

A SCHOLASTIC
MISCELLANY:
ANSELM TO OCKHAM

Edited and Translated

by

EUGENE R. FAIRWEATHER, M.A., B.D., Th.D.

Professor of Divinity
Trinity College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

The Macmillan Company

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The Macmillan Company
866 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022
Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., Toronto, Ontario
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 56-5104

First Macmillan Paperbacks Edition 1970

A Scholastic Miscellany is also published in a hardcover edition by The Westminster Press.

Printed in the United States of America

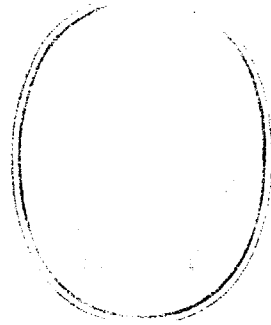
A Scholastic Miscellany:

Anselm to Ockham

is Volume X in

The Library of Christian Classics

published by The Westminster Press



Peter Lombard: The Four Books of Sentences

THE TEXT

BOOK III, DISTINCTION X

CHAPTER I

WHETHER CHRIST, AS MAN, IS A PERSON OR A SOMETHING

It is often asked by certain people, whether Christ, as man, is a person, or whether he is a something.¹

The arguments on both sides of the question agree. For that he is a person they proclaim for these reasons. If, as man, he is a something, he is either a person, or a substance, or something else. But he is not something else; therefore he is a person or a substance. But if he is a substance, he is either rational or irrational. But he is not an irrational substance; therefore he is rational. If, as man, he is a rational substance, then he is a person, because that is the definition of a person: "A rational substance of an individual nature."² If, therefore, as man, he is a something, he also, as man, is a person.

But conversely, if, as man, he is a person, either he is the third person in the Trinity, or another person. But he is not another person; therefore he is the third person in the Trinity. But if, as man, he is the third person in the Trinity, then he is God.

Because of these incongruities and others, some say that Christ as man is not a person nor a something, unless, by chance, "as" expresses a unity of person. For "as" has many senses³: sometimes it expresses a condition or property of divine nature, or human nature; sometimes the unity of a person;

¹ The opinion that Christ, as man, is not a something was condemned as heretical by Alexander III in 1177. Cf. J. de Ghellinck, *Le Mouvement théologique de XII^e siècle*, 252 ff.

² Cf. Boethius, *Lib. de pers. et duab. nat.*, 3 (PL, 64, 1343): "A person is an individual substance of a rational nature"; a good many of Peter's patristic quotations are inexact.

³ "As" seems the best rendering of *secundum* in this context.

sometimes it refers to a habit; sometimes to a cause. Let the reader attend to the point of this distinction carefully and store it in his memory, lest its sense be confused, when the word occurs with respect to Christ.

The conclusion in the argument above, that if Christ, as man, is a rational substance, then he is a person, does not follow. For only the soul of Christ is a rational substance, not his person, for the latter does not act through itself but rather when joined to another thing. That description of a person, however, is not given for those three persons.

But now they endeavor to prove in another way that Christ, as man, is a person, because Christ, as man, "was predestinated the son of God"⁴; but that is what he was predestined to be. Therefore if he was predestined, as man, to be the son of God, then, as man, he is the son of God.

To which it can be said that Christ is that which he was predestined to be; for he was predestined to be the son of God, and he truly is the son of God. But, as man, he was predestined to be the son of God, because he had this predestination through grace, as man. However, he is not the son of God as man, unless perhaps "as" expresses a unity of person. Then the sense would be: he, who is man, is the son of God. Thus he, a human being, is the son of God, through the grace which he has. But if a cause is signified, it is false; for it is not by the fact that he is man that he is the Son of God.⁵

CHAPTER II

WHETHER CHRIST, AS MAN, IS AN ADOPTED SON

If it is asked whether Christ is an adopted son, as man, or in some other way, we reply that Christ is not an adopted son in any way, but only a natural Son. For he is a Son by nature, not by the grace of adoption.

He is not called Son by nature as he is called God by nature; for he is not Son from that by which he is God, since he is Son by the property of nativity, while he is God by the nature of divinity. However the term nature, or Son of nature, is used because he is a Son naturally, having the same nature as he who begot.

⁴ Rom. 1:4; cf. Abailard, *Sic et non*, 69 (PL, 178, 1441).

⁵ On the distinction made in this answer, cf. the *Glossa* on Rom. 1:4, as given by Nicholas of Lyra.

