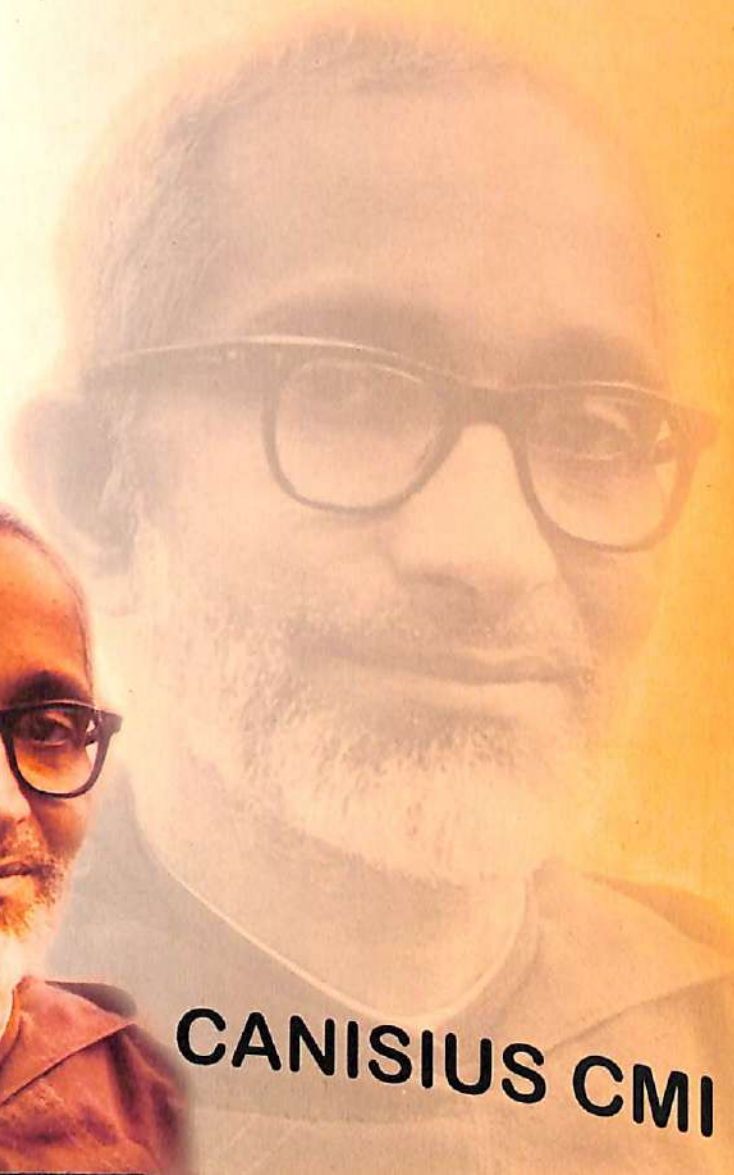
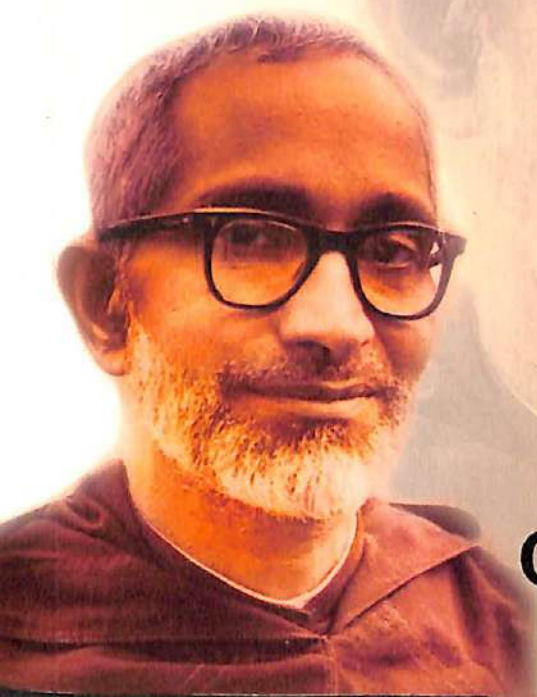


in the service of

The Word of God



CANISIUS CMI

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IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORD OF GOD

**Cardinal Seripando, an Exegete and
Biblical Theologian**

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Canisius CMI

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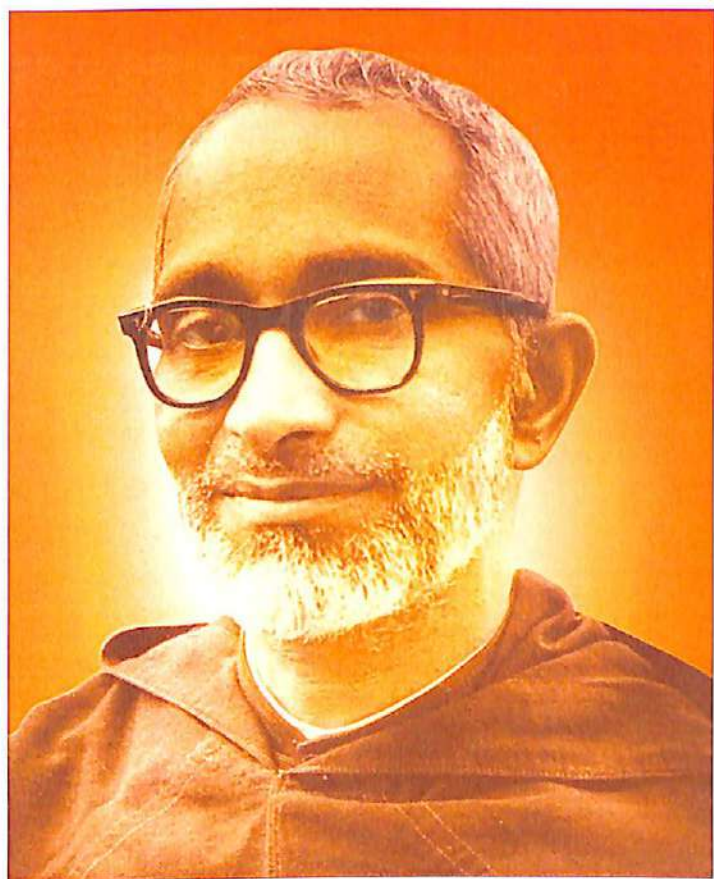
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ABBREVIATIONS

C.T.	-	<i>Concilium Tridentinum</i>
Dn	-	<i>Densinger</i>
D.T.C.	-	<i>Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique</i>
P.L.	-	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
V.D.	-	<i>Verbum Domini</i>
Vg.	-	<i>The Clementine Vulgate</i>
L.W.	-	<i>Luthers Werke Weimar Edition</i>



Fr Canisius Thekkekara CMI
1914-1998

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PRESENTATION

With immense exultation and a profound sense of gratitude, we publish the first scriptural dissertation defended in the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome by an Indian. Fr. Canisius CMI has brought this glory to the Indian, especially Kerala Church. The doctoral work under the title *Cardinal Seripando: An Exegete and Biblical Theologian* was defended on 27 November 1952. Fr. Stanislaus Lynonet SJ, the well known specialist on St. Paul, was the moderator of the thesis. Alberto Vaccari SJ, the famous Bible scholar, served as the second director.

Unfortunately, no serious attempts were made to publish this scholarly work till this time. Fr. Canisius, who is well known for his humility, discouraged such attempts. He used to say that his dissertation does not deserve to be published, since it lacked scientific rigour and academic excellence. However, even a causal reading of this work will attest to the contrary. I was full of admiration for the meticulous presentation of the theme. The author proves that he had a masterly knowledge even of the primary sources. He is well versed in the original sources. He shows an admiring knowledge of the Greek, Latin, French, German, and Italian languages. At every page he cites the original texts and sources. Originally, the manuscript comprises of two volumes, the first being the text of 359 pages, the second, the notes of 156 pages.

It was due to the efforts of Fr. Jose Nandhikkara CMI that this enterprise could be realized. Fr. Jose traced out the manuscript of this dissertation, and Fr. Saju Chackalackal CMI and brothers Sinto Nangini, Arun Karaparambil, Jebin Kanjirathingal, Jinto Kuttookaran, Lipson Kokkadan, Noble Kavalakkatt, Jinto Chirayath, Lebin Vennattuparambil, and Praveen Puthenchirakaran helped in digitising the thesis. Fr. Canisius was meticulous in giving detailed notes with the citation of Latin texts, which, however, are not very essential to understand the arguments. Also most of the readers may not be familiar with the Latin language. Hence, in most of the notes mere references to the text are given, and the detailed citations are reduced to the minimum. We have also omitted some details on the life of Seripando. Fr. P. K. George SJ helped us in correcting the Latin texts and Fr. Sebastian Mullooparampil CMI and Fr. Benny Nalkara CMI corrected the Greek texts. Dharmaram College and Dharmaram Publications generously undertook the publication of this work, honouring her

first biblical scholar and saintly rector during the period 1960-1966.

Now let us enter into the world of the dissertation. The bibliography is divided into four sections, the works of Seripando, biographical studies, works which help for the study of Seripando's word interpretation, and books which help for the study of sense interpretation and biblical theology. It is worthy to note that Fr. Canisius' bibliography is thorough, and at the same time concise and precise.

The introductory part consists of three chapters. In chapter 1, the author presents his arguments for the choice of the topic. He finds in Seripando a great theologian, a good critic of exegetical works as well as an exegete and biblical theologian.

The author pinpoints the objective and relevance of the study. According to him, the study of the exegetical works of Seripando is most opportune at our time, when the many Churches are trying to search out and narrow down the differences among them, so as to hasten the realization of Christ's prayer, "That all may be one." For Fr. Canisius, Seripando was a theologian who did his level best to understand the mind of his dissenting brethren. He was "a scripturalist, who took in hand the exegetical works, with the dissenters' own oft-repeated ideal, 'to make clearer the mind of Paul'." Seripando showed them where and how they went astray from that ideal. At the same time he defended them in the Council of Trent on the issues in which he found their position right. This prophetic daringness brought tremendous suffering for him. His orthodoxy was questioned by many conservative council Fathers, even by the Pope. The author finds in Seripando "a man who burnt with the zeal for Church reform and firmly stood for it" "in the midst of misunderstandings and humiliations."

This objective induced Fr. Canisius to undertake a scientific study of the exegetical works of Seripando. Thereby he has done a great service to the Church and the future students of Seripandian theology. Enthusiastically he delved into the conciliar treatises and inedited works of Seripando and did "tedious task to fish out Seripando's exact mind."

The author deserves our unreserved appreciation and whole hearted commendation. He inspires us to follow his methodology in India, a land of religious pluralism and Christian denominations. Like him we have to defend the elements of truth in other religions

and churches. At the same time, the author sets the example in pointing out where and how the Christian and non-Christian brethren are going astray from the ideal of Christ, who is the way, the truth and the life.

In chapters 2 and 3, Fr. Canisius provides the exact and minute details of the works of the biblical theologian with the dates of composition and revisions. Here we have one of the many examples of the scientific mind of the author.

The thesis is mainly divided into two parts, Seripando the Exegete, and Seripando a Biblical Theologian. Part I is further divided into two sections: Seripando's Word Interpretation and Sense Interpretation. Fr. Canisius begins the first part with an introduction on the nature of Bible exegesis and the scope of exegesis according to Seripando. Bible exegesis has to provide a lucid explanation of the mind of Paul, which has the functions of word interpretation and sense interpretation. "The scope for the exegesis is to make clear what the apostle deals with and what he looks up to." Seripando finds fault with the Protestants since they neglected "the scope of exegesis itself, trying to explain themselves rather than the mind of St Paul." Further, "the exegete has also to adapt his exposition to the condition of those for whom he is writing." He has "to propose the truth taught by the sacred author, in such a way that it may be easily assimilated by the persons whom he addresses." Here comes the need for contextual hermeneutics. Indeed, this is one of the contributions of Fr. Canisius' dissertation on Seripando.

Section I on Seripando's Word Interpretation has three chapters: Search for Original Texts, the Latin Rendering and Helps for an Easy Understanding of the Latin Rendering. Here Fr. Canisius finds fault with Seripando's preference for longer readings for the reason that they express the mind of the author more fully. Every modern exegete will agree with Fr. Canisius, since any scribe could have added apt explanations so as to express the original idea more fully. Further, he does not agree with Seripando's seemingly arbitrary change of the word order.

Fr. Canisius commends Seripando in exposing St. Paul's mind in the most apt and the most ordinary expressions. He unearths fifty instances in which Seripando substituted the Vulgate rendering by more apt expressions. He adduces forty three instances where Seripando used more ordinary expressions in

order to give St. Paul's word more force. The author of the dissertation finds out that "Seripando's word interpretation is, indeed, well planned, and as a rule well worked out." He tries to justify the aberrations, as Seripando lacked at that time the modern critical editions of the Greek text and of the Latin versions, perfect grammars and exhaustive lexicons. He is full of admiration for "Seripando's determination to bring home to his readers the full force of the apostles' words in all possible clarity." He has employed all the methods known at that time in order to make the full meaning clear to his readers.

The author concludes section I with the following observation: "He had himself studied the Vulgate text, comparing it with Greek original and had found that in many cases it did not represent the original text with exactitude, and that in many cases, its rendering were far from being exact." Thereby Seripando could fight in the Council of Trent for the study of the original text and their translations into vernacular. The exegete's primary duty is to study "the original text, the restoring of it into its original purity, and rendering of it into the exegete's language, in as apt and as ordinary word as possible." Indeed, Fr. Canisius' apt observation should serve as the *élan vital* for the modern scriptural scholars.

In section II on Sense Interpretation, the author distinguishes three different steps taken by Seripando in exposing the sense of the letters of Paul. Accordingly, he entitles the chapters as Investigation on Paul's Mind in Its Outlines, Personal Reflections on Paul's Doctrine and Exposition.

According to Fr. Canisius, two fundamental rules guided Seripando in investigating Paul's mind: the rule of flow and the rule of stability. The rule of flow, by itself, is not a sure guide; it receives help from the rule of stability, to have its results checked and to proceed with ease, in places where obscurities abstract the passage.

After discovering Paul's thought in its outline, Seripando had recourse to deeper speculations on the mind of the Apostle. Here he is guided by the authority of the Church, the Council as well as that of the Fathers. He consulted the works of the contemporary theologians. He also makes personal study and research work, and depends upon parallel passages of Scripture. Also he was helped by classics, history, philosophy and personal observations from nature and social life. Fr. Canisius admires Seripando for this

mature attitude. According to him, this methodology helped Seripando to discover the real mind of Paul. The author compares it to the methodology of the Protestants which was based on their individual judgments. Thus, they were trying to read their own minds into the writings of Paul. To use the phrase of Seripando, they confuse and cover up the contents of the Bible "by straw of their verbosity."

Seripando wanted to avoid all such defects in his exposition. Brevity and clarity are his watchwords. He disdained ornamental language, which he considered as puerile. In his commentary on the Romans we find 382 references, out of which 164 are mere references, allusions or adaptations and only the remaining 218 are full quotations. Seripando took care to abstain from long digressions in his exposition. He carefully avoided occasions for self-glorification or for the humiliation of his adversaries. His language is clear and flowing. There we do not find rigid terminologies of the scholastics as well as the exaggerated flourishes of the humanists.

In concluding the part I, Fr. Canisius points out that Seripando was a student of the reform movement of the sixteenth century. In the last years he became the intellectual leader of the party that stood for a complete reform within the Church. He advocated for an existential interpretation of Scripture. Only after studying minutely the works of the Protestants, did he criticize them. Unfortunately, his dreams failed to inspire the Church authorities of that time. They virulently attacked him. Still he tried to maintain in all his works an upright, undisturbed and serene spirit. He was not ready to put into fetters his human intellect, under the pretext of blind submission to the Church. Here we find the prophetic figure of Seripando, the exegete. We owe great obligation to Fr. Canisius for discovering this prophetic portrait of Seripando, who will ever serve as a model for every biblical theologian of today.

According to Seripando, there existed then two extreme positions: "the exaggerated indulgence of the scholastics in dialectics, and the audacious arbitrariness of the Protestants, in dealing with biblical texts." He opposed the existing custom of mingling up of polemics with exegesis. The Protestants were boasting of their pretended fidelity to the Gospel of St. Paul. Under the veil of the Apostle's words they were presenting a new

doctrine which won the hearts of the ignorant and ill-instructed Christians. In this background Seripando was forced to lay bare the devices of the reformers. He, then, exposed and defended the genuine Gospel preached by Paul. These are the themes of the part II of the dissertation.

Section I deals with the devices employed by the reformers to sustain their fundamental error of justification by mere faith. Fr. Canisius pinpoints four devices presented by Seripando: neglect of the fundamental rules of interpretation; neglect of the common rules of logic; positive distortions in handling similes, in quoting the Fathers, in representing the good customs of the Church, in interpreting the words of Scripture, in speaking of the authority of the Church, and in inculcating the wrong doctrine; arrogation of unclaimed authority.

In section II, Seripando exposes and defends Paul's genuine Gospel. It consists of two chapters entitled as man's helpless state, and sufficiency of Christ's grace to save man. In chapter 1, the author studies two themes in Paul: Adam, sin and death, the law, the flesh, and the spirit. Fr. Canisius makes insightful and inspiring comparison between Luther and Seripando. Both of them wished to be instructed directly by Paul. Luther, however, depended on his impulsive nature alone. He did not allow anyone to interfere with his freedom of thought. Thus, he began with Scripture and ended with self. Thereby he gave form to his new theology of the total and irremediable corruption of human nature. Seripando, on the other hand, wanted to remain a biblical theologian in the strict sense of the word. He would draw his conclusions from the words of the Bible, without swerving from the norms of exegesis. Seripando did not depend simply "on the brilliance of his intellect"; rather he counted on the divine help and guidance of the authorities of the Church and the Fathers. Thus, he could affirm the triumph of the Holy Spirit and the liberty of the just, at the same time pointing out at the weakness of the law and the virulence of the faith.

Both Seripando and the Protestants were convinced that the grace of Christ was abundantly sufficient to lead man to eternal life. But here was a great difference between the ways they understood the truth. This is the theme of the chapter 2, which has two articles: faith that justifies and justification.

To the Protestants, faith was a naked faith (*sola fide*); for Luther faith was trust. Seripando's faith was the full faith. According to him, no one can be justified by naked faith. For, "one without the spirit of Christ, is not of Christ; one who is not of Christ, is not united with Him. One, who is not united with him, cannot receive the grace of justification. Hence, he who does not possess besides faith, the Holy Spirit also will not be justified." It is wrong to confuse faith with trust. The certainty of faith is based on the authority of Christ and on the conviction of the debility of our intellect. The absolute necessity of faith for salvation is obvious from the fact that it is faith that unites us with the fountain, from which also, divine pleasure and good will flow to us.

Article II is entitled Justification. Here the author exposes the concept of justification according to the commentaries of Seripando. It deals with justice of God, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit; justice by faith; the source of justice; the just and the sinner; liberation.

In conclusion Fr. Canisius makes a critical evaluation of the doctrine of Seripando. First he showers praise on this prophetic voice at the Council of Trent, who "earnestly sought to restore theology to its biblical simplicity." According to him, Seripando appealed to the science of the Spirit. This biblical theologian appealed to the Council Fathers to avoid the language of philosophers which closed up divine doctrine in narrow terminologies, and to adapt Paul's expressions which are simple and intelligible to all, adducing, if necessary, appropriate explanations.

Then, the author points out some errors in the position of Seripando. The expert in the Council of Trent mistook the picture of the sinner drawn by Paul in Rom 7:7-25. Consequently, he insisted on applying the strong expressions used by Paul to describe the state of the sinner, to the state of the just. Thus, we see Seripando designating concupiscence remaining in the just, by the word 'sin', calling the just still slaves to sin, and asserting that there remains in the just that something which is displeasing to God. "But for this mistake, his ideal of a biblical theologian is pursued all throughout, with uncommon courage." Seripando vehemently fought against understatements of biblical truths.

The dissertation concludes with the final retrospect, in which Fr. Canisius evaluates Seripando as the first Catholic biblical theologian. He has left us, especially to the exegetes and theologians of today, a valuable message through his Commentaries and *Quaestiones*.

In giving this short summary of the scholarly work of Fr. Canisius, I know that I have not done justice to him. Many of his original comments and contributions are not noted down. However, this brief presentation may inspire at least some to read the whole dissertation.

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INTRODUCTION

CARDINAL SERIPANDO: AN EXEGETE AND BIBLICAL THEOLOGIAN

CHAPTER 1

OUR CHOICE

1. The Author We Have Chosen: Seripando

1.1. A Great Theologian

The name of Seripando is closely knitted with the history of the Council of Trent in which he, laboured, with all his might, to make it clear that the Council did not intend to condemn everything that was taught by the heretics, but only those points in their doctrine which were in open conflict with genuine Catholic faith. From the very beginning of the Council, the Fathers were convinced of Seripando's ability to handle complicated questions in theology. When discussions began on the vital question of justification, Cardinal Cervini, the second presiding Legate (afterwards Pope, Marcellus II), singled out Seripando as the competent man to draw up a new draft of the decree, after having set aside as unacceptable, the one that had been prepared by the official committee of theologians. When Seripando appeared at Trent, for the second time (as the second presiding Legate), the first president Mantua, so completely relied on him in the handling of theological problems, that he simply cancelled a conference of theologians appointed for January 126, 1563, when he learned that Seripando could not be present.

1.2. A Good Critic of Exegetical Works

Seripando's sympathy for the erring, and his respect for whatever was good and estimable in his adversaries, urged him to study their writings well, before entering on discussions with them or passing judgment on their opinions. He obtained permission from Clement VII to read the works of the heretics whose opinions he had to deal with in his sermons and talks. Afterwards, Paul III famous for his keen foresight and acute judgment of human talents gave a command to Seripando to read all the books of the heretics and be prepared for the Great Council which was to put an end to the lamentable confusions in the dogmatic field. Cardinal Cervini took great pleasure in conversing with Seripando especially on the marvellous influence exerted by heretics through their exegetical works, on the minds of the people. The Cardinal admired so much the wisdom

contained in the critical observations made by the Augustinian General, that he requested him to consign them to writing, for the benefit of posterity.

In the Council of Trent Seripando was chosen to be a member of the committee appointed to study the abuses of the Bible and their remedies. Students of the council know with what foresight he insisted on the necessity of encouraging the study of the original texts of the Bible, and how much he tried to get the decree: "*Insuper*," mollified a little.

1.3. An Exegete and Biblical Theologian

Though as a young theologian, Seripando valued scholastic methods, and could easily cope with any of his contemporaries in that respect, he was not slow to perceive the need of his time, - a time in which people had begun to feel a kind of hatred for scholastic theology which seemingly indulged in useless dialectics and unending terminologies which were unintelligible to the ordinary man. Consequently Seripando threw himself heart and soul to the study of Holy Scripture in order to encounter the adversaries with their own weapons, namely Bible exegesis, and Biblical theology. He left in writing commentaries on six Pauline Epistles and 67 *Quaestiones* on the Epistle to the Galatians.

2. The Importance of Our Study

2.1. A Help to Theologians

Serious students of Seripandian theology, find it a tedious task to fish out Seripando's exact mind on certain points from the mess of conciliar treatises and discussions. These discussions and treatises being intended to defend Seripando's own convictions and the convictions of those whose cause he had to advocate, against the attacks of the theologians of different schools, were naturally one-sided. They even created suspicion regarding Seripando's orthodoxy, in some of the Fathers of the council. For an impartial judgement, therefore, theologians have to turn to some work where Seripando gives a calm exposition of his mind. Such a calm exposition we can justly expect to find in the exegetical works of Seripando, because in writing them, he was unperturbed by preoccupations of meeting the arguments of other Catholic schools which were not in agreement with his own views.

2.2. An Opportune Study

The study of the exegetical works of Seripando seems to be most opportune at a time as ours, when the dissenting churches are taking serious measures to search out and narrow down the differences as far as possible, so as to hasten the realization of Christ's prayer: "That all may be one." For, here is a theologian who did his level best to understand the mind of his dissenting brethren. Here is a Scripturist, who took in hand the exegetical works, with the dissenters' own oft-repeated ideal: "to make clearer the mind of Paul", showed them where and how they went astray from that ideal, and fought fearlessly for what was right in their doctrine, in the council of Trent even at the risk of falling into suspicion, as regards his own orthodoxy, and yet remained a genuine Catholic and an eminent theologian. Here is a man who burned with zeal for church reform, even as his confrere Luther did, and firmly stood for it, in the Council, at the risk of being misunderstood by the Pope who had created him Cardinal,¹ and yet, always kept the golden mean, so that at his death, the Archbishop of Corinth wrote that, for the future of the council, Seripando's death was more tragic than the death of the First President Mantua.²

The exegetical works of this theologian, Scripturist and reformer, which invite the special attention of the exegetes and theologians of both catholic and protestant camps, have not been scientifically studied up to this day, not to say that some of them still remain inedited. That exegetes and theologians may not be, any longer, deprived of the benefits of such a study, has been our sincere wish, in undertaking this work. After the following chapters on the life and exegetical works of Seripando, we examine, in Part I, the nature of his exegesis and in Part II the nature of his biblical theology.

¹Cfr. C.T. II, 431, 11-18; V, 496, note 1. Pius IV misunderstood Seripando's attitude in the question of the Bishops' residence, to such an extent, that in his bitterness, he said: "*Poenitet me hominem fecisse*"; the Pope said that he would pay 50,000 ducats if he could revoke Seripando's promotion. *Documentos ineditos* IX, 209, quoted by Jedin, *Papal Legate*. p. 610, § 3.

²Jedin: *Papal Legate*. p. 702 § 1. Cfr. also C.T. VIII, 463 note 1.

CHAPTER 2

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 men, 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 Summo 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 Saintly 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 justitia." 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 Aquilea 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 Plus 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.

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

³⁴Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 562-577.

³⁵C.T. II, 466, 13 f.

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).

CHAPTER 3

SERIPANDO'S EXEGETICAL WORKS

1. Manuscripts and Edited Works

As we said in the last Chapter, Seripando wrote commentaries on Six Pauline epistles, namely on those to the Romans, Galatians, Corinthians and Thessalonians. He has, besides, written a *Glossa* on the Romans.

Of these, the first two (on the Rom. and Gal.) together with, the 67 *Quaestiones* on the Gal., were dedicated by the author to Cardinal Cervini. However, the Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was edited separately at Venice, in 1567. At Antwerp, it was edited together with the "Quaestiones" in 1569. All the three parts dedicated to Cervini were edited in one volume of 539 quarto pages, at Naples, in 1601, by Felix Lavarino. This edition contained also a life of Seripando by Felix Milensius. The whole volume is dedicated by the editor to Cervini's nephew Cardinal Robert Bellarmine.

The other four commentaries still remain in Manuscripts, prepared by Seripando's own hand. All the four are bound in one volume of 118 oblong 4^o folios, and are preserved in the National Library of Naples. The *Glossa* is kept in the "Biblioteca Trivulziana" of Milan.

