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IN IOH. EV. Tractatus LXVII–LXXIX: Second Edition

With Translation and Notes by H. F. Stewart

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ST AUGUSTINE  
ON ST JOHN XIV.

*IN IOH. EV. TRACTATUS LXVII–LXXIX.*

*WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES*

BY

H. F. STEWART, M.A.

CHAPLAIN OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## PREFACE.

**T**HE present edition—the only English one—has been prepared with special regard to the Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders, in which these thirteen Homilies form the Latin subject for the years 1901, 1902.

The notes are intended to meet the requirements of the ordinary candidate for that examination, and reference is only made to such books as may reasonably be supposed to be within his reach.

It did not seem necessary to re-tell the familiar story of St Augustine in literary form, but the “Introductory Notes” give concisely the main facts of his life, and his characteristics as a teacher and preacher. An English translation has been added, both for the sake of increasing the practical usefulness of the work, and also because it is in many ways the most convenient and compendious form of commentary on small grammatical points with which it is undesirable to burden the notes. A special section has been devoted to the grammar and language of Augustine and Jerome for the benefit of students who are unfamiliar with the Latin of the time.

The Biblical text employed by St Augustine has also received attention, and it is hoped that the Table, in

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IN IOH. EV. Tractatus LXVII–LXXIX: Second Edition

With Translation and Notes by H. F. Stewart

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi

PREFACE.

which Augustinian, Old Latin, and Vulgate readings are displayed in parallel columns, may serve as material for the solution of a difficult problem, or at least awaken interest in it.

The Latin text of the Homilies is that of the Benedictine edition (Paris, 1839).

The Editor's best thanks are due to the Rev. R. St J. Parry, Fellow of Trinity College, for reading and criticizing the "Hints on Grammar," to Mr F. C. Burkitt, of Trinity College for advice in constructing the "Table of Readings," and to the Rev. J. O. F. Murray, Fellow of Emmanuel College, for constant help and correction in every part, and at every stage, of the work

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

*June, 1900.*

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

A LARGE number of corrections and improvements have been made in both the notes and translation and the spelling and punctuation of the text, for the bulk of which I am indebted to the kindness and learning of the Rev. E. W. Watson, Rector of Sutton, Bedfordshire.

H. F. S.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## CONTENTS.

	PAGES
Introductory Notes . . . . .	ix—xx
Table of Readings . . . . .	xxi—xxxix
Text and Translation . . . . .	1—101
Hints on Grammar . . . . .	103—108
Vocabulary of New Words . . . . .	109—110
Notes . . . . .	111—134
Index to Notes . . . . .	135—140

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

### *Authorities.*

For the general history,

Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1892.

Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, Vols. I. and II.

Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Vols. I. and II.

Villemain, *L'éloquence chrétienne au 4ième siècle*.

For St Augustine,

Bright, *Lessons from the lives of three great Fathers*.

„ *Anti-pelagian Treatises*.

For further reference,

Cunningham, *St Austin* (Hulsean lectures).

Cutts, *Life of St Augustine*, S.P.C.K.

Loofs, art. “*Augustinus*” in Herzog-Hauck’s *Realencyclopädie*.

Poujoulat, *Vie de St Augustin*.

Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*.

St Augustine himself tells the story of his life up to his baptism in the *Confessions*, which should be read by every one entering upon a study of his works. There is an excellent translation of Books I—IX., with an introduction, by Dr Bigg, in the “*Library of Devotion*.” The saint’s later life is recounted by his friend Possidius, bishop of Calama.

### § 1. *Life and Teaching.*

Aurelius Augustinus, born at Thagaste in Numidia (A.D. 354), of mixed parentage, father a pagan, mother Monnica, a devout Christian [for Christianity and the Church in Africa, see Hort, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, lect. v.; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 224, 240, 260; Mullinger, *Ancient African Church*]; educated at University

S. A.

b

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

of Carthage, capital of proconsular Africa, second city of the empire, wealthy, cultivated, corrupt. [See Villemain, p. 367; Benson, *Cyprian*, Introd.]

Neither dissipated student life nor worldly ambition—the bar and rhetoric both offered dazzling prizes—could stifle higher intellectual interests, in pursuit of which he read the *Hortensius* of Cicero (a lost treatise in praise of philosophy). This awoke the thirst for truth, which he vainly sought to satisfy by the doctrines of the Manichees (Christianity grafted on Parseeism), although he was associated with them for nine years as catechumen (A.D. 374–383).

After teaching at Thagaste and Carthage, he seeks a quieter sphere at Rome (A.D. 383), and thence is appointed public lecturer in rhetoric at Milan (A.D. 384). Here he studied Neo-platonism, which, while it taught him certain truths about the nature of God, viz., that He is a Spirit, an Unity, yet capable of personal distinctions (the Good, the Intelligence, the Soul), was powerless to touch his conscience. This was effected mainly by the preaching of St Ambrose—not apparently by personal contact with him. For the story of his actual conversion, see *Conf.* viii. 8–12.

(A.D. 387) Baptism of Augustine and of his natural son, Adeodatus, and death of Monnica who had followed him to Italy. He returns to Rome, where he begins a seven years' controversy with his former allies, the **Manichees**. He meets their chief errors, viz. (1) dualism, (2) essential evil of matter and consequent irresponsibility of man, (3) rejection of the O.T., by maintaining (1) the absolute sovereignty of God, (2) personal responsibility of the individual, (3) continuity of O. and N.T.

