatian striveth to set up an altar and to offer sacrifices, against all right, fitteth it that we cease from Altar and Sacrifices, lest we seem to celebrate rites resembling and corresponding to his? Vain altogether and foolish were it, because Novatian, out of the Church, claimeth to himself a shadow of the truth, we should abandon the truth of the Church.

3. But with us it is no new or sudden thing to decide that they are to be baptized, who come from heretics to the Church, in that now many years and a length of time have passed away^d, since, under Agrippinus of honoured memory, very many Prelates being convened, determined this, and thenceforward until this day^e, so many thousand heretics

^d St. Augustine (c. Don. iv. 6.) speaks of this Council as having taken place "a few years before;" meaning, probably, "recently," as compared with Apostolic times; for one cannot suppose that when St. C. says explicitly "many years," he would have thought it was in the same sense "a few" only; Agrippinus, although called "a predecessor" of St. C. (c. Don. ii. 7. Facund. x. 3.) was not the immediate predecessor of St. C., for this was Donatus. (Ep. 59. §. 12. p. 169.) Nor (as Bal. observes) does it appear that this Council charged the previous custom which St. Aug. (ib. c. 7. §. 12.) supposes St. C. to state, but only that it fixed what was before undetermined. The principles which St. C. alleges, are as old as Tertullian, (de Bapt. c. 15.) Agrippinus, probably older. The expression that "so many thousand heretics" had been baptized since his time, implies probably a long interval, for the heresies of St. C.'s day were in their infancy, and those received back had already been baptized in the Church.

^e St. Augustine doubts about the preciseness of this statement, (c. Don. iii. 12.) because, had one uniform practice prevailed, 1) there had been no need of a fresh Council under St. C.; nor 2) of justifying himself against the appearance of novelty; nor 3) would his Colleagues in the Council [see No. 30.

56. 63. 77.] have argued that truth was to be preferred to practice. But as to 1) the question asked St. C. was a new question, whether the Novatians as well as other heretics were to be baptized? (Ep. 69. init.) The very answer, that they were to form no exception to the rule, (ib.) implies that there was a rule previously acknowledged. Since also the Novatians mimicked the Church's practice of re-baptizing, (§. 2.) it must have been a received practice. 2) The letter of Jubaianus not being extant, we cannot argue as to the words in which St. C. answered. It may be that novelty was charged by the letter which he enclosed, which whence it came we know not. It may be also that the Council under Agrippinus enforced the practice only in the provinces, whose Bishops were convened, Africa proper and Numidia, (Ep. 71. fin.) but Jubaianus was probably a Mauritanian Bishop, since had he been a Numidian, the synodical letter would have been sent to him, which it had not been. (§. 1.) This then would at most limit the extent of the rule, not shew that it had been habitually broken. 3) The maxim of the Bishops in the Council of Carthage, that practice was to give way to truth, is derived from St. Cyprian himself, and is in opposition to Stephen's insisting on the Roman practice. St. C. does not use the argument

in our provinces have been converted to the Church, who, despised not or hesitated, nay, with full consent of reason and will, have been glad to attain the grace of the life-giving Laver and saving Baptism. For neither is it difficult for a teacher to instil what is true and legitimate into those, who, having condemned the perverseness of heretics, and discovered the truth of the Church, come that they may learn, learn that they may live. We ought not to aggravate the benumbedness of heretics by the sanction of our consent, when they would cheerfully and readily obey the truth.

4. But since I found it written in an Epistle, of which you transmitted me a copy, that "no enquiry is to be made who baptized, since the baptized may receive remission of sins according to his own faith;" I thought this topic not to be passed over, especially when, in the same Epistle, I observed some mention to be made of Marcion also, saying, that not even such as came from him were to be baptized, as appearing to have been already baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ. We ought therefore to consider the faith of those who believe without, whether, on the ground of having the same Faith, they can obtain any grace. For if heretics and we have one Faith, we may also have one grace. If the Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Apelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and others, pests, swords, and poisons, for the destruction of the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, then too may they have the *one Baptism*, if they have also the *one Faith*.

5. And not to weary you by going through all heresies, and reviewing the follies or phrenzies of each, since too it is painful to utter what one shudders or is ashamed to know, let us for the time enquire as to Marcion only, who is mentioned in the Epistle you transmitted me, whether the ground of his baptism can stand.

to the Numidian Bishops, by whom, as well as in Africa proper, St. C. says the practice had been uniformly maintained. (Ep. 70. §. 1.) There were some who alleged a contrary practice, (ibid. §. 11.) but had it been extensive, St. C. would not have called the baptizing of heretics a Catholic rule. (Ep. 70. §. 1.) Altogether, S. Augustine, amid his great

respect for St. Cyprian, seems under the pressure of the Donatists' controversy, wherein St. C.'s authority was so continually alleged against him, sometimes to bear hardly on St. C., whose practice he supposed, though erroneously, to have been superseded by the whole Church. (see Note G. on Tert. l. c.)

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A. 256.
Matt.
28, 18.
19.

6. For the Lord, after His Resurrection, sending His disciples, instructed and taught them how they ought to baptize, saying, *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* He intimates the Trinity, in Whose Sacrament the nations were to be baptized. Does Marcion then hold this Trinity? Does he maintain the Same Father, the Creator, as we? Knoweth he the Same Son, Christ, born of the Virgin Mary; Who, being the *Word, was made flesh*; Who bore our sins; Who by dying overcame death; Who first by Himself consecrated “the resurrection of the flesh,” and shewed to His disciples that He had risen in the same flesh? Far other is the faith with Marcion, yea, and with the other heretics. Rather there is nothing with them but faithlessness, and blasphemy, and contention, at enmity with holiness and truth. How then can he who is baptized among them be thought to have obtained “remission of sins,” and the grace of the Divine mercy, through his faith, who hath not the truth of the Faith itself? For if, as some think, a man could receive any thing out of the Church according to his faith, assuredly he hath received what he believed. But believing what is false, he could not receive the true^f, but rather things adulterous and profane, like his belief. This subject of profane and adulterous baptism the prophet Jeremiah sharply touches on, saying, *Wherefore do they who afflict me prevail against me? My wound is hard; whence shall I be healed? It has become unto me like deceitful water, that be not sure.* The Holy Ghost by the Prophet maketh mention of *deceitful water that be not sure*. What is this deceitful and faithless water? surely that which assumes the lying resemblance of Baptism, and mocks the grace of faith by a feigned and shadowy likeness. But if by virtue of a perverted faith any without can be baptized and obtain remission of sins, by virtue of the same faith he might obtain the Holy Ghost also; and it needeth not that when he cometh, hands be laid upon him, that he

Jerem.
15, 18.

^f S. Aug. answers, (de Bapt. iii. 14.) that the wrong faith of the receiver affects his salvation, not the entireness of the Sacrament which he receives; as if one who in the Church, reading

an heretical book in simplicity, had received the words of the Creed in an heretical sense, he would have to reject his error when discovered, not to be re-baptized.

may obtain the Holy Ghost and be sealed. For either by his faith he could obtain both without, or, being without, he received neither.

7. But it is manifest, where and by whom remission of sins can be given, that, namely, which is given in Baptism. For to Peter first, on whom He built the Church, and from whom He appointed and shewed that unity should spring, the Lord gave that power, that *whatsoever he should loose on earth, should be loosed in heaven.* And after His Resurrec-^{Matt. 16, 19.} tion also, He speaketh to the Apostles, saying^g, *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Whence we learn that they only, who are set over the Church, and are appointed by the law of the Gospel and the ordinance of the Lord, may lawfully baptize and give remission of sins; but, without, nothing can be bound or loosed, where there is no one who can either bind or loose. Nor do we propound this, dearest brother, without the authority of Divine Scripture, when we say that all things are divinely ordered by a certain law and peculiar appointment; and that no one can usurp to himself, against Bishops and Priests, what is not in his own right and power. For Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, attempted to usurp the^{Numb.} privilege of sacrificing, against Moses and Aaron the priest;^{16.} nor yet what they unlawfully dared, did they with impunity. And the sons of Aaron, who *put strange fire* upon the altar,^{Levit. 10, 1. 2.} immediately *died before the Lord* in His displeasure. Which punishment awaits those who by a pretended baptism introduce an alien water; and so will the Divine justice avenge and punish heretics, who do that against the Church, which is permitted to the Church alone.

8. But whereas some allege that those baptized in Samaria were not re-baptized, but that, when the Apostles Peter and John came, received imposition of hands only, that they might receive the Holy Ghost^h; see, dearest brother, that

^g see de Unit. Eccl. §. 3. p. 134. from us, when seeking the truth, to use such arguments." de Bapt. iii. Oxf. Tr.

^h S. Aug. says on this, "Far be it 19.

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A. 256.

this instance evidently no way pertaineth to the present case. For they who had believed in Samaria, had believed with a true faith; and within in the Church which is one, and to which alone is it given to confer the grace of Baptism and to loose sins, had they been baptized by Philip the deacon, whom the same Apostles had sent. Wherefore, inasmuch as they had obtained the legitimate Baptism of the Church, it was not fitting that they should be baptized again; but only what was lacking was done by Peter and John, namely, that prayer being made for them, with laying on of hands, the Holy Spirit should be invoked and poured upon them. Which now also is done among us, those baptized in the Church, being brought to the Bishops of the Church, and by our prayer and laying on of hands they receive the Holy Ghost, and are perfected with the seal of the Lord. There is no reason then, dearest brother, why we should think right to yield to heretics that Baptism, which was granted to the one and only Church. A good soldier's part is to defend the camp of his general against rebels and enemies. A renowned leader has

Deut. 4, 24. to keep the standards committed to him. It is written, *The Lord thy God is a jealous God.* We who have received the

Numb. 25, 8, 11. Spirit of God, ought to be jealous for the Faith of God. With which jealousy Phinehas pleased God, and deserving well of Him appeased His wrath against the perishing people.

9. Why allow we of an adulterous and alien Church, hostile to Divine unity, we who know only One Christ and His one Church? The Church expressing the likeness of Paradiseⁱ, encloses within her walls fruit-bearing trees; whereof *every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.* These trees she waters with four rivers, that is, with the four Gospels, by which, through a heavenly overflowing, she imparts the grace of saving Baptism. Can any one, who is not within the Church, bedew from the

Matt. 3, 10.

ⁱ S. Aug. says, "the comparison of the Church to Paradise shews us that men, even without, can receive her Baptism, but out of her no one can either receive or retain salvation and bliss. For the rivers too from the fount of Paradise, as Scripture testifies, abroad also flowed largely. For they are named; and through what lands they flow, and that they are out of Paradise, is

known to all; nor yet in Mesopotamia or in Egypt, whither those rivers reached, is the blessedness of that life which is related of Paradise. So then though the water of Paradise is out of Paradise, the blessedness is within only. So then the Baptism of the Church may be out of the Church, but the gift of blissful life is only found within." de Bapt. c. Don. iv. init.

fountains of the Church? Can he impart to any the heathful and saving draughts of Paradise, who *being subverted and condemned of himself*, and banished from without the fountains of Paradise, has *dried up* and failed through the drought of an eternal thirst? The Lord crieth aloud, that *whosoever thirsts should come and drink of the rivers of living water that flowed out of His belly*. Whither shall he come who thirsteth? to heretics, where is no fountain or river of living water, or to the Church, which is one, and was by the voice of the Lord founded upon one, who also received its keys? She it is, who alone holds and possesses the whole power^k of her Spouse and Lord. In her we preside; for her honour and unity we contend; her grace alike and glory we maintain with faithful devotion. We, by the Divine permission, water the people of God who are athirst; we guard the boundaries of her living fountains. If, then, we maintain the right of our possession, if we acknowledge the sacrament of unity, why are we esteemed prevaricators against the truth; why betrayers of unity? The faithful, saving, and holy water of the Church, cannot be corrupted and adulterated; as the Church herself also is uncorrupt, and chaste, and pure. If heretics are devoted to the Church, and are placed within the Church, they may also use her Baptism and other saving blessings. But if they are not in the Church, yea, and act against the Church, how can they baptize with the Baptism of the Church?

10. For no small and trifling matter is conceded to heretics, when their baptism is acknowledged by us; since thence begins the whole origin of faith, and the saving entrance to the hope of eternal life, and the Divine mercy in purifying and quickening the servants of God. For if any one could be baptized among heretics, he could assuredly obtain remission of sins also. If he has obtained remission of sins, he has also been sanctified and made the temple of God^l. If he has been sanctified and made the temple of God, I ask,

^k "by which conjugal power," S. Aug. says, "she may bear sons of the handmaids also, who, if they act not proudly, shall be called into the lot of the inheritance; else, will remain without." l. c.

Name of the holy Trinity, becometh not the temple of God, unless he forsake heresy, as neither doth one in avarice baptized in the Same Name, unless he forsake avarice, which is idolatry." S. Aug. de Bapt. iv. 4. §. 6.

^l "One in heresy baptized in the

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of what God? The Creator? he could not, since in Him he hath not believed. Christ? neither could he be made His temple, who denies that Christ is God. The Holy Ghost? since *the Three are One*, how can the Holy Ghost be at peace with him, who is an enemy either of the Son or the Father?

1 Tim.
1, 13.

11. In vain then do some, overcome by grounds of reason, oppose to us custom; as if custom were greater than truth, or that were not to be followed in spiritual things, which has been revealed by the Holy Spirit, as the better way. For one who errs through simplicity may be pardoned, as the Apostle Paul says of himself: *I, who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious, obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly*. But he who after inspiration and revelation given, advisedly and knowingly perseveres in the error into which he had fallen, sins without pardon on the ground of ignorance. For, overcome by reason, he striveth through presumption and obstinacy. Nor let any say, what we have received from the Apostles, that we follow; for the Apostles handed down only one Church and one Baptism, and that appointed only in the same Church; nor do we find that any, who had been baptized by heretics, was afterwards received with that baptism, and communicated, so that the Apostles should appear to have sanctioned the baptism of heretics.

Philip.
1, 18.

12. For as to what some allege, as favouring heretics, that the Apostle Paul said, *Only, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, be Christ preached*^m: this too, we find, can avail nothing to their support who favour and side with heretics. For Paul, in his Epistle, was not speaking of heretics or of their baptism, whence it could be shewn that he had laid down any thing thereto relating. He was speaking of brethren, whether such as walked disorderly and contrary to Ecclesiastical discipline, or such as kept the truth of the Gospel in the fear of God. And he alleged that some of these spoke the word of the Lord stedfastly and fearlessly,

^m The subjunctive “dum-annuntietur” (the present Vulg.) occurs in all the citations from the fathers Sabatier ad loc. who however gives the indicative

as the Vers. Antiq. from two Mss. Mill quotes a reading *καταγγελλίσθω* in Eus. as Œcum. says many heretics corrupted this text.

others were acting in envy and strife; that some had maintained benevolent affection towards himself, others had cherished malevolent strife. Yet that he bore all patiently, so long as *whether in truth or in pretence, the Name of Christ*, which Paul preached, might come to the knowledge of many; and the word as yet but newly sown and unordered, might spread through the preaching of those that spoke. Moreover, it is one thing for those within, in the Church, to speak of the Name of Christ: another, for those without and acting against the Church, to baptize in the Name of Christ. Wherefore let not those who side with heretics, allege that which Paul spake of brethren; but let them shew whether he thought any concession should be made to a heretic, or sanctioned their faith and baptism, or ruled that faithless and blasphemers could receive remission of sins without the Church.

13. But if we consider what the Apostles thought of heretics, we shall find that in all their Epistles they execrated and abhorred the sacrilegious wickedness of heretics. For when they say, *their word will spread as doth a canker*; how can that word give remission of sins, which *spreads as a canker* ^{2 Tim. 2, 17.} to the ears of them that hear it? And when they say, *there is no fellowship between righteousness and unrighteousness*, ^{2 Cor. 6, 14.} *no communion between light and darkness*; how can either darkness enlighten, or unrighteousness justify? And when they say, *they are not of God, but are of the spirit of Anti-christ*; ^{1 John 4, 3.} how can they do spiritual and Divine things, who are enemies of God, and whose breast the spirit of Anti-christ has possessed? Wherefore if, rejecting the errors of human contentiousness, we return with sincere and religious faith to Evangelic authority and Apostolic tradition, we shall perceive that they have no part in the saving grace of the Church, who, scattering and assailing the Church of Christ, are by Christ Himself called enemies, by His Apostles anti-christs.

14. Nor is there any plea, why any, for the circumvention of Christian truth, should use against us the Name of Christ, saying, "All wheresoever and howsoever^a baptized in the

^a The words cited from Pope Stephen's letter (Ep. 74 init.) are "à quacunque hæresi," (ἐξ οἵαυδ' οὗν αἱρέ-
στας Eus. vii. 2.) But in §. 7. and bel. §. 15. and the Ep. of Firmilian (Ep. 75. §. 9.) the word "quomodoenque" is used, as

EPIST. Name of Jesus Christ, have obtained the grace of Baptism :"
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 Mat. 7, *that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom*
 22. *of heaven* ; and again He forewarneth and instructeth us,
 that no one should lightly be deceived by false prophets and
 Mat. 24, false Christs in His Name. *Many, He saith, shall come in*
 5. *My Name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many.*
 ver. 25. And afterwards He added, saying, *Beware, behold I have*
told you all things before. Whence it appeareth that we
 are not at once to admit and adopt whatsoever is professed
 in the Name of Christ, but that only which is done in the
 truth of Christ. Whereas, moreover, in the Gospels and the
 Apostolic Epistles, mention is made of the efficacy of the
 Name of Christ to the remission of sins,—this is not so said,
 as though The Son could avail, to any, without the Father,
 or against the Father ; but that the Jews, who boasted that
 they had the Father, might see that the Father would avail
 them nothing, unless they believed in the Son Whom He
 had sent. For they who know God the Father, the Creator,
 ought also to know the Son, Christ ; lest they should deceive
 and soothe themselves as having the Father Alone, without the
 John 14, acknowledgment of His Son, Who also said, *No man cometh*
 6. *unto the Father, but by Me.* But that it is the knowledge of
 John 17, Both which saves, He, the Same, declareth, saying, *This is*
 3. *life eternal, that they might know Thee the Only True God,*
and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent. Since then according
 to the preaching and testimony of Christ Himself, the Father
 Who sent must first be *known*, then Christ, Who was sent ; nor
 can there be any hope of salvation, except Both together are
known, how, when God the Father not only is not *known*,
 but is even blasphemed, can they, who, among heretics,
 were said to be baptized in the Name of Christ, be thought
 to have obtained remission of sins ?

here, "ubique et quomodocunque."
 The meaning is doubtless the same,
 there being no ground to think that
 Pope Stephen would have accounted
 Baptism, otherwise than in the Name
 of the Trinity, valid. In the Ep. of
 Firm. § 19. it stands "quicumque et
 ubique." Pope Benedict XII. how-
 ever, when Cardinal, (in his answers to
 the errors of the Fratricelli in Nic.

Eymericus directorium Inquisitor. p.
 256. quoted by Bal.) supposes Pope
 Stephen to have had the meaning, which
 corresponds most exactly to these words
 of S. Cyprian, and that his judgment
 and that of St. C. were corrected by
 the Council of Nice. Pegna, in his
 comm. on Eymer., thinks as above
 stated ; Bal. leaves it doubtful.

15. For the case of the Jews in the time of Apostles was one, the condition of the Gentiles is another. The Jews, because they had already received the most ancient baptism of the Law and of Moses, were to be baptized also in the Name of Jesus Christ, according to what Peter says to them in the Acts of the Apostles, *Repent, and be baptized* ^{Acts 2,} *every one of you in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ for* ^{38, 39.} *the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.* Peter makes mention of Jesus Christ, not as if the Father should be omitted, but that the Son should be added to the Father. But, when after the Resurrection, the Apostles are sent by the Lord to the Gentiles, they are commanded to baptize the Gentiles *in the* ^{Mat. 28,} *Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* ^{19.} How then do some say that a Gentile “baptized wheresoever and howsoever,” without the Church, yea and against the Church, so that it be “in the Name of Jesus Christ,” can obtain remission of sins; whereas Christ Himself commands the Gentiles to be baptized in the full and united Trinity? Unless, indeed, he who denies Christ, is denied by Christ, but he who denies His Father, Whom Christ Himself confessed, is not denied; and he who blasphemes against Him, Whom Christ called His Lord and God, obtains, as a reward from Christ, remission of sins, and the sanctification of Baptism!

16. But by what authority can any one, who denies God the Creator, the Father of Christ, obtain remission of sins in Baptism, since Christ received the very power, by which we are baptized and sanctified, from the same Father, Whom He called *greater* than Himself, by Whom He desired to be ^{John 14,} *glorified*, Whose will He fulfilled even unto the obedience of ^{28.} ^{Ib. 17, 1.} drinking the cup, and submitting to death? What else is it therefore than to become a partaker with blaspheming heretics, to be willing to uphold and assert, that one, who blasphemeth and sinneth against the Father and Lord and God of Christ, can obtain remission of sins in the Name of Christ? Then, also, of what sort is it, that he who denies the Son of God hath not The Father; yet that he who denies The Father

EPIST. LXXIII. should be thought to have The Son; whereas the Son Himself testifieth and saith, *No man can come unto Me, except it were given unto him of My Father*; so that it is evident that no remission of sins can in Baptism be received of the Son, which the Father hath not granted; especially since He elsewhere repeateth the same and saith, *Every plant which My heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up*.

17. But if disciples of Christ will not learn from Christ, what veneration and honour is due to the Father's Name, let them learn at least from examples of this earth and this world, and let them know that Christ not without the severest rebuke declared, *The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light*. In this world, if a man has offered insult to the father of any, if in contumely and wantonness he has, by slanderous tongue, wounded his good name and honour, the son is indignant and angry, and, with whatever might he has, seeketh to avenge the wrong of his injured father. Thinkest thou, that Christ grants impunity to the impious and profane who blaspheme His Father, and that He remits their sins in Baptism, who it is plain, when baptized, still cast the same revilings against the Person of the Father, and sin with the never-ceasing wickedness of a blasphemous tongue? Can a Christian, can a servant of God, in mind conceive this, or in belief receive it, or in speech utter it? And where will be the precepts of the Divine law, which say, *Honour thy father and thy mother*, if the name of father which in man is commanded to be honoured, in God is insulted with impunity? Where that which Christ Himself lays down in the Gospel, saying, *He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death*: if He Who commands that such as curse their parents after the flesh, be punished and put to death, Himself quickeneth revilers of their Heavenly and Spiritual Father, and enemies of the Church their Mother? An execrable and abhorred thing is it, which some assert, that He Who threateneth one *blaspheming against the Holy Ghost, as guilty of eternal sin*^b, Himself in saving Baptism sanctifieth the blasphemers of God the Father. And yet they who think that they ought to communicate with such, when they come to the Church,

^b Mark 3, 29. see p. 40. not.

without Baptism, do not consider that they become *partakers of other men's sins*, yea, *of eternal sins*, admitting without Baptism, those who in Baptism only can put off the sins of their blasphemies.

18. Moreover, how foolish and perverse is it, when the very heretics, having repudiated and abandoned their former, whether error or wickedness, acknowledge the truth of the Church, that we should mutilate the powers and sacrament of the same truth, and tell them when coming in penitence, that they had received remission of sins, whereas they confess that they have sinned, and are therefore come for the Church's pardon? Wherefore, dearest brother, we ought firmly to maintain and teach the Faith and truth of the Catholic Church, and, in the whole line of the Evangelic and Apostolic precepts, set forth the order of the Divine dispensation and unity. Can the power of Baptism be greater or better than Confession, than Martyrdom, whereby he *who confesses* Christ *before men* is baptized in his own blood? And yet neither does this baptism profit the heretic, although he has confessed Christ and been put to death out of the Church, unless the patrons and advocates of heretics declare heretics, when put to death for a false confession of Christ, to be martyrs, and, contrary to the testimony of the Apostle, who says, that it would *profit them nothing although they should give their* ^{1 Cor. 13, 3.} *bodies to be burned* and slain, assign to them the glory and crown of martyrdom! But if not even the Baptism of a public Confession and of blood can profit a heretic to salvation, because salvation is not without the Church, how much rather will it avail him nothing, that, in a lurking place and den of robbers, bedewed with a defiling and adulterous water, he has not only not laid aside his old sins, but even gathered upon him new and greater! Wherefore Baptism cannot be in common to us and heretics, to whom neither God the Father, nor Christ the Son, nor the Holy Ghost, nor the Faith, nor the Church herself, are in common. And therefore they who come from heresy to the Church must needs be baptized; that so they who in the legitimate and true and only Baptism of the holy Church are by Divine regeneration prepared for the kingdom of God, may obtain both Sacraments^c, for that it is written, *Except a man be born of water* ^{John 3, 5.}

^c See Ep. 72. init.

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LXXXIII.
A. 256. *and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*

19. On this place, some, as though by human reasonings they could make void the truth of the teaching of the Gospel, object to us the case of Catechumens, and ask, "if one of these, before he is baptized in the Church, should be seized and put to death on confession of the Name, would he lose the hope of salvation and the reward of his Confession, because he was not previously born again of water?" Let then such abettors and favourers of heretics know, first, that those Catechumens hold the entire Faith and truth of the Church, and to their victory over the Devil go forth from the camp of God with a full and undefiled acknowledgment of God the Father, and of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost; next, that neither are they deprived of the Sacrament of Baptism, being baptized with that most glorious and highest Baptism of blood, whereof the Lord also said, that He *had another Baptism to be baptized with*. But that those baptized in their own blood and sanctified by Suffering¹, are perfected, and obtain the grace of the Divine promise, the same Lord declares in the Gospel, when He speaks to the thief who believed and confessed in the very act of Suffering^d, and Luke²³, promises that *he should be with Him in paradise*^e. Where-
43.

^d or "during the very Passion" of our Lord, as that which enhanced the value of the Confession, that he recognised Him, as the Son of God, when "marred more than any man," and "ceasing to be of the sons of men." Else, here and above, it seems as though St. C. used the word "Passione," as though, by the very word, to denote that Suffering for Christ's sake becomes sanctified by His meritorious Suffering, passes into It, becomes enveloped by It. The robber, so soon as he confessed Christ, became a witness for Christ against the world, and, through Him Whom he confessed, the instrument of punishment became that of martyrdom. Rig. says, "In the passion of that robber, a twofold period is to be considered, and so a twofold man, a twofold blood. The blood shed before he believed, was blood of a robber; after, the blood of a Christian. The blood of the robber was the punishment of crime; but his blood, when now a Christian, shed amid the very testimony of faith

in Christ, whereby the robber confessed that Christ was indeed the Son of God, was the blood of a Confessor. This blood Christ joined to His own, and of a robber made him partaker of His Blood and a joint-heir; and in the blood of him, now made joint-heir with Himself, was the Baptism." S. Jerome Ep. 58. ad Paulin. init. (quoted by Bal.) "The thief exchanges the cross for paradise, and maketh the punishment of murder, martyrdom." So Aretas and others, ib.

^e S. Aug. (de Bapt. iv. 22.) thinks that the case of the dying thief shews still further, that "not only may suffering for the Name of Christ supply what was wanting of Baptism, but faith and conversion of the heart, if the narrowness of the time admit not that the mystery of Baptism be administered. For neither was that thief crucified for the Name of Christ, but for the deserts of his own deeds; nor did he suffer because he believed, but believed while suffering.

fore we who preside over the Faith and truth, ought not to deceive and mislead those who come to the Faith and truth, and, doing penance, seek that their sins be forgiven them; but, being restored and reformed by us, we should instruct them by heavenly discipline for the kingdom of heaven.

20. But some will say, "What then will become of those who in times past coming to the Church from heresy were admitted without Baptism?" The Lord is able of His mercy to grant pardon, and not to sever from the gifts of His Church, those who being out of simplicity admitted to the Church, have in the Church fallen asleep. Nor yet, because there has once been error, must men always err; since it befitteth wise men who fear God, gladly and unhesitatingly to obey the truth, when laid open and plainly seen, rather than pertinaciously and obstinately to contend for heretics against brethren and fellow-bishops.

21. Nor let any think that heretics, because Baptism is proposed to them, will be held back from coming to the Church, as offended with the name of a second Baptism. Nay, rather, on this very account are they driven to a necessity of coming, by the testimony of the truth made known and proved to them. For if they shall find it determined and settled by our judgment and sentence, that the Baptism with which they are there baptized is accounted right and lawful, they will think that they also duly and lawfully^c have a Church, and the other gifts of the Church; nor will they need to come to us, in that having Baptism they appear to have the rest also. But when they know that there is no Baptism without, nor can remission of sins be given out of the Church, they hasten to us more eagerly and more promptly, and implore the privileges and gifts of the Church their Mother; assured that they cannot by any means attain to the true promise of Divine grace, unless they first come to the truth of the Church. Nor will heretics refuse to be

^c S. Aug. says (de Bapt. v. 7.) they have it but "not duly and lawfully. Yet they cannot say that they have it not, since we recognise the Sacrament of the Lord in the words of the Gospel [i. e. 'in the Name of, &c.']. They have then lawful Baptism, but not lawfully.—A man so hath it, as he

useth it. But he useth it not lawfully, who useth it against the law, as every one doth, who being baptized liveth sinfully, whether within, or without," as, he continues, "the law is good if a man use it lawfully," yet neither was it not good, or null, if not so used.

EPIST. LXXIII.
A. 256. baptized among us with the true and lawful Baptism of the Church, when they shall have learnt from us, that those also were baptized by Paul, who had been already baptized with Acts 19, John's Baptism, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles.
5.

22. And now, by some amongst us, the baptism of heretics is asserted to have the possession, and, as if from a certain odium of rebaptizing, it is thought unlawful to baptize after the enemies of God, though we find that they were baptized whom John had baptized*, that John, who was accounted Mat. 11, *greater* among the Prophets, he who was filled with Divine 11, grace while yet in his mother's womb, he who was upheld in Luke 1, the spirit and power of Elias, not an enemy, but a forerunner 15, and herald of the Lord, who not only foretold our Lord in ver. 17, words, but also shewed Him to the sight, who baptized Christ Himself by Whom all others are baptized. But if a heretic, by baptizing first, could obtain the right of Baptism, Baptism will no longer belong to him that possesses it, but to him that first seizeth it; and since Baptism and the Church cannot in any way be separated and detached from each other^h; he who has first been able to seize Baptism, has in like manner seized the Church; and thou comest to appear a heretic to him, in that, being anticipated, thou art found the last comer; thou, who, by yielding and giving way, hast abandoned the right thou hadst received. But how dangerous it is in Divine things for any one to yield his right Gen. 25, and power, holy Scripture declares, when in Genesis Esau 33. thereby lost his birthright, and could not afterwards recover what he had once given up.

These thingsⁱ I have written to you briefly, dearest brother,

* On the Baptism of John, see the statements of the Fathers, "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism," p. 242—271. on that of our Lord, *ib.* p. 276—293.

^h S. Aug. (*de Bapt.* v. 15, 16. §. 20.) contends that this is not so, since Baptism abides in one who forsakes the Church, though not availably.

ⁱ Having cited some of S. Augustine's strictures on the arguments of S. Cyprian, it seems right to subjoin his, in part, affecting words on this close of the Epistle. He elsewhere in the same work speaks of S. Cyprian as "a Catholic Bishop, a Catholic Martyr, who in proportion to his greatness humbled

himself in all things," (*de Bapt.* iii. 3. §. 5) and as "the blessed Cyprian, whom the holy Mother, the Church, counts among those few and rare men of most excellent grace," (*ib.* vi. 2. §. 3.) here (*v.* 17. §. 22, 23.) he says, "reading and often re-reading these peaceful strains, I cannot be therewith sated, there exhaileth from them such a pleasurable sense of brotherly love, there overfloweth such mighty sweetness of charity," and then, having quoted them, proceeds thus: "In these words are many things to be considered, wherein the radiance of Christian charity gleams forth in this man, who 'loved the beauty

according to my poor ability, prescribing to or prejudging no one, that each Bishop should not do what he thinks right, having the free exercise of his own judgment. We, as far as in us lies, do not for heretics contend with our Colleagues

of the house of the Lord, and the place of the tabernacle of His habitation.' First, that what he held he expressed; then, that he uttered it so mildly and peacefully, in that he maintained the peace of the Church with those who held otherwise, appreciating the healthfulness of the bond of unity, loved it so much and upheld it in sobriety, saw and felt that they too who held otherwise could so hold without injury to charity. For not with evil men would he say that he 'maintained the Divine harmony and the peace of the Lord,' for a good man may have peace towards the evil, but cannot maintain with them that peace which they maintain not. Finally, 'prescribing to and prejudging no one, that each Bishop should not do what he thinks right, having the free exercise of his own judgment' he left room even for such as ourselves, to treat of those things in peace with him. For he is present with us, not only by his writings, but still more by that very charity, which lived so mightily in him and could never die. Longing then to cleave to and be knit in one with him, if I be not hindered by the disharmony of my sins, aided by his prayers, I will, if I may, learn by his Epistles, with what exceeding peace and consolation the Lord through him governed His Church, and, through the tender influence of his writings, clad with the loving feelings of humility, if, with the whole Church, I in any thing hold more truly, yet will I not prefer my own heart to his, even wherein he, holding otherwise, was yet not severed from the whole Church. For the might of his excellence stood out more eminently, in that, while that question was pending, not having been yet discussed, he, holding differently from many of his Colleagues, maintained such moderation as by no taint of schism to maim the holy society of the Church of God, than if, without that virtue, he had in all things held rightly and as they. For I should not please him, were I to seem to prefer his genius and power of speech and richness of teaching to that holy Council of all nations, whereat he too was present through the unity of

the Spirit; especially where he now is, placed in such full light of truth, where he seeth most certainly what here most peacefully he sought. For out of that rich abundance, he smileth on all this seeming eloquence of ours as the unformed essays of infancy; there he seeth by what rule of piety he here acted, in that nothing was dearer to him than the unity of the Church; there too, with pleasurable ineffable, he beholdeth by what all-merciful dispensation of His Providence, the Lord, in order to heal our swellings, 'chose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise,' and in the ranks of the members of His Church hath ordered all so healthfully, that no one should say that, for any talents or learning, which he as yet knew not by Whose gift he had, he was chosen to the help of the Gospel, and so be inflated with a pestilential pride. Oh how doth Cyprian rejoice! with what deeper calmness doth he there behold, how exceeding healthfully it was ordered for man's salvation, that even in the Christian holy writings of well-skilled men, there may be found what justly may be censured, but in the writings of the fishermen is not so found. Fully assured of this joy of that holy soul, I neither venture any way to think or to affirm that my own writings are free from all error, nor, as to this his opinion, wherein he judged that such as came from heretics were to be received otherwise than in times past they had been, (as himself testifieth,) or now are, is it my own opinion which I prefer to his, but that of the holy Catholic Church, which he so loved and loveth, in which he 'bore' such abundant 'fruit, with patience;' whose entireness he alone was not, yet in its entireness he remained; whose stock he never quitted, but 'bearing fruit' in it, was, 'that he might bring forth more fruit,' purged by the Heavenly 'Husbandman;' for whose peace and unity, 'lest with the tares there be plucked up the wheat' also, those exceeding evils of men placed with himself in that unity, he both with the freedom of truth reprov'd, and with the grace of charity endured."

EPIST. and fellow-Bishops, with whom I maintain the Divine harmony
 LXXIII. and the peace of the Lord, especially since the Apostle says,
 A. 256. *If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom,*
 1 Cor. *neither the Churches of God.* Charity of spirit, the reverence
 11, 16. of our College, the bond of faith, and the harmony of the
 priesthood, are by us maintained with patience and meekness.
 For this cause too, we have now, as far as our poor ability
 availed, by the permission and inspiration of the Lord,
 written a treatise on "The benefit of Patience," which for
 our mutual affection we have transmitted to you.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXXIV.

Cyprian to his brother Pompeius^k, greeting.

1. Although in the letters of which I sent you copies, dearest brother, I have fully expressed all which is to be said upon baptizing heretics; yet since you have desired to be informed what answer our brother Stephen returned to my letter, I have sent you a copy of that answer; on reading which, you will more and more discover his error, in that he endeavours to uphold the cause of heretics against Christians and against the Church of God. For among other things, arrogant or extraneous or self-contradictory, which he wrote without due instruction and caution, he moreover added this, "If then any shall come to you^l from any heresy whatsoever, be there no innovations, beyond what has been handed down,

^k Bp. of Sabrata (Cone. Carth. §. pen.) in the Prov. Tripolit.

