

## Book VIII

### The Church and sects (De ecclesia et sectis)

#### i. The Church and the Synagogue (De ecclesia et synagoga)

1. 'Church' (*ecclesia*) is a Greek word that is translated into Latin as "convocation" (*convocatio*), because it calls (*vocare*) everyone to itself. 'Catholic' (*catholicus*) is translated as "universal" (*universalis*), after the term καθ' ὅλον, that is, 'with respect to the whole,' for it is not restricted to some part of a territory, like a small association of heretics, but is spread widely throughout the entire world. 2. And the apostle Paul assents to this when he says to the Romans (1:8): "I give thanks to my God for all of you, because your faith is spoken of in the whole world." Hence the Church is given the name 'the universal entity' (*universitas*) from 'one' (*unus*), because it is gathered into a unity (*unitas*). Whence the Lord says, in the Gospel according to Luke (11:23): "He that gathereth not with me, scatters." 3. But why is the Church described by John (Apoc. 1:4) as seven, when it is one, unless a single and universal church, filled with a sevenfold Spirit, is meant? We know Solomon spoke of the Lord like this (Proverbs 9:1): "Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars." There is no doubt that wisdom, although it is seven, is also one, as the Apostle says (I Timothy 3:15): "The church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of truth." 4. And the Church began from the place where the Holy Spirit came from heaven, and filled those who were sitting in one (*unus*) place (Acts 2:1–4).

5. In accordance with its present-day wandering the Church is called Zion, because from the imposed distance of this wandering one may 'watch for' (*speculari*) the promise of celestial things, and for that reason it takes the name 'Zion' (*Sion*), that is, watching (*speculatio*). 6. And in accordance with the future peace of the homeland it is called Jerusalem, for 'Jerusalem' (*Hierusalem*) is translated as "vision of peace." There, when all hostility has been overwhelmed, one will possess peace, which is Christ, by gazing upon him face to face. 7. The Greek word 'synagogue' (*synagoga* cf. συναγωγή, "gather together"), which the Jewish people have taken as their own term, means "congregation"

(*congregatio*). Their gathering is properly called a synagogue, although it may also be called a church. 8. The apostles, on the other hand, never said "our synagogue," but always "our church," either so as to make a distinction between the two, or because there is some difference between 'congregation,' from which synagogue takes its name, and 'convocation,' from which church takes its name: no doubt because cattle, which we properly speak of in 'herds' (*grex*, gen. *gregis*), are accustomed to 'congregate' (*congregare*); and it is more fitting for those who use reason, such as humans, to be 'convoked.'

#### ii. Religion and faith (De religione et fide)

1. Philosophers have named dogma (*dogma*) from 'thinking' (cf. δοκεῖν, "think, suppose, believe"), that is, "I think this is good," "I think this is true." 2. Religion (*religio*) is so called because through it we bind (*religare*) by the chain of service our souls to the one God for the purpose of divine worship. The word is composed from *relegere* ("pick out"), that is, *eligere* ("select"), so that the Latin word *religio* may seem to be like *eligio* ("selection"). 3. There are three things that are required of people for worshipping God in the practice of religion, that is, faith, hope, and charity. In faith, what is to be believed; in hope, what is to be hoped for; in charity, what is to be loved. 4. Faith is that by which we truly believe what we are not able to see at all, for we cannot 'believe' what we actually see. The term 'faith' (*fides*) is correctly used therefore, if what was said or promised all 'comes to pass' (*fieri*). It is called *fides* because what has been agreed between two parties – that is, between God and the human being – is 'brought about' (*fieri*, 3<sup>rd</sup> person *fit*). From *fides* also comes the word *foedus* ("pact").

5. Hope (*spes*) is so called because it is a foot for someone going forward, as if it were *est pes* ("there is a foot"). Desperation (*desperatio*) is its contrary, for in that term the 'foot is lacking' (*deest . . . pes*), and there is no ability to go forward, because as long as someone loves sin, he does not hope for future glory. 6. 'Charity' (*caritas*) is a Greek word, and is translated into Latin as 'love'

(*dilectio*), because it binds (*ligare*) two (*duo*) in itself. Indeed, love begins from two things, because it is the love of God and the neighbor. Concerning this the apostle Paul says (Romans 13:10): “Love is the fulfilling of the law.” 7. It is greater than the other two, because he who loves also believes and hopes. But he who does not love, although he may do many good things, labors in vain. Moreover every carnal love (*dilectio carnalis*) is customarily called not love (*dilectio*) but ‘desire’ (*amor*). We usually use the term *dilectio* only with regard to better things.

### iii. Heresy and schism (*De haeresi et schismate*)

1. Heresy (*haeresis*) is so called in Greek from ‘choice’ (*electio*, cf. αἵρεσις, “choose”), doubtless because each person chooses (*eligere*) for himself that which seems best to him, as did the Peripatetic, Academic, Epicurean, and Stoic philosophers – or just as others who, pondering perverse teachings, have withdrawn from the Church by their own will. 2. Hence, therefore, ‘heresy,’ named with a Greek word, takes its meaning from ‘choice,’ by which each person, according to his own judgment, chooses for himself whatever he pleases to institute and adopt. But we are permitted to introduce nothing based on our own judgment, nor to choose what someone else has introduced from his own judgment. 3. We have the apostles of God as authorities, who did not choose anything themselves to introduce from their own judgment, but faithfully bestowed on the world the teaching received from Christ. And if even an angel from heaven preaches otherwise, he will be termed anathema.

4. A sect (*secta*) is named from ‘following’ (*sequi*, ppl. *secutus*) and ‘holding’ (*tenere*), for we use the term ‘sects’ of attitudes of mind and institutions associated with a precept or premise which people hold and follow when in the practice of religion they believe things that are quite different from what others believe. 5. Schism (*schisma*) is so called from the division (*scissura*) of opinions, for schismatics believe with the same worship, the same rite, as the rest; they delight in mere dissension (*discordium*) in the congregation. And schism occurs when people say “we are the righteous ones,” “we are the ones who sanctify the unclean,” and other similar things. 6. Superstition (*superstitio*) is so called because it is a superfluous or superimposed (*superinstituere*) observance. Others say it is from the aged, because those who have lived (*superstites*) for many years are senile with age and go astray in some superstition through not being aware

of which ancient practices they are observing or which they are adding in through ignorance of the old ones. 7. And Lucretius says superstition concerns things ‘standing above’ (*superstare*), that is, the heavens and divinities that stand over us, but he is speaking wrongly.<sup>1</sup> So that the teachings of heretics can be recognized easily, it is appropriate to point out their motives and names.

### iv. Heresies of the Jews (*De haeresibus Iudaeorum*)

1. The name ‘Jew’ (*Iudaeus*) can be translated as “confessor” (*confessor*), for confession (*confessio*) catches up with many of those whom wrong belief possessed earlier. 2. Hebrews (*Hebraeus*) are called journeyers (*transitor*). With this name they are reminded that they are to journey (*transire*) from worse to better, and abandon their original errors. 3. The Pharisees (*Pharisaeus*) [deny that the Christ came, nor do they have any share in prophesied events]. [Pharisees and Sadducees (*Saducæus*) are opposites, for ‘Pharisee’ is translated from Hebrew into Latin as “divided” (*divisus*), because they give precedence to the righteousness of traditions and observances, which they call δευτερήσεις (i.e. the “secondary obligations”). Hence they are called ‘divided’ from the people, as if by their righteousness.] 4. Sadducees [deny the resurrection, noting that it is said in Genesis (cf. 3:19) “But now earth thou art, into earth thou shalt return”]. [‘Sadducee’ means “righteous,” and they claim to be righteous, which they are not – they deny the resurrection of the body, and they preach that the soul perishes with the body. They accept only the five books of the Law (i.e. Torah), and reject the predictions of the Prophets.] 5. The Essenes (*Esseus*) say that it is Christ himself who taught them complete abstinence. [The Galileans (*Galilæus*) say that Christ came and taught them that they should not call Caesar ‘Lord,’ or heed his commands.]

6. The *Masbothei* say that it was Christ himself who taught them to keep the Sabbath in every aspect. 7. The *Genistae* [presume that they are of the family (*genus*) of Abraham]; [and they are so called because they are proud to be of the family of Abraham. When the people of God came into Babylon, many of them abandoned their wives and took up with Babylonian women; but some were content with Israelite wives only, or they were

<sup>1</sup> The word *superstitio* is not found in Lucretius. For his attacks on religion see, e.g., *On the Nature of Things* 1.62–79.

born (*genitus*) from these, and when they returned from Babylon, they separated themselves from the population as a whole and claimed for themselves this boastful name.] 8. The *Meristae* are so called because they separate (*separare*; cf. *pars*, “part”) the Scriptures, not having faith in all the Prophets and saying that they prophesied by means of one sort of spirit or another. [For *meris* is from the Greek (cf. μέρος, “part”).] 9. Samaritans (*Samarita*) [who were transported to that place, when Israel was captive and led off to Babylon, coming to the land of the region of Samaria, kept the customs of the Israelites in part, which they had learned from a priest who had been brought back, and in part they kept the pagan custom that they had possessed in the land of their birth. They differ entirely from the Jews in their observances, and their superstition is doubtless known to all]. [They are called Samaritan because they ‘preserve’ (*custodire*; see IX.ii.54) only the Law (i.e. Torah), for they do not accept the Prophets.] 10. [The Herodians (*Herodianus*). This heresy arose in the time of the Savior. They glorified Herod, saying that he was the Christ.] 11. The *Hemerobaptistae* [who wash their bodies and home and domestic utensils daily,] [so called because they wash their clothes and body daily (cf. ἡμέρα, “day,” and βαπτίζειν, “to wash”)].