Back to Africa and to an ascetic life at Thagaste and the study of philosophy and theology (A.D. 388).

Ordained priest against his will at Hippo Regius by Bishop Valerius, a Greek, who needed help in preaching Latin (A.D. 391).

(A.D. 395) Consecrated bishop coadjutor to Valerius, whose death in A.D. 396 leaves him sole bishop of Hippo.

The period of his episcopate is also that of his chief theological and literary activity.

In active controversy with the **Donatists** (A.D. 400).

[Donatism (for early history, see Robertson, I., p. 279; in 4th cent. ib. II., p. 127) was a schism peculiar to Africa, where

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

xi

its rigorism found congenial soil. Cp. the success of Montanism there in the time of Tertullian (Hort, *Ante-Nic. Ff.*, lect. v.). The main Donatist contentions, viz., the essential purity of the Church and consequent exclusion of unworthy members (a revival of Novatianism, cp. Robertson, I., p. 170), were met by Augustine (a) by conference and argument, in which he shewed

- (1) that in the visible Church evil and good are ever mingled (cp. Mt. xiii., parable of the tares and wheat),
- (2) that sacraments are not invalidated by the unworthiness of ministers (*ostenditur non ipsos id agere sed per eos utique Spiritum sanctum*),

and (b) when argument failed, by persecution (*coge intrare*.)]

Great defence of Christianity in the *de Civitate Dei* (A.D. 413), written against those who attributed to it public calamities, such as the fall of Rome in A.D. 410.

No sooner were the Donatists crushed by the Conference of Carthage in A.D. 411 and the repressive imperial edicts of A.D. 414, 415, than the **Pelagian** heresy reared its head, denying

(1) the necessity, though not the advantage, of divine grace (*quod per liberum homines facere iubentur arbitrium possunt implere per gratiam*), and

(2) the transmission of original sin (*Peccatum Adae ipsum solum laesit et non genus humanum...Non propagine sed exemplo*. Cp. *imitatio Adae* "the following of Adam," Article IX.).

Against these doctrines (largely due to the character of Pelagius the recluse, sheltered from the world and its temptations) Augustine, with deeper knowledge both of man and of God (cp. Illingworth, *Personality*, pp. 14, 71 f., 212 f.), maintained (1) the solidarity of the race (*Adam unus est, in quo omnes peccaverunt quando omnes ille unus homo fuerunt*), and (2) the absolute need of prevention and cooperating grace (*volentem praevenit ut velit; volentem subsequitur ne frustra velit*).

Augustine's teaching was endorsed by the Synod of Carthage in A.D. 418, which condemned Pelagianism.

[On Pelagianism, see Bright, *Anti-Pel. Treatises*, Introduction.]

In the course of the Pelagian controversy Augustine developed his final theory of **Predestination**, which may be contrasted with other systems as follows:

b 2

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

(a) God has predestinated some of mankind to life )( ecclesiastical privileges (Clem. Rom., Ignatius).

(b) This predestination is arbitrary, according to His inscrutable will )( doctrine of prevision, *ex praevisis meritis* (Clem. Alex., Origen, Chrysostom and Arminianism).

(c) Only the predestinated can be saved )( Universalists.

(d) None can tell with absolute certainty whether he is saved )( Calvinism, Lambeth Arts. 6.

At the bottom of Augustine's theory lies the idea of the Divine omnipotence. He tried to reconcile the existence of evil with this by the supposition that good and evil together enhanced God's glory more than good alone, because evil displayed His power in punishment.

[For development of Augustinian theory into double predestination, to life and to damnation, by Gottschale and Calvin, see Gibson, *On the Articles*, p. 475 ff., and on the whole question, Mozley, *Augustinian Theory of Predestination*.]

Invasion of Africa by Arian Vandals (A.D. 428).

(A.D. 430) Death of Augustine (aet. 76) during the siege of Hippo.

## § 2. *The Homilies on St John.*

These homilies on St John's Gospel were

(1) probably delivered in the year A.D. 416 (Augustine's best period),

(2) as a course of sermons covering the greater part of the year,

(3) beginning in Lent.

In proof of these three points we may note

(1) the frequent references to Pelagianism, which was rife between the years A.D. 411 and 418 (see above, § 1), and the allusion to the finding of the supposed relics of St Stephen, which may be placed in A.D. 415 (*Tr.* cxx. 4). Cp. *Dict. Christ. Antiq.* III. p. 1929.

(2) Augustine more than once speaks of them as a connected course [*ab ipso principio usque ad hodiernam lectionem quae supra dicta sunt meministis iam esse tractata* (*Tr.* xiii. 1); *Evangelium secundum Ioannem ex ordine lectionum nos solemus tractare* (*Prol. Tr. in Ep. Ioan.*)], the wide range of which appears from the fact that, while *Tr.* vi. 1 mentions winter cold [*fateor, timueram ne*

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IN IOH. EV. Tractatus LXVII–LXXIX: Second Edition

With Translation and Notes by H. F. Stewart

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

xiii

*frigus hoc vos frigidus ad conveniendum faceret*], the preacher had not got beyond *Tr.* xxvii. on August 10, the festival of St Laurence [*cuius hodie festa celebramus (Tr.* xxvii. 12)].