2. The Dates of Composition

When did Seripando actually prepare the Biblical commentaries? This question cannot be answered with equal certainty. The dates of the commentaries on the Romans and Galatians as also those of the "*Quaestiones*" and *Glossa* are a matter of conjecture, where as those of the other four, are exactly available from the Manuscripts themselves.

2.1. Commentaries on the Romans and the Galatians

We know for certain that Seripando had finished his commentaries on the Romans and Galatians before the beginning of the Council of Trent, from Seripando's dedicatory letter of these works to Cardinal Cervini.¹ Hence, the Manuscripts were ready before December 13, 1545. Can we trace their origin to a still earlier date?

There are, indeed, reasons that lead us to believe that these commentaries were produced as early as 1539. As may be gathered from last Chapter, Seripando was a man who could feel with

¹Seripando: In *D. Pauli ad Rom. et Gal. ... Commentaria*, p. 3.

Platonists, humanists and scholastics alike. He himself was all these. As for scholasticism, he appreciated it much, and did encourage its study in the monasteries of his Order;² but, for all that, he had no undue admiration for it, because, abounding, on the one hand, in endless distinctions and terminologies and lacking, on the other, in the niceties of classical literature, scholasticism could serve only for the class-room; it could hardly be appealing to the ordinary intellect. It was useless to harp on the reasons that justified the scholastic method, or to multiply testimonies from Fathers in proof of the dogmas, in an atmosphere where Bible and nothing but Bible, except perhaps some Platonists like Augustine, could succeed to get a willing ear. Could Seripando bring any profit to souls by his preaching, if he did not adapt his words to the needs of the time?

To add to this, in 1538, the Giberti group requested Seripando to give an exact statement of the Augustinian doctrine on justification, and in January 1539, it became Seripando's bounden duty to know exactly the Lutheran doctrine and its discrepancies from the doctrine of St. Augustine and of St. Paul, so as to be able to pass judgement on those of his brethren who were suspected of Lutheran heresy.

A man of Seripando's calibre could hardly think of coping with the situation, without a minute study of St. Augustine anti-pelagian works and of the Epistles of St. Paul which abounded in the doctrine of faith and justification, namely those to the Romans and Galatians. Thus the years 1538-39 were for Seripando a period of profound study of these two Epistles. In fact, in 1539, he exchanged letters with Flaminio of the Giberti group, and began his labours to stem the tide of Lutheran inroads on his order.³ It is but natural to think that this was the period when Seripando produced his commentaries on the Romans and Galatians.

But a study of the development of Seripando's ideas on justification from this turning point up to 1543, as has been made by H. Jedin,⁴ side by side with the study of these commentaries, would make us abandon this hypothesis. For these commentaries contain the most mature ideas of Seripando on justification, to which

²Jedin: *Papal Legate*, 286 # 2.

³Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 223 # 2.

⁴Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 76-101.

Seripando could not have attained, according to Jedin, before 1542-43.⁵

Hence, it is more reasonable to conclude that Seripando, in spite of the fact that he had made a profound study of these epistles and made use of the knowledge derived from it, in the fulfilment of his duties from the year 1539, did not think his ideas sufficiently evolved, so as to be put in writing, and that, for this reason, he postponed the writing of the Commentaries on these Epistles to a later date; contenting himself with a *Glossa* on the Romans, in which he omitted Chapters 2, 7 and 16.

A comparative study of all the exegetical works: the *Glossa* and the six Commentaries that came from Seripando's pen, can confirm us in this conclusion. The Commentaries on the Romans and Galatians are, in all respects, more perfect than those on the other four epistles and these, in their turn, are more perfect than the *Glossa*.

Thus, while we know, for certain, that the date of the completion of the Commentaries on the Romans and Galatians was at the latest, December 13, 1545, we have no certainty as to the exact date on which, in fact, Seripando finished them. All the same, we have sufficient reasons to believe that they were not produced before the year 1541. Hence we can safely believe that these works came from Seripando's pen between the years 1541 and 1545. The *Glossa* seems to have been Seripando's first exegetical work, done in 1539 or there about.

2.2. Commentaries on the Corinthians and the Thessalonians

The date of the Commentaries on the Epistles to the Corinthians and Thessalonians are evident from the manuscripts themselves. These commentaries were written in Seripando's own hand, during his journey through France, Spain and Portugal for the visitation of the order from 1540 to 1542.

Seripando finished his Commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians on December 20, 1540, that is three days after his arrival, at the monastery of Bordeaux.⁶ He had to remain there seven days more, to put things in order. The absorbing work of settling quarrels and establishing peace was not a hindrance to Seripando's

⁵Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 92 # 4-101.

⁶Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 145 # 2.

exegetical work. Most probable, he found the one helpful to the other. The Epistles to the Corinthians and Thessalonians contain matter which is helpful to one who wishes to act as an angel of peace in the spirit of St. Paul.

The work on the second Epistle to the Corinthians was over on February 1, 1541. Seripando was then at Toulouse where he had to set right a very serious conflict.⁷ He finished his commentary just on the day on which all his attention was, probable, to be concentrated on the formulation of important reform decrees for that monastery. The decrees were published on February 2. The deep meaning of the concluding words of the Epistle he was commenting might have put Seripando in the right spirit, to do the important work of the morrow.

As Seripando continued his journey, he took up the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and finished his exegesis of it, in the Augustinian house near Barcelona, where he had to busy himself, for two weeks, with plans for establishing peace and order in the community.⁸ The finishing touch to the epistle was given on March 9, 1541. On May 6, 1541, while he was in the monastery at Valencia, Seripando completed his commentary on the second epistle to the Thessalonians.

Thus, Seripando finished these Commentaries one after the other, within a comparatively short period. The second Epistle to the Corinthians took him only 50 days. The first and second Epistles to the Thessalonians were commented on, within 38 and 58 days respectively. The first Corinthians too was interpreted in the same circumstances, so he might have spent on it more or less 60 days. Thus, in about seven months, in which Seripando had crowded programmes and serious problems to encounter with, he did the work of commenting on these four epistles.

2.3. *Quaestiones*

Now there arises the problem of Seripando's "67 *Quaestiones*." When did he undertake that work? It is certain that he began it, after his commentary on the Galatians because he gives us a hint at it, in his dedicatory letter to Cervini⁹ and he makes references to his commentary on the Gal. in the *Quaestiones*. It is likewise, certain

⁷Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 145 # 2.

⁸Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 148 # 3.

⁹Seripando: In *D. Pauli Epistolas ad Rom. et Gal. Comm.*, p. 10.

that he finished it, before the opening of the Council because, from the opening of the Council to the day on which he offered this work, together with the Commentaries on the Rom. and Gal., to Cervini, he had little time left for such a work.

It may be further asked whether Seripando began these "*Quaestiones*," immediately after his Commentary on the Galatians or after some interval. It is clearly stated that he intended to take up this work after his Commentary.¹⁰ It was intended in order to avoid long digressions in the Commentary. So, probable, he might have begun it immediately after the Commentary, in as much as it was conceived as a supplement to, or as some "*Excursus*" of his exegetical work. All the same, it seems more probable that Seripando postponed the commencement of this work to a later date, so as to be equipped with all possible data in dealing with the heretics. In the exegetical work, he was always careful to avoid discussions with heretics, because, there he wanted to occupy himself exclusively with St. Paul's words, so as not to lose he Pauline trend of thought. In the "*Quaestiones*" on the other hand, he takes care to state the view of the heretics with clarity and precision and to show the exact place where they began to misinterpret Paul. That means much reading of the heretical books and mature thinking on them. For this he got more facilities, on his return, after the visitation of the Order, when probably he got also the special command from Paul III to read all the works of the heretics for getting himself prepared for the Council. Hence we will not be far from the truth if we conclude that the work of the "*Quaestiones*" was done by Seripando after 1542, not, however, immediately after 1542, but after the considerable period, say one year and a half which was required for the production of the Commentaries on the Rom. and Gal. and for the studying of the books of heretics.

3. Date of Revision

By order of Paul III, Seripando reached Trent for the Council on May 19, 1545; but the Council actually began only on December 13. So too, in 1561, Seripando reached Trent on April 14, but the General Congregation was convened only on Jan. 15, 1562. During this second period of waiting, Seripando reviewed most of his

¹⁰Seripando: In *D. Pauli Epistolas ad Rom. et Gal. Comm.*, p. 52.

theological writings and his sermons on the "Our Father."¹¹ There is a hint at a similar work Seripando had undertaken, during his first period of waiting.

In spite of the clear statement that the work of exegesis of the first Corinthians was over on December 20, 1540, and that on the second Corinthians, on February 1, 1541, we see, in the margin of the second page of the 23rd folio of the Manuscript, that is, in the margin of the Commentary on the 12th Chapter of the first Corinthians, the following remark: *CONCILIIUM INCHOATUR*; and in the margin of the commentary on the last words of the second Corinthians, the date: "29 November 1548." The probable explanation is this: Seripando began revising this Manuscript, towards the end of the waiting period at Trent. When he had reached the second page of the 23rd folio, the Council, at last, began, and he manifested his great joy at that long expected event, on that page. The man of well-planned work did not leave off the Manuscript altogether, when his service was required in the Conciliar matters. He devoted some of his spare moments to continue the revision of the Manuscript. But his spare moments were very few, as we gather from elsewhere, so that it took him almost three years to reach the end of the second Corinthians. Signs of a well-made revision are evident in the body as well as in the margin of these Commentaries. Additional explanations are given to several parts of the commentaries, in the two fresh folios that are left between the commentaries on the Corinthians and those on the Thessalonians.

With what work did Seripando occupy himself in the first part of this waiting period? Most probable, he was preparing his Manuscripts of the commentaries on the Romans and Galatians, together with that of the "*Quaestiones*," so as to present them to Cardinal Cervini. The subject of his conversations with Cervini towards the end of the waiting period, seems to suggest this thought. Seripando says that, during their friendly conversation, Cervini used to ask him about his opinion on the Commentaries written by heretics.¹² Cervini seems to have opened the topic because, in those days, Seripando had been busying himself with the work of exegesis on the Romans and Galatians, and had manifested his intention of dedicating his work to Cervini. It is but natural that Seripando might

¹¹Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 572 # 3.

¹²Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistolas ad Rom. et Gal. Comm.*, p. 1, 2.

have revealed his intention of offering the work to the Cardinal, after a successful completion of it, and not before. In fact, the conversation of which Seripando speaks, took place, towards the end of the long waiting period of 7 months. For, Seripando says that, soon, the Council began, and his services were required for the Conciliar affairs, so that he could hardly find sufficient time to write down what the cardinal had requested him, during that conversation.¹³ Moreover, in the dedicatory letter of the two Commentaries and the "*Quaestiones*," which he formulated, as soon as he got sufficient free time, after the opening of the Council, we are given the indication that the preparation of the Commentaries was then, a thing of the past. However, after the dedication and before the death of Seripando he made another revision of the Commentaries and *Quaestiones*.

From what has been said, we can reasonably conclude that the final touches to and the fair copies of the commentaries on Romans and Galatians and of the "*Quaestiones*" namely the works dedicated to Cervini, were made, during the first waiting period at Trent (i.e., from May 19, 1545 to December 1545) and that the work of the revision of the manuscript of the Commentaries on the other four Epistles, was begun towards the end of this waiting period and continued slowly but steadily, during the busy days of the Council and after. The works dedicated to Cervini were again retouched, before 1563 and a new copy was made. With these ideas concerning the dates and the circumstances that produced these Commentaries, we shall start on examining them under the double aspect, as we proposed above.

¹³Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistolas ad Rom. et Gal. Comm.*, p. 3.

APPENDIX

Other Works of Seripando

Printed Works:

1. *Novae Constitutiones Ordinis* etc. – Venice, 1549; Roma 1553.
2. *Hieronymi Seripandi Archiepiscopi Salernitani Oratio in funere Caroli V. Imp. Max., habita Neapoli VI Kal. Martii MDLIX.*
3. *Prediche del Re. Mo Mons. Girolamo Seripando, Arcivescovo di Salerno, che fu poi cardinale e Legate al concilio di Trento, sopra il Simbolo degli Apostoli.* Venice, MDLXVII, Roma, 1586; Salerno, 1586.
4. *De Arte Orandi seu Expositio Symboli Apostolorum,* Lovanio 1689.

Manuscripts:

1. *Carteggio di Seripando:* Ms. Bibl. Naz. Nap. XIII Aa 47-65. 19 volumes in 4. Contents: Miscellaneous, v.g. As 62 contains poems in Greek, Latin, Italian.
2. *Diarium:* (from 1513 to 1562). Naz. Nap. VIII f. 42 (published by Calenzio + Merkle)
3. *Introito ed esito* (account book of the first years of Generalship). Ms. Bil. Naz. Nap. VI, D. 12.

Sermons:

1. *Conciones:* Naz. Nap. VIII A. 3.
2. *Prediche sopra il simbolo degli Apostoli:* Naz. Nap. VIII a. 13.
3. *Sylva Rerum:* Points for preaching. Naz. Nap. VIII, Aaa. 21-2.
4. *Prediche Volgari XIC sul Pater Noster* (for children) in two copies. Bibl. Naz. Nap. XII Aa 44,44.
5. *Prediche XV sul Simbolo degli Apostoli.* Bibl. Naz. Nap. XIII Aa. 45.

Theological Works:

1. *Trattato sulla Giustificazione, con lettere del Flaminio, del Card. Contarini del Seripando sulla grazia e il libero arbitrio:* Bibl. Naz. Nap. XIII, Aa. 23.

2. *De Justificatione; De Duplici Justitia; De Traditionibus; De Libris S. Scripturae; De Peccato Originali; Pro dictis a Polo; Collectis de Libris Sanctis; De articulis 17 propositis.* Ms. Bibl. Naz. Nap. XII D. 12, 13 cfr. C.T.R. XII, nn. 94; 95; 102; 68; 62; 76; 77; 120.
3. *Opuscula Varia in tribus voluminibus.* Naz. Nap. VII, D. 14, 15, 16.
4. *Quaestiones de Natura Divina.* Naz. Nap. VIII E. 40.

Various Other Writings:

1. *Farrago gestorum in Concilio Tridentino* vol. 3, IX A. 48-50.
2. *Documenti relative all Ambasceria.* XI, C. 47.

SERIPANDO THE EXEGETE

1. Nature of Biblical Exegesis

Speaking of the main topic of Cervini's conversation with him, during the waiting period at Trent, Seripando says that the Cardinal inquired of him with great interest about the methods employed by the heretics, in their Commentaries of the Bible, especially those of the Epistles of St. Paul.¹ In this connection, he adds an explanatory phrase to the word: 'Commentaries'. This explanatory phrase discloses the different aspects of a commentary. They are: 1) word interpretation ("*verborum interpretatio*"), 2) sentence explanation ("*lucida sententiarum explanatio*"), and 3) illustration of passages which are obscure, ambiguous and difficult to explain ("*obscurorum, ambiguum atque explicatu difficilium locorum illustratio*").

The same idea recurs, where Seripando shows what the heretics promise in their commentaries.² They promise two things: 1) to hand down the pure, simple and genuine sense of the divine books ("*purum ac simplicem et germanum divinorum voluminum sensum tradere*"), and 2) to interpret the word force ("*verbeorum vim interpretari*"). Seripando says that, if the heretics had done so much, they would have accomplished everything that is expected of an exegete.

Exactly the same idea is put in a nutshell, where Seripando speaks of his own work.³ He says that what he has done is to try to expose clearly the mind of Paul ("*Pauli mentem dilucide explanare conatus sum*"). Bible exegesis, therefore, according to Seripando, is nothing but a lucid explanation of the mind of the sacred author. This lucid explanation has two main functions: 1) Word Interpretation and 2) Sense Interpretation.

2. The Scope of Exegesis

Seripando distinguishes a two-fold scope: scope of the exegesis, in itself, and scope of the exegete. The scope of the exegesis is to make clear what the apostle deals with and what he looks up to.⁴ This is that which the Greeks call σκοπόν ("*skopon*"). "It is a vicious thing" adds Seripando: "to go astray from this scope,

or not to return to it soon." The scope of the exegete, Seripando supposes to be well known to both Catholics and Protestants. What the Protestants too wished to attain through their exegesis or explanation of the mind of the Sacred Author, was to illumine men's intellect and to move their will to embrace a holy life.⁵

Seripando holds that the scope of the exegete can be attained only through the attainment of the scope of the exegesis, in itself. Hence Seripando reasons: the heretics begin, perhaps, with the best of intentions, with the right scope of an exegete before their eyes; but they fail to attain that scope, because at some point, they neglect the scope of the exegesis itself, trying to explain themselves rather than the mind of St. Paul. If they had remained as they often promise, faithful to the scope of the exegesis, nothing could have been wanting in their work, for the illumination of the intellect and for the pious affections of the will.⁶

To ensure the attainment of his scope, the exegete has also to adapt his exposition to the condition of those for whom he is writing. Men's minds are easily influenced by circumstances, and a prejudiced mind refuses to look at things, except through its own glasses. Hence the commentator has to take all possible care to propose the truth taught by the Sacred Author, in such a way that it may be easily assimilated by the persons whom he addresses.

A special stress on this secondary scope of the exegete, i.e., to illumine not only the unprejudiced minds, but also the prejudiced minds, was but natural at the time when Seripando wrote his exegesis, a time when heresy was speedily gaining ground and even some of the best Catholics were suspected of entertaining heretical ideas. That Seripando had this scope too, before his mind, while he wrote his exegesis, is clear from the following words: "I thought that it would be the greatest and stable foundation for disputations with heretics, if I would direct Paul's words to his mind and to that which he deals with, and explain them in such a way that nothing at all he might favour their (the heretics') cause or their doctrine".⁷ This two-fold end was also in the mind of Luther, when he wrote his exegesis on the Galatians. In the preface he says: "*Unum spectavi si*

¹Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 2.

²Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 4.

³Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 8.

⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 8.

⁵Cfr. Footnote 2 also Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 9.

⁶Cfr. Footnote 2.

⁷Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 9.

consequar, ut mea opera ii qui me Apostolicas Epistelas audiorunt ennarrantem Paulum apertioem habeant et feliciter me superent. Si nec id effeci, age et hoc habens perdiderim laboris; conatus reliquus est quo alios ad Paulinam Theologiam volui accendere, quam nemo bonus mihi vitio dedit."⁸ Evidently, Luther and Seripando had the self-same scope, while writing their exegesis on the Epistles of St. Paul, but, in effect, while the one, exaggerating Paul's mind in some aspects, caused souls to misunderstand and disregard it in others, and thus brought about untold misery to the Christian world, the other helped souls to remain faithful to Paul's full ideal, even in moments of the most stormy temptation. The reason for this difference is to be found in the norms they followed in working out their exegesis. We will see the principal norms which served as directive, in Seripando's work, first as regards word interpretation and then, as regards sense Interpretation.

SECTION I

SERIPANDO'S WORD INTERPRETATION

Seripando is deeply conscious of his duty of interpreting St. Paul's words, with exactitude. His attention is mainly fixed on the finding out of the original words of the Apostle and the exact rendering of them into the Latin tongue. In the following chapters, we will see how he fares in this two-fold duty.

⁸LW 2 p. 449 # 27-31.

CHAPTER 1

SEARCH FOR THE ORIGINAL TEXT

1. Contemporary Interpreters: Erasmus, Cajetan, Catharinus

Contemporary interpreters of the Bible, were, as a rule, afraid to interfere with the text of Scripture, already in common use. Erasmus of Rotterdam was considered to have gone far out of the way, in his venture to amend the Greek text and to give it a new Latin interpretation (1519 second edition). When Cardinal Cajetan undertook to make a Latin version of the Epistles "*secundum Graecam veritatem*," he took care to leave intact, the Vg. Renering, wherever possible (1531). Ambrosius Catharinus who had examined Erasmus' text, up to its fifth edition as well as Cajetan's version, deemed it wiser to follow the Vg. Text, in his own commentaries (1551), observing, as they occurred, the important variants and explaining their implications.

2. Seripando's *Via Media*

Seripando, however, thought it his foremost right and duty, as an exegete, to search out the genuine text, sparing neither the vulgate nor any individual codex, when evidence went against them. He studied the codices, both Greek and Latin, and gathered from them the words that should have originally come from St. Paul, according to his judgement.

3. Choice of Readings That Are Found Only in the Latin Codices

Thus, for example, while interpreting Rom. 4, 5, Seripando selects a reading which is found only in the Latin codices: "Hence it is," says he, "that this attribution of faith to justice, is, the whole of it, of divine bounty (an idea) which is openly expressed by the Latin codices in which we read these words which are wanting in the Greek (codices): "*secundum propositum Dei*."⁹

These words of Seripando further reveal to us that he was of the persuasion that the Greek codices actually available to him did not necessarily contain all the words that originally came from the Apostle, and that some of the Latin codices before him, could very

⁹Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 5, p. 64.

well be translations from Greek codices that were older than those at his disposal.

4. Choice of Readings That Are Not Found in Latin Codices

In another case, namely, Rom. 14, 6, Seripando selects a reading which is found, in no Latin Codex. The Latin Codices, together with some of the Greek Codices, like BSCA, P 46, P. O, 48, present the shorter reading: ὁ φρονῶν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίῳ φρονεῖ ("*ho fronon ten hermeran Kyrio fronai*") Seripando prefers to follow those Greek Codices which prolong the reading by the addition of: καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονῶν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίῳ οὐ φρονεῖ ("*Kai ho me fronon ten hermeran Kyrio ow fronei*").¹⁰ It may be noted that the Latin Codex (Lango-bardus), in fact, contains the longer reading; but the second part of it, is only a marginal addition.¹¹

5. The Standard Greek Text

We know besides, that Seripando used the Received Text (*Textus receptus*), as his standard, and called it: "the Greek text". For, having quoted a reading peculiar to that text he says: "*sic habet Codex Graecus*."¹²

6. Reasons for the Preferences

Often, Seripando does not give us the reasons which moved him to prefer one reading to another. In a few instances, however, he thinks it well to add some remarks. From these remarks, we are able to arrive at some conclusions as regards Seripando's norms of textual criticism.

One of Seripando's important norms is, to select that reading which expresses more fully the mind of the author. Thus in Rom 4, 5, he selects a reading which is found only in the Latin Codices, on the ground that it expresses the idea of Paul more fully (Cfr. also Rom, 4, 18: 8, 1; 14, 6a). There is a case where Seripando's choice falls on a more difficult reading. While interpreting 1 Thess. 2, 7, he adds, in the margin νήπιος λέγο ("*nepios lego*"). Perhaps,

¹⁰Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 14, 6, p. 232 # 1.

¹¹Cfr. Wordsworth White, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine*, Part II. p. 135.

¹²Ms. Nap. VII A 36 1 Cor. 15, 29. Quoting the last portion of the versicle: "*ut quid et baptizantur pro mortuis?*" Seripando says "*Sic habet codex Graecus*" (C. II n. III).

Seripando thinks that the easier reading had been introduced by some scribe, in the place of the difficult one.¹³

Another norm followed by Seripando in selecting the reading is: to prefer that reading which agrees better with the context as well as with Paul's idea expressed elsewhere. It is this rule that directs Seripando in dealing with 1 Cor 15, 51.

Having translated the verse: "*omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur*," Seripando adds: "this I accept from the various readings of this passage which contains this mystery: that not all men will die because those who will be found living at the coming of God, will not die, and that, all the same, all men are to be transformed, because the corruptible body of all, will become incorruptible etc. This reading agrees with what follows and with 1 Thess. 4, where the same mystery is dealt with."¹⁴

There is one case where Seripando gets confused, and feels himself incompetent to solve the problem. Having tried in vain to restore Rom. 16, 25-27 to their original form, he observes: "This is an obscure and long period corrupt, as I think, by the addition of the omission of a certain particle."¹⁵

Strangely enough, Seripando prefers, in some cases, an order of words, which is against the testimony of the best Codices, and which does not seem to present any special reason for its being preferred. In Rom. 3, 6 the Greek Codices as well as the Vulgate follow the order: "*judicabit Deus*" κρινῶ ὁ θεός (*Krino ho theos*) but Seripando prefers the reverse order: "*Deus judicabit*." The same kind of reversal can be noted, in Roma 2, 1 and 5, 21.¹⁶

7. Conclusion

Although we cannot agree with Seripando in his preference for longer readings for the reason that they express the mind of the author more fully (for, any scribe could have added apt explanations so as to express the original idea more fully!), and with his seemingly arbitrary change of the word order, we

¹³Ms. Nap. VII A 36: 1Thess. 2, 7: "*sed quod ad honorem et dignitatem attinet, tanquam parvuli inter vos versati fuimus*." In the margin Seripando adds "*nepios lego*."

¹⁴Ms. Nap. VII A. 36 (C. XV, n. XIII).

¹⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 16, 25-27, p. 264.

¹⁶Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 2, 1; 3, 6; 5, 21.

appreciate the tendency that is manifested everywhere: the effort to restore the sacred text to its original purity.

As to the imperfections of the method which Seripando employs, in order to arrive at the realization of his purpose, we must remember that he was never a master of textual criticism. His progress in this art was but gradual.

In his first trial, the interlinear *Glossa* on the Romans (Cod. Trivulz. 378), his readings differ from the Vg. Reading in 24 instances.¹⁷ In the Commentary on the 1 Cor. which he began after the *Glossa*, the differences are 33. In his last exegetical work, the Commentary on the Romans, the textual differences amount to 81.

Seripando himself was conscious of his imperfections, in the application of the principles of textual criticism, in certain cases; and he did make the necessary corrections. This is clear from the comparative study of the first and the second exegetical works of Seripando, on the Romans. In 14 instances, Seripando silently admits himself to have gone wrong in his choice of the reading in the *Glossa* on the Romans' since he changed them in the Commentary which followed it.

The heretics too, were busy with realizing a pretended desire to restore the Bible text to its original purity. But Seripando denounces the treacherous intentions at the bottom of that desire. They did not hesitate to change the words of the Sacred author, so as to support their own opinions, alleging for their authority, the Hebrew or the Greek Codices. Seripando points out that, often, their alleged readings did not agree with Hebrew or Greek or Latin.¹⁸

7.1. Seripando and the Vulgate

Seripando retains, in his commentaries, the same attitude towards the Vulgate, which he had manifested in the Council of Trent. He maintained in the council, that although the Vg. was free from errors as to faith and morals, it still had the defects of every translation, viz., it did not in all cases represent the sacred text, in its original purity. Hence, for arriving at the genuine mind of the sacred authors, recourse to the codices, in the original languages,

¹⁷Cfr. For example, Vulgate and Cod. Trivulz. Rom. 10, 2; 11, 3; 11, 9; 11, 36; 15, 21.

¹⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*, pp. 4 f.

was a necessity. In his commentaries, even in his very first attempt at exegesis, Seripando makes it clear, that he does not follow the Vg. text, as already seen.