#### v. Christian heresies (De haeresibus Christianorum)

1. Some heretics, who have withdrawn from the Church, are named from the name of their founder, and some from the positions that they have selected and established. 2. The Simonians (*Simonianus*) are so called from Simon, skilled in the discipline of magic, whom Peter condemned in the Acts of the Apostles, because he wished to purchase the grace of the Holy Spirit from the Apostles with money (Acts 8:18–23). His followers say that the creation was created, not by God, but by a certain celestial power. 3. The Menandrians (*Menandrianus*) are named from the magician Menander, a student of Simon; they assert that the world was made not by God but by angels. 4. The Basilidians (*Basilidianus*) are named from Basilides; among other blasphemies, they deny the Passion of Jesus. 5. The Nicolaites (*Nicolaita*) are so called from Nicolas, deacon of the church of Jerusalem, who, along with Stephen and the others, was ordained by Peter. He abandoned his wife because of her beauty, so that whoever wanted to might enjoy her; the practice turned into debauchery, with partners being

exchanged in turn. John condemns them in the Apocalypse, saying (2:6): “But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaites.” 6. The Gnostics (*Gnosticus*) wish to call themselves thus because of the superiority of their knowledge (cf. γνῶσις, “knowledge”). They say Soul is the nature of God, and they fashion a god that is both good and evil in their doctrine. 7. The Carpocratians (*Carpocratianus*) are named from a certain Carpocrates, who said that Christ was only a human being, and born from a man and a woman.

8. The Cerinthians (*Cerinthianus*) are named from a certain Cerinthus. Among other things, they practice circumcision; they say there will be one thousand (*mille*) years of enjoyment of the flesh after resurrection, whence they are also called Chiliasts (*Chiliasta*; cf. χιλιάς, “thousand”) in Greek and Miliasts (*Miliastus*) in Latin. 9. There are ones called Nazarenes (*Nazaraeus*) who, while they acknowledge Christ, who is called the Nazarene from his village, as the Son of God, nevertheless preserve everything of the Old Law. 10. Ophites (*Ophita*) are so called from the serpent, for the Greek word ὄφις means “serpent.” They worship the serpent, saying that it introduced the knowledge of virtue into paradise. 11. The Valentinians (*Valentinianus*) are named from a certain Valentinus, a follower of Plato, who introduced αἰῶνες (“the Aeons”), that is, certain kinds of ages, into the origin of God the creator; he also asserted that Christ took on nothing corporeal from the Virgin, but passed through her as if through a pipe. 12. There are the Apellites (*Apellita*), of whom Apelles was the leader; he imagined that the creator was some sort of glorious angel of the supreme God, and claimed that this fiery being is the God of the Law of Israel, and said that Christ was not God in truth, but appeared as a human being in fantasy. 13. The Archontics (*Archontiacus*; cf. ἄρχων, “ruler”) are named from ‘Principalities’ (i.e. one of the angelic orders) – they claim that the universe, which God made, is the work of archangels.

14. The Adamites (*Adamianus*) are so named because they imitate the nakedness of Adam; hence they pray naked, and men and women meet with each other naked. 15. In a like manner the Cainites (*Caianus*) are so named because they worship Cain. 16. The Sethians (*Sethianus*) take their name from the son of Adam who was called Seth, saying that he was the Christ. 17. The Melchizedechians (*Melchisedechianus*) are so called because they reckon that Melchizedech, the priest of

God, was not a human being, but a Virtue (i.e. a member of the angelic order of Virtues) of God. 18. The Angelics (*Angelicus*) are so called because they worship angels. 19. The Apostolics (*Apostolicus*) claimed that name for themselves because they possess nothing of their own, and they do not accept those who possess anything in this world. 20. The Cerdonians (*Cerdonianus*) are named from a certain Cerdo; they assert that there are two opposing Principles. 21. The Marcionites (*Marcionista*) are named from the Stoic philosopher Marcion, who followed the teaching of Cerdo, and asserted that one God was good and the other just, as if there were two Principles: that of the creator and that of goodness.

22. The Artotyrites (*Artotyrita*) are so called from ‘offering,’ for they make an offering of bread and cheese (cf. ἄρτος “bread”; τυρός “cheese”), saying that the offering celebrated by the first humans was of the products of the earth and of sheep. 23. The Aquarians (*Aquarius*) are so called because they offer only water (*aqua*) in the sacramental chalice. 24. The Severians (*Severianus*), who originated from Severus, do not drink wine; they do not accept the Old Testament or resurrection. 25. The Tatianites (*Tatianus*) are named from a certain Tatian; they are also called the Encratites (*Encratita*), because they abhor meat (cf. ἐγκράτεια, “self-control”). 26. The Alogi (*Alogius*) are named as if it were ‘without the Word’ – ‘word’ is λόγος in Greek – for they do not believe that God is the Word, rejecting John the Evangelist and the Apocalypse. 27. The province Phrygia gave its name to the Cataphrygians (*Cataphrygius*), because they lived there. Their founders were Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla.<sup>2</sup> They assert that the Holy Spirit was passed on, not to the apostles, but to them. 28. The Cathars (*Catharus*)<sup>3</sup> call themselves so because of ‘cleanliness’ (cf. καθαρός, “clean”), for, boasting of their merits, they deny forgiveness of sins to penitents; they condemn widows, if they remarry, as adulterers; they preach that they are cleaner than the rest. If they wished to know their proper name, they would call themselves ‘worldly’ (*mundanus*) rather than ‘clean’ (*mundus*).

29. The Paulians (*Paulianus*) originated from Paul of Samosata, who said that Christ did not always exist, but took his origin from Mary. 30. The Hermogenians (*Hermogenianus*) are so called from a certain Hermogenes, who, maintaining that matter was not born, compared it to God, who was not born, and asserted that there is a goddess and mother of the elements. The apostle Paul

condemns them (cf. II Tim. 1:15) as being devoted to the elements. 31. The Manichees (*Manicheus*) originate from a certain Persian who was called Manes. He maintained that there are two natures and substances, that is, good and evil, and asserted that souls flow from God as if from some fountain. They reject the Old Testament, and they accept the New Testament only in part. 32. The Anthropomorphites (*Anthropomorphita*) are so called because, with rustic simple-mindedness, they think that God has human limbs, which are mentioned in divine Scripture, for ἄνθρωπος in Greek is translated as ‘human being’ in Latin. They disregard the word of the Lord who says (John 4:24): “God is a Spirit.” Indeed, God is incorporeal, and not characterized by limbs, and is not to be thought of with the weight of a body. 33. The Heraclites (*Heraclita*) originate from the founder Heracleon. They accept only monks, reject marriage, and do not believe that children possess the kingdom of heaven. 34. The Novatians (*Novatianus*) originated from Novatus, priest of the city of Rome, who, in opposition to Cornelius, dared to usurp the priestly chair. He established his heresy, being unwilling to receive apostates and rebaptizing the baptized.

35. The Montanist (*Montanus*) heretics are so called because during the time of persecution they hid in the mountains (*mons*, gen. *montis*); for this reason they separated themselves from the body of the Catholic Church. 36. The Ebionites (*Ebionita*) are named from Ebion.<sup>4</sup> They are semi-Jewish and so they accept the Gospel while they follow a physical observance of the Law (i.e. Torah). The Apostle turns out to be writing in criticism of them in his letter to the Galatians. 37. The Photinians (*Photinianus*) are named from Photinus, the bishop of Sirmium in Gallograecia, who encouraged the heresy of the Ebionites and asserted that Christ was conceived by Mary with Joseph in conjugal union. 38. The Aerians (*Aerianus*) are named from a certain Aerius. They scorn to offer a sacrament for the deceased. 39. The Aetians (*Aetianus*) are called from Aetius. They are also called Eunomians (*Eunomianus*) from a certain dialectician Eunomius, a disciple of Aetius, by whose name they are better known:

<sup>2</sup> Isidore seems to be describing the Montanists, who were also known as the Phrygians, see section 35 below.

<sup>3</sup> The same name is applied to a later, apparently unrelated, heresy.

<sup>4</sup> The name of sect actually derives from a Hebrew word meaning “poor.” Tertullian makes the first recorded reference to a supposed person named Ebion.

they assert that the Son is not like the Father and the Holy Spirit not like the Son. And they say no sin should be imputed to those who remain in the faith. 40. The Origenians (*Origenianus*) began with their founder, Origen; they say that the Son cannot see the Father, nor the Holy Spirit see the Son. They also say that souls sinned at the beginning of the world and went from heaven to earth, where they earned a variety of bodies, like shackles, according to the variety of their sins – and the world was created for this very reason.

41. The Noetians (*Noetianus*) are named from a certain Noetus, who used to say that Christ and the Father and the Holy Spirit were the same; they accept the Trinity itself as the names of functions, but not as persons. Whence they are also called Patripassians (*Patripassianus*), because they say that the Father (*Pater*) suffered (*pati*, ppl. *passus*). 42. The Sabellians (*Sabellianus*) are said to have sprouted from this same Noetus, whose disciple, they say, was Sabellius, by whose name they are chiefly known – hence they are called Sabellians. They attribute a single person to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 43. The Arians (*Arianus*) originated from Arius, an Alexandrian priest, who did not recognize the Son as co-eternal with the Father and asserted that there are distinct substances in the Trinity, in contradiction to which the Lord said (John 10:30): “I and the Father are one.” 44. The Macedonians (*Macedonianus*) are so called from Macedonius, the bishop of Constantinople; they deny that the Holy Spirit is God. 45. The Apollinarists (*Apollinarista*) are so called from Apollinaris; they say that Christ took on merely a body, without a soul. 46. The Antidicomarites (*Antidicomarita*; lit. “litigant against Mary”) are so called because they deny the virginity of Mary, asserting that she had intercourse with her husband after Christ was born.