(3) *Tr.* x. 1 states that Easter is near [*ipsius templi solutionem et reedificationem anniversaria solemnitate celebraturi sumus*], and in *Prol. Tr. in Ep. Ioan.* Augustine alludes to the interruption of his course on the Gospel of St John by the occurrence of Easter (see below, p. xiv), and in *Tr.* xiii. 1 to its resumption after the festival.

The homilies afford a valuable illustration of (a) the character of the sermon in the early Church, and (b) of St Augustine's mingled power and weakness as a preacher.

(a) **The Sermon in the Early Church.**

The main object of public worship in apostolic times was edification (see 1 Cor. xiv., esp. v. 17). This was then secured by prophecy, which was didactic rather than predictive (see Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles*, p. 83).

On the withdrawal of the Pentecostal gifts, the element of edification was chiefly supplied by the sermon or exposition (see Justin M., I. *Apol.* 67). Hence its prominence in the service of the Church everywhere except at Rome (see Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 163).

The exercise of miraculous gifts carrying their own Divine sanction was apparently permitted to any member of the congregation; but when the Church systematized her service and felt the need of emphasizing her essential unity, she vested the right of preaching (as also of celebrating the Eucharist) in the bishop, by whom however it was often extended to a presbyter, acting as his representative, occasionally to a deacon, and in rare instances to a layman (cp. the case of Origen at Caesarea, Robertson, I., p. 143).

Augustine, who owed his ordination as presbyter largely to his capacity to preach in Latin (see above, § 1), was after his consecration fully sensible of his episcopal prerogative (see *Sermo* cccxix.<sup>1</sup> preached on the anniversary of his consecration).

The sermon's place in the service was in the *Missa Catechumenorum* (= ante-communion service) after the *lectiones*. Of these

<sup>1</sup> References to Augustine are to the Paris (1839) reprint of the Benedictine edition.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

there were at least two (Epistle or Prophet, and Gospel), sometimes three (Epistle, Prophet, and Gospel) or four (Epistle, Prophet, Acts, and Gospel). The early practice was to read whole books of the Bible in course (*lectio continua*) at the discretion of the bishop, but the development of the ecclesiastical year of feasts and observances brought in the proper lection (*lectio propria*), especially in the Western Church. Thus while, apart from other evidence, these Homilies clearly shew that the bishop could generally control the lectionary (cp. *Tr.* xlvi. 1 where Sunday's Gospel is ordered to be repeated on a week day), they also prove abundantly that the Gospel for certain days was already fixed by custom (cp. *Tr.* xi. 1, where the congregation is congratulated on the coincidence of the Gospel for the day with the theme of the preacher), and Augustine in the prologue to his homilies on the First Epistle of St John states that his course upon the Gospel, following, though evidently not *pari passu*, a prescribed order of lections, was interrupted by the occurrence of Holy Week, when the Church always read the story of the Passion in the words of the different Evangelists. (See above, p. xiii.) The facts seem to be that St John's Gospel was read in the North African Church during Lent, and that Augustine availed himself of the opportunity of beginning a course of sermons upon it, not necessarily confining himself to the Gospel for the day, and sometimes exercising his right as bishop to order the lection.

Sermons thus based upon and following immediately after a continuous passage of Scripture would naturally be more in the nature of connected exposition and application than set discourse. Their informal character is illustrated by the ordinary Greek name *ὁμιλία* (*ὁμιλεῖν* = to converse with, cp. *ὁμιλοῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, Lk. xxiv. 11), of which *tractatus* is the recognized Latin equivalent (see *Tr.* lxvii., note 1). The freedom and familiarity of the sermon was reflected in the behaviour of the audience, which everywhere, except perhaps at Rome, was quite open in its expressions of approval, emotion, or attentiveness. That this last was not always exemplary is indicated by Augustine's frequent exclamations, *erigenda anima* (e.g. *Tr.* lxvii. 1), *erectis auribus audite, intendite, attendite, adestote toto animo*, etc., and by the words with which the deacon introduced the Gospel, in the east *πρόσχωμεν*, in the west *state cum silentio, audientes intente* (see Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 162); but discipline in N. Africa and at Rome was generally too good to call

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IN IOH. EV. Tractatus LXVII–LXXIX: Second Edition

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

xv

forth such reproofs as we meet with in the pages of Origen and Chrysostom.

The lection was delivered from the *ambo* or reading-pew by the reader (*lector*) or deacon; the people sat, except for the Gospel, when they rose and remained standing (except in Italy) during the sermon, which was practically the expansion of the Gospel. The preacher sat, either in the episcopal chair behind the altar, or at the chancel rails (*cancelli*), or in the *ambo* (see *Dictionary of Christ. Antiq.* I., pp. 72 and 263). Sermons were, as a rule, not written, and in the case of an ancient rhetor, like Augustine, often not prepared, but extemporized. (In one of his sermons he declares that he did not determine to preach until the service was already in progress; the subject is sometimes abruptly changed in the middle of a discourse, and sometimes chosen by means of a *sors biblica*.) Their preservation is due to the skill of shorthand writers, either amateur or professional (*notarii*, *ὑπογράφοι* or *ταχυγράφοι*).

**(b) Augustine as preacher.**

A fair estimate of Augustine as a preacher may be formed by comparing the ideal he himself has proposed in the *de Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iv. (an ideal which, *mutatis mutandis*, is always true) with its realization in practice. Illustration of this from these homilies is given below in square brackets.

(a) The preacher's chief business is *tractatio scripturarum*, i.e. the exposition of the truths which he has discovered in the Bible (*de Doctr. Christ.* § 1).