^l vos Bal. from 7 old Mss. This also seems the "arrogance" of which St. C. had just spoken, that Stephen wrote authoritatively, whereas St. C. asserts the independent responsibility of each Bishop, and writes to and of the Bishop of Rome as a "brother," (frater. for which Mss. as Bal observes, according to the modern usage, often substitute pater, &c.) S. Augustine often implies that they were on equal terms, thinking only that a subsequent decision of the universal Church had reversed

S. Cyprian's judgment. Thus de Bapt. c. Petil. c. 14. "There were two Bishops of most eminent Churches, the Roman namely and Carthaginian, Stephen and Cyprian, both abiding in Catholic unity; of whom Stephen judged that the Baptism of Christ was in no case to be repeated, and was heavily displeased with those who so did. But Cyprian thought that those baptized in heresy or schism, as not having the Baptism of Christ, were to be baptized in the Catholic Church. Many thought with Stephen, some also with Cyprian; both, with them, abiding in unity."

namely, that hands be laid on such to repentance; since those who are properly^m heretics do not baptize such as come to them from one another, but only admit them to communion." He has forbidden one coming from any heresy whatsoever to be baptized in the Church, that is, he has adjudged the baptisms of all heretics to be right and lawful. And whereas the several heresies have several baptisms and divers sins, he, communicating with the baptism of them all, has heaped up the sins of all in one mass into his own bosom. And he has enjoined "that there be no innovations beyond what has been handed down;" as though he innovated who, maintaining unity, claims the one Baptism for the one Church, and not he rather, who, forgetful of unity, adopts the deceitful defilements of a profane immersion.

2. "Be there no innovation," he says, "beyond what has been handed down¹ to us." Whence is that tradition?^{1 traditum} Whether does it descend from the authority of the Lord and the Gospel, or does it come from the injunctions and Epistles of the Apostles? For that we are to do what is written, God testifieth and admonisheth, saying to Joshua, *This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but* Josh. 1, *thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest*^{8.} *observe to do according to all that is written therein.* Likewise the Lord, sending His Apostles, directs that the nations should be baptized and taught *to observe all things whatsoever* Mat. 28, *He had commanded.* If then it is commanded in the^{20.} Gospel, or is contained in the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, that "such as come from any heresy whatsoever should not be baptized, but hands only laid on them in order to repentance;" then be this Divine and holy tradition observed. But if heretics are every where called nothing else than enemies and Antichrists; if they are pronounced to be persons to be *avoided, subverted, and condemned of them-* Tit. 3, *selves*; why is it that they should not be condemned by us,^{11.} who it is plain from Apostolical testimony are already *condemned of themselves*? So that no one should defame the Apostles, as if they approved the baptisms of heretics, or

^m Pope Stephen apparently, as S. Basil, limited heresy to misbelief as to the Blessed Trinity, and so regarded the Novatians as not "properly here-

tics;" S. Cyprian extends it to the rejection of any article of the Creed, and so classes them with all other heretics.

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A. 256. communicated with them, without the Baptism of the Church, when the Apostles wrote such things concerning heretics; and this, when the more grievous pestilences of heresy had not yet broken forth, when Marcion the Pontian had not yet emerged from Pontusⁿ, whose master Cerdon^o came to Rome during the Episcopate of Hyginus, the ninth Bishop in the City; whom Marcion following and adding fresh enlargements to his crimes, more shamelessly and headlong than the rest set himself to blaspheme God the Father, the Creator; and furnished guiltier and heavier arms to the heretical fury, which, with sacrilegious weapons, rebelled against the Church.

3. But if it is acknowledged that heresies afterwards became more numerous and worse; and if in times past it was no where at all commanded, or written, that hands only should be laid on a heretic to repentance, and so communion be granted him; and if there is but one Baptism, which is with us, and is within, and hath by the Divine vouchsafement been granted to the Church alone; what obstinacy is that, or what presumption to prefer human tradition to Divine ordinances, and not to perceive that God is displeased and angered, as often as human tradition relaxes and sets aside the Divine command! as He saith loudly by the prophet Isaiah, *This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me. But in vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* The Lord also in the Gospel, in like manner, reproving and rebuking, declareth, *Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.* Which precept the blessed Apostle bearing in mind, himself also warns and instructs us, saying, *If any man teach otherwise and consent not to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ and to His doctrine, he is proud, knowing nothing; from such withdraw thyself.*

4. Truly, an excellent and legitimate tradition is propounded by our brother Stephen's teaching, supplying us with an adequate authority! For in the same place of his Epistle he has added, "since those who are properly heretics

ⁿ perhaps, as a sort of monster from the Euxine, (there being a sort of irony in the word Pontus,) at all events, as Bal., with reference to the proverbial

savageness of the country, as Tert. adv. Marc. i. init.

^o S. Iren. i. 28.

do not baptize such as come to them from one another, but only admit them to communion." For to this depth of ill hath the Church of God and spouse of Christ sunk, that she is to follow the example of heretics, that to celebrate the heavenly Sacraments light must borrow her order from darkness, and Christians do the same as Antichrists. But what blindness of mind is it, what perverseness, not to acknowledge the unity of the Faith which proceeds from God the Father, and from the tradition of Jesus Christ our Lord and God!

6. For if the Church is therefore not with heretics, because it is one and cannot be divided, and if the Holy Ghost is therefore not with them, because He is One, and cannot be with profane persons and strangers, surely Baptism also which consists in the same unity, cannot be with heretics, because it cannot be separated either from the Church or from the Holy Ghost.

7. Or if they attribute the effect of Baptism to the Majesty of the Name, so that they who are wheresoever and howsoever^p baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, must be deemed to be renewed and sanctified, why should not also hands be by them laid^q on the person baptized, in the Name of the Same Christ, for the receiving of the Holy Ghost? Why does not the same Majesty of the Same Name avail in the laying on of hands, which they contend hath availed in the sanctification of Baptism? For if any, born out of the Church, can become the temple of God; why cannot the Holy Ghost also be poured on this temple? For he who has been sanctified, his sins being laid aside in Baptism, and has been spiritually formed into a new man, is made fit for receiving the Holy Ghost; for that the Apostle says, *As Gal. 3, many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on 27. Christ.* He then who being baptized among heretics can *put on Christ*, much more can he receive the Holy Ghost, Whom Christ hath sent. Otherwise He That hath been sent will be greater than Him That sent, if one baptized without may come indeed to put on Christ, but could not re-

^p see ab. on Ep. 73. p. 251. n. a.

^q S. Aug. (de Bapt. v. 23.) interprets this, not of confirmation but of their restoration as penitents. "Unless hands were laid on one coming from heresy, he would be judged to be wholly blame-

less; but for the uniting through love, which is the greatest gift of the Holy Spirit, without which whatever other holy things there may be in a man, avail not to salvation, hands are laid on heretics when amended."

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A. 256.

ceive the Holy Spirit; as if either Christ could be put on without the Spirit, or the Spirit be separated from Christ. How unmeaning too were it, that whereas the second birth, whereby we are born in Christ through the laver of regeneration, is spiritual, some say that man may be spiritually born among heretics, with whom they deny the Spirit to be. For water alone cannot cleanse sins and sanctify a man, unless it have also the Holy Ghost. Wherefore they must needs concede either that the Spirit is there, where they say Baptism is; or that that is not Baptism, where the Spirit is not, in that Baptism cannot be without the Spirit.

8. What an act then is it to assert and contend, that they can be the sons of God, who have not been born in the Church! For that it is Baptism wherein the old man dies and the new is born, the blessed Apostle makes manifest and proves, saying, Tit. 3, 5. *He saved us by the washing of regeneration.* But if regeneration is in *the washing*, that is, in Baptism, how can heresy, which is not the spouse of Christ, through Christ engender sons^r to God? For it is the Church alone, which, joined and united to Christ, spiritually beareth sons, the Eph. 5, same Apostle again saying, *Christ loved the Church, and 25. 26. gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water.* If therefore she is the beloved and spouse of Christ, who alone is sanctified by Christ, and alone is cleansed by His washing, it is plain that heresy, which is not the spouse of Christ, nor can neither be cleansed or sanctified by His washing, cannot bear sons to God. Moreover a person is not born by the laying on of hands, when he receives the Holy Ghost, but in Baptism; that so being already born he may receive the Spirit, as was done in Gen. 2, the first man Adam. For God first *formed him*, and then 7. *breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.* For the Spirit cannot be received, except there is first one to receive it. But since the birth of Christians is in Baptism, and the generation of Baptism and sanctification are with that one spouse of Christ who can spiritually conceive and bear sons to God, where and of whom and to whom is he born, who is not a son of the Church, so as to have God for his Father, before he has the Church for his mother?

9. But since no heresy whatever, nor indeed any schism,

^r see S. Aug. ab. p. 249. n. k.

being without, can have the sanctification of Baptism out of the Church, why has the unyielding obstinacy of our brother Stephen burst out to such a pitch, that he should contend that sons are born to God even from the baptism of Marcion, of Valentinus also and Apelles, and of the rest who blaspheme against God the Father? and that he should say that remission of sins is there given in the Name of Jesus Christ, where blasphemies are uttered against the Father and against Christ our Lord God?

10. In this place, dearest brother, we ought, duly estimating the faith and sacred character of our priestly function, to consider whether the account of a priest of God can stand in the Day of Judgment, who upholds and approves and allows the baptisms of blasphemers, whereas the Lord threatens and says, *And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you.* Mal. 2, *If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give* ^{1. 2.} *glory unto My Name, saith the Lord of hosts, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings.* Does he give glory to God, who communicates with the baptism of Marcion? Does he give glory to God, who judges that remission of sins is given by those who blaspheme God? Does he give glory to God, who asserts that sons are born to God without, of an adulteress and a harlot? Does he give glory to God, who not maintaining the unity and truth proceeding from the Divine law, upholds heresies against the Church? Does he give glory to God, who, the friend of heretics, and enemy to Christians, thinks that priests of God, defending the truth of Christ, and the unity of the Church, are to be excommunicated? If glory is thus given to God, if the fear of God and His discipline is thus upheld by His worshippers and priests, let us cast aside our arms, let us yield ourselves captives, let us deliver over to the Devil the ordering of the Gospel, the appointments of Christ, the majesty of God: be the sacramental oaths of our divine warfare loosed, the ensigns of the heavenly camp abandoned; let the Church bow down, and give way to heretics, light to darkness, faith to faithlessness, hope to despair, reason to error, immortality to death, charity to hatred, truth to falsehood, Christ to antichrist. Well then may schisms and heresies so spring up daily, and spread more

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 A. 256. manifoldly and luxuriantly, and shooting up with snaky
 tresses cast out with greater force their poisonous venom
 against the Church of God, when by the advocacy of some,
 authority and strength is given them; when their baptism is
 defended, when faith, when truth are abandoned, when what
 is done without, against the Church, within is vindicated in
 the Church herself. But if, most beloved brother, the fear
 of God abides with us, if regard to the faith prevaieth, if we
 keep the precepts of Christ, if we maintain the sanctity of
 His spouse incorrupt and inviolate, if the words of the Lord
 Luke 18, cleave to our thoughts and hearts, where He says, *When the*
 8. *Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?*
 then, as being faithful soldiers of God, warring for God with
 faith and sincere devotion, guard we with faithful constancy
 the camp entrusted to us of God.

11. Nor should the custom, which amongst some had
 crept in, be an obstacle, that the truth prevail not and over-
 come. For a custom without truth is error inveterate.
 Wherefore abandoning the error let us follow truth, knowing
 Esdras that in Esdras also truth prevaieth, as it is written; *As for*
 4, 38-40. *the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and*
conquereth for evermore. With her there is no accepting of
persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just:
neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is
the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages.
Blessed be the Lord God of truth. This truth Christ
 John 14, shewing to us, says in His Gospel, *I am the Truth.*
 6. Wherefore if we are in Christ and have Christ in us; if we
 abide in the truth and the truth abideth in us; let us hold
 the things that are true.

12. It happeneth however through a love of presumption
 and obstinacy, that men will maintain their own positions
 though erroneous and false, rather than yield to what is right
 and true, but another's. Providing for this, the blessed
 2 Tim. 2, Apostle Paul writes to Timothy, and admonishes, *that a*
 24. *bishop must not strive, but should be gentle and teachable*.
 But he is *teachable*, who, meek and gentle, endureth to
 learn. For it behoves a Bishop not only to teach, but also

† docibilis; so quoted by Tert. de Prol. §. 5. and S. Aug. sæp. see Sabatier
 Monog. c. 12. by S. Ambr. de Fid. v. ad loc.

to learn ; because he teaches also better, who daily increases and advances by learning better. This too the same Apostle teaches us, admonishing, that *if any thing* better ^{1 Cor. 14, 30.} *be revealed to another that sitteth by, the first should hold his peace.*

13. But for religious and simple minds, there is a short method whereby to put off error, and to discover and extract the truth. For if we return to the head and original of Divine tradition, human error ceases ; and having seen into the grounds of the heavenly sacraments, whatever lay hid under the gloom and cloud of darkness, is laid open to the light of truth. If a conduit conveying water, which before flowed copiously and abundantly, should suddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain, that there the reason of the failure may be ascertained, whether the springs having failed, the water has dried up at the fountain-head ; or whether, flowing thence in unimpaired fulness, it is stopped in the middle of its course ; that so, if through the defect of leaks or obstructions in the conduit the water supplied have been hindered from flowing in a continuous and unbroken stream, then, the conduit being repaired and strengthened, the water, kept together, may be supplied for the use and consumption of the city in the same abundance and fulness, wherewith it issues from the fountain ? This then it now behoves the priests of God to do who keep the Divine commandments, that if the truth has in any respect tottered and faltered, we should go back to our Lord, as our Head, and to the Evangelic and Apostolic tradition ; that so the grounds of our action might spring thence, whence both our order and origin took its rise.

14. For it has been delivered to us that there is One God, and One Christ, and one hope, and one faith, and one Church, and one Baptism appointed only in the one Church, from ^{Ephes.} which unity whosoever shall depart must needs be found ^{4, 5.} with heretics ; whom upholding against the Church, he impugns the mystery of the Divine tradition. A mysterious image¹ of this unity we see expressed in the Song of Songs, <sup>1 Sacra-
mentum
Solo-
mon's
Song, 1,
12. 13.</sup> *A garden enclosed is My sister, My spouse, a fountain sealed, a well of living water, an orchard of pomegranates.* But if His Church is a garden

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A. 256. *enclosed, and a fountain sealed, how can he who is not in the Church, enter the same garden, or drink of its fountain?* Peter likewise, setting forth and upholding unity, has charged and admonished, that we can only be saved by the one only

1 Pet. 3, 20. *Baptism of the one Church. In the ark of Noah, few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water, as also Baptism shall in like manner save you.* With how compendious and spiritual brevity has he set forth the mystery of unity? For as in that Baptism of the world, whereby the old iniquity was cleansed^s, he who was not in the ark of Noah, could not be saved by water; so neither now can he appear to be saved by Baptism, who has not been baptized in the Church, which is founded in the unity of the Lord after the mystery of the one ark.

15. Having then, dearest brother, searched out and discovered the truth, what we observe and maintain is this, that all converted to the Church from whatsoever heresy, be baptized with the alone legitimate Baptism of the Church, except such as had been baptized before in the Church, and then had gone over to heretics. For these, when they return, having done penance, should be received by imposition of hands only, and be restored by the shepherd to the fold whence they had strayed.

I bid thee, dearest brother, ever heartily farewell.

EPISTLE LXXV.

Firmilian to Cyprian, his brother in the Lord, greeting.*

We have received, dearest brother, by the deacon whom you sent, our well-beloved Rogatian, the letter which you

^s See ab. Ep. 69. §. 2. p. 222. and n. 6.

^a S. Firmilian was of noble birth in Cappadocia, (S. Greg. Nyss.) was eminent as a Bishop in A. 231. (Eus. H. E. vi. 26.) He appears to have been a disciple of Origen, and is mentioned by Eusebius as one of the most distinguished of those who looked up to him. He valued Origen so much, as "sometimes to bring him to his own country for the benefit of the Churches, sometimes to visit him in Judæa, passing

some time with him, for the sake of improvement in Divine things," (l. c. 27.) He was the like-minded friend of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, who confided to him first his purpose to abandon secular philosophy, and give his life and his thoughts wholly to God. (S. Greg. Nyss. vit. S. Greg. Thaum. t. i. p. 542.) S. Greg. Nyss. calls him "an ornament of the Church of Cæsarea." (ib.) S. Dionysius the Great counts him among the most illustrious Bishops of his time, (ap. Eus. H. E. vii. 5.)

addressed to me, and we gave most hearty thanks to the Lord, for that it has happened, that we who are separated from one another in body, are so united in spirit; as though we were not merely living in one country, but dwelling together in one and the selfsame house. And this too may be said, since the spiritual house of God is one. For *it shall* Is. 2, 2. *come to pass, saith the Prophet, in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, and the house of God above the tops of the mountains:* wherein such as meet together are with gladness united; according, as in the Psalm, request is made to the Lord, to *dwell in the house of* Ps. 27, 4. *the Lord all the days of his life.* Whence too it is elsewhere made manifest, that saints have great delight in meeting together: *Behold, he says, how good and how pleasant it is* Ps. 133, *for brethren to dwell together in unity.* For unity and ^{1.} peace and concord afford the highest pleasure, not only to

Eusebius, as (with S. Greg. Thaum. and six others) one of the most eminent of the very large Council of Antioch, which condemned Paul of Samosata. (ib. c. 28.) He is quoted by S. Basil, (from his then extant writings,) as an authority in doctrine, (de Sp. S. c. 29.) Theodoret calls him "an illustrious person, and possessed both of secular and divine knowledge." (Hær. Fab. ii. 8.) He seems to state that he himself had with many others been present at the Council of Iconium, where the practice of baptizing heretics was confirmed; and if so, it must have been at the very beginning of his Episcopate, (jampridem bel. §. 7.) He with Helenus and Theoctistus urged S. Dionysius to "come to the Synod of Antioch, where some were trying to establish the heresy of Novatian," (Eus. vi. 16.) and he is mentioned as one of those who joyed exceedingly at the restored peace of the Church, which had been distracted by it. (ib. vii. 4.) He was present at two Synods of Antioch, in which he condemned the heresy of Paul of Samosata, at the second of which he seems to have presided, since he is related to have deferred the sentence against Paul, trusting in his promise to recant. (ib.) He departed this life at Tarsus on his way to the great Council of Antioch, where Paul was condemned, and which was awaiting his coming, and by whom he was at once, with Dionysius, entitled "of blessed memory." (l. c.) Pope Stephen rejected his Communion

and that of the Bishops of the neighbouring provinces, (Dionys. ap. Eus. vii. 6.) as well as that of S. Cyprian. He is commemorated in the Greek Church on Oct. 28. [from Tillemont. Art. S. Firmilien.] Ruinart conjectures very probably that he may have been the author of the brief but interesting Acta S. Cyrilli pueri, who was martyred at Cesarea, it is thought in the third century.

Questions as to the genuineness of this Epistle have been raised, now and then, by R. C. writers, on account of the severity of its language against Pope Stephen. But these have been but few. The Latin is so entirely the style of St. Cyprian as to leave no question that it was translated by him, while there are traces also of Græcisms, (noticed by Pam. and the author of the life of S. Cyprian in the ed. Ben. p. 118.) It is probably alluded to by S. Augustine, c. Cresc. iii. 1. (as the Bened. Edd. also think,) "whatever thou hast thought good to insert of the Epistles of the venerable Martyr Cyprian and of certain Orientals," and de unit. Bapt. c. Petil. c. 14. "as the letters of other Bishops and of Cyprian himself shew." S. Aug. probably did not notice it further, because the Donatists relied on the authority of S. Cyprian, not of an Eastern Bishop. It is extant in 26 Mss. (some the oldest) of S. Cyprian. (See further Walsh Diss. inserted in Lumper, t. 12. p. 547.)

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Lukel5, 10. faithful men who know the truth, but also to the very angels in heaven; among whom, the Divine word says, *there is joy over one sinner that repenteth*, and returneth to the bond of unity.

2. Which assuredly would not be said of angels, who have their conversation in heaven, unless they too, who rejoice in our unity, were united to us: as surely they contrariwise are saddened, when they see the diverse minds and divided wills of some; so that not only they do not join in calling upon One and the Same Lord, but, separated and divided from one another, they can no longer hold common conversation and discourse together. However, we may for this thank Stephen; that through his unkindness¹ it hath now happened, that we should receive a proof of your faith and wisdom. But though we have received the mercy of this favour through Stephen, yet Stephen has not therefore done what deserves favour and thanks. For neither can Judas, by reason of his perfidy and treachery, wherewith he dealt accursedly against the Saviour, be thought worthy, though he had been the cause of blessings so great, and through him the world and the people of the Gentiles were freed by the Passion of the Lord.

¹ inhumanitas

3. But let the acts of Stephen for the present be passed over; lest, whilst we recal his bold and presuming deeds, we prolong the sadness occasioned by what he has done amiss. But knowing of you, that according to the rule of truth and the wisdom of Christ, you have ordered this, about which a question is now raised; we exult with great joy and give thanks to God, that, in brethren so far distant, we find such unanimity of faith and truth with us. For the grace of God is able to join and knit together in the bond of charity and unity, even what seems divided by great distance of space, as, of old, the Divine power joined together in the bond of unanimity those separated by a long interval of time, Ezekiel and Daniel, of later date, with Job and Noah who were among the first; so that although they were disjoined by long periods, yet by divine inspiration they held the same. This too we now observe in you, that ye who are separated from us by very distant regions, yet prove yourselves to be united with us in mind and spirit. All which proceeds from the Divine Unity. For since there is One and the Same Lord Who dwelleth in us, He every

where knits and joins together His own in the bond of unity. Whence *their sound went forth through all the earth*, who were sent by the Lord, running swiftly in the spirit of unity. As contrariwise it nothing profits others that they are near and conjoined in body, if they differ in mind and spirit; for that Ps. 19, 4. souls cannot be any way united, which have divided themselves from the Unity of God. For, lo, it says, *they that are far from Thee shall perish*: but such, as they deserve, shall undergo the judgment of God, in that they depart from the words of Him, Who entreats the Father for unity, and says, Ps. 73, *Father, grant that as Thou and I are One, so they also may*²⁷. *be one in Us.*

4. But what you have written to us, we receive as if it were our own; nor have we read it cursorily, but oftentimes John 17, repeating it, have committed it to memory. Nor doth it²¹ hinder any saving uses, either to repeat the same things for confirming the truth, or to add, it may be, some things for accumulating proof. But if any thing has been added by us, it is not added as though you had said too little; but because the Divine word surpasses human nature, and the soul cannot conceive it wholly and perfectly. Wherefore also the number of Prophets is so great, that *the manifold wisdom of God* might be distributed through many. Whence also whoso first speaketh in prophecy is bidden to hold his peace, if any thing be revealed to a second. For which cause it is of necessity arranged among us, that we, elders and prelates, meet every year to set in order the things I Cor. entrusted to our charge: that if there be any matters of^{14, 30.} graver moment, they may be settled by common advice; that for brethren who have lapsed, and after saving Baptism have been wounded by the devil, a remedy may by penance be sought: not as if they obtained remission of sins from us^b, but that through us they may be brought to a knowledge of their offences, and be compelled to give fuller satisfaction to the Lord. But since your messenger was in haste to return to you, and the winter season was close at hand, we have answered your letter to the best of our power^c.

^b "for what God does through His priests, is of His own power." S. Patrician. ap. Rig.

^c individually, instead of sending a Synodical letter on the following Easter.

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5. As regards then what Stephen has said, as though the Apostles forbade those to be baptized who came over from heresy, and that they delivered this to be observed by posterity, you have answered most fully, that no one can be so foolish as to believe that the Apostles delivered this, in that it is known that these very execrable and detestable heresies arose afterwards. For Marcion, the disciple of Cerdon, may be proved to have introduced his profane doctrine against God, much later than the Apostles, and long after their times. Apelles too, consenting to his blasphemy, added many other new and more heinous articles, in enmity to faith and truth. Moreover the period of Valentinus and Basilides is evident, that they too after the Apostles, and after a long period, rebelled with their wicked falsehoods against the Church of God. It is known also that the other heretics long after introduced their wicked sects and perverse inventions, as each was led astray by error; of all whom it is evident that they are self-condemned, and that even before the Day of Judgment they have pronounced against themselves an irreversible sentence. Whoso then confirmeth their baptism, what else does he than adjudge himself with them, and condemn himself by making himself a partaker with them?

6. But that they who are at Rome do not in all respects observe the things handed down from the beginning, and that they in vain pretend the authority of the Apostles, any one may know even from this, that in celebrating Easter, and in many other divine and sacramental ordinances, we may see that there are certain diversities among them, and that all things are not alike observed by them, which are observed at Jerusalem. As in very many other provinces also, there are many differences^d according to the diversity of places and names^e; nor yet has there on this account been any departure from the peace and unity of the Catholic Church. This, Stephen has now dared to make, breaking the peace with you, which his predecessors ever maintained

^d See Socr. 5, 32. S. Aug. Ep. 54. ad Januar.

^e *nominum*. It should doubtless be "*hominum*," "of men;" but Bal. says

that *nominum* is the reading of all the old Mss. The two, however, often nearly coincide in Mss.

with you in mutual affection and respect: moreover herein defaming the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, as if they had handed this down; whereas in their Epistles they execrated ^{Rom. 16, 17.} heretics, and warned us to avoid them. Whence it is ap-^{2 Pet. 3, 17.} parent that this tradition is human, which upholds heretics, and maintains that they have Baptism which belongs to the Church alone.

7. Moreover you have well answered that part, where Stephen has said in his Epistle, that heretics themselves agree in the point of Baptism, and that they “do not baptize such as come to them from one another, but only admit them to communion,” as if we too ought to do the same. In which place, although you have already proved that it is an absurd thing for any one to follow those that err, yet we add this over and above: that it is no wonder if heretics act thus, who, although they differ in some minor points, yet, in that which is of the greatest moment, they hold one common agreement, namely, to blaspheme the Creator, fashioning for themselves certain dreams and phantasms of an *unknown God*: with whom surely it is a natural consequence that they should agree in the vain semblance of their baptism, just as they agree in rejecting the truth of the Divinity. Concerning whom, since it would be tedious to answer their several, whether wicked or foolish, tenets, it suffices to say, briefly, that they who hold not the true Lord the Father, cannot hold either the truth of the Son or of the Holy Ghost. Accordingly those called Cataphrygians, who attempt to claim new prophecies, can neither have the Father, nor the Son*; of whom if we ask what Christ they preach, they will answer that they preach Him who sent the spirit that spoke by Montanus and Prisca. In whom when we perceive that the spirit, not of truth, but of error dwelt, we know that they who uphold their false

* Pam. adds, “*nee Spiritum Sanctum*,” it is uncertain whether from a Ms. or a conjecture of Caechius. 6 Mss. ap. Fell. and those of Bal. omit the words “*Sp. S.*” although old Mss. ap. Bal. had the word “*nee*.” Bal. included the words in brackets as of no authority; they seem to have been added, to complete the confession of

the Trinity, whereas S. Firmil. appears to have gone on from the mention of “*The Son*,” to say, “*of whom if we ask what Christ*,” &c. i. e. they could not hold the truth of Christ, Whom they affirm to have sent not the Holy Spirit, but that which spake by Prisca, i. e. an evil one.

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A. 256. prophesying against the Faith of Christ, cannot have Christ. Moreover, the several other heretics, if they have separated themselves from the Church of God, can have no power or grace; for that all power and grace is placed in the Church, where the elders preside, who also possess the power of baptizing and of laying on of hands and of ordaining. For as a heretic cannot lawfully ordain, or lay on hands, so neither can he baptize, or do any holy or spiritual act, in that he is a stranger to spiritual and deifying sanctity. All this, some having doubted thereon, we, some time since¹, being assembled together in Iconium, a place in Phrygia, with those from Galatia, and Cilicia, and other neighbouring regions, confirmed, as to be held and firmly maintained against heretics.

¹ jam-
pridem

8. And since Stephen, and they who agree with him, contend that remission of sins, and the second birth can follow from the baptism of heretics, with whom even themselves confess the Holy Ghost is not; they should consider and understand that spiritual birth cannot be without the Spirit; in accordance wherewith the blessed Apostle Paul baptized anew with spiritual Baptism, those who had been baptized by John before the Holy Ghost was sent by the Lord, and so laid hands upon them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. But of what sort were it, that when we find that Paul baptized his disciples a second time after John's baptism, we should hesitate to baptize those who come over to the Church from heresy, after their unlawful and profane immersion? Unless indeed Paul was inferior to the Bishops of these days², so that they may give the Holy Ghost to such as come to them, by imposition of hands only; but Paul was not qualified to give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands to such as had been baptized by John, except he had first also baptized them with the Baptism of the Church.

² quibus
nunc, a
Græ-
cism.

9. That also is unreasonable, that they think no enquiry is to be made, who was the baptizer, for that the baptized may have obtained grace by the invocation of the Trinity, the Names of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Consequently this will be the wisdom which Paul writes is in those that are perfect. But who is there in the

1Cor. 2
6.

Church wise or perfect, who would either maintain or believe this, that this mere invocation of the Names would suffice for the remission of sins, and the sanctification of Baptism? whereas this assuredly then profits, when both he who baptizes has the Holy Ghost, and the Baptism itself also is appointed by the Holy Ghost. But they say that he who is howsoever baptized without, may by his own intention and faith attain the grace of Baptism. Which again is itself also doubtless absurd, as supposing that either a depraved intention could draw down on itself from heaven the sanctification of the righteous, or a false faith the truth of believers. But that not all who call on the Name of Christ are heard, and that calling upon Him cannot always obtain grace, the Lord Himself declares, saying, *Many shall come in My Name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.* ^{Mark 13, 6.} Surely there is no difference between a false prophet and a heretic. For as the one deceives in the Name of God or Christ, so does the other in the Sacrament of Baptism. Both rely upon a falsehood to deceive the minds of men.

10. But I would relate to you an occurrence that happened among us, bearing on this very subject. About two and twenty years since, in the times after the Emperor Alexander, many severe troubles and difficulties befel either all generally, or Christians especially, in these parts; there were also many and frequent earthquakes, such as occasioned great destruction through Cappadocia and Pontus; even cities were swallowed up by the opening of the severed earth, and sank in the abyss; in consequence whereof a severe persecution was raised against us of the Christian name. This, arising suddenly after a long period of continued peace, as being an unexpected and unwonted evil, proved more terrible in disturbing our people. Serenianus was at that time governor of our province, a bitter and cruel persecutor. But while the faithful were in this state of perturbation, and were fleeing hither and thither through fear of the persecution, and were leaving their own country, and passing over to other regions, (for there were means of removing, in that this persecution did not extend to the whole world, but was local,) on a sudden a certain woman started up among us, who being in a state of ecstasy pretended to be a prophetess, and acted as

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 if she were full of the Holy Ghost. But she was so carried away by the vehemence of the chief evil spirits, that for a long time she disquieted and deceived the brotherhood, performing certain wonderful and portentous things, and holding out that she would occasion an earthquake. Not that the devil had such power, as by his bidding to move the earth or disturb the elements; but that a wicked spirit sometimes knowing and perceiving beforehand^f that an earthquake is about to happen, pretends that he would do that which he foresaw would be. By these lies and boastings he had so subdued the minds of individuals, that they would obey him, and follow him wherever he directed and led the way: he would make that woman too walk in the keen winter with bare feet over frozen snow, without being at all incommoded or hurt by such movements; she said too that she was hastening to Judæa and Jerusalem, pretending that she had come thence. Here too she deceived^g one of the presbyters, a boorish man, and another also, a deacon, so that they had intercourse with her^h, which was shortly afterwards discovered. For suddenly there appeared against her one of the exorcists, a man approved and, as to religious discipline, ever of good conversation, who being roused by the exhortations of very many of the brethren, themselves also strong and praiseworthy in faith, arose against this wicked spirit to overcome him; who by a subtle deceit had shortly before foretold this also, that a certain perverted and unbelieving tempter would come. Nevertheless, that exorcist, inspired by the grace of God, boldly withstood him, and proved that he was a most wicked spirit who had before been accounted holy. But the woman, who through the wiles and delusions of the devil, was before devising many things to deceive the faithful, amongst others whereby she had deceived many, oftentimes ventured upon this also, she pretended to consecrate bread and that with an invocation which may not be despisedⁱ, and to celebrate the Eucharist,

^f See Tert. Apol. c. 22.

^g so Morell and Fell, citing the three Bishops, *ἀνθρώποι ἀγροικοὶ*, who consecrated Novatian, (Ep. 52. p. 111 not.) or as Rufinus (H. E. ii. 10) mentions that Ursinus induced a “*satis imperitus et agrestis* Episcopus” to consecrate

him after the election of Damasus. Rig. and Pam. (whom Bal. follows) print “*Rusticum*,” as a proper name.

^h “Seldom, without the destruction of purity, is the faith adulterated.” F.

ⁱ non contemptibili, probably *ὀυκ ἐγκαταφρονήται*. This form of speech

and she offered the Sacrifice^k to the Lord [not] without the mystery^l of the accustomed recitation^l; she also baptized^l ^{sacra-mento} many, using the accustomed and lawful form of questioning, so that she seemed in no respect to differ from the Ecclesiastical rule.

11. What then shall we say of her baptism, wherewith a most wicked devil baptized through a woman? Do Stephen and those who agree with him approve of this? especially since neither the symbol of the Trinity, nor the legitimate and Ecclesiastical interrogatories were omitted? Can it be believed either that remission of sins was given, or that the regeneration of saving Baptism was duly accomplished, where all things, although after the pattern of truth, yet were done by a devil? Unless indeed they who uphold the baptism of heretics contend that the devil conferred the grace of Baptism in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. For among heretics without doubt there is the same error; it also is the delusion of devils, inasmuch as the Holy Ghost is altogether not with them.

12. What meaneth also that which Stephen would have, that with those who are baptized by heretics is the Presence and holiness of Christ? For if the Apostle does not speak falsely, when he says, *As many of you as have been baptized Gal. 3, into Christ, have put on Christ:* then he who has been ^{27.} *baptized by them into Christ, has put on Christ.* But if he has *put on Christ*, then he could receive the Holy Ghost also, Who was sent by Christ, and when he comes to us to no purpose are hands laid on him, to the receiving the Holy Ghost: unless indeed he has put on the Spirit from Christ^m, so that Christ may be with heretics, but the Holy Ghost not be with them.

seems to have been used, in order to avoid speaking distinctly of what is so holy, in connection with such a subject.

^k Bp. Fell's conjecture "sacrificium Domino non sine" (ὅχι ἄνευ) seems almost certain; the "non" (in Mss. nō) having been omitted as if a repetition of the preceding syllable (Domino no). There seems however to be no Ms. authority for it. The whole context implies that this woman did use all the essential words.

^l prædicationis; doubtless the recita-

tion of the solemn words of Consecration, an unusual word being chosen on the same ground. So Bp. Fell, ἀνάμνησις. Pam. supposes it may mean "preaching" as part of the Communion Service, but the context relates to prescribed and sacramental words.

^m The argument, being one ex absurdo, involves a contradiction in the very form of stating it. If baptized into Christ, he is clad with Christ, but this is through the Holy Spirit, through Whom Christ dwelleth in us, yet the act of

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13. But briefly to touch on the other points whereof you have spoken most fully and satisfactorily, especially since our well-beloved Rogatian the deacon is in haste to return to you. It follows next, that those who uphold heretics are to be asked by us, whether their baptism is carnal or spiritual. For if it is carnal, they differ in no respect from the baptism of the Jews, which they use as a common and ordinary washing, whereby to cleanse the filth of the body. But if it is spiritual, how can their baptism be spiritual, with whom the Holy Spirit is not? And consequently the water wherein they are immersed, is to them a carnal washing only, not the Sacrament of Baptism.