47. The Metangismonites (*Metangismonita*) receive such a name, because ‘vessel’ is called ἄγγος in Greek, for they assert that the Son is within the Father, as a smaller vessel within a larger. 48. Patricians (*Patricianus*) have their name from a certain Patricius; they say the substance of the human body was made by the devil. 49. The Coluthians (*Coluthianus*) are named from a certain Coluthus; they say God did not create evil, contrary to that which is written (cf. Isaiah 45:7): “I am God, creating evil.” 50. The Florians (*Florianus*), from Florinus; they say, on the contrary, that God created badly, contrary to that which is written (cf. Genesis 1:31): “God

made all things good.” 51. The Donatists (*Donatista*) are named from a certain African, Donatus, who, coming from Numidia, deceived nearly all Africa with his persuasiveness, asserting that the Son was less than the Father, and the Holy Spirit less than the Son, and rebaptizing Catholics. 52. The Bonosiacs (*Bonosiacus*) are reported to have originated from a certain bishop Bonosus; they assert that Christ is the adoptive son of God, not the true son. 53. The Circumcellians (*Circumcellia*, lit. “around the chambers”) are so called because they live out in the open; people call them *Cotopitae*, and they possess a doctrine of heresy named above. They kill themselves out of their desire for martyrdom, so that in dying a violent death they may be called martyrs.

54. The Priscillianists (*Priscillianista*) are named from Priscillian, who created a dogma in Spain, combined from the errors of the Gnostics and Manicheans. 55. The Luciferians (*Luciferianus*) originated from Lucifer, bishop of Syrmia (i.e. Sardinia); they condemn the Catholic bishops who, under the persecution of Constantius, consented to the faithlessness of the Arians and later, after this, repented and chose to return to the Catholic Church. They condemn these bishops either because they believed in Arianism, or because they pretended to believe. The Catholic Church received these in her maternal bosom, just as she did Peter after he lamented his denial of Christ. The Luciferians, proudly accepting this maternal love, but not willing to accept those who had repented, withdrew from the communion of the Church and they deserved to fall, along with their founder, a Lucifer indeed, who would rise in the morning (i.e. as if he were *Lucifer*, the morning star and a name for the devil). 56. Jovinianists (*Jovinianista*) are so called from a certain monk Jovinian; they assert that there is no difference between wives and virgins, and no distinction between those who are abstinent and those who blatantly carouse. 57. The Elvidians (*Elvidianus*) are named from Elvidius; they say that after Christ was born, Mary had other sons by her husband Joseph. 58. The Paternians (*Paternianus*) originated from a certain Paternus; they believe that the lower parts of the body were made by the devil. 59. The Arabics (*Arabicus*) are so named because they originated in Arabia; they say that the soul dies with the body, and each one will rise again in the last age.

60. The Tertullianists (*Tertullianista*) are so called from Tertullian, a priest of the African province, of the city of Carthage; they preach that the soul is immortal,



but corporeal, and they believe the souls of human sinners are turned into demons after death. 61. The Tessarescaedecaites (*Tessarescaidecatita*) are so called because they contend that Easter should be observed with the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth of the lunar month, for τέσσαρες means “four” and δέκα, “ten”. 62. The Nyctages (*Nyctages*) are named from sleep (cf. νύξ, gen. νυκτός, “night”), because they reject night vigils, saying that it is a superstition to violate divine law, which assigns night to resting. 63. The Pelagians originated with the monk Pelagius. They put free will before divine grace, saying that will is sufficient to fulfill the divine commands. 64. The Nestorians (*Nestorianus*) are named from Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who asserted that the blessed Virgin Mary was the mother not of God, but of a mere human, so that he would make one person of the flesh and the other of the godhead. He did not believe that one and the same Christ existed in the Word of God and in the flesh, but he preached that there was one separate and distinct Son of God and another of humankind. 65. The Eutychians (*Eutychianus*) are so called from Eutyches, abbot of Constantinople, who denied that Christ consisted of two natures after his human incarnation, but asserted that the divine nature alone was in him. 66. The Acephalites (*Acephalus*) are so called (cf. ἀκέφαλος ‘headless’), that is, without a head (i.e. a leader) whom these heretics follow – for their founder, from whom they originated, is not known. Opposing the three tenets (*capitulum*, cf. *caput*, ‘head’) of the Council of Chalcedon, they deny the individuality of the two substances in Christ and preach that there is a single nature in his person.

67. The Theodosians (*Theodosianus*) and the Gaianites (*Gaianita*) are named from Theodosius and Gaianus, who were ordained as bishops on a single day by the selection of a perverse populace in Alexandria during the time of the ruler Justinian. Following the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus, they rejected the Council of Chalcedon. They asserted that there is in Christ one nature from two, which nature the Theodosians contend is corrupt and the Gaianites incorrupt. 68. The Agnoites (*Agnoita*) and Tritheites (*Tritheita*) originated from the Theodosians; of these, the Agnoites are so called from ignorance (cf. ἄγνοια, “ignorance”), because to that perversity from which they arise they add this: that the divinity of Christ is ignorant of the things to come, which are written concerning the last day and hour – they do not recall

the person of Christ speaking in Isaiah (cf. 63:4): “The day of judgment is in my heart.” And the Tritheites (cf. τρι-, “three”; θεός, “god”) are so called because they add that just as there are three persons in the Trinity, so also there are three gods, contrary to that which is written (cf. Deuteronomy 6:4): “Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God.”

69. There are also other heresies without a founder and without names. Of these some believe that God is triform, others say that the divinity of Christ was capable of suffering, others assign the beginning of time to Christ’s nativity from the Father, others [do not] believe that the liberation of the people in hell was accomplished by the descent of Christ,<sup>5</sup> others deny that the soul is the image of God, others suppose that souls are turned into demons and all sorts of animals. Others disagree concerning the state of the world: some believe in countless worlds, some assert that water is co-eternal with God. Some walk barefoot, others do not eat with other people.

70. These are heresies that have arisen in opposition to the catholic faith, and have been condemned by the apostles and Holy Fathers, or by the Councils. These heresies, although they disagree with each other, differing among themselves in many errors, nevertheless conspire with a common name against the Church of God. But also, whoever understands the Holy Scriptures otherwise than the meaning of the Holy Spirit, by whom they were written, requires, even if he does not depart from the Church, nevertheless can be called a heretic.

## vi. Pagan philosophers (*De philosophis gentium*)

1. Philosophers are called by a Greek name that is translated in Latin as “lovers of wisdom” (*amator sapientiae*). Indeed, a philosopher is one who has knowledge of divine and human matters, and follows every path of living well. 2. The term ‘philosopher’ (*philosophus*) is reported to have originated from Pythagoras. Although earlier the ancient Greeks would quite boastfully name themselves sophists (*sophista*), that is, ‘wise ones’ or ‘teachers of wisdom,’ when Pythagoras was asked what he professed, he responded with a modest term, saying that he was a ‘philosopher,’ that is, a lover of wisdom – for to claim that one was wise seemed very arrogant.

<sup>5</sup> Some manuscripts read, “others believe that the liberation of all those in hell was accomplished by the descent of Christ” – a heresy promulgated by Origen.

3. So henceforth it was pleasing to later generations that, however much someone might seem, to himself or to others, to excel in his teaching about matters pertaining to wisdom, he would not be called anything but ‘philosopher.’ Philosophers are divided into three kinds: they are natural philosophers, ethicists, or logicians. 4. ‘Natural philosophers’ (*physicus*) are so called because they treat of nature, for in Greek ‘nature’ is called φύσις. 5. The ethicists (*ethicus*), because they discuss morals, for morals are called ἠθική by the Greeks. 6. And the logicians (*logicus*), because they bring reasoning to the treatment of both nature and morals, for in Greek ‘reason’ (*ratio*) is called λόγος.