7.2. Jedin's Opinion

Jedin thinks that, in Seripando's exegetical works on Corinthians and Thessalonians, he had first followed the Vg. text and then revised them according to the Greek text. The foregoing pages show that such an opinion can hardly be maintained.¹⁹

Jedin is also of opinion that Seripando had adopted a stricter interpretation of the decree of the Council of Trent on the Vg. He gathers this, mainly from the efforts made by Seripando to soften the decree "insuper," even up to the year 1561, when the council had reached its last stage, and from the contents of a letter written by Seripando to Card. Da Mula: "from the tenor of his letter," says Jedin, "it appears that Seripando adopted the stricter interpretation, namely, that the Vg. alone and not the original text or the other translations could be used in support of a dogma."²⁰ Jedin continues: "This interpretation, coming from one who had participated in the writing of the decree, is entitled to greater consideration than the explanations of other Council member or of such theologians as had only indirect knowledge of the formation of the decree. We cannot, then, put a side this view, without further ado..."²¹

¹⁹Jedin: *Girolamo Seripando*, vol. II, p. 389 # 2.

²⁰Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 299 # 2. NB: About Seripando's effort to revise the decree on the Vulgate, in 1561, Jedin writes: "But when in 1561, the Council convened for the third time, it was Seripando who of his own accord tried to bring about a revision of the still unconfirmed decree." The reasons adduced by Seripando against the decree were: 1) The decree on the Vulgate, did not determine which, of the extant translations was the authentic Vulgate (The Vulgate of the Fathers, or the Vulgate of the middle ages or the translation by St. Jerome?) 2) None of the Bibles in use at the time contained all the passages quoted by the Fathers in defence of the Catholic Church against the heretics. 3. It might appear that by approving this one Latin text, the study of the original Bible languages would be prohibited. Who would study these languages, if only the Latin translation could be used publicly and officially? The present liberty of using the old translations is denied by the decree, and yet everyone knows from experience, that these various translations in determining the sense of the Bible." p. 295 # 2.

²¹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 299.

Seripando's conduct after the decree of the council seems to go counter to such a conclusion. He continued, in earnest, his study of the Greek text and gave the final touches to his best work in Exegesis, the Commentary on the Romans which, as his former exegetical works, was based neither on the Vulgate nor on any single Greek text, but on the Greek text critically restored by his own self. Moreover, in his "Quaestiones", especially in the first questions, which he revised, after the decree "insuper," under the guidance of Cardinal Cervini, who was the president of the commission which formulated the decree on the Vg., Seripando argues against heretics appealing to the Hebrew codices, and quoting, sometimes, passages of St. Paul, from the Vg. but directly from the Greek (cf. *Quaest.* 3: 6).²²

Hence the fears of Seripando, expressed in his letter to Card. Da Mula, were centred, not on the real import of the decree, as Card. Cervini and Seripando himself had understood it, but on the interpretation that might easily be given to it by those who did not take part in the council.²³

²²In the concluding words of Q. 3, we have an appeal to the Hebrew codices: "*Quae si id quod de poenitentiae operibus docemus, nudo tantum confirmaremus Ecclesiae decreto, nulla sanctorum Scripturarum auctoritate fulto, improbandum certe non esset, Deum enim a quo ligandi et solvendi potestatem ila accepit, condonandis peccatis imitaretur. Qui si Hebraeorum codicum fidem sequamur, inter caetera quae haet peculiaria, illud enumerat, quod indulgendo non indulget, quia quem aeterno no afficit crucitu, ad tempus castigat, et inultum omnio esse non patitur.*" *Commentaria*: pp 355 f. In Q. 6, Seripando shows the error committed by the Protestants in interpreting Gal. 1, 10, by quoting the very Greek words: "*anthropous peitho e ton theu*" and "*e dseto anthropois areskein.*" *Commentaria*, p. 367.

²³In fact, many Catholic theologians, not to speak of Protestants, especially, the Spanish Lee de Castro, Bartholomeo de Medina (at first), Ludovico de Tena gave the decree the interpretation which Seripando had feared would be given to it. Even the theologians of the Congregation for the Council seemed to interpret the decree in that sense. The true meaning of the decree, as understood by Seripando at eh very time of the Council, can now be seen indicated in the authentic declaration of the tenor of the decree, made by Pius XII. See Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, n. 14.

CHAPTER 2

THE LATIN RENDERING

1. *Via Media*

In rendering the sacred text into Latin, Seripando's ideal was: to expose the sacred author's mind in the most apt and in the most ordinary expressions. Could he not retain the Vg. rendering, where his text coincided with that of the Vg.? Seripando's attitude in this respect is a "via media" between that of Erasmus and Cajetan. Erasmus had too little respect for the Vg. rendering, where as Cajetan had too much of it. Seripando sought help from the Vg., Erasmus and Cajetan; but he had no hesitation to differ from any of them when their Latin rendering did not suit his ideal.

2. The Gradual Progress

This is clear from all his exegetical works. As we proceed from his earlier to his later works, we notice a gradual increase in the number of instances where in this attitude is manifested. Thus, in his very first attempt at interpretation, the interlinear *Glossa* on the Romans, his Latin rendering differs from that of the Vg., in 20 instances.²⁴ In his Commentary on the 1 Cor. we come across 54 instances of that nature; and in his last work, the Commentary on the Romans, the number of such instances, rises up to 94.

For a study of the exact nature of these differences, we will fix our attention exclusively on his last work, the Commentary on the Romans. The 94 instances wherein Seripando's Latin rendering differs from that of the Vg., can be grouped under two main classes: more apt expressions and more ordinary expressions.

2.1. More Apt Expressions

In 50 instances, Seripando leaves off the Vg. renderings and substitutes them by more apt expressions. The greater aptitude of these expressions, as far as we have been able to judge, consists, in 46 of these instances, in their greater conformity with the Greek words used by the apostle. Thus, for example, in Rom. 1, 4 Seripando renders, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ (*tou horisthentos hion*

²⁴Cfr. The Vulgate and Cod. Trivulz. 378 on Rom. 3, 25; 3, 28; 5, 1; 5, 12; 6, 1; 6, 3; 6, 5; 6, 6; 6, 8; 6, 16; 9, 22; 10, 14; 12, 18; 13, 5; 14, 19; 15, 14; 15, 26.

theou), by 'qui definitus est Filius Dei' against the Vg. Rendering: 'qui praedestinatus est Filius Dei';²⁵ in Rom 1, 29 ἀδικία (*adikia*) rendered by: 'injustitia' against the Vg. 'iniquitas', in Rom. 11, 34 νοῦν κυρίου (*noun Kyrion*) is, for Seripando, 'mentem Domini' while for the Vg. it is: 'sensus Domini'; ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ (*en te diakonia*) of Rom 12,7, is rendered into 'in administratione' by Seripando, against the Vg. rendering: 'in Administrando'. Substitutions of a like nature, can be observed in Rom. 1, 29; 2, 14; 2, 8; 3, 9; 3, 10; 4, 3b; 4, 5b; 4, 6; 4, 9; 4, 20; 4, 21; 4, 23; 4, 24; 5, 13; 5, 15; 5, 17; 6, 1b; 6, 5; 9, 7; 9, 22; 12, 1; 12, 2a; 12, 2b; 12, 7;

²⁵Cajetan's rendering is: 'definitus' Erasmus, following the majority of the Greek Fathers, rendered the phrase by: "declaratus." Lagrange objects to this rendering, saying that we can find no instance in the Koine literature, where *horixein* means 'to declare'. Cornely, however, defends the rendering 'declaratus', by the authority of St. Chrysostom who uses *horizein* to mean 'to manifest', 'to judge as such', 'to recognize'. But Lagrange says that the fourth century literature cannot give us sufficient ground to fix the meaning of a word in the Koine literature of the first century.

Seripando sticks to 'definitus'. All the same, he would not have objected to the rendering 'declaratus'. For, in his explanation of the term 'definitus', he uses the word 'declaratus': "By the operation of the Holy Ghost, He (Christ) was pointed out (*demonstratus*) and declared (*declaratus*) Son of God, first of all to John Baptist who said: "I saw the Spirit descending as a dove from heaven", then to the Apostles to whom, as Christ Himself had promised, He (the Holy Ghost) rendered testimony about Christ; finally to the whole world through the Apostles, when "all were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in various tongues, as the Holy Spirit suggested to them to speak."

In his *version* Seripando sticks to "definitus," because, he too, as Lagrange, might have thought that "declaratus" would not be strictly speaking, a legitimate expression for *horistentos*, since the Koine literature did not seem to have extended the meaning of *horixein* as far as 'to declare'. However, he had no scruples to explain "definitus" by "declaratus," because "definitus," "demonstratus" and "declaratus" express the same main idea with different shades which fit in with our context. 'Definire' properly consists in individualizing one from the rest; 'demonstrare' consists, also in pointing out the individual to others; 'declarare' adds greater solemnity to 'demonstrare'. Thus, while sticking to the meaning which is more conformable to the Greek root in his version, Seripando extends it, in his explanation, to some shades, as required by the context.

12, 10; 14, 4; 14, 11; 15, 14; 15, 24a; 15, 24b; 15, 24c; 15, 25; 15, 26; 16, 1; 16, 5; 16, 8; 16, 15; 16, 18; 16, 23.²⁶

²⁶Since longer explanation, in each case, seems to exceed the scope of our work, we content ourselves with adding a comparative table of the renderings of the groups we are dealing with.

Romans	The Greek Text	Vg. Rendering	Seripando's Rendering
1, 29	ἀδικία	<i>Iniquitas</i>	<i>injustitia</i>
2, 8	ὀργή καὶ θυμός.	<i>ira et indignation</i>	<i>furor et ira</i>
2, 14	οὔτοι	<i>Ejusmodi</i>	<i>hi</i>
3, 9	οὐ πάντως	<i>Nesquam</i>	<i>non omnino</i>
3, 10	οὐδὲ εἷς,	<i>non est quisquam</i>	<i>ne unus quidem</i>
4, 20	εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν	<i>in repromissione</i>	<i>in promissione</i>
4, 21	ὃ ἐπήγγελλαν	<i>quaecumque promisit</i>	<i>id quod promisit</i>
5, 15	εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς	<i>in plures</i>	<i>in multos</i>
5, 17	τῆς δωρεᾶς	<i>donationis et justitiae</i>	<i>doni justitiae</i>
6, 1b	ἐπιμένωμεν	<i>Permanebimus</i>	<i>manebimus</i>
6, 5	σὺμφυτοι γεγόναμεν	<i>complantati facti sumus</i>	<i>Insiti facti sumus</i>
9, 7	ὅτι	<i>Quia</i>	<i>qui</i>
9, 22	κατηρτισμένα	<i>Apta</i>	<i>aptata</i>
12, 1	διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	<i>per misericordiam Dei</i>	<i>per miserationes Dei</i>
12, 2	μεταμορφοῦσθε	<i>Reformemini</i>	<i>transformemini</i>
12, 2	ἀνακαινώσει τῇ	<i>Novitate</i>	<i>renovatione</i>
12, 7	ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ	<i>in ministrando</i>	<i>in administratione</i>
12, 10	τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ	<i>in caritate fraternitatis</i>	<i>in charitate fraterna</i>
14, 4c	στῆσαι αὐτόν.	<i>statuere illum</i>	<i>stabilire illum</i>
14, 11b	κάμψει	<i>Flectetur</i>	<i>flectet</i>
15, 14	ἀγαθωσύνης,	<i>Dilectione</i>	<i>bonitate</i>
15, 14	[τῆς] γνώσεως	<i>Scientia</i>	<i>cognitione</i>

In one instance however (Rom. 16, 20) Seripando seems to fall short of his ideal; because, there, he leaves off the Vg. rendering (*velociter*) which is obviously, more in conformity with the Greek equivalent ἐν τάχει (*en tachei*), and substitutes it by one (*'brevi'*), which is less in conformity with the Greek word.

In three instances, Seripando seems to have left off the Vg. renderings in order to substitute them by expressions, which indicate better, the special shade of the meaning, intended by the apostle. Thus δοξάζω (*doxadso*) which is rendered by *'honorificabo'* by the Vg., in Rom 11,13b, is translated into *'illustro'* by Seripando. Although *'honorificare'* and *'illustrare'* signify the same thing substantially, *'honorificare'* directly signifies to create in others, the esteem for a thing which is, in itself, honourable, whereas *'illustrare'* is to make a thing worthy of being noticed. What Paul intends, is to illustrate his ministry, i.e., to carry it out in such a way, that it may be noticed by the Jews and that it may consequently create jealousy in them. In Rom. 14, 13 and 14, 21 too, Seripando's renderings seem

15, 24	ὡς ἂν πορεύωμαι	<i>cum proficisci coepero</i>	<i>cum proficiscar</i>
15, 24	ἐλπίζω γὰρ διαπορευόμενος θεάσασθαι ὑμᾶς	<i>spero quod praeteriens videam vos</i>	<i>spero enim praeteriens videre vos</i>
15, 24	καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι	<i>et a vobis deducar</i>	<i>et a vobis deduci</i>
15, 25	Νυνὶ δὲ	<i>nunc igitur</i>	<i>nunc autem</i>
15, 26	κοινωνίαν τινα	<i>collectionem aliquam</i>	<i>communicationem aliquam</i>
16, 1	οὐσαν [καὶ] διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας	<i>quae est in ministerio ecclesiae</i>	<i>quae est ministra ecclesiae</i>
16, 5b	τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου	<i>dilectum mihi</i>	<i>dilectum meum</i>
16, 8	τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου	<i>dilectum mihi</i>	<i>dilectum meum</i>
16, 5b	ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας	<i>primitivus Asiae</i>	<i>primitiae Asiae</i>
16, 15b	Ὀλυμπᾶν	<i>Olympiadem</i>	<i>Olympiam</i>
16, 18	οἱ τοιοῦτοι	<i>Hujusmodi</i>	<i>hujusmodi</i>
16, 23	ὁ οἰκονόμος	<i>Arcarius</i>	<i>oeconomus</i>

to bring out better, the exact shade of the meaning intended by Paul.²⁷

In an ambiguous case (Rom. 3, 25: ἱλαστήριον (*hilasterion*), Seripando leaves off the Vg. rendering ('*Propitiatio*') and uses a rendering which had, by then, become almost traditional among the exegetes, and which seemed to fit in well with the context (viz., '*Propitiator*').²⁸

2.2. More Ordinary Expressions

This group comprises 43 instances. All these renderings are intended to express the Apostle's word force, in a language which is more idiomatic, clearer and simpler than that of the Vg.

Thus, for example, the conjunction ὅτι, *hoti* ('*declarativum*') has been rendered by '*quod*' instead of the Vg.

²⁷The words, *proskomma* (Rom. 14, 13) *proskoptei* (Rom. 14, 21) have created great difficulty to interpreters. The problem is to distinguish exactly *proskomma* from *skandalon*. Erasmus, Cajetan, Godet, Cornely, Lagrange and others think that *proskomma* signifies something which inflicts a slight offence and *skandalon* something which causes a serious offence. Thus the Vg., Erasmus and Cajetan and others, render *proskomma* by *offendiculum*. Seripando differs from all, and with a certain intuition of the Apostle's mind, renders it by "error." The context seems to suggest Seripando's interpretation. The whole passage is dealing with error in judgement and the consequent scandals created in those who are weaker in faith, through the careless behaviour and talk of those who are stronger in faith. Each one is to be judged by God according to his conscience. Hence the Apostle seriously admonishes the faithful not to give occasions that may create erroneous conscience in their brethren, and thus become stumbling blocks to them. The versicle 14, 13 is the conclusion of the passage. This is how Seripando explains it: "Let us not therefore judge each other, but mark ye, rather this: place not an error or a scandal to a brother ... let us absolutely abstain from judgement, which if we cannot attain, let this be the norm of your judgement, that you may judge those to be acting wickedly who are the authors of error of fall to their brethren."

²⁸As Cornely says, although the word *hilasterion* in itself would hardly mean *propitiator* (*hilastes*), traditionally it has assumed that sense, among many interpreters. The context gives ready approbation to this interpretation, since *hilasterion* is referred to Christ the Redeemer. Cajetan follows Vg. And suggests that '*Propitiator*' would fit in better with the context. Erasmus rendered it by '*reconciliator*' the LXX has used *hilasterion* to mean the Hebrew '*k'ipert*' 'the propitiatory'. Some exegetes, taking this hint, rendered it here by 'propitiatory'. Cfr. J. M. Bover: in *Biblica* (1939) 158-160. J. Huby: *Epître aux Romains*: pp. 153 sq.

'*quia*', in 13 instances, in the Epistle to the Romans.²⁹ However, Seripando is not consistent in the use of '*quod*' for ὅτι, *hoti* '*declarativum*'. There are 50 instances of ὅτι, *hoti* '*declarativum*', in the Romans, and yet, only in 13 instances, Seripando employs the special attention to be idiomatic in rendering it into Latin. It is interesting to note that Seripando's attention in this respect completely ceases, after the 8th Chapter. Even in the first 8 Chapters, his attention is not extended to all the cases. It fails in the following verses: Rom. 1, 8; 2, 3; 3, 2; 3, 8; 3, 10; 4, 17; 5, 3; 5, 8; 6, 9; 6, 16; 6, 17; 7, 14; 7, 16; 7, 21; 8, 16; 8, 18; 8, 21; 8, 22; 8, 28; 8, 36.

The conjunction '*kai*' has been rendered by '*sed*', in Rom 10, 21, and by '*sicut*' in Rom. 11, 9 against the Vg. '*et*'. The preposition δία (*dia*) in Rom. 2, 24 is rendered by '*propter*' against the Vg. '*per*'. In Rom. 6, 9 Seripando renders ἐξ '*ex*' by '*a*' ("*qui resurrexit a mortuis*") whereas the Vg. renders it by '*ex*'. In Rom. 12, 18: τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν (*to ex hymon* is rendered by '*quod in vobis est*,' by Seripando, whereas the Vg. renders the same by "*quod ex vobis est*". 'Εἰς (*Eis*) in Rom. 6, 19 is equivalent to '*ad*' for Seripando, while, for the Vg., it is equivalent to '*in*'. Κατά (*kata*) of Rom. 2, 7, is rendered by Seripando into '*per*' against the Vg. '*secundum*', παρά (*para*) of Rom. 4, 18, into '*praeter*' against the Vg. '*contra*' and παρά (*para*) of Rom. 14, 5, into '*ad*' against the Vg. '*inter*'. Seripando's version of οὐκ ἐστὶν Rom. 6, 9, is '*non amplius*', while that of the Vg. is '*jam non*'; Seripando renders ἐφ' ὅσον (*ef hoson*) of Rom. 11, 13 by '*quatenus*' while the Vg. renders the same by '*quamdiu*'. Εἰς ἀλλήλους *Eis allelous* in Rom. 14, 19 gets the rendering '*in vicem*' in Seripando's Commentary against the Vg. '*in vicem*'; το γενέσθου αὐτοῦ (*to genesthu autu*) in Rom. 4, 18, receives the rendering: '*quod fieret pater multarum gentium*' from Seripando, against the Vg. rendering: "*ut fieret pater multarum gentium*". The phrase εἰς τὸ παραζηῶσαι αὐτοὺς (*eis to paradseosai autos*) of Rom. 11, 11, is rendered by Seripando into: '*ut ad aemulationem eos provocet*', while the Vg. has the same, rendered into: '*ut illos aemulentur*'.

²⁹Cfr. Rom. 1, 13; 1, 32; 2, 4; 3, 19; 4, 9; 4, 21; 4, 23; 6, 3; 6, 6; 6, 8; 7, 1; 7, 18; 8, 38.

For the sake of greater clarity and simplicity, Seripando has receded, 12 times from the Vg. rendering, and produced his own:

Romans	The Greek Text	Vg. Rendering	Seripando's Rendering
1, 4, 16	δύναμις	<i>Virtus</i>	<i>Potential</i>
1, 30	Ἀπειθεῖς	<i>Inobedientes</i>	<i>non obedientes</i>
2, 8a	ἀπειθοῦσι	... qui non acquiescunt	... qui non obediunt.
2, 8b	πειθομένοις	... credunt	... obediunt
5, 19	διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς	...obeditionem	...obedientiam
6, 9	ἐγερθεῖς	<i>resurgens ex mortuis</i>	<i>qui resurrexit a mortuis</i>
6, 16	οὐκ οἶδατε	<i>nescitis?</i>	<i>an nescitis?</i>
10, 14	εἰς ὃν	<i>in quem</i>	<i>eum in quem</i>
13, 4	εἰάν δε το κακὸν ποιῆς	<i>si autem malum feceris</i>	<i>si autem male feceris</i>
13, 5	δίῳ	<i>ideo</i>	<i>Ideoque</i>
15, 26	Ἐνδόκησαν γὰρ μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαία	<i>probaverunt enim Macedonia et Achaia</i>	<i>placuit enim Macedoniae et Achaiae</i>

The rendering of ὥστε (*hoste*) into 'ut' against the Vg. 'ita ut' (Rom. 7, 6) does not seem to bring greater clarity or simplicity. All the same, Seripando prefers in this case, 'ut' against 'ita ut'.

For the sake of clarity, in the Latin rendering, Seripando, at times, changes the word order followed by the Greek text and the Vg. The following table shows the instances where such changes occur.

	The Vg. and Cajetan	Seripando
Rom. 1, 4	<i>qui praedestinatus est Filius Dei in virtute secundum spiritum sanctificationis.</i>	<i>qui secundum spiritum sanctificationis, definitus est Filius Dei, in potentia.</i>
Rom. 1, 5	<i>per quem accepimus gratiam et apostolatam ad oboedientiam fidei in</i>	<i>per quem accepimus gratiam et apostolatam pro nomine ejus, in</i>

	<i>omnibus gentibus, pro nomine e jus.</i>	<i>omnibus gentibus, ad oboedientiam fidei.</i>
Rom. 1, 9-10	<i>quod sine intermissione memoriam vestry facis, semper in orationibus meis.</i>	<i>quod in orationibus meis, semper, sine intermissione, memoriam vestri facis.</i>
Rom. 1, 20	<i>Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur.</i>	<i>Invisibilia enim ipsius, conspiciuntur a creatura mundi intellecta per ea quae facta sunt.</i>

The remaining changes in the word order do not show any special reason for the alteration. They are, however, very few, in number, and do not call for any special attention.³⁰

3. Conclusion

Seripando's word interpretation, is, indeed, well planned, and, as a rule, well worked out. His efforts are directed towards rendering the Apostle's words into the most apt and the most ordinary expressions, as is clear from the instances, where his renderings differ from those of the Vg. It is true that Seripando does not touch all the cases where amelioration of the Vg. rendering is desirable. Thus he leaves off many instances where *hoti* would be better rendered by 'quod', not to speak of other more important instances like the rendering of ἐγερθεῖς (*egertheis*) in Rom 6, 9 which, although obviously has the passive sense, is rendered by Seripando into "resurgens" (in active voice).³¹

The instances in which Seripando seems to miss his mark, show only that, in the age, in which he wrote his exegesis, he lacked many of the helps which we have now, such as an increased number of critical editions, both the Greek text and of the Latin versions, perfect grammars and exhaustive Lexicons. Seripando's own words show that he had no pretensions as to his mastery in this art. He

³⁰Cfr. E.g. Rom. 3, 6: *krinei ho theos* Vg. Eras. Cajet.: "judicabit Deus"; Seripa.: "Deus judicabit." Rom. 5, 21 *ebasileusen he hamartia*: Vg. Eras. Cajet.: "regnavit peccatum"; Serip.: "peccatum regnavit."

³¹Cfr. Cornely: Rom. 6, 9: "resurgens (melius: resuscitatus; Gk: egertheis)" p. 324. Lagrange: Rom. 6, 9: "Les corrections de WW. Surgens a mortuis pour resurgens ex mortuis (Vg. Clem.) ne suffissent pas a rendre le texte grec. Il faudrait: suscitatus ex mortuius, p. 148.

modestly says in the Preface: "I have tried to explain clearly the mind of Paul with the utmost brevity and clarity that I could muster, seeking words, which I hardly know if I really found out, that are the most ordinary and the most apt."³² But this is not all. Seripando's determination to bring home to his readers, the full force of the Apostles' words in all possible clarity, urged him to contrive further means to facilitate the understanding of his word interpretation. We devote the next chapter for a study of these special means he has employed in his commentaries.

CHAPTER 3

HELPS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE LATIN RENDERING

To make his Latin rendering easily intelligible to all, Seripando makes use of different methods. Sometimes he contents himself with some marginal note; sometimes he employs the Greek word itself in his translation and explanation, at other times he gives special explanations regarding the real import of the Greek word in question.

1. Marginal Notes

In most cases, Seripando thinks that the mere placing of the Greek equivalent in the margin is enough to instruct the reader of the real import of the Latin expression, employed in the version. Thus 30 out of the 31 marginal notes that we come across, in Seripando's commentary on the Romans, consist of the mere Greek equivalents. For example, we find in the margin of the commentary on Rom 1, 19 ('*quod notum est Dei*'). The Greek phrase: τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (*to gnoston tou theou*). Other instances of the kind, may be seen in connection with Rom. 1, 20; 1, 23; 1, 24; 1, 25a; 1, 26b; 1, 29; 1, 30; 1, 32; 2, 1; 2, 2; 2, 4; 2, 8; 2, 17; 2, 24; 2, 26; 3, 3; 3, 4; 3, 9a; 3, 9b; 3, 10; 3, 19a; 3, 19b; 4, 2; 4, 3; 4, 4; 4, 8; 4, 12; 4, 16; 5, 1; 5, 2; 2 Cor. 1, 4; 1 Thess. 2, 17; 3, 1; 3, 6; 4, 6; 4, 10; 4, 11a; 4, 11b; 4, 11c; 4, 11d; 4, 12; 5, 2; 5, 14; 2 Thess. 1, 5; 1, 6; 1, 9; 1, 11; 2, 3; 2, 11a; 2, 11b; 2, 13; 3, 2; 3, 3; 3, 6.

In some cases, Seripando adds to the Greek word in the margin, its exact literal meaning, so as to show how the expression he has used in the translation, is really equivalent to the Greek word. The Romans has no instance of this kind, whereas the only instance of a marginal note with a Greek word in the Gal. pertains to this category. In Gal. 4, 16, Seripando accompanies his reading: "*Ergo inimicus factus sum verum dicens*"; by the following marginal note: ἀληθέλεγων (*alethelegon*): *qui vera dicebam*. The same type may be found in 2 Cor. 1, 10; 1, 12; 5, 13; 2 Thess. 2, 7.

Three Epistles contain marginal notes which adduce, besides, some further explanation, regarding the Greek text: Romans has one instance of this kind. In Rom. 4, 11, the translation: "*ut imputetur et illis ad justitiam*", has the following marginal note: εἰς τὸ

³²Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 8.

λογισθῆναι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν δικαιοσύνην (*eis to logisthenai kai autois dikaiosunen*): *subaudi* εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην (*eis ten dikaiosunen*). Similar notes occur in 2 Cor. 11, 28; 1 Thess. 2, 7, and 3, 3.