2 Cor.
11, 2.
Ps. 45,
10. 11.

14. But if the baptism of heretics can have the regeneration of the second birth, those baptized by them are not to be accounted heretics, but sons of God. For the second birth, which is in Baptism, giveth birth to sons of God. But if the spouse of Christ, which is the Catholic Church, is one, she it is who alone giveth birth to sons to God. For there are not many spouses of Christ, since the Apostle says, *I have espoused you to one Husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. And, Hearken, daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people; for the King hath greatly desired thy beauty. And, Come with Me, My spouse, from Lebanon, thou shalt come and shalt pass over from the source of the*

Cant. 5,
1.

*faith*ⁿ. And, *I am come into My garden, My sister, My spouse.* We see that one person is every where spoken of, because the spouse also is one. But the synagogue of heretics is not one with us, because neither is the spouse an adulteress and a harlot. Wherefore neither can she bring forth sons of God. Unless indeed, as Stephen seems to think, heresy brings them forth and exposes them; but the Church takes them up when exposed, and nourishes as her own those

laying on of hands was understood to confer the Holy Spirit upon the restored heretic, as not having received it before. In Baptism then, according to their hypothesis, being baptized into Christ, he must have put on the Spirit from Christ, and yet since they had it not, have so put it not, as not to have it; which is nearly St. Augustine's view,

that they had it, but suspended.

ⁿ Cant. 4, 8, "shalt look from the top of Amana." Amana is doubtless the mountain between Syria and Cilicia, although the Targ. understands it of the river Abana, which the Chethibh 2 Kings 5, 12. calls Amana. The LXX give a mystical meaning.

whom she brought not forth, whereas she cannot be the mother of strange children. And, accordingly, Christ our Lord, shewing that His spouse is one, and declaring the mystery of her unity, says, *He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth.* For if ^{Luke 11, 23.} Christ is with us, and heretics not with us, assuredly heretics are *against Christ*. And if we *gather with Christ*, but heretics do *not gather with us*, without doubt they *scatter*.

15. Nor must we pass over what is so essential and has been noticed by you, that according to the Song of Songs the Church is *a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed, an orchard of pomegranates.* But they who have never entered ^{Cant. 4, 12.} this garden, nor seen the orchard planted by God the Creator, how can they from the *fountain enclosed* within, and *sealed* with the Divine seal, give to any *the living water* of saving Baptism?

16. Moreover, since the ark of Noah was nothing else than a sacrament of the Church of Christ, which then, when all were perishing without, saved those only who were within the ark, we are plainly taught to look to the unity of the Church; as also the Apostle Peter expressed it, saying, *So also shall Baptism in like manner save you:* shewing, that ^{1 Pet. 3, 21.} as they who were not with Noah in the ark, not only were not cleansed and *saved by water*, but forthwith perished in that deluge, so now likewise whosoever are not in the Church with Christ, shall perish without, unless they are converted by penance to the alone and saving Baptism of the Church.

17. But how great his error, how exceeding his blindness, who says, that remission of sins can be given in the synagogues of heretics, and abideth not on the foundation of the one Church which was once fixed by Christ on a rock, may be hence learnt, that Christ said to Peter alone, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven:* ^{Mat. 16, 19.} and again in the Gospel, when Christ breathed on the Apostles only, saying, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* ^{John 20, 22, 23.} The power then of remitting sins was given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the Bishops who

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A. 256. succeeded them by vicarious ordination. But the enemies of the one Catholic Church in which we are, and the adversaries of us who have succeeded the Apostles, claiming to themselves against us unlawful priesthoods, and setting up profane altars, what other are they than Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, guilty of like sacrilege, and, with those who consent to them, to meet the same punishment, as then also their partners and abettors perished by the like death?

Rom. 10, 2. 18. And herein I am justly indignant at such open and manifest folly in Stephen, that he who so boasts of the seat of his episcopate, and contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, introduces many other *rocks*, and *buildeth* anew many Churches, in that by his authority he maintains baptism among them. For they who are baptized, without doubt fill up the number of the Church. But whoso approves their baptism, must needs also maintain of those baptized, that the Church also is with them. Nor does he perceive that he who thus betrays and abandons unity, casts into the shade, and in a manner effaces, the truth of the Christian *Rock*. Yet the Apostle acknowledges that the Jews, though blind through ignorance and bound through that most dreadful sin, have yet *a zeal of God*. Stephen, who proclaims that he occupies by succession the chair of Peter, is roused by no zeal against heretics, conceding to them no small but the very greatest power of grace, so far as to say and assert that through the Sacrament of Baptism they wash off the defilement of the old man, pardon the old deadly sins, make sons to God by heavenly regeneration, renew to eternal life by the sanctification of the Divine laver. He who concedes and assigns to heretics such great and heavenly privileges of the Church, what else does he than hold communion with them, for whom he maintains and claims so much grace? And in vain doth he any longer hesitate to consent and be partaker with them in the rest, to join in their assemblies, and mingle his prayers with them^o, and set up a common Altar and Sacrifice.

19. "But," he saith, "the Name of Christ availeth much

^o "which is wholly forbidden by the discipline of the Church. Can. Ap. 10. 45 and 46. Antioch. Can. 2. Laodic. Can. 11. Chalc. Can. 14. Carth. Can. 11. Sextæ Synod. Can. 72." [F.]

to faith and the sanctification of Baptism, so that whosoever is wheresoever baptized in the Name of Christ, forthwith obtains the grace of Christ ;” whereas this argument may be briefly met and answered, that if baptism in the Name of Christ out of the Church could avail to cleanse a man, laying on of hands in the Name of the Same Christ could avail there also to receiving the Holy Ghost. And the rest also, which is done by heretics, will come to be accounted right and lawful, since they are done in the Name of Christ ; as you have developed in your letter, that the Name of Christ can only avail in the Church, to which alone Christ has granted the power of heavenly grace.

20. But as to the refutation of the argument from custom, which they seem to oppose to the truth, who so foolish as to prefer custom to truth, or not to leave the darkness, when he sees the light ? Unless indeed custom the most ancient, in any respect aid the Jews, that, when Christ, that is, the Truth, came, disregarding the new way of truth, they abode by what was old. And this you of Africa may say in answer to Stephen, that on discovering the truth you abandoned the error of custom. But we join custom to truth, and to the custom of the Romans we oppose custom, but that of truth ; from the beginning holding that which was delivered by Christ and by His Apostles. Nor do we remember, that this ever had a beginning among us, since it has ever been observed here, that we know of none but the one Church of God, and account Holy Baptism to be of none but the Holy Church. Only, since some doubted of the baptism of those, who, though they receive the new Prophets^p, yet appear to acknowledge the same Father and Son with us, very many of us, meeting together at Iconium, examined the question most diligently ; and we ratified, that every baptism whatsoever, which is set up without the Church, should be repudiated.

21. But whereas they urge, on behalf of heretics, that the

^p Bal. corrects from one old Ms. “ non ut nos,” “ do not, as we, receive the prophets.” 4 Mss., he notices, have “ non vos” with Morell.; this in Mss. often differs by a line only from *novos* (*nō vos*) which Pam. substituted from one

Eng. Ms. for “ non vos.” This, with Fell, has been kept, since all heretics, who rejected the prophets, rejected the Old Testament altogether, and “ blasphemed the Creator.” Bal. supposes reference to be made to Marcion.

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 Phil. 1.
 18.

 Apostle said, *Whether in pretence or in truth, let Christ be preached*; it were idle for us to answer it, since it is evident that the Apostle in his Epistle wherein he said this, made no mention either of heretics or of their baptism, but spoke of brethren only, whether such as in hypocrisy spake as himself, or such as persevered in sincere faith. Nor need we discuss this at length; it will suffice to read the Epistle itself, and to learn from himself what the Apostle said.

22. What then, they say, is to be done with those who, coming from heretics, have been admitted without the Baptism of the Church? If they have departed out of the world, they are to be reckoned in the number of those who, having been catechumens amongst us, died before they were baptized. The blessings of truth and faith, to which, having abandoned error, they had come over, were not mere words⁹, although, overtaken by death, they attained not the consummation of grace. But they who still abide in the world, should be baptized with the Baptism of the Church, that they may receive remission of sins; lest, through the presumption of others, abiding in their old error, they die without the consummation of grace.

23. But how great is the sin, whether of those who admit, or of those admitted, that, their defilements unwashed by the laver of the Church, their sins not laid aside, they, in communion rashly granted, touch the Body and Blood of the Lord, whereas it is written, *Whosoever shall eat the Bread or drink the Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.*

24. We have judged that those also are to be accounted unbaptized, who had been baptized by such as had before been Bishops in the Catholic Church, and afterwards assumed to themselves the powers of their clerical ordination. And this is observed amongst us, that whosoever came to us, having been immersed by them, are, as aliens and having obtained nothing, baptized by us with the one true Baptism

⁹ "Non modo dicunt emolumentum veritatis et fidei," i.e. the Catechumens, when in the Confession of the Creeds, they acknowledged the blessings, given in Christ, and the Faith in Him, did not utter that in which they had no

part, although those blessings were not as yet actually imparted to them. God, he doubts not, had respect to their faith, although He called them away, before the Sacrament of faith could be given them.

of the Catholic Church, and so obtain the regeneration of the life-giving laver. And yet there is much difference between him who against his will and constrained by the pressure of persecution, sunk overcome, and him who, with sacrilegious will, daringly rebels against the Church, with impious voice blasphemes the Father and God of Christ, and the Creator of the whole world.

25. And is not Stephen ashamed to assert, that remission of sins can be given by those who are themselves set fast in all kinds of sin? As if the laver of salvation could be in the house of death! What then will become of that which is written, *Abstain from strange water, and drink not from a strange fountain*^r, if, leaving the *sealed fountain* of the Church, thou adopt *strange water* for thine own^s, and pollute the Church with profane fountains? For when thou communicatest with the baptism of heretics, what else dost thou but drink of their mire and mud, and, thyself cleansed with the sanctification of the Church, becomest defiled with the contagion of others' filth? Nor fearest thou the judgment of God, when giving thy testimony to heretics against the Church, though it is written, *A false witness shall not be* ^{Prov. 19, 5.} *unpunished*? Yea, thou art worse than all heretics; for when many, having discovered their error, come over from them to thee, that they may receive the true light of the Church, thou abettest their errors who come, and obscuring the light of the truth of the Church, increasest the darkness of the night of heresy. And whereas they confess that they are in sin, and have no grace, and therefore come to the Church, thou withdrawest from them the remission of sins which is given in Baptism, in that thou sayest that they have been already baptized, and, without the Church, have obtained the grace of the Church; nor considerest that their souls will be required at your hand, when the Day of Judgment shall come, who deniedst to those *athirst* the *drink* of the Church; and to ^{Mat. 25, 35.} such as longed to live wert an occasion of death. And withal, art thou indignant! Observe with what rashness thou presumest to blame those who contend for the truth against falsehood. For which might more justly be angry with the

^r Prov. 9, 19. see on Ep. 70. p. 233. ^s an apostrophe to Stephen.
11. C.

EPIST.
LXXXV
A. 256.

Prov.
29, 22.

Eph. 4,
1—6.

other? Whether he who upholds the enemies of God, or rather he who unites for the truth of the Church against him who upholds the enemies of God? Only it is plain that the ignorant are angry also and furious, in that, through want of counsel and argument, they are easily moved to wrath, so that Holy Scripture says of no one more than of thee, *An angry man stirreth up strife, and a furious man heapeth up sins.* For what *strifes* and dissensions hast thou *stirred up* through the Churches of the whole world! And how great *sin* hast thou *heaped up*, when thou didst cut thyself off from so many flocks? For thou didst cut thyself off; deceive not thyself; for he is truly the schismatic, who has made himself an apostate from the communion of the unity of the Church. For while thou thinkest that all may be excommunicated by thee, thou hast excommunicated thyself alone from all. Nor have even the precepts of an Apostle been able to keep thee to the rule of truth and peace, when thus admonishing, *I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and One Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one Baptism, One God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in us all.*

26. How diligently has Stephen fulfilled these salutary commands and warnings of the Apostle, keeping, in the first place, *lowliness and meekness*? For what can be more *lowly* and *meek* than to have disagreed with so many Bishops throughout the whole world, breaking peace with them severally in various modes of discord, now with the Eastern Churches, (as we feel confident you are aware,) now with yourselves, who are in the South? From whom^t he received Episcopal legates, with such *long-suffering and meekness*, that he would not admit them even to the common intercourse of speech; so mindful, moreover, of *love* and

^t plainly, as Bp. Pearson notes, (Annal. Cyp. A. 256. §. 7. p. 55.) those of the South, who had been last mentioned, not, as Bellarmine, the Eastern Church. This seems to have

been the occasion of St. C. writing to the Eastern Church, to which Bp. Pearson thinks that S. Firmil. alludes, §. 2. "that through his unkindness—we now receive a proof of your faith and wisdom."

charity, that he commanded the whole brotherhood, that no one admit them to their house; so that, when they came, not only *peace* and communion, but shelter and hospitality were denied them. This is to have *kept the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, to cut himself off from the unity of charity, and in all things to make himself an alien to the brethren, and with the fury of contumacious discord to rebel against the Sacrament and the Faith. With such an one can there be *one body and One Spirit*, in whom perhaps there is not one mind, so slippery is it, so shifting, so uncertain? But as concerns him, let us quit the subject.

27. Let us rather discuss that of which there is the greatest question. They who contend that those baptized by heretics ought to be received by us, as though they had received the grace of legitimate Baptism, say that we and they have only one Baptism, and no wise differ. But what says the Apostle Paul? *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*, ^{Eph. 4,} *One God*. ^{5. 6.} If the baptism of heretics is one and the same with ours, without doubt our Faith also is one. But if our faith is one, then surely we have also One Lord. If there is One Lord, it must needs follow that He is One". But if this unity, which cannot be in any way separated and divided, is itself also with heretics, why contend we any further? why call we them heretics and not Christians? But since we and heretics have not One God, nor One Lord, nor one Church, nor one Faith, nor yet One Spirit or one body, it is plain that neither can Baptism be in common to us and heretics, who have nothing at all in common. And yet is not Stephen ashamed to give support to such against the Church, and for the upholding of heretics to divide the brotherhood; nor, further, to call Cyprian *false Christ*, and ^{Mat. 24,} *false Apostle*, and *deceitful worker*. He, conscious that all ^{22.} ^{2 Cor.} these marks are in himself, has been beforehand, and falsely ^{11, 13.} objected to another what himself deserved.

We all wish you, together with all the Bishops who are in Africa, and all the Clergy, and the whole brotherhood, for all our sakes, farewell, that being ever of one mind and opinion, we may find you united with us though at a distance.

" and, being One, would not be present with those who have not One Faith. Bp. F. adopts the conjecture of Pam. "*quia unitas est.*" Bal. restored the reading of Morell. and old Mss. *unus est.*

A. 256. *The judgments of eighty-seven Bishops in the Council of Carthage on the question of baptizing heretics.*

WHEN on the Calends of September very many Bishops from the provinces of Africa^b, Numidia, and Mauritania, with their Presbyters and Deacons, had met together at Carthage, a great part of the laity being also present, and when the letter addressed by Jubaianus to Cyprian, as also the answer of Cyprian to Jubaianus, on the subject of baptizing heretics, had been read; Cyprian said^c; “Ye have heard, most beloved Colleagues, what Jubaianus our fellow-bishop has written to me, consulting my moderate ability concerning the unlawful and profane baptism of heretics; and what answer I gave him; giving a judgment, which we have once and again and often given, that heretics coming to the Church ought to be baptized and sanctified with the Baptism of the Church. Another letter of Jubaianus has likewise been read to you, in which, agreeably to his sincere and religious devotion, in answer to our Epistle, he not only expressed his assent, but returned thanks also, acknowledging that he had received instruction. It remains that we severally declare our opinion on this same subject, judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of communion^d, if he differ from us. For no one of us setteth himself up as a Bishop of Bishops^e, or by tyrannical terror forceth his Colleagues to a necessity of obeying; inasmuch as every Bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by another than

^a This Council is inserted here, in its own date, both to complete what is extant in S. Cyprian on this subject, and not to go back to controversy after accompanying the blessed Martyr in his last Epistle to the very gate of Paradise.

^b Proper, i. e. Zeugitana, F.

^c S. Aug. (who answers the statements in this Council, one by one, in the de Bapt. c. Dou. vi. vii.) remarks on “the pacific soul, overflowing with the milk of charity,” which characterizes this opening. (c. 6.)

^d S. Aug. notices (c. 7.) the like

moderation of S. Cyprian in the Epp. to Jubaianus. (Ep. 73. §. 23. p. 259, 60.) Magnus. (Ep. 70. §. 16. p. 232.)

^e Bal. observes, that this was used as a title of honour to other Bishops, besides the Bishop of Rome, as of S. James, (in the Ep. of Clement, and Rufinus, H. E. ii. 1.) S. Ambrose, (Eunod. i. earm. 15.) Hugh, Bp. of Ely, &c. (referring also to Cot. ad Ep. Clem. ad Jac. t. i. p. 605.) Here, however, not the name, as given out of reverence to others, but the act of claiming authority to himself, is the thing intended.

he can himself judge another. But we must all await the Judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who Alone has the power both of setting us in the government of His Church, and of judging of our acts therein.

1. *Cæcilius of Billa^t said.]* I know of one Baptism in the Church, and out of the Church, none. This one will be here where is the true hope and sure Faith. For thus it is written, *One Faith, one hope, one Baptism*; not among Eph. 4, heretics, where there is no hope, and a false faith; where all⁵ things are one lie; where a demoniac exorcises; the profane, whose mouth and words are a cancer, makes the sacramental interrogatory; the faithless imparts faith; the guilty gives the pardon of sins; antichrist immerseth in the Name of Christ; the accursed of God blesseth; the dead promiseth life; the unpeaceful giveth peace; the blasphemer invoceth God; the profane administereth the priesthood; the sacrilegious setteth up an altar. To all these things is added this evil also, that priests of the Devil⁶ dare to celebrate the Eucharist. If otherwise, let such as uphold them, say that all these things concerning heretics are false. Behold to what the Church is compelled to consent^b, and without Baptism and the remission of sins to grant communion. This, Brethren, we ought to shun and avoid, and to separate ourselves from so great wickedness, and to hold the *one Baptism*; which has been entrusted by the Lord to the Church alone.

2. *Prinus of Misgirpaⁱ said.]* I give my judgment that every one coming from heresy be baptized. For in vain doth

^t of Mauritania; perhaps the same as Bidil, Bita, or urbs Abitensis or Abidensis. F.

⁵ S. Aug. answers, §. 12. that the avaricious, envious, haters of brethren, within the Church, who yet may confer valid Baptism, have also all these qualities, i. e., that they are demoniacs, as giving place in their hearts to the devil and his angels; faithless, as breaking their vows; anti-Christ, since their lives are opposed to Christ; unbelieving, as mocking the threatenings of God; blasphemers, as causing the Christian name to be evil spoken of; dead, as having lost the life of righteousness; profane, as spiritually excluded from the inner sanctuary of God; sacri-

legious, as defiling themselves, His temple; priests of the devil, as ministering to fraud and avarice, which is idolatry, &c.

^b by Pope Stephen, plainly; in consequence of whose renunciation of the communion of the African Bishops the Council was called. S. Aug. says, that the words imply that there were other Bishops, who would fain compel to this.

ⁱ in Zeugitana. In S. Augustine, the name now stands, *primus Felix*, as the first of that name who spoke, or the Senior as implied by his speaking first. [F.] The Ben. observe, however, that the whole clause is not in the Mss. and was probably taken from this place by Erasmus.

CONC. any suppose that he has been baptized there, since there is
 CARTH. no baptism, except the one true Baptism in the Church: for
 A. 256. there is both *One God*, and *one Faith*, and *one Church*, wherein rests the *one Baptism* and sanctity and the rest. For whatever things are practised without, have no efficacy to salvation^k.

3. *Polycarp^l of Adrametum^m said.*] They who sanction the baptism of heretics make ours void.

4. *Noratus of Tanagadaⁿ said.*] Although we know that all the Scriptures give their testimony respecting saving baptism, yet we ought to express our faith, that heretics and schismatics, who seem to have been falsely baptized, when they come to the Church, ought to be baptized in the unfailing fountain; and therefore, according to the testimony of the Scriptures, and according to the decree of our Colleagues, men of most sacred memory, all schismatics and heretics, converted to the Church, should be baptized; moreover, that they who were thought to have been ordained, should be received as laymen.

5. *Nemesianus of Thubunæ said.*] That the baptism, which heretics and schismatics give, is not true, is every where declared in the Holy Scriptures; inasmuch as their very prelates are false Christs and false Prophets, as the Lord Prov. 9, 12. lxx. saith by Solomon, *He who trusteth in lies, feedeth on winds; the same also followeth flying birds. For he forsaketh the ways of his own vineyard, and has strayed from the path of his own field. But he walketh through trackless and dry places, and a land destined to thirst: and he gathereth* Prov. 9, 19. see note c. p. 408. *fruitless weeds in his hands.* And again, *Abstain from strange water, and drink not from a strange fountain, that thou mayest live long, and that years may be added to thy life.* And in the Gospel our Lord Jesus Christ spake with John 3, 5. His Divine voice, saying, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*

^k This S. Aug. allows, saying, that this is different from not being at all; "foris inerat sed non proderant." §. 14.

^l mentioned Ep. 46. perhaps Ep. 86. F.

^m on the coast and a colony, 85 miles

from Carthage. F.

ⁿ in Numidia on the confines of Mauritania, 14 miles from Lambesa. F.

^o in Mauritan. Caesariens. Thibinis ap. Ptol. mentioned in S. Aug. Ep. 220. and Coll. Carth. F.

This is the Spirit which from the beginning *moved upon the* ^{Gen. 1,} *face of the waters.* For neither can the Spirit act without ^{2.} the water, nor the water without the Spirit. Ill therefore to themselves do those interpret, who say, that by imposition of hands they receive the Holy Ghost, and are so received; whereas it is manifest that they ought by both Sacraments^o to be born again in the Catholic Church. Then indeed they may become sons of God, the Apostle saying, *Endeavouring* ^{Eph. 4,} *to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: there is* ^{3—6.} *one body, and One Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, One God.* All these things the Catholic Church speaks. And again in the Gospel the Lord says, *That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit; for God* ^{John 3,} *is a Spirit, and he is born of God* ^{6.}. Therefore all things whatsoever all heretics and schismatics do, are carnal, the Apostle saying, *The works of the flesh are manifest, which* ^{Gal. 5,} *are these; fornication, uncleanness, incest, idolatry, witch-* ^{19—21.} *craft, hatred, strife, emulations, wrath, divisions, heresies, and such like; of the which I have told you before, as I also tell you again, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* The Apostle condemns, equally with all the wicked, those also who *cause divisions*, that is, schismatics and heretics. Except therefore they receive saving Baptism in the Catholic Church which is one, they cannot be saved; but shall with the carnal be condemned in the Judgment of the Lord Christ.

6. *Januarius of Lambæsis* ^a *said.]* According to the authority of the Holy Scriptures I pronounce that all heretics ought to be baptized, and so admitted into the holy Church.

7. *Lucius of Castrum Galbæ* ^r *said.]* Since the Lord said in His Gospel, *Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt* ^{Mat. 5,} ^{13.}

^o See on Ep. 72. p. 240. n. b.

^p This whole passage in three Latin Mss. (ap. Scholz.) stands as part of S. John 3, 6. otherwise one might suppose it to be combined of different passages. It is so quoted by Tert. de Carne Christi, c. 18. and the Auct. lib. de Fid. Orth. fin. ap. S. Ambr. App. ii. p. 356. The former part, quia Deus Spiritus, (from S. John 4, 24.) occurs in S. Hil. de Trin. vii. 14. and 30. S. Ambr. de Sp. S. ii. 7. iii. 10. (where he sup-

poses the Arians to have removed it.) Optat. ii. 7. Vigil. Taps. Disp. ii. Ath. c. Arr. ap. S. Ath. ii. p. 636. see Constant Vind. vet. cod. (quoted by Bal.) and Sabat. ad loc.

^q in Numidia. Lamæsa or Lambæsa Ptol. see Ep. 59. F.

^r or Gilba. There were two towns so named in Numidia. This is mentioned by Aug. Ep. 92. Viet. Vit. Conc. Milev. et Carth. sub Bonif. F.

CONC. have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is
 CARTH. therefore good for nothing, but to be cast out and to be
 A. 256. trodden under foot of men; and again, since after His
 Resurrection, when He sent His Apostles He charged them,
 Mat. 18, saying, All power is given unto Me in heaven and in
 18. 19. earth: go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them
 in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the
 Holy Ghost; since then it is plain that heretics, that is, the
 enemies of Christ, have not the full confession of the
 Sacrament; that schismatics likewise cannot season with
 spiritual wisdom, since they themselves, by departing from
 the Church which is one, have lost their savour and become
 opposed; be that done which is written: *The house of those
 that are opposed to the law, must be cleansed*; and con-
 Prov. 14, 9. sequently let such as, having been baptized by those
 1xx. opposed, have been polluted, first be cleansed, and then
 baptized.

8. *Crescens of Cirta** said.] The letters of our most
 beloved Cyprian to Iubaianus and also those to Stephen[†]
 having been read in so large an assembly of most holy
 Prelates, and these containing in them so large a body of
 sacred testimony derived from the Deific Scriptures, that we
 have all good ground to assent thereto, united by the grace
 of God: I give my judgment that all heretics and schis-
 matics, who wish to come to the Catholic Church, be not
 allowed to enter unless they have been first exorcised and
 baptized, those excepted who have been before baptized
 in the Catholic Church", who however should be admitted
 to the Church's penance, and reconciled by imposition of
 hands.

9. *Nicomedes of Segerma** said.] My opinion is this;
 that heretics, coming to the Church, should be baptized, in
 that they can attain no remission of sins among sinners
 without.

* Cirta Julia (Ptol.) in Numidia, 84
 m. from Lambesis. F.

† S. Aug. §. 25. notices that the
 Epistle of S. Cyprian to P. Stephen is
 mentioned here and not in the exordium,
 which agrees with our Mss. There is
 then no ground for removing the words,
 with Bal.

‡ S. Aug. argues, (ib.) as then these
 retain in heresy, though unlawfully,
 the Baptism received in the Church,
 so those baptized without have baptism,
 but unlawfully, return that it may be-
 come lawful Baptism.

* in Numidia Byzac. Not. Ep. Afr.
 and Coll. Carth. F.

10. *Munnulus^r of Girba^s said.]* The truth of our mother the Catholic Church hath ever abode and still abideth among us, brethren, and especially in Baptism in the Trinity; our Lord having said; *Go ye and baptize all^{Mat. 28,} nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of^{19.} the Holy Ghost.* Since then we know assuredly that heretics have neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Ghost; they ought, when they come to our mother the Church, to be truly born again and baptized, that the cancer which they had, and the wrath of damnation, and the destructive workings of error, may be sanctified by the holy and heavenly washing.

11. *Secundinus of Cedis^a said.]* Since our Lord Christ says; *He that is not with Me is against Me:* and John the^{Mat. 12,} Apostle calls those who go out from the Church, antichrists;^{30.} ¹ John without doubt enemies of Christ, and who are called anti-^{2, 18.} christs, cannot administer the grace of saving Baptism. Therefore I give my judgment, that such as flee to the Church from the snares of heretics, should be baptized by us, who of His vouchsafement are called the friends of God.^{John 15,}

12. *Felix of Bagai^b said.]* As, *if the blind lead the blind,^{15.} both fall into the ditch;* so, if a heretic baptizes a heretic,^{Mat. 15,} both fall into death. Therefore a heretic should be baptized and brought to life, lest we who are alive should hold communion with the dead.

13. *Polianus of Mileum^c said.]* It is right that a heretic should be baptized in the holy Church.

14. *Theogenes of Hippo Regius^d said.]* According to the Sacrament of God's heavenly grace which we have received, we believe *one Baptism* which is in the holy Church.

15. *Datirus of Badis^e said.]* We, as far in us lies^f, do^{4, 5.} not hold communion with heretics, unless they have been

^r Ep. 57. ad Corn. tit. p. 137.

^s Gerra Ptol. Not. Ep. Afr. and Coll. Carth. F.

^a Coll. Carth. perhaps i. q. Quidias in Maurit. Cesar. Notit. Afr. F.

^b in Numidia, mentioned in the Coll. Carth. and S. Aug. in Ps. 36. S. 2. In it the Donatist Conc. Bagaiense of 310 Bishops was held. F.

^c in Numidia, the See of S. Optatus, and the seat of many Councils. Car. a S. Paulo distinguishes Mileum from

Milevis. F.

^d in Numidia, the See of S. Aug. 218 m. from Carthage, 160 from Hippo Diarrh.; now "Bona." F.

^e in Numidia, Badea or Badel in Ptol. F.

^f i. e. not so as to renounce Communion with them, if admitted by others. S. Aug. remarks again on the pacific character of the Council here evinced. §. 39.

CONC. baptized in the Church, and have received remission of
CARTH. sins.
A. 256.

16. *Successus of Abbir Germaniciuna^g said.*] Heretics have either no power or all power. If they can baptize, they can also give the Holy Spirit. But if they cannot give the Holy Spirit, because they have not the Holy Spirit; neither can they spiritually baptize; wherefore we give our judgment, that heretics should be baptized.

17. *Fortunatus of Thuccaboris said.*] Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the Son of God the Father and Creator, built His Church upon a rock, not upon heresy; and gave the power of baptizing to Bishops, not to heretics. Wherefore they who are without the Church, and who, standing against Christ, scatter His sheep and flock, being without, cannot baptize.

18. *Sedatus of Thuburbo^h said.*] In as much as water sanctified by the prayer of the priest in the Church washes away sins; in so much, when infected as with a cancer by the wordⁱ of heretics, does it add sins. Wherefore we must strive by all peaceful^k might that no one infected and tainted by heretical error, should refuse to receive the only and true Baptism of the Church, with which whoso shall not be baptized shall be an alien from the kingdom of heaven.

19. *Privatiannus of Sufetula^l said.*] Whoso says that heretics have the power of baptizing, should first say who founded heresy. For if heresy is from God, it may also have the Divine favour. But if it is not from God, how can it either have or confer on any the grace of God?

^g called by either name severally, as in Conc. Carth.; in Afr. Zeugit. F.

^h two cities of this name, in Zeugit. a greater and a less. Thuburbo Ptol. Thuburbis Plin. and Coll. Carth. F.

ⁱ S. Aug. replies, §. 47. that the efficacy of the Sacrament depends solely on 'those fixed words of the Gospel, without which Baptism cannot be consecrated,' but "that it were easier to find heretics who did not baptize at all, than such as did not baptize with those words," and that other erroneous prayers at the time of administering did not vitiate the power of those words, but rather "by them was converted whatever was said in a faulty prayer contrary to the rule of

faith. Else, if the font were not consecrated, when he who prayed, through want of information, uttered any thing erroneous, many not only bad, but even good brethren, in the Church itself, did not sanctify the font."

^k S. Aug. §. 48. remarks "on the love of unity and peace" infused into this Council by S. Cyprian's example, which would rather bear with those whom they called sacrilegious and profane and admitted without Baptism, than on their account, break that holy band."

^l in Byzac. 50 m. from Tucca Terebinthina 25 from Sufes. mentioned Viet. Vit. ii. F.

20. *Privatus of Sufes^m said.*] Whoso approves the baptism of hereticsⁿ, what else does he than communicate with heretics?

21. *Hortensianus of Lares^o said.*] How many baptisms there are, let those presumers or upholders of heretics consider. We assert one Baptism of the Church, which we know is only in the Church. Or how can they baptize any in the Name of Christ, whom Christ Himself says are His adversaries?

22. *Cassius of Macomadæ^p said.*] Since there cannot be two baptisms, he who concedes Baptism to heretics, takes it away from himself. I am of opinion therefore that heretics, objects of sorrow, subject to corruption, should be baptized when they begin to come to the Church; and that being washed by the sacred and divine laver, and illuminated by the light of life, they should be received into the Church, being made, no longer enemies, but peaceful; not strangers, but of the household of the faith of the Lord; not bastards, but sons of God; the offspring not of error, but of salvation: except those who being believers have been supplanted and have gone over from the Church to the darkness of heresy: such should be restored by imposition of hands.

23. *Another Jannarius of Vicus Cæsaris^q said.*] If error does not obey truth, much more doth not truth assent to error. And on that ground we stand by the Church in which we preside, and so, claiming her Baptism for her alone, we baptize those whom the Church has not baptized.

24. *Another Secundinus of Carpi^r said.*] Are heretics Christians^s, or no? If they are Christians, why are they not in the Church of God? If they are not Christians, how can they make Christians? or whereto then relateth that word of the Lord; *He that is not with Me is against Me; and he* Mat. 12, 30.

^m in Byzac. Anton. Vict. Vit. F.

ⁿ not their's, but Christ's, S. Aug. §. 52.

^o in Numid. Ptol. between Carth. and Cirta. 117 m. from Carth. mentioned Sall. Bell. Jug. Procop. Vand. ii. Vict. Vit. i. Coll. Carth. F.

^p in Numid. Macodama Ptol. 175 m.

from Sufetula. F.

^q probably Nova Cæsaris in Numid. ap. Vict. Vit. Coll. Carth. F.

^r in Zeugit. on the confines of Tunis, Plin. and Ptol. often mentioned in the Cone. Carth. F.

^s S. Aug. answers, as before, "Are the ungodly Christians or no? &c."

CONC. *that gathereth not with Me scattereth?* Whence it is plain
 CARTH. that on strange children, and the offspring of antichrist, the
 A. 256. Holy Ghost cannot descend by imposition of hands only, in
 that it is evident that heretics have not Baptism.

25. *Victoricus of Thabraca¹ said.*] If heretics may lawfully baptize and give remission of sins, why defame we them, and call them heretics?

26. *Another Felix of Uthina² said.*] No one can doubt, most holy fellow-prelates, that human presumption has not so much power as the Adorable and Venerable Majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ. Mindful then of the peril, we ought not only to observe this ourselves, but also to establish it by our unanimous sentence, that all heretics who return to the bosom of our mother the Church be baptized; that so the heretical mind, which has been polluted by long-continued defilement, being cleansed by the sanctification of the laver, may be reformed for the better.

27. *Quietus of Baruch³ said.*] We who live by faith ought with believing observance to obey the things that have been before foretold for our instruction. For it is written in Solomon; *He that is washed by one dead, what availeth his washing⁴?* which assuredly speaks of those that are washed by heretics, and of them that wash them. For if those baptized by them, obtain eternal life by the remission of sins, why come they to the Church? But if no salvation is received from one dead, and they, therefore, seeing their former error, return to the truth with penance; they ought to be sanctified with the one life-giving Baptism, which is in the Catholic Church.

28. *Castus of Sicca⁵ said.*] He who despising truth presumes to follow custom, is either envious or evil-disposed towards the brethren, to whom the truth is revealed, or is ungrateful towards God⁶ by Whose inspiration His Church is instructed.

¹ a colony, Ptol. (Tabraca, Plin. Tabathra, Steph.) in Numid. Coll. Carth. and Conc. Carth. A. 398. F.

² *Othina*, Ptol. in Zeugit. F.

³ probably *Bourka* ap. Ptol. in Numidia, *Burug* Coll. Carth. F.

⁴ Ecclus. 34, 25. see ab. Ep. 71. §.

1. p. 238. n. b.

⁵ Veneria Ptol. and Proc. in Zeugit. mentioned in Cic. Ep. ad Att. and Coll. Carth. F.

⁶ S. Aug. observes, §. 68. how this strong language rather illustrates their deep feeling of the value of unity, in

29. *Eucratius of Thenæ^b said.*] Our God and Lord Jesus Christ, teaching the Apostles with His own mouth, hath fully laid down our faith and the grace of Baptism, and the rule of the law of the Church, saying, *Go ye and teach^{Mat. 28,} all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and^{18.} of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Therefore the false and unrighteous baptism of heretics is to be repelled by us, and rejected with all detestation, from whose mouth poison, not life, not heavenly grace, but blaspheming of the Trinity proceeds. Wherefore it is plain that heretics who come to the Church should be baptized with the entire and Catholic Baptism, that so, being purified from their blasphemous presumption, they may be reformed by the grace of the Holy Spirit.