Moreover he is not an adopted son, because he did not first exist and then become adopted as son, as we are spoken of as adopted sons in that when we were born we were "sons of wrath" but have been made "sons of God" through grace.⁶ There never was a time when Christ was not a son and therefore he is not an adopted son.

But against this one can argue thus: If Christ is the son of man, that is of a virgin, it is either by grace or by nature, or by both. If this is so by nature, then it is either by divine nature or by human nature; but not by divine nature, therefore either by human nature or else he is not by nature the son of man. If it is not by nature, then by grace alone; and indeed, if by human nature, not thereby less through grace. If, therefore, he is the son of the virgin by grace, he seems to be an adopted son, so that the same man is a natural Son of the Father and an adopted son of the virgin.

To this it can be said that Christ is the son of the virgin by nature, or naturally, or naturally and by grace. He is not, however, the adopted son of the virgin, since it is not through adoption, but through union, that he is called the son of the virgin. For he is called son of the virgin in that in the virgin he received a man into the unity of a person; and this was by grace, not by nature.

Thus Augustine in *On John* says: "That the Only-begotten is equal to the Father is not from grace but from nature. However that a man was assumed into the unity of person of the only-begotten, is from grace, not from nature."⁷ Christ, therefore, is the adopted son neither of God nor of man, but the Son of God naturally and the son of man naturally and by grace.

Augustine shows that he is the son of man naturally in the book *To Peter on the Faith*: "He, namely God, who is naturally the only-begotten Son of God the Father, was made the son of man naturally."⁸

Moreover, that he is not an adopted son, and yet is son by grace, is proved by the following testimonies.

Jerome, in *On the Epistle to the Ephesians*, says: "It is written about Christ Jesus, that he was always with the Father, and that the paternal will never, as it were, preceded him"⁹; "and

⁶ Cf. Eph. 2:3; Abailard, *Sic et non*, 67 (PL, 178, 1437).

⁷ Augustine, *Tr. in Ioan.* 74, 3 (PL, 35, 1828).

⁸ Cap. 2, 14 (PL, 40, 757); this work was actually written by Fulgentius of Ruspe.

⁹ Cap. 1, 5 (PL, 26, 478).

he was son by nature, we by adoption. He never was not a son; we, before we were, were predestined, and then we received the Spirit of adoption, because we believed in the Son of God."¹⁰

Hilary too, in Book III of *On the Trinity*, says: "The Lord saying, 'Glorify thy Son,' is witness that he is Son not only by name, but also by property. We are sons of God, but not like this Son. For he is true Son, in the strict sense, by origin, not by adoption; by truth, not by name; by nativity, not by creation."¹¹

Augustine, in *On John*, also says: "We are sons by grace, not by nature; the Only-begotten is by nature, not by grace. Does this also refer to the man in the Son himself? Yes, certainly."¹²

Ambrose too, in Book I of *On the Trinity*, says: "Christ is Son, not through adoption but through nature. We are called sons through adoption, but he is Son through the truth of nature."¹³

These statements make it evident that Christ is not a Son by the grace of adoption. That is the grace understood when Augustine asserts that he is not Son by grace; for by the grace, not of adoption, but rather of union, the Son of God is the son of man, and conversely.

CHAPTER III

WHETHER THE PERSON OR THE NATURE WAS PREDESTINED

Next, if the question is asked whether that predestination, which the apostle mentions, is with reference to the person or to the nature, it can be answered definitely. The person of the Son, which always was, was predestined so far as the man assumed is concerned; so that that very person, namely, a human being, would be the Son of God. The human nature was predestined to be personally united to the Word of the Father.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Hilary, *De trin.*, III, 11 (PL, 10, 82); cf. John 17:5.

¹² Augustine, *Tr. in Ioan.* 82, 4 (PL, 35, 1844).

¹³ Cf. Ambrose, *De fide*. I, 19:126 (PL, 16, 580).

¹⁴ Cf. Abailard, *Sic et non*, 69 (PL, 178, 1441).

BOOK IV, DISTINCTION I

CHAPTER I

ON THE SACRAMENTS

The Samaritan, approaching the wounded man, used the bands of the sacraments to heal him,¹⁵ since God instituted the remedies of sacraments against the wounds of original and actual sin.

Four things to be considered first present themselves in this connection¹⁶: What is a sacrament? Why was it instituted? Of what things does it consist and is it made up? What is the difference between the sacraments of the old and of the new law?

