

Augustine's *Confessions*. Selections for God Everyday and Everywhere.

Confessions

BOOK I

Early Years

i (1) 'You are great, Lord, and highly to be praised (Ps. 47: 2): great is your power and your wisdom is immeasurable' (Ps. 146:5). Man, a little piece of your creation, desires to praise you, a human being 'bearing his mortality with him' (2 Cor. 4: 10), carrying with him the witness of his sin and the witness that you 'resist the proud' (1 Pet. 5:5). Nevertheless, to praise you is the desire of man, a little piece of your creation. You stir man to take pleasure in praising you, because you have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you.<sup>1</sup>

'Grant me Lord to know and understand' (Ps. 118: 34, 73, 144) which comes first—to call upon you or to praise you, and whether knowing you precedes calling upon you. But who calls upon you when he does not know you? For an ignorant person might call upon someone else instead of the right one. But surely you may be called upon in prayer that you may be known. Yet 'how shall they call upon him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe without a preacher?' (Rom. 10: 14). 'They will praise the Lord who seek for him' (Ps. 21: 27).

In seeking him they find him, and in finding they will praise him. Lord, I would seek you, calling upon you—and calling upon you is an act of believing in you. You have been preached to us. My faith, Lord, calls upon you. It is your gift to me. You breathed it into me by the humanity of your Son, by the ministry of your preacher.<sup>2</sup>

ii (2) How shall I call upon my God, my God and Lord? Surely when I call on him, I am calling on him to come into me. But what place is there in me where my God can enter into me? 'God made heaven and earth' (Gen. 1: 1). Where may he come to me? Lord my God, is there any room in me which can contain you? Can heaven and earth, which you have made and in which you have made me, contain you? Without you, whatever exists would not exist. Then can what exists contain you? I also have being. So why do I request you to come to me when, unless you were within me, I would have no being at all? I am not now possessed by Hades; yet even there are you (Ps. 138: 8): for 'even if I were to go down to Hades, you would be present'. Accordingly, my God, I would have no being, I would not have any existence, unless you were in me. Or rather, I would have no being if I were not in you 'of whom are all things, through whom are all things, in whom are all things' (Rom. 11: 36). Even so, Lord, even so. How can I call on you to come if I am already in you? Or where can you come from so as to be in me? Can I move outside heaven and earth so that my God may come to me from there? For God has said 'I fill heaven and earth' (Jer. 23: 24).

iii (3) Do heaven and earth contain you because you have filled them? or do you fill them and overflow them because they do not contain you? Where do you put the overflow of yourself after heaven and earth are filled? Or have you, who contain all things, no need to be contained by anything because what you will you fill by containing it? We cannot think you are given coherence by vessels full of you, because even if they were to be broken, you would not be spilt. When you are 'poured out' (Joel 2: 28) upon us, you are not wasted on the ground. You raise us upright. You are not scattered but reassemble us. In filling all things, you fill them all with the whole of yourself.

Is it that because all things cannot contain the whole of you, they contain part of you, and that all things contain the same part of you simultaneously? Or does each part contain a different part of you, the larger

containing the greater parts, the lesser parts the smaller? Does that imply that there is some part of you which is greater, another part smaller? Or is the whole of you everywhere, yet without anything that contains you entire?<sup>3</sup>

iv (4) Who then are you, my God? What, I ask, but God who is Lord? For 'who is the Lord but the Lord', or 'who is God but our God?' (Ps. 17: 32). Most high, utterly good, utterly powerful, most omnipotent, most merciful and most just, deeply hidden yet most intimately present, perfection of both beauty and strength, stable and incomprehensible, immutable and yet changing all things, never new, never old, making everything new and 'leading' the proud 'to be old without their knowledge' (Job 9: 5, Old Latin version); always active, always in repose, gathering to yourself but not in need, supporting and filling and protecting, creating and nurturing and bringing to maturity, searching even though to you nothing is lacking: you love without burning, you are jealous in a way that is free of anxiety, you 'repent' (Gen. 6: 6) without the pain of regret, you are wrathful and remain tranquil. You will a change without any change in your design. You recover what you find, yet have never lost. Never in any need, you rejoice in your gains (Luke 15: 7); you are never avaricious, yet you require interest (Matt. 25: 27). We pay you more than you require so as to make you our debtor, yet who has anything which does not belong to you? (I Cor. 4: 7). You pay off debts, though owing nothing to anyone; you cancel debts and incur no loss. But in these words what have I said, my God, my life, my holy sweetness? What has anyone achieved in words when he speaks about you? Yet woe to those who are silent about you because, though loquacious with verbosity,<sup>4</sup> they have nothing to say.

v (5) Who will enable me to find rest in you? Who will grant me that you come to my heart and intoxicate it, so that I forget my evils and embrace my one and only good, yourself? What are you to me? Have mercy so that I may find words. What am I to you that you command me to love you, and that, if I fail to love you, you are angry with me and threaten me with vast miseries? If I do not love you, is that but a little misery? What a wretch I am! In your mercies, Lord God, tell me what you are to me. 'Say to my soul, I am your salvation' (Ps. 34: 3). Speak to me so that I may hear. See the ears of my heart are before you, Lord. Open them and 'say to my soul, I am your salvation.' After that utterance I will run and lay hold on you. Do not hide your face from me (cf. Ps. 26: 9). Lest I die, let me die so that I may see it.<sup>5</sup>

(6) The house of my soul is too small for you to come to it. May it be enlarged by you. It is in ruins: restore it. In your eyes it has offensive features. I admit it, I know it; but who will clean it up? Or to whom shall I cry other than you? 'Cleanse me from my secret faults, Lord, and spare your servant from sins to which I am tempted by others' (Ps. 31: 5). 'I believe and therefore I speak' (Ps. 115: 10). 'Lord, you know' (Ps. 68: 6). Have I not openly accused myself of 'my faults', my God, and 'you forgave me the iniquity of my heart' (Ps. 31: 5). I do not 'contend with you in a court of law' (Job 9: 3), for you are the truth. I do not deceive myself 'lest my iniquity lie to itself' (Ps. 26: 12). Therefore I do not contend with you like a litigant because, 'if you take note of iniquities, Lord, who shall stand?' (Ps. 129: 3).

vi (7) Nevertheless allow me to speak before your mercy, though I am but dust and ashes (Gen. 18: 27). Allow me to speak: for I am addressing your mercy, not a man who would laugh at me. Perhaps even you deride me (cf. Ps. 2: 4), but you will turn and have mercy on me (Jer. 12: 15). What, Lord, do I wish to say except that I do not know whence I came to be in this mortal life or, as I may call it, this living death?<sup>6</sup> I do not know where I came from.<sup>7</sup> But the consolations of your mercies (cf. Ps. 50: 3; 93: 19) upheld me, as I have heard from the parents of my flesh, him from whom and her in whom you formed me in time. For I do not remember. So I was welcomed by the consolations of human milk; but it was not my mother or my nurses who made any decision to fill their breasts, but you who through them gave me infant food,

in accordance with your ordinance and the riches which are distributed deep in the natural order. You also granted me not to wish for more than you were giving, and to my nurses the desire to give me what you gave them. For by an impulse which you control their instinctive wish was to give me the milk which they had in abundance from you. For the good which came to me from them was a good for them; yet it was not from them but through them. Indeed all good things come from you, O God, and 'from my God is all my salvation' (2 Sam. 23: 5). I became aware of this only later when you cried aloud to me through the gifts which you bestow both inwardly in mind and outwardly in body. For at that time I knew nothing more than how to suck and to be quietened by bodily delights, and to weep when I was physically uncomfortable. . . .

**12) You, Lord my God, are the giver of life and a body to a baby. As we see, you have endowed it with senses. You have co-ordinated the limbs. You have adorned it with a beautiful form, and for the coherence and preservation of the whole you have implanted all the instincts of a living being.** You therefore command me to praise you for that and to 'confess to you and to sing to your name, Most High' (Ps. 91: 2)—God, you are omnipotent and good—even if that were all that you had made. No one else could do that except you, the one from whom every kind of being is derived. The supreme beauty, you give distinct form to all things and by your law impose order on everything.<sup>12</sup> This period of my life, Lord, I do not remember having lived, but I have believed what others have told me and have assumed how I behaved from observing other infants. Despite the high probability of this assumption, I do not wish to reckon this as part of the life that I live in this world; for it is lost in the darkness of my forgetfulness, and is on the same level as the life I lived in my mother's womb. If 'I was conceived in iniquity and in sins my mother nourished me in her womb' (Ps. 50: 7), I ask you, my God, I ask, Lord, where and when your servant was innocent? But of that time I say nothing more. I feel no sense of responsibility now for a time of which I recall not a single trace. . . .

**xx (31) Yet, Lord, I must give thanks to you, the most excellent and supremely good Creator and Governor of the universe, my God, even though by your will I was merely a child. For at that time I existed, I lived and thought and took care for my self-preservation (a mark of your profound latent unity whence I derived my being).**<sup>39</sup> An inward instinct told me to take care of the integrity of my senses, and even in my little thoughts about little matters I took delight in the truth. I hated to be deceived, I developed a good memory, I acquired the armoury of being skilled with words, friendship softened me, I avoided pain, despondency, ignorance. In such a person what was not worthy of admiration and praise? But every one of these qualities are gifts of my God: I did not give them to myself. They are good qualities, and their totality is my self. Therefore he who made me is good, and he is my good, and I exult to him, (Ps. 2: 11) for all the good things that I was even as a boy. My sin consisted in this, that I sought pleasure, sublimity, and truth not in God but in his creatures, in myself and other created beings.<sup>40</sup> So it was that I plunged into miseries, confusions, and errors. My God, I give thanks to you, my source of sweet delight, and my glory and my confidence. I thank you for your gifts. Keep them for me, for in this way you will keep me. The talents you have given will increase and be perfected, and I will be with you since it was your gift to me that I exist.