30. *Libosus of Vagæ^c said.*] The Lord says in the Gospel, *I am the Truth*: He did not say, "I am custom."^{John 14, 6.} Therefore when the truth is made manifest, custom must give way to truth, so that although heretofore any one did not baptize heretics in the Church, he should now begin to baptize them.

31. *Lucius of Thebeste^d said.*] I give my judgment, that blasphemous and unrighteous heretics, who with varied meanings rend to pieces the holy and adorable words of the Scriptures, are under a curse; and therefore should be exorcised and baptized.

32. *Eugenius of Ammedera^e said.*] And I give this same judgment, that heretics should be baptized.

33. *Likewise another Felix of Bamaccura^f said.*] I too, following the authority of the Divine Scriptures, give my judgment, that heretics are to be baptized, and those too who contend that they have been baptized by schismatics. For if, according to the warning of Christ, our fountain is reserved for us, all the adversaries of our Church should understand, that it cannot be another's. Nor can He Who is the Shepherd^{SecSong of Solomon 4, 12.}

that they loved the bond of peace with those of whom they thus spoke.

^b in Byzac. 28 m. from Carth. Theæne Ptol. Anton. F.

^c in Numid. Ptol. mentioned S. Aug. c. Don. iii. 6. F.

^d of Numid. Thueste Ptol. Theveste

Anton. 19 m. from Carthage, Tibeste Notit. Afr. F.

^e of Numid. Ptol. and Anton. 25 m. from Theveste. F

^f in Numidia, Vamacures ap. Plin. v. 4. Bal. ad Coll. Carth. p. 236.

CONC. of one flock give the saving water to two different people.
 CARTH. Wherefore it is plain, that neither heretics nor schismatics
 A. 256. can receive any thing heavenly, who dare to accept from men who are sinners and aliens from the Church. Since the giver has no power, neither can it profit the receiver.

34. *Likewise another Januarius of Muzuli^g said.*] I marvel that since all confess that there is one Baptism, they do not all understand the unity of the same Baptism. For the Church and heresy are two different things. If heretics have Baptism, we have it not. But if we have it, heretics cannot have it. There is no doubt, however, that the Church alone possesses the Baptism of Christ, in that she alone possesses both the grace and truth of Christ.

35. *Adelphius of Thasbalte^h said.*] Certain persons without reason by false and invidious words impugn the truth, and say that we rebaptize; whereas the Church does not rebaptize, but baptizes heretics.

36. *Demetrius of Leptiminusⁱ said.*] We uphold one Baptism, because we claim for the Catholic Church alone what is her own. But they who say that heretics truly and lawfully baptize, these are they who make not one but many baptisms. For since there are many heresies, baptisms also will be reckoned according to their number.

37. *Vincentius of Thibar^k said.*] We know that heretics are worse than heathens. If then they being converted shall wish to come to the Lord, we have assuredly a rule of truth, which the Lord by Divine command gave in charge to the Apostles, saying, *Go ye, lay on hands in My Name, cast out devils.* And in another place, *Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* So then first by imposition of hands in exorcism, secondly by the regeneration of Baptism, they may come to the promises of Christ. But in no other way, so judge I, ought it to be done.

38. *Marcus of Mactaris^l said.*] It is not marvellous, if

See
 Mark
 16, 17.
 18.
 Mat. 28,
 18.

^g perhaps Mazula in Numid. ap. Viet. Vit. and Coll. Carth. F.

^h in Byzac. Coll. Carth. prob. Tabalta in Anton. 97 m. from Sufetula. F.

ⁱ Λίπτις μικρὴ. Ptol. in Byzac. Leptis Magna being in Tripol. 106 m. from

Carth. mentioned in the Coll. Carth. and Notit. Afr. F.

^k probably Tabora in Maurit. Cæsar. ap. Coll. Carth. Viet. Vit. Not. Afr. F.

^l in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Viet. Vit. F.

heretics, enemies to, and impugnors of, the truth, claim to themselves a matter entrusted and vouchsafed to others. But that is marvellous, that some among us, prevaricators against the truth, uphold heretics and oppose Christians. Wherefore we decree that heretics are to be baptized.

39. *Satius of Sicilibba^m said.*] If their sins are forgiven heretics in Baptism, without good ground do they come to the Church. For since it is sin which is punished in the Day of Judgment, heretics can have nothing to fear from the judgment of Christ, if they have obtained remission of sinsⁿ.

40. *Victor of Gor^o said.*] Whereas sins are remitted in the Baptism of the Church only, he who admits a heretic to communion without Baptism, does two things contrary to reason, he does not cleanse heretics, and he pollutes^p Christians.

41. *Aurelius of Utica said.*] Since the Apostle says, that we must *not be partakers of other men's sins*, what else does ^{1Tim.5,} he than *partake of other men's sins*, who grants communion ^{22.} to heretics, without the Baptism of the Church? Wherefore I give my judgment that heretics ought to be baptized, that they may receive remission of sins, and so communion be granted to them.

42. *Iambus^a of Germanicana^r said.*] They who approve the baptism of heretics, disapprove ours; denying that such ^{Con-} as are, I will not say, washed, but defiled, out of the Church, ^{fessor.} ought to be baptized in the Church.

43. *Lucianus of Rucuma^s said.*] It is written, *And God^{Gen. 1,} saw the light that it was good, and He divided the light from^{4.} the darkness.* If light and darkness can agree, we may have something in common with heretics. Wherefore I give my judgment that heretics should be baptized.

^m in Zeug. *Sicilibra*, 34 m. from Carth. F.

ⁿ S. Aug. vii. §. 5. says, he can adopt the words of this, believing that heretics have the Baptism of Christ, but not the remission of sins.

^o perhaps *Garra* in Maurit. Cæs. ap. Ptol. and Viet. Vit. or *Garriana* in Byzac. ap. Viet. Vit. and Not. Afr.

^p S. Aug. notes, §. 7. that this expression would be against S. Cyprian's principles, for then would the Church

have been so defiled "if any one becomes what he with whom he communicates, is, then all there became heretics."

^q The title of Confessor given to him and several others, was first added by Erasmus. S. Aug. has them not. Bp. F. remarks their absence from two of his Mss.

^r Nova in Byzac. F.

^s in Zeugit. F.

CONC. 44. *Pelagianus of Luperciana¹ said.*] It is written, *Either*
 CARTH. *the Lord is thy God, or Baal is God:* and so now, either the
 A. 256. Church is the Church, or heresy is the Church. Moreover,
 1 Kings if heresy is not the Church, how can the Baptism of the
 18, 21. Church be with heretics?

Con- 45. *Jauler of Midila² said.*] We know that there is but
 fessor one Baptism in the Catholic Church. Therefore we ought
 and not to admit a heretic, unless he has been baptized among
 Martyr. us, lest he should think out of the Catholic Church he has
 been baptized.

46. *Likewise another Felix of Marrazana³ said.*] There
 is *one faith, one Baptism*, but of the Catholic Church, which
 alone can lawfully baptize.

Con- 47. *Paulus of Bobba⁴ said.*] It moves me not, if some
 fessor. one uphold not the faith and truth of the Church, since the
 Rom. 3, Apostle says, *For what if some of them have fallen from the*
 3, 4. *faith? Has their unbelief made the faith of God of none*
effect? God forbid. For God is true, but every man a liar.
 But if God is true, how can the truth of Baptism be with
 heretics, with whom God is not?

Con- 48. *Pomponius of Dionysiana⁵ said.*] It is plain that
 fessor. heretics cannot baptize and grant remission of sins; for that
 they have not the power either of loosing or binding any
 thing on earth.

Con- 49. *Venantius of Tinisa⁶ said.*] If a husband going a
 fessor. distant journey had committed his wife to the care of his
 friend, the friend would, with all the diligence he could,
 preserve her who was committed to him, so that her chastity
 and sanctity should not be polluted by any one. Christ our
 Lord and God going to His Father hath committed His
 spouse to us. Shall we then keep her uncorrupt and in-
 violate, or betray her integrity and chastity to adulterers and
 corrupters? For he who makes the Baptism of the Church
 common with heretics, betrays the spouse of Christ to
 adulterers.

¹ perhaps Lubertina ap. Coll. Carth. F.

² in Numid. Coll. Carth. Not. Afr. F.

³ in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Vict. Vit. Not. Afr. F.

⁴ in Maurit. 40 m. from Lixa Plin.

[and so S. Aug. ed. Ben.] In Not. Afr. Coll. Carth. it is now divided ab Obba, F. In Mss. this would often be indistinguishable.

⁵ in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Not. Afr. F.

⁶ in Zeug. Coll. Carth. Vict. Vit. F.

50. *Aymnius of Ausuaga^b said.*] We have received one Baptism, and this we administer. But whoso says that heretics too may baptize, he makes two baptisms.

51. *Saturninus of Victoriana^c said.*] If heretics may lawfully baptize, they that do things unlawful are excused and defended. Nor do I see why either Christ called them His enemies, or the Apostle antichrists.

52. *Another Saturninus of Thucca^d said.*] Gentiles, ^{Con-} although they worship idols, yet acknowledge and confess ^{fessor.} the supreme God, the Father and Creator. Him Marcion blasphemes, and some are not ashamed to approve the baptism of Marcion. How do such priests either uphold or vindicate the priesthood of God, who do not baptize the enemies of God, and so hold communion with them?

53. *Marcellus of Zama^e said.*] Since sins are remitted only in the Baptism of the Church, he who does not baptize a heretic, holds communion with a sinner.

54. *Irenæus of Ululi^f said.*] If the Church on that ^{Con-} account does not baptize a heretic, because he is said to ^{fessor.} have been already baptized, heresy is the greater.

55. *Donatus of Cibaliana^g said.*] I acknowledge one Church and her one Baptism. If any one says, that the grace of Baptism^h is with heretics, he must first shew and prove that the Church is with them.

56. *Zosimus of Tharassaⁱ said.*] When a revelation of the truth has been made, error must give way to truth; for Peter also who before circumcised, gave way to Paul when he declared the truth.

57. *Julianus of Telepte^k said.*] It is written, *A man can* ^{John 3,} *receive nothing except it be given him from heaven.* If ^{27.} heresy is from heaven, it may also give Baptism.

58. *Faustus of Timida Regia^l said.*] Let not these ^{Con-} ^{fessor.}

^b probably Ausana or Ausagga in Vict. Vit. in Zeugit. F.

^c in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Not. Afr. Conc. Carth. 3. F.

^d in Numid. Ptol. Proc. l. iv. Coll. Carth. S. Greg. M. L. x. Ep. 3. F.

^e in Numid.

^f in Byzac. Usilla Plin. Ptol. F.

^g perhaps Cerbaliana in Byzac. ap. Not. Afr. and Conc. Carth. sub Bonif. F.

^h S. Aug. says, §. 37. "if by 'the

grace of Baptism' is meant Baptism heretics have it; but if Baptism is the Sacrament of grace, but the grace of Baptism is the remission of sins, then heretics have not the grace of Baptism."

ⁱ in Numid. Not. Afr. perhaps Tarrhon in Ptol. F.

^k in Num. Byzac. Proc. l. iv. Coll. Carth. Conc. Till. Conc. Carth. iv. Not. Afr. Vict. Vit. F.

^l in Zeugit. *Timida*. Coll. Carth. F.

CONC. persons flatter themselves, who favour heretics. He who
 CARTH. interferes with the Baptism of the Church on behalf of
 A. 256. heretics, makes them Christians and us heretics.

59. *Geminus of Furni^m said.*] Some of our Colleagues may prefer heretics to themselves, they cannot to us. Wherefore what we have once decreed we uphold, that we should baptize such as come from heretics.

60. *Rogatianus of Novaⁿ said.*] Christ established the Church, the devil heresy. How can the synagogue of Satan have the Baptism of Christ?

Con- 61. *Therapius of Bulla^o said.*] He who gives up and
 fessor. betrays to heretics the Baptism of the Church, what else is he than a Judas to the spouse of Christ?

Con- 62. *Likewise another Lucius of Membresa^p said.*] It is
 fessor. written, *God heareth not a sinner.* How can a heretic,
 John 9, who is a sinner, be heard in Baptism?
 31.

63. *Likewise another Felix of Buslacene^a said.*] In admitting heretics without the Baptism of the Church, no one should prefer custom to reason and truth: for reason and truth always exclude custom.

64. *Another Saturninus of Avitini^r said.*] If Antichrist can give the grace of Christ to any one, heretics also, who are called antichrists, can baptize.

65. *Quintus of Aggya^s said.*] He can give something, who hath something. But what can heretics give, who are known to have nothing?

Matt. 6, 24. 66. *Another Julianus of Marcelliana^t said.*] If a *man can serve two masters, God and mammon*; Baptism also can serve two, a Christian and a heretic.

67. *Tenax of Horrea Cæliæ^u said.*] There is one Baptism, but of the Church. Where the Church is not, there Baptism cannot be.

^m in Zeugit. Coll. Carth. Conc. Carth. sub Bonif. F.

ⁿ in Maurit. Cæsar, Coll. Carth. F.

^o in Zeugit. There were two, *βουλ-λαρία* or Bulla, Bulla regia and *βουλ-λαμίνα* or Bulla Minor, Ptol. Bulla regia was 131 m. from Carth. see Viet. Vit. Not. Afr. Conc. Carth. 3. and A. 525. F.

^p Membrosa. Not. Afr. Coll. Carth.

Memosita in Zeugit. 47 m. from Carth. Anton. F.

^a Byzacium, i. q. *βυζακίον* ap. Ptol. Coll. Carth. F.

^r apparently Autenti in Byzac. not far from Thēnæ Anton. Ep. Synod. Prov. Byz. Not. Afr. Viet. Vit F.

^s apparently Aggiva, Conc. Carth.

^t Not. Afr. F.

^u a village of Byzac. 75 m. from Carth. Anton. F.

68. *Another Victor of Assuri^a said.]* It is written, that ^{Con-}there is One God, and One Christ, and one Church, and ^{fessor.}one Baptism. How then can any one be baptized there, ^{Eph. 4,}5. where God and Christ and the one Church is not?

69. *Donatus of Capsa^r said.]* I too have ever been of this opinion, that heretics who can obtain nothing without, should be baptized when they are converted to the Church.

70. *Verulus^r of Rusiccada^a said.]* A heretic cannot give what he has not. Much less a schismatic, who has lost what he had.

71. *Pudentianus of Cuiculum^b said.]* My newness in the Episcopate induced me, dearest brethren, to wait and hear what my seniors would judge. For it is plain that heresies have and can have nothing; and that if any come from them, righteously is it determined that they should be baptized.

72. *Peter of Hippo Diarrhytus^c said.]* Since there is ^{Martyr.}one Baptism in the Catholic Church, it is plain that Baptism cannot be administered out of the Church. Wherefore I give my judgment, that such as have been washed in heresy or in schism ought to be baptized when they come to the Church.

73. *Likewise another Lucius of Ausafa^d said.]* According to the motions of my mind and of the Holy Ghost, since there is *One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and One Christ, and one hope, and One Spirit, and one Church;* there ought also to be one Baptism. Wherefore, I say, if any thing has been attempted or done by heretics, it ought to be rescinded, and they who come thence should be baptized in the Church.

74. *Likewise another Felix of Gurgites^e said.]* I am of opinion that, according to the precepts of the holy Scriptures, he who has been unlawfully baptized by heretics out of the

^a in Zeugit. Col. Carth. Vict. Vit. F.

^r in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Conc. Carth. sub Grato. Not. Afr. Vict. Vit. F.

^z "a Martyr from the schismatics," i. e. who had formerly been such. These titles are omitted in most Mss. F.

^a in Numid. Plin. Anton. Opt. i. 3. Aug. c. Fulg. c. 12.

^b in Numid. Anton. Coll. Carth.

Not. Afr. Conc. Carth. Grati. F.

^c i. e. the well-watered, not far from Hippo regius, see Hoffm. sub v. Salmas. ad Solin. p. 320. Lact. de Mort. Pers.

^d in Zeugit. al. Assapha, S. Aug. c. Cresc. iii. 19. and 53. Vict. Vit. Coll. Carth. F.

^e in Byzac. Gurgaita Vict. Vit. F.

CONC. Church, when he wishes to flee to the Church, should obtain
CARTH. the grace of Baptism where it is lawfully given.
A. 256.

75. *Pusillus of Lambesa^e said.*] I believe that there is no saving Baptism, except in the Catholic Church. Whatsoever is besides the Catholic is pretence.

Martyr. 76. *Salvianus of Gazaufala^f said.*] It is known that heretics have nothing; therefore they come to us, that they may receive what they have not.

77. *Honoratus of Tucca^g said.*] Since Christ is the Truth, we ought to follow truth rather than custom; and so we should sanctify heretics with the Baptism of the Church, who therefore come to us, because they could receive nothing without.

78. *Victor of Octarum^h said.*] As ye yourselves well know, I have not been long appointed a Bishop, therefore I waited for the counsel of my seniors. I am therefore of opinion, that all who come over from heresy, should without doubt be baptized.

Con- 79. *Clarus of Masculaⁱ said.*] The sentence of our Lord
fessor. Jesus Christ is plain, when He sent His Apostles, and entrusted to them alone the *power given to Himself by His Father*, whose successors we are, governing the Church of the Lord with the same power, and baptizing such as believe. Wherefore heretics who, being without, have neither power nor the Church of Christ, can baptize no one with His Baptism.

Martyr. 80. *Secundianus of Thumbei^k said.*] We ought not to deceive heretics by our too great forwardness, so that not being baptized in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on this account not having obtained remission of sins, they should, when the Day of Judgment shall come, impute to us that through us they have not been baptized nor obtained the indulgence of Divine grace. Wherefore since there is one Church and one Baptism, when they are converted to

* in Numid. Not. Afr. Coll. Carth. Vict. Vit. a colony, S. Cypr. Ep. 59. §. 12. p. 160. F.

^f in Numid. Gausaphna, Ptol. Gazo-phyla Proc. see S. Aug. Ep. 105. [§. 3. Casphalianensis.] Coll. Carth. F.

^g in Maurit. Sitif. Plin. v. 2. Not.

Afr. distinct from T. Terebinthina and another in Numidia. F.

^h in Numid. Opt. l. 3. Octabum Not. Afr. Vict. Vit. F.

ⁱ in Numid. Anton. Coll. Carth. Opt. l. i. Conc. Carth. sub Bonif. F.

^k in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Vict. Vit. F.

us, they should receive, together with the Church, the Baptism also of the Church.

81. *Likewise another Aurelius of Chullabi¹ said.*] John the Apostle hath laid it down in his Epistle, saying, *If there come any unto you, and bring not the doctrine of Christ, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.* ^{2 John 10, 11.} How can such be rashly admitted to the house of God, who are forbidden to be admitted to our private houses? or how can we, without the Baptism of the Church, give them communion, whose evil deeds we are partakers, if we only bid them, God speed?

82. *Littens of Gemelli^m said.*] *If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.* Since then it is plain that heretics cannot enlighten any one, as being themselves blind, their baptism does not avail. ^{Confessor. see Ep. 76.}

83, 84, 85. *Natalis of Oeaⁿ said.*] As well I who am present, as Pompeius^o of Sabrata, as also Dioga of Leptis Magna, who *absent in body, but present in spirit*, have commissioned me to give the same judgment as our Colleagues; that heretics cannot have communion with us, unless they have been baptized with the Baptism of the Church.

86. *Junius of Neapolis^a said.*] I do not depart from the judgment we once gave, that we should baptize heretics who come to the Church.

87. *Cyprian of Carthage said.*] The letter written to our Colleague Jubaianus very fully expresses my opinion; that according to the testimony of the Gospel and the Apostles, heretics being called the adversaries of Christ, and antichrists, when they come to the Church, are to be baptized with the one only Baptism of the Church, that they may be made of adversaries friends, and of antichrists Christians. ^{Confessor and Martyr.}

¹ apparently Cululi (Cululis Proc.) in Byzac. Coll. Carth. Vict. Vit. F.

^m in Numid. Anton. a Roman colony founded by Adrian. F.

ⁿ in Tripol. Coll. Carth. Not. Afr. civitas Oecensis, between the 2 Syrtes, Plin. v. 4. F. Bal.

^o probably the same to whom Ep 74. was written. Bp. F. thinks that the delivery of their judgment, when ab-

sent, may have been founded on 1 Cor. 5, 4.

^p Plin. l. c. Coll. Carth. S. Aug. c. Cresc. iii. 53. Vict. Vit. F. Ptol. places these three towns on the Syrtis Parva, probably as being nearer to it, than the greater. Bal.

^q in Zeugit. near Curubis Anton. a colony, Ptol. see Coll. Carth. Conc. Carth. A. 419. sub Bonif. F.

EPISTLE LXXVI.

EPIST.
LXXVI.
A. 257. *Cyprian to Nemesianus^x, Felix, Lucius, another Felix, Litteus, Polianus, Victor, Jader, and Dativus, his fellow-Bishops, likewise to his fellow-Presbyters and Deacons, and the rest of the Brethren in the mines, Martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, and of God our Preserver, everlasting greeting.*

1. IT were due to your eminence, most blessed and most beloved brethren, that I should come in person to see and to embrace you, were not I also banished for the confession of His Name, and restrained by the limits of the place appointed me. In such way, however, as I can, I make myself present with you; and though to come by motion of my body is not allowed me, yet in affection and spirit I do come to you, in letter uttering my soul, wherein I joyfully exult at your virtues and praises, accounting myself a partner with you, though not in bodily suffering, yet in communion of charity. Could I be dumb and restrain my voice by silence, when of those most dear to me I hear so many and such glorious things, whereby the Divine favour has honoured you: so that some of you, by the consummation of their martyrdom, have already gone before, to receive of the Lord the crown of their deserts; others still linger within the hold of the prison^y, or in the mines and in bonds, by the very delay of their punishment exhibiting higher examples for strengthening and arming the Brethren; by the darkness of

^x "All these Bishops are mentioned in the Council of Carthage; Nemesianus, §. 5. the two Felix's of Numidia, §. 12. 33. Lucius, §. 7. or 33. Litteus, §. 82. Polianus, §. 13. Victor, §. 78. Jader, §. 45. Dativus, §. 15. Three answers being sent, they were apparently condemned to three separate mines; Litteus, not being mentioned, had probably already ended his course." [F.]

^y Of the especial sufferings of the imprisonment, see above, Ep. 22. p. 52. which is illustrated by the Epistle of the Martyrs in the Passio S. Montani, Lucii, &c. (Ruinart. p. 231.) "Conducted to the prison by the soldiers, we

started not at the foul darkness of that place. And soon the murky prison shone resplendent with the illumining of the Spirit, and against the shapeless obscurity and sightless covering of night, the devotion of faith clothed us with bright light as of day, and we went up to the extremest place of punishment, as though we were going up to heaven. What days, what nights, we passed there, no language can explain. The torments of the prison can be embraced by no statement, nor do we fear to speak of the horribleness of the place, as it is." In the context, it seems spoken of a the severest trials of the martyrs.

their torments advancing to more ample titles of merit, to receive as many guerdons in the heavenly rewards, as they now number days in their sufferings? That these things should happen to you, most valiant and most blessed brethren, in accordance with the excellence of your piety and faith, I marvel not; that the Lord should, by the honour of His ennoblement, have thus advanced you to a high eminence of glory; you, who have ever flourished in His Church, guarding the even tenor of faith, firmly observing the Lord's commandments; in simplicity, innocence; in charity, concord; in humility, modesty; in ministering, diligence; in aid to the suffering, watchfulness; in cherishing the poor, mercy; in defending the truth, constancy; in strictness of discipline, gravity. And that nothing might be wanting in you for an example of good deeds, now also in the confession of the tongue, and in the suffering of the body, ye call forth the minds of the Brethren to divine martyrdom, by exhibiting yourselves as the leaders to noble deeds; so that while the flock follows its shepherd, and imitates what it sees to be done by its Prelates, it will be crowned by the Lord for the like worthiness¹ of obedience. ¹ *meritis*

2. But that, being first grievously beaten and stricken down with clubs, ye, by sufferings of that kind, entered on the glorious beginnings of your confession, is a thing no wise to be abhorred by us. For a Christian body shrinks not at clubs, whole whole hope is in *The Wood*². The ² *the* servant of Christ recognises a sacred emblem³ of his salvation. ³ *Cross. sacra-
mentum* Redeemed by Wood to life eternal, by wood he is promoted to a crown. And what wonder, that, being vessels of gold and silver, ye have been consigned to the mines, that is, the home of gold and silver, except that now the nature of mines is changed, and places which before were wont to yield gold and silver, have begun to receive them. They have also put fetters on your feet, and have bound with shameful bonds the blessed members and the temples of God; as though the spirit also were bound with the body, or your gold could be tainted by the contact of iron. To men devoted to God and with religious constancy testifying

^c see Tert. ad Mart. c. 2. p. 153. Oxf. Tr.

EPIST. LXXVI.
A. 257. their faith, these things are ornaments, not bonds; nor do they chain the feet of Christians for infamy, but ennoble^d them for a crown. O feet happily bound, to be loosed not by a smith, but by the Lord! O feet happily bound, which, along the journey of salvation, are guided to paradise! O feet bound for the present in this world, that they may be ever free with the Lord! O feet, with fetters and cross-brass impeded for a while, but quickly in a glorious course to speed to Christ! Let envious or malignant cruelty hold you here as long as it will, with its bonds and fetters; soon will ye from earth and from these sufferings come to the kingdom of heaven. In mines the body is not cherished by couch and pillows; but cherished it is by the refreshment and consolation of Christ. On the ground lieth the toil-worn frame; but no punishment is it to lie down with Christ. Squalid, unbathed, are the limbs disfigured with filth and foulness; but that is spiritually cleansed within, which without is in the flesh defiled. Scanty is bread there; yet

Deut. 8, 3. *not by bread alone doth man live, but by the word of God.*

Shivering, ye have no clothing; but whoso is clad with Christ is abundantly clothed and adorned. Rough is the hair of your half-shorn^e head; but since *the Head of the man is Christ*, any thing must needs become that head, which is illustrious for the Name of Christ. All this deformity, detestable and foul in the eyes of the Gentiles, with what splendour will it be recompensed! This brief suffering in time, for what a reward will it be exchanged of bright and eternal glory, when according to the saying of the blessed Apostle, *the Lord shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious Body!*

Philip.
3, 21.

3. Nor even therein, most beloved brethren, can any loss either of religion or faith be sustained, that the priests of God have not now there the power of offering and celebrating the Divine Sacrifices. Yea, ye celebrate and offer

^d "In Whom I bear about my chains, as spiritual pearls," S. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. §. 11. S. Polycarp calls the chains "diadems." Ep. init. see Eus. i. v. Viet. Vit. v. fin. quoted by Coteler. ad loc. and in the Ep. Montani Lucii, &c. at this time, (Ruinart, p. 231.) "O

blessed day, O glory of bonds! O chain, object of all our longings! iron more honourable and more precious than choicest gold! those clanks of iron, which grated as drawn through other iron!"

^e whereby they were marked as slaves.

a sacrifice to God, precious alike and glorious, and which will very much avail you to the recompense of heavenly rewards; since holy Scripture declares and says, *The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a contrite and humbled heart God doth not despise.* ^{Ps. 51, 17.} This sacrifice ye offer to God, this sacrifice ye celebrate without intermission day and night, being made oblations to God, and presenting yourselves holy and unspotted sacrifices, as the Apostle exhorts, saying, *I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God: and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* For this it is, which especially pleaseth God; this it is, wherein with larger merits our works yield fruit for the earning the good-will of God: this it is, which alone the obedience of our faith and devotion can render unto the Lord for His great and saving benefits, the Holy Ghost declaring in the Psalms and testifying, *What shall I render unto the Lord, for all His benefits toward me? I will receive the cup of salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints*^f.

4. Who would not cheerfully and readily receive *the cup of salvation*? Who would not joyously and gladly covet that wherein he too may *render somewhat unto his Lord*? Who would not with courage and constancy receive a *death, precious in the sight of the Lord*; to be well-pleasing in His eyes, Who, looking down upon us, when set in the conflict for His Name, approves us, willing; aids us, struggling; crowns us, conquering; rewarding in us with the recompense of His Fatherly goodness and love whatever He has Himself wrought, and honouring what Himself has accomplished? For that it is of Him, that we conquer, and that, the adversary subdued, we attain to the palm of the severest contest, the Lord declares and teaches in His Gospel, saying, *But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what* ^{Mat. 10, 19, 20.}

^f Ps. 116, 12, 13, 15. see on Ep. 28. §. 1. p. 60. n. o.

EPIST. LXXVI.
A. 257.
Luke 21, 14.
15.

ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh in you. And again; Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom,

which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist. Wherein may be seen both the great confidence of believers, and the very heinous fault of the faithless; that they believe not in Him Who promises that He will give His help to them that confess Him, nor again fear Him Who threatens eternal punishment to them that deny Him.

5. All which things, most valiant and most faithful soldiers of Christ, ye have instilled into our brethren, fulfilling in deeds what before ye taught in words; hereafter to be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, the Lord having promised and declared, *Whosoever shall so do and teach, shall be called greatest in the kingdom of heaven.* Moreover a manifold portion of the people, following your example, have with you alike confessed, and alike been crowned; linked to you with the bond of the strongest affection, and separated from their Bishops neither by prison nor by the mines. To whose number neither are virgins lacking, in whom the *hundred-fold* is added to the *fruit of sixtyfold*, and whom a double^κ glory has advanced to a heavenly crown. In boys^h also, a courage beyond their age has surpassed their years in the praise of Confession, so that each sex and age should adorn your blessed flock of martyrsⁱ.

What now, most beloved brethren, must be the strength

^κ Virginitv and martyrdom. See de hab. Virg. c. 12. p. 128. Oxf. Tr.

^h See the hist. of Ponticus, brother of Blandina, (Eus. v. 1.) Dioscorus, also aged 15, (ib. iv. 41.) Prudent. de S. Romano, m. l. 646-845. Viet. Vit. l. v. B. P. viii. p. 695. Pass. Beat. Mart. vi. Non. Jul. ib. p. 698. Bal.

ⁱ This is the Massa Candida, so called from the number who were together martyred, and "from the lustre of their death." (S. Aug. Sermon. 306. §. 2. preached upon their birthday.) S. Aug., in reference to the 153 fish, (S. Joh. 21, 11.) says that they were more than 153. (in Ps. 49. §. 9.) Prudentius calls them 300. (Perist. 13.) They were martyred at Utica, (S. Aug.

calls them "Uticensis Massa candida," Sermon. 311. §. 10. and the Sermon. in Ps. 144. was preached in their basilica there, §. 17. and Ben. Note,) which corresponds with S. Cyprian's statement, that the Proconsul was there shortly before his own martyrdom. (Ep. 83.) Their day was kept in Africa on Aug. 18; that of S. Cyprian was Sept. 14. A. 258. see Tillemont, S. Cyprien, Art. 57. t. iv. p. 73. Ruinart Acta Mart. S. Cypri. Pref. §. 11. p. 202. The Author of the Sermon. 317. App. S. Aug. (which certainly in some cases is the very language of S. Aug.) speaks of the Candida Massa, as S. Cypr. does of these, as consisting of every age and sex.

of your consciousness of victory! what sublimity of mind! what exultation in feeling! what triumph in your breasts! that each of you stands close to the promised reward of God; that ye are without fear of the Judgment of God! that ye walk in the mine, captive in bodies, but with hearts reigning; that ye know Christ is present with you, rejoicing in the endurance of His servants, who in His steps and ways are advancing to eternal kingdoms! Daily ye expect with joy the saving day of your departure, and ever, ever, on the eve of retiring from the world, ye hasten to the rewards of martyrs and your home with God; after this darkness of the world to see that purest light, and to receive a glory exceeding all sufferings and conflicts, the Apostle testifying and saying, *The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.* Rom. 8, 18. And because your utterance in prayer is now more efficacious, and supplication obtaineth more readily what amid distresses is asked, pray ye and intreat more intensely, that the Divine mercy would perfect the Confession of us all; that so God would free us also together with you, unharmed and glorious, from this darkness and these entanglements of the world; that so we, who here, united in the bond of charity and peace, have stood together against the assaults of heretics and the persecutions of the Gentiles, may also rejoice together in the heavenly kingdoms.

I bid you, most blessed and most beloved brethren, heartily farewell in the Lord, and always and every where^k remember me.

EPISTLE LXXVII.

To Cyprian their brother, Nemesianus, Datirus, Felix, and Victor, everlasting health in the Lord.

1. EVER with fulness of meaning, suited to the circumstances of the time, do you speak in your letters, most beloved Cyprian; by reading which attentively as well the wicked are corrected, as men of good faith strengthened. For

^k i. e. on earth or in Paradise.

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 A. 257.

 while you cease not in your writings to lay open hidden mysteries, you cause us to grow in faith, and men of the world you invite over to belief. For whatsoever excellencies you have inscribed in your many books, you have unknowingly pourtrayed yourself to us. For beyond all men, are you in discourses more excellent, in speech more eloquent, in counsel wiser, in patience more simple, in works of love^a more abundant, in abstinence more holy, in deference more humble, and in good action more innocent. You too know, dearest, that this was our longing wish, that we should see you, our teacher and friend, attain to the crown of a glorious Confession. For, as a good and true teacher, you first in the proceedings before the Proconsul pronounced that which we, your disciples, following, should say before the President; and a trumpet sounding to battle, you roused the soldiers of God, furnished with heavenly arms, to the encounter in close conflict: and, fighting in the first rank, you slew the devil with a spiritual sword; the troops also of the brethren, on one side and the other, you by your words gently arrayed, so that an ambush was on every side laid for the foe, and, the sinews of the common enemy cut in two, his carcase was trodden under foot. Believe us, dearest, that your innocent spirit does not fall short of the reward of a hundred-fold, for that it neither feared the first assaults of the world, nor refused to go into exile, nor hesitated to leave the city, nor dreaded to dwell in a desert place; and in that it gave to many an example of confession, itself first uttered its martyr-witness^b by its own example, for it called forth others to martyrdom by its own: and not only began to be an associate of the martyrs just departing from the world, but with those also who should be such, it cemented a heavenly friendship.

2. They then who were condemned with us give thee before God their heartiest thanks, most beloved Cyprian, for that by thy letter, thou hast refreshed their fainting breasts, healed the limbs wounded by the clubs; loosed the feet bound with fetters, smoothed the hair of the half-shorn

^a operibus, see Ep. 33. p. 76. n. d.

^b Rig. and Fell have martyrrium prior dixit; Bal. duxit, but no autho-

rity being alleged, it is perhaps a misprint.

heads; enlightened the darkness of their prison, evened the ruggednesses of the mine; to their nostrils also thou hast applied fragrant flowers, and hast overpowered the foul odour of the smoke. Moreover thy kindly ministering and that of our most beloved Quirinus, which thou sentest for distribution by Heremianus the Subdeacon, and by Lucanus and Maximus and Amantius the Acolythes, provided whatever was lacking for the needs of the body. Be we then, by our prayers, helpers of one another, and let us entreat, as you have charged us, that we may have God, and Christ, and the angels our supporters in all our actions.

We bid thee, lord and brother, ever heartily farewell, and remember us. Salute all who are with thee. All ours, who are with us, love and salute thee, and long to see thee.

EPISTLE LXXVIII.

To Cyprian our brother and colleague, Lucius^a, and all the brethren who are with me greeting in the Lord.

1. WHILE we were exulting and rejoicing in God, that He had armed us for the conflict, and by His favour had made us victorious in the battle, thy letter arrived, dearest brother, which thou sentest us by Heremianus the Subdeacon, and Lucian, and Maximus, and Amantius, Acolythes; on reading which we received in bonds ease, in affliction solace, and in need a stay, and were roused and animated more resolutely to endure whatever further tortures await us. For before our suffering we were called forth by thee to glory, who first didst lead us onward to confess the Name of Christ.

^a This is not the S. Lucius, whose Epistle and the account of whose martyrdom by an eye-witness are still extant; for he and his companions were disciples of S. Cyprian (§. 13. Ruinart, p. 234.) and were imprisoned after the death of the Proconsul, (§. 6.) who condemned S. Cyprian, and himself died a few days after. (Acta S. Cypri. fin. p. xxii. Oxf. Tr.) but he is doubtless the same, who was seen, with S. Cyprian, by one of these Martyrs when in prison, in a vision to admonish him against disunion.