CHAPTERS II-IV

WHAT IS A SACRAMENT?

(Chapter II) "A sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing."¹⁷ However a sacrament is also called a sacred secret just as it is called a sacrament of the deity,¹⁸ so that a sacrament both signifies something sacred and is something sacred signified; but now it is a question of a sacrament as a sign.

Again, "A sacrament is the visible form of an invisible grace."¹⁹

(Chapter III) "A sign is something beyond the appearance, which it presses on the senses, for it makes something else enter thought."²⁰

(Chapter IV) "Some signs are natural, such as smoke signifying fire; others are given";²¹ and of those which are

¹⁵ Cf. Luke 10:30.

¹⁶ Cf. *Sum. sent.*, 4, 1 (PL, 176, 117); Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacram.*, I, p. 9, 1 (PL, 176, 317).

¹⁷ Cf. Augustine, *De civ. dei*, X, 5 (CSEL, 40/1, 452); *C. advers. leg. et prophet.*, 9, 34 (PL, 42, 658). Cf. n. 16 above.

¹⁸ On *sacramentum*, *secretum*, and *mysterium* in the formative period of the Latin theological vocabulary, cf. J. de Ghellinck, *et. al.*, *Pour l'histoire du mot 'sacramentum'*, I (Louvain, 1924). (E.R.F.)

¹⁹ Augustine, *Quaest. in Pent.*, III, 84 (PL, 34, 712). Cf. *Sum. sent.*, *loc. cit.*, Abailard, *Introd.*, I, 2 (PL, 178, 984).

²⁰ Augustine, *De doct. christ.*, II, 1:1 (PL, 34, 35).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1:2.

given, certain ones are sacraments, certain ones are not, for every sacrament is a sign, but not conversely.

A sacrament bears a likeness of that thing whose sign it is. "For if sacraments did not have a likeness of the things whose sacraments they are, they would properly not be called sacraments."²² For that is properly called a sacrament which is a sign of the grace of God and a form of invisible grace, so that it bears its image and exists as its cause.²³ Sacraments were instituted, therefore, for the sake, not only of signifying, but also of sanctifying.²⁴

For those which were instituted for the sake of signifying only are signs only and not sacraments; just as were the carnal sacrifices and ceremonial observances of the old law,²⁵ which were never able to make the offerers righteous; because, as the apostle says, "the blood of goats and of oxen, and the ashes of an heifer being sprinkled, sanctify such as are defiled, to the cleansing of the flesh,"²⁶ not of the soul; for that defilement was the touching of a dead man.

Thus Augustine says: "I know of no other iniquity which the law cleanses except contact with a dead man. He who had touched one 'was unclean seven days'; but he was purified according to the law on the third day and on the seventh, and was clean,"²⁷ so that he might enter the Temple.

Those legal means also cleansed meanwhile from bodily leprosy; but never was anyone justified by the works of the law, as the apostle says,²⁸ even if they were done in faith and love. Why? Because God imposed them for servitude, not for justification, and that they might be a figure of Him who was to come,²⁹ wishing them to be offered to him rather than to idols. These things, therefore, were signs, but nevertheless sacraments also, even though they are often referred to less properly in the Scriptures, because they were signs of a sacred thing which they certainly did not perform. The apostle calls those things "works of the law"³⁰ which were instituted only for the sake of signifying or as a burden.

²² Augustine, *Epist.* 98, 9 (CSEL, 44, 531); cf. *Sum. sent.*, *loc. cit.*

²³ Cf. *Sum. sent.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁵ Cf. Lev. 16:15.

²⁶ Heb. 9:13.

²⁷ Augustine, *Quaest. in Pent.*, IV, 33 (PL, 34, 735); cf. Num. 19:11.

²⁸ Cf. Rom. 3:20; Gal. 2:16.

²⁹ Cf. Rom. 5:14.

³⁰ Rom. 5:14; cf. Acts 15:10.

CHAPTER V

WHY THE SACRAMENTS WERE INSTITUTED

"The sacraments were instituted for a threefold cause: as a means of increasing humility, as a means of instruction, and as a spur to activity.

"As a means of increasing humility indeed, so that man submits himself, out of reverence for God's command, to sensible things which by nature are beneath him. By this humility and obedience he is more pleasing and meritorious to the God by whose command he seeks salvation in things lower than himself, although not from them, but through them from God.

"They were also instituted as a means of instruction so that, through that which is perceived from without in a visible form, the mind may be instructed to understand the invisible virtue which is inward; for man, who before sin saw God without a medium, is so dulled through sin that he does not know how to grasp divine things unless he is stirred by human things.

