

of that more serious punishment.²³ If all this had been done, we wouldn't be feeling so distressed now about this awful business.

(20) My brothers, I am afraid of God's anger. God has no fear of mobs. People are quick to say, 'What the crowd has done, it has done. Who can manage to punish a whole crowd?' I agree, who can? Not God? Was God afraid even of the entire universe? After all, he created the flood [cf. Gen 6.13ff]. Was he afraid of so many Sodoms and Gomorrahs? After all, he sent fire from heaven to destroy them [cf. Gen 19.1–29]. I don't want to go into the recent troubles; I don't want to remind you of their seriousness, of where they took place, and of what resulted, in case I seem offensive. Surely God, when he was angry, didn't distinguish those who were actually doing wrong from those who were not? No, rather he put together those who were doing wrong with those who were doing nothing to prevent them.²⁴

(21) Let me now bring my sermon to a close at last. My brothers, I urge you, please, by the Lord and his gentleness, to live gently and peaceably; and to allow the authorities to do their job in peace. They will have to give an account of themselves to God and to their superiors.²⁵ Whenever you need to make some request, do so peaceably and respectfully. Don't get involved with wrong-doers, or with people who turn violent in an extreme and tragic way. Don't be eager to get involved in such things, or even in watching them. As far as you can, each of you in his own household and his own neighbourhood, whenever you are with anyone connected to you by ties of duty or love, warn them, persuade them, teach them, tell them off.²⁶ Even use threats in any way you can to restrain them from such horrific behaviour.

Then, at last, God may have pity on us and put an end to the evils of human life. He may cease dealing with us according to our sins, and not repay us according to our injustice, but put our sins as far away from us as east is from west. Then he may set us free for the honour of his own name, and be merciful towards our sins *in case the nations say, 'Where is their God?' [Ps 79(78).10].*

POSTSCRIPT (22)²⁷ *My brothers, don't be reluctant or hesitant about crowding into the church, who is your mother, or staying there a while, because of the other people who are seeking sanctuary with her, or because she is a refuge shared by everyone. The church is indeed worried about what the crowds might attempt: they are not well controlled. However, as far as the authorities go, Christian emperors have promulgated laws in the name of God that provide the church with enough protection and more,²⁸ and these people are*

unlikely to attempt anything against their mother that would end in humanity blaming them and God judging them. I pray that they don't. I don't believe they will, and I don't see evidence of it.

But just in case the crowd does get out of control and attempt something, you ought to be thronging into your mother the church. For, as I said, she is not the refuge of one or two people, but shared by everyone. If anyone hasn't got a reason to come, he ought to be afraid in case he finds one. I tell your beloved selves the unjust flee to the church from the presence of those who live justly, and those who live justly flee there from the presence of those who live unjustly.²⁹ Sometimes, too, the unjust flee from the presence of the unjust. There are three categories of refugee: the only exception is that the good don't flee from the good, the just don't flee from the just. However, the unjust flee from the just, the just flee from the unjust and the unjust flee from the unjust. But if we want to distinguish between them and remove wrongdoers from the church, then there will be nowhere for those who do good to hide. If we are willing to allow the guilty to be removed, there will be nowhere for the innocent to flee. It is better then that the church's protection includes the guilty, than that the innocent are dragged away. Hold to this advice: let them be afraid of your numbers (as I said) rather than your violence.

Sermon 13

418

At the altar of Cyprian, 27 May¹

On the words of Psalm 2.10, *Be instructed, all you who judge the earth.*

(1) *Be instructed, all you who judge the earth.* To judge the earth is to tame the body. Let us listen to the apostle² judging the earth: *I am not boxing as if I were beating the air; I pound my body and reduce it to servitude, in case in preaching to others I myself fail to win approval [1 Cor 9.26–7].* Listen then, earth, to the earth's judge; and judge the earth in case you become earth yourself. If you judge the earth, you'll become heaven, and you will proclaim the glory of the Lord created in you. *For the heavens proclaim the glory of God [Ps 19(18).1].* If, on the other hand, you fail to judge the earth, then you will become earth. But if you become earth, you will

belong to Adam, who was told, *You will eat earth* [Gen 3.14]. Those who judge the earth ought, then, to listen; they should chastise their bodies, put reins on their passions, love wisdom, overcome unruly desire. And they ought to be instructed so that they do this.