“ We came to a vast plain, when there met us Cyprian and Lucius. But the place whither we came was of purest light; and our garments became white, and our flesh was changed whiter than our white garments. But so translucent was our flesh, that it admitted our eye to see the inmost heart. And looking into my heart, I saw some stain, and I awoke in the vision.” The stain was a coldness the day before about one wrongly admitted to Communion.

Epist. LXXVI. A. 257. But we, following the steps of thy Confession, hope for like grace with thee. For he who is first in the race, is first also for the prize; and thou who didst first occupy the ground, hast thence, where thou didst begin, communicated this to us; manifesting therein the unalterable affection wherewith
Eph. 4, 3. thou hast ever loved us; that so we who have kept *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, might have the gracious gift of thy prayers, and one crown of Confession. But for thee, dearest brother, to the crown of Confession there is added the reward of good works, the *full measure* of which thou wilt receive of the Lord in the Day of recompence; who hast by thy letter become present to our minds, exhibiting that candid and blessed breast, which we ever knew in thee, and according to its largeness, uttering praises to God with us, not such as we deserve to hear, but such as thou mayest utter. For by thy words thou hast both arrayed those things which were less formed in us, and hast strengthened us to the supporting of those same sufferings, which we suffer, sure of a heavenly reward, and of the crown of martyrdom, and of the kingdom of God, from the prophetic assurance, which, full of the Holy Ghost, thou hast given us in thy letter. All this will come to pass, most beloved, if thou wilt remember us in thy prayers, which I trust thou dost, as we also do.

2. We have also received what thou sentest us from Quirinus and thyself, brother earnestly longed for, an offering *from every clean* thing. As Noah also offered to God,
Gen. 8, 20. and God was pleased with the *sweet savour*, and had respect unto his sacrifice, so also may He have respect unto thine, and may He be pleased to give thee the reward of so good a work. I request that thou wouldest direct that the letter which we have addressed to Quirinus, be forwarded to him. I bid thee, dearest brother, and most earnestly longed for, ever heartily farewell, and remember me. Greet all who are with thee. Farewell.

EPISTLE LXXIX.

To our dearest and most beloved Cyprian, Felix, Jader, Polianus, together with the Presbyters and all staying with us at the mine of Sigua, everlasting health in the Lord.

WE greet thee in turn, dearest brother, by Herennianus the Subdeacon, Lucian and Maximus our brethren, safe and of good courage through the aid of thy prayers. We have received from them no small sum under the name of an offering, together with thy letter, in which thou hast deigned to comfort us as sons out of the heavenly words. And we have given and do give thanks to God the Father Almighty through His Christ, that we have been so comforted and strengthened by this thy address; entreating from the candour of thy mind, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to remember us in thy continual prayers; that the Lord would fill up the measure of thine and our Confession, which He has vouchsafed to confer upon us. Greet all who are sojourning with thee.

We bid thee, dearest brother, ever farewell in God. I Felix wrote this; I Jader subscribed it; I Polianus read it: I greet my lord Eutychianus.

EPISTLE LXXX.

Cyprian to his brother Successus^a, greeting.

1. I could not write to you at once, dearest brother, inasmuch as all the Clergy, being engaged in the very heat of the contest, could not any way leave this place,

^a The Bishop of Abbir in the Council of Carthage, (no. 16.) His martyrdom is mentioned in the same Acts of Lucius &c. and he is mentioned in the Martyrol. with other African Martyrs, Jan. 19. In these acts is a vision of Flavian, which he himself related just before his martyrdom, to the writer of them. It begins thus, "When Successus and Paulus had been crowned with their

companions, and I was recovering from sickness, I see Successus the Bishop come to my house, his countenance and raiment surpassing bright; scarcely could his likeness be recognised, because the eyes of the flesh glistened with Angelic radiancy. Whom when I scarce recognised, he said to me, I am sent to announce to thee, that thou wilt suffer."

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A. 258.
¹ Rome

being all prepared, according to the devotedness of their minds, for Divine and heavenly glory. But know that those have returned whom I had sent to the City¹, that they might ascertain and report to us truth, as to any rescript published respecting us. For many various and uncertain rumours are afloat; but the truth is as follows. Valerian had sent a rescript to the senate, directing that Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons should forthwith be punished; that senators and men of rank and Roman knights should lose their dignity and be deprived of their property, and if, when deprived of their possessions, they should still continue to be Christians, then they should lose their heads also; that matrons should be deprived of their property and banished: that whosoever of Cæsar's household had either before confessed, or should now confess, should forfeit their property, and be sent in chains as conscripts, to Cæsar's farms. The emperor Valerian also subjoined to his rescript a copy of the letters which he addressed to the presidents of provinces respecting us: these letters we hope will arrive daily, awaiting in steadfastness of faith, the endurance of martyrdom², and looking for the crown of eternal life, from the Lord's aid and loving mercy of the Lord. Know that Nistus³ was martyred in the cemetery on the eighth of the ides of August, and with him four Deacons⁴. The prefects too in the City, day by day urge on this perse-

² Passio-
nis

^b S. Sixtus, the successor of Pope Stephen, whom Pontius (Life, §. 14. p. xv. Oxf. Tr.) calls "that good and peace-making Priest, and therefore most blessed Martyr." This title seems certainly to imply (as Tillemont H. E. t. iv. p. 15. infers) that he renewed the communion with S. Cyprian, which Stephen had renounced. His memory was honoured in Africa. (ib.) He made S. Laurence Deacon and Archdeacon; to him were said the well-known words, "Whither goest thou, father, without thy son? Holy Priest, without thy Deacon, whither goest thou? Never wast thou wont to offer the sacrifice without thy attendant, &c." and who in consolation foretold to S. Laurence the time of his martyrdom, and its greater severity. "I leave thee not, my son, but greater contests are reserved for thee. We, as old men, have a lighter conflict allotted us; thee, as young, a more glorious triumph over the enemy awaiteth. Soon shalt thou

come: cease to weep, in three days thou shalt follow me." S. Ambr. de Off. i. 41. Pope Stephen's stern zeal had been purified by martyrdom, and room had been made for Sixtus' short Episcopate of ten months. S. Cyprian saw peace restored before he was crowned. Sixtus ii. was the fifth Bishop of Rome who had died as a Martyr in the ten years of the Episcopate of S. Cyprian.

^c Feliciissimus and Agapetus are named in the Martyrol. Rom. Aug. 6. as having suffered on the same day with S. Sixtus, together with four Subdeacons. Another reading, which Bede had, also in some old Mss. is "et cum eodem Quartum." Bal. conjectures that this is an old explanation of an abbreviation, "et cum eo d. iiii." himself having seen iiii for quatuor in one old Ms. There is no mention of Quartus, except in the Martyrol. Bed. &c. on the authority of this reading.

cution; so that any brought before them are martyred, and their goods confiscated. These things I beg of you to notify to our other Colleagues, that by their exhortations the brotherhood may be every where strengthened and prepared for the spiritual conflict: that so each of us may think less of death than of immortality, and, dedicated to the Lord with full faith and entire courage, may rather rejoice than fear in this confession; wherein they know that the soldiers of God and Christ are, not slain but, crowned.

I bid you, dearest brother, ever farewell in the Lord.

EPISTLE LXXXI.

Cyprian to the Presbyters and Deacons and all the people, greeting.

I. WHEN news was brought me, dearest brethren, that gaolers^a had been sent to bring me to Utica, and friends very dear to me counselled and persuaded me to withdraw for a while from my gardens, there being adequate grounds, I consented; for that it is fitting that a Bishop should confess the Lord in that city, in which he presides over the Church of the Lord, and that the whole people should derive glory from the Confession of their Prelate in their presence. For whatever a Bishop, who is a confessor, speaks at that moment of confession, he speaks by inspiration of God in the mouth of all. But the honour of our Church so glorious will be maimed, if I, a Bishop set over another Church, receiving my sentence on confession at Utica, should go thence a martyr to the Lord; whereas I both for myself and for you, entreat with continual supplications, and long earnestly with my whole heart's desire in all my prayers, as I ought, that I may confess amongst you, and there suffer, and thence go to the Lord. Being therefore here in concealed retirement, we await the approach of the Proconsul on his return to Carthage, to hear from him what commands the Emperors have given concerning Christian laymen and

^a Commentarii. They are spoken of as a brutal set of men, nequissimi, in the Cod. Theod. Bal.

EPIST. Bishops, and to say what the Lord will have said in that
LXXX. hour.
A. 258.

2. But do ye, dearest brethren, according to the discipline which ye have ever received from me out of the precepts of the Lord, and according to what ye have very often learnt from my preaching, maintain quiet and tranquillity: let not any of you occasion any disturbance to the brethren, or offer himself of his own accord to the Gentiles^b. For being apprehended and delivered up, ought he to speak. For as much as the Lord, dwelling in us, speaketh in us in that hour; Who willed rather that we should confess than profess. But what in other respects it becomes us to do, before the Proconsul passes sentence on me on confessing of the Name of God, we will, as the Lord shall instruct, determine in common.

May our Lord cause you to abide safe in His Church, dearest brethren, and may He vouchsafe to preserve you. So be it through His Mercy.

^b see ab. Ep. 31. p. 71. n. 6.

EXTANT WORKS

OF

S. PACIAN,

BISHOP OF BARCELONA.

EPISTLES TO SYMPRONIAN,
EXHORTATION TO REPENTANCE,
ON BAPTISM.

EPISTLE I.

OF THE CATHOLIC NAME.

Pacian to Sympronian his brother, greeting.

1. IF it be not a carnal intention, my lord¹, but as I judge, ^{Domine} a calling of the Spirit, that thou enquirest of us the faith of the Catholic verity, thou, before all, taking thy rise as far as appears, from a streamlet at a distance, and not holding to the fountain and source of the principal Church, shouldest, in the first instance, have shewn what or how different are the opinions which thou followest. Thou shouldest unfold thyself as to what cause more particularly had loosened thee from the unity of our body. For those parts, for which a remedy is sought, should be laid bare. Whereas now (if I may so say) the bosom of correspondence being closed, we see not on what members more especially we have to bestow our care. For such are the heresies which have sprung forth from the Christian head, that of the mere names the roll would be immense. For to pass over the heretics of the Jews, Dositheus^a the Samaritan, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees, it were long to enumerate how many grew up in the times of the Apostles, Simon Magus, and Menander, and Nicolaus, and others hidden by an inglorious fame. What again in later times were Ebion, and Apelles, and Marcion, and Valentinus, and Cerdon, and not long after them, the Cataphrygians, and Novatians, not to notice any recent swarms!

2. Whom then in my letters must I first refute? Wouldest thou the mere names of all, my paper will not contain them;

^a He was one of the "false Christs" Lat. §. 33. ed. de la Rue al. Tr. 27. in shortly after our Lord's Coming. See Joau. tom. 13. §. 27. Orig. c. Cels. i. 57. in Matt. Comm.

S. PAC. unless indeed by your writings every way condemnatory of
 E. P. I. 3. penance you declare your agreement with the Phrygians. But, most illustrious Lord, so manifold and so diverse is the error of these very men, that in them we have not only to overthrow their peculiar fancies against penance, but to cut off the heads, as it were, of some Lernaean monster. And, in the first place, they rely on more founders than one, for I suppose Blastus^b the Greek is of them; Theodotus^c also and Praxeas^d were once teachers of your party, themselves also Phrygians of some celebrity, who falsely say they are inspired of Leucius^e, boast that they are instructed by Proculus^f. Following Montanus, and Maximilla, and Priscilla, how manifold controversies have they raised concerning the day of Easter, the Paraclete, ¹ hoc V. Apostles, Prophets, and many other disputes, as this¹ also concerning the Catholic name, the pardon of penance.

3. Wherefore if we would discuss all these points, thou hadst need been present and teachable. But if on those points merely on which thou writest, my instruction should not be sufficiently full, yet as it is our duty to serve, in whatsoever way we can, those who solemnly adjure us², we now, ² quoquo modo adjurantibus V. R. for the sake of informing you, discourse^g with thee summarily on those matters about which thou hast deigned to write to us. If thou wouldest have fuller knowledge on our side, thou must on thine declare thyself more unreservedly, lest by somewhat of obscurity in thy enquiries, thou leave us uncertain, whether thou art consulting or censuring.

4. Meanwhile (and this concerns our present correspondence³) I would above all entreat thee not to borrow authority ³ literas added V. for error from this very fact that, as thou sayest, throughout the whole world no one has been found⁴, who could convince or persuade thee contrary to what thou believest. For ⁴ inventus sit V.

^b He separated from the Church as a Quarto-deciman, whence S. Irenæus wrote to him as a schismatic, (Eus. H. E. v. 20.) he, however, seems to have so done as judaizing, (Tert. adv. omn. hæ. c. 8.) S. Epiphanius mentions Quarto-decimans as an off-shoot of Montanists. Hæ. 50. c. 1. see Tillemont, t. 2. Art. Montanistes c. 15.

^c who first denied our Lord in persecution, then His Divinity. Tert. l. c. Some then of the Montanists became nakedly Humanitarians, as others (note

d.) Sabellians.

^d One section of the Cataphrygians, named from one Æschines, (katà Æschinenem,) said that Christ was both the Son and the Father. Tert. ib. c. 8.

^e The forger of Apocryphal books.

^f from whom one division of the Montanists was called katà Proclum, (Tert. l. c.) and who held a disputation with Caius at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus. Eus. H. E. vi. 20.

^g colloquimur. Conloquemur. R.

although we be unskilled, most skilful is the Spirit of God, and if we are faithless, *faithful is God, Who cannot deny* ^{2Tim.2, 13.} *Himself*. Then, also, because it was not allowed the Priests of God to contend long with one who resisted¹. *We*, <sup>1 obniti-
tenti
Vat. R.</sup> says the Apostle, *have no such custom, neither the churches of God*. <sup>obtinendo
Eddl.</sup> *After one admonition*^h, as thou thyself knowest, *the contentious is passed by*. For who can persuade any of any thing against his will? Thine own fault was it therefore, <sup>Galland.
conjectures ob-
nitendo.</sup> brother, and not theirs, if no one convinced thee of what in itself is most excellent. For at this day too it is in thy power ^{1Cor.11, 16.} to despise our writings also, if thou hadst rather refute than approve them. Yet very many resisted both the Lord Himself, ^{Titus 3, 10.} and the Apostles, nor could any ever be persuaded of the truth, unless he consented to it by his own religious feeling.

5. Therefore, my Lord, neither have we written with that confidence, as though we could persuade thee, if thou resistest, but in that faith by which we would not deny thee an entrance to holy peace, if thou willest. Which peace if it be after thine own soul and heart², there ought³ to be no <sup>2 Var.
omits et,
"if it be
dear to
thy
soul."
3 debet
V.</sup> contest about the name of Catholic. For if it is through God that our people obtain this name, no question is to be raised, when Divine authority is followed. If through man, you must discover when it was first taken. Then, if the name is good, no odium rests with it; if ill, it need not be envied. The Novatians, I hear, are called after Novatus or Novatian; yet it is the sect which I accuse in them, not the name: nor has any one objected their name to Montanus or the Phrygians.

5. But under the Apostles, you will say, no one was called Catholic. Be it thus. It shall have been so. Allow even that. When after the Apostles heresies had burst forth, and were striving under various names to tear piecemeal and divide *the Dove* and *the Queen* of God, did not the Apostolic people require a name of their own, whereby to mark the unity of the people that were uncorrupted, lest the error of some should rend limb by limb the *undefiled virgin* of God? Was it not seemly that the chief head should be distinguished by its own peculiar appellation? Suppose, this very day, I entered a populous city. When I had found Marcionites, Apol-

^h see ab. St. Cypr. Ep. 59. fin. p. 171.

S. PAC. linarians, Cataphrygians, Novatians, and others of the kind
Ep. 1 S. who call themselves Christians, by what name should I recognise the congregation of my own people, unless it were named Catholic? Come tell me, who bestowed so many names on the other peoples? Why have so many cities, so many nations, each their own description? The man who asks the meaning of the Catholic Name, will he be ignorant himself of the cause of his own name if I shall enquire its origin? Whence was it delivered to me? Certainly that which has stood through so many ages was not borrowed from man. This name "Catholic" sounds not of Marcion, nor of Apelles, nor of Montanus, nor does it take heretics as its authors.

¹ multa
 ed. Rom. 7. Many things¹ the Holy Spirit hath taught us, Whom God sent from Heaven to the Apostles as their Comforter and Guide. Many things reason teaches us, as Paul saith, and honesty, and, as he says, *nature herself*. What! Is the authority of Apostolic men, of Primitive Priests, of the most blessed Martyr and Doctor Cyprian, of slight weight with us? Do we wish to teach the teacher? Are we wiser than he was, and are we puffed up by the spirit of the flesh against the man, whom his noble shedding of blood, and a crown of most glorious suffering, have set forth as a witness of the Eternal God? What thinkest thou of so many Priests on this same side, who throughout the whole world were compacted together in one bond of peace with this same Cyprian? What of so many aged Bishops, so many Martyrs, so many Confessors? Come say, if they were not sufficient authorities for the use of this name, are we sufficient for its rejection? And shall the Fathers rather follow our authority, and the antiquity of Saints give way to be emended by us, and times now putrifying through their sins, pluck out the grey hairs of Apostolic age? And yet, my brother, be not troubled; Christian is my name, but Catholic my surname. The former gives me a name, the latter distinguishes me. By the one I am approved; by the other I am but marked.

8. And if at last we must give an account of the word Catholic, and draw it out from the Greek by a Latin interpretation, "Catholic" is 'every where one²,' or, (as learned ³ doct-
 tores V. men³ think,) "obedience in all," i. e. all the commands of

God. Whence the Apostle, *Whether ye be obedient in all things*; and again, *For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous*. Therefore he who is a Catholic, the same man is obedient¹. He who is obedient, the same is a Christian, and thus the Catholic is a Christian. Wherefore our people when named Catholic are separated by this appellation from the heretical name. But if also the word Catholic means 'every where one,' as those first think, David indicates this very thing, when he saith, *The queen did stand in a resture of gold, wrought about with divers colours*; that is, one amidst all. And in the Song of Songs the Bridegroom speaketh these words, *My dove, My undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother; she is the choice one of her that bare her*. Again it is written, *The virgins shall be brought unto the King after her*. And further, *Virgins without number*. Therefore amidst all she is one, and one over all. If thou askest the reason of the name, it is evident.

9. But as to penance², God grant that it may be necessary for none of the faithful; that no one after the help of the sacred font may *fall into the pit* of death, and that Priests may not be compelled to inculcate or to teach its tardy consolations, lest, whilst by remedies they soothe the sinner, they open a road to sin. But we lay open this indulgence of our God to the miserable, not to the happy; not before sin, but after sins; nor do we announce a medicine to the whole, but to the sick. If spiritual wickednesses have no power over the baptized, none, that fraud of the serpent, which subverted the first man, which hath printed on his posterity so many marks of condemnation: if it hath retired from the world, if we have already begun to reign, if no crime steals over our eyes, none over our hands, none over our minds, then let this gift of God be cast aside, this help rejected; be no confession, no groans, heard; let a proud righteousness despise every remedy.

10. But if the Lord Himself² hath provided these things for His own creature man, if the same Lord Who hath bestowed remedies on the fallen, hath given rewards to them that stand, cease to accuse the Divine goodness, to erase by

S. PAC. the interposition of your own rigour so many inscriptions of
 Ep. I. 10. heavenly mercy, or by inexorable harshness to prohibit the
 gratuitous good gifts of the Lord. This is not a largess from
 Joel 2, our own bounty. *Turn ye, saith the Lord, even to Me, and*
 12. 13. *with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and*
 Is. 55, 7. *rend your heart; and again, Let the wicked man leave his*
¹ added. *ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts¹, and turn unto*
 V. *the Lord, and he shall obtain mercy.* And also after this
 Joel 2, manner crieth the Prophet, *For He is gracious, and merciful,*
 13. *slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of*
the evil. Hath the serpent so lasting a poison, and hath not
 Christ a remedy? Doth the Devil kill in the world, and hath
 Christ no power here to help? Be we indeed ashamed to
 sin, but not ashamed to repent. Be we ashamed to hazard
 ourselves, but not ashamed to be delivered. Who will snatch
 the plankⁱ from the shipwrecked, that he escape not? Who
 will grudge the curing of a wound? Doth not David say,
 Ps. 6, 6. *Every night I will wash my bed, I will water my couch*
 Ps. 32, 5. *with my tears; and again, I acknowledge my sin, and mine*
 ver. 6. *unrighteousness have I not hid; and yet more, I said, I will*
confess my sins unto the Lord, and so Thou forgavest the
wickedness of my heart. Did not the Prophet answer him²
² illi V. when, after the guilt of murder and adultery, penitent for
 2 Sam. Bathsheba, *The Lord also hath put away from thee thy sin?*
 12, 13. Did not confession deliver the king of Babylon, when con-
 demned after so many sins of idolatry? And what is it that
 Jer. 8, 1. the Lord saith, *Shall he who has fallen not arise, and he*
 Tert. de *who has turned not return^k?* What answer give the subjects
 Pœn. c. of those many parables of our Lord? That the woman
 8. findeth the coin, and rejoiceth when she hath found it?
 That the shepherd carrieth back the wandering sheep?
 That when the son was returning, all his goods wasted in
 riotous living³ with harlots and fornicators, the Father with
 kindness met him, and, assigning the grounds, chideth the
³ nepo-
 tata G. envious brother, saying, *This My son was dead, and is alive*
 Luke 15, *again, was lost, and is found.* What of him who was
 24. 32. wounded in the way, whom Levite and Priest passed by?
 Is he not taken care of?

ⁱ or, (as S. Jerome from the Heb.)
 "shall he turn again, and He [God]
 not return?"

^k see on Tert. de Pœn. c. 4. p. 354.
 n. o. Oxf. Tr.

11. Ponder what the Spirit saith to the Churches. The ^{Tert. de} Ephesians He accuses of having forsaken their love; to ^{Pœn. c.} them of Thyatira He imputeth fornication; the people of Sardis He blameth as loitering in the work; those of Pergamus as teaching things contrary; of the Laodiceans He brandeth the riches; and yet He calleth all to penance and to satisfaction. What meaneth the Apostle, when he writeth to the Corinthians thus, *Lest, when I come, I bewail many* ^{2 Cor.} *which have sinned already, and have not repented of the* ^{12, 21.} *uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness, which they have committed?* What, when again to the Galatians, *If a* ^{Gal. 6, 1.} *man be overtaken in a fault, (i. e. any whatever,) ye who are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.* Does then the master of the family in a large house guard only the silver and golden vessels? Does he not deign to guard both the earthen and the wooden, and some that are put together and repaired? Now *I rejoice*, saith the Apostle, *that ye sorrowed* ^{2 Cor. 7,} *to repentance;* and again, *for godly sorrow worketh repent-* ^{9.} *ance unto enduring salvation.* But penitence, you say, was ^{ver. 10.} not allowed. No one enjoins a fruitless labour, *For the* ^{Luke 10,} *labourer is worthy of his hire.* Never would God threaten ^{7.} the impenitent, unless He would pardon the penitent¹. This, ^{1 Tert. de} you will say, God alone can do. It is true. But that also ^{Pœn. c.} which He does through His Priests, is His own authority. Else what is that which He saith to the Apostles, *Whatsoever* ^{Mat. 18,} *ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and what-* ^{18.} *soever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven?* Why said He this, if it was not lawful for men to bind and loose? Is this allowed to Apostles only? Then to them also only is it allowed to baptize, and to them only to give the Holy Spirit, and to them only to cleanse the sins of the nations; for all this was enjoined on none others but Apostles.

12. But if both the loosening of bonds and the power of the Sacrament are given in one place, either the whole has been derived to us from the Apostolic form and authority, or else not even this relaxation has been made from the decree. *I*, he saith, *have laid the foundation, and another buildeth* ^{1 Cor.} *thereon.* This, therefore, we build up, which the doctrine of ^{3, 10.}

S. PAC. the Apostles laid as the foundation. And, lastly, Bishops
 Ep. I. 15. also are named Apostles, as saith Paul of Epaphroditus, *My*
 Phil. 2, *brother and fellow-soldier, but your Apostle.*
 25.

1 et om. V. 13. If, therefore, the power of the Laver, and of the
 Anointing, gifts¹ far greater, descended thence to Bishops,
 then the right of binding and of loosing was with them.
 Which although for our sins it be presumptuous in us to
 claim, yet God, Who hath granted unto Bishops the name
 even of His only Beloved, will not deny it unto them, as if
 holy and sitting in the chair of the Apostles.

14. I would write more, brother, were I not pressed by
 the hasty return of the servant, and were I not reserving a
 fuller account for thee when either present, or making con-
 fession of thy whole purport. Let no one despise the Bishop
 on consideration of the man. Let us remember that the
 1 Pet. 2, Apostle Peter hath named our Lord, Bishop. *But are now,*
 25. *he saith, returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your*
souls. What shall be denied to the Bishop, in whom
 operateth the Name of God? He shall indeed give an
 account, if he have done any thing wrong, or if he shall
 have judged corrupt and unrighteous judgment. Nor is
 God's Judgment forestalled, but that He may undo the
 work of a wicked builder. In the mean while, if that his
 ministration be holy, he abideth as an helper in the work of
 2 Cor. 2, God. See the Apostle writeth to Laity: *To whom ye forgive*
 10, 11. *any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing, to whom*
I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of
Christ; lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we
are not ignorant of his devices. But if what the Laity
 forgive, the Apostle saith that he hath forgiven, what a
 Bishop hath done, in what character can it be rejected?
 Therefore neither the Anointing, nor Baptism, nor remission
 of sins, nor the renewing of the Body, were granted to his
 sacred authority, because nothing was entrusted to him as
 assumed by himself, but the whole has descended in a stream
 from the Apostolic privilege.

2 sent R. 15. Know², brother, that not indiscriminately to all is this
 very pardon through penance granted; nor until there shall
 have been either some indication of the Divine will, or
 perchance some visitation. may men be *loosed*; that with

careful pondering and much balancing, after many groans and much shedding of tears, after the prayers of the whole Church, pardon is in such wise not refused to true penitence, as that no one thereby prejudgeth the future Judgment of Christ. If, brother, thou wouldest write thy sentiments more openly, thou shalt be more fully instructed.

EPISTLE II.

CONCERNING NOVATIAN'S LETTER.

Pacian the Bishop to Sympronian his brother, greeting.

1. ON a prolix question I will, as far as I can, seek brevity. Nor will I, brother, make thee any return of evil, although, under plea of fair questioning, casting and directing at me hidden arrows in thy speech, of thine own framing. We are bidden to *pray for those that persecute us*, and to *bless those* Mat. 5, *who curse us*. Deceit belongeth as it were to the fox,⁴⁴ violence¹ to the lion. Either is most alien from the nature¹ autem of man, but deceit is deservedly the most odious. For^{om. V.} whereas thou deemest thou art best informed², thou questionest² as if ignorant; when thou thinkest that thou art^{te for} teaching, thou pretendest to be taught. The Pharisees of V. R. *old* were wont to call the Lord, Rabbi, when they were setting before Him ambiguous questions³ of the law; they³ anigmata entitled Him Master, when they would claim all mastery for themselves. But do what thou wilt, brother, thou shalt hear all in return from me without guile. I had rather be thought unskilful, than malicious. I had rather be judged foolish, than crafty.

2. Wherefore, before I assign the grounds of our faith, (about which thou art anxious,) hear a few words on your letter, which you put as a front^k to your treatise. You say that you were refreshed by our former Epistle, and then straightway add that my answer was couched in bitter terms. If bitter things refresh, I know not what would be the effect

^k *prætulisti*, perhaps as a false front. [Tr.]

S. PAC. of sweet; unless it be that, as in a draught of medicine, what
EP. II. 3. is bitter is wont to cure more than what is sweet. But, I
¹ repetas beg, look again¹ at my letters and see whether they are at
 added V. all sprinkled with gall; what there was haughty, what
 unsweet in my answer. Thou sayest that I named many
 heresies, about which no one enquired. Well, how did this
 affect thee, if thou wert not an heretic? You raised a
 question concerning our faith, and said that you wished for
 instruction; I wrote that the causes of ignorance were
 manifold, in order that you might shew which one especially
 had influence on you, to save perplexity in opening a large
 number.

3. On the name Catholic I answered fully and with
 calmness. For I said, that it mattered to neither, what the
 other was called. And if you demanded the meaning of the
 name, I said that, whatever it might be², it was *wonderful*,
 whether it was 'one in all,' or 'one over all,' or (an in-
 terpretation which I have not mentioned before,) 'the
 king's son,' that is, 'the Christian people.' Certainly too
 that was no accessory name which endured through so many
 ages. And indeed I am glad for thee that although thou
 mayest have preferred others, yet thou agreeest that the
 name attaches to us. What, should you deny? Nature
 would cry out. But and if you still have doubts, let us hold
 our peace. We will both be that which we shall be named,
 witness the antiquity of the name. If, however, thou per-
 severest in asking, beware lest that man of might exclaim,
² esset added V. *Why askest thou thus after My Name, seeing it is wonderful?*
 I next added, that we need not consider, whence Catholics
 derived this name, because neither was it wont to be any
 imputation against the Valentinians, if they were called after
 Valentinus, nor the Phrygians, if from Phrygia, nor the
 Novatians, if after Novatian. At this you are grievously
 excited, and rouse yourself as if pierced with a sting. For
 in your wrath you thus exclaim, 'Is it ever any objection to
 that holy man Cyprian, that his people bear the name of
*Apostaticum, Capitolinum*¹, or *Synedrium*? Thou revilest,
 but lo! I am not moved. Have we been called by any of

Judg.
 13, 18.

¹ intended, doubtless, to refer to the admission of the lapsed, who had sacri-
 ficed in the Capitol. see ab. on S. Cyr. Ep. 8. §. 2. p. 18. n. u.

these names? Ask a century, brother, and all its years in succession, whether this name has adhered to us; whether the people of Cyprian have been called other than Catholic? No one of these names have I ever heard. Consider now, if a man can be called by a name, which he knows not to have been given him. What then? These are taunts, not names, and taunts of the angry, taunts of the petulant. I too could call you by as many names as you will, were it lawful to be angry. Callest thou Cyprian holy, and his people apostatizing? How so? *If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also* Rom. *holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches.* Am I ^{11, 16.} Apostate, or Novatus? I, I say, or Novatus who forsook his father, abandoned the Church, and caused his wife to miscarry^m? Am I Apostate, or Novatian, whom a letter in his absence made a feigned Bishopⁿ, whom the Episcopal seat^o received without consecration from any? But of these points hereafter. In the mean time, tell me yourselves what ye are called. Do ye deny that the Novatians are called from Novatian? Impose on them¹ whatever name you like; ¹ illis that will ever adhere to them. Search, if it please you, ^{added} whole annals, and trust so many ages. You will answer, ^{V. R.} "Christian." But if I enquire the genus of the sect, you will not deny that it is Novatian. And yet it is not the name of thy Novatian which I censure, and which, so often sought after, thou envelopest in lines of circumlocution, and, if I may so speak, in closed bosom. Confess it without deceit. There is no wickedness in the name. Why, when so often enquired for, do you hide yourself? Why ashamed of the origin of your name? When you first wrote, I thought you a Cataphrygian. Dost thou² acknowledge it in thy² ^{tune} second letter? Dost thou grudge me my name, and yet ^{for tune} shun thine own? Think what there is of shame in a cause which shrinks from its own name.

5. But what is this thy criticism on which thou art so busy? As though I had applied to a Rhetorician, or had to

^m see ab. S. Cypr. Ep. 52. §. 3. p. 113.

ⁿ finxit. Novatian's consecration, although wholly irregular, does not appear to have the irregularity here seemingly ascribed to it. Yet S. Cyprian is thought to speak of the absence of

consecration in terms equally strong. (de Laps. §. 10. p. 138. Oxf. Tr. see Tillemont, H. E. t. 3. p. 350. note g. sur S. Corneille.

^o linteata sedes. "used in investitures." Hoffm.

S. PAC. treat of a science, or to expound verses of Virgil? What
EP. II. 6. then had I said? or what verses of Virgil was I expounding?^p

Having named several heretics, I added, 'Et quos fama re-
 1 *Æn. v. condit obscura*¹.' And whence thinkest thou this to be quoted
 302. from a verse of Virgil, if thou hadst no knowledge at all of
 Virgil? But I did not set down the verse in order, for I said,
 'Quos fama recondit obscura,' just as, when speaking, we are
 accustomed, out of the abundance of human language, to say
 any thing which may have been said before. Whereas you
 requote the verse in its own order, in its rhythm. Hadst
 thou so much more love for Virgil, as to deem it sacrilege,
 to make any infringement on his verse? And yet I had
 learnt this of a little child. What wonder if I stumbled on
 that which I knew? Is there such a spirit of enterprise then,
 brother, that now at last thou readest those very things,
 which thou didst blush should once have been read by
 others? As well mayest thou accuse one, taught in Latin,
 for speaking Latin, as thou mightest a Greek for speaking
 Greek, a Parthian for speaking Parthian, a Carthaginian for
 speaking Punic. Medes, Egyptians, Hebrews, have each
 their own language, according to the abundance of the Lord,
 Who hath harmonized language into an hundred and twenty^q
 tongues. A Bishop quote a verse from a Poet! What?
 Does the Apostle Paul blush, when he hath both quoted and
 approved of that Athenian verse? For in the Acts of the
 Acts 17, Apostles he putteth it thus, *As certain also of your own poets*
 28. *have said, For we are His offspring. Since then we are the*
 Tit. 1, *offspring of God.* And again, to Titus he said, *One of them-*
 12. *selves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are*
 ver. 16. *always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.* And he added, *This*
witness is true. So we have authority for our error. Nor
 are we Rhetoricians, but whatever word we use, we believe
 it to be the rich gift of God. Latium, Egypt, Athens, Thra-
 cians, Arabians, Spaniards, acknowledge God. The Holy
 Spirit understandeth all languages.

^p "disputandum! Quid ergo dixeram?
 aut quos Virgili?" inserted from Vat.
 after Virgili, omitted through the
 ὁμοιοτετα.

^q Coteler. (quoted by Galland.) on
 the Recogn. ii. 12. conjectures, that
 cxx has been substituted for lxx,

according to the distribution of lan-
 guages into LXXII, or LXXV. see his
 note, t. i. p. 513. and Abp. Potter on
 S. Clem. Al. Strom. i. p. 404. Else
 the number might have been taken
 from Acts 1, 15.

7. But why do you say, ‘I will smear thy letters with fresh oil of cedar, to protect them from the destructive enemies of the Muses?’ What Muses, I pray you? Those who invented letters, and wrote the sheets which are the prey of moths? Tell me, I pray then, brother, did the Muses invent letters? Are not all things through The Lord, and all from God? Besides those hundred and twenty tongues, was there yet another of the Muses? That idea was falsely devised by Hesiod on Helicon, but only to please the Athenians, who ¹ ^{ut om.} the Apostle says, had no leisure but to talk. We (the ^{V.} ^{Acts 17,} Apostle is our witness) retain the measures of all words, ^{21.} and all kinds of language, as inspired by God. Yet I pardon you, brother, if you rely somewhat upon your own author, and if you join together the philosophy of Novatian, whereby he made shipwreck of religion, with the authority of Hesiod. But thou oughtest to have remembered the words of the Apostle, who saith, *Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit.* Col.2,8.

8. And now of what sort is that which you think is to be imputed to Catholics, “if at any time kings or governments have persecuted you?” Then, on the other hand, ought it to be imputed to you, as often as Catholics have had to endure the wickedness and persecution of kings, and pagan princes have persecuted us. Have ye had to bear the odium attached to Christians? But we have had more reason to complain. Let him who did this, see to it with what intention, in what spirit he did it; to procure peace or discord. *But and if* ^{Rom. 3,} *some of them have erred, he saith, shall they make the faith* ^{3.} *of God without effect?* And yet think not that there was any reason to complain of us. When through our Faith^s princes had begun to be Christians, these very princes, favouring the Catholic, that is their own, side, were moved by their own sorrow; unless it is to be imputed to Daniel, that he was avenged by Darius: or to that most holy woman Esther, when for her a chief minister of the king is put to death: or to the three youths, because after they had made trial of the flames, the king of Babylon for their sakes threatens the wicked and unbelieving. Does not Peter put

^r regum et persecutionem Edd. impius et persecutiones V. impietatem Marg. regum imperiis R.
^s the Catholic Faith.