2. Greek Words Employed to Bring Out the Word Force

Sometimes, Seripando seems to be at a loss to get an apt word in Latin, to render the Greek word with its exact force. This seems to have happened because he could not afford to have sufficient time. In his inedited Commentaries on 2 Cor. And 1 Thess., we have 16 instances where Seripando, simply quotes the Greek words and gives his paraphrase on them. Thus, while handling 2 Cor. 4, 17, Seripando writes: καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν (*kath hyperbolen eis hyperbolen*): *super modum excellenter aeternum* etc." The other instances of this kind occur in 2 Cor. 11, 2; 11, 28a; 11, 28b; 12, 7; 12, 10; 12, 20a; 12, 20b; 12, 20c; 12, 20d; 12, 20e; 12, 20f; 13, 9b; 13, 11a; 13, 11b; 1 Thess. 5, 1.

At other times Seripando renders into Latin, as much of the passage as he can without much ado, and simply incorporates into his version those Greek words whose exact rendering calls for greater thought or further research, from his part. Thus, he renders 2 Cor. 13, 5b, in the following way: "nisi ἀδόκιμοι estis". In 1 Cor. 10, 22 he renders a part like this: "Ἄν παραζηλοῦμεν". Likewise, in 1 Cor. 10, 21, we have: "Ἦoc εἰδωλυθυτόν est."

Some Greek expressions are according to Seripando so typically Pauline, that he leaves them intact and employs them as such, freely, in the course of his explanations. Thus he writes on Rom. 11, 36: "*homines animales et ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei non percipient, το ἀδύνατον importune flagitantes.*" In the same way εὐταξία occurs in the explanation of Rom. 13, 2 and ὁμοιοτέχνοι in that of Rom. 16, 3.

In Gal., the following words are used, with the same freedom: δοκοῦντες (2, 9); ἀνοήτοι (3, 1); μεσίτην (3, 19); χρεστεύεται (5, 23); and μακροθυμεῖ (5, 22). The 2 Cor. has ἀδόκιμοι repeated four times, in the course of the explanation of 13, 6 – 13, 9. In 1 Thess. we have three instances of the kind: ἐν βαρεῖ (2,9); θεοδιδάκτοι (4,9); and ἀδύνατα (5,24).

3. Special Explanations of the Greek Words

Sometimes, Seripando doubts the aptitude of his Latin rendering to bring out the full force of the Greek equivalent used by the Apostle. In such cases, he adduces special explanations of the words concerned. Thus, for example, in 1 Thess. 2, 3 he says: "*Est enim Graece πλάνη quod verbum non illius est solum qui decipitur sed et decipientis*" (37); in Rom. 14, 5: "*Certa ergo fides, certa que persuasio et illa animi plenissima securitas quam πληροφορίαν Graecorum sanctissimi, sapientissimique Patres appellarunt, in utrisque erat*"; in Gal. 1, 10: "*Utitur autem verbo πείθω quoniam suasores qui appellantur, quibus suadere aliquid volunt, iis primum blandiri, seseque insinuare atque illorum auribus magnam sui sermonis partem dare consueverunt*". Other instances of this kind, may be seen in Rom. 8, 29; 10, 1; 12, 1; 14, 1; Gal. 2, 14; 1 Thess. 2, 3; 2 Thess. 2, 4; and 2, 7.

4. Conclusion

Seripando's earnestness of purpose, in the word interpretation, is perceptible all throughout his exegetical works. He tries to render the words of the Apostle in as apt and as ordinary words as possible. But often, he finds that his Latin does not supply him with exact expressions for some words used by St. Paul. In these cases Seripando does not content himself with rendering the words by some, more or less equivalent Latin expressions. As an exegete, he considers himself bound to do more. He employs all the methods that can be used, in order to make the full meaning, clear to his readers. Thus, sometimes, he quotes the Greek original, sometimes he shows the literal meaning of the Greek word so as to show with what right he has used the Latin expression in his rendering; at other times he makes the Greek word so clear and familiar to the reader as to use it freely, in his explanations, in the place of its Latin equivalent. Well could Seripando write in his preface: "I have tried to explain clearly the mind of Paul."

We have examined, in this section, the way Seripando has worked out his task of word interpretation. With the observations we have made at the end of each chapter, in mind, we may, now, cast a glance on the attitude of Seripando, regarding the decree of the council of Trent on the Vulgate.

Now we know whence Seripando got the inspiration to fight in the council of Trent, for the encouragement of the study of the

original texts, and their translations into the vernacular. He had himself studied the Vg. text, comparing it with the Greek original, and had found that, in many cases, it did not represent the original text with exactitude, and that, in many cases, its renderings were far from being exact.

A conviction born of such a study, could not but create anxiety in Seripando, at the thought of the slightest discouragement that might be apparent in the decrees of the Council, as regards the study of the original texts and new translations.

Seripando knew that the Council, in proposing the Vg. as the authentic text, did not, in fact, prohibit the study of the original text or the preparation of new translations.³³ All the same, he feared a misinterpretation that could be put on the decree by those who did not know the spirit in which it was drawn up. To avoid such a danger, Seripando tried to have the wording of the decree mitigated, even to the last stage of the council. He did not succeed in this effort.³⁴

Yet Seripando left a lasting message to posterity in his Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. These Commentaries especially the one on the Rom., which he perfected after the decree "*Insuper*," contain a word interpretation, the study of which can leave, in us, no misgivings as to the real import of that decree. Seripando, a respected member of the committee appointed to draw up the decree on the Vg., in his commentary on the Romans, dedicated to Cardinal Cervini, who was the president of the same committee, did not think himself bound to follow the Vg. version. On the other hand he explicitly followed the Greek text, not exclusively one of the many existing texts, but the one critically restored by his own study of codices both Greek and Latin, a text which differed from the text followed by the Vg., in 81 instances giving it his own Latin rendering, which too differed from that of the Vg., in 94 instances.

Six years ago, Father Voste spoke of the progress that we have made, in the use of the Bible text, in the course of four centuries, after the council of Trent: "To day, a professor of Sacred Scripture, well prepared for his grave office, must explain the books of the Bible, according to the original text; this is the foremost requisite of

³³Ms. Nap. VII. A 36, 1 Thess. 2, 3 (c. II, n. II).

³⁴Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*: pp. 283-300.

scientific exegesis which scrutinizes and illustrates the literal sense truly intended by the sacred writer and the Holy Ghost, the sense directly expressed in the original text."³⁵

But even before the lapse of four centuries after the Council of Trent, we find a man who was a Father of that very Council and one of its Presiding Legates, a member of the committee which drew up the decree on the Vg., and esteemed friend and trusted counsellor of the President of that Committee, we mean Seripando, who bequeathed to us his commentaries of Pauline Epistles, in which he shows us the so-called four-centuries long progress, crystallized in advance, in which he proclaims, with silent eloquence, that the decree of the council, on the Vg., by no means, stood in the way of the fulfilment of an exegetes primary duty: the study of the original text, the restoring of it into its original purity, and the rendering of it into the exegete's language, in as apt and as ordinary words as possible.

Seripando's exegetical works, thus, provide us with a precious document for the right understanding of the spirit in which the decree on the Vg. was drawn up, and consequently, for the true interpretation of the decree itself.

³⁵G. M. Voste: "*La Volgata al Concilio di Trento*"; in *La Bibbia e il Concilio di Trento*: Rome, 1947, p. 19.

SECTION II

SERIPANDO'S SENSE INTERPRETATION

The study of Seripando's exegetical works enables us to distinguish three different steps taken by him, in exposing the sense of the Epistles of the Apostle:

1. Investigation of the Apostle's mind, in its outlines
2. Personal reflection on the Apostle's doctrine
3. Exposition

In the following three chapters, we will study Seripando's exegesis under these three aspects, with special stress on the rules that guided him, in each of them.

CHAPTER 1

INVESTIGATION OF PAUL'S MIND

In his preface to the Romans and Galatians, Seripando tells Cervini that, in his commentaries he assumed the following method: "*Quanta maxima potui verborum brevitate et perspicuitate, Pauli mentem dilucide explanare conatus sum.*"¹ A little farther, while telling Cervini, how he had provided in his commentaries, for discussions with heretics, Seripando touches again on this central aim of his work. A firm common ground to start discussions with heretics, says he, can be created by an exegete, if, in accomplishing his principal duty, namely *in explaining the mind of the Apostle*, he takes also a special care to accommodate his words to the prejudiced minds of heretics.² Hence, in Seripando's opinion, the first and foremost duty of an exegete is *to expose the mind of the sacred author.*

What does Seripando mean by "*mentem Pauli explanare*"? The answer we have, in what Seripando says below, resuming the idea continued in that very phrase: "*Meas igitur paretes esse existimavi non in verborum delectu elaborare sed sententiarum et rerum mirabilem quamdam et perpetuam in Paulo continuationem seriemque demonstrare, ut alia ex aliis nexa et omnes inter se aptae colligataeque appareant, ad id tendentes quod agit et quo spectat divinus Apostolus.*"³ The last phrase: "*quo spectat divinus Apostolus*" signifies "the scope" of the Apostle. For, immediately after it, Seripando adds: "*Hoc est quod σχοπὸν Graeci vocant.*" The explanation of Paul's mind, therefore, consists, according to Seripando, in exposing the scope of the Apostle and in demonstrating the wonderful way in which the different parts, namely Paul's sentences and ideas are connected, one with another and all with the scope.

¹Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistoloas ad Romanos et Galatas Commentaria*: p. 8.

²Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistoloas ad Romanos et Galatas Commentaria*: p. 9.

³Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistoloas ad Romanos et Galatas Commentaria*: p. 8.

1. The Apostle's Scope

According to Seripando, there are some strong temptations which an exegete has to encounter, as he comes to the work of sense-interpretation. They are:

1. An inclination to introduce the exegete's personal convictions under the veil of the Apostle's mind,
2. A yearning to seek out opportunities to throw calumnies at his own adversaries with the hands of the Apostle,
3. A longing to justify personal views and actions from the lips of the Apostle.⁴

Seripando shows how easily these temptations had triumphed over the heretics who had taken in hand the work of exegesis. He says that the heretics begin their commentaries well, give an introduction, in a few words and then enter their proper field of explaining themselves under the guise of the sacred author, despising and deriding their adversaries in general and the Catholic Church in particular, and justifying and extolling their own mode of action.⁵

Most probable, Seripando must be alluding here to Luther, who, in his preface to the commentaries of Wessel, said that he had believed that he was the only person left in the world to stand up for the cause of God, as Elias of old. The heretics of ten said, as Luther himself, that they were suffering the persecutions which had been foretold by Christ, as awaiting His followers. This, according to Seripando, is the cunning decree by which the reformers made their commentaries attractive, and seduced even good Catholics.⁶

Seripando denounces this mode of action as a vicious habit. To deviate from the scope of the sacred writer, is a crime in an exegete.⁷ As for himself, he would start his commentaries with a clear statement of the scope of the sacred author.⁸ In the case of St. Paul's Letters, this precaution is imperative, since, as St. Peter remarks, there are some difficult passages which the unlearned and unstable

⁴Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistoloas ad Romanos et Galatas Commentaria*: pp. 4-7.

⁵Seripando: *In D. Pauli Epistoloas ad Romanos et Galatas Commentaria*: pp. 4-7.

⁶LW 10/1 316 # 2 f.

⁷*Commentaria*: p. 8.

⁸Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 16 ("Argumentum").

have twisted to their own sense.⁹ To show the importance of this precaution, Seripando prefixes a special '*Praeludium*' to his commentaries on the Romans and Galatians.¹⁰

Having indicated from the words of St. Peter, the presence of difficult passages in St. Paul, the unwarranted handling of which has caused the ruin of many a soul, Seripando assures us that the writings of those passages proceeded from exegetes who were wedded to their personal interests, as were the heretics of his own day, whose main purpose was to make use of Paul's words as weapons against their adversaries, especially the Catholic Church.¹¹

Seripando, on his part, while avowing the presence of difficulties in Paul, that arise from novelty of expressions, digressions, frequent metaphors, apparent inconsistencies, lack of order and unheard of figures, believes that they melt away into insignificance, before one, who starts studying Paul's Letters, in the spirit in which he wrote them.¹²

Seripando proposes to start with that serene spirit which is not awakened by self-interest, but is possessed by the pure love of truth and divine grace. Depending on the assistance of God rather than on the brilliance of his own intellect, he places before himself and his readers, the scope of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in the words of the great St. Augustine, in whom, as admitted by all, there existed, in the greatest degree, the requirements of an Exegete.¹³ Before starting his commentaries on the Galatians too, Seripando clearly states the apostle's scope.

It may appear rather strange that, in the case of the remaining four epistles, Seripando begins his commentaries straight off, without giving the "*Argumentum*." The apparent excuse is that these works exist only in their rough copies which would hardly have been presented to the public, without the addition of the '*Argumentum*' or even '*Praeludium*'. However, it seems more probable that, even if Seripando had intended publishing them, they would have remained without the '*Argumentum*'. We have Seripando's *Glossa* on the

⁹Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 14.

¹⁰Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 13-16.

¹¹Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 14f.

¹²Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 14f.

¹³Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 15 sq.

Romans which was found among the possessions of Cervini.¹⁴ The *Glossa* was undoubtedly a fair copy intended to be placed before a person of no less dignity than Cardinal Cervini, and yet, it did not contain the 'Argumentum'.

It seems, therefore, more reasonable to believe that Seripando's mind underwent an evolution under the influence of the circumstances. As a young Platonist, he could not but entertain some sympathy for the reactions of the reformers against the scholastic system. He did really feel, even when old, repugnance for the exaggerated schematisations of the scholastics.¹⁵ Naturally Seripando started his exegetical works with the thought of dispensing with 'argumentum', 'Praeludium' or 'Prologus', as technicalities introduced by scholastics into exegetical works. But judgement matured by experience, forced him to acknowledge the necessity of the 'customary argument' (mark his observation 'customary')¹⁶ and even of the 'Praeludium', as is clear from his dedicatory letter and 'Praeludium', in his last exegetical works namely the Commentaries on the Romans and Galatians.

However, This evolution concerned only the technique of presenting the exegesis, not the elaboration of it, because, from the beginning to the end, Seripando's guiding star in working out his exegesis on the Epistles of Paul, was the Apostle's scope as will be clear from what follows.

2. Harmony between the Scope and the Different Parts

The wonderful harmony between Paul's scope and his words becomes manifest, when the undisturbed flow or continuation of his words and ideas is clearly demonstrated. Hence an exegete's main concern ought to be in Seripando's own words: "*sententiarum et rerum mirabilem quamdam et perpetuam in Paulo continuationem seriemque demonstrare.*"¹⁷ The word "*sententia*" in Seripando, may be taken either in the grammatical sense or in the logical sense, as is

¹⁴Codex 378 of the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan.

¹⁵Cfr. The Order of the day for the Council of Trent, drawn by Seripando, at the request of Cervini: C. T. II, 419, 15ff.

¹⁶Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 13.

¹⁷*Commentaria*: p. 8.

clear from what he says in connection with 1 Cor. 3, 1 and 2 Thess. 2, 3.¹⁸

The word: '*continuatio*' too may admit of two significations, as suggested by the sources from which Seripando drew up the whole phrase. Classical studies, as we know, had to be set apart by Seripando, when more serious affairs absorbed his attention. However, he did not abandon classical authors altogether. He sought their help even in his commentaries. Virgil, the '*poeta noster*', is quoted twice in the Romans. (9, 9; 9, 27).¹⁹ Cicero is still Seripando's esteemed philosopher, and he is quoted profusely in connection with Rom. 7, 7. Here, in our case, the phrase: "*sententiarum et rerum mirabilem quamdam et perpetuam in Paulo continuationem seriemque demonstrare,*" is obviously a well-thought out combination of the two Ciceronian phrases: "*Admirabilis quaedam continuatio seriesque rerum*" (1 Nat. D. 4, 9) and "*immutabilis continuatio ordinis sempiterni*" (The word '*immutabilis*' is replaced by '*perpetua*', probably to make it rhyme with 'r' recurring in the preceding words and with 'p' "in the phrase that immediately follows it).

According to Cicero, '*continuatio*' in the first case, means the uninterrupted connection of the different parts in a whole, on account of which the parts appear necessary and sufficient, in their own places, for the formation of a harmonious system. In the second case, '*continuatio*' means the prolonged and perpetual sustenance of a system already existing.

That Seripando, in his preface, did intend to give the above-mentioned double significations to '*sententia*' as well as '*continuatio*', is evidenced by the fact that, in his commentaries, he strives to demonstrate, not only the uninterrupted connection of sentence with sentence but also that of idea with idea, and again, not only the continuous flow of sentences and ideas but also the perpetual stability of Pauline ideas and of the series of facts that form their basis.

¹⁸Explaining 1 Cor. 3, 1 Seripando uses the word '*sententia*' in the grammatical sense; the same word he uses, in explaining 2 Thess. 2, 3, with the signification of 'idea', 'opinion'. Ms. Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Thess. 2, 3 (c. II. M. I).

¹⁹*Commentaria*: pp. 162, 168.

2.1. The Flow of Words and Ideas

The coherent and harmonious disposition of the different sentences, ideas and facts in Paul's Epistles, is demonstrated by Seripando, by a study of the text and context, in the light of the historical background, the psychology and peculiar style of Paul, the condition of his readers, and his parallel utterances, within and without, the Epistles dealt with.

One would think that Seripando, whose aim was to show the marvellous harmony of part with part and parts with the whole, would have found no other procedure better than that of the Schoolmen. The Schoolmen had made an advance on Patristic exegesis, in this: that they used, first of all, to view the book as a whole and then to descend into its different parts, till the minutest elements of the text.²⁰ This analytical method rendered valuable help to the exegete to discover the literal and hence the genuine sense of the Bible. But some of the schoolmen had driven this method, into its extremes bringing in: "all kinds of subdichotomies, objections, solutions, definitions, conclusions, corollaries, propositions and distinctions"²¹ at which the sacred author himself would have marvelled. The consequence was a kind of repugnance for the system as a whole. The leaders of the Reformation had made no secret of their hatred for the scholastic system which depended too much on the Aristotelian categories.²² Seripando could not be insensible to this reaction. He himself, being a Platonist, had not much sympathy for the Aristotelians.²³

Perhaps it was this want of sympathy that dissuaded him from adopting from the schoolmen, what could be immensely helpful to his principal duty in the exegetical work. The analytical procedure, if kept in its proper limits, would have demonstrated, better than any other, the harmonious texture of Pauline literature. At least,

²⁰Cfr. A. Vaccari: "S. Tommaso e Lutero nella Storia dell'Esegesi" in *Civiltà Cattolica* 1935, pp. 36-47.

²¹Cfr. F. W. Farrar: "The Exegesis of the Schoolmen" in *The Expositor*, London, Second Series vol. VII (1886) 68 f.

²²Luther, in his "*Resolutiones super propositionibus Lipsiae disputatis*" speaks of the Scholastics with contempt.

²³Cfr. C.T. V. 672, 19f.

Seripando could have, prefixed, with great advantage, a general prospectus of the Epistle which he was beginning to comment on.

As time went on, Seripando might have acknowledged the advantage of such a system, in order to realize the ideal of his exegesis, and a further work could have crystallized that acknowledgement; but we have no work of Seripando that records this further evolution of his mind.

Seripando's method is, to start straight off with the words of the Apostle. As we go on reading, Seripando would help us to perceive the connection and continuation. When we pronounce the very first word or phrase, he stops us, provides us with the information the passage presupposes, namely the historical background, Paul's psychology or the condition of his readers, so that we see Paul's words beautifully fitting in with the context, and feel a natural flow of word from word and idea from idea, as he places before us the whole passage or part of it, in a conspicuous manner. In the '*Glossa*' Seripando's explanations are put within brackets so that the text is always clear and conspicuous. In the I Cor., the sacred text is written in erect characters and the explanations are given in slightly slanting ones. In the 2 Cor., and both the Thess., Paul's words are marked by underlines, while, in the Romans and Galatians, they are put in bold capital letters.

Then follow the explanation of the sentence, the exact sense of the words, illustrations from Paul himself or from other sacred authors and ecclesiastical writers, and the solution of difficulties that could not be forestalled in the introduction. This, in general, is how the connection of each passage with the preceding and the following, and of all, with the main scope of the Apostle, is demonstrated by Seripando.

2.1.1. The Flow of Sentences

2.1.1.1. Digressions to Be Taken into Account

Seripando's effort to demonstrate the uninterrupted flow of sentences, is more felt, where difficulties of construction occur. One of the principal sources of the break of continuity in Paul, according to Seripando, is his frequent digressions.²⁴ The digressions are, by no means, useless. They touch upon many mysteries which throw more light on Paul's principal theme. If Paul were to give greater

²⁴*Commentaria: Praeludium* p. 14.

importance to clarity and plainness of style, he ought to have passed over in silence many such mysteries. Let us take the case of the very first passage of the Romans:

*Si Paulus nulla facta traiectione, post illa quatuor (i.e., Paulus, servus Jesu Christi, vocatus Apostolus, segregatus in Evangelium Dei) quae de seipso dixit, statim addidisset: 'Omnibus qui Romae estis etc.', plane locutus fuisset et aperte, moremque sequutus esset salutandi per Epistolam usitatum, tritum, quotidianum, sed multa tacuisset mysteria, quae propterea interposuit, ut duo illa, quae de seipso dixerat, explicatione evaderent, "quorum alterum est": 'Segregatus in Evangelium Dei', alterum vero: 'vocatus Apostolus'.*²⁵

If we look from Paul's point of view, we will see that his digressions are not only useful, but often necessary. Seripando convinces us of this, when he takes up the last portion of the salutation of the Romans: "*Omnibus: post traiectiones istas magnopere necessarias ut Epistola haec, tanquam Apostolica, evangelica, et veram, ac sanetam doctrinam continens exciperetur, agnoscereturque non esse privati alicujus hominis, sed legati Jesu Christi, salutationem perfecit.*"²⁶

2.1.1.2. Obscure Connections to Be Cleared Up

Another chief source of the apparent break of continuity in Paul's words, are his expressions which are often obscure. Paul's expressions often suppose many things as understood. Unless these things are supplied, Paul's literature will remain obscure and his phrases and sentences will seem to be disconnected, or to be lacking in harmony. We may bring Rom. 8, 3f. as an illustration in point: These verses, as they lie, are not clear, "*Nam quod impossibile erat legi, in quo infirmabatur per carnem, Deus filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne, ut justificatio legis impleretur in nobis qui non secundum carnem ambulamus, sed secundum Spiritum.*"

In his *Glossa*, Seripando supplies what is understood in the different expressions and demonstrates the continuation:

²⁵ *Commentaria*: p.18 # 2. The explanations given in brackets are ours.

²⁶ *Commentaria*: p. 21 # 2.

*Nam quod impossibile erat legi / quae morbum tantum et minas ostendebat sanare id in quo / genus humanum / infirmabatur per carnem, Deus filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati / sanavit / et de peccato / (liceat hic improprie ita loqui) damnavit peccatum in carne ut justificatio / promissa per observantiam / legis impleretur in nobis qui non secundum carnem ambulamus, sed secundum Spiritum / nam sicut peccatum jure ante regnabat in homine, quem sibi voluntarie obtemperantem servum fecisset, ita postquam Filius Dei carnem assumpsit absque peccato cujus expers omnino semper fuit, licet similis nobis esse videretur, damnavit apud divinum tribunal, justo quidem judicio, peccatum ipsum in carne sua propria quod innocentam illum pro nocente haberi et saevissimae morti tradi curasset. Quare victo jam a Christo et triumphato peccato, et chirographo antiquo deleto, victus in victorem, aut in ejus membra, jus amplius dominandi, non habet. Ac proinde nihil nunc prohibet, quominus illi qui sunt in Christo Jesu et in spiritu vivunt, non autem in carne, legis justificationem et hereditatis promissionem non consequantur.*²⁷

Such digressions and passages containing: "*dicendi formae figuraeque Latinis, Graecis fortassis etiam Hebraeis auribus inauditas,*"²⁸ are not rare in the Epistles of Paul. Hence, Seripando rightly considers it part of the Exegete's main concern to demonstrate the flow of sentences.

2.1.2. The Flow of Thought

Seripando's effort to demonstrate the flow of the Apostle's thought also, is more felt where apparent interruptions occur. Sometimes the transition of an idea from another is veiled in new words or obscure phrases, in ambiguities, figurative language or digressions. Such passages call for the exegete's special attention.

²⁷ *Codex Trivulzian*: 378 f. 29v f.

²⁸ *Commentaria: Praeludium*, p. 14.

2.1.2.1. Obscure Expressions to Be Clarified

Terms like Gospel, 'the Law', 'Faith', 'Grace', 'Justice', 'the flesh', 'the spirit', 'to predestine', 'to harden' etc., have significations typically Pauline.²⁹ Paul's peculiar style also, has to be taken into account. Thus, while handling Rom. 9, 18 ('*Ergo cuius vult miseretur et quem vult indurat*'), Seripando says that the second part of the verse ('*quem vult indurat*'), brings in confusion because of the novelty of Paul's expression. According to the mind of Paul, "*quem vult indurat*" does not mean that God positively hardens the heart of somebody. God is said to harden those whom he does not wish to call.³⁰ The same care has to be employed in dealing with Rom. 11, 8 and 14, 5.³¹ Rom. 6, 5 and 9, 21 offer difficulties as to the exact nature of the sequence of one idea from the other. Seripando takes special care in these places to unveil the real trend of the Apostle's thought.³²

2.1.2.2. Ambiguous Terms to Be Defined

In Rom. 7, 1 there arises some difficulty from the ambiguous term: 'death'. What kind of death does St. Paul intend to express? Seripando writes: "*Neque vero laborandum hoc loco est qua de morte loquatur Apostolus, sive legis quae est ejus abrogatio, sive hominis; nihil enim prohibet ambiguum hunc sermonem in utramque sententiam interpretari.*"³³ Then he shows how either sense, does in fact, sustain the flow of Pauline thought.

2.1.2.3. Figurative Language to Be Explained

Where Paul's figurative language creates difficulty to follow his line of thought, Seripando is particularly attentive. This is the case in Rom. 8, 20, where Paul speaks of the sigh of the creatures, and in 2 Thess. 2, 7, where the Apostle deals with the one who is to be "put out of the way" ('*de medio tollatur*').³⁴ Further illustrations

²⁹Of these terms, we will speak, in Part II of our work.

³⁰Seripando is speaking, here, of the special call, as distinguished from the common call extended to all. Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 162 f.

³¹Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 186 f. and 231 # 2.

³²Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 92 f. and 165.

³³Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 103.

³⁴Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 104 and Ms. Nap. VII A 36, 2 Thess. 2, 7 (C. II, n. III).

may be found where Seripando treats of Gal. 4, 22-27 and Rom 13, 12.³⁵

2.1.2.4. Digressions to Be Taken into Consideration

Digressions which break off the flow of ideas, are noted by Seripando and supplied with sufficient explanations, as can be seen in Rom. 9, 22 where he says: "*Revertitur (ut mihi videtur) ad suam illam insignem et praeclaram conclusionem, unde humanae temeritatis audaciae refrenandae curiosarumque et inutilium quaestionum amputandarum gratia, digressus fuerat.*"³⁶ Dealing with the subsequent passage, Seripando writes:

*Tu vero qui Paulum prudenter legis cursum sustine et animadvertes hoc illud esse quamobrem locum hunc obscurum, mancum et explicatu difficilem dixi quia non statim perfecit sententiam, sed connexi partem quam proposuit, imperfectam reliquit, ad ea digrediens quae de vasis misericordiae declarare oportebat legentis animum suspensum, et quae altera esset connexi pars ignorantem dimittens.*³⁷

2.1.3. Positive Measures

Thus far, about the negative means Seripando uses to demonstrate the flow of thought. Equally interesting is the study of the positive measures he takes to the same effect. The exposition of the historical background, Paul's psychology and the condition of Paul's readers, timely recapitulations and clarifications of the logical sequence of thought, are the main headings to which we can reduce them.