(2) This is a summary of their instruction: *serve the Lord in fear and rejoice in him with trembling* [Ps 2.11]. Rejoice in *him*, not in yourself, in him who is the source of your being what you are, a human being, and just – if indeed you are already just. However, if you think that the source of your being human is him, but the source of your being just is yourself, then you are not serving the Lord with fear, nor *rejoicing in him with trembling*, but in yourself with arrogance. Then what will happen to you, if not the thing that comes next: it then says *in case God is angry with you at some time, and you are lost from the path of justice* [Ps 2.12, LXX].

It does not say, 'In case God is angry with you at some time, and you do not set out on the path of justice'; but *you are lost from the path of justice*. You will be thinking yourself just already because you *do not steal* other people's possessions or *commit adultery* or *murder*, or *bear false witness by speaking against your neighbour*, and you *honour your father and mother*, and *worship the one God*, and serve neither idols nor demons [Exod 20.1–17; Deut 5.6–21]. This is the path from which you'll be lost if you claim all this for yourself, if you consider that these actions have their source in you yourself. The faithless don't even set out on the path of justice; the proud, though, are lost from the path of justice. What does it say, after all? *Be instructed, all you who judge the earth*. In case you attribute to yourself the strength and the power which enable you to judge the earth, in case you believe that they come to you from yourself – well, avoid this mistake.

Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice, not in yourself with arrogance, but *in him with trembling, in case God is angry with you at some time and you are lost from the path of justice when suddenly his anger is kindled*.

What, then, ought we to do in order to avoid being lost from the path of justice? *Blessed are all who trust in him* [Ps 2.12]. If those who trust in him are blessed, those who trust in themselves are miserable. *Everyone who puts his hope in a human being is cursed* [Jer 17.5]. So do not place your hope in yourself, as you too are human. However, if you place your hope in another human being, you'll be excessively humble; if you place it in yourself, though, you'll be dangerously proud. What's the difference then? Both are destructive; both options should be refused. Someone who is excessively humble isn't lifted up at all; someone who is dangerously proud falls headlong to the ground.

(3) Finally, let me persuade your holy selves that the words *serve the Lord in fear and rejoice with him in trembling* were intended to disprove and dispose of the view that everyone trusts in himself by refuting it. Listen to the apostle Paul repeating these very words, and explaining the reason why they were spoken. Here is what Paul says: *Work for your security with fear and trembling* [Phil 2.12]. Why should I work for my security with fear and trembling if it lies within my power to work out my own security?³ Do you want to hear why it says *with fear and trembling*? *For it is God who works in you* [Phil 2.13]. Hence *with fear and trembling*: the humble person gains what the proud person loses.

If, then, it is God who is at work in us, why does it say *work for your security*? For this reason: he is at work in us in such a way that we too are at work: *be my helper* [Ps 27(26).9, LXX]. By invoking a helper, the speaker marks himself also as a worker.

'But my will is good', my interlocutor objects. I agree, it is yours. But who gave you even that? Who stirred it into action? Don't listen to me; ask the apostle Paul. *For it is God who works in you, both your willing and your acting in good will* [Phil 2.13] – he also works in you your willing. Why, then, were you claiming this for yourself? Why were you walking so proudly, and being lost? Return to your own heart, discover that you are bad, and pray to the one who is good that you may become good. For nothing in you is pleasing to God except what you have from God. Anything you have from yourself is displeasing to God.

If you think about your goods, *what do you have that you did not receive? But if you received it, why do you boast as if you hadn't received it?* [1 Cor 4.7]. He alone knows only how to give. No one gives to him, for there is no one better. If you, then, are less than he – indeed, since you are less than he – congratulate yourself on being made in his image [cf. Gen 1.27]. Then you might find yourself in him, as you have lost yourself in yourself. For in yourself, you had no power except to lose yourself; and you don't know how to find yourself unless God who made you also looks for you.

