

Gottschalk's *Shorter Confession* deals primarily with proving from scripture and the church fathers that the doctrine of reprobation is true. If election is really true, then reprobation is really true too. It was this doctrine—reprobation—that was especially disliked and denied by Rabanus Maurus and Hincmar of Reims, so it is not surprising that Gottschalk, writing from his prison cell in Hautvillers, aimed a whole confession in defense of this doctrine. Translated by Ronald Hanko.⁵

Confessio Brevior (Shorter Confession)

I believe and confess that God, omnipotently and unchangeably, has graciously foreknown and predestined holy angels and elect men to eternal life, but that He in like manner (*pariter*) has, by His most just judgment, predestined the devil, who is head of all the demons, with all his apostate angels and also with reprobate men, who are his members, on account of their foreknown particular future evil deeds, to merited eternal death: this the Lord Himself affirms in His Gospel: “The prince of this world is already judged” (John 14:11). Augustine, beautifully explaining these words to the people (Augustine on John, tract. 95), has spoken as follows: “That is, he has been irrevocably destined to the judgment of eternal fire.” Likewise concerning the reprobate, the same is true: “Who then believeth not is already judged” (John 3:18), that is (as the aforesaid author explains), (tract. xii), already is damned: “Not that judgment is now manifest, but that judgment is already wrought.” Likewise explaining these words of John the Baptist: “His testimony no man has received” (John 3:32), he speaks in this wise (tract. xiv): “‘No man,’ is a certain people prepared to wrath by God, damned with the Devil.” Also concerning the Jews: “Those dead scorers, predestinated to eternal death.” Again (tract. xlvi): “Why did the Lord say to the Jews: ‘Ye believe not because ye are not of my sheep’ (John 10:26), unless because he saw that they were predestinated to everlasting destruction, and not to life eternal by the price of his own blood.” Also, explaining these words of the Lord (ibid.): “My sheep hear my voice and I know them and they follow me and I give to them eternal life, and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand: my Father who gave them to me is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of my Father’s hand” (John 10:27–29), he says this: “What can the wolf do? What can the thief and robber do? They destroy none, except those predestinated to destruction.” Speaking in like manner concerning the two worlds (tract. lxxxvii) he says: “The whole world is the church, and the whole world hates the church; the world, therefore, hates the world, the hostile that which is reconciled, the damned that which is saved, the polluted that which is cleansed.” Likewise (tract. cx): “There is a world concerning which the Apostle says: ‘that we should be condemned with this world’ (1 Cor. 11:32). For that world the Lord does not pray, for He certainly cannot ignore that for which it is predestinated.” Likewise (tract. cvii): “Judas the betrayer of Christ is called the son of perdition as the one predestinated to be the betrayer.” Likewise in *Enchiridion* (cap. 100): “To their damnation whom He has justly predestinated to punishment.” Likewise in the book *On Man’s Perfection in Righteousness* he says (cap. 13): “This good, which is required, there is not anyone who does it, not even one; but this refers to that class of men who have been predestinated to destruction: indeed, upon those the foreknowledge of God looks down and pronounces sentence.” Likewise in the books *de Civitate Dei* (lib. xxii, c. 24): “Which is given to those who have been predestinated to death.” Likewise blessed Gregory the Pope (Moral. lib. xxxiv, c. 2): “Leviathan with all his members has been cut off for eternal torment.” Likewise holy Fulgentius in the third book *Concerning the Truth of Predestination and Grace* (lib. iii, c. 5) says: “God has prepared punishment for those sinners (at least) who have been justly predestinated to the suffering of punishment.”

And blessed Fulgentius has composed one whole book for his friend Monimus concerning this tantamount question, that is: *Concerning the Predestination of the Reprobate to Destruction* (lib. i).

Whence also holy Isodore says (Sentent. II, cap. 6): "Predestination is double (*gemina*) whether of election to peace, or of reprobation to death." The same thing, therefore, (with others) I believe and confess, through whatever may happen, with those who are the elect of God and true Catholics, according as I am helped by divine inspiration, encouragement, and provision. Amen.

False, indeed, is the witness, who in speaking of any aspect of those things, corrupts them either superficially or with respect to their essential sense.

Although Gottschalk's *Longer Confession* was composed in prison as an explanation of his beliefs regarding the doctrines of predestination and sovereign grace over against those who taught differently, the *Longer Confession* is also written in the form of a prayer to God. This might seem surprising. Gottschalk's intention was indeed to explain, defend, and prove these doctrines that he loved so much, but that also explains why he would write these things in the form of a prayer. His deep love for the truth was at the same time a deep love for God, and prayer is the chief means by which one directly expresses such love. Thus, Gottschalk's *Longer Confession* became the profoundly devotional piece of writing that it is.

As with all of Gottschalk's work, he wrote the original document in Latin. The English translation is by Ronald Hanko and is used with his permission.

Confessio Prolixior (Longer Confession)

Master, Lord God, my mercy, king omnipotent, and incomparably kind, who art longsuffering toward men with inestimable patience, and in the inward part profoundly wise; truly all thy elect stand in need of thee. And by this it is evident that they are able to be pleasing to thee only by thy help. Just as branches require life that they may bear fruit, or as the atmosphere and the eyes require light, that the one may be clear and the other see; so also branches without life become dry and being thrown into the fire are burned, and air without light becomes dark so that one's eyes are opened in vain. Therefore I humbly entreat thee, thou who are mightiest of all, most merciful and most glorious, triune and one Lord God, that thou wouldest graciously deign to be my equitable helper and hearer; and that thou wouldest grant to me, who am most needy, through thy unmerited grace, invincible courage in order that now I might truthfully and simply declare with my mouth unto salvation, that which out of thee, in thee, and through thee I have long ago believed in my heart, and by thy grace have confessed concerning thy foreknowledge and predestination. Grant this, that through what I have done, truth invincible and blessed forever may at last be revealed to thy elect and falsehood presently conquered and very justly condemned as it ought to be. Amen.