2.1.3.1. Placing the Passage in Its Historical Background

Historical facts that influenced the Apostle's words were frequently referred to, by Seripando. The one sense with which Seripando is busy, is the historico-literal one. Hence, wherever historical data can be produced, he produces them, and where he cannot find them, he confesses that he does not find the details

³⁵Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 319-322 and p. 286.

³⁶Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 166 f.

³⁷Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 167 also Rom. 7, 14; 9, 30; 1 Cor. 14, 1; 2 Cor. 1, 21; 6, 3. Ms. Nap. VII A 36: 1 Cor. 14, 1 (C. XIII, n. 1).

supposed by the Apostle's words, described elsewhere, with exactitude.

Quotations from and references to the historical books, especially to the Acts of the Apostles, frequently occur in Seripando's commentaries. Acts of the Apostles is referred to, 18 times, in his commentary on the Romans, 16 times, in that on the Galatians, 15 times, in those to the Corinthians and 16 times, in those on the Thessalonians. The study of history makes Seripando enter into the spirit of the Apostle, and see in his words, the end to which they were directed. Thus, at the beginning of the 2nd chapter of the Galatians, he writes:

Quatuor erant quae falsi apud Galatas Apostoli absentis Paulo, in magnis criminibus objiciebant. Primum quod de legatione et suo Evangelio magnificentius jactaret, qui neque jus legationis neque Evangelium a Christo Domino accepisset unquam. Alterum quod de quaestione legis et Evangelii, non idem atque idem sentiret cum primariis et excellentibus Apostolis, de quibus constabat inter omnes a Christo Doctore summo, omnibus de rebus edoctos fuisse. Tertium quod ejus verba rebus esse contraria viderentur: legem enim abrogabat et Timotheum circumcidebat, de caeremoniis detrahebat et Nazaraeorum ritum Cenchrus primum raso capillo, deinde Hierosolymis (auctore Jacobo) cum aliis quatuor viris, ex legis consuetudine expiatus, summa religione servabat. Postremum quod praecellentibus Apostolis se exaequare atque etiam repugnare non vereretur, qui a principio in Christi gremio atque sermone fuerant educati, Ecclesiae Dei numquam infesti aut inimici, in quorum sive dictis sive factis, perpetua extiterat constantia, firmitas, perseverantia. Et primam quidem criminationem satis superque rejecit ac falsam esse convicit ex illis quae illi in vita contigerant, tam antea quam in illa ipsa sua repentina et admirabili conversione necnon aliquot postea subsequentibus annis. Ad alias nunc depellendas accedit ex fideli

*similiter earum rerum narratione quae secundum ea illi acciderant.*³⁸

2.1.3.2. Light Sought from Pauline Psychology and Style

Pauline psychology and the consequent peculiarity of style are brought forward by Seripando, in order to catch and follow the line of thought in Paul's Epistles. The connection of the first part of the 10th chapter of the Romans with Chapter 9 is easily perceptible to one who enters into the soul of Paul and feels with him. Seripando writes:

*Priusquam de gentium divina electione et maximae Judaeorum partis rejectione disserere coepisset, mirabilem atque incredibilem in Judaeos charitatem declaravit prudentissimus et electissimus Apostolus, adeoque magnam et ardentem et anathema a Christo Jesu pro illorum salute se unum esse optaverit, rem indignam existimans eum perire populum qui tot insignitus et ornatus esse divinis praerogativis atque muneribus. Cum autem in ea disputatione dixerit Judaeos a vera justitiae via aberrasse et in lapidem offensionis incurrisse, ne infenso id animo atque inimico dixisse putaretur, novo rursus argumento suum erga Judaeos amorem declarat, eorum salutem, quamquam a Christo tantopere essent alieni, a se non negligi, cum et eam propense expeteret et assiduis a Deo precibus posceret. Inquit autem: Fratres...*³⁹

2.1.3.3. Light Sought from the Psychology of Paul's Readers

The psychology of Paul's readers too, frequently brought forward by Seripando to demonstrate the flow of Pauline thought. We may produce many passages in illustration of this point, such as Rom. 1, 13; 2, 17; 2, 19; 3, 21; 4, 1; 4, 4; 6, 1.⁴⁰ For specimen's sake

³⁸Commentaria: p. 284. Cfr. Also: Rom. 14, 1; 1 Cor. 11, 2-11; 2 Cor. 8, 18; 10, 1.

³⁹Commentaria: p. 173. Cfr. Also: Rom. 1, 8; 1, 9; 1, 11; 1, 13; 3, 5; 3, 9; 6, 5; 6, 15; 7, 12; 9, 5; 9, 6; 9, 22-25; 10, 11; 11, 13 f; 11, 19; 11, 20; 12, 1; 13, 8; 14, 1; 15, 1; 15, 14; 1 Cor. 3, 1; 9, 1; 10, 14-15; 12, 4; 14, 18; 2 Cor. 4, 3; 4, 7-11; 5, 12; 5, 14; 6, 14; 8, 8; 10, 16; 11, 1; 12, 13; 13, 1; Gal. 1, 1; 1, 5; 3, 1; 3, 5; 3, 19; 4, 10; 4, 12; 6, 1. 1 Thess. 1, 1.

⁴⁰Cfr. Also 1 Cor. 10, 23; 12, 1; 14, 36; 15, 1; 15, 32; 1 Thess. 5, 1.

we quote here, what Seripando writes in the beginning of Rom 14: "*Erant inter Romanos ad quos hanc Paulus scripsit Epistolam, variae quaedam de legis mandatis ac ritibus opiniones, controversiae et disceptationes, de quibus ita contendebant ut vinci alii ab aliis nulla ratione paterentur. Eas nunc sedare et comprimere ex divina quadam Spiritus sancti disciplina studet...*"⁴¹

2.1.3.4. Recapitulations

Recapitulations (Rom. 2, 17; 2, 25; 3, 21; 5, 1; 8, 31; 9, 1; 9, 10; 13, 1; 15, 7),⁴² and timely glances at the main theme (Rom. 4, 1; 4, 9; 7, 21; 8, 9; 8, 33; 8, 35)⁴³ are made by Seripando, in order to make clear the connection of major parts with minor ones, and of all with the main theme.

2.1.3.5. Natural Reasoning

Sometimes Seripando makes use of natural reasoning, to show the logical sequence of one idea from another. It is thus that he shows in Rom. 7, 7 that, if we follow exactly the line of Pauline thought, we have to conclude that even non-deliberate movements of concupiscence are sins, in the real sense of the word.⁴⁴ The same way, he logically argues, regarding the connection of faith with justice in Pauline thought (Rom. 10, 10).⁴⁵

Thus, throughout his exegesis, Seripando follows the rule of flow as an efficacious means to discover the Apostle's mind. The negative or positive measures he assumes towards the attainment of his ideal appear in one form or other, practically, in his treatment of every passage of the Apostle's writings.

2.2. The Stability of Paul's Ideas

2.2.1. The Stability Presupposed

Stability of Pauline ideas is a *suppositum* of Seripando. So when he speaks of the demonstration of the stability of Pauline ideas, in the preface, he does not mean that he is going to prove that Paul's

⁴¹ *Commentaria*: p. 228.

⁴² Cfr. Also Rom. 5, 12; 7, 7; 7, 25; 8, 28; 1 Cor. 10, 1; 2 Cor. 1, 8; 3, 1; 6, 11; 8, 16; 9, 1; 10, 7; Gal. 2, 21; 4, 30-31; 1 Thess. 4, 1.

⁴³ Cfr. Gal. 5, 1.

⁴⁴ *Commentaria*: p. 108.

⁴⁵ *Commentaria*: p. 171.

ideas remain the same everywhere, but that he is going to point out instances which illustrate the already acknowledged constancy of Paul's ideas.

The ground, on which his supposition rests, is the conviction that Paul's words are the words of the Holy Ghost Himself. Hence attributing inconsistency to Paul's ideas would mean admitting that the Holy Ghost contradicts Himself.

2.2.2. Exegete's Duty: To Demonstrate the Stability

Seripando thinks that an exegete's duty is to demonstrate the stability of Pauline ideas. We will just quote a passage where Seripando acquits himself of this duty. Rom. 3, 28 does not seem to fit in with the idea expressed by Paul, in Rom. 2, 13. Hence, while dealing with the former passage, Seripando writes: "*Sed hanc Puli verissimam sapientissimamque sententiam, ad ea quae de gravissima ista quaestione hac supra scripsit conferamus, ne quis in Apostoli imo Spiritus Sancti dictis aliquam introducere audeat repugnantiam.*"⁴⁶

Seripando solves the difficulty, showing that in Rom. 2, 13, Paul does not affirm that, by the works of the law, men are, in fact, justified, but that the persuasion of the Jews that by hearing the Law regularly recited in the synagogues, they had done everything, in order to be just, in the sight of God, was an illusion, since it was not the hearing of the Law that counted, but the doing of it: "*Non auditores legis iusti sunt apud Deum sed factores legis justificabuntur*" (Rom. 2, 13). But Paul himself asserts that this doing of the Law, is an impossibility for a man who is devoid of faith: "*Ex operibus legis non justificabitur omnis caro coram Deo*" (Rom. 3, 20; *Caro* means, here, man devoid of faith). Then he concludes: "*Quid autem his duobus dictis adeo consentaneum esse potest, ut illa quam paulo ante de hac tota controversia dixit: 'Arbitra hominem justificari per fidem sine operibus legis'?*"⁴⁷

2.2.3. The Law of Stability and the Flow of Ideas

As the law of stability helps the exegete to verify the results of his labour, done under the guidance of the law of flow, so it comes to his help in places where obscure terminologies apparently impede

⁴⁶ *Commentaria*: p. 59 f.

⁴⁷ *Commentaria*: p. 60.

the flow of the Apostle's thought. In such passages he can confidently seek light from other passages in Paul, where the same idea is expressed in clearer terms. After having explained the idea contained in the rather difficult phrase: '*de fide in fidem*' (Rom 1, 17),⁴⁸ Seripando seeks light from a clearer passage: "*quod non hoc solum loco docet Paulus sed aliis quoque locis et clarius, praesertim cum dicit: "Per fidem ambulamus, supercrescit fides vestra, confirmati in fidem"* (2 Cor. 5; 2 Thess. 1).⁴⁹ He does the same way, in dealing with Rom. 1, 4; 2, 13; 3, 5; 4, 13; 5, 2; 5, 12; 7, 4; 9, 11; 10, 3; 10, 10; 11, 36; 14, 9; 14, 20; 14, 21.⁵⁰

2.2.4. Interchanging Phrases from Parallel Passages

The stability of Pauline ideas, is so clear, that passages treating of the same idea, can be interchanged; what is wanting in one passage, may be supplied from another, whether it be as to details, as is done by Seripando in connection with Rom. 1, 1; 1, 13; 1, 16; 1, 22; 5, 8; 8, 5; 8, 29; 8, 32; 7, 9; 11, 1; 11, 13; 11, 22; 11, 23; 11, 30; 12, 8; 15, 23; 15, 24;⁵¹ or as to reasons (Rom. 1, 1; 1, 32; 2, 13; 5, 3; 7, 8; 8, 3; 8, 29; 9, 4; 12, 8; 16, 25-29)⁵² or as to consequences (Rom. 1, 1; 1, 25; 4, 5; 5, 1; 9, 9; 9, 11; 10, 4; 11, 33; 14, 10; 15, 6; 16, 19).⁵³

⁴⁸ *Commentaria*: p. 26 # 2.

⁴⁹ *Commentaria*: p. 26 # 2.

⁵⁰ Cfr. Also: 1 Cor. 1, 21; 10, 21; 11, 1; 11, 11-16; 13, 2-3; 13, 23; 15, 10; 15, 21; 15, 51; 2 Cor. 3, 6; 5, 9; 6, 3; 6, 6; 11, 29; 13, 4; 13, 10; Gal. 2, 15; 3, 1-3; 3, 12; 3, 19; 4, 6; 4, 13-14; 4, 26; 5, 2; 5, 21; 1 Thess. 1, 6; 3, 3; 4, 14; 5, 15; 5, 21; 2 Thess. 1, 19; 2, 3; 2, 13.

⁵¹ Cfr. Also: 1 Cor. 9, 25; 15, 52; 2 Cor. 2, 3; 2, 14; 2, 17; 4, 4; 5, 4; 6, 5; 6, 6; 6, 14; 6, 18; 7, 1; 7, 5; 9, 6; 10, 2; 11, 6-7; 11, 23; 12, 2; 12, 21; 13, 10; Gal. 1, 4; 2, 19; 3, 1; 3, 3; 3, 8; 3, 10-11; 3, 18-19; 3, 22; 4, ; 4, 7-9; 4, 19; 4, 28; 5, 11; 5, 14; 5, 16-17; 5, 19; 20; 5, 22-23; 6, 2; 6, 13; 6, 15; 6, 17. 1 Thess. 1, 3; 1, 6; 2, 5; 2, 9-10; 3, 13; 4, 14-17; 5, 2; 5, 8; 5, 14-16; 5, 21; 5, 23; 2 Thess. 1, 9; 2, 2-3; 2, 8; 2, 14; 3, 6; 3, 8; 3, 14; 3, 16.

⁵² Cfr. Also: 1 Cor. 10, 19; 14, 34; 2 Cor. 2, 12; 10, 16; Gal. 2, 20; 4, 23-24; 4, 28; 4, 31; 5, 22; 1 Thess. 1, 2; 2 Thess. 1, 8; 3, 5.

⁵³ Cfr. also: 1 Cor. 12, 13; 2 Cor. 4, 13; 4, 33; 5, 15; 13, 1; Gal. 4, 8; 5, 24; 6, 14; 1 Thess. 4, 14; 5, 9; 5, 16; 5, 23.

2.3. Conclusion

In his search for the mind of Paul, there are two fundamental rules that govern Seripando's labours: the rule of flow and the rule of stability. The rule of flow, by itself, is not a sure guide; it receives help from the rule of stability, to have its results checked and to proceed with ease, in places where obscurities obstruct the passage.

CHAPTER 2

PERSONAL REFLECTION ON THE APOSTLE'S DOCTRINE

Having discovered the Apostle's thought in their outlines, Seripando begins the labour which was dear to his heart – deeper speculations on the Apostle's mind. As we know, Seripando had begun his exegetical works, with a set purpose. He was conscious of the unrest caused by the Evangelists and the Reformers, who had rejected the essential tenets of the Catholic Church regarding the doctrine of original sin, faith, predestination and justification, as non-Pauline or non-Biblical. Even some of the best minds of the Catholics, had been won over by the captious arguments of the heretics.

The one efficacious means to cope with the circumstance, was to enter deep into the Apostle's mind and to show how the Catholic doctrine was, in fact, Pauline and Biblical. Luther too had, in mind, the same scope when he wrote his commentary on the Galatians. In its preface he says: "*Unum spectavi si consequar ut mea opera ii qui me Apostolicas epistolas audierunt enarrantem Paulum apertiore habebant et feliciter me superent. Sin nec id effeci age et hoc habens perdidit laboris; conatus reliquus est quo alios ad Paulinam theologiam volui accendere quem nemo bonus mihi vitio dedit.*"⁵⁴ However, while Luther, exaggerating Paul's mind in some aspects caused souls to disregard it in other aspects, and brought untold misery on the Christian world, Seripando kept the right balance and offered to the world commentaries, "*quibus et haereses doctissime refelluntur et Apostoli sensus pura elegantia aperitur.*"⁵⁵ The reason for this difference is to be sought in the respective norms that guided the one and the other, in their deeper speculations on the mind of the Apostle.

⁵⁴LW 2/ p. 449, 27-31.

⁵⁵Commentaria: Naples Edition 1601. The title: "*Hieronymmi Seripandi S.R.E. Card. In D. Pauli Epistolas ad Romanos et Galatas commentaria quibus et haereses doctissime refelluntur et Apostoli sensus pura elegantia aperitur.*"

The leader of the Reformation as well as his followers had no definite norm to guide them, but their own imagination, in interpreting Holy Scripture. "Whatever comes to the mind of these men, they attribute to Paul," says Seripando.⁵⁶

1. The Authority of the Church

As for Seripando, he would first of all, submit everything he has written and his whole self, to the divine authority and judgment of the Catholic Church.⁵⁷ This humble disposition which seeks to be guided by the authority of the Church, in one's speculations on the words of holy Scripture, had been denounced by the heretics as an intellectual slavery, contrary to the mind of the Apostle who had anathematised himself and even angels from heaven, who might venture to preach a doctrine, different from the one already handed down.⁵⁸ In his resolutions regarding the propositions discussed at Leipsig, Luther writes: "*Hic advertamus Apostolum (Rom. 7, 22sq.): cedant huic ratio et auctoritas sive Ecclesiae sive Concilii quoniam hic docetur cujus contrarium, si angelus de coelo docuerit, non credam.*"⁵⁹ Such submission to the Church, had been branded as alien to the mind of Christ Himself who, it was said, counselled the people who were searching for truth, to scrutinize the Scriptures. The first Christians, for example, the Boereans, thought it to be prudent not to be too credulous to the Apostle, and to weigh his words in the balance of the Scriptures. There were, besides, the words of St. Augustine which stood against such a submission of one's judgment to that of the Church. St. Augustine said that even the most learned and holy man might go wrong whereas Holy Scriptures, which were called canonical, could contain no error, no lie.⁶⁰

In his *Quaestio Quarta*,⁶¹ on passages from the Galatians, Seripando ably handles the matter, showing where and how the

⁵⁶Commentaria: *Quaestio Quarta*, p. 350, # 1.

⁵⁷Commentaria: p. 203.

⁵⁸Cfr. *Commentaria: Quaestio Quarta: Argumentum haereticorum*: pp. 356 sq.

⁵⁹LW 2/ *Resolutiones Lutherenianae super propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis* 1519: p. 412, 11-13.

⁶⁰Cfr. *Commentaria Queastio 4*: p. 354.

⁶¹Cfr. *Commentaria Queastio 4*: pp. 356-362.

heretics went wrong, in interpreting the passages from Scripture, on which they base these arguments. The authority they bring from Augustine is thrown into their own faces. Nobody denies, says Seripando, that there could be no error or lie in Holy Scripture and that in other authors, however eminent in knowledge or sanctity, may creep in errors and lies. But, how is it, he asks, that these heretics who give so much importance to the above passage of Augustine, are insensible to the gentleness, moderation, upright manners and religious sentiments of the same holy Father who counts his books, not in the first place which he reserves exclusively to Holy Scripture, but in the second, in which he confesses himself liable to falls, errors and deceptions? He, then, brings forwards the following passages from Augustine which the heretics were seeking to elude:

*Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas. (Con. Ep. Fun. C.5) Quamvis rei alicujus certe de Scripturis cononicis non proferatur exemplum, carundem tamen scripturarum etiam in hac re a nobis tenetur veritas, cum hoc facimus quod universae jam placuit Ecclesiae quam ipsarum Scripturarum commendat auctoritas, ut quoniam Sancta Scriptura fallere non potest, quisquis falli metuit alicujus obscuritate quaestionis eandem Ecclesiam de illa consulat, quam sine ulla ambiguitate sancta scriptura demonstrat.*⁶²

In the same "Quaestio Quarta," Seripando clearly defines and indicates the God given power of the Church regarding the word of God. This power, he says, is of a double nature, in as much as it authorizes the church to fix up the Canon of Holy scripture and to judge of the genuine interpretations and explanations of the word of God, especially when there appear interpretations which seem to break or shake off the usages of faith and morals or the ordinances of the holy Fathers confirmed by long custom, or when, there appear new doctrines and renewals of error.⁶³

One would think that Seripando, the active theologian of the council of Trent, might have many references to make, in his

⁶²Commentaria Quaestio 4: p. 361

⁶³Commentaria Quaestio 4: pp. 357-359.

Commentaries, to the decisions or discussions of the Council, regarding the texts of St. Paul. It is beyond doubt that Seripando retouched his exegesis on the Romans, after the first period of the Council.⁶⁴ But Seripando makes no reference at all, to that Council. The only reference he makes to a Council, in his Commentaries, is to that of Elvira, for a testimony to the usage alluded to, by the Apostle, in 1 Cor. 15, 29 ("*baptizari pro mortuis*").⁶⁵ There is another reference he makes to the usage of the Church, namely to its liturgy of the 18th Sunday after Pentecost, in order to show how the conviction that, without God's help, it is impossible to please Him, is beautifully expressed by the Church in her prayer: "*Tibi sine te placere non possumus*" (commentary on Rom. 8, 8).⁶⁶

Seripando's determination to expose the mind of the Apostle, in as few words as possible, on the one hand, and his desire to accommodate his exposition to the heretics who were prejudiced against the authority of the Church, on the other, seems to have induced him to abstain from producing the authority of the Church where it was not necessary.

2. The Authority of the Fathers

The heretics could not suffer the voice of the Fathers to interfere with the creations of their imagination. Luther, in his defence against the judgement of Eck, gives vent to the following irony: *Quorum* (i.e., of Eck + his companions) *unus mos est dicere, 'sancti sic direrunt', numquid tu major es patres nostro Abraham?*⁶⁷ The Reformers, as a rule, placed themselves on a level with Paul and considered the arguments brought against them from the unanimous voice of the Fathers, as similar to the arguments brought against Paul, from the authority of Peter and the other Apostles, by the false doctors of the Galatians. Hence, after the example of Paul, they gave their verdict: "*Sive Cyprianus, Ambrosius, Augustinus sive Petrus, Paulus, Joannes, sive Angelus de coelo, aliter ac nos docuerint,*

⁶⁴In the Commentary on the Romans, which he wrote before the *Quaestiones*, we find references to the latter. Cfr. *Commentaria*: p. 176.

⁶⁵Ms. Nap. VII A. 36 C XV n. IX.

⁶⁶*Commentaria*: p. 126.

⁶⁷L. W. 2/ *Contra malignum Johannis Eccil judicium super aliquot articulis a fratribus quibusdam eis suppositiae Martini Lutheri defensio* 1519, p. 626, 31-33.

*doceantve certum tamen nobis est et exploratum quod divina suademus non humana, quae tam animo videmus quam ea quae oculis cernimus.*⁶⁸

In the face of such argumentations, Seripando's blood gets heated. How can the heretics consider themselves equal to Paul, who was appointed by God a preacher, Apostle and teacher of the Gentiles, in faith and truth? How can they consider themselves superior to all the Fathers, of whom, some gave testimony to the faith by the shedding of their blood, others, innocent in life and morals, and being called by God, administered the churches and always fought, with courage, against the heretics, in defence of the Church, and for the salvation of souls? These men, who assumed the ministry of the word, authorized by no vocation, by no valid testimony, by no supernatural ordinance, these venture with pertinacity, to condemn and keep down the above mentioned men.⁶⁹

Seripando lays bare the flaw in the argumentation of the heretics: The first flaw consists in this: that, in the passage concerned, St. Paul does not treat of what they attribute to him; the second flaw is that they use Paul's words with deteriorating alterations. Seripando wonders how the heretics could really be induced to reject the unanimous voice of the Fathers, by the force of the above mentioned passage (Gal. 1, 9) in Paul. He gives us the conclusion he had arrived at, after reflections on this point. It is not the words of Paul, but their own caprice that induced them to take that step. For, in the beginning of the split, when their odium rested principally on the authority of the Pope and on that of the more recent theologians, they appealed with great clamour, to the Councils and to the Fathers. But, as soon as they perceived that their doctrine was, in fact, alien to the pure teaching of the Fathers and the holy ordinances of the Councils, they rejected these very authorities whom they had chosen as final judges in the cause.⁷⁰

Seripando's "*Quaestio Sexta*" is entirely devoted to open the eyes of those who reject or slight the authority of the united voice of the Fathers. In the end of the treatise, he brings in the authority of

⁶⁸These are the words of the heretics, as collected by Seripando. *Quaestio sexta: Argumentum hereticorum*, p. 366 # 2.

⁶⁹*Commentaria*, pp. 366 f.

⁷⁰*Commentaria, Quaestio sexta*, pp. 367 f.

St. Augustine, whom the Protestants still venerated. Augustine was fighting against the Pelagians resting on the authority of the Scriptures. But the Pelagians soon began to interpret the words of scripture, in their own way, bending and twisting the sense of the divine word, to their own erroneous tenets. In this plight, the holy Doctor speaks of the authority of the holy Bishops of the whole Orient and Occident. The following is the way Augustine argues:

*Omnes iudices ab odio, amicitia, inimicitia, ira vacuos esse decet. Pauci tales poterunt inveniri, sed patres quos commemoravi, tales fuisse credendum est. Verum, etsi tales non fuerunt in hic causis quas ad se delatas et inter partes cognitatas cum hic viverent, suo iudicio definierunt, ad hanc tamen causam tales erant. Quando de illa sententia protuberunt, nullas nobiscum vel vobiscum amicitias attenderunt, vel inimicitias exereuerunt; neque nobis neque vobis irati sunt; neque nos neque vos miserati sunt. Quod invenerunt in Ecclesia tenuerunt; quod didicerunt docuerunt; quod a Patribus acceperunt hoc filiis tradiderunt. Nondum vobiscum apud istos iudices, aliquid agebamus et a quod eos acta est causa nostra, nec nos nec vos eis noti fueramus; et eorum pro nobis lata contra vos sententias recitamus. Nondum vobiscum certabamus, et eis pronunciantibus vicimus.*⁷¹

As for Seripando and the Catholics whom he represents, they would continue to bring, forward testimonies of the Fathers – not, of course, forged or falsely twisted testimonies, but genuine and faithfully cited documents – to refute the dogmas of the innovators and to vindicate the old, catholic doctrine.

2.1. St. Augustine

In his commentaries, Seripando seeks help from St. Augustine by preference. Augustine is, for Seripando, the "great Father."⁷² The blessed Father,⁷³ the Holy Father,⁷⁴ his own "Parent"⁷⁵ and the

⁷¹*Commentaria: Questio 6*: p. 368.

⁷²Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 10, 14.

⁷³Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 8, 3; 9, 14; 14, 23; 2 Cor. 3, 6.

⁷⁴Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 8, 14.

⁷⁵Cfr. *Commentaria*: 2 Thess. 2, 1.