They are divided into their own schools, some having names from their founders, such as the Platonists, the Epicureans, and the Pythagoreans. Others take their names from the site of their meetings and their abodes, such as the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Academics. 7. The Platonists (*Platonicus*) are named from the philosopher Plato. They assert that God is the creator of souls, and angels the creators of bodies; they say that souls return in different bodies through many cycles of years. 8. The Stoics (*Stoicus*) are so called from a place. There was a portico in Athens that they called the ποικίλη στοά (“painted portico”) in which were painted the deeds of wise people and the histories of great men. In this portico, wise people used to philosophize, and consequently they were called Stoics, for in Greek, a portico is called στοά. Zeno first established this sect. 9. They deny that anyone may be made happy without virtue. They assert that all sin is uniform, saying, “He who has stolen chaff will be as culpable as one who has stolen gold; he who kills a diver-bird as much as one who kills a horse—for it is not the nature of the animal (*animal*), but the intention (*animus*), that constitutes the crime.” 10. They also say that the soul perishes with the body, the soul also.<sup>6</sup> They deny the virtue of temperance. They aspire to eternal glory, although they say that they are not eternal. 11. The Academics are so called from the villa of Plato, the

Academy of Athens, where this same Plato used to teach. They believe that everything is doubtful, but, just as it must be said that many things are doubtful and hidden, which God has wished to be beyond the intelligence of humans, nevertheless there are many things that can be grasped by the senses and understood by reason. 12. The philosopher Arcesilaus of Cyrene founded this school; his follower was Democritus, who said that truth lies hidden, as if in a well so deep that it has no bottom.<sup>7</sup>

13. The Peripatetics (*Peripateticus*) are so called from ‘walking about’ (cf. περιπατητικός), because Aristotle, their founder, was accustomed to engage in disputation while walking about. They say that a certain small part of the soul is eternal; concerning the rest, it is in large part mortal. 14. The Cynics (*Cynicus*) are named from the foulness of their shamelessness. For, contrary to human modesty, it was their custom to copulate publicly with their wives, insisting that it is lawful and decent to lie openly with one’s wife, because it is a lawful union; they preach that this should be done publicly in the streets or avenues like dogs. Whence they drew their epithet and name from the dogs (cf. κύων, “dog”) whose life they imitated. 15. The Epicureans (*Epicureus*) are so called from a certain philosopher Epicurus, a lover of vanity, not of wisdom, whom the philosophers themselves named ‘the pig,’ wallowing in carnal filth, as it were, and asserting that bodily pleasure is the highest good. He also said that the world was not constructed or regulated by any divine forethought. 16. But he assigned the origin of things to atoms, that is, to solid and indivisible bodies, from whose chance collisions all things originate and have originated. And they assert that God does nothing; everything consists of bodies; the soul is nothing other than the body. Whence also he said, “I will not exist after I have died.” 17. The Gymnosophists (*Gymnosophista*) are said to philosophize naked (cf. γυμνός, “naked”) in the shady solitudes of India, wearing garments only over their genitals. Thus a ‘gymnasium’ is so called because on a field, young men exercise naked, covering only their private parts. The Gymnosophists also restrain themselves from procreation.

18. There are Deists (*Theologus*) who are the same as natural philosophers. They are called ‘Deists’ because they spoke of God in their writings. In their investigations there are various ideas about the nature of God. Thus some, like Dionysius the Stoic, said that God is this world of the four elements visible to the bodily sense.

<sup>6</sup> The faulty text here may be emended: “. . . perishes with the body. They also love the virtue of temperance. They aspire to . . .” The emendation would obviously accord with Stoicism.

<sup>7</sup> Arcesilaus or Arcesilas, founder of the Middle Academy, was from Pitane in Aeolia, not Cyrene in Libya, but there was a line of kings in Cyrene with the name Arcesilas. There was also a school known as Cyrenaics, but Arcesilaus was apparently not a member of this. Further, he was born about 150 years after Democritus.

Others, like Thales of Miletus, understood spiritually that God is mind. 19. Some, like Pythagoras, said God is a lucid consciousness immanent in everything. Some, like Plato, that God is unchangeable and timeless. Some, like Cicero, that he is unfettered mind. Some, like Maro (i.e. Vergil), that he is both spirit and mind. Indeed, they explained only the God that they found, not how they found him, because they have come to nothing in their cogitations. By saying they were wise, they became fools.

20. [Again,] the Platonists at any rate assert that God is guardian and ruler and judge. The Epicureans, that God is uninvolved and inactive. Concerning the world, the Platonists affirm that it is incorporeal, the Stoics that it is corporeal, Epicurus that it is made of atoms, Pythagoras that it is made from numbers, Heraclitus, from fire. 21. Whence also Varro says that fire is the soul of the world; just as fire governs all things in the world, so the soul governs all things in us. As he says most vainly, “When it is in us, we exist; when it leaves us, we perish.” Thus also when fire departs from the world through lightning, the world perishes.

22. These errors of the philosophers also introduced heresies within the Church. Hence the αἰῶνες (see v.11 above) and certain ‘forms,’ hence the ‘Trinity of the name’ of Arius, and the Platonic madness of Valentinus. 23. Hence the God of Marcion, ‘better with regard to tranquillity,’ which came from the Stoics. That the soul is said to die is the influence of Epicurus. The denial of the resurrection of the flesh is taken from the empty teaching of all the philosophers. Where matter is equated with God, it is the teaching of Zeno, and where we read about a fiery God, Heraclitus has intervened. The same material is rolled about among the heretics and the philosophers, and the same repeated statements are involved.

**vii. Poets (De poetis)** 1. Whence poets (*poeta*) are so called, thus says Tranquillus (i.e. Suetonius, *On Poets* 2) “When people first began to possess a rational way of life, having shaken off their wildness, and to come to know themselves and their gods, they devised for themselves a humble culture and the speech required for their ideas, and devised a greater expression of both for the worship of their gods. 2. Therefore, just as they made temples more beautiful than their homes, and idols larger than their bodies, so they thought the gods should be honored by speech that was, as it were, loftier, and they raised up their praises with more brilliant words and

more pleasing rhythms. This kind of thing was given the name ‘poem’ (*poema*) because it is fashioned with a certain beauty known as ποιότης (i.e. “quality”), and its makers were called ‘poets’ (*poeta*).” 3. Varro is the originator of the idea that ‘seers’ (*vates*) are so called from the force (*vis*) of the mind, or from plaiting (*viere*) songs, that is, from ‘turning’ or modulating them; accordingly the poets in Latin were once called *vates*, and their writings called ‘prophetic’ (*vaticinius*), because they were inspired to write by a certain force (*vis*), a madness (*vesania*), as it were; or because they ‘link’ words in rhythms, with the ancients using the term *viere* instead of *vincire* (“bind”). Indeed, through madness the prophets had this same name, because they themselves proclaimed many things in verse.

4. Lyric (*lyricus*) poets are named after the Greek term ληρεῖν (lit. “speak trifles”) that is, from the variety of their songs. Hence also the lyre (*lyra*) is named. 5. Tragedians (*tragoedus*) are so called, because at first the prize for singers was a goat, which the Greeks call τράγος. Hence also Horace (*Art of Poetry* 220):

Who with a tragic song vied for a paltry goat.

Now the tragedians following thereafter attained great honor, excelling in the plots of their stories, composed in the image of truth. 6. ‘Writers of comedies’ (*comoe-dus*) are so called either from the place, because people performed them in rural districts, which the Greeks call κώμος, or from revelry (*comissatio*), for people used to come to hear them after a meal. Writers of comedies proclaim the deeds of private people, but tragedians, public matters and stories of kings. Again, the plots of tragedians are of sorrowful subjects; those of the writers of comedies, cheerful ones. 7. There are two types of writers of comedies, that is, the Old and the New. The Old, who would amuse by means of a joke, such as Plautus, Accius, Terence. The New, who are also called satirists (*satiricus*), by whom vices are generally flayed, such as Flaccus (i.e. Horace), Persius, Juvenal, and others. These latter seize upon the transgressions of everyone, and they do not refrain from describing any very wicked person, or from censuring the wrongdoings and morals of anyone. They are pictured naked because by them individual faults are laid bare.

8. Satirists (*satiricus*) are so called either because they are filled with all eloquence, or from fullness (*saturitas*) and abundance – for they speak about many things at



the same time – or from the platter (i.e. *satura*) with various kinds of fruit and produce that people used to offer at the temples of the pagans, or the name is taken from ‘satyr plays’ (*satyrus*), which contain things that are said in drunkenness, and go unpunished. 9. And some poets are called theological (*theologicus*), because they composed songs about the gods.

10. The function of poets is this, to transform things that have actually taken place into other forms, modified with some grace by means of indirect representations. Whence Lucan on that account is not placed among the number of poets, because he is seen to have composed histories, not a poem. 11. Moreover, among the poets there are three modes of speaking: one, in which the poet alone speaks, as in Vergil’s books of the *Georgics*; the second mode is dramatic, in which the poet never speaks, as in comedies and tragedies; the third is mixed, as in the *Aeneid*, for there both the poet and the characters who are represented speak.

**viii. Sibyls (De Sibyllis)** 1. In the Greek language all female seers are generally called Sibyls (*sibylla*), for in the Aeolian dialect the Greeks called God σῖός, and mind βουλή; the mind of God, as it were. Hence, because these seers would interpret the divine will for humans, they were named Sibyls. 2. And just as every man who prophesies is called either a seer (*vates*) or a prophet (*propheta*), so every woman who prophesies is called a Sibyl, because it is the name of a function, not a proper noun.

3. It is reported by the most learned authors that there were ten Sibyls. The first of these was from Persia; the second is the Libyan Sibyl; the third, the Delphic, born in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. She prophesied before the Trojan Wars, and Homer inserted many of her verses into his own work. 4. The fourth was the Cimmerian, in Italy; the fifth, the Erythraean, Herophila by name, who came from Babylon – she foretold to the Greeks attacking Troy that it would perish and that Homer would write lies. She is called Erythraean because in that same island her songs were found. The sixth is the Samian Sibyl, who is called Phemonoe, from the island of Samos – hence she was so named.

5. The seventh is the Cumanan Sibyl, Amalthea by name, who delivered to the Tarquin Priscus the nine books in which the Roman decrees were drawn up. She is also the Cumaean Sibyl of whom Vergil wrote (*Ecl.* 4.4):

Now the final age of Cumaean song has come on.

She is called Cumana (*cumana*) after the city Cumae, which is in Campania; her sepulcher remains in Sicily to this day. 6. The eighth, the Hellespontian, was born on the Trojan plain; it is written that she lived in the time of Solon and Cyrus. The ninth is the Phrygian, who prophesied in Ancyra; the tenth the Tiburtinan, with the name Albunea. 7. Songs by all of them are published in which they are attested to have written many things most clearly even for the pagans about God and Christ. The Erythraean Sibyl is considered more honored and noble than the rest.