(4) But now let us address those who judge the earth in the everyday physical understanding of the phrase. Kings, leaders, rulers, judges, they judge the earth; each one of them judges the earth in accordance with the office he has been given on earth. What is meant by 'judge the earth' except 'judge the people who are on the earth'? For if you are only willing to understand earth in the strict sense as the soil you tread on, then 'You who judge the earth' must be addressed to farmers! But if kings also judge

the earth, and anyone under them who receives power from them, then they too ought to *be instructed*; the earth itself is judging the earth, and when earth judges earth it ought to fear God who is in heaven. It is indeed judging its own equal, a human judging a human, a mortal judging a mortal, a sinner judging a sinner.

If the Lord's verdict *If any of you is without sin; let him be the first to cast a stone at her* [Jn 8.7] were to step forward⁴ surely everyone who is judging the earth would feel the earth quake! Let us call to mind once more that chapter of the gospel. The Pharisees,⁵ trying to tempt the Lord, brought before him a woman caught in adultery. The punishment for this sin was determined in the Law, that is the Law given through Moses, the servant of God [cf. Lev 20.10]. The Pharisees approached the Lord with the following crafty and deceitful reasoning in mind: if he were to order that the disgraced woman be stoned, he would abandon his gentleness; if, however, he were to forbid the punishment commanded by the Law, he would be convicted of sinning against the Law.

Again, on a similar occasion, they asked him about paying tribute to Caesar, and he took the words out of their own mouths by offering them a coin and asking them in their turn whose image and inscription were on it. The questioners themselves answered: the image on the coin was Caesar's. He turned their own words against them: *Give to Caesar's what is Caesar's and to God what is God's* [Mt 22.15–22; Mk 12.13–17; Lk 20.22–5].⁶ In this way he was able to warn them to restore to God the image of God in the human being, just as the image of Caesar on the coin is restored to him. Similarly in the case of the adulteress he interrogated the interrogators, and thus pronounced judgement on the judges. 'I do not forbid the stoning of whomever the Law orders', he said, 'I merely ask who will do it. I am not opposing the Law, but I am looking for someone to execute it.'

In short, listen to this: 'Do you want to cast stones according to the Law? *If any of you is without sin, let him be the first to cast a stone at her.*'

(5) Moreover, when he heard what they said, *he began writing with his finger on the earth*, in order to judge the earth. However, when he addressed these words to the Pharisees, he raised his eyes, and examined the earth and made it tremble. Then, after he had spoken, he began to write on the earth once more. Pierced by remorse and trembling with fear, they left, one by one. A true earthquake! The earth was moved so much that it changed its place!

When they were gone, the two of them remained: the sinner and her

Saviour, the sick woman and her doctor, the pitiable and pity himself. He looked at the woman and said, '*Has no one condemned you?*'

And she replied: '*No one, Lord.*'

However, she was still anxious. The sinners, indeed, hadn't dared to condemn her; they hadn't dared to stone a sinner, once they'd looked at themselves and discovered that they were the same. However, the woman was still in great danger, because he had remained with her as her judge, and he was without sin.

'*Has no one condemned you?*', he asked.

She replied, '*No one, Lord.* If you do not either, then I am safe.'

The Lord replied silently to her anxiety: '*Neither will I condemn you. Neither will I* even though I am without sin *condemn you.* Conscience inhibited the others from vengeance; pity persuades me to come to your help' [Jn 8.3–11].

(6) Listen to these things, and *be instructed, all you who judge the earth.* It says 'all', because we should understand this passage to refer to the same people as the apostle's words: *Every soul is subject to higher authorities. There is no authority except from God; all that there are were established by God. Anyone who resists authority resists what God has established . . . Rulers do not inspire fear in those who do good, but in those who do evil. Do you want not to fear the authorities? Do good, and you will have praise from them* [Rom 13.1–3].