[The homilies by their form and matter alike support this statement on every page.]

The sovereign means to sound exposition are the help of the Holy Spirit and prayer (1) for the preacher himself, (2) for his hearers (*orator sit antequam dictor*, § 32).

[For this, cp. *Tr.* lxix. 2 *quo donante dico*...

*ib.* 3 *dic mihi, Dominus meus*...

*Tr.* lxxi. 1 *loquentibus nobis sed ipso docente*...

*Tr.* lxxiv. 1 *verumtamen quantum*...

*Tr.* lxxvi. 3 *intelligamus quantum aperire*...]

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

(b) In his exposition the preacher must keep in view (1) doctrinal, and (2) moral instruction; enemies must be won to the Faith, weak or doubting brethren must be confirmed and taught (§ 6).

[The homilies are full of doctrine, but the treatment of the following subjects is specially to be noted :

Person and Natures of Christ, *Tr.* lxix. 3; lxxviii.

Divinity of Christ, *Tr.* lxxi.

Trinity, *Tr.* lxxvii.

Holy Spirit, *Tr.* lxxiv.; lxxvi. 4.

Predestination, *Tr.* lxxviii. 1.

For the conversion of gainsayers, see *Tr.* lxvii. 3 (Pelagians); *Tr.* lxxviii. 2 (Donatists); *Tr.* lxx. 2; *Tr.* lxxi. 2 f.; *Tr.* lxxviii. 2 (Sabellians and Arians).

The confirmation and instruction of believers is evidently his consistent aim.]

The preacher must ever vary his method to suit the needs of his audience, employing simple narrative in order to teach, strict logic to prove, and every hortatory device at his command to arouse (§ 6).

The observance of two general maxims is necessary to form a perfect preacher (*a*) *sapienter agere* (indispensable), and (*b*) *eloquenter dicere* (desirable). The former springs from knowledge of Scripture, not only of the letter, though that will help the want of eloquence, but of the spirit. Scripture is the source from which the preacher can draw the ornament and grace as well as the substance of his discourse. The inspired writers indeed must be his model in everything except their obscurity, for clearness and logical sequence (*ut intelligatur*) are his first and last essentials. He has a criterion of clearness in his hearers; he must never leave a theme or a point until he reads intelligence of it in their demeanour, and to awaken this intelligence he must vary the expression of his thoughts in a way that is hardly possible to one who writes his sermons or learns them by heart. As soon as ever he feels that he is understood he must change his subject or close his sermon (§ 25).

[The subject-matter of the Homilies is sufficiently scriptural, and needs no comment. Of studied imitation of inspired writers there is no trace. Augustine had no need to borrow eloquence; but many passages have a Pauline fervour (e.g. *Tr.* lxvii. 3; *Tr.* lxxiii. 4; *Tr.* lxxvii. 4), even if some present a Pauline difficulty (e.g. *Tr.* lxxviii. 1).



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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

xvii

Obscurity indeed is far from his intention (cp. *Tr.* lxxvii. 4 *erit ipsa brevitās altera obscuritas*). His determination to be understood is evident throughout—*Tr.* lxxvii. opens with a call to attention—and his desire not to fatigue the congregation evinces itself at the close of almost every homily. His patience and logical persistence (*Tr.* lxix. 2; *Tr.* lxxii. 1, 2; *Tr.* lxxviii. 3); his variety and skilful use of analogy (*Tr.* lxix. 4; *Tr.* lxxiii. 3; *Tr.* lxxiv. 5) all have a present value.

But Augustine's great power lies in his fervour. His sermons are great by the character by which George Herbert reckoned greatness in a preacher, viz., holiness, and they attain it by the very means commended by our English saint in his *Country Parson*:

- (1) Cordial sincerity (evident throughout);
- (2) Apostrophes to God (*Tr.* lxvii. 4; *Tr.* lxxviii. 3; *Tr.* lxix. 3);
- (3) Love of his people (*Tr.* lxvii. 2; *Tr.* lxix. 4; *Tr.* lxxvii. 4);
- (4) Direct appeals to them (*Tr.* lxvii. 1; *Tr.* lxix. 2; *Tr.* lxxiii. 3).

His defects are obvious and occur in those very particulars upon which he himself laid stress, (1) method and (2) Bible knowledge. The want of method shewn in the constant repetitions, and the failure to exhaust any single topic, are the inevitable results of improvisation and of a sermon course of indefinite duration. The weakness of exposition is due partly to the circumstances and partly to the nature of the man. For all his learning Augustine was not a great scholar; if he overcame his youthful horror of Greek (see *Conf.* i. 13, 14), Hebrew remained practically sealed to him. And he had not the critical sense. Hence his obvious and inevitable errors of exegesis (e.g. *Tr.* lxxviii. 1 on Is. xlv. 11; *Tr.* lxx. 1 on Ps. lxi. 7; *Tr.* lxxvii. 3 *pacem super pacem*; see notes), and his abuse of allegorism. There does not happen to be much of this last in the homilies before us (but cp. *Tr.* lxxvi. 5), though it is rife in the rest of the series; it will therefore be enough to refer to Bigg's *Christian Platonists* (Bampton Lectures), pp. 132–151, and to remark that allegorism is after all the only possible answer of an uncritical age to the difficulties of Scripture; that while there is much in the allegorism of the Fathers that strikes us as puerile, the principle upon which they went was right—every word of

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With Translation and Notes by H. F. Stewart

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Scripture has a tongue and a meaning—and the conclusions, whether doctrinal or moral, which they reached, are generally sound, although the arguments adduced are often faulty. We admit with Calvin that the true meaning of Scripture is the natural and obvious meaning, that when we are disposed to smile at allegorism we must remember not only St Paul's sanction of it (1 Cor. x. 11; Gal. iv. 24), but also the wealth of parable, metaphor and figure throughout Scripture, and shew respect to a method that exhibits in a marked degree the inscrutable power of the Word of God.]