1 For Plotinus (6. 7. 23. 4) the soul finds rest only in the One. Augustine's sentence announces a major theme of his work.

2 Probably Ambrose (as in Augustine's letter I47. 52) rather than Christ; i.e. the two phrases are contrasting, not parallel and equivalent. That the humanity of Christ is an example of faith is common in Augustine. See below, x. xliii (68).

3 Plotinus (6. 4–5) devoted a treatise to the question of the omnipresence of being. Closely parallel is Plotinus 5. 5. 9.

4 ‘The loquacious’ are regularly either pagan philosophical critics rejecting the Christian revelation or Manichees. The problematic nature of all human talk about God is stated by Plotinus 5. 3. 14 (we say what he is not, not what he is; if we can say what is true, that is by mantic inspiration).

5 None can see God’s face and live (Exod. 33: 20); yet the heavenly vision is life. For the epigram ‘let me die lest I die’ Augustine has a parallel in a sermon (231,3): ‘Let me die (to sin) lest I die (in hell).’ Cf. also below, II. ii (4).

6 Echo of Lucretius 3. 869; Euripides quoted by Plato, Gorgias 492e: ‘who knows if being alive is really being dead, and being dead is being alive?’

7 On the origin of the soul’s union with the body and on the possibility of pré-existence, Augustine is always unwilling to make any decision: see IX. xi (37). The Platonic doctrine of the soul’s pre-existence and fall into the prison of the body is never affirmed. Nevertheless, the possibility of pre-existence is also not denied, and especially in Confessions XI-XII the language used of the soul’s lapse from a divine eternity to the disruptive successiveness of temporal things is very close to Plotinus.

8 Plotinus (3. 6. 6. 15) says this also.

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12 Plotinus I. 6. 6 says God is source of beauty.

... 39 Augustine often states the Platonic axiom that existence is good and every being’s instinct for self-preservation reflects the mystery of divine Being and Unity.

40 Augustine fuses St Paul (Romans I) with Plotinus (I. 6. 8).

## BOOK II

### Adolescence

i (1) I intend to remind myself of my past foulnesses and carnal corruptions, not because I love them but so that I may love you, my God. It is from love of your love that I make the act of recollection. The recalling of my wicked ways is bitter in my memory, but I do it so that you may be sweet to me, a sweetness touched by no deception, a sweetness serene and content. You gathered me together from the state of disintegration in which I had been fruitlessly divided. I turned from unity in you to be lost in multiplicity. I At one time in adolescence I was burning to find satisfaction in hellish pleasures. I ran wild in the shadowy jungle of erotic adventures. ‘My beauty wasted away and in your sight I became putrid’ (Dan. 10: 8), by pleasing myself and by being ambitious to win human approval.

ii (2) **The single desire that dominated my search for delight was simply to love and to be loved.** But no restraint was imposed by the exchange of mind with mind, which marks the brightly lit pathway of friendship. Clouds of muddy carnal concupiscence filled the air. The bubbling impulses of puberty befogged and obscured my heart so that it could not see the difference between love’s serenity and lust’s darkness. Confusion of the two things boiled within me. It seized hold of my youthful weakness sweeping me through the precipitous rocks of desire to submerge me in a whirlpool of vice.<sup>2</sup> Your wrath was heavy upon me and I was unaware of it. I had become deafened by the clanking chain<sup>3</sup> of my mortal condition, the penalty of my pride. I travelled very far from you, and you did not stop me. I was tossed about and spilt, scattered and boiled dry in my fornications. And you were silent. How slow I was to find my joy! At that time you said nothing, and I travelled much further away from you into more and more sterile things productive of unhappiness, proud in my self-pity, incapable of rest in my exhaustion. . . .

viii (16) ‘What fruit had I, wretched boy, in these things (Rom. 6: 21) which I now blush to recall, above all in that theft in which I loved nothing but the theft itself? The theft itself was a nothing, and for that reason I was the more miserable. Yet had I been alone I would not have done it—I remember my state of mind to be thus at the time—alone I would never have done it. Therefore my love in that act was to be associated with the gang in whose company I did it. Does it follow that I loved something other than the theft? No, nothing else in reality because association with the gang is also a nothing. What is it in reality? Who can teach me that, but he who ‘illuminates my heart’ (Ecclus. 2: 10) and disperses the shadows in it? What else has stirred my mind to ask and discuss and consider this question? If I had liked the pears which I stole and actually desired to enjoy them, I could by myself have committed that wicked act, had it been enough to attain the pleasure which I sought. I would not have needed to inflame the itch of my cupidity through the excitement generated by sharing the guilt with others. But my pleasure was not in the pears; it was in the crime itself, done in association with a sinful group.

ix (17) What was my state of mind? It is quite certain that it was utterly shameful and a disgrace to me that I had it. Yet what was it? ‘Who understands his sins?’ (Job 10: 15). It was all done for a giggle, as if our hearts were tickled to think we were deceiving those who would not think us capable of such behaviour and would have profoundly disapproved. Why then did I derive pleasure from an act I would not have done on my own? Is it that nobody can easily laugh when alone? Certainly no one readily laughs when alone; yet sometimes laughter overcomes individuals when no one else is present if their senses or their mind perceive something utterly absurd. But alone I would not have done it, could not conceivably have done it by myself. See, before you, my God, the living memory of my soul. Alone I would not have committed that crime, in which my pleasure lay not in what I was stealing but in the act of theft. But had I been alone, it would have given me absolutely no pleasure, nor would I have committed it. Friendship can be a dangerous enemy, a seduction of the mind lying beyond the reach of investigation.<sup>16</sup> Out of a game and a jest came an avid desire to do injury and an appetite to inflict loss on someone else without any motive on my part of personal gain, and no pleasure in settling a score. As soon as the words are spoken ‘Let us go and do it’, one is ashamed not to be shameless.

x (18) Who can untie this extremely twisted and tangled knot? It is a foul affair, I have no wish to give attention to it; I have no desire to contemplate it. My desire is for you, justice and innocence, you are lovely and splendid to honest eyes; the satiety of your love is insatiable. With you is utter peace and a life immune from disturbance. The person who enters into you ‘enters into the joy of the Lord’ (Matt. 25: 21), and will not be afraid; he will find himself in the supreme Good where it is supremely good to be. As an adolescent I went astray from you (Ps. 118: 76), my God, far from your unmoved stability. I became to myself a region of destitution.<sup>17</sup>

1 The language here is characteristic of Porphyry (e.g. ep. ad Marcellam 10, p. 280, 25 Nauck) and Plotinus 6. 6. 1.5. See below XI. xxix (39).

2 Echo of Virgil, Aeneid 3. 422 (Scylla and Charybdis).

3 Virgil, Aeneid 6. 558.

17 The Prodigal Son is fused with a Neoplatonic theme of the soul’s destitution without God, which is taken up at the beginning of book III and again in VII. x (16). Destitution in the soul distant from God is a theme in Porphyry (De abstinentia 3. 27 and Senlenliat 40), based on Plato’s Symposium.

### BOOK III

#### Student at Carthage

i (1) I came to Carthage and all around me hissed a cauldron of illicit loves. **As yet I had never been in love and I longed to love; and from a subconscious poverty of mind I hated the thought of being less inwardly destitute. I sought an object for my love; I was in love with love,** and I hated safety and a path free of snares (Wisd. 14: 11; Ps. 90: 3). My hunger was internal, deprived of inward food, that is of you yourself, my God. But that was not the kind of hunger I felt. I was without any desire for incorruptible nourishment, not because I was replete with it, but the emptier I was, the more unappetizing such food became. So my soul was in rotten health. In an ulcerous condition it thrust itself to outward things, miserably avid to be scratched by contact with the world of the senses. Yet physical things had no soul. Love lay outside their range. To me it was sweet to love and to be loved, the more so if I could also enjoy the body of the beloved. I therefore polluted the spring water of friendship with the filth of concupiscence. I muddied its clear stream by the hell of lust, and yet, though foul and immoral, in my excessive vanity, I used to carry on in the manner of an elegant man about town. I rushed headlong into love, by which I was longing to be captured. 'My God, my mercy' (Ps. 58: 18) in your goodness you mixed in much vinegar with that sweetness. My love was returned and in secret I attained the joy that enchains. I was glad to be in bondage, tied with troublesome chains, with the result that I was flogged with the red-hot iron rods of jealousy, suspicion, fear, anger, and contention. I

ii (2) I was captivated by theatrical shows. They were full of representations of my own miseries and fuelled my fire. Why is it that a person should wish to experience suffering by watching grievous and tragic events which he himself would not wish to endure? Nevertheless he wants to suffer the pain given by being a spectator of these sufferings, and the pain itself is his pleasure.