And if not given by them, still from them. For either you act justly, and a just authority will praise you, or else, when you act justly, even if an unjust authority condemns you, God, who is just, will crown you. Hold on to justice yourself, then, live a good life yourself. Whether the authorities condemn you or whether they absolve you, you will have praise *from them*.⁷ Think of the blessed man whose blood was shed on this very spot⁸ – hasn't he found praise from the very authority before whom and by whom, as it seemed, he was being judged? He made a public confession, he stood by his faith; he had no fear of death, he shed his blood, he overcame the devil.

(7) If, then, you don't want to exercise your authority unjustly, all you human beings who wish to have authority over human beings, well, *be instructed*, so that you avoid judging corruptly, and perishing in your soul before you manage to destroy anyone else in the flesh. You want to be a judge, and you can't be on merit – only by spending money.⁹ I'm not criticising you yet. For perhaps you're eager to be of assistance in human affairs, and you're buying your way into being of help. You're not sparing

your money so that you'll be able to serve justice. But first, for your own sake, act as judge on yourself. Judge yourself first, then you'll be able to leave the inner cell of your conscience in security and go out to someone else.

Return to yourself, observe yourself, debate with yourself, listen to yourself. I should like you to prove yourself an honest judge there, where you don't need to look for a witness. You want to step forward with authority, so that one person will tell you things you didn't know about another. First judge yourself within. Is there nothing that your conscience has told you about yourself? It certainly told you something, unless you've refused to admit it. I don't want to hear what it told you: you yourself must be the judge of what you have heard. It's told you about yourself – what you've done, what you've received, what sins you've committed. I should like to know what sentence you have pronounced. If you listened well, if you heard aright, if you were being just as you listened, if you climbed up to the judgement seat of your mind, if you stretched yourself out in front of yourself on the rack of your heart, if you applied to yourself the heavy torture of fear – if that is how you listened, then you listened well, and there is no doubt then that you have punished your sin by your repentance. See how you interrogated yourself and listened to yourself and punished yourself, and yet you spared yourself.¹⁰ Listen to your neighbour in the same way, if you are being instructed as the Psalm says, *Be instructed, all you who judge the earth*.

(8) If you listen to your neighbour in the same way that you listen to yourself, then your target will be the sin, and not the sinner. And if someone happens to be hardened against his sins being reformed, if he has turned away from the fear of God, well, you must make that element of him your target, you must try to reform that, and work to lose and remove precisely that, so that the sin is condemned, but the human being himself preserved.¹¹ There are in fact two nouns, 'human' and 'sinner'. God made the human being, but the human being himself made the sinner. May the human creation perish, but God's creation be set free!

Do not, therefore, when you are attacking the sin, put the human being to death. Avoid the death penalty, so that there's someone left to repent. Don't allow the human being to be killed; then someone will be left to learn the lesson.¹² You are a man judging other men; foster love of them in your heart, and judge the earth. Love to instil fear in them, but do so out of love. If you must be arrogant, be arrogant towards the sin,

not towards the person. Vent your rage on the failing, which you dislike as much in yourself, and not on the person, who is created just as you are. You both came from the same workshop, you both had the same craftsman, the stuff you are both made of is the same clay. Why are you destroying the person you judge by failing to love him? For you're destroying justice, by failing to love the person you're judging. Punishments should be imposed; I don't deny it; I don't forbid it. But this must be done in the spirit of love, in the spirit of concern, in the spirit of reform.

(9) After all, you do not refrain from instructing your own son. In the first place you try, as far as possible, to instruct him by using shame and generosity, wanting him to be ashamed of offending his father rather than afraid of a harsh judge. You're delighted to have such a son. However, if he happened to take no notice of this, you would also apply the rod. You punish him and inflict pain on him, but your aim would be his security. Many people have been reformed through love, and many through fear; the latter, though, have progressed through the horror of fear to reach love. *Be instructed, all you who judge the earth*. Love, and then make your judgement; I do not mean that you should seek to avoid hurt at the cost of losing discipline. Indeed, scripture says: *Whoever abandons discipline is unhappy* [Wisd 3.11]. We could well add to this maxim: just as anyone who abandons discipline is unhappy, so anyone who withholds discipline is cruel.

