

LIFE AND WORKS OF SERIPANDO

A detailed narration of Seripando's life is out of place here. A minute study of his life has been made by H. Jedin and the benefit of it has been placed at the disposal of the public, in the work entitled: *Girolamo Seripando: "Sein Leben und Denken in Geisteskampf des XVI Jahrhunderts"* in 2 vols.¹ Recently, most of its contents have appeared in a single book with the title: "Papal Legate at the council of Trent, Cardinal Seripando."²

What we aim at, in this chapter, is a sketch of Seripando's life with special stress on those facts to which we will have to make frequent references, in our study.

1. Childhood

Girolamo Seripando saw the light of day in Naples in the last decade of the fifteenth century (1492 or 1493?). At an early age, he lost his noble parents Ferdinando and Louica. Thenceforth it was his uncle who took care of him and provided for his education. The precocious child became an object of admiration to his teachers in grammar, allied sciences and the law.

2. Member of the Augustinian Order

At the age of 15, Seripando shut himself up within the walls of San Giovanni a Carbonara, the principal monastery of the Observantine congregation of the Augustinian order. The famous Egidio of Viterbo who was then the Prior General of the Augustinian Order, was not slow to detect the wonderful talents that lay hidden in the young novice. In 1510, the General himself undertook to teach him Greek, in his residence in Monte Cimio. It seems probable that Seripando attended Egidio's lectures on "the Sentences" too.

The corrupt morals of the time that called for an urgent reform, the exaggerated dialectics of the scholastic theologians that created more problems in the dogmatic field, side by side with Egidio's exemplary life, zeal for reform and special liking for Plato and the humanists, kept young Seripando's fertile intellect busy with inductions and deductions that gradually led him to the final choice of his life-work.

¹edited at Wurzburg, in 1937

²edited at London and at St. Louis, B. Herder : Co., in 1947

3. Fra Seripando and Fra Luther

When Egidio went to Rome in the winter of 1510, he took Seripando with him so as to give him facilities for studying dialectics there. A few months after Seripando's arrival, Fra Martin Luther came to Rome to visit the General (January, 1511). Luther was twenty-seven years old and Seripando seventeen. The future heresiarch and the future General of the Augustinians lived in the same monastery. Paquier thinks that the two young man, both intelligent and both zealous, exchanged their ideas and admired their General who had rejected Aristotle and adhered to Plato so as to bring about a renewal in theology and a reform within the church.³ In any case, it is beyond doubt that, thirty five years afterwards, Seripando showed himself to have comprehended better than all the other Fathers of the council of Trent, the difficulties experienced by Luther, as regards the doctrine of original sin, faith and justification.

4. A Scholastic and a Minister of the Word of God

From Rome, Seripando was sent to Siena in order to study the Aristotelian "*Organon*" under men of the school of Agustino Nifo who had been one of the teachers of Egidio himself. The more Egidio knew his disciple, the more he esteemed him, so much so, shortly after Seripando's ordination (1512), the General invited him to take up the confidential office of the Order's Scriptor.

In 1515, we see Seripando appointed a Lector in the house of studies at Rome. However, before taking up the charge, he was allowed to go to Siena to begin his study of theology under the regent Theophilus Neapolitanus. The same year, Seripando was called to deliver a series of Lenten sermons at Sorrento. His fame as a gifted preacher spread far and wide, so that, almost every year we see him invited to preach in the principal cities of Italy.

Just after his mission in Sorrento, Seripando was transferred to Bologna, the intellectual centre of Italy, where he continued his studies for six years and got a thorough theological setting. Along with his studies, he used to give lectures on the "*Organon*," and tried to find time to attend some of the lectures of Pomponazzo.

In 1517, Egidio of Viterbo was created Cardinal by Leo X. In 1519, the General Chapter of the Augustinians declared Seripando a

³H. Boehmer, *Luther's Rom-fahrt* (1914), quoted by Paquier in art. cit. p. 301 footnote 1.

Bachelor and appointed him regent of the College. In the same year, he was raised to the degree of the Master by the General. During the four years of his regency at Bologna, Seripando wrote his work: “*Hieronymi Seripandi Lusus Bononi (onses)*”, which has not come down to us. He joined Aegidius Romanus in giving lectures on “the Sentences.”