I believe and also confess that although thou hadst foreknown before the ages all things future, whether good or evil; that thou hast predestinated only the good. The good, however, has been predestinated by thee in two ways, yea from thy revelation it is evident that it is composed, that is, in benefits of grace and judgments of justice. Of this the psalmist gives clearest proof: "thou lovest both mercy and judgment" (Ps. 33:5). And so thou has graciously predestinated life eternal for all thy elect, and them, without any merit, to eternal glory. For it would have been in vain that thou hadst predestinated life for them, unless thou hadst also predestinated them for it. So also in nearly the same way (*propemodum*) thou hast predestinated lasting merited punishment for the devil and his angels, and for all reprobate men, so also thou hast predestinated them for punishment. Undoubtedly it would have been without cause that thou hadst predestinated them for it. For they would not go to it unless destined, neither would they have been destined unless predestinated. Indeed if even one of the reprobate (which is impossible) had been destined thither, who had not been predestinated,

then thou, w before all ages hast been he who is not able even for a moment to be changeable, shouldest have now have been shown to be changed.

Therefore, because thou, Lord, alone art who thou art (Ex. 3:4), even as thou thyself hast testified; and as David likewise says to thee, "Thou thyself art forever the same" (Ps. 102:27); and as another also says, "Thou art, Lord, and changest not" (Mal. 3:1); and as thy distinguished preacher, Paul asserts, "Thou alone hast immortality" (1 Tim. 6:16), that is, unchangebleness; "with whom" (and the says that of no one else) "is no variableness neither shadow of turning"(James 1:7). From this it is manifest very clearly; and should be clear enough to anyone of sober wisdom, that thou hast foreknown and predestinated already, before the ages, without any interval, at the same time and together (*simul et semel*), the whole as well as each one of thy works. Indeed this parity is spoken of by Isaiah: "I have done those things which are yet to be" (Isa. 45:1, *juxta* LXX).

Whence also thy faithful servant Augustine, following and expounding David the prophet says, "God, according to his own will, which with his foreknowledge is eternal, 'has willed all things whether in heaven or in earth,' not only what is past and present but also what is still future." Therefore, since thy will, O Lord, is eternal with thy foreknowledge (as Augustine notes) and on account of thy omnipotence, it is clear that to foreknow is the same as to will with respect to thy works, as also Orosius writes to Augustine; and that with respect to thee to will is even as if thou hadst done it, as Ambrose says. Therefore it is evident without doubt that whatever is future I execution is already done by thee in predestination, as Pope Gregory also understands, speaks, teaches, and writes. It is, therefore, inconsistent that any of thy Catholics should ever suppose that there is any interval between the foreknowledge and predestination of thy works, when he has read and heard and believed that all that thou hast willed, thou hast at the same time done. Especially since thou hast put nothing into effect before thou hadst foreknown it as something far into the future and hast ordered it by predestinating it in thy eternal counsel.

But now it is time, Lord, to be subject to the truthful testimony of divine books, in which it is taught without scruple and declared without ambiguity that the reprobate are predestinated to the torment of eternal fire. And so I resolve first to speak the truth by laying forth the testimony of thy invincible truth, O Lord Jesus Christ. "Who believest not," thou hast said, "is already judged" (John 16:11), that is, as he also explains, "is irrevocably destined to the judgment of eternal fire." David also says, "Therefore the ungodly shall not appear in the judgment" (Ps. 1:5). And Augustine explains that they are already destined to eternal punishment. Likewise, "thou hast bear down all who oppose me without cause." "Justly, all is determined," he says, "concerning the devil and his angels, in predestination." And that it not be said that the devil only with his angels has been destined to death, which has clearly been shown to be absurd as if the head from the body would be separated by predestination: David says again, "Into the dust of death thou has brought me down" (Ps. 22:15), that is, the ungodly are destined to death, because all men, as no one who is prudent hesitates to say, are made of dust and also in dust remain. Solomon says, "The Lord has made all things for himself, the ungodly also for the day of evil." Also in the book of Ecclesiastes this is said: "Whoever transgresses from justice to sin, God has prepared them to the sword" (26:27 *sic*), which ought to be understood as something that can only be said concerning the person of the reprobate man.

Hence also Job says, "Ask ye anything from them that go by the way, that ye may know their tokens; for the wicked is kept unto the day of destruction, and is reckoned unto the day of wrath" (Job 21:29–30), which, though self-explanatory is explained by Gregory in this way: "often and for a long time divine forbearance tolerates those who are already condemned to foreknown punishments." Whence, when explaining this: "He hath counsel and strength" (Job 12:13) he says, among other things: "In the name counsel may also be understood that hidden delay of judgment: that sometimes he delays to strike down wrongdoers, not because the guilt of their iniquity is not clear, but that the sentence of their damnation, which is published before actual punishment, should be ordered to be published, as it were, slowly and according to the counsel. Therefore, that from time to time he does judge abroad with a visible sentence, lies with omnipotent God before the ages in his counsel." Likewise explaining: "Thou has appointed his end so that he is not able to pass it by" (Job 14:5) he says, "nothing which happens to men in this world comes to pass without the hidden counsel of omnipotent God. For God, having foreknown before the ages all what shall be, has decreed it, just as throughout the ages it is realized. So also explaining this of the ungodly "they are become as stubble before the wind and as chaff which the wind disperses" (Job 21:18) he says, "Before the eyes of omnipotent God the life of the wicked is as chaff, for although it appears to be green for a little while, nevertheless by his judgment it is already separated for destruction, because it has been cut off, that it may be eternally consumed."