### § 3. *Augustine's style and language.*

After allegorism the modern critic will be tempted to fasten first on Augustine's faults of taste—the incessant assonance and alliteration, the forced antitheses, the terrible puns—and then on the quality of his Latin.

(a) As to the former, the maxim *le style c'est l'homme même* must not be applied too stringently or universally; that would include Augustine and all his contemporaries in one condemnation. Remember that the taste of a writer is generally that of his age, that the affectations that shock us were the delight of the 5th century, and notice how often Augustine rises superior to them all, never allowing an appeal to the head to supplant one to the heart.

(b) His Latin must not be contemptuously dismissed as “ecclesiastical”; it is the living language of his time and is of equal interest (1) to the philological, and (2) to the theological student.

(1) It certainly lacks the breadth and grandeur of the ancient, and the symmetry and clearness of modern, languages, but it is not altogether without the advantages that belong to both. Thus, while it preserves almost intact the freedom and suppleness which the former owe to their inflexions, the analytical qualities of the latter, e.g. French, are already present in germ.

(2) The theological student may draw an interesting parallel between the Latin of the decadence and Hellenistic Greek. Each is separated from the respective classical period by an almost equal space of time; each is admirably suited to the purpose of the Church, viz., the proclamation and exposition of the Gospel. It is not too much to say that neither St Paul nor St Augustine could have secured so wide and so immediate a hearing if they had written like Plato and Cicero.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

xix

Augustine's sermons however do not owe their influence and vitality only to the suitable character or the vehicle which conveyed them, nor even to the depth and greatness of their thought. They deserve to live merely as literature. They contain many passages of matchless tenderness and majesty, and they set the style for theological writing which was followed throughout the middle ages.

§ 4. *Augustine's Bible text.*

The Latin Bible with which we are familiar, St Jerome's Vulgate, was of course not the first in the field. Certainly in the 3rd century probably by the middle of the 2nd century, possibly in Jewish circles even before Christian times, there were translations of the Scriptures into African Latin. Translations, not translation, for though we are accustomed to speak of the Old Latin Version there was no single authoritative version. It was indeed the variety and confusion caused by many independent translators and the carelessness of copyists that induced Damasus, bishop of Rome (A.D. 366–384), to commission Jerome to retranslate the Bible into Latin. Jerome set to work at once, and issued the Gospels in A.D. 384, and the rest of both O. and N.T. before A.D. 405. Thus at the time when Augustine was preaching these homilies (416, see above, p. xii), the whole of the Bible in the new version must have been in his hands.

What was his attitude towards it? It seems to have been hesitating. He welcomed the revision of the Gospels and congratulated Jerome upon it (*proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quod Evangelium ex Graeco interpretatus es, quia paene in omnibus nulla offensio est. Ep. civ. ad Hier. A.D. 403*), but he did not extend this approval to his treatment of the O.T. Holding, in common with his contemporaries, the LXX. to be as really inspired as the Hebrew original, he deprecated any fresh translation which would seem to lower the authority of the Greek, and he refused to allow Jerome's version to be publicly read in Church *ne...magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi (Ep. cxvi. 35)*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That the danger was a real one is shewn by the story of the tumult raised by a certain African congregation against their bishop when a new word for Jonah's gourd (*hedera* instead of *cucurbita*) fell upon their ears. Cp. Aug. *Epp.* lxxi.; lxxxii.

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Frontmatter

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Evidence is indeed not wanting that Augustine finally came to value the new translation as a whole, but to the end of his life he continued to use the Old Latin for the O.T.; and while in writing he frequently had recourse to the Vulgate, his pulpit quotations do not correspond to any particular form of extant text, but follow sometimes the Vulgate, sometimes the O.L., and sometimes the inexact suggestions of the preacher's memory<sup>1</sup>.

Some idea of his Bible text may be formed by consulting the subjoined table, in which, parallel to Augustine's quotations in these 13 homilies, are set the Vulgate variants, and such Old Latin readings as can be recovered from African writers and texts. The chief African authorities available for our purpose are—

1. Pseudo-Augustine, *Speculum* (quoted as *m*).
2. Cyprian (A.D. 200–258).
3. Optatus, bishop of Mileva (c. 368).
4. Tyconius the Donatist (+ 390). See Burkitt, *The Rules of Tyconius* (Cambr. Texts and Studies, III. 1).
5. Faustus and Felix the Manichees, whose Biblical quotations are preserved in Augustine's writings against them.

N.B. Tertullian (+ 230) is excluded from the list by the uncertainty as to whether he translated straight from the Greek or used an existing Latin version.

The African texts used for the purpose of our comparison are—

*k* codex Bobbiensis, containing portions of Mark and Matthew (edited by H. J. White in Part II. of *Old Latin Biblical Texts*).