5. Call to the Helm of the Observantine Congregation and Association with Humanists and Reform-Leaders

In 1523, Seripando was called from Bologna to take up the government of the Observantine congregation of Naples as Vicar General. In Naples, his intimate circle consisted of lovers of the classics and followers of Plato. His own brother Antonio was a well-known humanist.

In 1525, Seripando was relieved of his office of vicar general. Shortly, he fell into a serious illness, to the consternation of all who knew him, especially the humanists. At his recovery, his friend Gravina wrote a Latin poem in the classical style attributing the cure to the public prayers of the Neopolitans to get back the city’s most renowned preacher.

Even before his complete recovery, Seripando was forced to resume his preaching tour. Freedom from responsible offices gave him time to devote himself to study. At this period (1523-1528) Seripando wrote his “109 *Quaestiones*” and “*de Summo Bono*,” which reveal his Neo-Platonic tendencies.⁴ It is also about this time that Seripando made two copies of the work written by Aegidius Romanus and amended the Manuscript of the Augustinian Gerard of Siena. Both these works mentioned in the Corsinian Library Catalogue, are not extant.

⁴“An examination of his writings (the ‘109 *Quaestiones*’ and ‘*De Summos Bono*’) leads to the rather surprising conclusion that, at this time (1523-1528) Seripando was a follower of Neo-Platonism distinctly coloured by the Renaissance. That conclusion is pointed out by the fact that he quotes Plato more than he does any other Philosopher. We find excerpts from the following Platonic and Neo-Platonic works: *Apologia*, *Timaeus*, *Phaedon*, *Philebus*, *Theatetet*, *Symposion*, *Euthydemus*, *Parmenides*, *Sphistes*, *The Republic*, *Leges*, and of the letters: *First Alcibades*, *Menexemus*, *Epinomis* and *Ion*. This list indicates how important Plato and the new Platonism were for Seripando’s philosophical and theological position.” Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 24, # 1.

In 1531, Seripando was again appointed Vicar general of the Observantine Congregation of Naples. From this time, his sphere of acquaintances began to widen. In 1534, he visited the Cardinal Protector of his order Alessandro Farnese who was a thick friend of Egidio and an avowed Platonist. On his visit to Venice, he got acquainted with Cardinal Carafa who was known for his zeal for church reform. Seripando was invited to preach at Gaeta, where he enjoyed the company of the Sainly Archbishop Cardinal Cajetan whose life and mode of administering the diocese were a source of great consolation to him.

By this time the Evangelical movement had gained ground in Italy. There was a general unrest. Preachers came with new Gospels. Writers gave vent to new ideas that seemed to carry weight. Even the best minds found it difficult to distinguish the wheat from the chaff. Seripando found it necessary to seek permission from the Pope for reading heretical books so as to make himself competent to cope with the occasion.

In 1534, Alessandro Fransese was elected Pope. This Pope (Paul III) a man of acute judgment took Seripando for what he was. He showed him special marks of esteem and consulted him on important matters. Emperor Charles too, being impressed by the sermons of Seripando, accorded him distinguished treatment, during his triumphant stay at Naples, in 1535.

In 1537, Seripando was appointed, for the third time, Vicar General of his congregation. In 1538, he was invited to Verona to preach, with a special stress on the doctrine of Indulgences.⁵ At this time, he wrote a composition on Indulgences. During his stay at Verona, Seripando was welcome to the Court of Bishop Giberti, which consisted of learned men (the poet Flaminio, Tullio Crispoldi, Nicolo Ormaneto, the latinists Berni and Bini, the canon Giacomo etc.) all of whom led exemplary lives. These men were lively to the Evangelical movement, and wanted to know from the famous Augustinian Preacher, the genuine Augustinian doctrine on justification. To satisfy them, Seripando had to make a special study. He had to scrutinize St. Augustine’s works on Predestination and “*de Spiritu et littera*.” Thus equipped, he had to give himself up to the study of the Pauline epistles, especially those to the Romans and Galatians.

⁵Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 22, # 1.