Concerning these and their shameful crimes, thou, Lord, hast also said through Moses, "Is not this stored up with me, and sealed away in my treasure? Revenge is mine, and I bring recompense in due time" (Deut. 32:34–35). Likewise, "the day of perdition is nigh and the occasion hastens to be at hand" (Deut. 32:35). Likewise, "I lift up my hand to heaven and say, I live forever. If I sharpen my glittering sword and my hand lay hold on judgment, then I shall render vengeance to my enemies, and recompense those who hate me. I will make my arrows drunk with the blood of the slain, and of the captives, from the beginning of the laying bare of my enemies. Rejoice, O his servants and return vengeance upon his enemies" (Deut. 32:40–43). If anyone should presume to say from the aforementioned texts and from canonical scriptures, that the wicked are foreknown but in no way predestinated; make that one, I pray, diligently to give heed to how he contradicts the truth, and how he promotes noxious lies, while at the same time he makes thee subject to accidental change. Show him (as holy Augustine says) that "no changeable nature can be recompensed, unless thou, O Lord our God, remainest unchanged." Nothing is important if thou, who art from eternity, art reckoned, yea, believed and preached by the church to be changeable in the day of judgment, and also in that same day of judgment, as it were, thou shouldst be changed in that thou dost not do what was predestinated, that is, sending the reprobate to torment. And so thou shouldst be reckoned to be changed eternally, that is, to be mortal (which is impossible) for that which is changed also dies, as the authoritative testimony of Augustine and Gregory and other doctors has shown: but it is impossible, that thou, O Lord, who in no wise hast been able, art able, or shalt be able to be changed shouldst be changeable in the day of judgment. From this it would also appear that in eternity thou art changed, and only on account of the damnation of the reprobate and the torment owed to them.

Truly, O Lord, if it is better that none of thy elect had been created (or saved) that that thou shouldst be changeable (or changing), how much more then is it impossible that thou

shouldest be changed on account of the vessels of wrath and anger, “against whom thou dost set thy face” because of the evil that they do, “that the memory of them should perish from the earth” (Ps. 34:16): of whom it is sung by the faithful to thee both day and night: “Even thou, O God, shalt bring them down into a pit of destruction” (Ps. 54:24). Of whom the apostle Peter says, “whose judgment now of a long time delayeth not and their damnation sleepeth not” (2 Pet. 2:3). And Paul (Rom. 9:22): “God willing to show his wrath and demonstrate his power, endured with much patience the vessels fitted,” or “which have been fitted for destruction”; according to Hieronymus, “prepared for destruction”, according to Ambrose, “perfectly accomplished”, and according to Augustine, “that is, without doubt predestinated, as it has been already explained clearly by Augustine. Likewise the same preacher says, “in order that their sins might be filled up always, for the wrath of God is come upon them to the uttermost” (1 Thess. 2:16). So also Jude says, “certain creep in unawares who are ordained in times past unto this judgment of the ungodly” (Jude 4) where when he has asserted that these are ordained *unto* this judgment (*in hoc iudicium*) and not *in* this judgment (*in hoc iudicio*), that is, unto this damnation, he wishes it to be clear that these are not only foreknown but predestinated as well. For indeed thou, O eternal God, has predestinated them, before anyone who is born in time could have known that they were foreknown. Because of those whom thou didst know that they would persevere on account of their own wretchedness unto damnable sin, those thou has predestinated by a most just judgment for just and deserved punishment. And not only has thou predestinated them but indeed thou has also already determined them by predestinating them. Whence also David speaks as if even now they are being sent to their places in hell by the judgment of thy predestination. For when he prophesies this: “that their posterity shall approve their sayings,” he adds, “as sheep they are being laid in hell” (Ps. 49:13–14).

The apostle John, in Revelation, is clearly in harmony with this: “And the books were opened, and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged according to their works out of those things which were written in the book” (Rev. 20:12). Likewise, “And every man was judged according to his works and death and hell were cast into the lake of fire” (but when he states that death and hell were cast into the lake of fire, he means the devil and those who belong to him) “and whoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire” (Rev. 20:13, 15). Likewise a little before he writes: “And the devil who shall deceive them is cast into a lake of fire and brimstone” (Rev. 20:9). Likewise also a little further on: “And he said to me; write, for these words are faithful and true. And he said to me: it is done.” (Rev. 21:5–6). And lest anyone who hears what John says should doubt, thou (O Lord Jesus Christ) dost continue and say, “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, I will freely give to him who thirsts of the fountain of the water of life. Whoever overcomes shall have this, and I will be to him a God and he shall be to me a son. But those who are afraid, and who do not believe, and who curse; murderers and fornicators and sorcerers and idolaters and all liars; their part shall be in the lake of fire and brimstone; which is the second death: (Rev. 20:6–8). Let the incredulous and liars together fear and beware lest by resisting the clear truth they be charged with stubbornness and their part be with the aforementioned.

Likewise, “Behold, I come quickly and my reward is with me to give to each man according to his works” (Rev. 22:12). [Something missing here] unless in predestination, by an irrevocable foreordination thou hadst left them. Therefore, thou dost speak and say, “I am

Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. Blessed are they who wash their robes, that their power might be in the tree of life and that they might enter through the gates into the city. Without are dogs and sorcerers and unchaste and murderers and idolaters and all who love and do the lie" (Rev. 22:13–15). Let them, who are liars and especially those who have no respect or reverent regard for the doctrine of religion and who never hesitate to be deceitful, take heed. Because those who are of that class of liars never wish to find anything serious, yea nothing is ascertained to be so serious, albeit by some it is seen to be trifling, or of little weight. Let them hear what follows if they should lightly esteem the preceding.