**ix. Magicians (De magis)** 1. The first of the magicians was Zoroaster (*Zoroastres*), king of the Bactrians, whom Ninus, king of the Assyrians, killed in battle. About him Aristotle writes that the two million verses composed by him are made evident by the catalogues of his volumes. 2. Democritus expanded this art after many centuries, when Hippocrates also flourished with the discipline of medicine. Among the Assyrians the magic arts are abundant, as Lucan bears witness (cf. *Civil War* 6.427):

Who could know of deeds by means of entrails, who interpret the birds, who might observe the lightning of the sky, and examine the constellations with Assyrian skill?

3. Consequently, this foolery of the magic arts held sway over the entire world for many centuries through the instruction of the evil angels. By a certain knowledge of things to come and of things below, and by invoking them, divinations (*aruspicium*) were invented, and auguries (*auguratio*), and those things that are called oracles (*oraculum*) and necromancy (*necromantium*). 4. There is nothing surprising about the trickery of the magicians, since their skills in magic advanced to such a point that they even countered Moses with very similar signs, turning staffs into serpents and water into blood. 5. A certain sorceress (*maga*) is also reported, the very famous Circe, who turned the companions of Ulysses into beasts.

We also read about the sacrifice that the Arcadians burnt in offering to their god Lycaeus; whoever consumed this was turned into the shape of a beast. 6. This does not appear to have been completely doubtful, because the noble poet writes of a certain woman who excelled in the magic arts (Vergil, *Aen.* 4.487):

She promises with her spells to soothe whichever minds she wishes, but to bring hard cares to others; to make the water of rivers stand still, to turn the stars back, and to raise night ghosts; you will see the earth groan underfoot, and wild mountain-ashes descend from the hills.

7. Further, if one may credit it, what of the Pythoness (I Kings 28:7–19 Vulgate), when she called up the spirit of the prophet Samuel from the recesses of the lower region and presented him to the view of the living – if, however, we believe that this was the spirit of the prophet and not some fantastic illusion created by the deception of Satan? 8. Prudentius also spoke thus about Mercury (*Against the Oration of Symmachus* 1.90):

It is told that he recalled perished souls to the light by the power of a wand that he held, but condemned others to death,

and a little later he adds,

For with a magic murmur you know how to summon faint shapes and enchant sepulchral ashes. In the same way the malicious art knows how to despoil others of life.

9. There are magicians who are commonly called ‘evildoers’ (*maleficus*) by the crowd because of the magnitude of their crimes. They agitate the elements, disturb the minds of people, and slay without any drinking of poison, using the violence of spells alone. 10. Hence also Lucan (*Civil War* 6.457):

The mind, polluted by no poison of swallowed venom, yet perishes under a spell.

With their summoning of demons, they dare to flaunt how one may slay his enemies with evil arts. They make use of blood and victims, and often handle the bodies of the dead. 11. Necromancers (*necromantius*) are those by whose incantations the dead, brought back to life, seem to prophesy, and to answer what is asked, for νεκρός means “dead” in Greek, and divination is called μαντεία. The blood of a corpse is applied for the cross-questioning, for demons are said to love blood. And for this reason, whenever necromancy is practiced, gore is mixed with water, so that they are called more easily by the gore of the blood. 12. Hydromancers (*hydromantius*) are so called from water, for hydromancy is calling up the shades of demons by gazing into water, and watching their images or illusions, and hearing something from them, when they are said to consult the lower beings by

use of blood. 13. This type of divination is said to have been brought from Persia.

Varro says that there are four kinds of divination: earth, water, air, and fire. Hence are named geomancy (*geomantia*), hydromancy (*hydromantia*), aeromancy (*aeromantia*), and pyromancy (*pyromantia*). 14. Diviners (*divinus*) are so named, as if the term were ‘filled with god’ (*deo plenus*), for they pretend to be filled with divine inspiration, and with a certain deceitful cunning they forecast what is to come for people. There are two kinds of divination: craft and madness. 15. Those who accomplish their craft with words are called enchanters (*incantator*). 16. *Arioli* are so called because they utter abominable prayers around the ‘altars of idols’ (*ara idolorum*), and offer pernicious sacrifices, and in these rites receive the answers of demons. 17. *Haruspices* are so named as if the expression were ‘observers’ (*inspector*) of the hours (*hora*)’; they watch over the days and hours for doing business and other works, and they attend to what a person ought to watch out for at any particular time. They also examine the entrails of animals and predict the future from them. 18. Augurs (*augur*) are those who give attention to the flight and calls of birds (*avis*), and to other signs of things or unforeseen observations that impinge on people. These are the same as ‘observers of auspices’ (*auspex*). 19. For auspicious signs are what those who are making a journey take heed of. They are called ‘auspicious signs’ (*auspicium*) as if it were ‘observations of birds’ (*avium aspicium*), and ‘auguries’ (*augurium*), as if it were ‘bird calls’ (*avium garria*), that is, the sounds and languages of birds. Again, *augurium* as if the word were *avigerium*, that is, how ‘birds behave’ (*avis gerit*). 20. There are two types of auspicious signs, one pertaining to the eyes and the other to the ears. To the eyes, as the flight of birds; to the ears as the voice of birds.

21. Pythonesses (*Pythonissae*) are named from Pythian Apollo, because he was the inventor of divination. 22. Astrologers (*astrologus*) are so called, because they perform augury from the stars. 23. *Genethliaci* are so called on account of their examinations of nativities, for they describe the nativities (*genesis*) of people according to the twelve signs of the heavens, and attempt to predict the characters, actions, and circumstances of people by the course of the stars at their birth, that is, who was born under what star, or what outcome of life the person who is born would have. 24. These are commonly

called astrologers (*mathematicus*); the Romans call this kind of superstition ‘constellations’ (*constellatio*), that is, observation of the stars – how they relate to each other when each person is born. 25. The first interpreters of the stars were called Magi (*magus*), as we read of those who made known the birth of Christ in the Gospels; afterwards they only had the name *mathematicus*. 26. Knowledge of this skill was permitted only up until the time of the Gospel, so that once Christ was born no one thereafter would interpret the birth of anyone from the heavens. 27. ‘Drawers of horoscopes’ (*horoscopus*) are so called because they examine (*speculari*) the times (*hora*) of people’s nativities with regard to their dissimilar and varied destiny.

28. ‘Interpreters of lots’ (*sortilegus*) are those who profess the knowledge of divination under the name of a false religion, using what they call ‘lots (*sors*, gen. *sortis*) of the saints,’ or those who foretell the future by examining one passage of scripture or another.<sup>8</sup> 29. The *salisatores* are so called because whenever any part of their limbs leaps (*salire*), they proclaim that this means something fortunate or something unfortunate for them thereafter. 30. Associated with all these arts are amulets consisting of curse-charms. The art of physicians condemns these, whether used with incantations, or magical characters, or whatever is hung on or bound to a person. 31. In all these the craft of demons has issued from a certain pestilential alliance of humans and evil angels. Hence all these things are to be avoided by a Christian, and entirely repudiated and condemned with every curse. 32. The Phrygians were the first to discover the auguries of birds, but Mercury is said to have first invented illusions. 33. They are called illusions (*praestigium*) because they dull (*praestringere*) the sharpness of one’s eyes. 34. A certain Tages is said to have first given the art of *aruspicina* (i.e. divination by inspection of entrails; see 17 above) to the Etruscans. He pronounced divinations orally, and after that did not show himself. 35. It is said in fable that when a certain rustic was plowing, he suddenly leapt up from the clods and pronounced a

divination, and on that day he died. The Romans translated these books from the Etruscan language into their own.

**x. Pagans (De paganis)** 1. Pagans (*paganus*) are named from the districts (*pagus*) of the Athenians, where they originated, for there, in rural places and districts, the pagans established sacred groves and idols, and from such a beginning pagans received their name. 2. Gentiles are those who are without the Law, and have not yet believed.<sup>9</sup> And they are called ‘gentiles’ (*gentilis*) because they remain just as they were born (*gignere*, ppl. *genitus*), that is, just as they descended into the body governed by sin, in other words, worshipping idols and not yet reborn. 3. Accordingly, they were first named gentiles. In Greek they are called *ethnici*. The Latin word *gentiles* is translated as *ethnici* in Greek, for the Greek ἔθνος means “tribe” (*gens*). 4. But after their conversion, those from the tribes who believe ought not to be called *gentes* or *gentiles*, just as after conversion a Jew can no longer be called a Jew, as the apostle Paul testifies when he says to the Christians (I Corinthians 12:2): “That when you were heathens (*gentes*),” that is, infidels. 5. Those people are called apostates (*apostata*) who, after the baptism of Christ has been received, return to the worship of idols and pollution of sacrifices. And this is a Greek term.

**xi. Gods of the heathens (De diis gentium)** 1. Those who the pagans assert are gods are revealed to have once been humans, and after their death they began to be worshipped among their people because of the life and merit of each of them, as Isis in Egypt, Jupiter in Crete, Iuba among the Moors, Faunus among the Latins, and Quirinus among the Romans. 2. It was the same with Minerva in Athens, Juno in Samos, Venus in Paphos, Vulcan in Lemnos, Liber in Naxos and Apollo in Delos. Poets joined in their praises of these, and by the songs they composed carried them up to the sky. 3. In the case of some of them people are said to have brought about the discovery of arts through their cults: there is medicine for Aesculapius, forging for Vulcan. Further, they are named from their activities, as Mercury (*Mercurius*), because he excels at commerce (*merx*), Liber (*Liber*) from liberty (*libertas*). 4. Again, there were certain powerful men, or founders of cities, for whom, after they had died, the people who had been fond of them made likenesses, so that they might have some solace from contemplating

<sup>8</sup> A *sortilegus* would predict the future by examining a randomly selected verse of the Bible or another authoritative text.