6. Call to the Helm of the Augustinian Order (First Period of Generalship)

In the General Chapter of 1538, Fra John Antony was elected General of the Augustinians. But this general died shortly. Thereupon, Paul III appointed Seripando Vicar General of the Order. In the General Chapter held in 1539, Seripando was unanimously elected General. Two important tasks lay before the new General: to reform the internal working of his Order, and to safeguard it from the infiltrations of the Lutheran heresy.

To effect the reform, Seripando had to make a general visitation of the Order in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal. He did the work with such prudence and paternal solicitude that he merited the following tribute from the pen of Jedin:

To Seripando belongs the credit of having led the order through that serious crisis in which he found it when he took office, so that it was able to do its part with the other Mendicant Orders in the Catholic reformation. If only for this reason, his name deserves to be listed in the history of the Catholic reformation with the founders of the new religious Orders and the great Cardinals of the reform.⁶

To purge his order from connections with heresy, Seripando took a firm stand against those of its members who were suspected of heresy. His upright behaviour won for him the complete confidence of the Roman Inquisition. Disappointments he had many to come across, yet, in the end, he could rest assured that he had succeeded to stem the strong undercurrents of Lutheranism that could easily have washed off even the strong pillars of his Order.

During the busy days of his Generalship, Seripando did not forget the promise he had made to the Giberti group. A complete knowledge of the genuine doctrine of justification was necessary for him, in his capacity as General, too. How could he deal with those who were suspected of Lutheran heresy, unless he himself knew well the ins and outs of the question? Seripando's earnestness in the study is evident from his letters to Flaminio and from his exegetical works. His letters of 1539 to Flaminio, reveal his views on Predestination and Justification;⁷ his preaching of this period,

⁶Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 220, # 1.

⁷Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 84, # 3.

primarily concerned the doctrine of justification.⁸ To cope with the situation created by the Evangelical movement, Seripando fixed his attention on those parts of Scripture whence the adversaries took their arguments against the established doctrine of the Catholic Church. Before the year 1546, he had produced Commentaries on six Pauline Epistles and 67 *Quaestiones* on the Epistle to the Galatians. Seripando's wonderful power of concentration is evident from the fact that he wrote his exegesis on four of these epistles (the two to the Corinthians and the two to the Thessalonians), during the time of his visitation of the order – a time when he had days of crowded programmes and numerous problems of serious complications to attend to.⁹

On April 3, 1542, Seripando reached Rome, after the visitation of his Order. He was granted several interviews with Paul III. Probably, it was on this occasion, that the Pope asked Seripando to read all the works of heretics and to get himself well prepared for the coming Council.

7. General Again: Activities at Trent (1545-1547)

The Augustinian Order was convinced that Seripando was the man sent by God, to lead it through the time of peril. So, the General chapter of 1543 chose him to continue his post at the helm. During this period of his Generalship, Seripando was called to represent his order in the council of Trent. He reached Trent on May 19, 1545, but the Council actually began only nine months later (December 13, 1545). Mention is made of this period of indecision in Seripando's letter of dedication of his commentaries on the Romans and Galatians, to Cardinal Cervini.¹⁰

7.1. Preliminary Sessions

When the council at last began, Seripando had much work to turn out. In the preliminary Sessions, Seripando made his influence felt in the decisions regarding the vote of the Generals of Orders and the omission of the clause: "*universalem Ecclesiam repraesentans*."¹¹ At the request of Cervini, the second presiding

⁸Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 75.

⁹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 145-150.

¹⁰Dedicatory Letter to Cervini, Seripando, p. 1.

¹¹Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 255-259.

Legate, Seripando drew up an order of business for the Council, insisting on a systematic and exhaustive discussion of every question, before coming to decisions.¹² No doctrine was to be condemned simply because it had been sponsored by the heretics. No doctrine was to be branded as heretical, simply because it seemed false to academic theologians. The wording of the decree was to be as simple and as clear as possible. It was not to be weighted down by the professional terminology of Theologians. Here was a man who, while appreciating the good aspects of scholastic theology, would not be blind to its drawbacks, a man who saw the error of those who had gone astray, but would not have their error exaggerated to the least extent. However, a systematic and exhaustive discussion could not be accepted as the ideal means of arriving at decisions in matters of faith. Hence Seripando's order of business was not given importance, and the one proposed by the first President del Monte, was adopted.