Now I have dared to say this, my brothers, the very difficulty of the matter forces me to explain it to you a little more fully. Let me repeat what I said: *Whoever abandons discipline is unhappy*. This, then, is quite plain. But I further hold that 'whoever does not apply discipline is cruel'. I hold this, and I will show you someone who shows devotion by applying the rod, and cruelty by sparing it: let me put an example before your eyes. Where can I find someone who shows devotion by applying the rod? I need go no further than a father and a son. When the father strikes him, he does so out of love. The boy doesn't want to be beaten; but his father takes no account of his wishes; his concern is for his benefit. Why is this? Because he is his father; because he is training his heir; because he is nurturing his successor.¹³ Note then how a father shows his devotion and his pity by beating the boy.

Well, give me an example now of someone who shows cruelty by sparing the rod. I needn't abandon my characters; I have them before your eyes. Imagine though this time that the boy is never punished,¹⁴ and

lives without discipline in such a way that he is ruined. The father averts his gaze. He spares the boy, if he's afraid of offending the son who has been ruined by applying harsh discipline. Then isn't he, in fact, in sparing him, being cruel?

Well then, *be instructed, all you who judge the earth*; and do not expect your reward for honest judgement from the earth, but from God, who made heaven and earth.

The Donatist controversy

Some time before 312, Caecilian, an archdeacon of Carthage, was elected and consecrated bishop. There is evidence of a pre-existing dispute which began during the persecution under the emperor Diocletian, from 303. Some Christians refused any compromise with the authorities, and even courted martyrdom; others, to whom Caecilian seems to have been sympathetic, recommended evasive action short of directly betraying the faith. At any rate, the election was opposed by certain Carthaginians, and a council of bishops from Numidia and elsewhere investigated. This council deposed Caecilian and elected Maiorinus in his place, on the grounds that the former's consecration had been invalid. This was because of the participation of Felix, bishop of Aptugni, who, they alleged, had been guilty during the persecution of handing over the sacred scriptures to the authorities to be burnt. Caecilian refused to accept the council's decision and remained as bishop. The Carthaginian church was divided, and the Donatist controversy had begun.

In 313, the opponents of Caecilian requested the proconsul, Anulinus, to forward their charges against him to Constantine for his judgement (see Letter 88). Constantine left the matter to the church authorities, and a council in Rome ruled in favour of Caecilian. His opponents appealed, and the matter was referred to a second council, in Arles in 314, which repeated the decision of the Roman council. However, the decision was not accepted by Maiorinus' supporters. Maiorinus was succeeded on his death by Donatus, after whom the Catholics named the sect. In 315, Felix was tried at Carthage on the charge against him and was acquitted. Donatist and Catholic communities, each with their own bishops, continued to live side by side in many cities of north Africa.

By the middle of the fourth century, theological differences between Donatists and Catholics had hardened, and were centred on the nature of the church. The Donatists saw themselves as inheriting the African tradition of a rigorously disciplined church, 'without stain or wrinkle' (Ephesians 5.27): the purity of the church's witness set it apart from the world. That was why sacraments such as baptism were invalid when