"I, Jesus, have sent mine angel to testify of these things to you in the Church" (Rev. 22:16). And a little after: "I testify to all who hear the words of this prophecy; if anyone adds to these things, God shall add to him the plagues that are written in this book. And if anyone shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall remove his part from the book of life and from the holy city and from those things which have been written in this book." He who testifies of this says, "Also I come quickly (Rev. 22:18–20). Behold, Lord Jesus, I have discovered that the devil and his angels and also all the reprobate by thy appointing have already been sent into the lake of fire and brimstone, that is described above. To deny thee is something I dare not do because I am afraid to be denied by thee, as thou thyself dost clearly testify: "who denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father in heaven" (Matt. 10:33). Likewise also, Paul says: "If we deny him, he will also deny us" (2 Tim. 2:12). To deny thee, therefore, I dare not, as I said before, because I am afraid to be denied by thee. I presume to add or to take away nothing for I fear that the plagues written in this book would be added to me and my part be removed from the book of life.

Therefore, in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit, I beseech thee, O Lord, in so far as I am able, that in proportion as I am needy, thou wouldest deign to help me, neither permit these things to be doubted by any of thy elect (which is impossible). But rather delay not so that thy most salutary truth may be known to me, for thou seest that that is very necessary for me. Because, according to the truest testimony of blessed Augustine (which he has openly published to the people, clearly and faithfully explaining perplexing gospel) it is said, "Whoever frames a lie among men, what does he do but expel the truth? They allow the devil in and exclude Christ. They allow the adulterer in and exclude the Bridegroom; indeed they prefer the panderers of the serpent to the groomsmen." To this it may be added: "they exclude Christ in order that they may possess the serpent. Then the lie is master, then the serpent is master; but when the truth is master, then Christ is master." For Christ, himself has said, "I am the truth," (John 14:6), but concerning the devil: "and he stood not in the truth, because the truth is not in him" (John 8:44).

Wherefore, also the same blessed minister Augustine has been at pains to maintain that the reprobate are damned by foreknowledge, though here and there he admits that they have been condemned to death by predestination: that the one is true, because the other is true. Yet as he also wisely and truly admits; sometimes foreknowledge is used for predestination. Nor is that really inconsistent but rather must be seen to correspond to the truth, as that is also what the apostle says: "God hath not cast away his people whom he foreknew" (Rom. 11:2). So he neatly defines them by conjoining them on the one hand and by distinguishing them according to obviously reasonable differences, on the other hand, saying, "Doing those things which shall be done: (Isa. 44:7). Likewise the manner in which predestination is connected with

foreknowledge is shown more clearly and fully in *de Trinitate*. “In the foreknown works, of him who cannot be deceived or changed, the arranging of those things that are future is nothing else than to predestinate.” Likewise more briefly, but much more explicitly, when he quotes what the apostle says “God hath not cast away his people whom he foreknew” (Rom. 11:7) and when he explains that the apostle by the name foreknowledge wished to signify here predestination, then a little after that he says: “But to foreknow what he himself was about to do is to predestinate it.”

Therefore, as he has already said, both are true, that is, that the reprobate, who as is very plain, are justly predestinated to punishment, that they are damned as much by foreknowledge as by predestination. This, the aforequoted testimonies have more than sufficiently proved, which certainly, then, cannot be doubted by those who are Catholic. It is clear that if this testimony is doubted inwardly and only with difficulty can be understood, and so is wholly rejected: then clearly that which follows must be understood through that which precedes. And yet if any desire to hear these things, because of a love of the truth, which they think is being attacked; let them apply their ears to hearing and take pains forthwith to regard the truth. Let them hear, I say, Augustine marvelously speaking through the abundantly and graciously infused divine charisma when he says, “This good which God requires, there is not anyone who does it: not even one, but only in that class of men which is predestinated to punishment.” Likewise, speaking of the two cities, he says, “of which there is one which is eternally predestined to rule with the Lord; another to be subjected to eternal punishment with the devil.” Likewise, “If the church could be so sure of certain persons, that she should know who they are, who though now are established in this life, yet have been predestinated to eternal fire with the devil, for them she should not pray as she does not for the devil.” Likewise, “Shall he give to those who are predestinated to life, those things which he has given to those whom he has predestinated to death?”

Again, in *Enchiridion*, that old book about faith, hope, and love, which he composed and published with the marvelous and extraordinary help of God, he says with discriminating sense, practiced genius, purest eloquence and lucid style, “Damnation shall be to them whom he has justly predestinated to punishment.” Likewise, “The sons of hell are appointed for that, not born out of it, but prepared for it, as the sons of the king are prepared for the kingdom.” What could one ask that could be clearer? What more sufficient proof? “Just as (*sicut*),” he says, “the sons of the king are prepared for the kingdom, so also the sons of hell are prepared for it.” that is nothing else but to be predestinated. To be sure, if that great and truthful author who in all things conforms to the Catholic faith had seen that this was not true, by no means would he have left it uncorrected. But rather, when he diligently edited his books in his *Retractions*, he would have been at pains to correct it. Neither would he, filled with thy bright love and thy authority, have said it so frequently and fearlessly and intrepidly, so willingly and openly, so faithfully and trustfully and gladly, without servile fear, if he had known it to be unproved: whence also I have been able to quote him at length, and now resolve to add a little more.

“There is a certain people prepared for wrath by God, and damned with the devil.”

Likewise, “There is a certain people who are born under the wrath of God.”

Likewise, “Why did the Lord say to the Jews: ‘Ye believe not because ye are not of my sheep’? (John 10:26), unless because he saw that they had been predestinated to eternal punishment, and not ordained to eternal life by the price of his own blood.” Likewise, “What

can the wolf do? What are the thief and robber able to do? They can destroy none except those predestinated to destruction.” Likewise, “those repulsive dead, and predestined to eternal death.” Likewise he says, “The world hates the world, the hostile that which is reconciled, the damned that which is saved, the polluted that which is cleansed.”

Likewise, “Judas, the betrayer of Christ, is called the son of perdition, as the one predestined to be the betrayer.” So also: “For that world Christ does not pray: for he cannot ignore that for which it is predestined.”