7.2. Scripture and Tradition

Regarding Scripture, the Council's first attention was fixed on the Canon. Seripando was against the proposal that the canon of the Council of Florence should be accepted exactly as it stood. He proposed a distinction to be made between "*Canon fidei*" and "*Canon Morum*."¹³ His view was explained in his treatise: "*De Canone Scripturarum*" which was presented to Cervini. Although Seripando and the Dominican Bishop Bertano were the only Theologians to make this move, their weight was so great that Cervini thought it necessary to propose their view for the consideration of the General Congregation. However, the final decision was, to accept the Florentine canon without distinction.

After the decision concerning the Canon of Scripture, the relative position of scripture with Tradition, had to be studied. Seripando held, with St. Augustine, that Holy Scripture contained everything that was necessary to attain salvation; so he was against placing Tradition on a par with scripture.¹⁴ To explain his position, Seripando wrote a treatise with the title: "*De traditionibus*." However, his proposal to substitute the phrase "*simili pietatis*

¹²Cfr. C.T. II, 416-418; Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 259-262.

¹³Cfr. C.T. XII: 483-496.

¹⁴Cfr. C.T. XII: 521, 8f.

affectu" to "*pari pietatis affectu*," did not get the consent of the majority.¹⁵ Then Seripando tried to mitigate as much as possible, the punishment meted out to the violators of the decree, by proposing to add the word "*pertinaciter*" to modify the act of violation. In this attempt, Seripando was not disappointed.¹⁶

Then came discussions on the abuses that had crept into scripture interpretation. Against Seripando's wish, the vulgate version was declared authentic. His views concerning the original texts of Scripture and versions into vernacular tongues, as he had explained them, in his treatise: "*Collecta de Libris Sanctis*," were too advanced to get a patient hearing in the council of Trent.¹⁷

Seripando was a member of the Commission which the council appointed to study the abuses in scripture interpretation.¹⁸ The final result of the labours of the council was the decree: "*Insuper*." Here too Seripando vainly hoped to put in a wording that would safeguard the importance of the original biblical languages and expressly permit the use of other translations.

While the question of preaching came in the council, Seripando had to absent himself, in Padua. The discussions took such a turn, that the religious orders were about to lose all their privileges in the preaching of the Word of God. Numerous letters reached Seripando, soliciting his immediate return to Trent. He returned soon, and addressed the Council, on June 15, 1546. "Seripando's speech, a rhetorical masterpiece, was accorded more applause than any other, at the Council. Some regretted that they had issued opinions inimical to the Orders. Pachecho said that he had been completely won over by Seripando's speech."¹⁹ It was a decided victory for the Orders; the decree that was drawn up, gave the religious almost entire freedom in their own churches.

7.3. Original Sin

Before the session on original sin (May 28, 1546), Seripando had summarized his views on the question, in the treatise: "*De*

¹⁵Cfr. C.T. V: 51-54 (the *7a dubitatio*), C.T. I, 41, 19 ff.

¹⁶Cfr. C.T. V: 42, 8; 54, 16 ff.

¹⁷Cfr. C.T. XII: 483-496. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 283-300.

¹⁸Cfr. C.T. 409, 22. Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 282 # 2.

¹⁹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 312 # 2.

peccato Originali.” His firm conviction was that concupiscence, as root of all actual sins, was hated by God, even in those who were baptized. In order to save this view, Seripando proposed, together with the Servite General Bonuccio, to retain the words “*reliquiae*” and to change the clauses, “*quod veram et propriam peccati habet rationem*” and “*in renatis nihil odit Deus.*” In spite of the moving reasons brought in by Seripando and others like Cardinal Pole, the voice of the majority decided against Seripando’s theory.²⁰

7.4. Justification by Faith

In the General Congregation of June 30, 1546, Seripando was provided with an outline of the doctrine on justification. With this outline as basis, he wrote an extensive treatise on justification, in the first week of July. It is interesting to note the instructions Seripando gives for the formulation of the decree on this delicate question. In the decrees he said the terminology of the schools must be avoided as much as possible. In describing the process of justification, it would be advisable to adhere to those concrete and typical examples reported by Holy Scripture and Christian tradition.²¹