*e* codex Palatinus (portions of Matthew and Mark and almost the whole of John and Luke).

*h* the Fleury palimpsest (portions of Acts and Catholic Epistles), edited by Berger, *Le palimpseste de Fleury*. Paris, 1889.

<sup>1</sup> His quotations from the book (e.g. in announcing the text of a sermon) appear to be taken from the Vg.; those from memory often correspond more closely to the O.L. The whole subject is a very interesting one and reference should be made to Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala* (Cambridge Texts and Studies, IV. 3); the *Epilogus* to the *Oxford Vulgate*, p. 656, and Burkitt's review of the same (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I. p. 129 ff.); Westcott's article on the Vulg. in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, III. p. 1688 ff.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)AUGUSTINE'S BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN *TRACTATUS IN IOAN. LXVII–LXXIX*.  
COMPARED WITH AFRICAN AND VULGATE READINGS.

The African column is left blank only when there is no African reading to record. The Vulgate column is left blank when the reading corresponds with Augustine.

An isolated symbol or name in the African column (and for the Psalms in African and Vulgate columns) indicates correspondence with Augustine.

A few readings other than African which seem to deserve notice are indicated by the symbol of the MSS which contain them, and placed in the African column within brackets.

‡ after a name means once out of two occurrences. See Westcott and Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 6.

N.B. *k* = codex Bobbiensis.

*e* = codex Palatinus.

*h* = Fleury palimpsest.

*m* = *Speculum*.

See p. xx.

AFRICAN LATIN

AUGUSTINE

VULGATE

2 KINGS

- ii. 9. *Spiritus qui est in te duplo ut fiat in me duplex spiritus tuus sit in me*

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Frontmatter[More information](#)

xxii

## VULGATE

## AUGUSTINE

## AFRICAN LATIN

PSALMS<sup>1</sup>

- Cypr.*
- ii. 7. Dominus dixit ad me, Filius  
meus es tu GRH
- ix. 35. *Pupillo tu eris adiutor*  
R, orphano G; factus es H  
R, fortitudo GH
- xvii. 2. Diligam te, Domine, virtus  
mea
- xli. 7. *Ad me ipsum turbata est*  
*anima mea* anima mea conturbata est G, a me  
ipso anima mea turbata est R,  
in memetipso anima mea incur-  
vatur H
- xlii. 1. Indica me, Deus, et discerne  
causam meam de gente non a H  
sancta RG
- lxvii. 7. *facit unanimes habitare*  
in domo R (h. f. u.) inhabitare facit unius  
moris G solitarios H
- lxxviii. 5. quae non rapui tunc ex-  
solvebam RG, rapueram...reddebam H
- inhabitare facit unanimes *Cypr.*

<sup>1</sup> The Vg column contains the reading of Jerome's three editions of the Psalter, R = *Psalterium romanum*, his first revision of the O.L., issued about 383 A.D., G = *Psalterium gallicanum*, his second revision 387 A.D., which is the form in which the Psalms appear in the Vulgate, and H = *Psalterium iuxta hebraicam veritatem*, 392–3 A.D., which never came into general use. See Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, Bk I (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*), Intr. p. lv. Westcott, art. "Vulgate" in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, and White, art. "Vulgate" in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*.

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Frontmatter[More information](#)

<p>lxxxiii. 5. Beati qui habitant in domo tua: in saecula saeculo- rum laudabunt te</p> <p>cxv. 12. Quid retribuam domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi</p> <p>cxvii. 1. Ad te levavi animam meam qui habitas in caelo</p>	<p><i>G</i></p> <p>tua + domine : in saeculum saeculi <i>R</i> adhuc <i>H</i> <i>GR</i>, reddam...tribuit <i>H</i></p> <p>oculos meos <i>GRH</i> caelis <i>H</i></p>
<p>ISAIAH</p>	
<p>et si non credideritis neque intelle- gius <i>Cypr</i>.</p>	<p>vii. 9<sup>1</sup>. <i>Nisi enim credideritis non intelligetis</i></p> <p>xlv. 11. <i>Qui fecit quae futura sunt</i> (LXX. ὁ ποιῆσας τὰ ἐπερχόμενα)</p>
<p>de <i>Cypr</i>. mihi tribuit <i>Cypr</i>.</p>	<p>lvi. 9. <i>pacem super pacem</i></p>
<p>ix. 15. <i>corpus quod corrumpitur ag- gravat animam et deprimit ter- rena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem</i></p>	<p>si non credideritis non permanebitis (haec dicit Dominus sanctus Israel) plastes eius : ventura interro- gate me pacem, pacem corpus + enim depr. terr. inh.</p>
<p>WISDOM</p>	

xxiii:

<sup>1</sup> In *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 17 Aug. shows how the two readings *intelligetis* and *permanebitis* illustrate each other. See note on *Tr.* lxix. § 1, and Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 61.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