Also blessed Fulgentius speaks in the same manner: “God has prepared punishment only for those sinners who he has predestinated to suffer punishment.” Here, straightforwardly and openly, he confesses both that punishment is predestinated for the reprobate and they also to it. Whence, at length and in a Catholic spirit, he argues this in seven books against the two Fausti (the former, the heretical monk of Lirinium and the latter, Bishop of Rhegium), whom the same doctor admirably proves to be wrong, thus opposing the forgeries of the devil, and whom he with forty of his fellow-bishops has driven out of the church of Christ and so eliminated the deadly poison of antichrist. So also in three other books concerning the truth of predestination and grace, but also in that one book which he is known to have published in consultation with Monimus about that here-tantamount question.

Also glorious Gregory (whom I have already introduced as “superius”) has spoken along the same lines in a certain place: “The Lord saw then a dark host, and penetrating the bars of hell, he has beaten down those cruel spirits, and, by dying damned their commanders to death.” That, he says, is spoken not with a view to the future, but long ago in the past, because that which is future in execution is already done in predestination. Likewise, “Leviathan himself with all his members has been destined to eternal torments.” Likewise also the very day of judgment is said to be predestinated: when explaining the book of Job: “A lamp despised in the thoughts of the rich, prepared for the time appointed” (Job 12:5), he says, “with respect to those despised lamps, the time predestinated is the day of the final judgment.” So also holy Isidore says what follows: “Predestination is double, whether of election to peace or of reprobation to death.” Indeed, he does not say that they are two; because they are not; but double, that is two-sided: because thou, Lord, has decreed once for all. Qualitatively by one decree, but yet by a double predestination, thou hast graciously and without interruption both justified and saved the elect, and the reprobate also justly rejected and rightly condemned. “And as Gregory says, whom we have already quoted, “Some, looking back, Thou hast redeemed, others, forsaking, Thou hast destroyed.”

And so it is with a view to the elect and reprobate, double (*gemina*) predestination is called twofold (*bipartita*) for while it is one, it is yet double (*dupla*); even as charity and love are frequently spoken of as double both by Augustine and by certain other fathers, for though they are not two but one, yet with a view to god and the neighbor are double. And thus when it is said by the father, Augustine, that the works of God are twofold, he clearly wishes to indicate double: and also that the world is said to be of four parts (*quadripartitus*) and yet not four but one. And that a continent is made of five parts does not mean that he teaches that it is five, but one. Hence also a double knowledge of the Jews is spoken of by holy Gregory and yet though it be double, it is known to be one. That this manner of speaking is common also among authors of secular literature: that is because it is most right and true and not because of the nature of things as such, since also other things can be quoted which add weight to the series of the

sentences considered above. For also by certain of these a tree is said to be double, when they do not mean to say two, but one, even as by others the quality of name is said to be twofold, as also the threefold condition of all measures, and thirdly Priscianus also skillfully explains that when he had said triple (*trinam*), he meant threefold (*tripartitam*).

Neither ought it be thought absurd by anyone reasonably and piously wise, if double predestination is believed and known, and said without doubting to be a fact, like as thou, our Lord, by nature art one, but at the same time art also personally triune: who certainly according to this thy double predestination art good in blessing of some, just in punishing others (as thy Augustine sincerely believes and faithfully asserts). And moreover, as he subsequently confesses, thou art good in all things, seeing that it is good when a debt is paid; and just in all seeing that it is just when a debt is pardoned without defrauding anyone. All these things and also this (grace be to thee) I both believe and confess according as thou doest liberally grant thy grace to me. And because by hard work, even by thy grace, I find these things which thou hast said expounded in thy books and in the books of thy ministers, so I dare not contradict that very perspicuous truth, since I am truly afraid of being denied by thee as thou hast threatened; and also that oft-repeated sentence of Paul I fear greatly: "If any preach to you anything else than what ye have received, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:8).

So much love do I perpetually owe to thee, Lord Jesus, thou who art invincible truth, that, as is asserted by Augustine, neither by man-pleasing zeal, nor by fear of avoiding inconvenience, am I turned away from the truth. And as blessed Gregory also says, in so far as we are able to live without sin, we ought to avoid scandal; if, however, scandal comes upon one because of the truth, then it is better that scandal be endured, than that the truth be relinquished. Nor should one seek to be received by certain persons, as Augustine or the apostle aver, for by the mouth of the same apostle I consider such a one worthy to be stricken with anathema. And that also gifted Gregory says truly: when by saving faith something is done, its strength is merit if the aforementioned scandals are tolerated. For if it is possible I ought and should a thousand times rather die for the truth, than that once, by speaking against it, to give way and succumb; remembering that thou knowest that "who confesses me before men, him also will I confess before my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 10:32).

At the same time I also remember this: "Go not beyond the ancient landmark which thy fathers set" (Prov. 22:28). That indeed, as Gregory explains, heretics do who live outside the bosom of the holy church. "These," he says, "remove the landmark, because by deviating from the truth they go beyond the decisions of the fathers; who also ravage the flocks and feed upon them, because by perverse counsel they draw unto themselves ignorant persons and with pestiferous gifts nourish such unto destruction." Whom also blessed Job assails, saying, "Does God requite your falsehood, that for him ye should speak lies?" (Job 13:7). God does not need falsehood because the truth does not need to be sustained by the assistance of the lie. Heretics, however, because they understand the things that are of God crookedly are not able to see from the perspective of the truth; as if for proving a beam of light, the darkness of the lie was required. And before him they speak lies, while by foolish seduction they lead away feeble minds from the understanding of truth. Likewise, "Or will he be pleasing to him who is able to hide nothing? or will he receive as a man your deceits?" (Job 13:9). Heretics offer deceits to God, because they ascribe to him on behalf of whom they speak those things which they

themselves find disagreeable, while whenever they seek to defend they offend, while they oppose him whom they seem outwardly to serve.