On July 13, and 23, Seripando placed before the council, his opinions on justification: “All the fathers were unanimous in praising Seripando because he had been eminently successful in presenting these complex problems.”²² It seems that this event gave Cardinal Cervini a happy suggestion to solve a difficulty which he had to face a little later. Cervini was afraid that the first draft of the decree on justification drawn up by a committee of theologians and apparently approved by the theologians’ Congregation would get a cold welcome from the Prelates. The public admission of Seripando’s perfect competency in handling the question, gave the Cardinal a hint as to whom he was to approach for a revision of the rejected draft. On July 24, he approached Seripando with the draft, and Seripando finished the revision, on August 11. Cervini and his advisers immediately approved Seripando’s draft; but it met with serious objections in the General Congregation. Consequently, Seripando set to work again and finished the revision of the draft on

²⁰Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 319-325. Cfr. C.T. I, 68, 14 ff. V, 195, 9 ff.; 206, 28 ff; 203, 18 ff.; I, 75, 17-46; V, 220, 7 ff.; XII, 552, 35 ff.

²¹Cfr. C.T. II, 419, 15 ff.

²²C.T. I. 89, 7. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 337 # 3 f.

August 28.²³ In this draft, there appeared a chapter with the title: “*De Duplici iustitia.*” Cervini and his advisers did not present the draft, all at once, to the General Congregation. They worked upon it with such minute attention and uncompromising alterations, that, when they presented it, on September 23, to the general Congregation, Seripando could hardly recognize it as his own.²⁴ It contained the doctrine of double justice, but in a different form.

The theory of ‘double justice’ rested on a conviction of the inadequacy of good works before God’s tribunal and on the necessity of complementing them with the justice of Christ who is the head of the mystical body. Seripando’s arguments were so weighty that the question had to be discussed at length in the General Congregation. Consequently a new draft was drawn up, between October 25 and November 4, with the help of Seripando.²⁵ It was presented to the General Congregation on November 5, but before presenting it, the first President del Monte made some changes in it. Seripando had closed the draft commending the just man to God’s mercy. But the emendator removed that passage, and put in the thought of God’s strict judgement.²⁶

The alteration touched Seripando to the quick and in his bitterness, the meek Seripando wrote in his diary: “The whole passage seems to be the work of a man who does not know whereof he speaks.”²⁷ The emendator described faith as the first disposition to justice. Seripando, who counted faith as the cause of justification, was surprised at the change in the draft, and he wrote in its margin: “Alas, what do I hear? Everything in Holy Scripture about justification through faith is now to be understood of the disposition!”²⁸ The discussion continued, but Seripando could not gain the majority for his dear convictions; the final draft which was passed in the Council on January 13, 1547, did not contain the peculiar views for which Seripando had fought.²⁹

²³C.T. II, 429, 29 ff.

²⁴Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 355 # 1.

²⁵Cfr. C.T. II, 430, 12 ff.

²⁶Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 377 f. Cfr. C.T. V 515, 12 ff; 639, 33 ff.

²⁷C.T. V 663 nota 2, II: Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 378 # 2.

²⁸Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 379 # 2.

²⁹Cfr. C.T. V: 790 ff.

7.5. The Question of Residence: Sacraments

In the decree concerning the Bishop's obligation of Residence, which was passed in the Sixth Session, Seripando did not take any active part. When, however, discussions began on the Sacraments, Seripando again came to the forefront. His assistance was called upon to draw up the list of 35 heretical articles on the sacraments in general, on Baptism and on Confirmation.³⁰ After the discussion in the Theologian's Council, the conclusions were presented to the General Congregation, on January 31, 1547. Seripando wrote a treatise on Sacraments, to explain his stand, with regard to those articles. The opinion he delivered in the council, on February 19, was an excerpt of this treatise. The decree was adopted on March 3, 1547.

On March 7, the council took up the question of Holy Eucharist. Seripando had worked much on the subject, but before he could present his views, the council was transferred to Bologna.

7.6. Session at Bologna

When it was decided to transfer the Council to Bologna, Seripando left Trent and reached Bologna, on March 26, 1547. He took part in the theologian's Councils and in the General session of April, 21.

8. General for the Third Time

8.1. Activities at Bologna

After the General session of April 21, Seripando had to leave Bologna, just in time to attend the General Chapter of the Lombard congregation of the Augustinians, at France. Thence he went to Recanati to attend the general chapter of the Order. Here, Seripando was elected General, for the third time.