What is this but amazing folly? For the more anyone is moved by these scenes, the less free he is from similar passions. Only, when he himself suffers, it is called misery; when he feels compassion for others, it is called mercy.<sup>2</sup> But what quality of mercy is it in fictitious and theatrical inventions? A member of the audience is not excited to offer help, but invited only to grieve. The greater his pain, the greater his approval of the actor in these representations. If the human calamities, whether in ancient histories or fictitious myths, are so presented that the theatregoer is not caused pain, he walks out of the theatre disgusted and highly critical. But if he feels pain, he stays riveted in his seat enjoying himself<sup>3</sup>

(3) Tears and agonies, therefore, are objects of love. Certainly everyone wishes to enjoy himself. Is it that while no one wants to be miserable, yet it is agreeable to feel merciful? Mercy cannot exist apart from suffering. Is that the sole reason why agonies are an object of love? This feeling flows from the stream of friendship;<sup>4</sup> but where does it go? Where does it flow to? Why does it run down into the torrent of boiling pitch, the monstrous heats of black desires into which it is transformed? From a heavenly serenity it is altered by its own consent into something twisted and distorted. Does this mean mercy is to be rejected? Not in the least. At times, therefore, sufferings can be proper objects of love. But, my soul, be on your guard against uncleanness, under the protection of my God, 'the God of our fathers, to be praised and exalted above all for all ages' (Dan. 3: 52–5); be on your guard against uncleanness. Even today I am not unmoved to pity. But at that time at the theatres I shared the joy of lovers when they wickedly found delight in each other, even though their actions in the spectacle on the stage were imaginary; when, moreover, they lost each other, I shared their sadness by a feeling of compassion. Nevertheless, in both there was pleasure. Today I have more pity for a person who rejoices in wickedness than for a person who has the feeling of having suffered hard knocks by being deprived of a pernicious pleasure or having lost a source of miserable felicity. This is surely a more authentic compassion; for the sorrow contains no element of pleasure.

Even if we approve of a person who, from a sense of duty in charity, is sorry for a wretch, yet he who manifests fraternal compassion would prefer that there be no cause for sorrow. It is only if there could be a malicious good will (which is impossible) that someone who truly and sincerely felt compassion would wish wretches to exist so as to be objects of compassion. Therefore some kind of suffering is commendable, but none is lovable. You, Lord God, lover of souls, show a compassion far purer and freer of mixed motives than ours; for no suffering injures you. 'And who is sufficient for these things?' (2 Cor. 2: 16).

(4) But at that time, poor thing that I was, I loved to suffer and sought out occasions for such suffering. So when an actor on stage gave a fictional imitation of someone else's misfortunes, I was the more pleased; and the more vehement the attraction for me, the more the actor compelled my tears to flow. There can be no surprise that an unhappy sheep wandering from your flock<sup>5</sup> and impatient of your protection was infected by a disgusting sore. Hence came my love for sufferings, but not of a kind that pierced me very deeply; for my longing was not to experience myself miseries such as I saw on stage. I wanted only to hear stories and imaginary legends of sufferings which, as it were, scratched me on the surface. Yet like the scratches of fingernails, they produced inflamed spots, pus, and repulsive sores. That was my kind of life. Surely, my God, it was no real life at all?

iii (5) Your mercy faithfully hovered over me from afar. In what iniquities was I wasting myself! I pursued a sacrilegious quest for knowledge, which led me, a deserter from you, down to faithless depths and the fraudulent service of devils. The sacrifices I offered them were my evil acts. And in all this I experienced your chastisement. During the celebration of your solemn rites within the walls of your Church, I even dared to lust after a girl and to start an affair that would procure the fruit of death.<sup>6</sup> So you beat me with heavy punishments, but not the equivalent of my guilt; O my God, my great mercy, my refuge (Ps. 58: 18, 143: 2) from the terrible dangers in which I was wandering. My stiff neck took me further and further away from you. I loved my own ways, not yours. The liberty I loved was merely that of a runaway.<sup>7</sup>

(6) My studies which were deemed respectable had the objective of leading me to distinction as an advocate in the lawcourts,<sup>8</sup> where one's reputation is high in proportion to one's success in deceiving people. The blindness of humanity is so great that people are actually proud of their blindness. I was already top of the class in the rhetor's school, and was pleased with myself for my success and was inflated with conceit. Yet I was far quieter than the other students<sup>9</sup> (as you know, Lord), and had nothing whatever to do with the vandalism which used to be carried out by the Wreckers. This sinister and diabolical self-designation was a kind of mark of their urbane sophistication. I lived among them shamelessly ashamed of not being one of the gang. I kept company with them and sometimes delighted in their friendship, though I always held their actions in abhorrence. The Wreckers used wantonly to persecute shy and unknown freshmen. Their aim was to persecute them by mockery and so to feed their own malevolent amusement. Nothing more resembles the behaviour of devils than their manner of carrying on. So no truer name could be given them than the Wreckers. Clearly they are themselves wrecked first of all and perverted by evil spirits, who are mocking them and seducing them in the very acts by which they love to mock and deceive others.

iv (7) This was the society in which at a vulnerable age I was to study the textbooks on eloquence. I wanted to distinguish myself as an orator for a damnable and conceited purpose, namely delight in human vanity. Following the usual curriculum I had already come across a book by a certain Cicero,<sup>10</sup> whose language (but not his heart) almost everyone admires. That book of his contains an exhortation to study philosophy and is entitled Hortensius.<sup>11</sup> The book changed my feelings. It altered my prayers, Lord, to be

towards you yourself. It gave me different values and priorities. Suddenly every vain hope became empty to me, and I longed for the immortality of wisdom with an incredible ardour in my heart. I began to rise up to return to you. For I did not read the book for a sharpening of my style, which was what I was buying with my mother's financial support now that I was 18 years old and my father had been dead for two years. I was impressed not by the book's refining effect on my style and literary expression but by the content.<sup>12</sup> (8) My God, how I burned, how I burned with longing to leave earthly things and fly back to you. I did not know what you were doing with me. For 'with you is wisdom' (Job 12: 13, 16). 'Love of wisdom' is the meaning of the Greek word *philosophia*.<sup>13</sup> This book kindled my love for it. There are some people who use philosophy to lead people astray. They lend colour to their errors and paint them over by using a great and acceptable and honourable name. Almost all those who in the author's times and earlier behaved in this way are noted in that book and refuted. That text is a clear demonstration of the salutary admonition given by your Spirit through your good and devoted servant (Paul): 'see that none deceives you by philosophy and vain seduction following human tradition; following the elements of this world and not following Christ; in him dwells all the fullness of divinity in bodily form' (Col. 2: 8–9). At that time, as you know, light of my heart, I did not yet know these words of the apostle. Nevertheless, the one thing that delighted me in Cicero's exhortation was the advice 'not to study one particular sect but to love and seek and pursue and hold fast and strongly embrace wisdom itself, wherever found'. One thing alone put a brake on my intense enthusiasm—that the name of Christ was not contained in the book. This name, by your mercy Lord (Ps. 24: 7), this name of my Saviour your Son, my infant heart had piously drunk in with my mother's milk, and at a deep level I retained the memory. Any book which lacked this name, however well written or polished or true, could not entirely grip me.

v (9) I therefore decided to give attention to the holy scriptures and to find out what they were like. And this is what met me: something neither open to the proud nor laid bare to mere children; a text lowly to the beginner but, on further reading, of mountainous difficulty and enveloped in mysteries. I was not in any state to be able to enter into that, or to bow my head to climb its steps. What I am now saying did not then enter my mind when I gave my attention to the scripture. It seemed to me unworthy in comparison with the dignity of Cicero.<sup>14</sup> My inflated conceit shunned the Bible's restraint, and my gaze never penetrated to its inwardness. Yet the Bible was composed in such a way that as beginners mature, its meaning grows with them. I disdained to be a little beginner. Puffed up with pride, I considered myself a mature adult.

vi (10) That explains why I fell in with men proud of their slick talk, very earthly-minded and loquacious. In their mouths were the devil's traps and a birdlime compounded of a mixture of the syllables of your name, and that of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that of the Paraclete, the Comforter, the Holy Spirit.<sup>15</sup> These names were never absent from their lips; but it was no more than sound and noise with their tongue. Otherwise their heart was empty of truth. They used to say 'Truth, truth', and they had a lot to tell me about it; but there was never any truth in them. They uttered false statements not only about you who really are the Truth, but also about the elements of the world, your creation. On that subject the philosophers have said things which are true, but even them I would think to be no final authority for love of you, my supremely good Father, beauty of all things beautiful. Truth, truth: how in my inmost being the very marrow of my mind sighed for you! Those people used to sound off about you to me frequently and repeatedly with mere assertions and with the support of many huge tomes.<sup>16</sup> To meet my hunger, instead of you they brought me a diet of the sun and moon, your beautiful works—but they are your works, not you yourself, nor indeed the first of your works. For priority goes to your spiritual creation rather than the



physical order, however heavenly and full of light.<sup>17</sup> But for myself, my hunger and thirst were not even for the spiritual creation but for you yourself, the truth 'in whom there is no changing nor shadow caused by any revolving' (Jas. 1: 17). The dishes they placed before me contained splendid hallucinations. Indeed one would do better to love this visible sun, which at least is truly evident to the eyes, than those false mythologies which use the eyes to deceive the mind. Nevertheless, because I took them to be you, I ate—not indeed with much of an appetite, for the taste in my mouth was not that of yourself. You were not those empty fictions, and I derived no nourishment from them but was left more exhausted than before. Food pictured in dreams<sup>18</sup> is extremely like food received in the waking state; yet sleepers receive no nourishment, they are simply sleeping. But those fantasies had not the least resemblance to you as you have now told me, because they were physical images, fictional bodily shapes. But more certain objects of knowledge are the actually existing bodies which we see with our physical sight, whether they are celestial or earthly. We see them just as beasts and birds do, and they are more certain than the images we form of them. And yet again the pictures of these realities which our imagination forms are more reliable than the mythological pictures of vast and unlimited entities whose being, by an extension of our image-making of real objects, we may postulate, but which do not exist at all. Such were the empty phantoms with which I was fed or rather was not fed.