<sup>9</sup> Jews speak of gentiles as any non-Jews; Christians use the term for those both non-Jewish and non-Christian. Latin uses both the term *gentilis* and (in the plural) *gentes*, lit. ‘nations, tribes,’ for gentiles. We generally translate the ‘gentiles’ of the Greco-Roman world as ‘pagans,’ but sometimes as ‘heathens.’

these images. However, at the urging of demons, this error gradually crept into later generations in such a way that those, whom people had honored only for the memory of their name, their successors deemed as gods and worshipped.

5. The use of likenesses arose when, out of grief for the dead, images or effigies were set up, as if in place of those who had been received into heaven demons substituted themselves to be worshipped on earth, and persuaded deceived and lost people to make sacrifices to themselves. 6. And ‘likenesses’ (*simulacrum*) are named from ‘similarity’ (*similitudo*), because, through the hand of an artisan, the faces of those in whose honor the likenesses are constructed are imitated in stone or some other material. Therefore they are called likenesses either because they are similar (*similis*), or because they are feigned (*simulare*) or invented, whence they are false. 7. And it should be noted that the Latin word also exists among the Hebrews, for by them an idol or likeness is called ‘Semel.’ The Jews say that Ishmael first made a likeness from clay. 8. The pagans assert that Prometheus first made a likeness of humans from clay and that from him the art of making likenesses and statues was born. Whence also the poets supposed that human beings were first created by him – figuratively, because of these effigies. 9. Among the Greeks was Cecrops, during whose reign the olive tree first appeared on the citadel, and the city of Athens received its name from the name of Minerva. 10. He was the first of all to call on Jupiter, devise likenesses, set up altars, and sacrifice offerings, things of this kind having never before been seen in Greece.

11. Idolatry (*idolatria*) means the service or worship of idols, for λατρεία in Greek is translated in Latin as servitude (*servitus*), which as far as true religion is concerned is owed only to the one and only God. 12. Just as impious pride in humans or demons commands or wishes for this service to be offered to itself, so pious humility in humans or holy angels declines it if it is offered, and indicates to whom it is due. 13. An idol (*idolum*) is a likeness made in the form of a human and consecrated, according to the meaning of the word, for the Greek term εἶδος means “form” (*forma*), and the diminutive *idolum* derived from it gives us the equivalent diminutive *formula* (“replica,” i.e. an image made in a mold). 14. Therefore every form or replica ought to be called idol. Therefore idolatry is any instance of servility and subservience to any idol. Certain Latin speakers, however,

not knowing Greek, ignorantly say that ‘idol’ takes its name from ‘deception’ (*dolus*), because the devil introduced to creation worship of a divine name. 15. They say demons (*daemon*) are so called by the Greeks as if the word were δαίμων, that is, experienced and knowledgeable in matters,<sup>10</sup> for they foretell many things to come, whence they are also accustomed to give some answers. 16. Indeed, they have more knowledge of things than does human weakness, partly through a more subtle acuity of sense, partly through the experience of an extremely long life, and partly through angelic revelation at God’s command. They flourish in accordance with the nature of aerial bodies. 17. Indeed, before their fall they had celestial bodies. Now that they have fallen, they have turned into an aerial quality; and they are not allowed to occupy the purer expanses of the air, but only the murky regions, which are like a prison for them, until the Day of Judgment. They are the prevaricator angels, of whom the Devil is the ruler. 18. Devil (*diabolus*) in Hebrew is translated as “sinking downwards,” because he disdained to stand quiet in the height of the heavens, but, due to the weight of his pride, sinking down he fell. In fact, in Greek an accuser is called *diabolus*, either because he brings before God the crimes into which he himself lures people, or because he accuses the innocence of the elect with fabricated crimes – whence also in the Apocalypse (12:10) it is said by the voice of an angel: “The accuser of our brethren is cast forth, who accused them before our God day and night.”

19. Satan (*Satanas*) means “adversary,” or “transgressor” in Latin. He is indeed the adversary who is the enemy of truth, and he always strives to go against the virtues of the holy. He is also the transgressor, because as a complete prevaricator, he did not continue in the truth in which he was created. Also he is the tempter, because he claims that the innocence of the righteous must be tempted, as it is written in Job. 20. He is called the Antichrist (*Antichristus*), because he is to come against Christ. He is not, as certain simpletons suppose, called the Antichrist because he is to come before (*ante*) Christ, that is, that Christ would come after him. This is not the case, but rather he is called Antichrist in Greek, which is ‘against Christ’ (*contrarius Christo*) in Latin, for ἀντί in Greek means ‘against’ in Latin. 21. When he comes he

<sup>10</sup> Greek δαίμων can mean “demon,” and δαήμων means “knowing, experienced.”

will pretend that he is Christ, and there will be a struggle against him, and he will oppose the sacraments of Christ in order to destroy the gospel of his truth. 22. For he will attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem and restore all the rites of the old Law. But Antichrist is also one who denies that Christ is God, for he is the opposite of Christ. So all those who depart from the Church and are cut off from the unity of faith are themselves Antichrists.

23. Bel is a Babylonian idol whose name means “old.” He was Belus, the father of Ninus, the first king of the Assyrians, whom some call Saturn. His name was worshipped among both the Assyrians and the Africans; hence in the Punic language ‘god’ is called *Bal*. And among the Assyrians, Bel is also called Saturn and Sol in a certain aspect of his rites. 24. Belphegor is translated as “likeness of ignominy,” for Moab, with the cognomen Baal, was an idol on Mount Phegor; Latin speakers call him Priapus, the god of gardens. 25. He was from Lamp-sacus, a city on the Hellespont, whence he was banished, and on account of the size of his male member the Greeks translated him to the roster of their gods and held him sacred as the deity of gardens. Accordingly, he is said to preside over gardens for the sake of their fertility. 26. Belzebub was the idol of Accaron, and the word is translated as “man of flies,” for a fly is called *zebub*. The most impure idol, therefore, was called ‘man of flies’ because of the filth of idolatry, or its uncleanness. Belial . . . 27. Behemoth, from the Hebrew language, means ‘animal’ in Latin, because he fell from the heights to the earth, and for his offense was made brutish, like an animal. He is also Leviathan, that is, a ‘serpent from the seas,’ because in the undulating sea of this world he winds his way with cunning. 28. Leviathan means ‘their additional factor.’ Whose, indeed, if not the ‘additional factor’ of human beings, to whom he once introduced the sin of deceit in Paradise, and in whom by persuasion he daily adds to or extends this deceit up to the point of eternal death?

29. By empty stories the pagans attempt to connect some of the names of their gods to physical causes, and they interpret these names as involved in the origins of the elements. But this has been entirely made up by poets, with the intention of enhancing their gods with certain figures of speech, while histories reveal these gods to have been lost and full of the infamy of shame. Indeed, when truth leaves off, room for fiction is wide open. 30. Saturn (*Saturnus*) is designated by the pagans as the origin of

the gods and of all posterity. Latin speakers declare that he is named from sowing (*satus*), as though the sowing of all things pertains to him, or from the length of time, because he is filled (*saturare*) with years. 31. Whence the Greeks say he has the name Cronos, that is, “time” (cf. χρόνος), because he is said to have devoured his sons: that is, he rolls back into himself the years that time has brought forth; or it is because seeds return again to the place from where they arose. 32. They say that he cut off the genitals of his father, the Sky (*Caelus*), because nothing in the sky is born of seed. He grasps a scythe, they say, in order to signify agriculture, or to signify the years and seasons, because scythes turn back on themselves; or to signify knowledge because it is sharp on the inside. 33. In some cities the pagans used to sacrifice their children to Saturn, because the poets reported that Saturn was accustomed to devour his own children.

34. Jove (*Iovis*) is said to be named from ‘helping’ (*iuvare*), and Jupiter (*Iuppiter*) is as if the name were *iuvans pater* (“helping father”), that is, providing for all. They also called him, with a special title, ‘Jupiter the Best’ (*Iuppiter Optimus*), although he was incestuous among his own family, and shameless among others. 35. They imagine that he was at one time a bull on account of the rape of Europa, for he was in a ship whose standard was a bull. At another time he sought to lie with Danae by means of a shower of gold, where it is understood that the modesty of a woman was corrupted by gold. At another time he appeared in the likeness of an eagle because he carried off a boy for defilement; at another time a serpent, because he crawled, and a swan, because he sang. 36. And therefore these are not figures of speech, but crimes in plain truth. Whence it was shameful that gods should be believed to be such as humans ought not to be. 37. They call Janus (*Ianus*) the door (*ianua*), as it were, of the world or the sky or the months. They imagine two faces for Janus, standing for the east and the west. And when they make him with four faces and call him the double Janus, they refer to the four corners of the world or to the four elements or to the seasons. But when they imagine this, they make him a monster, not a god.