"Similarly they were instituted as a means of spurring into activity, for since man cannot be unoccupied, a useful and healthy spur is provided for him in the sacraments, by means of which he turns away from empty and harmful occupation."³¹ For he whom practice makes free to attend to goodness is not easily captured by the tempter. Thus Jerome warns, "Always be earnestly engaged in some work, so that the devil may find you occupied."³² "Of activity, moreover, there are three kinds; one pertains to the building up of the soul, another to the nourishment of the body, the other to the overturning of each."³³

Since, therefore, God could give grace to man without the sacraments, to which he has not bound his power,³⁴ he has instituted sacraments for the aforesaid reasons.

"Moreover, there are two constituents of a sacrament, namely, words and things: words such as the invocation of the Trinity; things such as water, oil, and the like."

³¹ Hugh, *De sacram.*, I, p. 9, 3 (*PL*, 176, 319 ff.), abbreviated at some points; cf. *Sum. sent.*, *loc. cit.*

³² Cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 125, 11 (*CSEL*, 56, 129 f.).

³³ *Sum. sent.*, 4, 1 (*PL*, 176, 118).

³⁴ Not in the sense that God does not always act in the sacraments, but in the sense that he may act outside them. (E.R.F.)

CHAPTER VI

ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW SACRAMENTS

Now there remains to be seen the difference between the old sacraments and the new, so that we may call sacraments what in former times used to signify sacred things, such as sacrifices and oblations and the like.

Augustine, indeed, briefly indicated the difference between these, when he said, "While the former only promised and signified, the latter give salvation."³⁵

CHAPTER VII

ON CIRCUMCISION

Nevertheless there was among them a certain sacrament, namely, circumcision, conferring the same remedy against sin which baptism now does.

Thus Augustine says³⁶: "From the time that circumcision was instituted among the people of God it was a 'seal of the righteousness of faith'³⁷ and availed for old and young for the purging of original and former sin; just as baptism began to avail for the restoration of man from the time when it was instituted."

Again Bede says: "Circumcision in the law effected the same means of healthful cure against the wound of original sin which baptism customarily effects in the time of revealed grace, with the exception that they were not able yet to enter the doorway of the Kingdom of Heaven. However, after death, consoled in the bosom of Abraham in blessed rest, they waited with joyful hope for the beginning of celestial peace."³⁸

In these words it is clearly conveyed that through circumcision, from the time of its institution, the remission of original and actual sin for young and old was offered by God, just as now it is given in baptism.

³⁵ Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 73, 2 (*PL*, 36, 931).

³⁶ *De nupt. et concup.*, II, 11:24 (*CSEL*, 42, 276 f.). Everything in Chs. VII-X was taken by the Lombard from *Sum. sent.*, 4, 1 (*PL*, 176, 119); cf. Ivo of Chartres, *Decret.*, p. 1, 50, and *Panorm.*, I, 11 (*PL*, 161, 80; 1049); Abailard, *Sic et non* (*PL*, 178, 1504); Gratian, *Decret. C. Ex quo* (6), *De consecr.*, dist. 4 (Friedberg, I, 1363).

³⁷ Rom. 4:11.

³⁸ Bede, *Hom.* 10, in *circumcis. domini* (*PL*, 94, 54-).

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT REMEDY THOSE WHO WERE BEFORE CIRCUMCISION HAD

Moreover, a question is asked about men who lived before the circumcision, and about women who lived before and after, namely, what remedy they had against sin.

Some say that sacrifices and oblations availed for them for the remission of sin. But it is better to say that those who sprang from Abraham were justified through circumcision. Women, indeed, were justified through faith and good works, either their own, if they were adults, or those of their parents if they were children. Those children who were before the circumcision were justified in the faith of their parents, while parents were justified by the virtue of sacrifices, that is, by what they understood spiritually in those sacrifices.

From this Gregory concludes: "What the water of baptism has the power to do among us was done among the ancients in various ways: for children by faith alone, for adults by the virtue of sacrifice, and for those who sprang from the descendants of Abraham by the mystery of circumcision."³⁹

CHAPTER IX

ON THE INSTITUTION AND CAUSE OF CIRCUMCISION

Here it must be said how circumcision was instituted; and why; and why it was changed through baptism.