But you, my love, for whom I faint that I may receive strength (2 Cor. 11: 10), you are not the bodies which we see, though they be up in heaven, nor even any object up there lying beyond our sight. For you have made these bodies, and you do not even hold them to be among the greatest of your creatures. How far removed you are from those fantasies of mine, fantasies of physical entities which have no existence! We have more reliable knowledge in our images of bodies which really exist, and the bodies are more certain than the images. But you are no body. Nor are you soul, which is the life of bodies; for the life of bodies is superior to bodies themselves, and a more certain object of knowledge.<sup>19</sup> But you are the life of souls, the life of lives. You live in dependence only on yourself, and you never change, life of my soul.

(11) At that time where were you in relation to me? Far distant. Indeed I wandered far away, separated from you, not even granted to share in the husks of the pigs, whom I was feeding with husks.<sup>20</sup> How superior are the fables of the masters of literature and poets to these deceptive traps! For verses, poems, and 'the flight of Medea'<sup>21</sup> are certainly more useful than the Five Elements which take on different colours, each in accordance with one of the Five Caverns of Darkness—<sup>22</sup>things which have no reality whatever and kill anyone who believes they have. Verses and poetry I can transform into real nourishment. 'Medea flying through the air' I might recite, but would not assert to be fact. Even if I heard someone reciting the passage, I would not believe it. Yet the other [Manichee] myths I did believe. Wretched man that I was, by what steps was I brought down to the depths of hell, there to toil and sweat from lack of truth! For I sought for you, my God (I confess to you who took pity on me even when I did not yet confess). In seeking for you I followed not the intelligence of the mind, by which you willed that I should surpass the beasts, but the mind of the flesh. But you were more inward than my most inward part and higher than the highest element within me.

1 Beating with red-hot rods was part of the standard arsenal of the torturer, normally employed in Roman lawcourts on naked bodies in criminal cases to secure evidence, especially from slaves.

2 Echo of Cicero, *Pro Ligorio* 38.

3 This passage is the most extended ancient discussion of tragic pity and catharsis, a theme famous since Aristotle, whose texts on this theme were not read by Augustine and his contemporaries. Augustine is closer to Plato, *Republic* 10. 606–7, and *Pbilebus* 48ab. As bishop, Augustine knew many of his people

liked going to the theatre, and deplored it (*De catechizandis rudibus* II and 48) largely because of the frequently erotic content of the shows, but also because of the fictional character of the plays, fiction being, to his mind, a form of mendacity.

4 On tension between sex and friendship cf. *IV. ix* (14).

5 Reminiscence of Virgil, *Eclogue* 3. 3; cf. *Luke* 15: 4 ff.

6 That is, sin: *Rom.* 7: 5.

7 Runaway slaves in antiquity were rigorously pursued. Churches provided temporary asylum in cases where inhuman maltreatment was the cause of flight. But to take in a run-away was possible only for the rich and powerful. The liberty enjoyed, therefore, was that of an escaped prisoner, hunted by the authorities.

8 Echo of Ovid, *Fasli* 4.188.

9 A contemporary student later recalled the young Augustine as being a quiet and bookish man (*ep.* 93. 51).

10 'A certain Cicero' might seem cold and distant were it not that the same idiom is used for the apostle Paul in *XII. xv* (20); i.e. it is a rhetorical convention of the time. The antithesis between Cicero's style and his heart (*pectus*) is genuinely negative: to a Christian, Cicero belonged to another culture.

11 Cicero's *Hortensius*, composed in 45 BC near the end of his life, is lost except for quotations (many in Augustine). The work rebutted *Hortensius'* opinion that philosophical study has no social utility and does not contribute to human happiness. Cicero depended much on Aristotle's *Protreptikos* (also extant only in fragments), notably for the argument that only a philosopher can judge the truth of *Hortensius'* opinion, which is itself a philosophical statement. As book X of *Confessions* shows, Augustine was influenced by Cicero's analysis of the sources of happiness.

12 Among Augustine's sharp criticisms of contemporary culture of his time is the proposition that it valued form far higher than content.

13 This sentence comes from Cicero's *Hortensius*.

14 The humble style of the Bible, together with a concern for maintaining the family property, is mentioned by Augustine as a major deterrent to conversion for the educated and well-to-do classes (*De catechizandis rudibus* 13). The second-century Old Latin (i.e. pre-Jerome) version was painfully close to translationese for large parts of the Old Testament. On the other hand, the sublimity of *Genesis* I and the prologue of *St John's Gospel* moved some non-Christian readers to deep admiration.

15 The Manichees claimed to be authentic Christians, orthodox church members having in their view only half the truth, and taught a version of the doctrine of the Trinity, a Christology which excluded the reality of the humanity of Christ but spoke of Jesus as redeemer, and a doctrine that the Paraclete is the other self of Mani.

16 Manichees had exquisitely decorated liturgical books, finely bound, as orthodox Churches outside great cities, had not. Sun and moon they venerated as divine, or at least as residences for divine beings in transit in the celestial realm.

17 That God first created a spiritual creation called 'heaven' in *Gen. I: I*, and unformed matter called 'earth' which was then given form, is a theme of book XII and of the contemporary *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I. 7. 11.

18 Dreams were a lifelong interest for Augustine; see *X. xxx* (41) below. The vividness of dreams, indistinguishable from actuality, he regarded as deceptive. On the other hand, he knew of many converted

to God through dreams, or guided in decisions. The subject was associated with the ancient discussions of the nature of inspiration.

19 It is axiomatic for Augustine that what the mind knows by discernment of eternal, metaphysical truth is more certain than its judgement of the perceptions of the five senses, which are unreliable.

20 The husks of Luke 15: 16 are for Jerome (ep.21.13.4) pagan literature. Apparently Augustine had become bored by the texts he had to teach his pupils (the pigs!).

21 Medea's flight (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7. 219–36), also mentioned elsewhere in Augustine's early writings (*Solil.* 2. 29; ep. 7. 4; *De moribus ecclesiae* 2. 14), was probably a standard subject for rhetorical exercises.

22 In Manichee myth the Five Elements dwell in caverns of darkness, water, wind, fire, and smoke, productive respectively of reptiles, fish, birds, quadrupeds, and bipeds (Augustine, *De moribus* 2. 9. 14; Simplicius, *Commentary on Epictetus* 34).

23 The Platonic notion of degrees of being-and-goodness, a hierarchy in which every existent is good in its own order, made possible the relativization of evil central to Plato's vindication of divine power and goodness. Cf. II. v. (10) above.

24 Manichees strongly attacked the book of Genesis (that 'man is made in God's image' assumes God to have human physical characteristics?), the polygamy of the patriarchs, and the character of Moses for his murder of the Egyptian (Exod. 2: 12). They thought the Old Testament animal sacrifices indistinguishable from paganism.

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## BOOK V

[V.iv.7, Chadwick, p. 76]

iv (7) Lord God of truth, surely the person with a scientific knowledge of nature is not pleasing to you on that ground alone. The person who knows all those matters but is ignorant of you is unhappy. The person who knows you, even if ignorant of natural science, is happy. Indeed the one who knows both you and nature is not on that account happier. You alone are his source of happiness if knowing you he glorifies you for what you are and gives thanks and is not lost in his own imagined ideas (Rom. I: 21). A man who knows that he owns a tree and gives thanks to you for the use of it, even though he does not know exactly how many cubits high it is or what is the width of its spread, is better than the man who measures it and counts all its branches but does not own it, nor knows and loves its Creator. In an analogous way the believer has the whole world of wealth (Prov. 17: 6 LXX) and 'possesses all things as if he had nothing' (2 Cor. 6: 10) by virtue of his attachment to you whom all things serve; yet he may know nothing about the circuits of the Great Bear. It is stupid to doubt that he is better than the person who measures the heaven and counts the stars and weighs the elements, but neglects you who have disposed everything 'by measure and number and weight' (Wisd. 11: 21). . . .

## BOOK VII

### A Neoplatonic Quest

i (1) By now my evil and wicked youth was dead. I was becoming a grown man. But the older I became, the more shameful it was that I retained so much vanity as to be unable to think any substance possible other than that which the eyes normally perceive. . . .

viii (12) But you, Lord 'abide for eternity and you will not be angry with us for ever' (Ecclus. 18:1; Ps. 84: 6). You have mercy on dust and ashes, and it has pleased you to restore my deformities in your sight (Ps. 18: 15). By inward goads you stirred me to make me find it unendurable until, through my inward

perception, you were a certainty to me. My swelling was reduced by your hidden healing hand, and my mind's troubled and darkened eye, under the hot dressing of salutary sorrows, was from 'day to day' (Ps. 60: 9) brought back to health.

ix (13) First you wanted to show me how you 'resist the proud and give grace to the humble' (1 Pet. 5: 5), and with what mercy you have shown humanity the way of humility in that your 'Word was made flesh and dwelt among' men (John 1: 14). Through a man puffed up with monstrous pride,<sup>13</sup> you brought under my eye some books of the Platonists, translated from Greek into Latin.<sup>14</sup> There I read, not of course in these words, but with entirely the same sense and supported by numerous and varied reasons, 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made. What was made is life in him; and the life was the light of men. And the light shone in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.' Moreover, the soul of man, although it bears witness of the light, is 'not that light', but God the Word is himself 'the true light which illuminates every man coming into the world'. Further, 'he was in this world, and the world was made by him, and the world did not know him'. But that 'he came to his own and his own did not receive him; but as many as received him, to them he gave the power to become sons of God by believing in his name', that I did not read there (John 1: 1–12).