"bitter enemy of the heretics."⁷⁶ In Seripando's opinion, Augustine "follows Paul everywhere";⁷⁷ his words "saviour of the highest wisdom and piety";⁷⁸ he is an exegete in whom there appear all the requisites of an interpreter, in the highest degree;⁷⁹ he is, besides, the greatest theologian, after Paul, on the matter of predestination.⁸⁰ Augustine's works are considered to be the "purest fountains" from which Seripando might freely draw,⁸¹ and this holy Doctor's help is so necessary, in dealing with the words of Paul, that, without it Seripando would vainly labour in that line.⁸²

Augustine's help is mostly sought by Seripando, in his speculations on St. Paul's words that contain doctrines on original sin, concupiscence, faith, grace, justice and predestination. In his commentary on the Romans, which is a rich mine of these dogmas, Seripando refers to Augustine 72 times, whereas in those on the Corinthians and Thessalonians where these doctrines are not so frequently dealt with, the references are fewer in number (1 Cor.: 8 times; 2 Cor.: twice; 1 Thess.: once; 2 Thess.: twice.). One might wonder that in the commentary on the Galatians, Seripando refers to Augustine only once.⁸³ This fact is explained by the other fact that, in his commentary on the Galatians, Seripando sets apart the exposition of his theological reflections, and gives it in his "Quaestiones," which abound in references to St. Augustine.

We can count 34 different works of Augustine to which Seripando has recourse in his commentaries. The most frequently quoted works are: "De praedest. Sanctorum", "De Praedest. De Gratia", "De dono Christi", "De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio", "De Bono Persev."; "De Nat. et Gratia"; "De Corrept. et Gratia"; "Contra du Ep. Pelag." and "De Civitate Dei". In some cases, Seripando is content with mere references; in others, with the gist

⁷⁶Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 10, 9.

⁷⁷Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 7.

⁷⁸Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 9, 14.

⁷⁹Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. and Gal. *Praeludium*.

⁸⁰*Commentaria*: pp. 142.

⁸¹*Commentaria*: Rom. 8, 33; p. 141.

⁸²*Commentaria*: *Quaestio* 64, p. 516.

⁸³*Commentaria*: p. 302 (Gal. 3, 12).

given in his own words while in the rest, he quotes Augustine's own words, often, at length.

2.2. Other Fathers

Other Fathers too come to Seripando's help, in his speculations on Paul's words. St. Basil's works are referred to thrice.⁸⁴ St. Gregory the Great helps him, while dealing with Rom. 7, 17.⁸⁵ St. Paulinus and Gregorius Theologus come in, while he reflects on Predestination, and on Rom. 11, 33 respectively.⁸⁶ Eusebius' History is referred to in the commentary on 1 Thess. 2, 3.⁸⁷ It is strange that Seripando never brings in the authority of St. Chrysostom, in his commentaries. However, in his 'Quaestiones', Chrysostom's authority is given much importance.

2.3. Cajetan and Aegidius Romanus

Among the more recent Doctors, Cajetan, "the most learned man of his times"⁸⁸ is Seripando's favourite. As in word interpretation, so in sense interpretation too, Cajetan's Commentaries on St. Paul have helped Seripando. However, Cajetan is quoted only once, namely in the excursus which Seripando makes, after Rom. Chapter 11, on predestination.⁸⁹

Aegidius Romanus too is quoted by Seripando. A portion of Aegidius' 'De Agone Christi', is brought forward as an appendix to the commentary on the Romans,⁹⁰ which serves also as an introduction to the 51 moral axioms, picked out by Seripando, from the last four chapters of the Romans.⁹¹

⁸⁴Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 14, 23, p. 241, also Ms. Nap. VII A 36, 2 Thess. C. III n. I.

⁸⁵*Commentaria*: p. 115.

⁸⁶Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 205 and 200.

⁸⁷Ms. Nap. LW 36, 1 Thess. 2, 3 (C. II n. II).

⁸⁸*Commentaria*: p. 202.

⁸⁹*Commentaria*: pp. 202-206.

⁹⁰*Commentaria*: p. 265.

⁹¹*Commentaria*: pp. 266-268.

2.4. Other Scholastics

The scholastics are, as a rule, subject to Seripando's censure, for their love of multiplying questions and problems, regarding the mysteries of faith which God Himself wanted to remain hidden.⁹² Who can count the knotty questions that have arisen, since the time when the mystery of divine election began to be discussed in the schools? The service these questions have rendered is to add more obscurity to human minds, rather than to bring greater light to them. As for Seripando, he would wish that at least the number of questions, did not exceed the number of the different schools.⁹³

2.5. Contemporary Theologians

Contemporary theologians too, are accused by Seripando, of a thirst for creating new opinions by subtle reasoning, on the pretext that, by such reasoning they could bring the heretics back. But these new opinions, in fact, differ from the doctrine of the Church and are "a Patribus et verbo Dei abhorrentes."⁹⁴ Seripando would not even think of reading the books which contain such opinions, although their authors were, indeed, theologians whom he calls "nominis et ordinis non infimi."⁹⁵ A new doctor who did not closely follow the foot-prints of the ancient Fathers, could not be appealing to Seripando. This is his open confession. Neither the new theories nor the searches after them could be of use to cope with the times. Seripando expresses this idea in the words of his dear poet, Virgil. "Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis, Tempus eget."⁹⁶

2.6. John Driedo

However, there was a theologian of his own time, who received from Seripando, the highest praise. He was John Driedo of Louvain: "Summis in hac parte laudibus efferendum censeo, Joannem Driedomum Lovaniensem qui et in hac et in aliis omnibus controversiis, ita insectatur haereticos ut a Patrum doctrina quae una vere catholica censenda est ne transversum quidem discedat

⁹²Commentaria: p. 162.

⁹³Commentaria: p. 162.

⁹⁴Cfr. Commentaria: p. 162.

⁹⁵Commentaria: p. 162 # 2.

⁹⁶Cfr. Commentaria: 162.

unquem et firmam inter eos concordiam siquid discrepare videatur, constituere studeat."⁹⁷

3. Personal Study and Research Work

Does Seripando want all modern exegetes and theologians to be mere 'catena' compilers? Does he want them to stifle all personal views, or bid farewell to all researches on scripture texts and theological questions?

We have to give a definitely negative answer to these questions. The unanimous opinion of the Fathers as well as the definitions of the Church, have, indeed, to be respected and closely adhered to; but this is not the case with the private opinion of a certain Father of however great learning or sanctity, or of passages of Scripture whose interpretations have not been declared by the authority of the Church. Seripando's stand on this point is made clear, in the passage where he deals with Cajetan's opinion on predestination. After having quoted Cajetan's opinion, Seripando adds:

Thus much Cajetan, wisely, of course, as he is wont, sharply, subtly, cautiously. However, if I should interpose my opinion, in this very difficult and very obscure question, let me not be considered either arrogant or wiser than it behoveth me to be wise. For, this as well as everything I have written, finally my whole self, I submit to the divine authority and judgment of the holy, Catholic Church. Besides, I entertain no pertinaciously fighting mood, towards anyone who is at least moderately versed in this Christian philosophy and thinks otherwise than I, provided he does not go astray from the rules of faith and from the decisions of the Fathers.⁹⁸

No wonder, if not even Augustine is spared by Seripando. The towering personality of Augustine cannot fail to impress anyone. His disciples admire him, and glory in him. Some, of them, blinded by the brilliance of this great Father's uncommon intelligence, have followed him, even in his exaggerations. We have the example of St. Fulgentius of Ruspe who is known as: "Alter Augustinus" and

⁹⁷Cfr. Commentaria: p. 163.

⁹⁸Commentaria: p. 203.

"*Augustinus abbreviatus*". Augustine's interpretation of "*Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est*" (Rom. 14, 23) was copied by Fulgentius, exactly as it lay. Augustine understands "*fides*," in this verse, in the sense of theological faith. Fulgentius proceeded further. He assumed this verse, as the foundation of his whole system of thought on human salvation, and arrived at conclusions which are inexcusably rigoristic.⁹⁹ Although the Council of Florence borrowed Fulgentius' words for formulating its definition on the necessity of the Catholic Church for salvation, it has made some changes in the terminology, as if to give us a hint that, by assuming the terminology from Fulgentius, it does not mean to declare the approbation of his doctrine in all respects.¹⁰⁰ Seripando too was a great admirer of Augustine, as is clear from his own words quoted above. But he would not be blind to Augustine's shortcomings. He too, like Fulgentius, is confronted with Augustine's interpretation of Rom. 14, 23. He passes it over, as "*non propria ac germana*."¹⁰¹ The same attitude is manifested by Seripando, in dealing with Augustine's view on Rom. 9, 15.¹⁰²

In more than 15 instances, where the interpretation of the text is not certain, from the context, and where neither the judgment of the Church nor the authority of the Fathers comes in, to give an assurance, Seripando exposes the opinion he has formed, by his personal labour, on the text. He is scrupulous to point out his opinion as his own, by using phrases such as: 'as far as I can reach by conjecture',¹⁰³ 'We are led by conjecture',¹⁰⁴ 'I understand',¹⁰⁵ 'my opinion is',¹⁰⁶ 'I should think',¹⁰⁷ 'Perhaps',¹⁰⁸ 'as far as my

⁹⁹Cfr. P. L. 65 coll. 552 AB.; 490c; 660 BCD; 646 AB.

¹⁰⁰Council of Florence, *Decretum pro Jacobitia*; D. B. 714, Fulgentius (De Fide ad Petrum n. 79: P. L. 65 col. 704 A.

¹⁰¹*Commentaria*: pp. 241 f.

¹⁰²*Commentaria*: p. 159.

¹⁰³Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 1, 13; 7, 23.

¹⁰⁴Cfr. *Commentaria*: 1 Thess. 4, 11.

¹⁰⁵Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 9, 9.

¹⁰⁶Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 15, 19.

¹⁰⁷Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 9, 26.

¹⁰⁸Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 9, 32; 1 Cor. 15, 5.

knowledge goes',¹⁰⁹ 'It appears to be'.¹¹⁰ In ambiguous passages, Seripando exposes the possible explanations one after the other.¹¹¹

That mere opinions should, by no means, be represented as the one true sense, is Seripando's rigorous rule. This he deduces from the example of Paul, who carefully avoids a clear-cut and decisive answer to the question about the food offered to idols, since, at that time, a decision had not yet been made on that point, by competent authority. Paul exhorts the Romans to abstain from any judgment on the matter: "*non licero ostendit ejus rei iudicium ullum facere quae occulta adhuc esset et nondum satis explicita, qualis haec tum erat, cum haec Paulus scriberet, an in Jesum Christum suscepta fide, cibis uti quos lex vetaret, permissum ac licitum esset*."¹¹² At the end of the whole passage, Seripando draws this corollary: "*Haec vero Pauli doctrina doctissimos quosque viros continere debet, ne de re ulla controversa ac dissensionis plena, sententiam ferre audeant, priusquam de ea, Sancta, Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia, stautat ac decadat*."¹¹³

4. Parallel Passages of Scripture

A man of wide reading in scripture cannot read a certain passage, without, at the same time, seeing it illumined and illustrated by a number of other passages. That this was no less true in the case of Seripando is evident from his commentaries. For him the principal author of the whole Scripture is the spirit of truth: "*Sacrorum scil. Librorum, primus auctor, Spiritus Sanctus*."¹¹⁴ This fact gives Seripando the certainty that one passage in Scripture, cannot be contradicted by another and that an obscure passage can be explained by a clearer passage of the same import, existing elsewhere.

This truth was admitted in principle, by the heretics of his time; but practically, it was rejected by them, in as much as they disowned these parts of the Bible which went counter to the creations of their

¹⁰⁹Cfr. *Commentaria*: Gal. 1, 17.

¹¹⁰Cfr. *Commentaria*: 1 Cor. 15, 5; Gal. 4, 27.

¹¹¹Cfr. *Commentaria*: 1 Thess. 4, 4; 3, 10.

¹¹²*Commentaria*: p. 230.

¹¹³*Commentaria*: p. 231 # 1.

¹¹⁴*Commentaria*: Gal. 3, 8; p. 300 # 2.

imaginations: "*Quanto deterius peccant isti, qui nunc Machabaeorum librum nunc Jacobi Epistolam, nunc Petri aut Joannis alteram, nunc eam quae ad Hebraeos est, nunc Joannis Apostoli Apocalypsim (ex quibus libris aperta contra eos oracula proferuntur) tamquam fictos et commentatitios contemunt.*"¹¹⁵

Seripando was determined to hold to this principle, in theory as well as in practice. When he reflected on some passage of Paul, many a passage from Paul himself and from other sacred authors, presented themselves to him, as throwing more light on the subject of his speculation. His principle of brevity in exposition forbade him to note down in the Commentary, all the passages that came to his mind.¹¹⁶ He wanted, besides, to avoid the practice of concordance making that had been dear to some of the scholastic exegetes. Seripando, generally, chooses some telling passages to clarify Paul's mind on important matters.

In his commentary on the Romans, Seripando refers to 42 other books of the Bible, the most quoted among them being the Book of Psalms (46 times). Then follow, in descending order, Mathew (32 times), 1 Cor. (30 times), Isaiah (19 times), Gal. (15 times); Jeremiah, Genesis, 2 Cor. (10 times each), etc. In the Commentary on 1 Cor. references are made to 17 other books; the one most referred to, is St. John's Gospel (8 times). The commentary on 2 Cor. contains references to 18 books out of which the 1 Cor. occur 26 times, the Romans, 13 times, the Acts 10 times. In the commentary on the Galatians, Seripando refers to 16 other books (46 times to the Rom. 16 times to the Acts, 15 times to Genesis etc.). In the commentary on 1 Thess., there are 76 references made to 18 different books, while in that on 2 Thess., we see 36 references to 14 books.

5. Classics, History, Philosophy, and Personal Observations from Nature and Social Life

Seripando's speculation on Scripture passages is helped by the whole formation he had received from childhood. The classical authors whom he had studied, history, philosophy and personal observations from nature and social life, make it easy for him to understand the mind of Paul, in many instances.

¹¹⁵ *Commentaria*: Questio Quarta: p. 358.

¹¹⁶ *Commentaria*: p. 8.

Seripando's ideas are twice crystallised into Virgil's verses.¹¹⁷ Philosophers in general and Cicero in particular, endorse his speculations, on 1 Thess. 4, 18; 2 Thess. 3, 7 and Rom. 7, 7.¹¹⁸ His acquaintance with Menandor's maxims enables him to divine the source from which Paul drew his wording in 1 Cor. 15, 38 ("*Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala*").¹¹⁹ Heraclitus' works make him see how human philosophy can add obscurity to the simple and open philosophy of the Apostle.¹²⁰ Knowledge of sacred history, gives him the clue to Paul's words about his *μερίμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν* ("*merimna pason ton ecclasion*") (2 Cor. 11, 28),¹²¹ and to the diverse arguments brought in, one after another, in the first part of the Galatians.¹²² Profane history, for example, the story of Appollodorus, who, while being massacred by the Scythians, heard his own heart accusing itself, saying: "*Ego tibi horum causa sum,*" makes him catch Paul's exact sense contained in the words: "*ad confirmanda corda vestra sine querela ... ante Deum Patrem nostrum in adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi*" (1 Thess. 3, 13).¹²³

The observation of the effects produced by the direct rays of the blazing sun, on the naked eye, enables Seripando to understand the blindness caused in the Jews and Greeks (1 Cor. 1, 22) by the dazzling brightness of the greatest miracle of our Lord (the resurrection).¹²⁴ He had, many a time, observed, from his monastery in Pesillipo, ships tossing amidst the waves of the sea. That picture flashes across his mind, when he reflects over the struggles which Paul and the Thessalonians had, constantly, to confront with.¹²⁵ The ordinary tricks of wine-sellers, give him an analogy with the tricks of

¹¹⁷ *Commentaria*: Rom. 9, 19; 9, 27.

¹¹⁸ *Commentaria*: p. 108.

¹¹⁹ Ms. Nap. VII A 36: 1 Cor. 15, 33 (C. XV n. X).

¹²⁰ *Commentaria*: p. 193.

¹²¹ Cfr. also *Commentaria*: p. 272.

¹²² *Commentaria*: pp. 278 # 2, 284-291.

¹²³ Ms. Nap. VII A 36; 1 Thess. 3, 13 (c. III n. V).

¹²⁴ Ms. Nap. VII A 36; 1 Cor. C. 1 n. XI (1 Cor. 1, 22).

¹²⁵ Ms. Nap. VII A 36; 2 Thess. C. I n. III (2 Thess. 1, 6).

the false prophets to adulterate the doctrine of Christ (2 Cor. 2, 17).¹²⁶

The offering of beautiful gifts, in dirty plates, the overflowing of fountains, the wonderful clemency that kings, sometimes, show to culprits who commit crimes again and over again, and yet heartily repent, the effect of rain in a dry ground that thirsts for water, nuptial garments, the extreme care exhibited by diligent nurses towards infants, the strong gates of a garden, the bad eggs laid by bad crows, the affection of a father who leads his child by the hand, and the action of the goldsmith who proves gold in the furnace, help Seripando, in his speculations on St. Paul's expressions, in Rom. 1, 8; 3, 2; 3, 22a; 3, 22b; 6, 5; 11, 33; 2 Thess. 2, 8; 2, 16 f and 2 Cor. 13, 6, respectively.¹²⁷

6. Conclusion

To sum up, Seripando, in his deeper speculations on the words of Paul, closely adheres to the guidance offered by the authority of the Church and the unanimous voice of the Fathers and the light from other passages of scripture. He freely accepts the helps rendered by classical authors, history, philosophy, natural science and social life, and expresses his opinions as his own, leaving the final judgment on them to the authority of the Catholic church which is the "*columna et firmamentum veritatis*."¹²⁸ Thus, in every part of his exegetical works, Seripando could be sure that he was not playing with his imagination, but discovering the real mind of Paul, under the guidance of reliable authorities.

The leader of the Reformation had done just the contrary. As early as 1519, Luther made a solemn declaration, in his preface to the Commentary on the Galatians, which logically led him to the thesis that individual judgment was the supreme authority, in scripture-interpretation. Here are his own words:

Porro, opitimi viri, ut vobis serio dicam, ego Romano Pontifici ejusque decretis eum honorem habeo, quo nullus est superior, nec excipio nisi principem hujus

¹²⁶Ms. Nap. VII A 36; 2 Cor. C. II n. VI (2 Cor. 2, 17).

¹²⁷Rom. 1, 8 (Com. p. 28 # 1), 3, 2 (Com. p. 47); 3, 4 (Com. p. 48); 3, 22 (Com. p. 56); 6, 5 (Com. p. 92); 11, 33 (Com. p. 200); 2 Thess. 2, 8 (Ms. Nap. VII A 36 C. II n. III); 2, 15 f. 2 Cor. 13, 6 (Ms. Nap. VII A 36 C. XIII, n III).

¹²⁸1 Tim. 3, 15; cfr. Q. 4 Com. p. 361.

*Vicarii, Jesum Christum, dominum nostrum et omnium. Hujus verbum ita praefero vicarii verbis, ut nihil dubitem secundum ipsum judicare de omnibus et dictis et factis Vicarii. Volo enim subjectum eum esse huic irrefragabilbi regulae Apostoli: 'Omnia provate, quod bonum est tenete'. Ab hoc, inquam, jugo neminem patiar collum excutere sive nomine matris sive Magistrae ecclesiarum vehatur, atque ideo magis quo nostro saeculo vidimus concilia reprobari, rursus alia confirmari, Theologiam meris opinionibus tractari, jurium sensum ab unius hominis pendere arbitrio et adeo confundi omnia, ut nihil certi pene nobis relictum sit.*¹²⁹

The great perplexity that followed from the declaration of private judgment as the final authority in scripture-interpretation was a terrible one, as owned by Protestants themselves. "No doubt" says F. W. Farrar, "The Reformers were instantly liable to be perplexed by the fact that the exercise of the individual judgment led men into the extremist diversities. In the Sacramentarian controversies, Calvin and Campanus and Enser and Servetus and Socimus appealed equally to scripture and claimed the right to interpret it in their own way."¹³⁰

They tried to solve the problem. Melancthon proposed: "Consensus of pious men." As the final authority Calvin preferred the authority to be placed in the "*verorum, episoporum synodus*."¹³¹ Others proposed still other solutions; but till today, that authority has not been, acknowledged, by Protestants, as existing in the Catholic church and exclusively in it, as has been shown by Seripando. Are they hesitating to acknowledge it because they still believe in the assertion of Luther, quoted above, that the Pope and the Councils have erred in interpreting scripture? If it is so, we invite them to make an impartial study of the decrees of the Popes and the Councils from the very beginning up to this day. In the Church, there existed abuses and they did try for a reform. Seripando was one of those

¹²⁹LW 2/ pp. 446, 38 - 447, 9.

¹³⁰F. W. Farrar: "The Reformers as Expositors II, Luther". In *Expositor* (London) second series vol. VII (1885) p. 222.

¹³¹F. W. Farrar: "The Reformers as Expositors II, Luther". In *Expositor* (London) second series vol. VII (1885) p. 222.

who earnestly, worked for removing all the abuses from the Church. This Seripando, who fought for Church reform within and without the Council of Trent, even to the extent of incurring the great displeasure of the Pope who had created him Cardinal, Seripando, who had no fears, at all, to point out the defects of the scholastic system and to censure the exaggerated philosophization of the schoolmen, using expressions that were not less strong than those used by Luther himself, Seripando who as the formulation of the decrees on justification, made the council of Trent study the question in prolonged sessions and feel that the protestants were not, after all, as great sinners as the majority had thought them to be, Seripando, who as member of the Committee for dealing with the abuses in scripture interpretation, fought with might and main to encourage the use of Scripture in the original languages – this sincere man of undaunted courage, could not find the least defect in the exercise of the Church's power in interpreting the words of Holy Writ, even after having counted, weighed and sifted all the accusations made by Protestants against the Church, in this respect. He, who, in all sincerity, sought to give the Protestants all possible concessions, could not find any point that could be yielded in this matter. Hence he sticks to and vindicates the old norms of private speculation, on Scripture texts viz. the authority of the Church, of the Fathers and of parallel texts, showing, at the same time, that these rules do not demand any intellectual slavery, but provide the intellect with the means to proceed with its researches, with security.

CHAPTER 3 EXPOSITION

The heretics compose voluminous commentaries, says Seripando, but they contain very little of what pertains to the explanation of the sacred authors. They wish to appear to have laboured much, for clarifying the obscure passages of scripture. But what they do, after having hastily given something by way of introduction, is to indulge in digressions in which they expose their own doctrine and corroborate their pestilential teaching, under the pretext of digging out truth from the depths of darkness. Thus they confuse and cover up the contents of Holy Scripture, "by the straw of their verbosity." What they do with the sacred literature makes one remember what the greatest guardian of truth, Our Lord Jesus Christ, said about holy things thrown to dogs and about pearls strewn before pigs.¹³²

There are yet other fields, wherein they wander about, even longer; for they seek to throw calumnies and contumelies at the Catholic Church, vex her doctrine and her morals, sparing no one at all, of whatsoever learning or sanctity. Fathers and Councils, Doctors and saints are objects of their ridicule.¹³³

In all this, the heretics are led by the longing to persuade others that they alone know things as they are, and that all the others are but shadows that roam about. They even boast of some passages which they have treacherously picked out from the books of the Catholics and twisted to their own purposes. Sometimes, they attribute to Catholics, things which never entered the minds of the latter.¹³⁴

Seripando wanted to avoid all these defects, in his own commentaries. He tells Cervini that, in his commentaries, he has tried to explain the mind of Paul, in as few and as clear words as possible.¹³⁵ Brevity and clarity are his watchwords. Ornamental language he thinks to be out of place and even puerile, in treating of

¹³² *Commentaria: Praefatio*, pp. 5 f.

¹³³ *Commentaria: Praefatio*, p. 6.

¹³⁴ *Commentaria: Praefatio*, p. 7.

¹³⁵ *Commentaria: Praefatio*, p. 8.

a subject, whose sublime character does not allow us to think of ornamental style or beautiful flourishes of the literary art.¹³⁶

1. Brevity

The proposal to be brief, is put into practice by Seripando, in the explanation of the very first word of the Epistle to the Romans: "*Paulus: de quo nomine, praeter ea quae dicta sunt ab his qui hactenus scripsere, nihil mihi dicendum sese obtulit.*"¹³⁷ We would vainly seek long "catenae" from the Fathers or exhaustive concordances to scripture passages, in Seripando's explanations. He depends mainly on Augustine, from whom he culls out some passages and adduces them in his commentaries on the Romans. In the commentaries on the other Epistles, he contents himself with mere references to Augustine's works, sometimes of course, with the gist given in his own brief sentences. The only exception is, his commentary on 2 Thess. 2, 1, where he gives a fairly long passage from Augustine's, "*de Civitate Dei.*"

Out of the 382 references he makes to scripture passages, in his commentary on the Romans, 164 are mere references, allusions or adaptations, and only the remaining 218 are full quotations. In the Galatians, he refers to other passages 134 times, out of which, only 67 are full quotations. The references he makes in the 4 unpublished commentaries can be divided into three categories: mere references (allusions or adaptations), half quotations and full quotations. They can be tabulated as follows:

Commentary	References	Half Quotations	Full Quotations	Total
1 Cor.	39	15	9	= 63
2 Cor.	41	19	29	= 89
1 Thess.	31	20	28	= 79
2 Thess.	19	7	11	= 37

Besides avoiding 'catenae' and elaborate concordances, Seripando takes care to abstain from long digressions. He says in the preface that he purposely avoided long digressions from the main theme, as harmful to the scope of the Epistle.¹³⁸ He does not, however, deny

¹³⁶ *Commentaria: Praefatio*, p. 8.

¹³⁷ *Commentaria*: p. 17.

¹³⁸ *Commentaria: Praefatio*, p. 9.

the usefulness or, sometimes, even the necessity of some digressions. Some digressions are necessary to explain the sense of difficult words and phrases or to clarify the mind of Paul, regarding some complicated ideas. Seripando admits this necessity and he himself employs such digressions; but he always insists that they should be as brief as possible and remains faithful to his words, in the exposition of his own commentaries. Some digressions, although not strictly necessary, are useful, in order to meet the arguments brought by the heretics against the real doctrine handed down by the Apostle. These digressions, Seripando prefers to avoid, in the Commentary proper, as we have seen above, and proposes to make up for them, by a special treatise apart from the Commentary.¹³⁹ This is, in fact, what Seripando does, in the case of the Epistle to the Galatians.

In his exposition, Seripando does not seek occasions for self-glorification or for the humiliation, of his adversaries. He gives his own opinions and his judgments on the opinions of others, in some instances; but he does so, with modesty and with due respect for those whom he judges. In a few instances where he speaks about heretics in the commentaries, Seripando's language would seem a bit harsh.¹⁴⁰ If we make allowance for the literature of the sixteenth century, this apparent harshness will be seen not to cross the limits of a healthy seriousness.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ *Commentaria: Praefatio*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ Speaking of the heretics of his time, Seripando says, in his Commentary on 2 Thess. 2, 8: "*Deum enim, omnia Christiane vitae et institutionis decreta in dubium revocant, tanquam mali corvi mala ova novos nobis Arnovos Anabaptistas*". (Ms. Nap. VII A 36, 2 Thess. 2, 8; C. II n. III).