S. PAC. Simon to confusion with the consent of the judge? Does
 II. 10. not¹ Paul strike Elymas blind with the approval of Sergius?
¹ non R. And even at Jerusalem he had been avenged, had he when
 in bonds had any confidence in them". Dost thou not know
 that authorities themselves are the servants of the innocent,
² parti- and minister for good to the holy side?² As saith the
 bus for Apostle, *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the*
 patri- evil. *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that*
 bus. V. Rom. *which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same through*
 13, 3. 4. *the Lord; for he is a minister of God to thee for good.*

9. And yet I have complained of no one, I have been
 avenged on no one, nor do I think that the Novatians are
 any obstacle to me, in whose fewness and decrease, if I
 would, I might glory. See, no one accuses your people to
 Rom. the Emperor, and yet thou art alone³. Nevertheless *we*
 14, 10. *shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ*, of which
 one thing I know the Novatians would complain, if their
 cause were acceptable to any princes.

10. "It profiteth more," yon say, "to overcome than to
 please." But they who are led by a burning desire to
 overcome make their way by contention. Whereas the
 1 Cor. Apostle saith, *But if any man seem to be contentious, we*
 11, 16. *have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.* On the
 1 Cor. other hand, of the desire of pleasing he saith, *I please all*
 10, 33. *men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit*
of many, that they may be saved. But ye, whilst ye are
 thinking of your own, not the profit of your brethren, had
 rather destroy by overcoming, than refresh by pleasing. To
 overcome evil with good, is the office of reason: but to wish
 for victory, in whatever cause it be, is the part of a mad pre-
 sumption. This cometh from the law not of Apostles, but
 of Greeks, amongst whom it is found on record, that the
 whole spirit of the Lacedemonians was inflamed with a

¹ Doubtless, Nero, who Philastrius (Hær. c. 29.) says was present, with which correspond the tales of Dio Chrys. Or. 21. and especially Sueton. (vi. 12. quoted by Baronius and Tillemont, H. E. S. Pierre Art. 34.) as to a juggler, who promised Nero to fly, and fell to the ground in his presence.

² "Vindicatus esset et Hierosolymis,

si quid fidei ligatus habuisset." If it may thus be rendered, it may allude to Acts 25, 10. 11. and 26, 32. Could he have reposed confidence in Festus, he might have been set at liberty, through his civil privilege.

³ the sect melting away of itself, without civil interference.

desire of conquering. The filthy boar also, and the infuriated tigress, what else do they desire but to conquer, rather than to please?

11. "I have leisure," you write, and therefore art thou well pleased with contention. But to me, fully occupied in Catholic business, your letters were delivered after about thirty days; resumed, after forty more.

12. You say that I am angry. God forbid. I believe that I am roused; like the bee who sometimes defends her honey with her sting. But reconsider the letters on either side. You will soon see whether it be with stings or with flowers that we join issue on paper. The Apostle indeed speaks of some similar persons, whose mouths must be stopped¹. But listen, we engage with thee, as doves, with the mouth rather than with the teeth.

13. Oh! would it were true that thou sayest thou wouldest be taught! at once, with my own hands would I give thee the very anointing of the Holy Spirit. Dost thou love me? I have not harmed thee, this I know. But then couldest thou love me, if thou didst not hold things contrary; then wouldest thou approach my work with kindly feelings.

14. Dost thou marvel that the Epistles of Cyprian please me? And how should they not, the Epistles of a blessed Martyr and a Catholic Priest? Dost thou force Novatian upon me? I hear that he was a philosopher² of the world; it is not then much wonder to me that he fell away from the Church of the Living God. I know that he deserted the root of the ancient law, the fountain of the ancient people; envying Cornelius, lending himself to the phrenzy of Novatus, made Bishop without legitimate consecration, and therefore not even made, by the letter of those men, who pretended they were Confessors, who rent asunder the limbs of their one mother. These points, brother, I will prove to you in letters, by the confession of your own friends. Thus this philosopher of thine, *seeking to establish his own wisdom*, as ^{Rom.} the Apostle saith, *was not made subject to the wisdom of* ^{10, 3.} ^{1 Cor. 1,} *God, since by its wisdom the world knoweth not the wisdom* ^{21.}

¹ Tit. 1, 9. "indentare for ἐπιστομίζω, for which it is also used by Lucif. ² see on S. Cypr. Ep. 52. §. 1. p. 111. Calar. pro S. Ath. ii. 40." (Gall. B. P. n. m. vi. p. 195.) Gall.

S. PAC. of God. For whereas thou supposest that Novatian suffered
 H. 15. first, and subjoinest that Cyprian said, "My adversary hath preceded me^a," see how clear the answer I can make. Novatian never endured martyrdom; nor was that ever heard or read from the words of the most blessed Cyprian. Thou hast his Epistles in which he mentions^b Cornelius Bishop of the City¹, of whom Novatian was then envious, as resisting the hostile princes, often a confessor, often harassed; as made the leader of many Confessors, of many Martyrs also, and as receiving a most glorious crown with many others, whilst Novatian was still alive, and even free from all anxiety. For he had left the Church of Christ for this very reason, that he might not have to bear the toils of Confessorship^c. First, stung by envy, he could not endure the Episcopate of Cornelius; then, with the mockery of those letters of a few, he had bound himself to Novatus. All this concerning Novatian you may learn from the letters of Cyprian.

15. But, moreover, although Novatian did endure some suffering, yet was he not also slain. And although he was slain, yet was he not crowned. Why not? He was without the peace of the Church, without the bounds of concord, without the pale of that mother, of whom he ought to be a part who is a Martyr. Hear the Apostle, *And though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. But Cyprian suffered, in concord with all, in the common peace of all, amid a company of Confessors; and, having often been a Confessor in reiterated persecutions, and harassed with many a torment, had at last given him to drink of the cup of salvation.* This was to be crowned! Wherefore let Novatian have his Epistles to himself, to himself his haughtiness, to

1 Cor.
13, 2. 3.

^a A spurious account of a confession, or contest (*ἀθλησις*), also called a martyrdom, of Novatian is mentioned by Eulogius ap. Phot. Cod. 182. 208. 280. The Novatians set much store by it; Eulogius says, that "it was of the extreme vulgarity in language, thought, and composition;" and a bad fiction (*κακόπλαστος*). It consisted chiefly of a long and foolish dialogue between Novatian and a Ducenarian, and did

not even pretend that N. "endured scourging, or suffering, or torment of any kind." Socrates' statement (iv. 28.) that he was martyred, as well as that of the text, seem derived from this, and are discredited by it, as it would doubtless give the most favourable account.

^b Ep. 55. ad Anton. §. 6. 7. p 120. sqq.

^c see ab. p. 111. n. m.

himself his pride, by which, whilst he is lifted up on high, he is dashed down to pieces, whilst he spares no one, he is himself cast out.

16. Lo! the man, who by an inexorable religion closes the way of salvation against his brethren! Lo! the man, who is confident that he *beareth the fan*^d, and is *purging the garner* of the Lord! Take pity on thyself, brother Sympronian, lest Novatian deceive thee under this mask, as though he were therefore to be thought the more righteous, because he despised others in comparison of himself. Audacity often feigns itself confidence; and the false image of a good conscience flatters even desperate sinners. Whereas contrariwise all humility is innocence, even that of the debtor, even that of the sinner, even that which softeneth its soul with the sinner^e. *Blot me, I pray Thee*, says Moses, *out of* ^{Exod. 32, 32.} *Thy book which Thou hast written*; and this, that sinners might not perish. *For I could wish*, saith the Apostle, *that* ^{Rom. 9, 3.} *myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh*. Both then pray for sinners; and yet neither Moses nor Paul offend God on this account. Is Novatian better than they? a corrector of Prophets? a teacher of Apostles? Is he now seen with Christ, as was this ^{Mat. 17, 3.} same Moses? Is he now carried up, as was Paul, into the ^{2 Cor. 12.} third heaven? Is he alone to be now heard, and all others neglected? This would have been a sufficient answer to return to your letter.

17. But as you argue to some extent against doing penance, or for doing it before Baptism; and have filled your page with many chapters of examples from his treatise, I will, though more than is called for, answer each point. I will not hold back the substance of the truer faith. And as thou hast deigned to enjoin on me to hear thee at great length, do thou in return afford a kind requital to our treatise. The Lord perhaps will vouchsafe, that we, who have patiently yielded ourselves to thy enquiries, may gather some fruit from thy patience also. The Lord vouchsafe to guard and protect thee for ever, and make thee to live a Christian and a Catholic, and to agree with us! Amen.

^d palam ferre V. others, paleam auferre.

^e quæ animam suam cum peccatore blanditur.

EPISTLE III.

AGAINST THE TREATISE OF THE NOVATIANS.

Pacian the Bishop to Sympronian his brother, greeting.

S. PAC.
III. 1. 2. 1. THE whole treatise of the Novatians, which you have addressed to me thronged with propositions on all sides, amounts to this, brother Sympronian: That there is no room for repentance after Baptism; that the Church cannot remit mortal sin; that by the receiving of sinners she herself perishes. Illustrious honour! Singular authority! Great constancy! To reject the guilty; to flee the touch of sinners; to have so little confidence in her own innocence!

2. Who is the assertor of this doctrine, brother, Moses, or Paul, or Christ? But Moses wishes to be *wiped out* of the book for the sake of blasphemers; and Paul to be *accursed for his brethren*; and the Lord Himself willeth to suffer for the unrighteous. None of these, you will say. Who then, I ask? It was the ordinance of Novatian. Some spotless and pure man, I suppose, who was no follower of Novatus, who never deserted the Church, who was made Bishop by Bishops, who was consecrated according to the received rites, who obtained the Episcopal Chair in the Church when duly vacant? What is that to thee? thou wilt say. I answer, Novatian taught this doctrine. But, at least, when did he teach it, brother, or at what period? Immediately after the Passion of the Lord? After the reign of Decius, that is, nearly three hundred years after the Passion of the Lord. And what then did he? Did he follow Prophets, as the Cataphrygians? some Philumene^a, as Apelles? or received he himself so great authority? Spake he with tongues? Did he prophesy? Could he raise the dead? For some one of these powers he ought to have had who was to bring in a Gospel with new laws^b. Although the Apostle crieth even against this, *Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.*

^a see Tert. de Præser. c. 6. p. 440. ^b ib. c. 30. p. 464.
n. g. and c. 30.

3. Novatian, you will say, discerned this; but Christ taught it. Was there no one of discernment from the Advent of Christ even to the reign of Decius? Again, since Decius, has every Bishop been weary of his office? all others relaxed men, choosing rather to join themselves with the lost, to perish with the miserable, to be wounded through the wounds of others? Novatian vindicateth, righteousness is set free; Novatian guideth, every error is corrected.

4. "But come," you will say, "let our conflict be carried on with examples, and let us contend with reasoning." But I so far am safe. Contented with the line of the Church itself, with the peace of the ancient congregation, I have learnt no desire of discord, I have sought no arguments for contest. Thou, having been separated from the rest of the body, and divided from thy mother, that thou mayest give account of thy deed, art an assiduous searcher into the inmost recesses of books; every thing which is hidden, you molest; and whatever is at rest, you disturb. Our Fathers, unrequired, entered into no dispute; our very unanxiousness sought no arms; every advance of your party is guarded. I then know not what Novatian did, of what Novatian was guilty, what the swelling pride of Evaristus, what the report of Nicestratus. Despising your weapons, I know them not; yet, beware, how thou engage with unarmed truth. Let us await, however, what thou mayest object, what thou hast to say. Will truth be able to hold its ground though unarmed, or innocence unskilled?

5. You set forth, and rightly indeed, that "the Church is a people born again¹ of water and the Holy Spirit, free from¹ denying the Name of Christ, the temple and house of God, the pillar and ground of the truth; a Holy Virgin of chastest feelings, the spouse of Christ, of His Bones and His Flesh, *not having spot, or wrinkle*, holding the laws of the Gospels, entire." Who of us denies this? But we add moreover that the Church is *the queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours; the fruitful vine on the walls of the House of the Lord; the mother of virgins without number;*

^c in enforcing discipline. "Omnis Episcopus impatiens." This sense would come more directly from the reading of the Vat. "O, Episcopatus imp." "Is

every one weary of the Episcopal office?" but the "omnes alii," which follows, rather implies that as a more definite antecedent than "omnis" alone.

S. PAC. the *one* beautiful and perfect *Dove*, the chosen¹ of her mother,
 EP. III. the very *mother of all*; *built upon the foundation of the*
¹electam added V. *Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief*
 Gal. 4, *corner stone. A great house* enriched with a diversity of
 20, Eph. 2, every kind of vessel. But this of ours hereafter. Meanwhile,
 20, 2Tim. 2, consider we those of yours.

6. "The Church is a people *born again of water and the Holy Spirit.*" Well! say, who hath closed the fountain of God against me? Who hath taken the Holy Spirit from me? Yea, rather with us is *the living water*, the very water which springeth from Christ; but thou, separated from the everlasting Fountain, whence receivest thou thy birth? Nor hath the Holy Spirit departed from the chief mother; whence then came He to thee? Unless perchance He hath
 2 et V. followed one that is in strife, and² abandoning so many priests, nor pleased to abide in His consecrated dwelling-place, hath preferred the *broken cisterns* of an adulterated fountain? Whence have your people the Spirit, not having been sealed by an anointed priest? Whence the water, being separated from its mother's womb? Whence renewal, who have lost the cradle of Bridal Peace?

7. 'The Church is a people free from denying the Name of Christ.' Are there then no Confessors amongst us, no Martyrs, no untainted and spotless Priests, who have been
 3 quos proved by prisons³, by chains, by fire, by the sword? "There
 carceres added were," thou wilt say, "but by receiving those who had
 Vat. denied, they perished." I do not mention, I do not infer even this^d, that your own Novatian, whilst he was still living in the Church, both wrote, and recommended, and read a book, on receiving those who had denied, or the lapsed. In the mean time, whom will you be able to persuade that by receiving the lapsed the whole Church hath perished? That by the admission of penitents, the people of those who admit them has been made a denier of the Faith? But even if the people here or there have been too lax, have the
 4 plebes other peoples⁴ also who approved not of their deed, but
 Vat. followed custom and peace, lost the Christian name? Hear Jer. 31, the voice of Jeremiah, *In those days shall they not say, The*
 29, 30, *fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are*

^d ne huc quidem colligo Vat. al. Collegio.

set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity. Nor is the Lord silent by the mouth of Ezekiel, *As the soul* ^{Ezek. 18, 4.} *of the father, so also the soul of the son is Mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die; and afterwards, The son shall not* ^{ver. 20.} *bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him.* You yourself bring forward this example; *Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it,* ^{Ezek. 14, 20.} *they shall deliver neither son nor daughter; they only shall be delivered.* See, they who are placed in the midst of sinners, who cannot deliver others, are themselves saved. Whereas thou bindest the whole world with the chains of a few; thou condemnest the whole Church for the infirmity of a small portion. What are all with you saints, whom Novatus trained, whom Evaristus chose, whom Nicostratus* taught, whom Novatian instructed? Hast thou escaped *the* ^{Gen. 3,} *thorns and briars?* Hast thou no *tares* in thy *corn*? Is ^{18.} *thy wheat* already purged? Will He that *purgeth* come to thee without *His fan*? Shalt thou alone of all have no *chaff*? But come, proceed with the rest.

8. "The Church is the body of Christ." Truly, the body, not a member; the body composed of many parts and members knit in one, as saith the Apostle, *For the body is* ^{1 Cor. 12, 14.} *not one member, but many.* Therefore the Church is the full body, compacted and diffused now throughout the whole world; like a city, I mean, all¹ whose parts are united, not¹ ^{omnes} as ye are, O Novatians, some small and insolent portion, and^{V.} a mere swelling that has gathered, and separated from² the ^{2a added} ^{V.} rest of the body.

9. "The Church is the temple of God." Truly, an ample temple, *a great house*, having *vessels of gold and silver, but* ^{2 Tim. 2,} *also of wood and earth, some unto honour;* and many indeed^{20.} of glorious fashion destined for the manifold uses of various works.

10. "The Church is a holy Virgin, of chastest feelings, the Spouse of Christ." "A Virgin," it is true, but a mother also. A "Spouse," it is clear, but also a wife and an *helpmeet taken from her Husband*, and therefore *bone of His* ^{Gen. 2,} *bones, and flesh of His flesh.* For of her David saith, *Thy* ^{23.} ^{Psa. 128,} ^{3. 4.}

* see S. Cypr. Ep. 50. p. 109. n. k. and Ep. 52. p. 112.

S. PAC. EP. III. *wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thine house; thy children like the olive-branches round about thy table.* Great, therefore, is the progeny of this Virgin, and without number her offspring, wherewith the whole world is filled, wherewith the populous swarm ever throngs the circumfluous hive. Great is the care of that mother for her children, and tender her affection. The good are honoured, the haughty are chastised, the sick are cared for, no one perishes, no one is despised, the young are kept safe^f under the indulgent protection of a mother.

11. "The Church is without spot or wrinkle," that is, without heresies, without Valentinus, without Cataphrygians, without Novatians. For in these are certain spotted and wrinkled folds, envious of the ornaments of the precious vesture. But the sinner and the penitent are not a spot on the Church, because, as long as he sinneth and repenteth not, he is put without the Church^g. When he ceases to sin, he is already whole. But the heretic rends, divides, spots, wrinkles, the garment of the Lord, the Church of Christ.

1 Cor. 3, 3. *For whereas there are schisms and contentions among you, saith the Apostle, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?* and 2 Tim. 2, 17. *moreover, Their word will eat as doth a canker.* This is the spot that defileth unity, this the wrinkle. Lastly, when the Apostle is speaking of these things, he is setting forth the love and affection of Christ. Eph. 5, 25. *As Christ, he saith, loved the Church, and gave Himself for it; that He might remove^h, that is, the heretics, because they know not how to love. But why is this, you will say, for the wretched penitent? Because he wisheth both to love and be loved.*

12. "The Church is that which keepeth the laws^k of the Gospels entire." Truly "entire," because all, because fully.

^f *securi Vat. secuti Vulg.* perhaps "the next generation."

^g Bellarm. de Eccl. iii. 9. arg. 7. defends this, as though S. Pacian meant it of heretics only, of whom he had just spoken. But St. P. speaks much more broadly; the Novatians objected to the reception of certain open offenders; St. P. answers, that the Church received them, not as offenders, but when cleansed by penitence, in which case they were no longer "spots." The question did not relate to a discipline

which neither Church, nor heretics, can exert, as to secret offenders; these, St. P. often says, (e. g. §. 7.) both must have; but heretics, he says, were altogether defiled, and of these the Church was free, the Novatians were made up; restored penitents were no defilement, because they were cleansed; while in their sins, they were shut out by the discipline of the Church.

^h *summovert. Vat. has admoneret.*

ⁱ *quia. Vat. has qui.*

^k *jura for curam Vat.*

Where reward is given to the faithful, where tears are not denied to the wretched, where the weeping of them that ask is heard, where the wounded are bound up, where the sick are healed, where insolent health claimeth nothing for itself nor a proud righteousness, where charity endureth long solicitous for all, *believing all things, hoping all things,*^{1 Cor. 13, 7.} *enduring all things;* (whence is that of the Apostle, *Who is*^{2 Cor. 11, 29.} *weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?*) where the whole brotherhood mourning together, beareth its own burdens, secure in mutual affection, all in turn *bearing with one another in love, endeavouring to keep*^{Eph. 4, 3.} *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.* This will be the Church, brother Sympronian; this will be the "people born again in Christ of water and the Holy Spirit."

13. "I know not," you say, "whether sin can be remitted by Bishops, since our Lord hath said, *Whosoever shall deny*^{Mat. 10, 33.} *Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father Which is in heaven.* Why then did your Novatian teach this, when a Priest, before he had falsely assumed the Episcopate, long before Cornelius was made Bishop of Rome, before he was envious of his priesthood? You have the evidence of Cyprian to this; Cyprian, whom not even ye have ever been able to defame. For in a certain place he writes to Antonianus¹ after this manner; 'It was added,^{1 Ep. 55.} moreover, (Novatian being then the writer, and with his own^{§. 3.} voice reciting what he had written, and Moyses, then a Confessor, now a Martyr, subscribing,) that peace should be given to the lapsed when sick, and in extremities; which Epistle was sent throughout the world², and brought³ to the² knowledge of all the Churches.' What sayest thou, brother Sympronian? Novatian wrote this, and, that he might add³ the assent of his entire will, recited it also when written.^{Vat. perlatæ V.} His right hand is witness; witness the hand which wrote; witness the tongue which read. As yet Cornelius, on account of whom all this envy of yours burst forth, was not Bishop. Long subsequent to this, with very many brother Bishops, with very many Confessors, and forthwith Martyrs, as the same Cyprian writes⁴, he agreed in the decision of the elders,^{4ib. §. 4. 5.} that peace might be given. If the approach to penance is to

¹ Sacerdos, longe antequam Cornelius Romæ Episcopus. added Vat.

S. PAC. be refused, Novatian is involved in the guilt, who wrote,
 EP. III. recommended, and recited this. Where then was this im-
 patient rigour? Where then this unrelenting censorship?
 Had no one preferred Cornelius to you, that authority of
 Novatian¹ so writing had remained.

¹ added
 V.

14. Now this whole judgment displeaseth, now are arrows shot at us, and these very men furnish them, by whose authority the cause wheremat they direct them, gained its strength. But when began the Novatians to fall into this very heresy? Listen, I pray, and consider the whole course of your error. Cornelius, now made Bishop of Rome by sixteen Bishops, had succeeded to the place of the vacant Chair, and in that virginal chastity wherewith he was endued, suffered frequent persecutions from the angered Prince. At that time by chance a certain Presbyter named Novatus^m, having defrauded the widows in the Church of Carthage, robbed orphans, denied and withheld the money of the Church, cast his father out of his house, suffered him to die of hunger and left him without burial, stricken with his heel the womb of his pregnant wife, and destroyed her child, came from Africa to Rome. And there, when at the urgent request of his brethren in the Church, the day on which he must render account at Carthage was close upon him, he lay concealed.

15. And not long after, when this Novatian was troubled at the Episcopate of Cornelius, (for he had hoped it for himself,) he, with some partizans of his side, (as is men's wont in such cases,) urges him on when hesitating, encourages him when doubtful, exhorts him to hope for something great. He finds some out of the number of those who escaped the tempest of that persecution, in whose minds he could infuse against Cornelius this very odium about the receiving of the lapsed. He gives to Novatian their letters to him. He by authority of these letters, there being already a Bishop sitting at Rome, in opposition to the laws of the singleness of the Priesthood, assumes to himself the name of a secondⁿ Bishop; accuses Cornelius of being in communion with the lapsed; asserts his own innocence. Over against such a man I am

^m S. Cyp. Ep. 52. ad Corn. §. 3.
 p. 113.

ⁿ See St. C. on the oneness of the
 Episcopate. Ep. 59. §. 5. p. 155. n. c.

to render account; against such, I am to maintain the cause of modesty; against such is purity of life to be vindicated!

16. "But," thou wilt say, "why do ye too, Bishops, approve such things?" This let another say; do thou defend Novatian. Let the cause seem to others inexcusable; to thee it should^o be acceptable. Be he innocent in thy sight, whoever is in thy behalf guilty. Accuse not another of a crime, from which you cannot clear yourself. Well, be it that we Bishops every way owe a debt of shame, because we have received the name of Apostles, because we are sealed with the title of Christ. "The Lord," thou sayest, "denies him that denieth, I would not that thou shouldest acknowledge him denying." Who does acknowledge him denying? He, I ask, who constrains him to penance, rebukes him, shews him his crime, lays bare his wounds, tells him of eternal punishments, corrects him by *the destruction of the flesh*? This is to chasten, not to acknowledge. The Lord saith unto us, *Ye are the salt of the earth*. Good then is ^{Matt. 5,} the harmony when we so teach^p, nor will its authority be ^{13.} slight, whosoever shall hear us. Thou seest that the sentence of the Lord is not trampled on, but enforced by us; severity is not laid aside, but His will laid open.

17. "But," thou wilt say, "you forgive sin to the penitent, whereas it is allowed to you to remit sin only in Baptism." Not to me at all, but to God only, Who both in Baptism forgiveth the guilt incurred, and rejecteth not the tears of the penitent. But what I do, I do not by my own right, but by the Lord's. *We are labourers together with God*, saith ^{1 Cor.} the Apostle; *ye are God's building*; and again, *I have* ^{3, 9.} ^{1b. v.} *planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So* ^{6. 7.} *then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.* Wherefore, whether we baptize, whether we constrain to penance, or grant pardon to the penitent, we do this by the authority of Christ. See thou to it, whether Christ hath this power, whether Christ have done this.

^o licet omitted Vat. i. e. let others blame the laxity of the Church (if such it be); to a sect, springing from such founders, that laxity was gain.

^p Recte ergo psallimus, ista dicendo. Latin. conjectures "salimus," in allusion to "sal terræ" just before.

S. PAC. 18. "If remission of sin," thou sayest, "could be given to
 Ep. III. the penitent, Baptism was not necessary." Most senseless
 comparison! For Baptism is the Sacrament of the Lord's
 1 merit- Passion: the pardon of penitents is the earning¹ of him
 tum that confesseth. The former all can obtain, because it is the
 2 gratiae gift of the grace² of God, that is, a free gift; but penitence
 for gratia is the toil of the few, who after falling arise, who after
 V. wounds recover, who are holpen by tearful prayers, who
 1 Cor. 5, recover life through *the destruction of the flesh*.

5. 19. Thou maintainest that to no purpose did I adduce
 Ezek. that instance that God hath said, *I desire not the death of a*
 18, 32. *sinner, but rather that he repent*. What had I added that of
 Is. 30, Isaiah, *When thou shalt return and mourn, then shalt thou*
 15. lxx. *be saved, and know where thou hast been?* What if that of
 see ab. the Apocalypse, *Remember therefore from whence thou art*
 p. 77. *fallen, and repent, and do the first works?* "These things,"
 Rev. 2, (thou wilt say,) "were spoken to the Gentiles before Baptism."
 5. Rom. 3, Hear the Apostle, *Now we know that what things soever the*
 19. *law saith, it saith to them who are under the law*. Therefore,
 those who lived without the law will not be holden by this
 condition of repentance. And should they have repented,
 they had done it out of an unconstrained faith, not by any
 bond of repentance imposed by the law.

20. Therefore (thou wilt say) the Jews at least who
 repented before Baptism cannot repent after Baptism. Who
 taught thee this, brother Sympronian? Who convinced thee
 that he who may have repented before, ought not to repent
 afterwards? But this we will see hereafter. Meanwhile, even
 if the Jews were precluded from repentance after Baptism,
 because they had repented before, allow that the Gentiles at
 least who, before, knew not the law of repentance, ought to
 repent afterwards. But I would not that thou shouldest be
 deceived even as to the Jews. For on this very ground did
 they before repent, because they had corrupted their old
 Baptism, and they repented as having, after Faith, betrayed
 1Cor. 10, the Faith. Hear the Apostle, *Moreover, brethren, I would*
 1—4. *not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were*
under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were
all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did
all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same

spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ. This Baptism then they had violated, and therefore did they repent. Let us now see what thou sayest.

21. "If God bids man often repent," (sayest thou,) "He allows him often to sin." What sayest thou? Does he then who frequently points out the remedy for a crime, point out the crime? And when the physician cures, does he teach us to be constantly wounded? God wisheth not man to sin even once, and yet He delivers him from sin. Nor yet when He delivereth, doth He teach sin; as neither does he who delivers from a fire, teach to kindle it; nor does he who rescues the shipwrecked from the cliffs, drive him upon the rocks. It is one thing to be delivered from danger, another to be forced upon danger. And perchance I might allow this, if luxury were accounted penitence, on which such toil is imposed, *the destruction of the flesh* enjoined, continual tears, unending groans. Will he then who has been cured wish again to feel the knife, again to suffer cautery? Will he wish to sin again, and again to repent, when it is written, *Sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee*; and again, *John 5, On him that sinneth constantly I have no mercy*⁹. 14.

22. But if, as thou sayest, he is driven into sin, to whom is pointed out the medicine of penance; what then will be his case, who is shut out even from penance? who has his whole wound laid bare, and yet despairs of any remedy? who is utterly and entirely denied any approach to life?

23. "In Baptism," (thou wilt say,) "we die once for all according to the Apostle, *Know ye not, that so many of us* ^{Rom. 6,} *as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His* ^{3. 4.} *Death? Therefore we are buried with Him by Baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.* What marvel? The Apostle taught that we were renewed, that no one might sin. And yet it followed that he who had sinned should repent. The one is to live uninjured, the other cured. The innocent should receive a

⁹ probably Ecclus. 12, 3. "non est enim ei bene qui assiduus est in malis." ^{14.} ^r aperitur. Latin. conjectures "opertur," but the Novatians required the penitence, refused the reward, absolution.

S. PAC. crown, the penitent pardon: the one a reward, the other a
 Ep. 111. remedy. And, lastly, the same Apostle saith, *For when we*
 Rom. 5, *were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the*
 6, 9. *ungodly. Much more then, being now justified by His*
Blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him. From
 the wrath, that is, which was due to sinners. But if He
 suffered not the Gentile people to die, much more when
 redeemed will He not suffer them to be lost. Nor will He
 cast away those, whom He hath bought at a great Price.
 Nor is the loss of His servants a little matter in His eyes.
 Rom. 6, He That has risen again shall *die no more*, as it is written.
 9. But Himself is our *Advocate with the Father*, Himself *inter-*
cedeth for our sins, no powerless Maintainer of the cause of
 the wretched, no inadequate Intercessor! Answer, brother;
 can the devil oppress the servants of God, and cannot Christ
 set them free?

24. Thou sayest, that "the repentance of Peter was before
 the Passion of our Lord?" No one adduced this instance to
 thee. And yet Peter had been already baptized. For to him
 John 13, the Lord had said^s, *He that is washed needeth not save to*
 10. *wash his feet, but is clean every whit.* Afterwards, however,
 he received the remedy of Christ's Death, but he repented
 before, and was esteemed holy before he attained to this¹
 1 hoc remedy. Nor would his repentance be written as a memorial,
 added V. Mat. 26, had it not in some way profited the penitent. *He wept*, it
 75. is said, *bitterly*. Willest thou not that the believer should do
 what Peter did? Willest thou not that what profited Peter
 should profit us? Come say, Favourer it not me', that
 Thomas, after the Resurrection of the Lord, doubt of the
 Resurrection? Is he not marked by the Lord as guilty of
 faithlessness, when are shewn him the prints of the nails, the
 pierced Hands, the wound in the Side, when the Lord saith
 John 20, unto him thus, *Be not faithless, but believing?* What then?
 27. Was he ashamed to repent? Was he not humbled? Does
 he not straightway acknowledge his God and his Lord?
 And is not that confession his commendation?

25. How acutely now dost thou dispatch that head which
 I set down^u, that power was given unto Bishops, that *what-*

^s see on Tert. de Bapt. c. 12. p. 270.
 n. i. Oxf. Tr.

¹ Age, Thomas meus nonne, &c.

^u posui Galesin. ed. Par. Gall. In
 the marg. of Ag. it is given as a con-
 jecture for potui.

soever they bound on earth, should be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever¹ they loosed on earth, should be loosed also^{V. added.} in heaven. Thou sayest, that this has reference not to the Faithful, but to Catechumens, that in the case, namely, of people yet to be baptized, sins were allowed either to be loosed or retained. Lastly, thou joinest together clauses from two Evangelists, so as to seem one; and addest, that what Matthew detailed less fully, John filled up: so that whereas the Lord had said according to Matthew, *Go ye, Mat. 28, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name*^{19.} *of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, He completed His words in John, saying, Whosoever sins ye John 20, remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye*^{23.} *retain, they are retained;* so that this *loosing* or *binding* may seem to refer to the Gentiles who were yet to be baptized, because the former Evangelist spoke first of the Gentiles, but the latter “filled up” concerning *loosing* and *binding*. What sayest thou? Do the two Evangelists relate meanings mutually halved between them, and but half entire? Were they mutually deficient either in language or in reason? Or did not in all the Holy Spirit fill the whole man, carrying out entirely the sense proposed, and defining the words even to the full? *No one super-addeth to a man's testament when Gal. 3, confirmed:* shall another covenant change the covenant of^{15.} God? What is this desire in you of overcoming, that you dare any such thing? What is this, which according to Matthew himself the Lord had said before His Passion, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: Mat. 18, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in*^{18.} *heaven?* Our Lord had foretold this in St. Matthew, and made there no mention of the Gentiles. Why then do you join on the chapter of John to him, where he has set down what is peculiar to himself, and so set it down, as to keep it distinct from the Gentiles; which, had he wished to refer to the Gentiles, he could surely join that together which himself elsewhere set down.

26. All thou seekest then, thou hast in Matthew. Why didst not thou, who teachest a Bishop, read the whole? Look at the first head of that command. According to the relation of Matthew himself, the Lord spake a little above to

S. PAC. Peter; (He spake to one, that from one He might lay the
 EP. III. foundation of unity;) afterwards delivering the very same
 command in common to all, He still begins in the same
 Mat. 16, terms as to Peter; *And I say also unto thee, He saith, that*
 18, 19. *thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church;*
and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I
will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and
whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;
and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in
heaven. Say, brother, did He speak this of the Gentiles
 only, *Upon this rock,* He saith, *I will build My Church?*
 Doth He call nations not baptized, the Church? Is man not
 as yet re-born, the body of Christ? What do I loose to the
 Gentiles? What is not bound? For if it is not imputed, nor
 bound, why bind I on, what I bind not of right? The
 Gentile is free from the Law. See now, on the other hand,
 whether both words do not agree with the baptized. He is
 loosed by pardon, because he was bound by sin: he is
 bound by anathema, because he had been loosed by faith,
 and set free through grace. But if I grant that this power
 of loosing and binding regarded the Gentiles also¹, much
 more do I prove that it appertained to the baptized. For if
 he could be loosed or bound, who had no chain, how much
 more he, who was held by the laws of faith?

Mat. 18, 27. Thou sayest that Matthew had written, *If thy brother*
 15. *shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between*
thee and him alone; and that immediately after the Lord
 Mat. 18, added, *Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in*
 18. *heaven;* so that it would seem to have reference to offence
 given to a brother. But look, seest thou not what He saith
 above, *If thy brother shall trespass against thee?* but here
 He addeth, *Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall loose*
on earth, &c. The former is a command to one, the latter a
 power of loosing granted to many; the one, that same
 looseth against whom it is committed, the other, the Church;
 the former is obtained without the priest, without the brethren,
 the latter from all. *Whatsoever ye shall loose,* He says.
¹ except He excepted² nothing whatever. *Whatsoever,* He says,
 V. great or small. Listen to what He saith to Peter below, that
 sin against man is to be forgiven seventy times seven, in

order to shew that in other cases it can be forgiven at least once*. And yet he who sins against Peter, doth despite to the Lord, as He declares Himself when speaking to Samuel, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me.*^{1 Sam. 8, 7.} What then is commanded to us so often, is allowed to the Church, at least, once.

28. But to return to *the lost sheep, the piece of silver, and the younger son*, examples upon which I slightly touched in my former letter, thou hast gone over again in full, teaching and shewing that *the piece of silver*, and *the sheep*, and *the younger son*, refer to publicans and sinners, that is, a lowly people, not to the image of the Christian people, nor the likeness of the faithful. I congratulate myself on being taught, but I am sorry that I comprehend not. For what shall I say? That whatsoever the law saith, it saith to those under the law, and that this was spoken principally to the former people, but as a likeness of the faithful, but as an image of those who should be, as the Apostle saith, *Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come;*^{1 Cor. 10, 11.} and again, *All which things in them were a shadow of good things to come.*^{Heb. 10,} Certainly thou thyself¹ acknowledgest that these things were spoken to publicans and sinners, that is, a lowly people, and therefore the younger. Say then, is not the Christian people itself that younger people? Hath it not grown together into the root? Hath He not compacted these members into one? *built*, as it is^{Eph. 2, 20.} written, *upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner Stone. Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles?*^{Rom. 3, 29.} *Yes, of the Gentiles also.* For there is One God, Who justifieth the ungodly by faith, and the uncircumcision⁷ through faith. Certainly, that lowly people, whom God compared to *the piece of silver, the younger son, and the sheep*, was the Church, whence are Apostles, whence is the whole assembly of believers, whence the Christian people.