(14) Again, I read there that the Word, God, is 'born not of the flesh, nor of blood, nor of the will of man nor of the will of the flesh, but of God'. But that 'the word was made flesh and dwelt among us' (John 1: 13–14), I did not read there.

In reading the Platonic books I found expressed in different words, and in a variety of ways, that the Son, 'being in the form of the Father did not think it theft to be equal with God', because by nature he is that very thing. But that 'he took on himself the form of a servant and emptied himself, was made in the likeness of men and found to behave as a man, and humbled himself being made obedient to death, even the death of the Cross so that God exalted him' from the dead 'and gave him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of celestial, terrestrial, and infernal beings, and every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father' (Phil. 2: 6–11)—that these books do not have.

The books say that before all times and above all times your only-begotten Son immutably abides eternal with you, and that souls 'receive his fullness' (John 1: 16) to be blessed, and that they are renewed to be wise by participation in wisdom abiding in them. But they do not contain that 'at the right time he died for the impious' (Rom. 5: 6), and that you 'did not spare your only Son but gave him up for us all' (Rom. 8: 32). For you have hidden these things from the wise and revealed them to babes, that toiling and burdened they should come to him to be restored. For he is meek and humble of heart (Matt. 11: 25–9), and he directs the meek in judgement and teaches the docile his ways (Ps. 24: 9), seeing our humble condition and toil, and forgiving all our sins (Ps. 24: 18). But those who, like actors, wear the high boots of a supposedly more sublime teaching do not hear him who says 'Learn of me, that I am meek and humble in heart, and you shall find rest for your souls' (Matt. 11: 29). Even if they know 'God, they do not glorify him as God or give thanks, but are lost in their own thoughts and their foolish heart is obscured; professing themselves wise, they have become fools' (Rom. 1: 21–3).

(15) So also I read of 'the glory of your incorruption' changed into idols and various images 'in the likeness of corruptible man and birds and beasts and serpents', that is the Egyptian food (lentils) for which Esau lost his birthright (Gen. 25: 33 f.). Your firstborn people honoured an animal's head instead of you, 'being turned in heart towards Egypt' (Acts 7: 39) and making your image, their own soul, bow down before a

calf that eats hay (Ps. 105: 20). I found this in those books and did not feed on it.<sup>15</sup> It pleased you, Lord, to 'remove from Jacob the opprobrium of being junior' (Ps. 118: 22), and that the 'elder should serve the younger' (Rom. 9: 13); and you called the Gentiles into your inheritance. And I had come to you from the Gentiles and fixed my attention on the gold which you willed your people to take from Egypt, since the gold was yours, wherever it was.<sup>16</sup> And through your apostle you said to the Athenians, 'In you we live and move and are' (Acts 17: 28), as also some of the pagans have said. And Athens is where these books [of the Platonists] came from.<sup>17</sup> I did not give attention to the idols of the Egyptians which they served with your gold and 'changed the truth of God into a lie and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator' (Rom. 1: 25).

x (16) By the Platonic books I was admonished to return into myself.<sup>18</sup> With you as my guide I entered into my innermost citadel, and was given power to do so because you had become my helper (Ps. 29: 11). I entered and with my soul's eye, such as it was, saw above that same eye of my soul the immutable light higher than my mind—not the light of every day, obvious to anyone, nor a larger version of the same kind which would, as it were, have given out a much brighter light and filled everything with its magnitude.<sup>19</sup> It was not that light, but a different thing, utterly different from all our kinds of light. It transcended my mind, not in the way that oil floats on water, nor as heaven is above earth. It was superior because it made me, and I was inferior because I was made by it. The person who knows the truth knows it, and he who knows it knows eternity. Love knows it.<sup>20</sup> Eternal truth and true love and beloved eternity: you are my God. To you I sigh 'day and night' (Ps. 42: 2). When I first came to know you, you raised me up to make me see that what I saw is Being, and that I who saw am not yet Being. And you gave a shock to the weakness of my sight by the strong radiance of your rays, and I trembled with love and awe.<sup>21</sup> And I found myself far from you 'in the region of dissimilarity', <sup>22</sup> and heard as it were your voice from on high: 'I am the food of the fully grown; grow and you will feed on me. And you will not change me into you like the food your flesh eats, but you will be changed into me.'

And I recognized that 'because of iniquity you discipline man' and 'cause my soul to waste away like a spider's web' (Ps. 38: 14), and I said: 'surely truth cannot be nothing, when it is not diffused through space, either finite or infinite?' And you cried from far away: 'Now, I am who I am' (Exod. 3: 14). I heard in the way one hears within the heart, and all doubt left me.<sup>23</sup> I would have found it easier to doubt whether I was myself alive than that there is no truth 'understood from the things that are made' (Rom. 1: 20).

xi (17) And I considered the other things below you, and I saw that neither can they be said absolutely to be or absolutely not to be. They are because they come from you. But they are not because they are not what you are. That which truly is is that which unchangeably abides. But 'it is good for me to stick fast to God' (Ps. 72: 28); for if I do not abide in him, I can do nothing (John 15: 5). But he 'abiding in himself makes all things new' (Wisd. 7: 27). 'You are my Lord because you have no need of my goodness' (Ps. 138: 2).

xii (18) It was obvious to me that things which are liable to corruption are good. If they were the supreme goods, or if they were not good at all, they could not be corrupted. For if they were supreme goods, they would be incorruptible. If there were no good in them, there would be nothing capable of being corrupted. Corruption does harm and unless it diminishes the good, no harm would be done. Therefore either corruption does not harm, which cannot be the case, or (which is wholly certain) all things that are corrupted suffer privation of some good. If they were to be deprived of all good, they would not exist at all. If they were to exist and to be immune from corruption, they would be superior because they would be permanently incorruptible. What could be more absurd than to say that by losing all good, things are made

better? So then, if they are deprived of all good, they will be nothing at all. Therefore as long as they exist, they are good.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, whatever things exist are good, and the evil into whose origins I was inquiring is not a substance, for if it were a substance, it would be good. Either it would be an incorruptible substance, a great good indeed, or a corruptible substance, which could be corrupted only if it were good. Hence I saw and it was made clear to me that you made all things good, and there are absolutely no substances which you did not make. As you did not make all things equal, all things are good in the sense that taken individually they are good, and all things taken together are very good. For our God has made 'all things very good' (Gen.1: 31).

xiii (19) For you evil does not exist at all, and not only for you but for your created universe, because there is nothing outside it which could break in and destroy the order which you have imposed upon it. But in the parts of the universe, there are certain elements which are thought evil because of a conflict of interest. These elements are congruous with other elements and as such are good, and are also good in themselves. All these elements which have some mutual conflict of interest are congruous with the inferior part of the universe which we call earth. Its heaven is cloudy and windy, which is fitting for it.

It is far from my mind now to say, 'Would that those things did not exist!' If I were to regard them in isolation, I would indeed wish for something better; but now even when they are taken alone, my duty is to praise you for them. That you are to be praised is shown by dragons on earth, and all deeps, fire, hail, snow, ice, the hurricane and tempest, which perform your word—mountains and all hills, fruitful trees and all cedars, beasts and all cattle, reptiles and winged birds; kings of the earth and all peoples, princes and all judges of the earth, young men and maidens, old men with younger: let them praise your name (Ps. 148: 7–12). Moreover, let these from the heavens praise you: let all your angels praise you in the height, our God all your powers, sun and moon, all stars and light, the heaven of heavens and the waters that are above the heavens: let them praise your name (Ps. 148: 1–5).

I no longer wished individual things to be better, because I considered the totality. Superior things are self-evidently better than inferior. Yet with a sounder judgement I held that all things taken together are better than superior things by themselves.

12 The language here is full of reminiscences of Porphyry, with his Neoplatonic thesis that the knowledge of God is knowledge of nothing other than oneself, all physical and external things being abstracted. Cf. Plotinus 6. 5. 12.

13 The man was evidently a pagan Neoplatonist, perhaps Manlius Theodoras, a powerful figure at Milan whose patronage was important to Augustine at the time of his conversion in 386 and who was a known enthusiast for Neoplatonic ideas. Theodoras' sympathy for Christianity, however, cooled, which would explain the icy reference in the Confessions here. He became consul in 399, and the poet Claudian celebrated this in verse. (If pagan 'pride' marked the man in 385, he was not Theodorus.)

14 Translated by Marius Victorinus, the texts were of Plotinus and his disciple Porphyry.

15 The Platonist books offered good philosophy, marred by bad polytheism.

16 The spoiling of the Egyptians by the Hebrews (Exod. 3: 22; 11:2) was for Irenaeus and Augustine (here and elsewhere) an allegory of the Christian right to select truth from pagan texts without accepting polytheism. The Exodus passage was ridiculed by the Manichees.