Whence also it is said by the psalmist, "That thou mightest destroy the enemy and the avenger" (Ps. 8:3); for every heretic is to omnipotent God an enemy and an avenger, because when he strives as if to defend the truth, then he is opposing it. But because he is able to hide nothing from God, God judges this in him; that he does not feel inwardly what outwardly he is seen to serve. Therefore because God is not deceived by his deceits like a man, justly the heretic is suppressed: "He himself will expose you because in secret ye accept the figure of him. As soon as he shall have shaken you, he shall trouble you, and his terror shall rush in upon you" (Job 13:10). This, that in secret he claims that he accepts the figure of God, Job wishes to be understood in two ways. There are some who feel the truth in their hearts and nevertheless speak concerning God the things that are false. Yea, lest they be seen to be overcome, they both know the truth inwardly and yet impugn it outwardly. And so it is well said, "He himself will expose you, because in secret ye accept the form of him"; and would that it be said openly: in so far as ye see what is true, how much more shall ye not be censured before him for falsehood.

And lest anyone confuse one thing for another, a certain Father, Cassiodorus, says and beautifully defines what is heretical: "He," he says, "is heretical, who either out of ignorance or contempt, having perverted the divine law, either as a stubborn inventor of new errors, or as a schismatic, desires rather to oppose the Catholic truth than to be subject to it." And I resolved to add this, because here I have discovered many who deceive or who are deceived; who clearly wish that I would speak more softly, or who suspect that those who believe and confess the truth of the Catholic faith concerning predestination of the reprobate over against those who oppose and abuse it, that they are heretics; who also, on the other hand, affirm that they are Catholics who are not afraid to whisper, yea, openly to preach, falsehood which is hostile to the clear truth, who superficially basing that on the divine eloquence of blessed Basil, are fattened for the corrupting of divine dogma, neither will they suffer any syllable of it; but if the truth effects any of them, then they welcome all forms of death. And that also they condemn of Gregory Nazianzen: that fortitude is to persevere in the truth; which for them is to fight about things that are nothing. But falsehood and lying are nothing by which they guard their life against all forms of human death, which they fear lest they should owe their heart to the truth always. Especially in the doctrine of religion they avoid that precipice by false speaking.

This is (all grace to thee, Lord, thou blessed trinity) the unassailable truth and my confession concerning thy foreknowledge and predestination, which the truth itself has proclaimed against the lying patrons of this scholar, and (unless they repent) sons of falsehood and perdition, and against all their pestiferous poisons and heretical dogmas; who if sprinkled with thy grace would attend, weigh, and consider the manner of the fall of the angels (as the apostle Peter testified): "Even the angels that sinned thou hast not spared. But, surrendering them to the bands and prisons of hell and to its sharp punishments, thou hast reserved them unto the greatest torments in the day of judgment" (2 Pet. 2:4); and how thou didst destroy the original world on account of the pollutions of evil men; and also how thou didst punish at once both the abominations and the shameful crimes of Sodom: thou didst efface them, burning them with the fire of heaven and didst cast them down into perpetual punishment: and that

thou didst drown Pharaoh and his host in the sea, and in that same sea, they, being shaken out from below as chaff, thou didst destroy.

If, I say, they would carefully consider this dead animosity, and in wisdom turn to thee who dost help, very easily they will perceive, that the abovementioned angels, who, as Jude writes, "kept not their first estate, but left their habitation; he has reserved in eternal chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6), that by no means wouldest thou have cast them down into this prison of airy darkness, nor wouldest thou have (as is testified by the same apostle) reserved them through the ages for suffering the greatest of punishments, without the eternal counsel of thy predestination. And thus also thou wouldest not have performed those things which are spoken of concerning reprobate men (which is impossible) without predestination. Otherwise thou, who alone are believed and known through thy revealed light by all Catholics, to be unchangeable, wouldest by their treacherous doctrine, be shown to be changeable before all ages, and also in the progress of the ages soon changed (which is not possible, even for a moment).

Cause also, I pray, Lord God, that they might no longer be the shameless, the obstinate, or the contentious, the deceitful and the liars (because men of such a kind are not able to be sharp-sighted for considering the truth which they oppose, however much they may wish to be naturally wise), but rather being made simple lovers of the truth, they might consider with the complete spiritual insight of the light that if the souls of the reprobate, from Cain, the first of them, unto the last, which are separated from their proper bodies before the day of judgment, and which are about to die; that, whether or not by a predestination that is co-eternal with thee, if in time and day by day, thou hast determined and shalt determine them unto their own deserved and meritoriously appointed torment whenever they have died, die, or shall die; that then not only art thou changeable before the ages, but also that (which with thee is impossible) from the beginning of the death of those same reprobate, yea, from the beginning of the bad angels thou hast been changed with frequent alteration, and that then in the course of a single day and night thou art changed and shalt be changed, and doubtless shalt continue to be changed throughout the ages, and only on account of the sons of hell, whom the enemies of the truth obstinately and deceitfully deny to be predestinated to perpetual punishment.

This I ask O Lord: cause, I pray, that as it behooves them, they might attend to, weigh, and consider these things and at last see, that they conceal from themselves the fact that like as and in so far as, they proclaim and falsely assert evil of thee, the always unchangeable Lord God, in thy church, that they have at the same time fatally and openly proclaimed and asserted their own punishment; and I pray that in mercy thou wouldest call them back to the way of salvation, that they might not stubbornly continue in the error of deadly heresy. Let them see, I say, of what sort and how great an evil it is that they should presume to affirm to all, not only with a lie but also with a false oath, that thou who art the author and fountain of all wisdom, yea, triune, and one, and eternal wisdom, shouldest have willed, or been able, or even ought to have executed anything without thy counsel (which is impossible), even though all thy elect, have regarded, do regard, and shall always regard thy council as good (according as they are helped by the gracious assistance of thy lovingkindness). Let them see, I say, that thou dost not appoint the destiny (from the beginning of the human race to its end) of either the souls of the dying reprobate or the same souls with their own bodies which they receive in the day of judgment, or the devil and his angels, without the counsel of predestination. But, as is

necessary, let them be put to shame profitably through vigorous inspection and wise understanding of these things, and let them blush, that so at last they might humbly bow to the truth, and finally rest from troubling me. And if certain prefer with impudent strength to continue in falsehood, persisting without modesty rather than drawing back from all error as is proper, then they shall see that very destruction to which they have turned themselves.