38. They proclaim that Neptune is the waters of the world, and Neptune (*Neptunus*) is named by them as if it were ‘roaring in the mist’ (*nube tonans*). 39. They would have it that Vulcan is fire, and he is named Vulcan (*Vulcanus*), as ‘flying radiance’ (*volans candor*), or as if



the word were *volicanus*, because he flies through the air – for fire is born from clouds. 40. Whence also Homer says that he fell headlong down from the air to the earth, because all lightning falls from the air. For that reason Vulcan is imagined to have been born from Juno's thigh, because lightning bolts originate in the lower parts of the air. 41. Vulcan is also called lame, because fire by nature is never straight, but has an appearance and motion as if it were lame. So also they say that this same Vulcan is the originator of the smithy, because without fire no kind of metal can be cast and beaten out. 42. Pluto in Greek is *Diespiter* or 'Father of Dis' (*Ditis Pater*) in Latin.<sup>11</sup> Some call him *Orcus*, receiver of the dead, as it were – whence the vessel that receives water is called *orca*. He is also *Charon* in Greek.

43. They hold that *Liber* (*Liber*) is named from 'release' (*liberamentum*), because it is as if males were released (*liberare*) by his favor when their seed is ejaculated in copulation, since this same *Liber* is depicted with a delicate feminine body. Indeed, they say that women are assigned to him, and also wine, for the sake of arousing desire. 44. Whence his brow is wreathed with vines. But he holds a crown of vines and a horn, because when wine is drunk in moderation and acceptably it confers happiness, but when it is drunk immoderately it stirs up quarrels – that is, it is as if it gives horns. And he is also called *Lyaeus* after the term λύειν ("loosen") because the limbs are loosened by a great deal of wine. And in Greek he is called Διώνυσος from the mountain Nysa in India, where he is said to have been brought up. Otherwise there is also the city Nysa, in which *Liber* is worshipped, from which he is called *Nysaeus*.

45. *Mercury* (*Mercurius*) is translated as "speech," for *Mercury* is said to be named as if the word were *medius currens* ("go-between"), because speech is the go-between for people. In Greek he is called Ἑρμῆς, because 'speech' or 'interpretation,' which pertains especially to speech, is called ἑρμηνεία. 46. He is also said to preside over commerce (*merx*, gen. *mercis*), because the medium between dealers and buyers is speech. So he is imagined to have wings, because words run to and fro quickly. Whence also he is represented as rapid and roving; the wings on his head and feet signify speech taking flight through the air. 47. He is called the messenger, because all thoughts are expressed by speech. They also say he is the master of trickery, because speech deceives the minds of those who listen. He holds a staff with which he sep-

arates serpents, that is, poisons.<sup>12</sup> 48. Thus, opponents and antagonists may be calmed by the speech of mediators, whence, according to Livy, legates of peace are called *caduceatores* (lit. "bearers of the herald's caduceus"). Just as wars were declared through *fetiales*,<sup>13</sup> so peace was made through *caduceatores*. 49. *Hermes* is named after the Greek term ἑρμηνεία ("interpretation") in Greek, in Latin 'interpreter'; on account of his power and knowledge of many arts he is called *Trimegistus* (i.e. *Trismegistus*), that is, thrice great (*ter maximus*). And they imagine him with a dog's head, they say, because among all animals the dog is held to be the most intelligent and acute species.

50. They call the god of war *Mars*, and he is called *Mars* because he fights using men, as if *Mars* were 'male' (*mas*, gen. *maris*). However, there are three practices customary in war: that of the Scythians, where both men and women go into battle; of the Amazons, where only women go; and of the Romans and other peoples, where only men go. 51. He is also called *Mars* as the author of deaths, for death (*mors*) is named after *Mars*. They also call him the adulterer, because he is fickle towards warriors. 52. And in fact he stands bare-chested, so that each person may expose himself to war without fear in his heart. *Mars* is also called *Gradius* among the Thracians, because those who fight direct their step (*gradus*) into battle, or because they advance (*gradi*) readily.

53. Although they considered *Apollo* a diviner and physician, they also called him *Sun* (*Sol*), as if 'alone' (*solus*). They called him *Titan*, as if he were that one of the Titans who did not oppose *Jupiter*. 54. And they called him *Phoebus*, a youth (*ephebus*), as it were, that is, an adolescent. Whence the sun is also pictured as a youth, because it rises daily and is born with a new light. They say that this same *Apollo* is called *Pythius* from the *Python*, a serpent of immense size, whose size was as terrifying as its venom. 55. *Apollo*, overpowering it with arrow shots, took its name as booty, so that he is called

11 *Diespiter* is actually an archaic nominative of *Iuppiter*. Isidore is identifying *Diespiter* with *Pluto* because he is connecting the word with *Dis*, the Latin name of the god of the underworld.

12 *Mercury* was said to have separated a pair of fighting serpents with his staff, which thus became his familiar attribute, the caduceus, a staff with a pair of snakes twined around it.

13 The *fetiales* were a college of Roman priests charged with making formal declarations of war.

Pythius. Whence also he established the Pythian rites to be celebrated as a sign of victory.

56. They also say that Diana, his twin, in a similar way is the moon, and guardian of roads – whence they consider her a virgin, because a road gives birth to nothing. They are both imagined to have arrows, because the two celestial bodies cast rays to the earth. Diana (*Diana*) is so called, is if the word were *Duana* (cf. *duo*, “both”), because the moon may appear both during the day (*dies*) and at night. 57. They also maintain that she is Lucina, because she gives light (*lucere*). And they say she is Trivia, because she takes on three (*tres*) appearances. Concerning her, Vergil says (*Aen.* 4.511):

Three faces of the virgin Diana,

because this same goddess is called Luna, Diana, and Proserpina. 58. But when Luna is imagined (Prudentius, *Against the Oration of Symmachus* 1.365):

She shines with a glimmering cloak. When, girded up, she shoots her arrows, she is the virgin Latonia. When seated resting on her throne, she is Pluto’s wife.

And Diana is Latonia, because she was the daughter of Latona.

59. They maintain that Ceres, that is, the earth, is so called from the creating (*creare*) of crops, and they call her by many names. They also say she is *Ops* (i.e. ‘plenty’), because the earth is made better by her work (*opus*). 60. Proserpina, because from her the fruits ‘spread forth’ (*proserpere*). 61. Vesta, because she is clothed (*vestire*) with plants and various things, or from ‘enduring by her own power’ (*vi sua stare*). They imagine this same one as both Earth (*Tellus*) and the Great Mother (*Mater Magna*), turret-crowned with drum and cock and clash of cymbals. She is called ‘Mother’ because she bears many offspring; ‘Great’ because she produces food; ‘the Bountiful’ (*Alma*) because she nourishes all animals with her produce – for earth is the nursery of food. 62. Her image is imagined with a key because the earth is locked up in the winter, and is opened in the spring so that crops are born. She holds a drum because they wish to signify the orb of the earth. 63. She is said to be drawn in a wagon because she is the earth, and earth hangs in the air. She is carried on wheels because the world rotates and spins.

They furnish her with tame lions below to show that no kind of beast is so wild that it cannot be subjugated and ruled by her.

64. That she wears a turreted crown on her head shows the cities set upon the earth, characterized, as it were, by their towers. Seats are imagined around her because while everything moves she herself does not move. 65. The Corybantes, her servants, are imagined with swords to signify that everyone ought to fight for his own land. They depicted cocks as serving this goddess to signify that whoever lacks seed should follow the earth; in her depth they may find all things. 66. That people are shown flinging themselves about before her is a warning, they say, that those who till the earth should not rest, for there is always something for them to do. The clashing of bronze cymbals is the clattering of iron implements in tilling a field – but they are of bronze because the ancients used to till the earth with bronze before iron had been discovered. 67. They call this same one both Vesta and fire, because there is no doubt that the earth possesses fire, as can be seen from Etna and Vulcanus. And they thought she was a virgin because fire is an inviolable element, and nothing can be born from it; indeed it consumes all that it seizes.<sup>14</sup> 68. Ovid in the *Fasti* (6.291):

Understand Vesta as no other than living flame – you see no bodies born from flame.

Furthermore, virgins are said to wait on her, because just as nothing is born from a virgin, so nothing is born from fire.

69. They say Juno (*Iuno*), as if the name were *Iano*, that is, ‘door’ (*ianua*), with regard to the menstrual discharge of women, because, as it were, she lays open the doors of mothers for their children, and of wives for their husbands. But this is what the philosophers say. The poets claim that Juno is the sister and wife of Jupiter; for they explain Jupiter as fire and air, and Juno as water and earth. By the mixture of these two, all things came into being. 70. And they say she is the sister because she is part of the world, and the wife because when united with him she brings harmony. Whence Vergil (*Geo.* 2.325):

Then the omnipotent father, the air, descends with fertile showers into the lap of his wife.

71. Among the Greeks Minerva is called Ἀθήνη, that is, woman. Among the Romans she is called Minerva

<sup>14</sup> Isidore here identifies Ceres with Vesta, goddess of the hearth, whose priestesses were the Vestal Virgins.

(*Minerva*), as the goddess and gift (*munus*, gen. *muneris*) of various crafts. They claim she was an inventor of many skills, and thus they explain her as art and reason, because nothing can be comprehended without reason. 72. Because this reason is born from the mind alone, and because they think the mind is in the head and brain, therefore they say she was born from the head of Jove, because the sense of a wise person, who discovers all things, is in his head. 73. On her chest the head of the Gorgon is pictured, because all prudence is in that spot – prudence that dazzles other people, and confirms them as ignorant and stone-like.<sup>15</sup> We also see this in the ancient statues of the emperors, in the middle of their breastplates, in order to imply wisdom and strength. 74. She is called both *Minerva* and *Tritonia*, for *Triton* is a swamp in Africa, around which it is reported that she appeared at a maidenly age, on account of which she is called *Tritonia*. Thus the less her origin is known, the more readily is she believed to be a goddess. 75. She is called *Pallas* either from the island *Pallene* in Thrace, on which she was raised, or after the Greek term *πάλλειν τὸ δόρυ* (“brandishing a spear”), that is, from striking with a spear, or because she slew the giant *Pallas*.