- 10 Literally 'banditry'.
- 11 A court stenographer who minuted trial proceedings as the judge's secretary.
- 12 On A.'s knowledge of the laws concerning homicide, cf. above p. 269 n. 16 and p. 133 n. 2.
- 13 *rationem reddere*, to 'render an account'. The New Testament reminds Christians that they will have to 'render an account' to God (Mt 12.36; 1 Pet 4.5; Rom 14.12); church leaders will 'render an account' of their flock (Heb 13.17). The phrase was also used in secular life; for example, servants in a propertied household would render regular accounts to their masters. In philosophical terms, to 'render an account' meant to give a rational explanation. A. uses the phrase in connection both with his responsibility to God as a bishop for his flock, and with his intellectual defence and exposition of Christianity. Cf. Letters 134.1 (p. 63); 136.2 (p. 29).
- 14 Note the similar tone at Commentary on the gospel of John, 33.5 (pp. 104–5), where A. refers to these words of Christ as the 'weapon of justice' which acts like a 'wooden club'. Cf. the reference at § 2, regarding any threats sharp enough to 'pierce hearts that are hard and apathetic', referring to his auditors.
- 15 *miles*, a soldier. The term is also used in late antiquity to describe certain civil servants in the imperial bureaucracy (*militia officialis*). Citing Lk 3.12–14, A. implies an association between the official in question, and the 'soldiers' and 'publicans' (whom A. equates with 'tax-collectors', *telonearii*) addressed by John the Baptist. At § 16, he indicates that a merchant (*negotiator*) who conducts his trade by sea complained of having been defrauded by the official. For these reasons, the victim may have been a *custos litorum*, a soldier assigned to assist customs officials (*curiosi litorum*) with the assessment and collection of duties on goods entering the port of Hippo Regius. Cf. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées* 287–8.
- 16 A. is punning in Latin: '*non . . . militia, sed malitia*'.
- 17 Cf. Letter 138.15 (pp. 38–9), where A. employs this text in rebutting the charge that the Christian religion proscribed recourse to physical force in all circumstances, even by legitimate civil authorities.
- 18 Or 'God doesn't belong just to them, and not to us.'
- 19 Note the parallel structure in A.'s questions to the implied question of Christ, 'If any of you is without sin . . .' (Jn 8.7). Cf. § 14.
- 20 That is, of being a bishop, with responsibility for his community.
- 21 A. indicates that he had interceded with the soldier in question, and asked him to stop oppressing merchants with exorbitant charges.
- 22 Cf. p. 289 n. 4, on *paterfamilias*.
- 23 Following the PL text. Lambot includes '*corporis*', with several manu-

- scripts, and explains this as a reference to corporal punishment. However, corporal punishment is too much taken for granted by A. to be described so solemnly. Secondly, the grammar is peculiar, suggesting the possibility that *corporis ipsius* is a later gloss. But the phrase remains obscure.
- 24 Cf. Letters 91 and 104 (pp. 2–8 and 11–12) concerning A's views on the collective civic responsibility to prevent unjust violence in the Calama affair.
- 25 Cf. p. 274 n. 13.
- 26 Cf. § 19, where A. also urges the head of the household to employ verbal persuasion against any resort to violence by family members. A.'s confidence in the power of language as a fundamental means for the promotion of justice is a consistent, major theme throughout the sermon. Cf. §§ 2; 3; 8; 14; 15; 16.
- 27 Some scholars have argued for the inclusion of this section, known as *Sermo Morin Guelferbytanus* 25, as the conclusion or peroration of Sermon 302; others have raised serious objections to its inclusion. A. may be speaking here of church asylum for those suspected of killing the imperial official. However, by this interpretation, it remains unclear why, in addition to civil authorities, a crowd would be threatening to storm the church. A second interpretation suggests that the murdered official had sought sanctuary in the church, and that A. is referring to the crowd which stormed the church, seized him and killed him. Cf. Ducloux, *Ad ecclesiam* 176–80. But this suggestion lacks any textual foundation.
- 28 On the legally sanctioned right of asylum in churches, cf. p. 261 n. 3. A. may also be thinking of a number of imperial edicts which granted protection to church buildings from acts of violence (cf., for example, *C. Th.* 16.2.31: 13 January 409).
- 29 Cf. Translator's note on Just.

Sermon 13

- 1 The sermon was preached at the basilica of St Cyprian at Carthage. A. was in the city attending a bishops' council.
- 2 St Paul.
- 3 Cf. Translator's note on Security.
- 4 I.e., as if to speak in a law-court.
- 5 Cf. p. 271 n. 2.
- 6 Cf. *Cresc.* 1.11.14–18.22, where A., in reference to this text, calls Christ a 'dialectician' (*dialecticus, disputator*: *Cresc.* 1.17.21). Christ's questioning and subsequent rebuke of the Pharisees and scribes over their efforts to corner him in a dilemma over the paying of taxes to Caesar conforms to

the same general Socratic pattern as that demonstrated in the parallel confrontation over the woman caught in adultery. Cf. p. 272, n. 12.