I pray thee, Lord God, graciously guard thy church, that they might not turn her upside down any longer by their lies and destroy her to the uttermost by the pestiferous perversity of their heresy, though mournfully they overthrow themselves with their heresy. I being graciously instructed from that same truth (which successive, faithful, devoted, and renowned preachers, teachers, and ministers of the truth have declared to thy church) even I faithfully believe, strongly hold, and truthfully and openly defend this truly Catholic article of faith concerning thy predestination, being by thee graciously and piously inspired, inclined, furnished and at the same time mercifully and marvelously helped and preserved, supported and sustained. And whoever I know who teaches the opposite, him I avoid like a pest, and reject as heretical (though with greatest grief, since with respect to such a one, the principle of blessed Augustine holds), and whoever I hear stubbornly contradicting the invincible truth and whom I observe teaching against it, I denounce as heretical and hostile to the Christian faith, who on account of this ought to be anathematized by all Catholics.

Moreover, if ever anyone of them, reading and understanding these things, refuses to concede the battle and in the image of Pharaoh is hardened (clearly a matter of will with respect to the heretic) yet manifestly disdain to acquiesce to the truth; I (according to the advice, yea precept of the apostle Paul) express an opinion of him, by shunning him, because I see such a man, overthrown and condemned by his own judgment (Titus 3:11).

And yet on account of those who are unread in these things and thus less skilled and who, unless they reform shall perish; on account of them I would be choosing to conform to the common agreement (if that was acceptable to thee, Lord): but seeing that the foundations are publicly built up by the truth and destroyed by falsehood, we are together driven unto thee, who daily hast seen fit to give us a favorable increase for which we yearned, yet above what we ask or think. Because I suffer often great grief and bear day and night to the end much sorrow, that on account of the vileness of my name, I see that among men the truth is vile: and that towards thee they do not observe as they ought genuine charity; who, so that they might appeal as the victors against me, have esteemed and do esteem thee little or nothing; nor have they fled from denying thee, nor do they flee on account of me.

And I would that it should seem good to thee, who art at the same time omnipotent and most merciful God, that as I believe and hope in thee, so it might be conceded to me, if they will not receive this truth of the Catholic faith concerning thy predestination, that by that which I am about to say; that I might demonstrate (through the ability thou hast graciously deigned to give and dost deign to be willing to give every day) that truth in the sight of all by examination: that is, that soon in the presence of a chosen multitude of people from all quarters who fear thee, as well as in the presence of the rightful and venerable authority of those who rule; both pontiffs and priests, and kings and canons; that four barrels being placed one after another and heated one by one, smeared with oil and pitch, and finally heated with a roaring fire, that then it might be allowed me (invoking thy most glorious name) for the proving of my faith, yea, the Catholic faith, to enter each and so to pass through each until (with thee going ahead of, with,

and after me, offering me thy right hand and so bringing me forth) I should prevail to go unhurt, so that at last this light of the Catholic faith might clearly shine and falsehood vanish, faith be made firm and perfidy be shunned.

Would that by this, Lord, by the reading and understanding of such (as this work), thou wouldst deign to inspire good will, so that they might entreat thee humbly, through which thou wouldst bring speedily through to execution this desire of my soul, even as thy church needs. And when I assisted by thee, have come forth unharmed, let them embrace the truth and curse the falsehood. If, however, I should dread to begin or fear to finish that which (out of thee, through thee, and in thee believing, confessing and hoping, secure in thee alone and certain only of thy grace) I promise, let them throw me in the fire and so let me perish deservedly. Nevertheless, I humbly ask thee, Lord, in thine own sweet name, that no one of thy Catholics should in his soul charge me with temerity (which is impossible) because I presume to desire this daring deed through my own extraordinary rashness, but let him see that from thee or rather by thy loving-kindness I take it upon myself.

Yea, whoever, truly fearing thee, and attending carefully deigns to read this, or in hearing to comprehend it, asks thy gracious mercy in brotherly compassion, together with a twofold love, that thou, who alone art a helper in time of trouble (Ps. 9:9) shouldst deign immediately to help me in tribulation who believe and hope in thy gracious mercy, and that thou wouldst at the same time strengthen me for both the beginning it and finishing of this task through perfect faith, and also confirm me in firm hope, and give me sincere love, and graciously adorn me with truest humility in thy presence. And drive far away from thy orthodox church the yet lethal falsehood of doctrine and make me together with thy elect to rejoice at the uncovering of the truth of the catholic faith to those of thine who are faithful. And let true and sincere joy, high and solemn dancing, and common glorying be to us, that at last thy plebians and people art proclaimed innocent of the awful treachery of heresy by thee, who art merciful. Because truly, no one of thy elect, has ever been, is, or shall be able to be acceptable to thee in himself, but rather all who are thine have been, are, and always shall be acceptable to thee by gratuitous favor from thee.