Abraham first received the command of circumcision as a test of obedience;⁴⁰ nor was circumcision commanded to him alone, but also to his seed, that is, to all the Hebrews. It used to be done according to the law on the eighth day, with a stone knife, in the flesh of the foreskin.

Circumcision was given for many reasons; for example, so that through obedience to the commandment Abraham might please God, whom Adam had displeased through transgression. It was also given as a sign of the great faith of Abraham, who believed that he would have a son in whom the blessing of all

³⁹ Gregory the Great, *Moral. in Iob*, IV, 3 (PL, 75, 635); cf. *Sum. sent.*, loc. cit.; Abailard, loc. cit.; Ivo, *Decret.*, loc. cit., and *Panorm.*, I, 10 (PL, 161, 1049); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Quod autem*, De consecr., dist. 4 (Friedberg, I, 1362).

⁴⁰ Cf. Gen. 17:10 f.; Josh. 5:2, which is also discussed below. This whole chapter comes from the *Glossa* on Rom. 4:10, Gen. 17:10, and John 7:22.

would be brought about. Then, too, it was given that by this sign that people might be distinguished from the rest of the nations.

Circumcision was therefore ordered to be done in the flesh of the foreskin, because it was instituted as a remedy for original sin, which we derive from our parents through the concupiscence which dominates more especially in that part. And since the first man experienced the guilt of disobedience in that part, it was fitting that he receive the sign of obedience there.

It was done on the eighth day, with a stone knife,⁴¹ because at the common resurrection, which is to happen at the eighth age, all corruption will be cut away from the elect through the Rock Christ, and through the resurrection of Christ, brought about on the eighth day, the soul of each one who believes in him will be circumcised from sins. "Therefore there are two things in that sacrament."⁴²

Furthermore, circumcision was changed through baptism, for the sacrament of baptism is more complete and perfect because it bears a fuller grace. For in the former, sins are put away only, but neither grace assisting to good works nor the possession of virtues nor their increase is offered, while in baptism not only are sins abolished, but also assisting grace is conferred and virtues are increased. Whence it is called "water of refreshment,"⁴³ which waters arid places and endues those places already fruitful with fuller abundance. Any man, however just he may be through faith and love which he possessed before, when he comes to baptism receives there more abundant grace; but this is not so in circumcision. Hence it was only a sign to one already justified through the faith of Abraham; it conferred nothing upon him inwardly.

CHAPTER X

ON INFANTS DEAD BEFORE THE EIGHTH DAY ON WHICH CIRCUMCISION WAS PERFORMED

If a question is asked about young children who died before the eighth day, before which circumcision was not performed, according to the law, namely, whether they were

⁴¹ In the original, there is a play on "stone knife" (*petrino cultro*) and "rock Christ" (*petram Christum*).

⁴² *Sum. sent.*, loc. cit., cf. Augustine, *Tr. in Ioan.*, 30, 5 (PL, 35, 1634).

⁴³ Ps. 22:2 (P.E.V., 23:2).

saved or not, the same response can be given which is given about children dead before baptism: it is certain that they perish.⁴⁴

Thus Bede says: "He who now proclaims through the Gospel in an awesome way and yet for our salvation: 'Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God'⁴⁵ proclaims of old through the law: 'The male whose flesh of his foreskin shall not be circumcised, that soul shall be destroyed out of his people: because he hath broken my covenant.'⁴⁶ Perhaps, however, under the law, with the approaching necessity of death, they used to circumcise boys before the eighth day without incurring sin, just as is now done in the Church about baptism."⁴⁷

BOOK IV, DISTINCTION II

CHAPTER I

ON THE SACRAMENTS OF THE NEW LAW

Now let us approach the sacraments of the new law, which are: baptism, confirmation, the bread of blessing, that is, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, marriage. Of these some provide a remedy against sin and confer assisting grace, such as baptism; others are only a remedy, such as marriage; others strengthen us with grace and power, such as the eucharist and orders.

If it is asked why the sacraments were not instituted soon after the fall of man, since righteousness and salvation are in them,⁴⁸ we say that the sacraments of grace were not to be given before the coming of Christ, who brought grace, for they receive power from his death and Passion. Christ did not wish to come before man was convinced that neither the natural nor the written law could support him.

⁴⁴ On the history of the problem of unbaptized children and their fate, and the emergence of views milder than that expressed here, cf. P. Gumpel, "Unbaptized Infants: May They Be Saved?" *Downside Review*, 72, No. 230 (November, 1954). (E.R.F.)

⁴⁵ John 3:5.

⁴⁶ Gen. 17:14.