¹⁴¹ Erich Roth, in an art. on "Martin Luther and the Continental Reformation II" attenuates the rough language used by Luther against his adversaries: "It is not possible for us", he says, "to appreciate Luther's sometimes rough language unless we are students of literature of the sixteenth century e.g. when Luther said of his esteemed Sovereign the Elector Frederick, at the Aulic table, during banquet: "He works like an ass," he meant it as high praise. And above all, his books were written on the spur of the moment and went to the printers without being re-read or polished." *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. - March 1952, p. 23 # 3.

2. Clarity

Seripando's language is clear and flowing. It avoids the rigid terminologies of the scholastics on the one hand, and the exaggerated flourishes of the humanists, on the other. He does follow the analytical method, distinguishing aspect from aspect, argument from argument, but he never drives his divisions into the hair-split distinctions of the scholastics, that may quickly tire out the ordinary reader. Seripando's divisions are easy to catch; and are generally conducive to the better understanding of the passages he handles.¹⁴²

Since Seripando's primary care is to be clear, he uses, in some cases, terms borrowed from the Greek literature, which are supposed to be well-known to his readers.¹⁴³ That such a clear presentation was not made without much-labour, is evident from the manuscripts on his commentaries on the Corinthians and Thessalonians. They contain corrections as regards the selection of words, the construction of sentences and the position of words in the sentence.¹⁴⁴

Diversity of expression which removes monotony and adds interest, is Seripando's special care, as regards the exposition of the sense,¹⁴⁵ but as regards the translation of the sacred text, Seripando

¹⁴²Cfr. *Commentaria*: Gal. P. 284; Rom. P. 177 etc. 2 Cor. 1, 15.

¹⁴³Cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. Pp. 177, 191, 203 etc.

¹⁴⁴E.g. cfr. *Commentaria*: 1 Thess. 5, 5: "Omnes enim vos etc. *Ratio vero quare in tenebris non estis illa est quia in nobis divinae lucis sive notionis impressa est effigies*". Seripando had first written: "*divinae lucis sive gratiae*"; afterwards, he struck off the word: "*gratiae*" and supplied the word "*notionis*" in the margin. Cfr. also 1 Thess. 4, 5, where the word "*notitia*" is considered to be less apt, and the word "*institutio*" is suggested in its place, in the margin. In 1 Thess. 4, 4: "*progredi*" is put in the margin as equivalent to, or even more apt than "*proficere*," which Seripando had used in the body: cfr. 2 Thess. 3, 6 ("*corruptio*" + "*medicina*"). In 1 Cor. 4, 18: "*Virtus*" is thought to be less apt than "*potentia*" which is, therefore, suggested in the margin. The construction which "*attingit*" in 1 Thess. 4, 10 is considered to be less exact, and so Seripando puts just above that word, the phrase: "*attingere debet*." In many cases, to procure the flow of words in the sentence, Seripando proposes to change their order, e.g. 2 Cor. 3, 8: "*ea omnia separatim cum Thessalonicis ent coram declaraverat*". Cfr. also 2 Cor. 3, 8; 2 Thess. 2, 5.

¹⁴⁵E.g. When Seripando has to express the word "say", twice consecutively, he uses two different words. "De hoc itaque inquit: "*Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum*." De lingua deinde ait: "*Linguis suis dolose agebant*" (Rom. 3, 13 f); cfr. also Rom. 2, 15.

prefers to use, as far as possible, the same Latin expression for the same Greek word.¹⁴⁶ "It is puerile," he had said, in the preface, "to seek commentary style" in matters which are, in themselves, sublime.

3. The Resultant Volumes

The principles of brevity and clarity have influenced Seripando, all through his exegetical works. The consequence is that his commentaries are comparatively short and that his vocabulary is ordinary and familiar. In his exegetical works, we can distinguish three different categories:

1. The interlinear Glossa
2. The paraphrase
3. The Commentary proper

3.1. The Glossa

The interlinear-Glossa (codex 378 of the Trivulzian Library, Milan) consists of 57 folios in 8. It renders the Greek text into Latin, giving, within brackets, the information necessary for a clear perception of the flow of words and ideas.

3.2. The Paraphrase

The paraphrases of the Epistles to the Corinthians and Thessalonians assume a more expansive form. In them, Seripando attends more to the exposition of the thought of the Apostle. He amplifies the brief statements of the Apostle, by adding the definitions of difficult terms, indicating causes and reasons and illustrating the text, by references to parallel passages.¹⁴⁷

Although, in his paraphrases, Seripando does, as a rule, give the literal translation of the text also, he is not always steady in that respect.¹⁴⁸ He himself uses the Greek text; and supposes that the

¹⁴⁶E.g. The Greek word, *logisethao* is constantly rendered by "*imputari*," whereas the Vg. renders it by "*reputari*" (Rom. 4, 3), by "*accepto ferri*" (Rom. 4, 5).

¹⁴⁷Cfr. e.g. Ms. Nap. VII A 36: on 2 Thess. 2, 3b and on 1 Cor. 15, 52.

¹⁴⁸V.g. Seripando begins the exegesis of 1 Cor., like this: "*In omni loco ipsorum et nostrae: Scribit ad Ecclesiam Corinthiorum quam et describit dicens "sanctificatis" scribit et ad omnes cultores nominis Jesu... In omni verbo et omni scientia; Hae sunt Christianorum divitiae in quibus gloriantur possunt, in quibus comprehenduntur fides verbi et cognitio Dei, Jer. 19. Non gloriatur etc.*"

reader has, by his side, the text in the original Greek, and that he follows it, closely, as he goes through the paraphrase. Seripando gives, first of all, the Latin version of two or three initial words of the passage, and then begins to explain the passage in his own words, in such a way that the reader perceives the sequence of the following words and ideas from the preceding ones.

Whenever Seripando gives the words of the Apostle, as they are, he gives them some prominence. In the 1 Cor., he puts the Apostle's words, in more erect characters; however, this care is not, often, perceptible. In the 2 Cor. and the Thessalonians, he underlines the Apostle's words. The initial words of a passage, which come at the beginning of the paragraph, are, by that very fact, more prominent than the explanation which follows, for they are kept at the top, in a separate line, as the title of the paragraph.

The reader can perceive a gradual progress in the mode of exposition, as he proceeds from the 1 Cor. and passes on in order, to the 2 Cor., the 1 Thess. and to the 2 Thessalonians. The First and Second Cor. go almost in the same tone; from the 1 Thess. the progress becomes marked. Seripando is no more a beginner, in the art of Exegesis. The very introductory words of these Epistles are explained in such away as to give the reader an insight into the whole epistle. The salutation of the 1 Thess. is compared with the salutations of the other Epistles of Paul. His explanation of the passage on Antichrist (2 Thess. 2, 7) shows his ability to tackle difficult passages.

Seripando's language too manifests a gradual progress, as it proceeds from the 1 Cor. to the 2 Thessalonians. In the first Corinthians, he seems to have intended to be more matter of fact, while, as he reaches the 1 Thessalonians, his care to be pleasing to his readers, becomes, more manifest.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ Compare the passage given at the beginning of the Commentary on 1 Cor. With the passage with which Seripando begins the Commentary on 1 Thess.: "*Paulus et Silvanus etc. Quos habuerat Paulus, dum Evangelium Christi Thessalonicae praedicaret, colleges, eosdem, et in his duabus scribendis Epistolis sibi adjunxit, Silvanum et Timotheum. Neque vero se vel Apostolum nuncupat, vel alicujus dignitatis praerogativa commendat quemadmodum in omnibus aliis Epistolis, quibus nomen scripsit suum, consueverat. Nam existimationem apud istos auctoritatem et fidem conciliare sibi non oportebat qui scilicet a falsis Apostolis decepti non fuerant sicut*

As said above, these paraphrases are comparatively brief. The paraphrases on 1 Cor. is contained in 50 folios of 205x75 mm.; 2 Cor. takes 44 folios of more or less the same size; 1 Thess. and 2 Thess. take 13 and 8 folios of almost the same size, respectively.

3.3. The Commentaries

The Commentaries proper are those on the Romans and Galatians. In them, Seripando's care is all-sided. The version of the original text is carefully given, as we have indicated above, in bold capital letters. The explanations too consider all aspects, as the word 'all', in this matter, could have meant, in Seripando's time. For, if we judge Seripando's exegesis with the criteria of today, it will be seen to be wanting in aspects such as the examination of the text in the light of Archaeology and of the history of words. The passages from Scripture and the Fathers are quoted fully, in places where they are needed. Theological speculations are given greater prominence, without, at the same time, leading them into excessive length, or dragging them into discussions with heretics.

Comparing the Commentary of Seripando on the Romans with that on the Galatians, one may note that the latter is rather too sketchy. Seripando seems to have done so, purposely, in order to avoid repetitions. For, the theological reflections on the texts on the Galatians had to be exposed, at length, in his "*Quaestiones*" on the Galatians, which immediately followed.

The Ms. copy of the commentary on the Romans (Nap.VII A.20) comprises 252 folios of 225x165 mm. The Ms. of the commentary on the Galatians, takes 69 and that of the '*Quaestiones*' 196 folios of the same size (i.e. 225x165 mm). Concise and clear, flowing, charming and orderly, Seripando's exposition of Paul's mind, offers a pleasing study to the highly instructed as well as to the ordinary intellect.

4. Conclusion

Seripando was a student of the reform movement of the sixteenth century. He had understood its implications. He was, towards the end of his life, the intellectual leader of the party that cried for a complete reform within the Church. He ardently desired a reform in the field of Scripture interpretation too. For this purposes,

Romani, Corinthii, Galatae, Colosenses ad quos cum scribit se verum Jesu Christi servum et Apostolum falsis et mendacibus veterationibus opponit..."

he had studied the question well. As he assures Cervini, in his dedicatory letter, Seripando had studied all the works of the heretics published up to that time.¹⁵⁰ He had observed the defects on both sides.

While, therefore, Seripando complained against the abuse among the protestants who went in search of the original text, in order to find out a support to their new tenets, and often brought out passages which "*neque cum Hebræis neque cum Graecis, neque cum Latinis consentient*," he bewailed also the apparently little encouragement that was given by the Council of Trent to the study of Scripture, in the original languages, in spite of his continued labours for it, as a member of the committee for preparing the decrees, regarding scripture interpretation. While he detected in the exegetical works of heretics, their cunning devices to gain the benevolence of their readers, by depicting themselves as the only faithful followers of Christ and by extolling themselves, even to the level of Paul and the prophets, so as to give their doctrine a dominating authority, he accused the scholastics of an exaggerated search for the minutiae and of a mania for multiplying questions and problems which God himself wanted to remain unrevealed. We know how Seripando wished that the opinions of the schools remained in the class-rooms, and did not enter into the discussions of the Council.

Having fought for his views in the Council and found his dreams of reform in the line of Scripture interpretation, almost vanishing in the air, Seripando left his ideas solidified in the exegetical works which he had written, under the instigation of Cardinal Cervini, and wherein, he follows the time-honoured rules, interpreted in the right way.

Seripando acknowledged the necessity of an upright, undisturbed and serene spirit, in an exegete, and proposed to maintain it himself, all through his works. He searched out and exposed the mind of Paul, under the guidance of the unimpeachable norms of perpetual flow and stability, of submission to the God-given authority of the Church and to the competent judgement of the Fathers, of Biblical inerrancy and of the subservience of natural reason, sciences and history, to the better understanding of the Creator's own words. For Seripando, these norms do not imply

¹⁵⁰Cfr. *Commentaria*: pp. 2 f.

intellectual servitude, but they afford competent help, in a matter in which the individual intellect would be subject to illusions and confusions, if left to itself.

It is important to note how Seripando understood the norm of submission to the judgment of the Church and of the Fathers. The man who tenaciously adhered to the authority of the Church, and who even refused to read theological treatises written by famous Catholic theologians, for the fact that they did not follow the foot-prints of the Fathers, did not think himself bound to follow blindly the opinion of any Father, be he the great St. Augustine whom he almost adored. Seripando did not find the authority of the Church, standing in the way of the study of the Bible, in the original languages or of the critical restoration of it, into original purity. He did not find himself forbidden by Church authority to study the scripture text, in such a way, as to see how much of the Church's doctrine was in fact, explicitly handed down by the sacred author, and how much of it was but implicitly contained in Scripture. And all this, at a time when the Protestants, and even some of the Catholics were thinking that the Church was keeping human intellect under restraint and that she was closing up all the prospects for individual study and researches on, the sacred text!

It is no wonder, if, when one goes on reading Seripando's exegetical works, one mutters, almost on consciously, some word of congratulation to Seripando, on his having succeeded to carry out his determination to use "*verba quam usitatissima et maxia apta*," which he, in his modesty, feared whether, in fact, he had found out, and on his having achieved the end of his special labours (viz., to accommodate his words to the prejudiced minds of the heretics), by avoiding the scholastic terminologies which were disliked by the heretics, even to the extent of hatred, by prudently avoiding frequent references to church authority, which could have appealed but little, to his erring brethren, by adhering to Augustine, by preference, the one Father who did still command the respect and confidence of Protestants, by avoiding, carefully, overstatements and understatement, regarding the mind of Paul, on points of dogma, and finally, by abstaining from digressions, against his adversaries, which, otherwise, was the order of the day, in that epoch.

It remains for us, to see in detail, how Seripando behaved with heretics, when he actually exposed and defended Pauline theology, on points which were the objects of heated discussion, at that time. We will take up that study in the pages that follow.

PART II

SERIPANDO THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGIAN

Two main reasons urged Seripando to have recourse to the Bible, for the solution of the theological problem of the day: the exaggerated indulgence of the Scholastics in dialectics and the audacious arbitrariness of the Reformers, in dealing with Bible texts.

From the forgoing pages, we already know what impression the scholastic dialectics had created in Seripando. Here, it is enough to recall his remark in the order of the day for the council of Trent which he had drawn up in January 1546. "*Expectant animae Christi Jesu sanguine redemptae, spinosis et inutilibus quaestionibus amputatis, verborum inanibus pugnis rejectis, profanis vocum novitatibus explosis, liquidam, placatam, priscam scientiam salutis, ut facilis apud omnes et expedita sit omnium quae ad salutem pertinent intelligentia.*"¹

We have also seen enough of the Protestant arbitrariness, in dealing with scripture texts. Boasting of their pretended fidelity to the Gospel of St. Paul, the reformers were gaining the sympathy of the ignorant and ill-instructed, for the new doctrine preached under the veil of the apostle's words. The diffusion of their ideas was chiefly done, through their commentaries on Scripture.² Among the Catholics, there were, indeed, great men like John Driedo and John Cochlaeus who had ably disclosed the fallacies contained in the doctrine of the reformers.³

However, there was a great desideratum on the part of the Catholics, even as late as the year 1551, as we gather from the words of Ambrosius Catharinus, Seripando's contemporary: "*Quia haeretici in commentariis suis ad Scripturas et praesertim ad Paulum, suis illos disseminarunt errores, iccirec hoc a plerisque desiderabatur ut et nostri queque haberent in Commentariis, quo et ipsa Scriptura responderetur illis et confutarentur dum verior Apostoli sensus commodius declaratur.*"⁴

¹C.T. II 419, 17 ff.

²Commentaria R. P. F. Ambrosi Catharini Politi Senensis Episcopi Minoriensis in Omnes Divi Pauli et alios Septem Canonicas Epistolas. Venetiis 1551, p. 2.

³Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 163; A. Catharinus, p. 2.

⁴A. Cathariunus, p. 2.

Catharinus, in fact wrote a commentary of this sort, in order to satisfy this desideratum. Although Seripando was convinced of the great need of the day, like Catharinus, he could not accept Catharinus' work, as an ideal. According to Seripando, the mingling up of polemics with exegesis was a stumbling block to an exegete. He would rather use the exegesis proper to disclose the '*verior Apostoli sensus*', as Catharinus puts it, and write another work distinct from the exegesis, so that: "*ipsa Scriptura responderetur illis (erroribus haereticorum) et confutarentur (haeretici).*" Seripando's own words put the idea in a clearer form. "However," he writes in the Preface, "lest by holding discussions, I should interrupt the duty of interpretation and cast obscurity over the light of the divine words, the whole of that business, I shifted to the end of the Commentary, on the Epistle to the Galatians."⁵ He alludes to his '*Quaestiones*' wherein he exposes the errors of the Reformers and refutes them, by evidence brought from Bible texts.

Seripando willingly accepted the term: 'Gospel of St. Paul', used by the heretics themselves, to signify the doctrine or theology preached by the Apostle.⁶ Some of the recent theologians, like Bonairven seem to follow Seripando, in preferring this simpler and more Biblical term to the other one, which is more frequently used today, the theology of St. Paul.⁷

It is to vindicate the genuine Gospel of St. Paul against the one preached, under that title, by the heretics of his day, that Seripando undertook the work of the *Quaestiones*. "*Nos autem,*" says Seripando in *Quaestio 2* "*ut Paulum sub cujus eminentia persona, seipsos fallacissime venditant, ab eorum calliditate et calumniis vendicemus, hunc scribendi laboram suscepimus.*"⁸

The two fold end Seripando had proposed to himself, was therefore to lay bare the devices employed by the heretics in order to present their new doctrine under the name: 'Gospel of St. Paul', and to expose and defend the Pauline gospel, in its genuine form.

In the two following sections, we will study Seripando's commentaries and '*Quaestiones*' under these two aspects.

⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 10.

⁶Seripando: *Quaestiones*, 5, 7, 11.

⁷Joseph Bonsirven: *L'Evangile de Paul*, Paris, 1948, p. 7.

⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 2, p. 350.

SECTION I

DEVICES OF THE HERETICS

The "*Quaestiones*" were well planned by Seripando, to serve his purpose of exposing the fallacies contained in the arguments of the heretics. The first part of each '*Quaestio*' states concisely the argument of the heretics, on a certain point. This statement is made in Seripando's own words, for the sake of brevity, clarity and simplicity.

*Quod autem non eorum quoque verba reposuerim, illud in causa fuit, quod non ab uno dumtaxat sed a pluribus et libris et auctoribus unum in locum collectae et comportatae sint. Eas praeterea, ipsi verborum multitudine obruunt et oratio more, aperta quasi manu dilatant et ornant ad occultandas fallacias et sophisticas ineptias.*⁹

The second part is devoted to the refutation. First of all, Seripando admits all that can be admitted, in the argument of the heretics, and then he deals with the part that is objectionable. With the precision of an experienced exegete, he points out the exact spot where the error is let to creep in.

The "*Quaestiones*," sixty seven in all, are proposed in connection with the important texts of the Epistle to the Galatians, proceeding in order, from the first chapter to the last. A study of the "*Quaestiones*" takes us to the fundamental error of the heretics and to the various devices they were constrained to employ in order to maintain it.

⁹Seripando: *Commentaria*: Preface, p. 10.

CHAPTER 1

FUNDAMENTAL ERROR

The greatest crime of the Reformers was that they mutilated the Gospel of Paul. *Quaestiones* 2, 3, 5, 7, 11 and 60 show how the heretics had narrowed down the contents of Pauline teaching. According to them any doctrine that demanded anything more than mere faith, for the justification of the sinner, was in open conflict with Paul's theology.¹⁰ The preaching of the law of Charity or of the need of good works, or acts of the divine cult and devotion was likewise considered by them, as foreign to the mind of the Apostle.¹¹ This mentality, according to Seripando, closed up within a little, narrow space, the holy and extensive field of the Gospel.¹²

How could they imagine that the preaching of the gospel was restricted to faith alone? Could they pass over unnoticed all that our Lord Jesus Christ taught by His word and example? Was it faith alone that Christ commanded the Apostles, to preach through the length and breadth of the world? All the things that the four Evangelists wrote can hardly be summed up in faith alone. If one considers these things, one will be convinced that the Gospel speaks of many other things besides faith. Namely of hope, of charity, of the precepts, of the promise of the eternal life which is not contained in the Law, of good works and of persecutions suffered with patience for the name of Christ and of the abundant reward set apart in heaven, for those who suffer such persecutions.¹³

We can admit that St. Paul's Gospel consisted in the preaching that the grace of Christ to which we are led gratuitously, without any dependence on the works of the Law, is enough and abundant for the attainment of salvation. But the grace of Christ, according to St. Paul, signifies not only faith, as the heretics would have it. But all the gifts that He confers on mankind.¹⁴

¹⁰Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 5, 7, 11.

¹¹Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 11, 41, 60.

¹²Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 60, p. 501.

¹³Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 60, p. 501.

¹⁴Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 5, p. 363.

But this mania for mutilation was almost an instinct that the Reformers seem to have inherited from their leader. The Gospel in its entirety, as taught and handed down, from the beginning of the church, till the sixteenth century, could not give peace to Luther's conscience. He sought a way out of the hard part of the gospel. He got the key to the outlet, from a suggestion of his superior Staupits. Here is Luther's own exposition of the fact, which we quote from his letter to Staupits:

*Memini, Reverende Pater, inter jucundissimas et salutare fabulas tuas, quibus me solet Dominus Jesus mirifice consolari, incidisse aliquando mentionem hujus nominis, "poenitentiae," ubi miserti conscientiarum multarum carnificumque illorum, qui praeceptis infinitis eisdemque importabilibus modum docent (ut vocant) confitendi, te velut e coelo sonantem excipimus quod poenitentia vera non est, nisi quae ab amore justitiae et Dei incipit, et hoc esse potius principium poenitentiae quod illis finis et consummatio censetur ... quae omnia Paulinae Theologiae ita respondent apte, ut nihil ferme aptius Paulum illustrare possit, meo saltem iudicio.*¹⁵

The 'sola fide' theory was but a further step in this effort to shake off the harder part of Pauline Theology, which Luther had, indeed, taken when he presided over the discussions on infused and acquired faith, in 1520.¹⁶

Having shown that it was the 'sola fide' preachers and not the Catholic Church, which always accepted the Gospel of Paul in all its amplitude, that had overthrown the Gospel, Seripando addresses the Reformers in the following words: "You, you, therefore, are the over-throwers of the gospel of peace, you, who decide that man's salvation is to be attributed to faith alone, whereas the Gospel attributes it to faith with works and to works that spring from the roots of faith."¹⁷

¹⁵L. W. 1/ p. 525, 5-14, 29-30. The letter was written in 1518.

¹⁶L. W. 6/ 94, 7-9.

¹⁷Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 2, p. 352.

CHAPTER 2

DEVICES THAT SUSTAINED THE FUNDAMENTAL ERROR

The 'sola fide' Gospel revolutionized the whole Protestant outlook on the Bible. The heretics tried to read their ideas into the words of Paul, in spite of the serious discrepancies that confronted them. In the struggle to safeguard their view, they were forced, in many cases, to neglect some of the fundamental rules of interpretation, in others, to disregard the ordinary rules of logic, in others still, to have recourse to positive misrepresentations, and, wherever possible, to diffuse the false belief that they possessed the final authority in interpreting the Bible.

1. Neglect of the Fundamental Rules of Interpretation

Fidelity to the text and the context, truthfulness to the authors who are quoted, obligation to seek light from parallel text, while handling difficult passages, and reverence for the canon established by the primitive Church, are some of the fundamental and commonly accepted norms of interpretation which the Reformers were forced to sacrifice, in order to keep intact their new inventions.

THE TEXT AND CONTEXT are both neglected by the Reformers, in order to squeeze out of the words of Paul, in Gal. 1, 10, the conclusion that Paul thought it absurd to submit oneself to any authority vested in men, in interpreting the Word of God.¹⁸ Seripando shows that, by drawing such a conclusion, they went not only against the context, but also against the text. "The first fallacy in this argument is that, in this passage, Paul does not deal with that thing which they will have him to," says Seripando.¹⁹ Paul intends to show here, that in preaching the Gospel, he was seeking the grace of God and not the good will of men. Coming to the text itself, Seripando demonstrates how heretics were unjust in rendering it from Greek into Latin. Their version was: "divino suadeo, non humana." "Let us use the same words which he (Paul) used", says Seripando, and produces the Greek text: ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν

θεόν (*anthropous peido e ton theon*). These words, by themselves are clear: however, to remove all possible doubt, the Apostle adds an explanation: ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώπους ἀρέσκειν (*e dseto anthropous areскеin*) (23) (or am I seeking to please men?).²⁰

WHILE QUOTING OTHER AUTHORS the reformers used to bring forward those words that served their purpose, cutting off parts of the passage that could prove harmful. We have an example of this, in 'Quaestio 66', where they quote Augustine (Ep. 49), in their defence. Seripando answers them, in the following words: "*Quae autem humana sint acta, quae legis nomen non attingunt, ab Augustino damnata, Augustinus non ipse accopit, si ejus verba, non dimidiata sed integra recitentur.*"²¹

LIGHT FROM PARALLEL TEXTS was evaded by the Protestants, when the passage they were handling, could more easily be understood, in their own sense. Instances of this kind are detected by Seripando in *Quaestiones*, 46, 55, 60 and 67. In *Quaestio* 46 they conclude from Gal. 3, 17, that Paul rejects all good works are useless, neglecting, the text wherein the Apostle insists on the necessity of good works. In *Quaestio* 65, they think that Gal. 4, 5 considers it a crime for any Christian to doubt about his state of grace. Seripando points out to them the words of Paul in Rom 11, which expel from a Christian even the shadow of such a presumption.²² In *Quaestio* 60 they interpret Gal. 5, 2 as if they never read the Gospels and teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the apostles. In *Quaestio* 67 they make use of the authority of Gal. 6, 15 to conclude that Paul, insisting on the necessity of a faith which brings about an internal renovation, rejects all external works, as useless for salvation. But Seripando points out that Gal. 5, 6 and 1 Cor. 7, 19 object to such a conclusion.

NOT EVEN THE SACROSANCT CANON OF THE BIBLE could escape the surgery of the Reformers, when it was a question of safeguarding their new invention. In *Quaestio* 4, Seripando observes that the Manicheans, audacious as they were, to deny whatever the Catholic Church taught from scripture, on the plea that the codices were false or corrupt, did not think of denying the established Canon

²⁰Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 6. p. 367.

²¹Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 66, p. 530.

²²Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 55.

¹⁸Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 6, p. 366.

¹⁹Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 6, p. 367.

of the Bible. What a greater crime is this which the reformers commit, condemning as fictitious and false, sometimes the book of Machabees, sometimes the Epistle of James, sometimes the second Epistle of Peter or John, at other times the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Apocalypse of John (from which book, we bring forward oracles which are obviously against them)?²³

These are violations of rules of interpretation of the Bible, of which, perhaps, the heretics could be excused to a certain extent: but they were inexcusable, and guilty of deliberate negligence, in having disregarded the common rules of logic for defending their fundamental error.

2. Neglect of the Common Rules of Logic

In order to draw from the Apostle's words, the conclusions they wanted, the Reformers sometimes resorted to mal-disposition of the premises, and at other times, to inferences from, part to the whole. To illustrate the former, it is enough to take *Quaestio* 17. The Protestants drew up their argument thus, from Gal. 2, 6 (*non justificatur homo ex operibus legis nisi per fidem Jesu Christi*): "*Ubi est fiducia operum, nullum ibi locum habere potest fiducia in Jesum Christum. De fiducia ergo operum, facile negatur et amittitur Christus.*"²⁴

Seripando points out the fallacy in this mode of arguing, in these words: "*Si ex Pauli doctrina rite ratiocinari velimus et nihil ad nostrum arbitrium confingere et comminisci, sic erat dicendum, 'Ubi est fiducia operum legis, qualis erat in illis qui ex lege justitiam quaerebant, nullum ibi locum habere potest fiducia in Jesum Christum.'*"²⁵ To evade the aspect which was displeasing to them, the heretics had to use also the device of concluding from part to the whole. Regarding the attainment of first justice, St. Paul taught the exclusion of all meritorious works. From this, the Protestants argued: 'therefore, good works can be of no use in man's justification'. This, Seripando said, was arguing from the foundation to the edifice (*Quaestio* 1).²⁶ It is interesting to note with what subtlety, Seripando

²³Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: p. 358.