On his return to Bologna, Seripando began council activities again (September 14). Even when absent from the council, his services had been called for, and he was, in fact helping the council through correspondence.³¹

³⁰Cfr. C.T. V: 835 ff.

³¹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 405 - 407.

8.2. Church Reform

From October onwards, the council turned its attention to the reform of abuses. On this problem, Seripando addressed the Council on three occasions. He spoke boldly: "In promulgating the Canons of the Reform, we cannot ask"; he said: "What will the Lutherans say if we admit the existence of simony, by publishing a decree against it? What worries me is the question: What will the Lutherans say if, when the council is over, all these abuses and evil practices have not been abolished?"³²

It was at this juncture, that Charles V's famous protest against Pope and Council took place. In the formulation of the Counter-protest, Seripando had an important part. At this time, he wrote a 'memorial' in which he gives the reasons for opposing the Emperor's wishes.

The Emperor's antagonism produced a period of stagnation in the Council. It was annoying to Seripando, as he observes in his letters. However, it was a blessing in disguise; for it was then, that Seripando found time to write down his critical observations on the principles of Scripture interpretation.³³ At this time Seripando wrote also: "*Judicium de libro interim nuncupato.*"

9. Last Labours as General and the Resignation

The weight of uncertainty at Bologna was so painful to Seripando, that he got permission from Rome, and gladly bade farewell to Bologna, on August 24, 1548. But the labours of the Order that awaited him, were so crushing, that on September 20, 1550, he was obliged to retire to Naples for some rest. Seripando thought it was God's will that he should resign his office as General. On May 17, 1551, the General Chapter of the Order accepted Seripando's resignation letter, in the midst of tears.

No sooner was Seripando relieved of the great burden of Generalship, than he was offered the Bishopric of Aquileia by the Emperor. Seripando declined the offer for reasons of ruined health.

In his quiet life at Posillipo, in Naples, Seripando completed a project which was very dear to his heart. He founded the famous

³²Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 413 # 2. Cfr. C.T. I, 706, 7; 711, 26 ff; 712, 1 ff; 714, 7 ff.

³³Cfr. Dedicatory letter in Seripando's Commentaries on the Romans and Galatians (the first part) pp. 1, 2.

library of San Giovanni a Carbonara and got official approval of it from the Pope, in July 1552.

In 1553, Naples wanted Seripando's services for negotiations with Emperor Charles V. On April 23, 1553, Seripando went on his mission to Brussels. After negotiations which were successful to a great extent, he left Brussels on March 5, 1554. Before reaching home, Seripando got the news of his appointment as Archbishop of Salerno. The improved state of his health made it obligatory on him to accept the burden.

10. Archbishop, Reform Leader, Cardinal

As Archbishop of Salerno, Seripando got an opportunity to realize his ideal of church reform. In him were united the great spirits of the reform movement in Italy, Egidio, Cajetan, Giberti and Carafa. Soon, Salerno got a new life, and Seripando was looked upon as a leader of the reform movement.

At that time, it was Cardinal del Monte who was occupying the chair of Peter, as Julius III (1549-1555). Then his friends Cervini, as Marcellus II (1555, April 4, May 23), and Carafa as Paul IV (1555-1559) ascended the Papal throne. It was thought that these Popes would raise Seripando to the Cardinalate; but in fact, they did not do anything to that effect. At last, on December 26, 1559, Cardinal Medici became Pope Paul IV. This Pope was resolved to put in force the long-contemplated reform.

Pius IV knew Seripando. The Pope's confidential, adviser Morone was an admirer of Seripando, and the Venetian Ambassador Da Mula was the renowned Augustinian's intimate friend. The Pope of the reform could not go without the Counsel and Services of the Archbishop of Salerno, who was, by this time, acknowledged, by tacit consent, as the intellectual leader of the reform movement.

In September 1560, Seripando received a Papal Brief, calling him to Rome. The Pope consulted Seripando on the contemplated reform and on the reconvening of the Council, which had not yet come to a close. He appointed Seripando a member of the Roman Inquisition, probably as an exponent of the Pope's new course. Seripando was, further asked to revise the index of Paul IV which had been disliked by all, for its excessive rigorism. Moreover, in the Conferences concerning the reopening of the Council, Seripando's presence was considered to be inevitable.