* See on Tert. de Pœnit. c. 7. p. 362. n. d. Oxf. Tr.

⁷ See Tert. adv. Jud. c. 1. adv. Marc. iii. ult.

^z The Vat. supplies "acrobystiam."

The Ed. notices that a little part of the sentence is wanting, the letters being faint and illegible, else it seems complete.

S. PAC. To this body then¹ are joined our members also, and all
 EP. III. portions of believers, out of the wild olive tree of the Gentiles,
¹ ergo added that they might grow together into a good olive tree, *par-*
 Vat. taking, as the Apostle saith, *of its fatness*; and so we might
 Rom. 11. be all one in Christ, Jew and Greek, bond and free. If,
² humi- therefore, we with those lowly ones² are one body, those
 libus V. things which were said to the lowly among the ancients
 were spoken also to us; and thus whatever was declared to a
 part of the body, was announced to the whole body.

29. I will speak more plainly still. This latter, this poor,
 this lowly people was an image of the Church, the humble
 and modest soul, the soul delivered through Christ. This
 Ps. 16, the Lord came to save. This *He left not in hell*. This is
 11. the sheep which is carried back on the shoulders, that is,
 with the effort and might of patience. This the piece of
 silver, which is looked for, and, when found, is shewn unto
 the neighbours. Seest thou how its fashion is like unto the
 similitude of penitents? Seest thou that mercy is extended
 even to this time? Seest thou that whatever was spoken to
 the Church at its birth, relates also to the Church in its fulness?
 Luke 15, Thence did the Lord then add, *Likewise joy shall be in*
 7. *heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety*
and nine just persons, which need no repentance. For if all
³ com- these things were written for our admonition³, to whom, I ask,
 monen- shall that sinful, humble, people be compared, but to the
 dos V. penitent people? And if, the figures recurring in regular
 order, the ninety and nine sheep that were safe are the whole
 Church, but the one that strayed in that small portion of
 offenders, the⁴ piece of money which was lost is that wretched
⁴ ac om. sinner, let the son returning after his evil ways, be held the
 Vat. pattern of him that is redeemed.

⁵positum 30. Thou now seest that I rightly set down⁵, when treating
 for si- of the cure of penitents, that the Lord said, *They that are*
 tum V. *whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick*;
 Mark 2, and rightly again, *Blessed are they that mourn, for they*
 17. *shall be comforted*. Whatsoever was said of publicans and
 Mat. 5, sinners, will apply to all that are sick, and all that are
 4. miserable.

31. Thou sayest, “It was written of Martyrs only, *Blessed are they that mourn*.” Does no one bewail his sins besides

them? Doth not David cry, *Every night wash I my bed?* Ps. 6, 6. and again, *For I have eaten ashes as it were bread; and mingled my drink with weeping?* Ps. 102, 9. Saith not Jacob, *Few and evil have the years of my life been?* Gen. 47, 9. Does not the Apostle write to Timothy, *Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears?* 2 Tim. 1, 4. And yet he spoke not this of a Martyr. What now? Are the eyes of the wretched penitents dry? And they who grieve that they have sinned, know they not how to weep? We ourselves, the communicants, we, the faithful, have not we tears? Hath any one of us pleasure in rejoicing, when *the world rejoiceth?* Yc, Novatians, *Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us.* 1 Cor. 4, 8. It is not then they only who are miserable, who are the objects of commiseration^a.

32. Your next proposition is, that it is written by the Lord, *All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men. But whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* Mat. 12, 31, 32. Either I am mistaken, or this example makes against thee. For if *all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven*, thou seest that pardon is not denied to penitents; *all sin* then, even blasphemy itself then. According to Luke you have it added, *And whosoever shall sin against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him.* Luke 12, 10. What can be more large than this as to the mercy of God, the clemency of the Judge? *Is not thine eye evil because the Householder is good?* Mat. 20. *May not He do, what He willeth?* Moreover, *Who art thou that judgest a servant? to his own Master he standeth or falleth.* Rom. 14, 4. *Yea, God is able to make him stand.* But he that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit, He saith, *shall not be forgiven.* Thou usually readest the whole lessons. Why didst thou not read here what that meaneth, *against the Spirit?* Thou hast it written above, that¹, when our Lord was casting out devils by His word, and performing many other deeds by the power of the Spirit², the Pharisees said, *This fellow doth not cast out devils but by*

^a i. e. The sympathy of the members of the Church is not confined to the fallen; all "groan, being burdened" and so all have sympathy.

^b So quoted also by Lucif. Calar. de

non parc. in D. del. p. 237 h. quoted by Mat. 12, Sabat. ad loc. and in the latter clause, 24. Opt. c. Don. vii. Breviar. fid. c. Arian. ap. Sirm. quoted ib. on S. Matt. 12, 32.

¹ quod added v.
² spirituali for speciali

S. PAC. *Beelzebub the prince of the devils.* This it is to have sinned
 EP. III. against the Holy Spirit, to have blasphemed against those
 things which were wrought by the Holy Spirit. For in other
 sins we either fall through error, or are conquered by fear, or
 are overcome¹ by the infirmity of the flesh. This is the
 blindness of not seeing what thou seest, imputing to the devil
 the works of the Holy Spirit, and calling that glory of God,
 by which the devil himself is overcome, the power of the
 devil. This it is then which *shall not be forgiven.* All other
 things, brother Sympronian, are forgiven to good penitents.

33. After this thou thus givest the instances of the branches
 John 15, and the vine: in John the Lord saith, *I am the true Vine,*
 1. 2. *and My Father is the Husbandman. Every branch in Me*
that beareth not fruit, He taketh away, and every branch
that beareth fruit, He purgeth it. Thou seest then that in
 the branches fruit is required, that is, good works of repent-
 Mat. 3, 8. *ance, as John says, Bring forth therefore fruits meet for*
repentance. Thou seest that the *branches are purged.* This
 purging is the *destruction of the flesh,* the loss of joy, the
 loss of inheritance, the toils of life; and these are the peculiar
 acts of penitents. You see also that the Husbandman is the
 Lord^c, Who destroyeth not even the very branches, but
purgeth and gathereth, some certainly for the fire, some to
 renew and plant again His vineyards.

34. "Eli the priest," thou sayest, "speaketh, saying, *If*
 1 Sam. 2, 25. lxx. *one man sin against another, they shall pray for him: but if*
a man sin against the Lord, who shall intreat for him? In
 1 John 5, 16. like manner John, *If any man see his brother sin a sin which*
is not unto death, he shall ask, and He shall give him life for
them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death:
I do not say that thou shalt pray for it. Thou seest that all
 this has reference to sins still remaining, not to those persons
 who have at any time sinned, and begun to repent before
 any one asketh for them. It were a long task to unfold the
 instances. Remark all the sins which God threatens, thou
 wilt at once see that they are present sins. But if his past
 righteousness shall not profit the righteous in the time of his
 iniquity, neither shall his wickedness which he hath forsaken
 hurt the wicked man in the time of his righteousness; for it

Ezek.
18.

is written, *Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous* Is. 55, 7. *man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he shall obtain mercy.* But if God hath punished even past sins, tell me, hath He it not in His own power to change His sentence against him, to whom^d He hath appointed punishment and suffering for things past and overlooked? Did He not deliver Rahab, Nebuchadnezzar the king, the Gibeonites, the Ninevites, and Zoar, from the destruction foretold? Doth not Joel thus speak in His Name¹, *Turn* ^{per ipsum Joel 2,} *unto the Lord your God with all your heart, and with fasting,* ^{Joel 2,} *and with weeping, and with mourning, for He is gracious* ^{Joel 2,} *and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil. Who knoweth if He will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind Him?* Wherefore if thou shalt have any how proved that punishment is appointed for the sinner, thou must allow this, either that it is appointed for enduring sins^e, or that liberty is left to God of changing His sentence in their favour, on repentance.

35. Thou sayest it is further written, *If thy hand or thy* Mat. 18, *foot offend thee, cast them from thee.* The meaning of this⁸. Moses foretold by the testimony of the Book of Deuteronomy, *If thy brother,* (for these are our eyes and our hands,) *or thy* Deut. *daughter, or thy wife, which is in thy bosom, or thy friend,* ^{13, 6.} *which is as thine own soul, entice thee, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known:* then he added below, *Thou^f shalt accuse him, and thine hand shall be* ver. 8. 9. *upon him to put him to death.* Dost thou see then that this was not spoken of penitents, but of those who not only themselves persevere in wickedness, but also cease not to put stumblingblocks in our way? These, however dear they be, we must relinquish; however useful, we must abandon.

36. Further, thou settest forth that the Apostle Paul said, *Put away from among yourselves the evil thing^g;* the evil ^{1 Cor. 5,} *which continues, that is.* But repentance is not an evil, for ^{13.}

^d Latinus' conî, "deque" for "de quo" gives an easier reading, "If God hath punished even past sins, and has appointed punishment and suffering for things past and overlooked, say, hath He it not in His power to change His sentence."

^e peccatis perseverantibus V. in p. al. Edd.

^f LXX. so quoted nearly by S. Cyp. Ep. ad Fortun. §. 5. p. 284. Oxf. Tr. Lucif. Cal. de non pare. in D. del. p. 228. d.

^g as if it had been τὸ πονηρὸν, which S. Aug. qu. 39. in Deut. observes, it is not.

S. PAC. David saith, *It is a good thing to make confession unto the*
 1 p. 111. *Lord.* And yet he who is doing penance is not with me,
 Ps 92, 1. nor is he joined in the portion of the saints, nor in peace^b.

1 Cor. 5. But the Apostle saith, *If any man that is called a brother be*
 11. *a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a*
drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one not even to eat.
 Thou seest that not without cause doth it stand, *if he be*,
 i. e. one who is not yet penitent, who has not ceased to be
 wicked. And certainly the same words apply to the covetous,
 to drunkards, and to railers. Answer, brother, is no one of
 1 pace this kind comprehended in your communion¹? Thence then
 Is 1, 28. is it that God crieth by Isaiah, *The destruction of the trans-*
gressors and of the sinners shall be together; not of the
 penitent, not of those who are busied in works of mercy,
 Is 1, 18. to whom God saith again in the same Isaiah, *Though your*
sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though
they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

37. “Nevertheless,” thou sayest, “the Apostle condemned
 ver. 3-5. him that erred. For in the first Epistle to the Corinthians
he saith thus: For I verily, as absent in body, but present in
spirit, have already judged, concerning him that hath so done
this deed, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye
are gathered together, with the power of our Lord Jesus
Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction
of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the Day of the
Lord Jesus.” Mark, brother, first that he condemns not those
 with whom this man is in communion. He alone *who had*
done this deed, is delivered to Satan, he only is excom-
 municated, the peace of the Saints being kept entire. Ye
 for one sinner condemn all churches. Next thou seest, that
 this very incestuous sinner is not *delivered to death*, but *to*
Satan, to be reformed, *to be buffeted*, to repent. Lastly, he
 says, *for the destruction of the flesh*, not however of the soul,
 2 et V. not even of the spirit also², but *for the destruction of the flesh*
 only, trials, namely, straits in the flesh, wearing of the mem-
 bers, as in another place he saith of them who refrain not,
 1 Cor. 7. *Nevertheless, such shall have trouble in the flesh.* Wouldest
 28. thou know³? In the second Epistle to the Corinthians, the
 3 hoc om. V. same Paul absolves this same wicked man. For of him he

^b not being yet reconciled, nor admitted to the Holy Communion.

saith, *Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was*^{2 Cor. 2, 6-8.}
inflicted of many. So that contrariwise ye ought rather to
forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such an one
should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. Wherefore
I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love toward him.
 And so below, *To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also:*^{ver. 10.}
for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your^{11.}
sakes forgave I it in the Person of Christ; lest Satan should
get an advantage¹ of us. Seest thou the indulgence of the
 Apostle, tempering even his own sentences? Seest thou his
 most gentle lenity, so far removed from your pride? Widely
 differing from the front which Novatian assumes, but con-
 sulting for the common life and salvation of all?

38. But thou inveighest¹ against us also with the severity¹ inve-
 of a censor. Thou sayest, that “according to the law of^{heris V.}
 heaven it is not allowed to *break one of the commandments*,
 and that lambs ought not to hold communion with wolves,
 and that all consenting unto such is in fault, that² he then^{2 et om.}
 who toucheth pitch is defiled, and that there is no *society of*^{V.}
light with darkness, of the temple of God with idols, or
agreement of Christ with Belial.” Thou sayest at last that
 we “rescind the commandments of God.” Do we alter one
 tittle of the law, or the Novatians rather^k, who have violated
 all laws of the Church, all laws of concord, who, after so
 many years of peace, so many sacred treaties, have produced
 these new laws of yours, new customs, new rites³, feigning^{3 om. V.}
 sanctity under an inexorable front, a sanctity heretofore
 unknown⁴? Do we receive wolves into the Church, who^{4 area-}
 avoid the very faces of heretics, or the Novatians rather,^{num}
 who, themselves rapacious wolves, shudder at the poor sheep
 but little more wretched than themselves? Do we “consent
 unto the wicked,” do we “touch pitch,” have we *fellowship*
with darkness, do we join ourselves *unto idols and unto*
Belial, or they who received Evaristus, who received Nico-
 stratus, and the others who left the Church, defiled in tongue,

ⁱ The text has *possideatur*, for which in Ep. i. fin. *possideamur* was substituted from R. which S. Aug. also has c. Ep. Parm. iii. §. 3. and Ambros. ad loc. *Possideatur* seems to be the correction of a scribe.

transposition of the text “Novatiani, quia [qui V.] tota Ecclesie, tota concordie, an potius jura violarunt” for “an potius N.” as a little below. The Vat. omits “an potius” as evidently misplaced.

^k There has plainly been here a slight

S. PAC. in hand, in life? Have we dealings with adulterers and thieves, EP. 111. or they who preferred Novatus over their own lives and heads¹, after he had embezzled the money of orphans and widows, the murderer of his wretched parent and of his wife's offspring, not only not penitent, but even glorying?

1 Tim. 5, 39. But the Apostle Paul said, *Lay hands suddenly on no man.* Yet he teacheth, that slowly and after repentance it must not be refused. "Yet at the destruction of Jericho Achan the son of Carmi was put to death for stealing a garment." Slay ye then all who have stolen our money and our books, and exercise your fury against the bones of Novatus. Take upon you again that yoke *which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear.* Why delay ye, O Acts 15, 10. Novatians, to ask *eye for eye, tooth for tooth*, to demand *life for life*, to renew once more the practice of circumcision and the sabbath? Put to death the thief. Stone the petulant^m. Choose not to read in the Gospel that the Lord spared even the adulteress who confessed, when none had condemned her; that He absolved the sinner who washed His feet with her tears; that He delivered Rahab at Jericho, itself a city of the Phenicians; that He set Tamar free fromⁿ the sentence of the Patriarch; that when the Sodomites also perished, He destroyed not the daughters of Lot; willing likewise to have delivered his sons-in-law, had they believed the destruction to come.

40. Come, dost thou not remember that the Lord saith by Ps. 119, David, *With them that hated peace was I peaceful?* and (120,) ^{7.} that the sentence of Solomon^o is not withheld when he saith, Vulg. *A brother that helpeth a brother shall be exalted?* What Gal. 6, 1. 2. says the Apostle? *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so shall ye fulfil the law of Christ;* and again, (which I have before Rom. 9, 3. quoted,) *I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; and*

¹ vitæ suæ et capiti prætulerunt, i. e. risked their salvation by following him.

^m as in the law of "the stubborn and rebellious son." Deut. 21, 18—21.

ⁿ by His Providence. The Vat. omits

a, "by the sentence of the Patriarch."

^o Prov. 18, 19. so quoted by S. Cypr. ab. Ep. 55. §. 15. p. 126. and by S. Paulinus. see Sabat. ad loc.

again, *I am made all things to all men, that I might by all*^{1 Cor. 9, 22.} means save all^p; that is, so as to share their groans with the wounded, suffering with the sick, death with the dying, to be able to blend the fall of brethren with his own standing, to abate¹ from his own health, and apply medicine to the¹ ^{dece-} sinking. ^{dere V.}

41. What profiteth it you to harden yourselves with an haughty and hard brow, to be stiff² and bear your necks² ^{rigere} high, to turn away your faces from the miserable, to close the ^{V.} ear and eye? Have ye, I pray you, never fallen? Is there no stain on your minds? No mote, I pray, in your eyes? *Who will boast that he hath a clean heart, or that he is free from sins?* Ye, I suppose, are just, benevolent, temperate, your members are all sound, your whole body unharmed, ye have no need of a physician, nor of medicine for weakness! Enter ye heaven at once, penetrate the approaches to paradise while the sword gives way⁴ before you, close your holy gifts against so many nations of ours, who confess the One and Only God! But if they are in a far different state from that which the implacable rigour of nature and your cruelty pretend, ye must see now, O Novatians, that God can have mercy; now, that a remedy, late though it be, is open to wretched brethren who confess what is past; now, that that wounded man, passed by by the Levite and Priest, can be healed by Christ; now, that the prayers of the Church are not to be refused to the humble; now, that the hands of the Priests are to be imparted to those brethren who deserve pity.

42. But we understand, as thou reproachest us, that the Church of God is a *dore*, not bitter with gall^r, not fierce nor rending with talons, white³ moreover with small and tender³ ^{can-} plumage. We know likewise that, being *the well*⁴ ^{dentem} of living ^{added V.} water, and a *fountain sealed*, it is defiled with no filth of⁴ ^{puteum} engulfing heresy, and that it is a *garden enclosed* and full of ^{V.} herbs great alike and small, vile and precious; that it is *the eight souls* from the Ark, among whom, however, was Ham also,

^p according to a reading πάντας for πάντας τινάς D. E. F. G. &c. see Scholz.

^q cedente some edd. others cedente
“while the sword smiteth” yet leaves

them unharmed, as sinless.

^r which the dove was supposed not to have. Horus Hierogl. i. 54.

S. PAC. and those thousands of birds and beasts, in pairs and in
Ep. III. sevens, clean alike and unclean. But by the *dry fountains*
Jer. 2, and *clouds carried about of winds* we understand the barren-
13. ness of heretics, and the assaults of strangers' voices.
2 Pet. 2, 17.

43. Neither do we *promise liberty, when we are ourselves the servants of punishment*, but we *confess our sins*, and exhort the rest also to confess theirs, and to believe on *Him Who justifieth the wicked by faith*, Who revoketh the sentence pronounced against wickedness. When also we avoid you, we *beware of false prophets and ravening wolves*. But we believe that James and Mambres^s withstood Moses, as ye do the Catholics. Whence the Apostle layeth it down thus, *Now as Jannes and Mambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs also was*. That this was spoken against you, is clear; for ye can neither proceed further, nor hide your folly.

Ecclus. 44. *He that is washed by the dead, profiteth nothing*^t, he, that is, who is dipped in an heretical fountain, and in like
34, 25. manner, he who is *anointed with the oil of the sinner*, who
Ps. 140, is filled, that is, with an unclean spirit. So then ye shall be
5. Vulg. also children of blood. For ye desire not the peace, but the blood of brethren. Your cruelty^u is a false faith. An heretical congregation is an adulteress woman; for the Catholic hath never from the beginning left the couch and the chamber of her Spouse, nor gone after other and strange lovers. Ye have painted a divorced form in new colours, ye have withdrawn your couch from the old wedlock, ye have left the body of a mother, the wife of One Husband, decking yourselves out with new arts of pleasing, new allurements of corruption.

45. For whereas ye bring forward as a witness against me the most blessed Cyprian, because in his Epistle on the Lapsed^v he says that Moses^y and Daniel and Job prayed for sinners, and obtained not, our Lord saying, *Though Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they shall deliver neither son nor*

^s See the authorities for this reading. p. 238. n. b.

(which are inadequate,) in Scholz. ad loc.

^t See above on S. Cypr. Ep. 71. §. 1.

^u crudelitas. The Vat. has credulitas.

^v de Laps. §. 12. p. 166. Oxf. Tr.

^y Noah, in S. Cypr.

daughter; they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness. Would, would ye did rely on the witness of Cyprian, would ye acquiesced in doctrines so salutary! For when he was urging the lapsed to penance, who were unwilling to do penance because they said that they had received peace from Confessors or Martyrs, he taught and shewed that not even those Patriarchs obtained any thing for the unrepentant. For who can deliver one unwilling? Who can humble himself for the proud? Who obtain any thing for the unrepentant? So when he said this, he was constraining them to the remedies of penance. Nor did a man of such gravity and merit in any wise contradict himself, but he taught that the sinner must pour forth prayer, and must love Confession.

46. These examples, however, of Cyprian shake you, in which he relates that both Moses and other saints who prayed for sinners, obtained not their request. Sayest thou? Seest thou not for whom Moses obtained not his request? Returned to the people, what heareth he in the camp? The voices of drunkards and the songs of the idol-sacrifice were resounding through it. The people was still persevering in wickedness, still remaining in the very crime, but¹ repentance¹ at V. it knew not. And yet² who of us told thee that Moses² et tam^{men} V. obtained not his request? God indeed had said unto him, *Whosoever hath sinned against Me, him will I blot out of* Ex. 32, *My book.* He had spoken, however, with the authority of a^{33.} Judge, and with the power of a Lord. But see how soon He turned back the sentence pronounced against the wickedness of the people. Listen. Immediately, in the same place, the Prophet saith, *And Moses besought the Lord his* Ex. 32, *God, Lord, why doth Thy wrath wax hot against Thy* 11. *people?* and so on. Then again below, *And the Lord* Ib. v. 14. *repented of the evil which He thought to do unto His people.* Seest thou that the anger of God was softened? Seest thou that the offence was atoned for? And he prayed for a people not praying³, nor repenting what they had done.

47. "But Noah," thou sayest, "*and Daniel, and Job,* could not deliver sons nor daughters." And the meaning of this is; if they should ask for them who asked not themselves, if they should pray for him that persevered in crime, if they

S. PAC. would throw their protection over not individuals, not a few,
 EP. III. but many thousands. Yet Noah delivered his own house-
 hold from the general ruin; and Job received again all which
 Dan. 2. he lost; and Daniel by prayer removed that sword which was
 hanging over the wise men of Babylon. Lot certainly
 Acts 27. prayeth for the safety of a city, Paul for the passengers of
 the ship. So they who know how to repent are absolved
 1 a by help of the righteous.

48. Lastly, look even at the very words which are written,
They only shall be delivered. Who are they? Those same
 who pray for sinners, shall pray for such with impunity.
 And why condemnest thou the Church? Why forbiddest
 thou to pray for the penitent? if we may pray even for those,
 for whom we may not obtain? Read, therefore, my Cyprian
 with more care. Read the whole Epistle on the Lapsed;
 read another which he wrote to Antonianus, in which
 Novatian is pressed by examples of all sorts. Then thou wilt
 learn what he pronounced as to the healing of penitents;
 Cyprian, I say, who is opposed to you, and adhered to the
 Catholic laws. Tertullian after he had fallen into heresy,
 (for you have taken much from this source,) you may hear
 himself, in his Epistle, and that same which he published when
 a Catholic, confess that the Church can forgive sins.

49. Thou seest then that the Church is *a Queen in a
 resture of gold, wrought about with divers colours*; con-
 sisting, that is, of many diverse bodies, and of many people.
 This painting is not of one colour, nor doth this great diversity
 glisten in one garment. This part of her array covereth,
 another adorneth. One part is fitted to the bosom, another
 sweeps along in the lowest fold, and contracts defilement in
 the very act of walking. Part is likened to the purple of
 Martyrs; part to virgin silk. A part is sewed on beneath in
 1 Cor. 7. folds, or repaired by the stitches of the needle. *One after
 7. this manner, and another after that.* And yet in all is she
 made one queen.

50. Therefore she is also a fruitful and rich vine, with
 many branches, and the varied⁷ tresses of many a tendril.

⁷ "distineta, Aspicie. Numquid in- uva," inserted by V. before "dis-
 gentes ubique botrus, numquid omnis tentior."

Look. Are there every where large clusters, is every grape full-swelled? Have none of these suffered from the winter cold? Has none endured the rough hail? Has none to accuse the burning heat of summer? One bud is studded thicker with shoots; another is stronger; another cleaner; one bursts forth into fruit, another only into exuberance of leaves. Yet is she a vine in every part beautiful.

51. She is the mother of *virgins without number*. Cant. 6, 8. *Calcu-* late now, if thou canst, the Catholic flocks, and count on thy fingers the swarms of our people. Not those only, which are scattered throughout the whole world and fill whole regions, but those, brother Sympronian, which are with thee in the nearest borders and in the neighbouring city. Contemplate how many of us you alone see, how many people of mine you alone meet. Art not thou absorbed as eaves-droppings in great fountains, as a single drop by the ocean? Say, say, are these virgins the offspring of your people? Art thou alone the mother of so many? This queen, I say, is ours, *the chosen one of her mother and perfect*. ver. 7. Nothing indeed can be *chosen*, except what is better and greater from another; nothing can be *perfect* except what is full.

52. Next consider this, whether she is not especially *built* Eph. 2, 20. *upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner Stone*. If her beginning was before thee, if her belief was before thee, if she hath not left her former foundations, if she hath not moved them, if she hath not separated from the rest of the body and appointed her own rulers for herself and peculiar documents¹, well^a; if¹ instru-
menta she hath made unreceived interpretations, if she hath invented some new law, if she hath given a divorce from peace to her own body, then clearly may she seem to have left Christ, then may she seem to stand apart from Prophets and Apostles.

53. This then will be the *great house*, rich in diversity of² Tim. 2, 20. *all vessels*, in which glistens the pure *gold*, in which gleams the ductile *silver*, but which despises not, as it is written, *the vessels of wood and earth*. For a *great house* employeth

^a This break has been necessarily made, although there is no distinction in the present text, of which the former part plainly belongs to the Catholics, the latter to the Novatians.

S. PAC. many services, is busied about various works. It seeks not
 EP. III. silver only, nor is delighted with ornament of gold alone. Now and then what is of slight account is more ornament to things great^b; and in a noble suite, things little are sometimes pleasing. No workman despiseth his own work, nor thinks that vile which he hath made. And whence was it, thinkest thou, that Christ suffered for sinners, except that He was unwilling to lose any thing which He Himself formed? Whence was it, thinkest thou, that He even now intercedeth with the Father for the miserable^c, except that He repels not him of little worth, even though he be most despised. None of those whom He has received, would He lose, although compared to *vessels of wood and earth*, and so He putteth together^d in His house all vessels.

54. At length, brother Sympronian, be not ashamed to be with the many; at length consent to despise these festering spots^e of the Novatians, and these parings of yours; at length, to look upon the flocks of the Catholics, and the people of the Church extending so far and wide. Where one is, (thou wilt say,) there am I also; and where two are, there is the Church: "where one," yet in concord, "where two," but at peace. "Where one is, there is the Church also."

Eccles. How much more, where many are? *Two*, it saith, *are better*
 4, 9, 12. *than one, and a three-fold cord is not broken.* Hear what

Ps. 35, David saith, *I will sing unto Thy Name in the great Congre-*
 18. *gation*; and again, *I will praise Thee among much people*;

Ps. 50, 1. and, *The Lord, even the most mighty God, hath spoken: and*
called the world, from the rising up of the sun, unto the
going down thereof. What! shall the seed of Abraham,

Gen. 22, which is as the stars and the sand on the sea shore for
 18. number, be contented with your poverty^f? *In thy seed*, he saith, *shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* Say, does Novatian make these up? Not thus little hath God redeemed with His Own Blood, nor is Christ so poor.

55. Recognise now, brother, the Church of God extending

^b Subinde plus decet magna contemptus; the text can hardly be correct.

^c V. corrects hodie Patrem for hodieque, and promiseris must be divided into pro miseris.

^d composit. There may be a reference, as elsewhere, to "mending" them.

^e redivias. Whitlowes.

^f It must be borne in mind in these contrasts, that the Novatians, as the Donatists afterwards, claimed to be the whole Church; they do not apply to us, who, however outwardly rent, claim to be a portion only.

her tabernacles, and fixing the stakes of her curtains on the right and on the left; Understand that *The Lord's name is* ^{Ps. 113,} *praised, from the rising up of the sun, unto the going down* ^{3.} *thereof*. See, see, I beg you, that, whilst the Novatians are striving over words, the riches of Catholics are being dispersed throughout the world.

56. I have now instructed thee on all the points, about which thou hast consulted me. I have passed over no head or sentence of your propositions. I have answered every tittle and word. If you enquired as one consulting, I have shewn you lovingly. If as attacking, I have argued not indiligently. I will add, when I shall have leisure, another Epistle also, in which I will not¹ confute your views, but set^{1 non V.} forth ours. And if you read it with good feeling and without fastidiousness, perchance it may not hurt you. Meanwhile in this Epistle I beg you to read each and all parts of it thoroughly. All that is read in haste passes away. If thou cravest better gifts, and hast a soul open to good instruction, thou wilt not easily despise things so true. The Lord vouchsafe to guard and protect thee for ever, and make thee live a Christian to the unity of the Spirit! Amen.

THE PARÆNESIS

OR

TREATISE OF EXHORTATION UNTO PENANCE.

S. PAC.
PAR. AD
PEN.

1. ALTHOUGH I have spoken several times, however hurriedly, of the cure of penitents, still, mindful of the Lord's solicitude, Who for the loss of one poor sheep spared not even His own neck and shoulders, carrying back the delicate sinner to the reintegrated flock, I shall endeavour (as I can) to build up¹ even with my pen the example of so great excellence, and as a servant shall imitate, with the humility becoming me, the industry of the Lord's labour.

condere
for con-
cedere
V.

2. My only fear is, dearly beloved, lest by the unhappiness of wonted contrariety, by insisting on what is done, I should teach, rather than repress, sins; and that after the example of the Athenian Solon it would be better to be silent concerning great crimes, than to warn against them, the morals of our age having gone so far, that men deem themselves reminded, when they are forbidden. For this I suppose has very lately been the effect of my *Cervulus*^a, that the offence has been wrought the more diligently², the more earnestly it was branded. And all that censure of a disgrace visibly stamped and often repeated, seems not to have repressed, but to have taught wantonness. Wretched man that I am! Where has been my guilt? They had not known, I suppose, how to act the wanton, had not I by blaming taught them.

diligen-
tius V. at.

3. But let that pass. Rebels from God, and placed without the Church, are also exasperated by chastisement, as a wrong,

^a The Heathen new-year's profligacies were so entitled. (see Du Cange v. *Cervulus*.) against which this treatise was written. Litanies and fasts were

appointed in the Church to repress them. (see ib.) The work is mentioned by S. Jerome de vir. ill. c. 106.

indignant forsooth that their morals can be blamed by any. And as mud is wont then most to stink, when you stir it, and fire then to burn more if you turn it, and madness then to be more fierce if you provoke it; so they, by turning the heel, have broken *the pricks* of necessary blame, yet not without being hurt and wounded by their resistance.

4. Do ye however, most beloved, remember that it is said by The Lord, *Reprove a fool, and he will hate thee: rebuke* Prov. 9, *a wise man, and he will love thee;* and again, *Whom I love,* 8. Rev. 3, *I rebuke and chasten.* Do ye then, following lovingly, not ^{19.} obstinately opposing, believe that the kindly and anxious diligence of this my work, undertaken according to the will of the Lord by me your brother and priest, is of love rather than of rigour.

5. Moreover let no man imagine that this very discourse on the institution of penance is framed for penitents only, lest for this reason whoever is placed without that rank, despise what shall be spoken as intended for others; whereas the discipline of the whole Church is tied as it were into this fastening, since Catechumens must be careful that they pass not into this state, and the faithful that they return not to it; and penitents themselves must toil, to arrive speedily at the fruit of this their work.

6. But in my discourses the order preserved will be this. First, to speak of the degrees of sins, that no one think that the extremest peril is set upon all sins whatsoever. Then I shall speak of those faithful, who, ashamed of their remedy, use an ill-timed bashfulness, and communicate, with body defiled and mind polluted. In the sight of men most timid, before the Lord most shameless, they contaminate with profane hands and polluted mouth the Altar to be dreaded even by Saints and Angels. Thirdly, my discourse shall relate to those, who, having duly confessed and laid bare their crimes, either know not or refuse the remedies of penance, and the very acts belonging to the ministry of confession. Lastly, it shall be our endeavours to shew most clearly, what will be the punishment of those who either do no penance, or even neglect it, and who die therefore in their wound and imposthumes: and what again will be their crown, what their

S. PAC. reward, who purge the stains of their conscience by right and
PARAD regular Confession.
PEN.

7. First, therefore, as we proposed, let us treat of the degrees of sinners, diligently searching out what are sins, what are crimes, that no one may think that, for the innumerable faults from the deceitfulness of which no man is free, I bind the whole human race under one undistinguishing law of penance. With Moses and the ancients, those guilty of even the least sin, and (so to speak) of *one farthing*¹ were immersed in the same æstuary of misery; as well those who had broken the sabbath, as those who had touched what was unclean, who had taken forbidden food, or who murmured, or who had entered the temple of The Most High King when their wall was leprous² or their garment defiled, or, when under this defilement, had touched the altar with their hand or with their garment come in contact with it, so that it were easier to ascend into heaven, or better to die, than to have to keep the whole of these commandments.

8. From all these therefore and many carnal offences besides, that each might more speedily attain his destined end, the Blood of The Lord hath delivered us, redeemed from the servitude of the Law, and set free in the liberty of the Faith. And therefore saith the Apostle Paul, *For ye have been called unto liberty*. This is that liberty, that we are not bound by all those things whereby they of old were held: but (if I may use the expression) the whole entangled mass of our faults being forgiven and the indulgence of remedies appointed, we are constrained to a few and necessary points, which, whether to keep or to avoid, were most easy for believers; so that he could not deny that he most truly deserved hell, who, ungrateful for so great forgiveness, kept not even these few. But what these are let us see.

9. After the Passion of the Lord, the Apostles having considered and treated of all things, delivered an Epistle to be sent to such of the Gentiles as had believed; of which letter the import was as follows: *The Apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia: Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words; so below,*

¹ quadrantis
V.

² corrupto

Gal. 5,
13.

Acts 15,
23. 24.

It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you ^{Acts 15,}
no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye ^{28. 29.}
abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood^b, and
from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall
do well. Fare ye well. This is the whole conclusion of the
New Testament. The Holy Spirit, despised in those many
ordinances, hath left these injunctions to us on condition of
hazard of our lives. Other sins are cured by the compensation
of better works: but these three crimes we must dread, as the
breath of some basilisk, as a cup of poison, as a deadly arrow:
for they know how, not to corrupt only, but to cut off the
soul. Wherefore niggardliness shall be redeemed by liberality,
slander be compensated by satisfaction, moroseness by plea-
santness, harshness by gentleness, levity by gravity, perverse
ways by honesty; and so in all cases which are well amended
by their contraries. But what shall the despiser of God do?
What the blood-stained? What remedy shall there be for
the fornicator? Shall either he be able to appease the Lord
who hath abandoned Him? Or he to preserve his own
blood, who hath shed another's? Or he to restore the
temple of God, who hath violated it by fornication? These,
my brethren, are capital, these are mortal, crimes.

10. Now hear John and be confident, if ye can. *If any* ^{1 John 5,}
man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, let ^{16.}
him ask, and the Lord shall give him life, if he have sinned
a sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not
say that he shall pray for it. But if you like, hear separately
also of each. God thus addresses Moses when praying for
the people who had blasphemed, *Whosoever hath* (He saith) ^{Exod.}
sinned against Me, him will I blot out of My book. ^{32, 33.} Con-
cerning the murderer, the Lord thus judgeth, *He that smiteth* ^{Mat. 26.}
with the sword, (He saith,) shall die by the sword. And of
the fornicator the Apostle says, *Defile not the temple of God,* ^{1 Cor. 3,}
which temple ye are; if any man defile the temple of God, ^{17.}
him shall God destroy.