⁴⁷ Bede, *loc. cit.* and *Comm. in Luc.* 2 (PL, 92, 337).

⁴⁸ Cf. *Sum. sent.*, 4, 1 (PL, 176, 118).

"Marriage, however, was certainly not instituted before sin as a remedy, but as a sacrament and a duty";⁴⁹ after sin, indeed, it was a remedy against the corrupting effect of carnal concupiscence, with which we shall deal in its place.⁵⁰

BOOK IV, DISTINCTION VII

CHAPTER I

ON THE SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION

Now something must be added about the sacrament of confirmation, about the power of which a question is customarily raised.

For the form is plain, namely, the words⁵¹ which the bishop says when he signs the baptized on the forehead with sacred chrism.

CHAPTER II

THAT IT CAN BE GIVEN ONLY BY THE HIGHEST PRIESTS

This sacrament⁵² cannot be performed by others than the highest priests, neither does one read that in the time of the apostles it was performed by others than the apostles themselves, nor can it or ought it to be performed by others than those who hold their places. For if it is attempted otherwise, it is held null and void and will not be reckoned among the sacraments of the Church. Presbyters are permitted to touch the baptized on the breast, but not to sign the forehead with chrism.⁵³

⁴⁹ Hugh, *De sacram.*, I, p. 8, 12 f.; II, p. 11, 1; 3 (PL, 176, 314; 480 f.); cf. Gen. 2:24 (see also pp. 312-318, above).

⁵⁰ Cf. IV, dist. 26 (Quaracchi ed., II, 912 ff.).

⁵¹ I.e., "I sign thee with the sign of the cross and I confirm thee with holy chrism, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

⁵² For this chapter, cf. *Sum. sent.*, 6, 1 (PL, 176, 137); Ivo, *Decret.*, p. 1, 257; 297; *Panorm.*, I, 115 (PL, 161, 120; 131; 1069); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Manus quoque* (4), De consecr., dist. 5 (Friedberg, I, 1413).

⁵³ For last words, cf. Ivo, *Decret.*, p. 1, 263 and *Panorm.*, I, 116 (PL, 161, 121; 1070); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Presbyteris* (119), De consecr., dist. 4 (Friedberg, I, 1398).

CHAPTER III

WHAT IS THE POWER OF THIS SACRAMENT?

The power of this sacrament is a gift of the same Holy Spirit for strengthening who was given in baptism for remission of sins.⁵⁴

Hence Rabanus says: "The Spirit is given to the baptized person by the highest priest through the imposition of a hand, so that he may be strengthened through the Spirit to declare to others what he attained to in baptism."⁵⁵

Again: "All the faithful ought to receive the Holy Spirit through the imposition of the hand of bishops after baptism, so that they may be full Christians."⁵⁶

Gregory, however, wrote to bishop Januarius to this effect: "It has come to our notice that certain presbyters have been scandalized because we have prohibited presbyters from touching those who have been baptized with chrism; and indeed, in so doing, we have acted according to the ancient use of our Church. But if there be some, where there are no bishops present, who are rendered at all unhappy by this custom, we concede that presbyters ought to anoint the baptized on the forehead with chrism."⁵⁷ "But it is thought that that was conceded once only to check a cause of offense."⁵⁸

CHAPTER IV

WHETHER THIS SACRAMENT IS NOBLER THAN BAPTISM

"Know, that each is a great sacrament, but one is to be held with greater veneration, as is said by the greater authorities."⁵⁹

He, indeed, says that the sacrament of confirmation is

⁵⁴ Cf. introduction to "Theologians of the Twelfth Century."

⁵⁵ Rabanus Maurus, *De instit. cleric.*, I, 30 (PL, 107, 314).

⁵⁶ Ivo, *Decret.*, p. 1, 260; 296; *Panorm.*, I, 113 (PL, 161, 121; 131; 1069); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Omnes fideles* (1), De consecr., dist. 5 (Friedberg, I, 1413).

⁵⁷ *Regist.*, IV, indict. 12, epist. 26 (PL, 77, 696); cf. Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Peruenit* (1), dist. 95 (Friedberg, I, 331).

⁵⁸ Gratian, *Decret.*, on C. *Presbyteros* (2), *ibid.* (Friedberg, I, 332).