The rumour spread that the Pope was contemplating Seripando's elevation to Cardinalate and his appointment as presiding Legate to the Council that was to be reopened at Trent. Indeed, no one else possessed better experience and qualifications to fill in the post of Cervini, at the Council. Philip II of Spain and Vargas, his Ambassador were far from being pleased with this rumour. They were decidedly against Seripando's elevation. Soon a talk was spread that Seripando was a friend of the Carafa Pope (Paul IV), that if he became Cardinal, he might become Pope too, and then, wreak vengeance on Pius IV's relatives for the hard way the Pope (Pius IV) had behaved towards his predecessor Paul IV (Carafa). In spite of all this opposition, Pius IV nominated Seripando Cardinal on February 26, 1661, and sent him as second presiding Legate to Trent.³⁴

11. Again at Trent: Second Presiding Legate

On April 14, 1661, Seripando solemnly entered Trent together with the first Presiding Legate, Cardinal Mantua. Just as during the first period of the Council, Seripando had to wait long for the actual sessions. He used his free time to review his manuscripts, and to read more books of the heretics so as to get at their precise mind. On December 9, 1661, definite instructions arrived at Trent for the opening of the Council. On January 15, 1662, the General congregation was convened. The first three Legates, Mantua, Seripando and Hosius had mutual respect and understanding. The fourth Legate Simonetta was a cross to Seripando. At the mere thought of him, Seripando wrote in his diary "*Miserere mei Domine.*"³⁵ The same could be said of Mark Sittich, the fifth Legate.

The greater part of the council consisted of Italian Bishops who stood for reform. These knew that Seripando was their leading spirit. Mantua and Hosius were also in favour of reform. The curial party headed by Simonetta wanted to safeguard the best interests of Papacy. The Spanish group headed by the Archbishop of Granada, had for their principal goal, Church reform through the Council. Then there was the imperial party which objected to everything that could antagonize the protestant groups in the Empire.

³⁴Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 562-577.

³⁵C.T. II, 466, 13 f.

The Spanish party, at the very outset, wanted a declaration that the present sessions were a continuation of the earlier sessions at Trent, but the Imperial party objected to such a declaration. After long negotiations, the Legates consented to a postponement of discussions on controversial dogmas, till May 14, when, it was expected, more representatives from other countries would arrive. But what was the Council to do in the meanwhile? It was decided that the interval should be utilized for discussions on reform.

11.1. On Church Reform and Bishop-Residence

The Reform Committee selected twelve articles from a reform programme which Seripando had drawn up with the help of his friends. The council of Legates approved it. But, on March 11, just before the presentation of the programme to the Council, Simonetta made known to Seripando through his secretary, his objections against the first article which dealt with the obligation of Residence. At once, Seripando consulted Mantua, and they were both agreed to exclude that article. But the imperial party clamoured for its inclusion. Seripando, however, moved that the Article on Residence should be struck off, but, then, Simonetta objected to it, probably, fearing that the odium and the responsibility would fall upon him.

Seripando was personally, convinced of the divine obligation of residence and of the necessity of an insistence on it, for an effective reform of the Church; he had indicated his reasons in a draft of the decree. As a matter of fact, the same view had been exposed by the Spanish theologians in 1546; and a number of volumes had been written on that subject since that time.

Once the decision was made to include the first Article in the programme, it was necessary to give the Fathers freedom to discuss the point. Simonetta's group was against giving this freedom of discussion, while Mantua and Seripando were for it. Thus there ensued a split among the Legates. The Bishops came forth with their endless speeches. Each of them wanted to make use of the right to speak. The sessions became extremely tedious. It took nine General congregations to finish the Bishops' talk.