11. These things are written, most beloved brethren, and
engraven on everlasting monuments; written and engraven,
I say not on wax and paper and brass or with the pen, but

^b "and from things strangled" omitted. see Note A. on Tert. Apol. p. 108.
and 109. fin.

S. PAC. in the book of The Living God. *Heaven and earth shall*
 PAR-AD pass, (He saith,) *one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass*
 PEN. away, till all be fulfilled. What then? Must we die? Many
 Mat. 5, too have in mind fallen into these sins. Many are guilty of
 18.

blood; many, sold unto idols; many, adulterers. I say more-
 over that not hands only are involved in murder, but every
 design also which hath driven the soul of another to death;
 and that not only those who have burnt incense on profane
 altars, but altogether every lust that wandereth beyond the
 marriage couch and the lawful embrace, is bound by the
 sentence of death. Whosoever shall have done these things
 after believing, shall not see the face of God. But those who
 are guilty of so great crimes are in despair. What have
 I done unto you? Was it not in your power that it should
 not be? Did no one warn you? No one foretell it? Was
 the Church silent? Said the Gospels nothing? Did the
 Apostles threaten nothing? Did the priest ask nothing?
 Why seek ye late consolations? Then ought ye when ye
 Is. 3, 12. might. This is a hard saying. *But they who call you happy*
lead you into error, and disturb the path of your feet. He
 shews the way of wickedness to the innocent, who after their
 crimes flatters the guilty. "Are we then to perish?" will
 some one say. "And where is the merciful God, Who

¹ invenit devised¹ *not death, nor hath pleasure in the destruction of*
 for fecit *the living?* Shall we die in our sins? And what wilt thou
 Wisd. 1, do, the priest? By what gains wilt thou repay so many
 13. losses to the Church?" Receive the remedy, if ye begin to
 despair, if ye acknowledge yourselves miserable, if ye fear.

Is. 66, 2. Whoso is too confident is unworthy. *To this man* (saith the
 Lord) *will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite*
spirit, and trembleth at My word.

12. You then I first call on, brethren, who, having com-
 mitted crimes, refuse penance: you, I say, timid after being
 shameless, modest after sinning; who blush not to sin, yet
 blush to confess; who with evil conscience touch the Holy
 Things^c of God, and fear not the Altar of The Lord; who
 come to the hands of the priest, who come in the sight of

^c V. inserts "dissipaverunt" after
 "sed omnem;" it may be that two
 clauses are omitted, as the two sins of
 id. duty and uncleanness are blended in

one, which was not so as to homicide.

^f Dei Sancta. See on Tert. de Spect.
 c. 25. p. 214. n. n. Oxf. Tr.

angels^d with the confidence of innocence; who insult the Divine patience; who bring to God, as if, because silent, He knew not, a polluted soul and a profane body. Hear first what the Lord hath done, and then what He hath said. When the people of the Hebrews were bringing back the ark of the Lord to Jerusalem, Uzzah¹, from the house of Aminadab^{1 et om.} the Israelite, who had touched the side of the ark without^{V.} having examined his conscience, was slain; and yet he had drawn near, not to take any thing from it, but to hold it when leaning through the stumbling of the kine. So great a care^{2 Sam. 6.} was there of reverence towards God, that He endured not bold hands even in help. The same also the Lord crieth, saying, *And as for the flesh, all that be clean shall eat* ^{Levit. 7,} *thereof. But the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice* ^{19. 20.} *of peace offerings, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from his people.* Are these things old and happen they not now? What then? Hath God ceased to care for what concerns us? Had He withdrawn out of view of the world, and doth He look down upon no one from heaven? Is His long-suffering ignorance? God forbid, thou wilt say. He seeth then what we do, but He waiteth indeed and endureth, and granteth a season for repentance, and alloweth His Christ to put off the end, lest they quickly perish whom He hath redeemed. Understand well, thou sinner. Thou art beheld by God. Thou canst appease Him if thou wilt. But grant that it is a thing of old that the unclean were not permitted to approach the table of God: open the writings of the Apostles, and learn what is of later date.

13. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians Paul hath

^d who, as in all service, so are especially present during the Holy Eucharist. See S. Chrys. de Sac. vi. 4. (where he relates a vision in which they were seen in adoration.) Hom. 3. and 14. in Ep. ad Eph. p. 131. and 260. Oxf. Tr. Hom. 3. de Incompr. D. nat. fin. S. Ambr. in S. Luc. l. i. 28. S. Greg. Dial. iv. 58. In the ancient liturgies, the mention of the holy Angels is sometimes (as in our own) in connection with their hymn which we then sing with them, Lit. of S. James Ass. Cod. lit. v. 53. (comp. S. Cyr. Jer. Or. Myst. v. 6. p. 274. Oxf. Tr.) sometimes of their ministry in presenting Oblations, (Lit. of S. Mark.

Ass. vii. 17. 26. Miss. Rom. ib. vi. 164.) or of their standing around. Ass. vii. 17. Their actual presence, in connection with their hymn is stated more fully, ib. v. 53. "Silent be all mortal flesh, and stand with fear and trembling, and think of nought earthly. For the King of kings and Lord of lords, Christ our God cometh forth to be immolated and to be given for Food to the faithful. But before Him come the bands of angels, with all Authorities and Powers, the Cherubim full of eyes, and the six-winged Seraphim, covering their faces, and singing aloud the hymn Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia."

S. PAC. inserted these words, *Whosoever*, he saith, *shall eat this*
 PARAD. *Bread, and drink this Cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be*
 PEN. *guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* So likewise
 1 Cor. 11, 27. below: *For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth*
 ver. 29. *and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's*
 32. *Body. For this cause many are weak and sickly among you,*
and many sleep. For if we would judge ourselves, we should
not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of
the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world.
 Do ye tremble or not? *Shall be guilty*, he saith, *of the Body*
and Blood of the Lord. One guilty as to human life could
 not be absolved; doth he escape who violates *the Body of*
The Lord? *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily*, he
 saith, *eateth and drinketh damnation to himself.* Awake,
 O sinner. Fear judgment present within thee¹ if thou hast
 done any such thing. *For this cause*, he saith, *many are*
weak and sickly among you, and many sleep. If then any
 one fears not the future, let him now, at least, dread present
 sickness and present death. *But when we are judged*, he
 saith, *we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be*
condemned with the world. Rejoice, O sinner, if in this life
 thou art either cut off by death, or wasted by sickness, that
 thou be not punished in the life to come. See how great
 wickedness he committeth, who cometh when unworthy to
 the Altar, to whom it is reckoned as a remedy, if he either
 labours under sickness, or is destroyed by death!

14. But if your own soul is of little value to you, spare the
 1 Cor. 5, people, spare the priests. The Apostle saith, *a little leaven*
 6. *leaveneth the whole lump.* What wilt thou do, by whose
 means the whole lump is corrupted; through whom the whole
 brotherhood shall suffer? Shalt thou live guilty of so many
 souls? Shalt thou be excused when the innocent shall have
 imputed to thee their communion, when the Church shall
 have named thee as the author of her desolation?

1 Tim. 5, 22. 15. Behold again the Apostle saith to the Priest, *Lay*
hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other
men's sins. What wilt thou do, who deceivest the Priest?
 Who either misleadest him if ignorant, or, not fully knowing,
 perplexest him with the difficulty of proof? I beseech you
 therefore, brethren, by that Lord from Whom no secrets are

¹ in vis-
ceribus
tuis

hid, even in consideration of my danger, cease ye¹ from¹ ^{desinite} hiding² the wounds of your consciences. The wise, when² ^{V. tegere} sick, fear not the physician, not even when about to cut, not^{V.} even when about to burn them in the secret parts of the body. We have heard of some who, not ashamed even as to parts of the body, withdrawn by modesty from sight, have endured the pains of the knife and of cautery, and even of the corrosive powder. And how great then is the endurance which men^e have shewn? Shall the sinner fear? Shall the sinner blush to purchase everlasting life by present shame? And withdraw his ill-concealed wounds from the Lord when He stretcheth forth His Hands? And hath he any thing whereat to blush before the priest^f, who hath injured the Lord? Or is it better that he should thus be lost, lest thou, shrinking through shame, shouldest without shame perish? By not giving way to shame, thou wouldest gain more through its loss, thou, for whom it were better to perish for thyself^g. But if ye are ashamed that the eyes of your brethren should see, fear not those who are partners in your misfortune. No body is glad at the suffering of its own members; it grieves with them, and labours with them for a remedy. In one and two is the Church, and in the Church is Christ. And he therefore, who hides not his sins from the brethren, assisted by the tears of the Church, is absolved by Christ.

16. And now I would address those who, well and wisely confessing their wounds under the name of penance, neither know what penance is, nor what the cure for their wounds, and are like those who lay bare indeed their wounds and swellings, and acknowledge them also to the physician who sitteth by; but when warned what is to be applied, neglect it, and refuse what they have to take. This is just as if one should say, "Lo! I am sick, Lo! I am wounded, but I wish

^e i. e. as mere men for this life only.

^f in illo, referring to the Sacerdos above.

^g "An sic illi melius est perire, ne tu pudore timidus sine pudore moriaris? non faciens pudori locum, plus de detrimento ejus acquiras, cui pro te melius est perire." If the text is correct, it seems as if S. Pacian had blended in one, in a strong expostulation, what such were doing and what they thought

they were doing; "Is it better that the priest should perish, (see §. 14. and the beg. of this §.) lest thou who through shame shrinkest from confession, shouldest"—as though he would say, "seek what thou wilt, the result will be that thou wilt, not live, by taking shame, but—die in shamelessness." Ne seems virtually almost to stand for quo; such brought upon themselves just what they shrunk from.

Let us see whether ye can bear it. *I have judged*, he saith, ^{1 Cor. 5,} *when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the* ^{3-5.} *power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus.* What say ye, penitents? Where is *the destruction of your flesh*? Is it that in the very time of penance ye always walk abroad in greater pomp, full from the feast, sleek from the bath, with well-studied attire? Lo, here is one man once thrifty, once somewhat poor, once sordidly dressed in a coarse cloak. Now he is daintily bedecked and wealthy and a proper man, as though he would lay it to God's charge that he cannot serve Him, and would refresh his dying soul with the pleasure of his members. It is well that we are of moderate means, else should we be doing those same things too, whereof certain men and women of richer state are not ashamed, dwelling¹ in marble, ^{1 tegi V.} weighed down with gold, sweeping along in silk, glowing with scarlet. If the ferruginous powder glisteneth on their eye-brow, or the fictitious colour gloweth upon their cheeks, or the artificial ruddiness melt over their lips,—these things perhaps ye have not. But still ye have your pleasant retreats at your villas or the sea², and wines of more exquisite² mari-
quality, and rich banquetings, yea old wines well-refined^k. ^{timive} ^{V.}
So act, so believe, so ye but live.

19. I can bear it no longer, brethren. Daniel with his fellows, covered with sackcloth and ashes, bloodless¹ through fasting, speaketh thus: *We have sinned, we have committed* ^{Dan. 9,} *iniquity, we have done wickedly, we have transgressed Thy pre-* ^{5.} *cepts and Thy judgments.* Of Azariah also the Divine Scripture saith, *Azariah stood up, and prayed; and opening his mouth made confession to God^m with his fellows.* David himself saith, *Every night wash I my bed, and water my couch with my* ^{Ps. 6, 6.} *tears.* But we—what of such sort do we? what like to this? I speak not of those things which we gather together in heaps, by trafficking, merchandizing, ravening; by hunting out gains abroad, and lusts at home; by doing nothing simply, giving nothing to the poor, forgiving nothing to brethren.

^k See Tert. de Pæn. c. 11. p. 367.

¹ See, of Christians, on Tert. Apol. c. 40. p. 87. n. z.

^m Dan. 3, 25. (Song of 3 Children,

beg.) not LXX. nor Vulg. but so quoted in S. Cyr. de Laps. §. 19. p. 173. Oxf. Tr.

S. PAC. Not even those things which can be seen by the Priest, and
 PAR. AD. praised by the Bishop when he witnesseth them ; not even
 PEN. these daily duties do we observe: To weepⁿ, namely, in sight of the Church, to mourn our lost life in sordid garb, to fast, to pray, to fall prostrate ; to refuse luxury, if one invite to the bath ; to say, if one bid to a feast, “ These things for the happy ! I have sinned against the Lord, and am in danger of perishing eternally. What have I to do with feasting who have injured the Lord ? ” and besides this, to hold the poor man by the hand, to entreat the prayers of the widows, to fall down before the Priests, to ask the entreaties of the interceding Church, to essay all sooner than perish.

20. I know that some of your brethren and sisters wrap the breast in hair-cloth, lie in ashes, and study late fastings ; nor yet perhaps have they so sinned. Why speak of brethren ? The wild goats, we are told, know what will cure themselves. I have heard that when pierced^o with the poisoned arrow they traverse the Cretan forests, until, plucking the stalk of the dittany, they with the poisonous^p liquid of the healing juice expel from their bodies the ejected darts. We repel *the fiery darts of the devil* with no juice of penance, with no plant of confession. The swallow^q knoweth how by her own swallow-wort to give sight to her blinded young. We cure the lost light of the mind by no root of severe discipline. Lo ! man like neither the goat, nor the swallow, is jealous of his own blindness and malady !

21. Now, brethren, consider what we promised at the close, what reward, or contrariwise what end will follow these works. The Spirit of the Lord threateneth delicate sinners
 2 Thess. 2, 10-12. who do not penance, saying, *They received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them the working of delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.*
 Rev. 18. Also the Apocalypse thus speaketh of the harlot, *How much*
 7.

ⁿ See Tert. de Pæn. c. 9.

^o Tert. de Pæn. fin. p. 369.

^p “ The juice [of the dittany], drunk with wine, is of benefit to those bitten by venomous animals. But such is the power of the plant, that even its smell

will drive away, its touch will destroy, venomous animals.” Dioscorides de Mater. Med. iii. 34. ed. Sprengel, (furnished by a medical friend.)

^q Tert. l. c.

If you shrink from torture of penitence, think of those of hell. 375

she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her. And the Apostle Paul saith, Not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repent- Rom. 2,
ance. But after thy hardness treasurest up unto thyself ^{4, 5.}
wrath against the Day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

22. Fear then, most dearly beloved, these righteous judgments. Leave off error. Condemn delicate living. The last time is now hastening on. Darkness and hell are opening their enlarged bosoms for the wicked. After the punishment of souls in time, everlasting punishment is reserved also for the revived bodies. Let no one believe as to the heart of Tityus, or the vulture of the Poets! The eternal fire, itself for itself, renews the substance of the regenerated bodies^r. Listen, if ye believe not. The force of the waters raging in the fire shall be recruited by the punishment which feeds it. If^s ye draw back¹ from the¹ *retrac-*
torture of confession², remember hell, which confession shall ^{tatis V.}
extinguish for you. Estimate its force even from things visible; ²*exomo-*
for some few petty outlets of it do wear away the mightiest ^{logis}
mountains with their subterranean fires. Thence do the Sicilian¹ Ætna and the Campanian Vesuvius boil with unwearied volumes of flame; and to prove to us the eternity of judgment, they are cleft asunder, they are devoured, and yet do they never end.

23. Consider in the Gospel the rich man, as yet suffering under the tortures of the soul only. What then shall be those exceeding tortures of the restored bodies? What gnashing of teeth therein? What weeping? Remember, brethren, *there is no confession in the grave*; nor can Ps. 6, 5.
penance then be assigned, when the season for penitence is exhausted. Hasten whilst ye are alive, *whilst ye are on the* Mat. 5,
way with your adversary. Lo! we fear the fires of this ^{25.}
world, and we shrink back from the iron claws of tortures.

^r Tert. Apol. c. 48. p. 102.

^s Tert. de Pœn. c. ult. p. 368. The very words are in part retained.

¹ V. has Ætna Siculus, which may be a trace of the right reading. The Edd. have vel Lisaniculus. Bal. ad

Cypr. p. 568. (quoted by Gall) makes the same correction from an old Carthusian Ms. and does not notice the difference of gender as a difficulty. A scribe perhaps conformed it to "et Vesuvius" which follows.

S. PAC. Compare with them the hands of ever-during torturers, and
PAR. AD the forked flames which never die!
PŒN.

24. By the faith of the Church, by mine own anxiety, by the souls of all in common, I adjure and intreat you, brethren, not to be ashamed in this work, not to be slack to seize, as soon as ye may, the proffered remedies of salvation; to bring your souls down by mourning, to clothe the body with sackcloth, to sprinkle it with ashes, to macerate yourselves by fasting, to wear yourselves with sorrow, to gain the aid of the prayers of many. In proportion as ye have not been sparing in your own chastisement, will God spare you. For *He is merciful and long-suffering, of great pity, and repenteth Him against the evil He hath inflicted*^a. Behold! I promise, I engage, if ye return to your Father with true satisfaction, erring no more, adding nothing to former sins, saying also some humble and mournful words, as, *Father, we have sinned before Thee, and are no more worthy to be called Thy sons*; straightway shall leave you both that filthy herd, and the unseemly food of husks. Straightway on your return shall *the robe be put upon you, and the ring adorn you, and your Father's embrace again receive you*. Lo! He saith Himself, *I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that he turn from his way and live*. And again He saith, *Shall they fall, and not arise? Shall he turn away, and not return?* And the Apostle saith, *God is able to make him stand*.

Luke 15.
Ezek. 23, 11.
Jer. 8, 4.
Rom. 14, 4.

25. The Apocalypse also threateneth the seven Churches unless they should repent. Nor would He indeed threaten the impenitent, unless He pardoned the penitent. God Himself also saith, *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent*. And again, *When thou shalt return and mourn, then shalt thou be saved, and know where thou hast been*. And let no one so despair of the vileness of a sinful soul, as to believe that God hath no longer need of him. The Lord willeth not that one of us should perish.

Rev. 2, 5.
18, 30,
15, lxx.

^a et qui sententiam flectat adversus malitiam irrogatam. Joel 2, 13. so quoted by S. Cypr. Ep. 55. §. 18. de Laps. §. ult. p. 176. de bono Pat. §. 2.

p. 252. Lucif. Cal. de reg. Apost. p. 220. c. (ap. Sabat.) Viet. Tun. de Pœn. App. S. Ambr. ii. 593. (ib.)

Even those of little worth, and the least are sought after. If ye believe not, see. Lo! in the Gospel the piece of silver is sought after, and when found is shewn unto the neighbours. The poor sheep, although to be carried back on His lowly-stooping shoulders, is not burdensome to the Shepherd. Over one sinner that repenteth the Angels in heaven rejoice, Luke 15. and the celestial choir is glad. Come, then, thou sinner; cease not to ask! Thou seest where there is joy over thy return! Amen.

DISCOURSE ON BAPTISM

TO

THE FAITHFUL AND THE CATECHUMENS.

1. IT is my wish to explain after what manner we are born in Baptism, and after what manner we are renewed. I shall speak indeed, brethren, in His own words, lest perchance on account of the beauty of my sentences, ye should believe that I take pleasure in my style, and that ye may be able to comprehend a mysterious subject. And would that I could inculcate it upon you. I seek not glory: for glory belongeth to God Alone. My only anxiety is my concern for you, and especially for these Candidates^a for Baptism, if in any wise it may be possible for us to comprehend the examination of so great happiness. I shall therefore shew what Heathenism was previously, what Faith bestows, what indulgence Baptism grants. And if this shall so sink into your hearts, as I feel it, ye will judge, brethren, that no preaching ever yielded us¹ more fruit.

¹ nobis
Edd.
vobis R.

2. Learn then, dearly beloved, in what death man was placed before Baptism. Ye know that assuredly of old, how Adam was returned to his earthly origin; what condemnation imposed upon him the law of eternal death; and this death had dominion over all his posterity, as being held under this

Rom. 5, one law, over the whole race *from Adam to Moses*. But through
14. Moses one only people was chosen, the seed that is of Abraham, if they had been able to keep the commands of righteousness. Meanwhile we all were held under sin, that we might eat the fruits of death: appointed to *feed on husks*

^a Competentes. see S. Aug. Conf. ix. 14. p. 165. n. b. Oxf. Tr.

and to keep swine, that is to filthy works, by wicked angels, whose dominion allowed us neither to do nor to know righteousness. For our very condition^b compelled us to obey such masters. How we were delivered from these powers and from this death, now listen.

3. When Adam sinned, (as I have mentioned,) the Lord then saying, *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return*,^{Gen. 3, 19.} he was assigned unto death. This assignment was transmitted to the whole race, for all sinned, nature herself now impelling them, as saith the Apostle, *As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned*.^{Rom. 5, 12.} Sin therefore reigned, in whose bonds we were dragged, as it were captives unto death, death, that is, eternal. But this sin, before the time of the Law, was not even understood, as saith the Apostle, *Until the Law was, sin in the world was not accounted*¹, that^{Rom. 5,} is, was not seen; at the coming of the Law, *it revived*. For^{13.} it was made manifest, that it might be seen; but to no^{habe-} purpose, for no one hardly kept it. For the Law said, *Thou*^{Rom. 7,} *shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not covet*, yet concupiscence with all vices still continued. So then before the Law this sin slew man with a concealed, under the Law, with a drawn, sword. What hope therefore had man? Without the Law he perished, because he could not see sin, and under the Law, because he ran into that very sin which he saw. Who could free him from death? Hear the Apostle, *O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*^{Rom. 7,} Grace (he saith) *through*^{24. 25.} *our Lord Jesus Christ*.

4. But what is grace? The remission of sin, that is, a free gift. For grace is a free gift. Christ therefore, coming and taking upon Him the nature of man, first presented before God this very human nature pure from the power of sin and innocent. Isaiah saith, *Behold a virgin shall conceive*,^{Is. 7, 14.} *and bear a Son, and shall call His name Immanuel*. *Butter*^{15.} *and honey shall He eat, that He may know to refuse the evil and choose the good*. And of Him again, *Who did no sin*,^{Is. 53, 9.}

^b res ipsa. R., apparently, servitus ipsa, in the same sense, the slavery perpetuated itself; being slaves, we could not but remain slaves, and all our

actions enslaved us the more.

^c Gratia. i. e. Dei. according to the reading of D. E. Vulg. S. Ambr. S. Aug. &c. see Scholz.

neither was guile found in His mouth. Under this guardianship of innocence when Christ first undertook the defence of man in the very flesh of sin, forthwith that father of the disobedience of sin^d, who had once deceived our first parents, began to be excited, to be troubled, to tremble. For he was to be overcome by the loosening of that law by which alone he had retained possession of man, or could retain it. He arms himself therefore for a spiritual contest with the Immaculate, and first he attacks Him with that artifice with which he had overcome Adam in Paradise, under the pretence of dignity; and as if perplexed about His heavenly power, he saith, *If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread*; that so ashamed or unwilling to conceal that He was the Son of God, He might fulfil the commands of the tempter. Behold still he is not silent, suggesting that if He would cast Himself down from above, He would be received *in the hands of angels*, to whom The Father had entrusted that *on their hands they should bear Him up, lest by any means He should dash His foot against a stone*; that so, while the Lord wished to prove that He it was of Whom the Father had given this command, He might do what the tempter urged. Last of all the serpent being now crushed, as if he were now giving up^e, promises Him those very kingdoms of the world, which he had taken from the first man: that so whilst the Advocate¹ of man believes that he has overcome, He by receiving the empire (which He was to recover,) might incline towards the dignity offered by the Evil One, and so at last sin. But in all these attacks the Enemy is overcome, and destroyed by the heavenly power, as saith the Prophet unto the Lord, *That thou mightest still the enemy, and the avenger. For I shall behold the heavens, the works of Thy fingers.*

5. The Devil ought now to have yielded. But nevertheless he ceaseth not yet. He suborns with his wonted snares, and stimulates with rage the Scribes and Pharisees and all that band of wicked men. They, therefore, after various arts and lying devices of the heart, in which serpent-like they thought to deceive the Lord by professions of fealty, when they

Mat. 4,
3.

¹ Advocatus for
Advocatum
R.
² datam
for dictam R.
Ps. 8,
2. 3.

^d "father of sin and disobedience,"
R. inserting et before inobedientie.

^e "ut dum probare vult D.—faceret"
for "dum probare—facere" R.

prevailed nothing, at last attacked Him with open violence ^{John 12, 19.} and a most cruel kind of suffering; that so through the indignity of the thing, or the pain of punishment, He might either do or say something unrighteous, and thus destroy the human nature which He bore, and *His soul be left in hell*, which had one law to retain the sinner. For *the sting of death is sin*. ^{1 Cor. 15, 56.} Christ therefore endured, and *did no sin*, *neither was guile found in His mouth*, as we have said, not then even when He was *led as a victim*. This was to conquer, to be condemned without sin! For the Devil had received over sinners the power which he claimed for himself over the Immaculate One; and thus he himself was overcome; decreeing that against the Holy One which was not allowed him by the law that he had received^f. Whence saith the Prophet to the Lord, *That Thou mightest be justified in Thy saying, and clear when Thou art judged*^g. ^{Ps. 51, 4.} And thus, as the Apostle saith, *Having led principalities in triumph, Christ condemned sin in the flesh, nailing it to His Cross and blotting out the hand-writing of death*^h. ^{Col. 2, 14, 15.} Thence it was that God *left not His soul in hell, nor suffered His Holy One to see corruption*. ^{Ps. 16, 10.} Thence it was that having trodden under-foot the stings of death He rose again on the third day in the flesh, reconciling it to God, and restoring it to immortality, having overcome and blotted out sin.

6. But if He only conquered, what conferred He on others? Hear briefly. The sin of Adam had passed on the whole race. *For by one man* (as saith the Apostle) *sin* ^{Rom. 5, 12.}

^f "What is that righteousness whereby the Devil was conquered? What but the righteousness of Jesus Christ? And how was he conquered? Because when he found in Him nothing worthy of death, he yet slew Him. And so it is just that the debtors whom he held should be set free, believing in Him Whom without any debt to shew." S. Aug. de Trin. xiii. 14. see others ap. Petav. de Incarn. ii. 5. 10. sqq.

^g These words are so quoted by S. Aug. ad loc. as having their exactest and deepest fulfilment in our Lord; "Thou Alone, justly judgest, art unjustly judged, Who hast the power to lay down Thy life, and hast the power to take it again. Thou prevailest then, when Thou art judged." He is followed

by S. Greg. M. in 7. Ps. Pœn. ad loc. as also (quoted by Lorin. ad loc.) Gaud. Brix. S. 12. Isid. de Pass. Dom. c. 25. p. 554.

^h This rendering occurs in Tert. de Pudic. c. 19. It may be an explanation of what the Vulg. now has, "decreti," τοῦ δόγματος; Vel. (in the sing. for τοῖς δόγμασιν) Two old Lat. Mss. ap. Sabat. have "delicti," as S. Pac. §. ult. has "inobauditionis," which may be a comment, as S. Hil. (de Trin. ix. 10.) quoting "chirographum in sententiis," paraphrases "chir. legis peccati," in reference to his own words, §. 7. and S. Iren. 5. 17. 3. has "chirographum debiti nostri," in reference to "debita nostra" just before.

entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men. Therefore also the righteousness of Christ must needs pass over to the whole race; and as Adam by sin destroyed his race, so must Christ by righteousness give life to all His race. This the Apostle urges, saying,

Rom. 5, 19. 21. *For as by the disobedience of one, many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous. That as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life.*

7. Some one will here object. "But the sin of Adam deservedly passed on his posterity, because they were born of him. And are we then born of Christ, that we can be saved for His sake?" Cease to have carnal thoughts. And now shall ye see in what wise we are born of Christ as of our parent. In these last days Christ took a soulⁱ with the flesh from Mary. This He came to save. This He left not in hell. This He joined to His Spirit and made His own. And this is the marriage of the Lord, joined together to one

Eph. 5, 32. *flesh, that according to that great sacrament, might be these two in one flesh, Christ and the Church. From this*

marriage is born the Christian people, the Spirit of the Lord coming from above; and straightway the heavenly seed being poured upon and mingled with the substance of our souls, we grow in the bowels of our mother, and coming forth from her womb are made alive in Christ. Whence the

1 Cor. 15, 45. *Apostle, The first Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening Spirit. Thus Christ begetteth*

1 Cor. 4, 15. *in the Church by His Priests, as says the same Apostle, For in Christ Jesus have I begotten you. And so the seed of*

Christ, that is, the Spirit of God produces, by the hands of the Priests, the new man conceived in the womb of our Mother, and received at the birth of the font, faith presiding over the marriage rite. For neither will he seem to be engrafted into the Church, who hath not believed, nor he to be born again of Christ, who hath not himself received the Spirit. We must believe therefore that we can be born.

Acts 8, 37. *For so saith Philip, If thou believest . . . thou mayest. Christ therefore must be received that He may beget, for*

ⁱ against the Arians who, as well as a human soul. see Petav. de Inc. i. 5. Apollinaris, denied that our Lord had 5. and add ib. v. 11.

that living new lives in Him, we may die no more, but live in death. 383

thus saith the Apostle John, *As many as received Him, to* ^{John 1,} *them gave He power to become the sons of God.* But these ^{12.} things cannot otherwise be fulfilled except by the Sacrament of the Laver, and of the Chrism, and of the Bishopⁱ. For by the Laver sins are washed away, by Chrism the Holy Spirit is poured out, but both these we obtain at the hand and the mouth of the Bishop. And so the whole man is born again and renewed in Christ, that *like as Christ was* ^{Rom. 6,} *raised up from the dead, even so we also should walk in* ^{4.} *newness of life*; that is, that having laid aside the errors of our former life, the serving of idols, cruelty, fornication, wantonness, and all other vices of flesh and blood, we should through the Spirit follow new ways in Christ, faith, modesty, innocence, chastity. *And as we bore the image of the earthy,* ^{1 Cor.} *so also should we bear His, Who is from Heaven, for the first* ^{15, 47.} *man is of the earth, earthy; the Second from heaven, heavenly.* This if we do, most beloved, we shall die no more. Although we be dissolved in this body, we shall live in Christ, as He Himself saith, *He that believeth in Me,* ^{John 11,} *though he were dead, yet shall he live.* We are sure indeed, ^{25.} and that on the testimony of the Lord, that both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Saints of God are alive. For of these very men saith the Lord, *They all live unto* ^{Matt.} *Him, for God is not the God of the dead but of the living.* ^{22, 32.} And the Apostle saith of himself, *For to me to live is Christ,* ^{Phil. 1,} *and to die is gain; I could wish to depart and be with* ^{21.} *Christ.* And again, *Whilst we are at home in the body, we* ^{2 Cor. 5,} *are absent from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by sight.* ^{6, 7.}

8. This is what we believe, dearly beloved. But *if in this life only we have hope, then are we of all men the most miserable.* The life of this world, cattle, and wild beasts, and birds, as yourselves see, have in common with us, or even longer. That is peculiar to man, which Christ hath given through His Spirit, that is, life eternal; yet only if we now sin no more. For as death is gained by wickedness, is avoided by goodness; so life is lost by wickedness, is retained by goodness. *For the wages of sin is death; but* ^{Rom. 6,} *the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.* ^{23.} Before all other things, my little ones, remember, that once (as we said above) all nations were given over to the princes

^k see Bingham, 12. 1. 4. and ab. on S. Cypr. Ep. 72. init. p. 240. n. b.

and powers of darkness, now are set free through the victory of our Lord Jesus Christ. He it is, He it is Who redeemed us, *forgiving us all sins*, as saith the Apostle, *blotting out the hand-writing of disobedience^k that was against us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to His Cross, putting off the flesh^l, He made a shew of the powers openly, triumphing over them in Himself*. He set them free, who were bound, and burst our chains in sunder, as David had said; *The Lord raiseth them that are cast down. The Lord looseth the prisoners, the Lord giveth sight to the blind*. And again, *Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder. I will offer to Thee the Sacrifice of thanksgiving*. Freed therefore from our bonds, when through the Sacrament of Baptism we come unto the Sign¹ of the Lord, we renounce the Devil and all his angels, whom before we served, that we should now serve them no longer, being delivered by the Blood and Name of Christ. But if after this any one forgetful of himself and ignorant of his redemption, return again to the *serving of Angels, and to the weak and beggarly elements of the world*; he shall be bound again by his old fetters and chains, that is, by the bonds of sin, and *his last state shall be worse than his first*. For the Devil shall bind him more strongly, as if overtaken in flight, and Christ shall not now be able to suffer for him; for, *Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more*. Therefore, dearly beloved, we are washed once, once are set free, are once admitted into the kingdom of heaven; once is that, *blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sin is covered*. Hold mightily what ye have received; keep it blessedly, sin no more. Preserve yourselves pure and unspotted from that time even to the Day of the Lord. Great and boundless are the rewards granted unto the faithful, which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have they entered into the heart of man*. These rewards that ye may receive, obtain by the labours of righteousness and spiritual vows! Amen.

^k see on c. 5.

^l by Death, and so the same as John 10, 18. "I have power to lay it down." SS. Hil. Ambr. Aug. Paulin. Fulg. also add carne or carnem, (see Sabat. and Bened. on S. Hil. de Trin. ix. 10.) combining mostly a reading *τὴν σάρκα* (F. G. and Syr. ap. Scholz.) with *τὰς ἀρχάς*.

^m The Psalm sung after Baptism.

see Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, Tract 67. p. 377. Comp. S. Greg. Naz. Or. 40. de S. Bapt. §. 8. "there being no second regeneration, no re-formation, no restoration to our former state," and Cæsar. Arelat. Hom. 42. quoted by Bp. Taylor on Repentance, c. 9. S. 5. § 38.

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TO

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The Roman numerals refer to the Epistles, the Arabic to the sections. C. stands for Conc. Carth. p. 286—303.

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A PUBLICATION, answering to the above title, appeared to the Editors calculated to answer many and important ends, and to supply considerable wants, some peculiar to our own Church and times, others more general.

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3. The increased demand for sacred reading. The Clergy of one period are obviously unequal to meet demands so rapid, and those of our day have additional hindrances, from the great increased amount of practical duties. Where so much is to be produced, there is of necessity great danger that

much will not be so mature as, on these subjects, is especially to be desired. Our occupations do not leave time for mature thought.

4. Every body of Christians has a peculiar character, which tends to make them look upon the system of faith, committed to us, on a particular side; and so, if they carry it on by themselves, they insensibly contract its limits and depth, and virtually lose a great deal of what they think that they hold. While the system of the Church, as expressed by her Creeds and Liturgy, remains the same, that of her members will gradually become contracted and shallow, unless continually enlarged and refreshed. In ancient times this tendency was remedied by the constant living intercourse between the several branches of the Catholic Church, by the circulation of the writings of the Fathers of the several Churches, and, in part, by the present method—translation. We virtually acknowledge the necessity of such accessions by our importations from Germany and America; but the circumstances of Germany render mere translation unadvisable, and most of the American Theology proceeds from bodies who have altered the doctrine of the Sacraments.

5. The peculiar advantages of the Fathers in resisting heretical errors, in that they had to combat the errors in their original form, before men's minds were familiarized with them, and so risked partaking of them; and also in that they lived nearer to the Apostles.

6. The great comfort of being able to produce, out of Christian antiquity, refutations of heresy, (such as the different shades of the Arian :) thereby avoiding the necessity of discussing, ourselves, profane errors, which, on so high mysteries, cannot be handled without pain, and rarely without injury to our own minds.

7. The advantage which some of the Fathers (e. g. St. Chrysostom) possessed as Commentators on the New Testament, from speaking its language.

8. The value of having an ocular testimony of the existence of Catholic verity, and Catholic agreement; that truth is not merely what a man *troweth*; that the Church once was one, and spake one language; and that the present unhappy divisions are not necessary and unavoidable.

9. The circumstance that the Anglican branch of the Church Catholic is founded upon Holy Scripture and the agreement of the Universal Church; and that therefore the knowledge of Christian antiquity is necessary in order to understand and maintain her doctrines, and especially her Creeds and her Liturgy.

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