17 In tact Plotinus taught in Rome, Porphyry lived in Sicily; but Athens was the symbolic home of classical Greek philosophy (e.g. City of God 18. 9).

18 Plotinus 5. 1. 1.

19 Ibid. 5. 3. 9. 10 f; 5. 3. 12. 40 f.

20 Ibid. I. 6. 7. 2 'one who has seen the good, the desire of every soul, knows what I mean when I say it is beautiful'; Plotinus continues that it is known with the passion of love. Similarly 6. 9. 9. 46.

21 Ibid. I. 6. 7. 12–19.

22 Ibid. I. 8. 13. 15 f. (from Plato, *Statesman* 273d).

23 On the total assurance given by the vision of the Good, see Plotinus 5. 5. 2.

24 Augustine frequently states the Platonic axiom that existence is a good: cf. below, XIII. xxxi (46); Plotinus I. 7. 2.

25 Closely similar language in Plotinus 6. 9. 4. 16–23. Plotinus also asks why the experience of mystical union with God is so transient (6. 9. 10). See also below X. xl (65).

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## BOOK XII

### So it returns to You the One

XII. xxviii (38) There are others for whom these words are no nest but a dark thicket. They see fruit concealed in them, to which they fly in delight, chirping as they seek for it and pluck it. For when they read or hear these words of yours, eternal God, they see that by your stable permanence you transcend all past and future time, and yet there is nothing in the time-conditioned creation which you have not made. Your will, which is identical with your self,<sup>25</sup> has made all things by a choice which in no sense manifests change or the emergence of anything not present before. **You did not make the creation out of yourself in your own likeness, the form of all things, but out of nothing, which is a formless dissimilarity<sup>26</sup> to you, though, nevertheless, given form through your likeness. So it returns to you, the One, according to the appointed capacity granted to each entity according to its genus.** And all things are very good, whether they abide close to you or, in the graded hierarchy of being, stand further away from you in time and space, in beautiful modifications which they either actively cause or passively receive. To the limited extent that they can grasp the light of your truth in this life those who see these things rejoice.

23 Plotinus 3. 8. 10. 5 uses the illustration of a spring, but for a different point.

24 Augustine has himself in mind.

25 Plotinus 6. 8. 21. 13 says God's will is his substance.

26 On 'the region of dissimilarity' see above, VII. X (16). The sentence here is remarkable for interpreting 'out of nothing' to mean out of next-to-nothing, relative but not absolute non-being.

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## BOOK XIII

### Finding the Church in Genesis I

i (1) I call upon you, my God, my mercy (Ps. 58: 18). You made me and, when I forgot you, you did not forget me. I call you into my soul which you are preparing to receive you through the longing which you have inspired in it. Do not desert me now that I am calling on you. Before I called to you, you were there before me. I With mounting frequency by voices of many kinds you put pressure on me, so that from far off I heard and was converted and called upon you as you were calling to me. Moreover, Lord, you wiped out all the evils which merited punishment, so as not to bring the due reward upon my hands (Ps. 17: 21), by which I fell away from you. In any good actions of mine you were there before me; in my merits you were rewarding 'the work of your own hands by which you made me' (Ps. 118: 73). Before I existed you were, and I had no being to which you could grant existence. Nevertheless here I am as a result of your goodness, which goes before all that you made me to be and all out of which you made me. You had no

need of me. I do not possess such goodness as to give you help, my Lord and my God. It is not as if I could so serve you as to prevent you becoming weary in your work, or that your power is diminished if it lacks my homage. Nor do I cultivate you like land, in the sense that you would have no one to worship you if I were not doing so. But I serve and worship you so that from you good may come to me. To you I owe my being and the goodness of my being.

ii (2) Your creation has its being from the fullness of your goodness. In consequence a good which confers no benefit on you, and which not being from you yourself is not on your level, can nevertheless have its existence caused by you and so will not lack being. Before you what merit have heaven and earth, which you made in the beginning? Let the spiritual and physical creation, which you made in your wisdom, tell us what merit they have before you. On your wisdom depended even embryonic and formless things, all of which in their own spiritual or physical category move towards the chaos where there is no control, and to a far off dissimilarity to you. Formless spiritual being is superior to formed body. Formless physical entities are better than no existence at all. So formless things are dependent on your Word. It is only by that same Word that they are recalled to your Oneness and receive form. From you, the One, the supreme Good, they have being and are all 'very good' (Gen. 1: 31). What merit had these things before you even to receive a formless existence when, but for you, they would not exist at all?

(3) What merit before you had physical matter even to be merely 'invisible and unorganized' (Gen. 1: 2)? It would not exist at all unless you had made it. That it had no existence is the reason why it had no claim on you to be given existence. What claim upon you had the inchoate spiritual creation even to be merely in a dark fluid state like the ocean abyss? It would have been dissimilar<sup>2</sup> to you unless by your Word it had been converted to the same Word by whom it was made, so that, illuminated by him, it became light and, though not in an equal measure, became conformed to a form equal to you (Rom. 8: 29; Phil. 2: 6). Just as in the case of a physical body, to be is not the same as to be beautiful, since otherwise it would be impossible for it to be ugly, so also for a created spirit to live is not the same as to live wisely; otherwise it would be immutably wise. But 'it is good for it always to cleave to you' (Ps. 72: 28) lest, by turning away from you and by slipping back into a life like the dark abyss, it lose the light it obtained by turning to you. For we also, we are a spiritual creation in our souls, and have turned away from you our light. In that life we were 'at one time darkness' (Eph. 5: 8). We toil on in the remains of our obscurity<sup>3</sup> until, in your unique Son, we are your 'righteousness' (2 Cor. 5:21) like 'the mountains of God', for we were 'your judgements like the deep abyss' (Ps. 35: 7).

iii (4) Among the first acts of creation you said 'Let there be light, and light was created' (Gen. 1: 3). I do not think it out of harmony with the sense if we take this to mean the spiritual creation, since there already was a kind of life for you to illuminate. But just as it had no claim on you to be the sort of life which could be illuminated, so also now that it existed, it had no claim to receive light. Its formlessness could not be pleasing to you unless it were made light not by merely existing but by contemplating the source of light and adhering to it. Both the fact of its life and the fact of its living in a blessed state it owed only to your grace. By a change for the better it has become converted to that which cannot change either for the better or for the worse. That is what you alone are. You alone are in absolute simplicity.<sup>4</sup> To you it is not one thing to live, another to live in blessed happiness, because you are your own blessedness.

iv (5) Even if the creation had either never come into existence or remained formless, nothing could be lacking to the good which you are to yourself. You made it not because you needed it, but from the fullness of your goodness,<sup>5</sup> imposing control and converting it to receive form—but not as if the result brought you fulfilment of delight. The corollary of your perfection is that the imperfection of created



things is displeasing. So they seek perfection from you that they may please you, yet it is not that otherwise you would be imperfect and need to be perfected by their perfection. 'Your good Spirit' (Ps. 142: 10) 'was borne above the waters' (Gen. 1: 2), but not borne up by them as if resting weight on them. When scripture says your Spirit rests on people (Isa. 11: 2), it means that the Spirit makes them rest on himself. But your incorruptible and immutable will, sufficient to itself and in itself, was 'borne above' the life which you had made, a life for which to live is not the same as living in perfect happiness, because even while in a fluid state in darkness it had life. It remains for it to be converted to him by whom it was made, more and more to live by the fount of life, to see light in his light (Ps. 35: 10), and to become perfect, radiant with light,<sup>6</sup> and in complete happiness.

v (6) **Here in an enigmatic image (I Cor. 13: 12) I discern the Trinity, which you are, my God. For in the beginning of our wisdom which is your wisdom, Father, begotten of your self, equal to you and coeternal, that is in your Son, you 'made heaven and earth' (Gen. 1: 1). We have said a lot about 'the heaven of heaven' (Ps. 113: 24), about 'the earth invisible and unorganized', and about the 'dark abyss'. It is dark because of the disordered flux of spiritual formlessness; but it became converted to him from whom it derived the humble quality of life it had, and from that illumination became a life of beauty. So it was the heaven of that heaven which was subsequently made to take its place between water and water (Gen. 1:7). And now where the name of God occurs, I have come to see the Father who made these things; where the 'Beginning' is mentioned, I see the Son by whom he made these things. Believing that my God is Trinity, in accordance with my belief I searched in God's holy oracles and found your Spirit to be borne above the waters. There is the Trinity, my God—Father and Son and Holy Spirit, Creator of the entire creation.**<sup>7</sup>

vi (7) I bring my heart to you, Light that teaches truth. Let not my heart tell me vain fantasies. Disperse its darkness, and tell me—I beg you by love, our mother,<sup>8</sup> I beg you tell me: what was the reason why your scripture mentioned your Spirit only after it had mentioned heaven and earth 'invisible and unorganized' and 'darkness above the abyss'? Was it necessary for him to be brought in at this point so that he could be described as being 'borne above'? This could not be said unless first there was a reference to that above which your Spirit could be understood to be borne. For he was not borne above the Father and the Son, and he could not properly be said to be borne above anything if there was nothing above which he could be borne. First, therefore, it was necessary to say what it was that he was borne above, and then to speak of the Spirit, who could not have been described other than as being 'borne above'. Why, therefore, was it inappropriate to introduce the Spirit except with the words that he was 'borne above'?