Therefore, O God, by thee being graciously emboldened through faith, made firm in hope, and likewise enflamed by love I humbly implore that while giving to me true humility, thou wouldst make me always to joy with real joy of life. Finally, to thee and to thy name be due glory forever; yea, both on account of justice, because justly thou dost humiliate, bend, and shape the proud; and on account of grace, because thou dost exalt, raise up, and set on high the humble: and because of both I pray to thee, all powerful and merciful trinity and unity that to all thine enemies (since they who are haters of thy name, if ignorantly or even knowingly they have injured or have wished to injure me, have instead without doubt injured themselves) that thou wouldst dismiss all their debts, and it would be forgiven, and wholly remit all their crimes along with their evil deeds and spare them. Amen. Much thanks I ascribe to thee, triune and one lordly Lord God, that with respect to my believing and confessing the catholic faith concerning predestination thou hast deigned, and also doest deign to be and (as I believe and hope more and more day and night) wilt deign to be my enlightener, inspirer and preserver. Amen.

I ask (in measure as divine humility is given to me) before the most present majesty of triune unity and united Trinity, that whoever thou art who readest this, that not with raven-

black envy but rather with dovelike love thou wouldest remember the sins of Gottschalk before God and with paternal or fraternal affection honestly implore most abundant mercy of him, that he might see fit to lavish to me always and everywhere in his own presence by gratuitous piety the excellency of true humility and the eminence of sincere love, and so he shall continually protect me in his pavilion from the strife of tongues (Ps. 31:20), that is, in the true faith of the Catholic Church from the calumny of heresy: that incomparable rather I might choose presently to suffer all adversities of their persecution for the name of the Lord our God and for love of the truth, than for a moment by wavering to deviate (be that far from me) from the love and confession of the truth or from the prescribed faith of Catholics, which is also declared by the mouth of that same truth, and also by the invincible authority of her ministers. Because truly I owe as much charity to my neighbor as he to me; but all to God, since whatever good is ours, either is his own or is from him.

Truly, whoever thou dost see fit to make a pious reader and skillful interpreter of this truth and my confession [something missing here], wisely thou dost permit (just as I reverently beseech a Father, or faithfully exhort a brother) if thou dost will it, that he should eternally see the truth with both holy angels, and elect men, and faithful witnesses of that same truth, and that he should continually rejoice concerning that truth, thou shouldst hasten to dishonor wholly that most pernicious and ruinous kind of lie that is despicably committed in the doctrine of religion before the death of the body; even as it has been admirable said in harmony with that by blessed Augustine; most beautiful and most modest charity, being gradually diffused in our hearts, should receive one with the kiss of peace, even as circumspect humility shuns or solid truth blunts the teeth of dogs. [Undoubtedly he means here by a peaceful kiss the inspection of a just and truthful heart with respect to someone and his speech. But by the teeth of dogs he indicates the malignant and scornful censure of perversity and falsehood.] Therefore beseeching and praying I entreat our Lord God and his majesty that against the barking of heretics we might have truest, simplest and kindest charity, and also that finally we might blunt their teeth and biting falsehood with invincible and solid truth (they willing or unwilling). If any one has been angry at my saying these things, apart from me let him admit the truth, or another author cite.

Therefore whoever of that sort and by such means still presumes, fearing the truth and its judgment little or not at all, and denies boldly (against it) that the reprobate are predestinated to perennial torment, that one who does not fear that that same truth should say to him in the last day in the hearing of all: Lo, I now justly deny thee because in times past thou hast unjustly denied me. Such (I say) if he wills and dares, denies the truth, who is not afraid to offend against it, of which he together with us stands in need day and night. We, hearing from that same truth: "the day of vengeance is in my heart" (Isa. 63:4); and, "Behold, our God shall come with a recompensing vengeance" (Isa. 35:4); should tread down this noxious falsehood and preach the truth, by which my God and the Son of God will show us mercy both now and then at his coming in the day of vengeance; if namely we have feared the fury of treachery [something missing here] so that we are able to please him who rules and defends us, and secures us forever against the rabid fury of our assailants.

Lord God (blessed and almighty Trinity and unity) impart, I pray through reading of this the faith to believe, and through believing lavish the grace to confess it. For to those believing "with the heart unto righteousness," and to those "confessing with the mouth unto salvation" (Rom.

10:10), thou wilt restore the excellence of an abundant reward, and the blessedness of thy eternal light. Amen.

Extant Fragments

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Who in truth even as he has predestinated all the elect to life solely through the gracious favor of his grace, as the pages of the Old and New Testaments sharply and soberly testify with most clear evidence to us; so also he has certainly predestinated everyone who is reprobate to the punishment of eternal death, through the most just judgment of his unchangeable justice.

What the Catholic Church ought to be holding and believing concerning the freedom of the will is clear. Since that doctrine has been discussed by certain Catholic fathers with respect to the grace of God, and especially is known to be included fully and richly in various works of the blessed Augustine...

All whom God wills to be saved, without doubt are saved: neither are any able to be saved, except those whom God wills to be saved: nor is there anyone whom God wishes to save and who is not saved, because our God has done whatsoever he has willed.

God in omnipotent goodness has willed that only those be saved who are predestinated to life; that is, those ungodly and sinners whom the Son of God has come to redeem by his own shed blood.

All those wicked and sinners for whom the same Son of God did not assume either body or language, and for whom he did not shed his blood; neither has he been crucified for them in any sense. And certainly those of whom he has foreknown that they would be most wicked and to whom he has justly and by right prescribed that they should be cast headlong into eternal torments, he has not at any time willed that those should be saved.

Therefore, what I believe most firmly, speak most confidently and confess most certainly and fruitfully, I also now most truly avow: that our omnipotent God, creator and preserver of all creatures, may be considered as the gracious renewer and restorer of the elect only; he has never willed at any time to be savior of any of the reprobate; nor redeemer; nor crowner.

I, Gottschalk, believe and confess, profess and testify, from God the Father, through God the Son, and in God the Holy Spirit, and affirm and assert before God and his holiness that predestination is double whether of election to peace or of reprobation to death. Because just as God, by free grace, has unchangeably predestinated all his elect to life eternal, so likewise (*similiter*) the same unchangeable God by a just judgment has unchangeably predestinated all the reprobate, who in the day of judgment are damned on account of their evil merits, to merited eternal death.