At last, on April 20, the Legates wanted to know the Council's opinion on the obligation of Residence; but, then, there arose a dissension in the Council. A good number resigned their votes into

the Pope's hands.³⁶ Report reached the Curia from Simonetta, throwing the blame on Mantua and Seripando. They were reported to have favoured the anti-curial movement of the Spaniards. The Pope was displeased. Pius IV who had created Seripando Cardinal, in spite of strong opposition, from others, now said: "*Poenitet me fecisse hominem.*" He even said, in his excess, that he would pay 50,000 ducats, if he could revoke Seripando's promotion.³⁷

On May 11, Seripando received a Papal letter of reprimand. He, then, composed the "*Apologia*" in which he stated things as they stood. His innocence was recognized. Da Mula, his friend, who was at Rome, assured the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Borromeo: "The whole world would not be able to persuade Seripando to do anything against his conscience."³⁸

Mantua, the first president, was so disgusted with the calumnies spread abroad, that he remained away from the Council business. But Seripando continued. However, Simonetta stepped to the forefront, and gave foundation to the rumour that he was the actual President of the Council. Towards the end of May, news arrived that new Legates were coming to Trent. At this juncture, Mantua announced his decision to leave Trent, before the arrival of the new Legates. This announcement reversed the attitude of the Fathers of the Council. Some openly remarked that Mantua and Seripando had fallen from favour, simply because they would not defend the abuses in the Curia. There was danger of a split between Pope and Council.

In this plight, Pius IV assured Mantua and Seripando of his confidence and ordered things to continue as before. Matters were made still easier by a stroke of Papal diplomacy in such a way that instructions were given by Philip II to the Spanish theologians, not to urge the question of divine obligation, in the matter of the Bishops' residence.

11.2. *Utraquism* and Mass

The atmosphere being thus calmed, the Council could continue discussions on dogma. The questions of *Utraquism* and Mass were

³⁶Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 607 # 1. C.T. III, I, 106 ff.

³⁷*Documentos ineditos* IX, 209, mentioned in Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 611 # 3, foot-note 32.

³⁸Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 614 # 2f.

discussed. Seripando's view on the sacrifice of the Mass had the same fate as that on justification. His view was explained in the three treatises he wrote: "*De oblatione hostiae viventis*," "*Meditationes*" and "*De oblatione Christi in Caena*." He held that the last supper was not a sacrifice in itself, but an integral part of the sacrifice of the cross, while the majority supported the view that the last supper, in itself, was a sacrifice. He refuted St. Thomas and gave this general statement: "None of the more recent Doctors has any binding authority."³⁹ The final decree of September 17 was against Seripando's conviction. Since he could not vote against his conscience, he absented himself from the session.

11.3. Diplomatic Tension in the Council

After the session of September 17, there arose a tension in the Council on diplomatic grounds. The French and Imperial representatives demanded the postponement of dogmatic discussions until the arrival of the French Prelates, under the leadership of the Cardinal of Lorraine which was expected to take place, towards the end of October, and to begin, in the meantime, serious discussions on the article of the Reform.

Seripando was exhausted, by this time. The whole of October, he was sick. It was only, at the end of October, that he could present himself in the Council. As to the decree on the obligation of residence, he preferred the formula: "instituted by Christ," to "*jure divino*," since the latter might give place to Gallican interpretations. Seripando was neither a Gallican nor an Episcopalian, but a theologian of the Bible and the Fathers.⁴⁰

11.4. Seripando and the French Cardinal

On November 13, the Cardinal of Lorraine reached Trent with 14 French Prelates. The princely Cardinal took no time to recognize to negotiate matters with such a straightforward man. But Simonetta's attitude estranged the French Cardinal, and caused Seripando to write: "I foresee great dangers."⁴¹

³⁹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 648 # 2. Cfr. Susta II, 87.

⁴⁰Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 669 # 1.

⁴¹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 677 # 2 (*Susta* III, 100).

12. The Last Days

On February 23, 1563, the first President Mantua fell seriously ill and on March 3, the council stood at the bier of the princely Cardinal.

The burden of the Council's direction now fell on Seripando who had been already worn out by old age and sufferings, both mentally and bodily. He asked the Pope to appoint a Senior Legate "who would be able to bear the burden of the Supreme direction of the Council."⁴² In fact, a senior Cardinal did come. It was Morone, Seripando's admirer. But Morone was not to have the happiness of working side by side with Seripando. On the very next day of Morone's appointment (March 7), Seripando was confined to bed, and after nine days of suffering, the Cardinal was called to the Almighty's tribunal, where he expected mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ Our Lord.

⁴²Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 689 # 1 (*Susta* III, 258 ff).