- 7 Note the parallel discussion at Sermon 302.12 (pp. 113–14). In that sermon (especially §§ 11–13), A. employs Rom 13.1–3 in order to urge his congregation not to rebel against public authorities. In this sermon, preached in the presence of civic and provincial authorities, A. employs the same text to urge authorities to practise justice toward those they govern.
- 8 Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was put to death by Roman officials in 258. The basilica was built by the city walls at the site of his martyrdom.
- 9 An uns subtle allusion to the conventional payment of bribes to those responsible for recommending and handling the appointment of candidates to the judiciary.
- 10 Note the parallel structure of interior, forensic self-examination recommended by A. to the Pharisees and scribes when commenting on Christ's confrontation over the women caught in adultery: Commentary on the gospel of John, 33.5 (pp. 104–5).
- 11 Cf. Letter 153.15.
- 12 This is probably A.'s strongest statement against capital punishment in any of his writings.
- 13 A. has in mind the responsibilities legally associated with the role of *paterfamilias*, about which see, p. 289, n. 4.
- 14 Reading *impunitus*, with the *PL* text. *CCL* reads *imperitus*, 'inexperienced'.

The Donatist controversy

Letter 51

- 1 The letter lacks a salutation. Its addressee is Crispin, Donatist bishop of Calama (see Biographical note). Cf. also Biographical notes for Maximian (1) and Optatus (2).
- 2 The agreement concerned a follow-up meeting at Carthage to debate further the issues dividing them.
- 3 The Jews of the Old Testament.
- 4 Cf. Translator's notes on Hand over, and Pursue.
- 5 Neither Donatist nor civil officials were able to remove these two Donatist bishops from their sees, and the Donatists were later forced to reinstate them.
- 6 *gesta proconsularia*: official documents recording the charges against the two bishops and the decision of the proconsul Flavius Herodes deposing them from their sees. Cf. *Cresc.* 3.56.62.

- 7 A splinter-group in schism with the Donatists during 393–7, formed around Maximian, a Carthaginian deacon.
- 8 A. is speaking ironically.
- 9 Donatists held that baptism administered outside of their church was invalid. Catholic bishops, in particular, were unfit as ministers of baptism because their predecessors had been in communion with Caecilian. Consequently, Catholic converts to the Donatist church were habitually re-baptised, an action which outraged A., who argued that Christ, and not the bishop, was the actual minister of the sacrament. On rebaptism, cf. also pp. 127–8.
- 10 I.e., in the countryside and even in the town.
- 11 Christian communities in each of these cities were addressed in an epistle of St Paul. The foundation of A.'s case against the Donatists was the charge that they were not in communion with the universal church.
- 12 This example illustrates how inevitably disputes within the churches (in this case within the Donatist communion) led to the involvement of secular law in ecclesiastical matters. The property of the church belonged by law to the church legally recognised as orthodox. It was necessary, therefore, for each side to prove the other heretical.

Letter 66

- 1 The addressee is Crispin, Donatist bishop of Calama. By 'Mappalians', A. refers to tenant farmers and their families on an imperial estate at Mappala, outside of Calama, whom Crispin had rebaptised. Cf. Biographical note on Crispin. As at Letter 51.1 (p. 128), A. omits a courtesy salutation.
- 2 Referring to an edict of the emperor Theodosius I, dated 15 June 392, which stipulated the fine for all clerics of heretical sects. Cf. *C.Th.* 16.5.21. Cf. Letter 88.7 (pp. 148–9); *Cresc.* 3.47.51.
- 3 Reading *sac/culo* with the *PL* text.
- 4 The language of one of the native peoples inhabiting north Africa at this time. A. did not speak it.

Letter 86

- 1 Cf. Biographical note on Caecilian (2).
- 2 Or 'renowned'.
- 3 A series of repressive edicts enacted by the emperor Honorius in 405 declaring the Donatists 'heretics', banning their religious assemblies and confiscating those private homes which were used for such meetings, threatening the Donatist clergy with exile and their accomplices with