⁵⁹ Ivo, *Panorm.*, I, 114 (PL, 161, 1069); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *De his vero* (3), De consecr., dist. 5 (Friedberg, I, 1413). Cf. Hugh, *De sacram.*, II, p. 7, 4 (PL, 176, 461).

greater. This, perhaps, is not on account of the greater virtue or benefit which it confers, but because it is given by nobler ministers and is performed on a nobler part of the body, that is, on the forehead; or perhaps because it offers a greater increase of virtues, while baptism avails rather for remission.

This is what Rabanus seems to mean when he says that, "in the unction of baptism the Holy Spirit descends to consecrate a dwelling for God; in that of confirmation the sevenfold grace of the same Spirit, with all the plenitude of sanctity and power, comes into a man."⁶⁰

This sacrament, like baptism, ought to be given only by the fasting to the fasting, unless necessity demands otherwise.⁶¹

CHAPTER V

WHETHER IT CAN BE REPEATED

Like baptism or orders, it ought not to be repeated.⁶² For injury is not to be done to any sacrament, and this is believed to be done when that which is not to be repeated is repeated.

For about baptism and orders, which ought not to be repeated, Augustine plainly says: "Each is a sacrament and is given by a certain consecration: the one when one is baptized; the other when one is ordained. And therefore in the Catholic Church neither can be repeated,"⁶³ because injury must not be done to either. This undoubtedly must also be held about confirmation. As to the others, whether they can be repeated, or ought to be repeated, we shall consider further on.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Rabanus, *loc. cit.*; cf. Ivo, *Panorm.*, I, 118 (PL, 161, 1070), and Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Novissime* (5), *ibid.* (Friedberg, I, 1414).

⁶¹ On fasting, cf. Ivo, *Decret.*, p. 1, 254, and *Panorm.*, I, 119 (PL, 161, 120; 1071); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Ut ieiuni* (6) and *Ut episcopi* (7), *ibid.* (Friedberg, I, 1414); Hugh, *De sacram.*, II, p. 7, 5 (PL, 176, 462).

⁶² The principle involved here is that of the impossibility of repeating sacraments which confer "character"; on this traditional idea, cf. P. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, Ch. IV. (E.R.F.)

⁶³ Augustine, *C. Epist. Parm.*, II, 13:28 (PL, 43, 70); cf. Ivo, *Decret.*, p. 2, 97, and *Panorm.*, III, 77 (PL, 161, 185; 1147); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Quod quidam* (97), c. 1, q. 1, §1 (Friedberg, I, 393).

⁶⁴ Cf. IV, dist. 23, 4 (II, 890 ff.).

BOOK IV, DISTINCTION XIV

CHAPTER I

ABOUT PENANCE AND WHY IT IS CALLED PENANCE

After these matters something must be said about penance. Penance is a necessity for those who are far away, that they may draw near.

For it is, as Jerome says, "a second plank after a shipwreck,"⁶⁵ because if anyone, by sinning, should corrupt the vesture of innocence received in baptism, it can be repaired by the remedy of penance.⁶⁶ The first plank is baptism, whereby the old man is put off and the new man put on; the second, penance, by which we raise ourselves again after a fall, while the old garment is put away again and the new garment, which was lost, is resumed. The erring can be renewed after baptism through penance, but not through baptism; a man may do penance often, but he may not be baptized often.

Baptism is a sacrament only, but penance is said to be both a sacrament and a virtue of the mind.⁶⁷ For there is an internal penitence and an external penance: the external is the sacrament, the internal is a virtue of the mind. Each of these is a cause of health and of justification.

As to whether all external penance is a sacrament, or, if not all, what is to be understood by this name, we shall investigate in the sequel.⁶⁸

The preaching of John started from penance, when he said, "Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."⁶⁹ "Moreover the herald taught what the Truth afterward preached; for he began his sermon⁷⁰ with penance."⁷¹

⁶⁵ Jerome, *Epist.* 130, 9 (*CSEL*, 56, 189); on this and the following points, cf. *Sum. sent.*, 6, 10 (*PL*, 176, 146).

⁶⁶ Cf. *Eph.* 4:22, 24.

⁶⁷ Note the ambiguity of *poenitentia*, as equivalent both to "penitence" and to "penance"; this has encouraged the misuse of certain texts (such as *Matt.* 3:2) in support of an exaggerated emphasis on external works of "penance" in Latin Christianity. (E.R.F.)

⁶⁸ IV, dist. 22, 2 (II, 888 f.).

⁶⁹ *Matt.* 3:2.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Matt.* 4:17.

⁷¹ Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, ad loc. (*PL*, 114, 87).