AFRICAN LATIN	AUGUSTINE	VULGATE
	ST MATTHEW	
Felices mundi <i>Cypr.</i> puro <i>Faustus</i>	v. 8. <i>Beati mundo corde quia ipsi Deum videbunt</i>	
<i>Opt. Cypr.</i> om es k veniat k	vi. 9. <i>Pater noster qui es in caelis</i>	adveniat
<i>Opt.</i> remitte k <i>Cypr.</i> ½	vi. 10. <i>veniat regnum tuum</i>	
passus fueris induci nos k patiaris nos induci <i>Cypr.</i>	vi. 12. <i>dimitte nobis debita nostra</i>	inducas nos
om haec <i>Cypr.</i> sermones meos... eos m fecit k illum k similem aestimabo eum m sapienti k <i>Cypr.</i> aedi- ficavit k m <i>Cypr.</i> super k m <i>Cypr.</i> ½	vii. 24. <i>Qui audit verba mea haec et facit ea similabo eum viro prudenti qui aedificat domum suam supra petram</i>	assimilabitur sapienti; aedificavit
venient autem dies quando aufere- tur k	ix. 15. <i>veniet hora ut auferatur ab eis sponsus et tunc ieiunabunt filii sponsi</i>	venient autem dies cum auferetur om filii sponsi
om filii sponsi k similatum est k	xiii. 24. <i>simile est regnum caelorum homini seminanti bonum semen in agro suo</i>	simile factum est qui seminavit
e vero m semen inquit k	xiii. 38. <i>bonum autem semen hi sunt filii regni</i>	vero filius hominis
filius hominis m e k colligunt e k congregabunt m	xiii. 41. <i>mittet in fine rex ipse angelos suos et colligent de regno eius omnia scandala</i>	



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Frontmatter[More information](#)

- k*  
mei *e*  
quoniam mag. est vobis Chr. *e*  
A.
- xiii. 43. Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut  
sol in regno patris sui  
xxiii. 10. *Unus est magister vester*  
*Christus*  
magister vester unus est Christus
- xxiv. 35. caelum enim et terra  
*transibit*  
om enim  
transibunt
- xxv. 34. Venite, benedicti patris  
mei, *percipite* regnum  
possidete
- xxvi. 41. *Spiritus promptus est,*  
caro autem infirma  
Sp. + quidem
- Sr LUKE
- corroborabatur adresecbat et im-  
plebat sapientia *e*  
super illum *e*  
fuit subjectus illis *e*  
bene nuntiare *e*
- ii. 40. Puer autem *crecebat et con-*  
*fortabatur plenus sapientia,* et  
gratia Dei erat *in illo*  
ii. 51. *illis subditus erat*  
erat subditis illis
- iv. 18. Spiritus Domini super me  
propter quod unxit me, *evange-*  
*lizare* pauperibus misit me
- St JOHN
- i. 1. In principio *erat verbum,* et  
*verbum* erat apud Deum, et  
Deus erat *verbum*
- m e* fuit sermo *Cypr.* 3  
C

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxvi.

## VULGATE

## AUGUSTINE

## ST JOHN

ipsum <i>e Cypr.</i>	i. 10. et mundus per <i>eum</i> factus est	ipsum
<i>Tyc.</i> facta <i>e</i> ( <i>b</i> )	i. 14. verbum caro <i>factum</i> est	
nec <i>e</i>	iii. 34. <i>non</i> enim ad mensuram	
om Deo <i>e</i> ( <i>b f l</i> )	dat <i>Deus</i> spiritum	
quae enim pater facit eadem et filius	v. 19. <i>quaecunq[ue] pater facit haec</i>	quaecunq[ue] enim ille fecerit
facit <i>e</i>	et filius <i>similiter</i> facit	
quomodo enim <i>e</i> sicut enim <i>m</i>	v. 21. <i>sicut</i> pater suscitavit mortuos	sicut + enim
ita <i>e</i>	et vivificat, <i>sic</i> et filius quos	
quomodo <i>e</i> pater habet vitam in se	vult vivificat	
<i>e Tyc.</i>	v. 26. <i>Sicut</i> enim habet pater vitam	pater habet
vitam habere in se <i>Tyc.</i>	in <i>semetipso</i> , sic dedit filio ha-	vitam habere
audit <i>e</i>	bere vitam in <i>semetipso</i>	
<i>Tyc.</i> <i>Cypr.</i> Ego + enim <i>m</i> et ego et	vi. 45. Omnis qui <i>audivit</i> a patre	
pater meus <i>e</i>	et <i>didicit</i> venit ad me	
<i>Cypr.</i> etsi <i>e</i>	x. 30. <i>Ego</i> et pater unum sumus	
priusquam gallus cantet <i>e</i>	xi. 25. Qui credit in me <i>licet</i>	etiamsi mortuus fuerit
negabis <i>e</i>	<i>moriatur</i> vivet (vide <i>Tr.</i> lxxii.	
conturbetur c. v. neque trepidet <i>e</i>	2 not.)	
Deo <i>e</i>	xiii. 38. <i>Non cantabit gallus</i> donec	me ter
	ter me <i>neges</i>	creditis (credite D = Book of Armagh
	xiv. 1. <i>Non turbetur</i> cor vestrum,	E = Codex Egertonensis)
	<i>credite in Deum</i> , et in me credite	

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Frontmatter[More information](#)