76. They say *Venus* (*Venus*) is so named because a woman does not leave off being a virgin without force (*vis*). The Greeks call her *Ἀφροδίτη* on account of the generating foam of blood, for foam is called *ἄφρος* in Greek. 77. They imagine that *Saturn* cut off the genitals of his father, the Sky (*Caelus*), so that the blood flowed into the sea, and that *Venus* was born from it as the foam of the sea solidified. They say this because the substance of a salt humor comes into being through coition, whence *Venus* is called *Ἀφροδίτη*, because in coition there is a foam of blood that consists of a liquid and salt secretion of the internal parts. 78. They call *Venus* the wife of *Vulcan* because the act of *Venus* does not take place without heat, whence (Vergil, *Geo.* 3.97):

Grown older, he is cold in love.

79. Now, it is said that *Saturn* cut off the male organs of his father, the Sky, and that these created *Venus* when they fell into the sea; this is imagined because, unless moisture descends from the sky to the land, nothing is created.

80. They say that *Cupid* is so called because of love (*amor*; cf. *cupido*, “desire”), for he is the demon of fornication. He is pictured with wings because nothing more

fleeting, nothing more changeable is found than lovers. He is pictured as a youth because love is foolish and irrational. He is imagined to hold an arrow and a torch; an arrow because love wounds the heart, and a torch because it inflames. 81. The Greeks call the god of country people, whom they fashioned in the likeness of nature, *Pan*; Latin speakers call him *Silvanus*. He is called *Pan*, that is, ‘everything’ (cf. *πᾶν*, ‘everything’), for they fashion him out of every sort of element. 82. He has horns in the likeness of the rays of the sun and moon. He has a pelt marked by spots, on account of the stars of the sky. His face is ruddy in likeness to the ether. He holds a pipe of seven reeds, on account of the harmony of heaven, in which there are seven tones and seven intervals of sound. 83. He is hairy, because the earth is clothed and agitated by the winds.<sup>16</sup> His lower half is bestial, representing trees and brutes like livestock. He has goat’s hooves, so as to show the solidity of the earth. They claim he is the god of things and of all nature, whence they say *Pan*, ‘everything’ as it were.

84. In the language of the Egyptians, the earth is called *Isis*, and they mean by this the person *Isis*. Now *Isis*, daughter of king *Inachis*, was a queen of the Egyptians; when she came from Greece she taught the Egyptians literacy and established cultivation of the land, on account of which they called the land by her name. 85. *Serapis* is the greatest of all the Egyptian gods. He is that *Apis*, king of the Argives, who traveled to Egypt by ship. When he died there he was called *Serapis* because the box in which the deceased is placed, which they call a sarcophagus, is called *σορός* in Greek. They began to venerate him there where he was buried before his temple had been built. It is as if at first the name were *σορός* plus ‘*Apis*’ – *Sorapis* – and then, when one of the letters had been changed, it was pronounced *Serapis*. 86. Among the Egyptians *Apis* was the bull dedicated to *Serapis*, and from this he received his cognomen. Egypt worshipped him like a god, because he would give certain clear signs of things to come. He would appear in Memphis, and one hundred high priests would follow after him and chant suddenly as if frantic. The Jews made the image of his head for themselves in the wilderness.

<sup>15</sup> Gazing at the Gorgon turned one into stone.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Agitated by the winds’ translates an early reading not adopted by Lindsay, who here prints a nonsense sequence marked as a corruption.

87. Fauns (*faunus*) were so called from ‘speaking’ (*fando*, gerund of *fari*) or after the term φωνή (“vocal sound”) because by voice, not by signs, they seemed to show what was to come – for they were consulted by pagans in sacred groves, and gave responses to them not with signs, but with their voices. 88. They name Genius (*Genius*) thus because he possesses the force, as it were, of generating (*gignere*, ppl. *genitus*) all things, or from generating children; whence beds that were prepared for newlyweds were called ‘nuptial’ (*geniales*) by the pagans.

89. These and others are the fabulous fictions of the pagans, which they interpret and regard in such a way that they worship what they do not even understand, and are damned thereby. 90. And they say that Fate (*Fatum*) is whatever the gods say, or whatever Jupiter says. Therefore the name *fatum* is from ‘saying’ (*fari*, 3<sup>rd</sup> person *fatur*), that is, from speaking. Except for the fact that this word is now usually understood in another context, toward which I do not wish to incline people’s hearts, we can with reason speak of ‘fate’ as from ‘saying.’<sup>17</sup> 91. For we cannot deny that it is written in Sacred Scripture (Psalm 61:12 Vulgate): “God has spoken once, two things have I heard,” and so on. Now what is said, “has spoken once,” is understood as “has spoken immovably” or “immutably,” since he knows immutably everything that is to happen, and which he himself is to bring about. 92. Pagans imagine that there are three Fates – with the distaff, with the spindle, and with fingers spinning a thread from the wool – on account of the three tenses: the past, which is already spun and wound onto the spindle; the present, which is drawn between the fingers of the spinner; and the future, in the wool which is twisted onto the distaff, and which is yet to be drawn through the fingers of the spinner to the spindle, just as the present is yet to be drawn over to the past. 93. They were called Parcae (*Parca*) κατ’ ἀντίφρασιν (“by opposition of sense”), because they scarcely spare (*parcere*) anyone. People claimed there were three: one who would lay the initial warp of a person’s life; the second, who would weave it; and the third, who would cut it short – for we begin when we are born, we exist while we live, and we are gone when we die.

94. People say that Fortune (*Fortuna*) has its name from ‘chance things’ (*fortuitus*), as if it were a certain

goddess sporting with human affairs through various accidents and chances. Thus they also call her blind, because she bears down upon people at random, without any consideration of merits, and comes to both good people and bad. They distinguish Fate from Fortune: Fortune, as it were, exists in what comes by chance with no obvious cause; but they say Fate is fixed and assigned for each person individually. 95. They also say that the three Furies are women with serpents for hair, on account of the three passions that give rise to many disturbances in people’s spirits, and they sometimes so drive a person to do wrong that they allow him to give no consideration to his reputation or his own danger. These passions are Anger, which desires revenge, Desire, which wishes for wealth, and Lust, which seeks pleasure. They are called the Furies (*Furiae*) because they strike (*ferire*) the mind with their goads, and do not allow it to be tranquil.

96. They consider the nymphs (*nympha*) to be goddesses of the waters, so called from clouds (*nubes*), for waters are from clouds, whence this name is derived. They call the nymphs goddesses of the waters as though they were ‘spirits of the springs’ (*numina lympharum*). And they call these Muses as well as nymphs, not without reason, because the movement of water makes music. 97. The pagans have various terms for nymphs. Indeed they call nymphs of the mountains oreads (*oreas*), those of the forest dryads (*dryas*), those of the springs hamadryads (*hamadryas*), those of the fields naiads (*naias*), and those of the seas nereids (*nereis*). 98. They say that heroes (*heros*) take their name from Juno, for Juno is called Ἥρα in Greek. Thus a son of hers, I don’t know which, was called ἥρωας (“the hero”), according to the legend of the Greeks. The legend evidently signifies in a mystical sense that the air (*aer*), where they claim that heroes live, is assigned to Juno. They name the souls of deceased people of some importance with this term, as if it were ἁηρώας, that is, men of the air (*aerius*) and worthy of heaven on account of their wisdom and strength.

99. The pagans called all the gods whom they worshiped at home Penates (*Penates*). And they were called Penates because they were in ‘inner rooms’ (*penetralis*), that is, in recesses. How these gods were addressed, or what names they had, is not known. 100. They called the gods of the dead *Manes*, whose power they claim is between the moon and the earth. From this they suppose ‘morning’ (*mane*) is named. They think these gods

<sup>17</sup> The other understanding Isidore seems to have in mind is the pagan idea of the Fates treated just below.

are named *Manes* after the term for air, which is *μανός*, that is “sparse,” or because they spread (*manare*) widely through the heavens – or they are called by this name because they are mild, the opposite of monstrous (*immanis*). Apuleius says (cf. *The God of Socrates* 153) that it is *κατ’ ἀντίφρῶσιν* (“by opposition of sense”) that they are called *Manes*, that is, mild and modest, when they are terrible and monstrous, named in the same way as the *Parcae* (see section 93 above) and *Eumenides* (i.e. the *Furies*; lit. “the Gracious Ones”). 101. Ghosts (*larva*), they say, are demons made from people who were deserving of evil. It is said that their nature is to frighten small children and chatter in shadowy corners. 102. Witches (*lamia*), whom stories report would snatch children and

tear them apart, are particularly named from ‘tearing apart’ (*laniare*). 103. ‘Hairy ones’ (*Pilosus*, i.e. a satyr) are called *Panitae* in Greek, and ‘incubuses’ (*incubus*) in Latin, or *Inui*, from copulating (*inire*) indiscriminately with animals. Hence also *incubi* are so called from ‘lying upon’ (*incumbere*, ppl. *incubitus*), that is, violating, for often they are shameless towards women, and manage to lie with them. The Gauls call these demons *Dusii*, because they carry out this foulness continually (*adsidue*). 104. Common people call one demon *Incubo*, and the Romans called him ‘Faunus of the figs.’ About him Horace says (*Odes* 3.18.1):

Faunus, lover of fleeing nymphs, may you pass lightly  
through my borders and sunny fields.