BOOK IV, DISTINCTION XXIV

CHAPTERS I-III

ON HOW MANY ECCLESIASTICAL ORDERS THERE ARE

Let us now enter upon the consideration of sacred orders.⁷²

There are seven degrees or orders of spiritual functions, as is plainly handed down by the writings of the holy Fathers and is shown by the example of our head, namely, Jesus Christ. He exhibited the functions of all in himself and left to his body, which is the Church, the same orders to be observed.

(Chapter II) Moreover, there are seven on account of the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, and those who are not partakers of the Spirit approach ecclesiastical orders unworthily. As to those in whose minds the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit is diffused, when they come to the ecclesiastical orders, they are believed to receive fuller grace in the very act of advancing through the spiritual grades.

(Chapter III) "Such men are to be chosen as clergy for spiritual ministration as can worthily handle the Lord's sacraments. For it is better for the priesthood of the Lord to have few ministers, who are able to carry out the work of God worthily, than to have many useless ones, who bring a grave burden on the ordainers."⁷³ The men who ought to be ministers of Christ are those who are adorned by the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit and whose doctrine and spirituality⁷⁴ are transfused by grace into others, lest sordid lives crush with their feet the heavenly pearls of spiritual words and divine offices.⁷⁵

In the sacrament of the sevenfold Spirit there are seven ecclesiastical degrees, namely, doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest; all, however, are called clerics, that is, those chosen by lot.⁷⁶

⁷² A good deal of the material of this distinction comes from Hugh, *De sacram.*, II, p. 3 (*PL*, 176, 421 ff.).

⁷³ Gratian, *Decret.*, Can. *Tales ad ministerium* (4), dist. 23 (Friedberg, I, 81).

⁷⁴ *Forma conversionis*; cf. E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, 43; 135. (E.R.F.)

⁷⁵ Cf. *Matt.* 7:6.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Acts* 1:26 (lot = *klēros*).

CHAPTER XII

ON PRESBYTERS

Although all spiritual states are sacred, the canons well conclude that only two are so called, namely, the diaconate and the presbyterate;⁷⁷ for "it is written that the primitive Church had these alone,"⁷⁸ and about these alone have we the command of the apostle.⁷⁹ "The apostles ordained bishops and presbyters in each city."⁸⁰ We read also of Levites ordained by the apostles, of whom blessed Stephen was the greatest.⁸¹ The Church appointed subdeacons and acolytes for itself as time went on."⁸²

CHAPTER XIII

WHAT IS CALLED AN ORDER?

If it is asked what that which is called an order is, it can definitely be said that it is a certain sign, that is, a sacred something, by which spiritual power and office are handed to the ordinand. Therefore a spiritual character in which there is an increase of power is called an order or grade.⁸³

And these orders are called sacraments because in receiving them a sacred thing, grace, which the things that are there done figure, is conferred.

CHAPTERS XIV-XVI

ON NAMES OF DIGNITY OR OFFICES

There are certain other names, not of orders, but of dignities and offices. "Bishop" is both the name of a dignity and of an office.

(Chapter XV) "The word episcopacy is used because he who is made a bishop superintends, bearing the care of those

⁷⁷ Cf. introduction to "Theologians of the Twelfth Century."

⁷⁸ Gratian, *Decret.*, Can. *Nullus in episcopum* (4), dist. 60 (Friedberg, I, 227).

⁷⁹ Cf. I Tim. 3:2.

⁸⁰ Cf. Acts 14:23.

⁸¹ Cf. Acts 6:5.

⁸² Gratian, *Decret.*, dist. 21, in princip. (Friedberg, I, 66).

⁸³ This is the basis of the equating of episcopate and presbyterate as orders; priesthood in both grades is marked by the power of consecrating the sacrament of the altar. (E.R.F.)

below him. For the Greek *skopein* Latin uses *intendere*; moreover *episkopoi* in Greek is interpreted as *speculatores* in Latin;⁸⁴ for one who is placed first in the church is called a *speculator*, because he oversees and watches over the habits and life of the people placed below him."⁸⁵

(Chapter XVI) "The bishop is the chief of priests, as it were the path of those who follow. He is also called the highest priest; for he makes priests and deacons, and distributes all ecclesiastical orders."

⁸⁴ Isidore is simply developing the original meaning of the title "bishop."

⁸⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.*, VII, 12:111 (*PL*, 82, 291); Gratian, *Decret.*, C. *Cleros*, §7 (Friedberg, I, 68). The next chapter comes from the same source.