- multae sunt mansiones *e*  
eo *e*
- xiv. 2. In domo patris mei *man-*  
*stones multae sunt*, si quo minus,  
dixissem vobis *quia vado parare*  
vobis locum
- xiv. 3. Et si abiero et *praepravero*  
*vobis locum*, iterum *venio et ac-*  
*ciptiam vos* ad me ipsum, ut *ubi*  
sum ego et vos sitis
- xiv. 4. Et *quo vado* (quo vado)  
scitis et *viam scitis*
- xiv. 5. *Dicit ei* Thomas: Domine  
*nescimus quo vadis* et quomodo  
*possimus viam scire?*
- xiv. 6. *Dicit ei* Jesus: Ego sum *via*  
et veritas et vita: nemo venit  
ad patrem nisi per me
- xiv. 7. Si *cognovistis* me, et patrem  
meum *utique cognovistis* (om.  
utique  $\frac{2}{3}$ ), et amodo *cognoscetis*  
*eum* et *vidistis* eum
- xiv. 8. *Dicit ei* Philippus: Domine,  
ostende nobis patrem et sufficit  
nobis
- xiv. 9. *Dicit ei* Jesus: tanto tem-  
pore vobiscum sum et non *cogno-*  
*vistis* me, Philippe? Qui *videt*  
nostis *e*
- $\zeta$   $\mathcal{N}$  dixit *m* ait illi Jesus *e*
- utique m e (a b c d ff)*  
*cognoscitis e* nostis *m*  
illum *e* videtis *m e*  
ait Ph. *e* ait illi *m*
- cognovissetis*  
*cognovissetis*  
*cognoscetis*

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxviii

VULGATE

AUGUSTINE

AFRICAN LATIN

ST JOHN

me vidit vidit <i>m</i> vidit patrem <i>e</i>	me (me videt $\frac{1}{2}$ ) videt et patrem. Quomodo tu dicis, ostende nobis patrem?	vidit me vidit
creditis <i>m</i> quoniam <i>e</i>	xiv. 10. Non credis quia ego in patre, et pater in me est? Verba quae ego loquor vobis a me ipso non loquor, pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera	
dico <i>e om</i> ipso <i>e</i> non a me loquor <i>m</i> sed pater <i>m</i> loquitur et opera quae facio ipse facit <i>m</i> facit facta <i>e</i>	xiv. 11. Non creditis quia ego in patre et pater in me est? Alioquin propter opera ipsa credite	
credite mihi <i>e m</i> si quo minus <i>e m</i> + vel <i>m</i> ipsa opera <i>m</i> facta ipsa <i>e</i>	xiv. 12. Amen amen dico vobis, qui credit in me, opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet, et maiora horum faciet, quia ego ad patrem vado	
in me credit facta <i>e</i> <i>om</i> et mai. hor. faciet <i>e</i> quia vado ad patrem meum <i>e</i>	xiv. 13. Et quaecumque (quodcumque) petieritis in nomine meo haec (hoc) faciam ut glorificetur pater in filio	quodcumque hoc
quidquid <i>e</i> hoc <i>e</i> magnificentur <i>e</i> ego <i>e</i>	xiv. 14. Si quid petieritis in nomine meo hoc faciam	petieritis + me

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Frontmatter[More information](#)

diligite e praecepta m	xiv. 15. Si diligitis me mandata mea servate	
advocatum e m	xiv. 16. et ego rogabo patrem et alium paracletum dabit vobis ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum	
sit e qui vobiscum sit m	xiv. 17. spiritum veritatis quem mundus non potest accipere, quia non videt eum nec scit (cognoscit $\frac{1}{2}$ ) eum; vos autem cognoscetis eum, quia apud vos manebit et in vobis erit	scit cognoscitis
accipere saeculum non potest e quoniam e illum e non novit illum e nostis e illum e manet e est in aeternum e	xiv. 18. Non relinquam vos orpha- nos, veniam ad vos	
venio e pusillum e saeculum me non vide- bit e om quia...vivetis e	xiv. 19. Adhuc modicum et mundus me iam non videt; vos autem videbitis me; quia ego vivo et vos vivetis	videtis
illa e scietis vos e quoniam sum e	xiv. 20. In illo die vos cognoscetis quia ego sum in patre meo et vos in me et ego in vobis	
illa e me diligit e om et qui...me e illum e ostendam me ipsum illi e	xiv. 21. Qui habet mandata mea et servat (custodit) ea, ille est qui diligit me. Et qui diligit me diligetur a patre meo, et ego diligam eum et manifestabo et me ipsum	servat qui autem

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Frontmatter[More information](#)

xxx

VULGATE

AUGUSTINE

St John

<p><i>om ei e</i> est factum quoniam <i>e</i> incipis manifestare <i>e</i> saeculo <i>e</i> dicit Jesus <i>e</i> me dil. <i>e m</i> verbum <i>e</i></p>	<p>xiv. 22. Dicit ei Indas, non ille Iscariotes: Domine quid factum est quia nobis manifestatus es te ipsum et non mundo?</p>	
<p>diligebit illum et apud illum veniam <i>e</i> faciam <i>e</i></p>	<p>xiv. 23. Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum facie- mus</p>	
<p>facit verbum meum non est meum <i>e</i> me misit <i>e</i> <i>e m</i></p>	<p>xiv. 24. Qui non diligit me, sermone meos non servat et sermo quem audistis non est meus, sed eius qui misit me patris</p>	<p>sermonem</p>
<p>advocatus <i>m</i> spiritus autem para- cletus sanctus et pater mittit <i>e</i> docet <i>e</i> admonebit <i>e</i> quae <i>e om</i> vobis <i>e m om</i> omnia...vobis <i>m</i></p>	<p>xiv. 25. Haec locutus sum vobis apud vos manens xiv. 26. Paracletus autem spiritus sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia et commemorabit vos omnia quaecumque dixero vobis (vide <i>Tr.</i> lxxvii. 2 not.)</p>	<p>suggeret vobis</p>