vii (8) Against this background the able reader can grasp your apostle's meaning when he is saying that 'love is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us' (Rom. 5: 5). Teaching us concerning the things of the Spirit he demonstrates that the way of charity is 'supereminent' (I Cor. 12: 1). Moreover, he bows the knee for us to you that we may know 'the supereminent knowledge of the love of Christ' (Eph. 3. 14, 19). And so the Spirit, super-eminent from the beginning, was 'borne above the waters.' To whom can I expound, and with what words can I express, the weight of cupidity pulling us downwards into the precipitous abyss and the lifting up of love given by your Spirit who was 'borne above the waters'? To whom can I communicate this? How can I speak about it? For it is not about literal places where we sink down and rise up. This symbolic language contains a resemblance, but also a difference. It means our feelings and our loves. The impurity of our spirit flows downwards because of our love of anxieties, and the holiness which is yours draws us upwards in a love of freedom from anxiety. So we may lift up our heart<sup>9</sup> and hold it to you, where your Spirit is 'borne above the waters', and we come to the supereminent resting-place when our soul has passed over 'the waters that are without substance' (Ps. 123: 5).<sup>10</sup>

viii (9) The angel fell, the human soul fell, and thereby showed that the abyss would have held the entire spiritual creation in deep darkness unless from the beginning you had said 'Let there be light, and light was created' (Gen. 1: 3). Every intellectual being in your heavenly city obediently adhered to you, and rested in your Spirit which is immutably borne above all that is mutable. Other-wise the very 'heaven of heaven' would have been a dark abyss in itself. But now it is 'light in the Lord (Eph. 5: 8). By the wretched restlessness of fallen spirits, manifesting their darkness as they are stripped naked of the garment of your light, you show how great a thing is the rational creature you have made. Whatever is less than you can never be sufficient to provide itself with the rest of contentment, and for this reason it is not even a source of contentment to itself. For you, our God 'will lighten our darkness' (Ps. 17: 29). From you comes our clothing (Isa. 61: 10), and our darkness will become as midday (Isa. 58: 10).

My God, give me yourself, restore yourself to me. See, I love you, and if it is too little, let me love you more strongly. I can conceive no measure by which to know how far my love falls short of that which is enough to make my life run to your embraces, and not to turn away until it lies hidden 'in the secret place of your presence' (Ps. 30: 21). This alone I know: without you it is evil for me, not only in external things but within my being, and all my abundance which is other than my God is mere indigence.

ix (10) **Surely no one supposes that either the Father or the Son was borne above the waters. Indeed if one understands this of a body in space, neither was the Holy Spirit. But if it means the transcendence of immutable divinity above all that is mutable, then Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were borne above the waters. Why then is this said only of the Holy Spirit? Why is it said exclusively of him as if there were a place where he then was, though it is not a place? Of him alone is it said that he is your 'gift' (Acts 2: 38). In your gift we find our rest. There are you our joy. Our rest is our peace.**

Love lifts us there, and 'your good Spirit' (Ps. 142: 10) exalts 'our humble estate from the gates of death' (Ps. 9, 15). In a good will is our peace.<sup>11</sup> A body by its weight tends to move towards its proper place.

The weight's movement is not necessarily downwards, but to its appropriate position: fire tends to move upwards, a stone downwards.<sup>12</sup> They are acted on by their respective weights; they seek their own place. Oil poured under water is drawn up to the surface on top of the water. Water poured on top of oil sinks below the oil. They are acted on by their respective densities, they seek their own place. Things which are not in their intended position are restless. Once they are in their ordered position, they are at rest.

My weight is my love. Wherever I am carried,<sup>13</sup> my love is carrying me. By your gift we are set on fire and carried upwards: we grow red hot and ascend. We climb 'the ascents in our heart' (Ps. 83: 6), and sing 'the song of steps' (Ps. 119: 1). Lit by your fire, your good fire, we grow red-hot and ascend, as we move upwards 'to the peace of Jerusalem' (Ps. 121: 6). 'For I was glad when they said to me, let us go to the house of the Lord' (Ps. 121: 1). There we will be brought to our place by a good will, so that we want nothing but to stay there for ever.

x (11) Happy is that created realm which has known nothing other than bliss. Yet the story would have been different unless, by your gift which is 'borne above' all that is mutable, immediately upon its creation it was elevated with no interval of time by that call 'Let there be light,' and it became light. For in us there are distinct moments of time since at one stage we were darkness and then were made light (Eph. 5: 8). But concerning the higher creation, scripture only says what it would have been had it not received light; and the wording of the text speaks as if at an earlier stage it had been in flux and darkness, to emphasize the cause by which it was made to become different. That is, it became light by being turned towards the light that can never fail. Let him who can, understand this. Let him seek help from you and not 'trouble me' (Gal. 6: 17) as if it were in my power 'to light any man coming into this world' (John 1: 9).

xi (12) Who can understand the omnipotent Trinity? Yet everyone speaks about the subject, if indeed it can be the matter of discourse. It is a rare soul who knows what he is talking about when he is speaking of it. People debate and quarrel, and without peace no one sees that vision. I wish that human disputants would reflect upon the triad within their own selves. These three aspects of the self are very different from the Trinity, but I may make the observation that on this triad they could well exercise their minds and examine the problem, thereby becoming aware how far distant they are from it. The three aspects I mean are being, knowing, willing. For I am and I know and I will. Knowing and willing I am. I know that I am and I will. I will to be and to know.<sup>14</sup>

In these three, therefore, let him who is capable of so doing contemplate how inseparable in life they are: one life, one mind, and one essence, yet ultimately there is distinction, for they are inseparable, yet distinct. The fact is certain to anyone by introspection. Let him consider himself and reflect and tell me what is there. When, however, through his investigation of these three, he has found something out and has made his report on that, he should not suppose that he discovered the immutable that transcends them—that which immutably is, immutably knows, and immutably wills. It baffles thought to inquire whether these three functions are the ground which constitutes the divine Trinity, or whether the three components are present in each Person, so that each Person has all three, or whether both these alternatives are true, in the sense that, in ways beyond finite understanding, the ultimate Being exists in both simplicity and multiplicity, the Persons being defined by relation to each other, yet infinite in themselves. So the divine being is and knows itself and is immutably sufficient to itself, because of the overflowing greatness of the unity.<sup>15</sup> Who can find a way to give expression to that? Who would venture in any way whatever to make a rash pronouncement on the subject?

xii (13) Proceed with your confession, my faith. Say to the Lord your God: 'Holy, holy, holy', Lord my God (Isa. 6: 3; Rev. 4: 8). In your name we are baptized, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (Matt. 28: 19); in your name we baptize, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Among us also in his Christ God has made a heaven and an earth, meaning the spiritual and carnal members of his Church. Moreover, before our earth received form, imparted by doctrine, it was 'invisible and unorganized' (Gen. 1: 2), and we were covered by the darkness (Ps. 54: 6) of ignorance. For you 'corrected man for his iniquity', and 'your judgements are like the great abyss' (Ps. 38: 12; 35: 7). But because your 'Spirit was borne above the waters', your mercy did not abandon our misery, and you said: 'Let there be light' (Gen. 1: 3). 'Do penitence, for the kingdom of heaven has drawn near' (Matt. 3: 2; 4: 17). Because our soul was 'disturbed' within ourselves, we 'remembered you, Lord from the land of Jordan and from the mountain', which is equal to you (Phil. 2, 6) but for our sakes became 'little' (cf. Ps. 41: 7). Our darkneses displeased us. We were converted to you (Ps. 50: 15), light was created, and suddenly we 'who were once darkness are now light in the Lord' (Eph. 5. 8).

...

xxx (45) I listened, Lord, my God; I sucked a drop of sweetness from your truth, and I understood. There are people [Manichees] who are displeased at your works. They say you made many of them, such as the fabric of the heavens and the constellations of the stars, under the compulsion of necessity. They say you did not produce the creation from your own matter, but that its elements were already created elsewhere by another power, and that you gathered them together and assembled and organized them when, after defeating your enemies, you built the ramparts of the world so that they would be held in check by that construction and unable to fight against you again. Other things they deny you to have made or even to have assembled, such as all bodies and every tiny insect and all plants rooted in the earth. They claim that

in the lower places of the world those things are generated and formed by a hostile mind and an alien nature, not created by you but opposed to you. This is the utterance of madmen. They do not see your works with the help of your Spirit and do not recognize you in them.

xxxi (46) **When people see these things with the help of your Spirit, it is you who are seeing in them.**

When, therefore, they see that things are good, you are seeing that they are good. Whatever pleases them for your sake is pleasing you in them. The things which by the help of your Spirit delight us are delighting you in us. 'For what man knows the being of man except the spirit of man which is in him? So also no one knows the things of God except the Spirit of God. But we (he says) have not received the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God, so that we may know the gifts given us by God' (I Cor. 2: 11–12). I am moved to declare: certainly no one knows the things of God except the Spirit of God. **Then how do we ourselves know the gifts which God has given? The answer comes to me that the statement 'No one knows except the Spirit of God' also applies to the things we know by the help of his Spirit. Just as 'it is not you that speak' (Matt. 10: 20) is rightly said to those who are speaking by the Spirit of God, so also the words 'it is not you that know' may rightly be said to those whose knowing is by the Spirit of God. Therefore it is no less correct that 'it is not you that see' is spoken to those who see by the Spirit of God. Whatever, therefore, they see to be good by the Spirit of God, it is not they but God who is seeing that it is good.** It is one thing to think that what is good is evil, like those Manichees I mentioned above. It is another thing to say that what man sees to be good is good, just as your creation pleases many because it is good; nevertheless they are displeased with you in it. These latter people wish to find their enjoyment in the creation rather than in you.

**It is a yet further matter to say that when a man sees something which is good, God in him sees that it is good. That is, God is loved in that which he has made, and he is not loved except through the Spirit which he has given. For 'the love of God is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us' (Rom. 5: 5). By the Spirit we see that everything which in some degree has existence is good;<sup>34</sup> for it derives from him who does not exist merely in some degree since he is Existence.**

xxxii (47) Thanks be to you, Lord! We see heaven and earth, that is either the higher and lower material part or the spiritual and physical creation; and for the adornment of these parts, in which consists the entire mass of the world or the entire created order absolutely, we see light made and divided from the darkness. We see the firmament of heaven, either placed between the higher spiritual waters and the lower physical waters (the earliest physical entity in the world) or the space occupied by air, which is also called the sky.<sup>35</sup> Through this the birds of heaven wander between those waters, which are borne over it as vapour and on clear nights drop as dew, and the heavy waters flowing on earth. We see the beauty of the waters gathered in the expanses of the sea, and the dry land, whether bare of vegetation, or given form so as to be 'visible and ordered', the mother of plants and trees. We see the lights shining from above, the sun sufficing for the day, the moon and stars to cheer the night, and all of these to provide an indication and sign of passing time. We see wet nature on all sides, a rich source of food for fish and sea monsters and birds. For the flight of birds is supported by the density of the air, which is increased by the evaporation of water. We see the face of the earth adorned with earthly creatures and humanity, in your image and likeness, put in authority over all irrational animals by your image and likeness, that is by the power of reason and intelligence. And as in his soul there is one element which deliberates and aspires to domination, and another element which is submissive and obedient, so in the bodily realm woman is made for man. In mental power she has an equal capacity of rational intelligence, but by the sex of her body she is submissive to the masculine sex. This is analogous to the way in which the impulse for action is subordinate to the

rational mind's prudent concern that the act is right. So we see that each particular point and the whole taken all together are very good.

xxxiii (48) Your works praise you that we may love you, and we love you that your works may praise you. They have a beginning and an end in time, a rise and a fall, a start and a finish, beauty and the loss of it. They have in succession a morning and an evening, in part hidden, in part evident. They are made out of nothing by you, not from you, not from some matter not of your making or previously existing, but from matter created by you together with its form—that is simultaneously. For you gave form to its formlessness with no interval of time between. The matter of heaven and earth is one thing, the beauty of heaven and earth is another. You made the matter from absolutely nothing, but the beauty of the world from formless matter—and both simultaneously so that the form followed the matter without any pause or delay.<sup>36</sup>

xxxiv (49) We have also considered the reasons for the symbolism in the fact that you willed created things to be made in a particular order or to be recorded in a particular order. And because particular things are good and all of them together very good, we have seen in your Word, in your unique Son, 'heaven and earth', the head and body of the Church (Col. 1: 18),<sup>37</sup> in a predestination which is before all time and has no morning and evening. But then you began to carry out your predestined plan in time so as to reveal hidden secrets and to bring order to our disordered chaos. For our sins were over us, and we had abandoned you to sink into a dark depth. Your good Spirit was 'borne over' it to help us 'in due season' (Ps. 142: 10). You justified the ungodly (Rom. 4: 5), you separated them from the wicked, and you established the authority of your book between those in higher authority who were submissive to you and those below who were subject to it. You gathered a society of unbelievers to share a single common aspiration, so that the zeal of the faithful should 'appear' and so bring forth for you works of mercy, distributing to the poor their earthly possessions so as to acquire celestial reward.

Hence you kindled lights in the firmament, your saints 'having the word of life' (Phil. 2: 16), shining with a sublime authority made manifest by spiritual gifts. And then to instruct the unbelieving peoples, you produced from physical matter sacraments and visible miracles and the sounds of the words of your book, symbolized by the 'firmament'. Believers also are blessed by them. Then you formed 'the living soul' of the faithful with their affections disciplined by a strong continence. Then you renewed the mind (Rom. 12: 2) after your image and likeness (Col. 3: 10) to be subject to you alone and in need of no human authority as a model to imitate. You made its rational action subject to the superiority of the intellect, as if symbolized by a woman's submissive role with her husband. To all the ministerial officers necessary to bring the faithful to perfection in this life, you willed that the same faithful should provide for their temporal needs good works which could be fruitful for them hereafter. All these things we see, and they are very good, because you see them in us, having given us the Spirit by which we see them and love you in them.

xxxv (50) 'Lord God, grant us peace; for you have given us all things' (Isa. 26: 12), the peace of quietness, the peace of the sabbath, a peace with no evening (2 Thess. 3: 16). This entire most beautiful order of very good things will complete its course and then pass away; for in them by creation there is both morning and evening.

xxxvi (51) **The seventh day has no evening and has no ending. You sanctified it to abide everlastingly. After your 'very good' works, which you made while remaining yourself in repose, you 'rested the seventh day' (Gen. 2: 2–3). This utterance in your book foretells for us that after our works which, because they are your gift to us, are very good, we also may rest in you for the sabbath of eternal life.**

**xxxvii (52) There also you will rest in us, just as now you work in us. Your rest will be through us, just as now your works are done through us.** But you, Lord are always working and always at rest. Your seeing is not in time, your movement is not in time, and your rest is not in time. Yet your acting causes us to see things in time, time itself, and the repose which is outside time.

xxxviii (53) As for ourselves, we see the things you have made because they are. But they are because you see them.<sup>38</sup> We see outwardly that they are, and inwardly that they are good. But you saw them made when you saw that it was right to make them. At one time we were moved to do what is good, after our heart conceived through your Spirit. But at an earlier time we were moved to do wrong and to forsake you. But you God, one and good, have never ceased to do good. Of your gift we have some good works, though not everlasting. After them we hope to rest in your great sanctification. But you, the Good, in need of no other good, are ever at rest since you yourself are your own rest.

What man can enable the human mind to understand this? Which angel can interpret it to an angel? What angel can help a human being to grasp it? Only you can be asked, only you can be begged, only on your door can we knock (Matt. 7: 7–8). Yes indeed, that is how it is received, how it is found, how the door is opened.<sup>39</sup>

1 The theme of I. ii (2) is resumed.

2 Echo of Plato, *Statesman* 273d; Plotinus I. 8. 13. 17. Above VII. x (16).

3 Plotinus 2. 4. 10. 16: When all light has been taken from the soul, the remaining darkness is indefinable.

4 Plotinus 5. 3. 16 says that the higher the grade in the continuum of the hierarchy of being, the greater the ‘simplicity’, and that at the summit utter simplicity is wholly self-sufficient. Similarly 5. 4. 1. The concept ‘simplicity’ for Augustine and the Neoplatonists means freedom from any element of distinction between substance and accidents or attributes, and has overtones of being without need. Goodness is therefore no attribute of Plotinus’ One, but is inseparable from the One; cf. Plotinus 2. 9. 1.

5 Plato, *Timaeus* 20J; Plotinus 5. 4. 1.

6 Plotinus 5. 3. 17. 28 ff., on the mystical vision, is emphatic that the light by which the soul sees God is not other than the light of God: ‘This is the soul’s true end, to touch that light and see it by itself, not by another light, but by the light which is also its means of seeing.’ (tr. Armstrong).

7 Ambrose (*Hexameron* I.8. 29) gives a similar exegesis of Genesis I.

8 Mother Charity’ is a phrase liked by Augustine, also used by him elsewhere.

9 The African eucharistic liturgy, echoed here, had ‘Lift up your heart’ (singular).

10 Augustine’s homily on this psalm explains that these waters are sins. Mis Old Latin version differs from the Vulgate.

11 Echoed in Dante, *Paradiso* 3. 85.

12 Similar analogy for the soul finding its proper habitat in Plotinus 2. 1. 3. On ‘good will’ cf. Plotinus 6. 8. 6. 32 ff.; 6. 8. 13. 12 ff.

13 Plotinus (6. 8. 1. 26) also speaks of the will being ‘carried away’.

14 Augustine announces the theme of his large work *On the Trinity*, begun a year or two after the completion of the *Confessions*, but requiring many years to complete. Some of the terminology has affinities with Plotinus (e.g. 6. 4. 14).

15 Plotinus 6. 8. 17. 25: The one is wholly self-related. 6. 5. 9. 35: It possesses multiplicity ‘by itself and from itself.’

33 Close parallel in Plotinus I. 6. 1. 25 ff.

34 A Platonic axiom is here given the authority of the Holy Spirit. It is for Augustine a self-evident deduction from the doctrine of divine Creation. Cf. above, VII. xii. (18).

35 Augustine later in his Revisions censured this sentence as 'written without sufficient thought' (Relr. 2. 6. 2).

36 Plotinus (4. 3. 9. 16) holds that there was never a time when matter was not given form and order.

37 The shortcomings of the empirical life of the churches are frequently deplored by Augustine. But the Church remained for him, on the ground of the Pauline doctrine of the body and head, the indispensable instrument of salvation in which Christ dwells by his Spirit. 'The whole Christ' is the Lord, head and members together.

38 This theme is developed in City of God II. 10.

39 The allusion to Matt: 7–8 picks up the theme of I. i (1) and xii. i (1)