²⁴Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 17, p. 416.

²⁵Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 17, p. 416.

²⁶Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 1, p. 344.

points out the valuation of this important rule of dialectics, in *Quaestiones* 36, 42 and 47.²⁷

3. Positive Distortions

Among the positive means employed by the heretics in order to twist Paul's words to their own purpose, Seripando points out their peculiar mode of handling certain similes used by Paul or invented by themselves, their method of presenting citations from the Fathers, their effort to explain away certain good usages of the Church by merely laughing at them, their attempt to add obscurity to certain clear passages, by the interpretations they give to allied texts, their endeavour to cover up their fallacies, by a profuse, oratorical language, their effort to create aversion for the Catholic Church which claims to possess the exclusive privilege of infallibility, in interpreting the Word of God, and finally, their devices to present themselves as the truly enlightened expositors of the Bible.

IN HANDING THE SIMILES used by Paul, the Protestants were on the look out for the most opportune moment, to drag it to their own purpose. In *Quaestio* 51 they speak of the simile used by Paul, in Gal. 3, 22- 24, they describe the life of the thief in prison and the life of the child under the pedagogue, the thief in prison, keeps off from stealing, not because he does not wish to do so, but because he is obstructed by the walls of the goal. The child too keeps off from evil behaviour, out of fear for the pedagogue and not out of love for virtue. Thus, they conclude, those who preach the necessity of the observance of the Law; preach a hypocritical life, an external honesty. Seripando shows them how wrong they are in applying the simile to those who are under the Law of Christ. St. Paul speaks of the men who had not yet attained the promise of the Spirit. To such men, of course, the Law is a hated prison and a stern school master. But to men who are endowed with faith and the gift of the Holy Spirit, the Law is not an object of hatred but an object of love. The heretics follow the same in the use of the similes, which they themselves have invented.²⁸

THE REFORMERS TOO used to have recourse to the authority of the Fathers, in order to confirm their new doctrine, but in doing so, they were often guilty of misrepresentation. In *Quaestio*

²⁷Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: pp. 450-452; 459-460; 465-466.

²⁸Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 56, pp. 487 f.

6, Seripando denounces this method, in an implicit way: "*Nos vero omnia Patrum testimonia quibus ad istorum aut nova aut potius rediviva dogmata refellenda, nostraque id est antiqua et Catholica comprobanda utimur, non fecte, fallaciterve detorta, sed vere fideliterve citata ex eorum monumentis et scriptis proferimus in taedium.*"²⁹ A more direct denunciation of this dishonest practice, can be found in the preface: "*Mittamus praeclara quaedam vera et laudabilia, quae tanquam ova vermitant, ex hominum nostrorum libris dolose excerpta et ad suos usus detorta.*"³⁰

THE TEDIOUSNESS OF THE EXTERNAL OBSERVANCES PRESCRIBED BY THE CHURCH, and the voluntary works of penance practised by the religious, as a help for the acquisition and preservation of the Christian virtues, urged the Protestants to combat all such external observances. They could hardly bear the sight of monks whose life reminded them of the centuries old good practices of the church, and silently accused them of having chosen the broader way. To silence the inner voice that accused them, they took to the strange device of laughing at, as often as possible, the external observances of the monks, such as their shaven heads, their peculiar habits, their canonical house and the innumerable other practices of the sort.

In *Quaestio* 65, Seripando explains the exact value of the external practices. In *Quaestio* 67, he openly speaks of the malicious intention that lurked at the bottom of the mania for repeating such questions, again and again, namely, to laugh at those practices, as

²⁹*Seripando: Commentaria: Q. 6, p. 367. In Q. 56, the heretics bring in an example to explain Gal. 4, 9b: "Quomodo convertimini ad infirma et egena elementa quibus denuo servire vultis?" They compare the Law to a physician who, as he comes in. To help the patient, administers some medicine to alleviate the patient's pain. But far from curing the patient, that medicine increases his illness, leads him to greater danger, and even to death. At this point, they make a cunning twist: Behold, they say the Physician whom the Catholics call in. To get themselves cured! Seripando admits the aptitude of the simile, but denounces the cunningness employed in its application: "At vero istorum manu qui nobis bellum faciunt, contortum". Paul was not beating the air by his argument. He had real adversaries to encounter – the false doctors who taught justification through the Law. But the heretics use this argument against Catholics who never taught that the sickness of the soul is cured by the remedy of the Law.*

³⁰*Seripando: Commentaria: Preface, p. 7.*

though the monks considered them to be the means of attaining justice, as did, once, their own leader Martin Luther. "*Nihil sane opus est,*" says Seripando, "*quae ad monachorum statum et vitae normam pertinent hoc loco disputare de quibus quid esset sentiendum, supra non tam argumentis quam calumniis provocari et injuriis satis expressimus, docuimusque, non illis monachos magnopere praesidiis niti et confidere quae risus captandi gratia, in argumento cumulantur.*"³¹

TO THROW DARKNESS ON SOME PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, which were clear in themselves, the Reformers used to give peculiar interpretations to other texts, which are related to them. In *Quaestio* 36, as we have pointed out, the heretics overlooked the simple principles of dialectics, and reached a conclusion wider than the premises.³² Gal 3, 7 (*qui ex fide sunt ii sunt filii Abrahae*), they said, excluded all works from justification and suggested their *sola fide* theory. In the next question (*Quaestio* 37) the text (Gal. 3, 10) "*quicumque ex operibus legis sunt, sub maledicto sunt*" is taken by them, as a natural conclusion of the work excluding theory, which they had found in Gal. 3, 7.

Seripando points out the trick played by the Reformers, in this instance, "Just as they had misinterpreted, in the last Question, the phrase "*ex fide esse*," so, here they misinterpret the phrase; "*qui ex operibus legis sunt.*" They do not do so, in good faith, continues Seripando. Lest they should, by such a perverse interpretation, add darkness to clear truths, we should carefully note here, that just as "*ex fide esse*" includes faith and the Holy Spirit and the works of the law of the Spirit, so "*ex operibus legis esse*" excludes faith and the Holy Spirit."³³

THERE WAS AN ATTRACTION attached to the false doctrine taught by the heretics. It was brought about, by the oratorical and profuse style of their language in which the doctrine was presented. Seripando speaks of this, in the Preface, where he

³¹*Seripando: Commentaria: Q. 67, pp. 531 f.*

³²Seripando points out the fallacy in this Question in the following words: "*Esse ex fide excudit quidem justitiam legis, sed non Spiritum Sanctum qui datur ut fiant bona opera*" (Q. 36, p. 451).

³³*Seripando: Commentaria: Q. 37, p. 453.*

shows how the heretics try to hide their venom under "the straw of verbosity."³⁴

A GREAT IMPEDIMENT for the propagation of the new Gospel of the Reformers was the voice of the Catholic Church which claimed to possess the exclusive privilege of infallibility, in explaining the Word of God. As long as people were persuaded of this God given mission of the Catholic Church, it was impossible to get their listening to whatever went counter to the Church's teaching.

To shake off this faith from the minds of the people, the Reformers began to attribute to the Church teachings which were contrary to the obvious sense of certain Scripture texts, in *Quaestio* 25, Seripando almost loses patience, at the calumny spread by the Reformers against the church. "*O dolosam et exitiosae malitiae plenam fallaciam*" shouts out Seripando, "*O versutos et callidos homines, o pestem ad interitum natam exitiumque Catholicae veritatis: Vere de talibus magnus dixit Basilius tehnologousin theologousin ecquis unquam in Ecclesia Catholica docuit potuisse quemquam suis meritis Christum cognoscere atque ad eum venire?*"³⁵

The Reformers spread the calumny that the Catholic Church preached not only "*praeter Evangelium*" but also contrary to the Gospel.³⁶ They represented the Church as the overthrower of the Word of God;³⁷ they compared her to the false doctors among the Galatians, who taught the necessity of the works of the Law for the attainment of justification, through Christ;³⁸ they accused her of being illogical, in concluding from Gal. 6, 15, the necessity of external good works for salvation.³⁹

³⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*: Preface, p. 5.

³⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 25, p. 427.

³⁶Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 3, p. 353-356.

³⁷Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 3, p. 354.

³⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 58.

³⁹Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 67, where, having exposed the fallacy and proved the truth, Seripando concludes: "*Digito sane hic mihi locis Paulus ostendit totum hominem sanum factum ac renovatum intus quidem fide et caritate, foris vero sanctis operibus, quibus divina mandata perficiuntur,*" pp. 532 f.

THESE AND OTHER MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE KIND were repeated again and again, by the Reformers, so as to extort the following remark from the pen of Seripando. "*Quid attinet eadem fere levissime tenuissimeque toties inculcare argumenta? Ad quae omnia, quam prompta, quam facilis, quam brevis est defensio.*"⁴⁰ His words, in the Preface, are still stronger. He says, there that he too adopted that method in inculcating the genuine doctrine, in order "to defeat art by art":

*Cum autem eadem frequenter inculcent argumenta, et iisdem de rebus ad nauseam usque, et crambe repetita saepissime agant, necesse fuit ea in re mihi quoque ineptire et iisdem de rebus persaepe quasi dictata decantare, quod quidem sciebam lectori molestum fore, quum praesertim ὁμειδεῖς ἀθηρογρηθεῖσθαι non adeo possint ut delectent, verum cum haec illorum repetitio et crebra rerum earumdem inculcatio artificiosa sit et eo tendat ut suas haereses surorum animis imprimant, cur ego ad veritatem nostrorum hominum pectoribus inferendam, eadem saepius iterare et quasi confirmare vereror, artemque arte refellere?*⁴¹

4. Arrogation of Unclaimable Authority

Side by side with the means they used to create aversion for the Church's teaching, the Reformers employed other devices to represent themselves as the truly enlightened expositors of the Bible. The traditional exposition of the doctrine was looked upon with contempt, and the cry: "Back to the Bible" was made to sound and resound in the ears of the people. The traditional teaching was easily dispensed with, by the argument: "no provision has been made for it, in the Bible."⁴²

While he interprets 2 Thess. 2, 15, ("*Itaque fratres, state et tenete traditiones quas didicistis sive per sermonem sive per epistolam nostram*"), Seripando cries out in triumph: "*Ubi sunt qui ἄγραφα omnia derident atque contemnunt quasi non Apostolorum*

⁴⁰Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 53, p. 477 # 2.

⁴¹Seripando: *Commentaria*: Preface, p. 11.

⁴²Seripando: *Commentaria*: Q. 1, pp. 344, 346.

quoque non scripti sermones a manu, ut aiunt, in manum ad nos usque permanere potuerint!"⁴³

Supposing that the Bible contained everything, who can expound to us the real sense hidden under the letter? It is in answer to this question that the Reformers stepped forward as the enlightened men, "boasting that they knew everything and despising others as wanderers like the shadows."⁴⁴ They applied to themselves the mistranslation of the Apostle's words: "*divina suadeo non humana,*" and declared that they had no need of the help of Cyprian, Ambrose or Augustine, Peter, Paul or John, or even of the angel from heaven, as long as they were certain that what they taught, was divine and not human.⁴⁵

Seripando denounces the audacity of the Reformers, in raising themselves to the level of Paul. In the Preface, he says that the attitude of the Reformers gave one the impression that they considered themselves not only as disciples, but also as equal of, and, sometimes, even as superiors to the prophets and the Apostles.⁴⁶ No wonder, if, as Seripando remarks, "whatever came to the mind of these men, they attributed to Paul so that those who spoke against them were considered to oppose not them, but Paul himself, as well as the simple and obvious truth."⁴⁷

5. Conclusion

To conclude, all the labours of the heretics consisted in uniting or even identifying their cause with that of the Apostle. They gloried that whatever they taught, was Paul's doctrine given out from some oracle, which was known only to them. They do all this, as proved by Seripando and as remarked by himself, "with enough of insolence."⁴⁸

⁴³Cfr. *Seripando: Commentaria*: Ms. Nap. VII A. 36. 2 Thess. C. II n. V, (2 Thess. 2, 15).

⁴⁴*Seripando: Commentaria*: Preface, p. 6.

⁴⁵*Seripando: Commentaria*: Q. 6, p. 336.

⁴⁶*Seripando: Commentaria*: Preface, pp. 6 sq.

⁴⁷*Seripando: Commentaria*: Q. 2, p. 350.

⁴⁸*Seripando: Commentaria*: Q. 2, p. 350.

SECTION II

PAUL'S GOSPEL EXPOSED AND DEFENDED

I. A Retrospect

Before entering on our study of Seripando's exposition and defence of the Pauline Gospel, let us cast a second glance on Seripando's history. We have seen the young precocious child of Naples, who had won the admiration of all his teachers, in a short time, declining his brilliant prospects, in the world and shutting himself up within an Augustinian monastery. The corruption of the 15th century Italy, could easily lead thinkers, like Machiavelli, to a pessimistic view of human nature. The young Seripando's eyes too fell on the same corruption that had been reigning, both within and without the church. His own Order stood badly in need of a reform.

St. Augustine the father of Seripando's Order, the Augustinian thinkers from the 11th to the 16th centuries, like Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard, St. Bernard, Gregory of Rimini, Gerson, Augustine Favorini and John Driedo, and the Augustinian theologians who actually surrounded him, were far from being optimistic in their view of the fallen nature of man. Egidius of Viterbo, the General of Seripando's Order and his esteemed professor, was himself a through Augustinian and a Platonist to the core. When Seripando was in Rome, as a student of Egidius, in 1510, Martin Luther, the young Augustinian professor, came there from Germany, to visit his famous General. Talks with Luther, if at all he had any, could not throw any brighter light on the sad story of the fallen man.

When he was ordained priest, Seripando became the eagerly sought preacher, in the principal centres of Italy. His counsel was sought by humanists, like Flaminio, and reform leaders, like Giberti. It was at a period when Seripando's fame was diffusing itself far and wide, that the new Gospel of Luther began to spread with alarming rapidity. The young Augustinian preacher set on reflecting on the serious problems of the day. To be just in his judgment on the preachers of the new Gospel, he sought permission from Clement VII to read their books. He looked on Carafa and Cajetan as luminaries of the Church and willingly sought the acquaintance of these reform leaders.

To add to the seriousness of the situation, the tremendous responsibility of the Generalship of his Order was placed on Seripando's shoulders, in 1539. The office of the General meant the

reforming of the longstanding disorders in the houses of the Order, dispersed all over Europe, and the purging of the Order from connections with Lutheranism. Seripando had to be a strict judge and, at the same time, a kind father to the members of his Order who were suspected of Lutheran ideas.

Another serious responsibility was placed on Seripando, by Paul III, who ordered him to study minutely all the works of the heretics, in order to help the projected Council of Trent, in dealing with the Reformers' suspected doctrines. The souls redeemed by the blood of Christ, were waiting, at the door, for a clear knowledge of the science of salvation, in its original purity and simplicity. This was the thought that was foremost in the mind of Seripando, as we have it from him. And how was he to satisfy those souls?

He must, first of all, carefully avoid all the useless questions and intruding vocabulary, the arguments of human wisdom and the Aristotelian dialectics, and then, present the doctrine of salvation in a language that savoured of Apostolic simplicity. He would willingly call it the Gospel, rather than style it by the name "theology." It may seem to lack in philosophic precision and may be, as such, unacceptable to those who have not studied the science of the Holy Spirit and to those who always want to argue under the guidance of human reason.

He must not, moreover, condemn a doctrine simply because it is taught by the heretics. He must plead for those whose seemingly erroneous adherence to Pauline terminology calls upon them suspicion and hasty condemnation. Naturally, Seripando buries himself up in the study of St. Paul and he chooses for his guide, St. Augustine, not because Augustine was infallible, and could be blindly copied always, but because, he seemed to follow Paul everywhere and to excel all others, in the science of the Holy Spirit.

In handling the words of the Apostle, Seripando would be careful to avoid all the circumstances that might lead him away from the scope of the Apostle. He would, likewise, assume all the means that would help to stick to the Apostle's mind. This is Seripando and his conception of Biblical theology. It remains to us to examine how, in fact, Seripando exposes and defends the Gospel of Paul.

2. The Gospel of Paul

In his Q. 5, Seripando gives us a description of the Gospel of Paul: "*Evangelium Pauli illud fuit quod suis omnibus epistolis illustrat ac celebrat: gratiam Christi ad quam gratis et sine operibus legis perducimur ad salutem et vitam aeternam nanciscendam, abunde sufficere.*" The main points implied in this Gospel are: (1) Man's helpless state, and (2) The sufficiency of the Grace of Christ to save him. We will see how Seripando evolves the doctrine of the Apostle, on these points. However, for the sake of brevity, we will pass over those points, on which Seripando agrees with the common Catholic doctrine, and concentrate our attention on these points, where he seeks to say something new.

CHAPTER 1

MAN'S HELPLESS STATE

Paul's concept of human misery is closely connected with Adam, sin and death; the Law, the flesh and the Spirit.

1. Adam, Sin and Death

The source of all miseries, is touched upon by Paul, in Rom. 5, while he places before us the picture of Him who is the source of all our happiness: "*Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit et per peccatum mors et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt*" (Rom. 5, 12). The Greek phrase, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον has made it possible for exegetes, to view the text in two different ways.

The Latin Fathers, above all St. Augustine, translated the phrase into: "*in quo omnes peccaverunt,*" thus forming an adjectival clause referring to Adam ('*unum hominem*') or '*peccatum*'. Having known, at a later date, '*peccatum*' in Greek, to be of the feminine gender, St. Augustine, referred the clause, thereafter, exclusively to Adam. In this, he was followed by Sedulius, Fulgentius, Walfred Strabo, Alexander Hales, and Saint Bonaventure. This interpretation, which shows that the whole mankind become subject to death, because of its having participated in the sin of Adam, sees an explicit reference to original sin made by the Apostle, in this text. It appears in the decree of the Council of Trent which was inspired by the Council of Orange.¹

The Greek Fathers, on the other hand, used to understand ἐφ' ᾧ in the sense of 'because'. Interpreted in this sense, the passage in question does not necessarily refer to original sin ('because all sinned'). It directly refers to personal sins. In fact, the true

¹Cfr. Tixeront: *Histoire des dogmes dans l'antiquité Chrétienne* I, p. 407 f., 432; II, p. 277-280, 440 f. 465-482; III, p. 293, 300, 307. J. Freundorfer: *Erbsuende und Erbtod beim Apostel Paulus. Eine religionsgeschichte und exegetische Untersuchung ueber Roemerbrief 5, 12-21*, Munster 1 W, 1927; pp. 129-156. Council of Trent, Sess. V, Can. 2; 4 (Dn 789, 791); Council of Orange Can. 5 (Dn 175); Council of Carthage Can. 2 (Dn 102). Joseph Bonsirven: *L'Évangile de Paul*, Paris 1948, pp. 111f.

signification of ἐφ' ᾧ is 'because'. Many modern occidental scholars too, admit that "*in quo*" can equally signify "because."²

Seripando, both a Greek scholar and a close follower of Augustine, followed the Latin tradition, in translating ἐφ' ᾧ into: "*in quo*". However, in giving his explanation of the passage, he rendered the phrase, also by "because," like the Greeks. But the word, 'because' did not change his interpretation. He faithfully adhered to his "parent" Augustine, in understanding this passage as explicitly referring to original sin.

"The benefits we have received from Christ", says Seripando, explaining this passage, "correspond to the miseries of sin and death which pervaded the whole world, by the temerity and crime of the first men constituted by God".³ Of these, sin imports the guilt, and death the punishment. The reason why death entered the whole human race, is indicated by the phrase "*propterea quia omnes peccaverunt,*" because all sinned (in Adam). Unless they had sinned, they could not be subjects to the punishment due to sin, namely death.⁴

Seripando considers next, the exact nature of this all-pervading sin. Concretely speaking, this mysterious sin is nothing but what the Apostle calls concupiscence. It is not concupiscence, considered in its deliberate movements, external or internal, but concupiscence considered in its spontaneous, indeliberate or first movements, as we call them. We quote here, Seripando's own words:

Diligenter autem est animadvertendum peccatum de quo hoc loco disputat Paulus et cujus omne hominum genus reum facit, non esse externum aliquid maleficium quam semper et ubique tam humani atque docti quam immanes atque barbari homines rationis ductu peccatum esse cognoverunt, et reliqua id genus crassa facinora quae humanae quoque leges insectantur atque ulciscuntur, sed est naturale illud, domesticum et intimum vitium repugnantias carnis adversus Spiritum

²Cfr. Tixeront: *Historie*, I, p. 260, 288, 312 f., 493; II, p. 137-144, 205, 213; III, p. 208-212, 494. Freundorfer: *Erbsuende und Erbtod*, p. 107-129. Prat.: *Theology of St. Paul*, London, 1945, I, pp. 213-217.

³Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 5, 12 p. 83 f.

⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 5, 12. Seripando does not understand by the term "*peccaverunt,*" personal sins, but the sin committed in Adam.

quae est non aperta quidem et manifesta verum obscura et occulta hominis a Deo defectio. Eam Graeci επιθυμίαν, nos vel libidinem vel trito jam et usitato verbo concupiscentiam appellamus."⁵

The nature and working of this "burden that bends man down"⁶ is the principle theme of Rom. 7, which the Apostle concludes with the exclamation: "*Infelix ego homo* etc." Wherever, in his Commentaries, he refers us to Rom. 7.⁷ This fundamental chapter which Seripando wishes to "be read attentively" by us,⁸ has been studied by himself, with great care. When he wrote the '*Glossa*', he seems to have considered himself incompetent to handle this complicated subject.⁹ In the commentary, however he takes it up, and handles it with a mastery which is born of long and deep study.

Here too, Seripando distinguishes the external acts of concupiscence from its internal movements, and, in the internal movements themselves, he distinguishes the voluntary from the involuntary. He shows that even the pagan philosophers like Cicero, who were ignorant of the positive precept given to the Israelites ("non concupiscence") knew the existence of this vice and accused its voluntary movements, external as well as internal as sinful. No one, however, ventured to accuse the involuntary or the first internal movements of concupiscence as sinful, since they were thought to be inborn in the nature of man.¹⁰ Seripando continues:

But the divine Law which teaches that it was once in the power of man to pass over or to avoid this greatest of evils, rather this head and fountain of all evils, forbids, condemns and interdicts it, as something which sprung up not from nature but from the contumacy of Adam the old parent of the whole human race, so that

⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 5, 13 p. 83.

⁶Ms. Nap. VII A. 36; 2 Cor. V n. VI (2 Cor. 5, 6).

⁷Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 5, 13; 2 Cor. 3, 6; 2 Cor. 12, 2; Gal. 2, 19; 3, 19; 4, 9; 5, 17.

⁸Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Gal. 5, 17.

⁹Seripando has not written the "*Glossa*" on this Chapter. Immediately after Chapter 6, he passes on to Ch. 8. Cfr. Cod. Triv. 378.

¹⁰Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 7, pp. 108 f.

we may acknowledge not only that it is sin, but also that it is forgiven exclusively by the merit of God and our Jesus Christ.¹¹

The majority of the fathers at the Council of Trent held that concupiscence was indifferent natural force that existed in man. Seripando considered this view to flow from an ignorance of the science of the Holy Ghost. In fact, he himself, with all the philosophers, would have thought it to be so. But divine revelation has definitely pointed it out, as originating from the sin of Adam. It is useless to discuss with those who consider concupiscence as an indifferent natural force in man, "because we disagree in principles."¹²

The science of the Holy Spirit or a real knowledge of Holy Scripture is what Seripando appeals to, where reason is not able to penetrate into the nature of certain truths revealed by God. We have another instance of this kind, in Seripando's exegesis on Rom. 10, 10, where he says that all who are well-versed in the scriptures, acknowledge the relation of cause and effect existing among faith, justice, confession and salvation.¹³ An appeal to the wisdom of the Spirit appears again, in his excursus on the conciliation of Predestination with human liberty. We would vainly seek, he says, a link between the eternal and immutable decree of Predestination and that kind of liberty of which the philosophers speak. Let us learn the wisdom of the Holy Spirit and approach to solve the problem. The free will that comes in question, in the mystery of Predestination, is that free will helped by Grace – the free will which is "freed by the Son of God."¹⁴ In a particular Congregation at the Council of Trent, while discussing the problem of abuses in Scripture, Seripando expressed his opinion in the following words: "*qui igitur docere vult Sacras litteras, bene eas prius discat ut et bene docere possit. Non discant scientiam speculativam sed reales litteras Sacras et doceant pueros doctrinam non ex philosophia excerptam sed ex Sacris litteris*

¹¹Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 7, pp. 108 f.

¹²C. T. XII, 551.

¹³Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 10, 10.

¹⁴Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: p. 204: At the end of Rom. 11 where Seripando first quotes the opinion of Cajetan and then gives his own.

*interpretentur Scripturas secundum Pauli ad Timotheum C.I, et Augustinum ejusdem Pauli interpretem.*¹⁵

In this case, Seripando wants his adversaries to look upon concupiscence, in the light of the revealed doctrine. Revelation tells us that man was, in fact, created without the concupiscence and that he became obnoxious to it because of the sin of Adam. So, even in the baptized, it goes on narrating silently, the story of its origin and carries with it, a special tendency to evil. Because of this tendency, Seripando calls it sin, or something displeasing to God. He sees this truth asserted by Paul himself and St. Augustine. The latter's words are, in fact, used by the Council of Trent, in describing the nature of the concupiscence that remains in the regenerated. It is sometimes called sin "*quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinatur.*"¹⁶

1.1. Concupiscence in the Just

According to Seripando, concupiscence in the just is sin, but only in the improper sense of the word. It is this fact that prevents Seripando from agreeing with those who call concupiscence an indifferent force in man. The movements of concupiscence are equally felt by the regenerated and the non-regenerated. However, in the regenerated, the involuntary movements are not imputed to condemnation. Hence they are not sins.

*Cur relinquitur concupiscentia post baptismum? Relinquitur ut homo semper cogitet, qualis ex se sit qualis Dei gratia per Jesum Christum. Ex se ad omne malum pronus. Quae pronitas nisi remaneret in homine, homo se ex se et in se justum esse putaret. Dei autem gratia malum illud habet ad damnationem non imputatam propter Christum; eadem quoque gratia fit ut non regnet per consensum neque membris uti posit tanquam armis ad iniquitatem.*¹⁷

The word "imputari" used by Seripando has brought on him, the accusation of having taught the Lutheran doctrine. A. Gaudel wrote, in 1933, that Seripando, with the General of the Servites and the Bishop of Cova, taught that the effect of baptism was but a "covering

¹⁵C. T. I 505, 40 ff.

¹⁶Dn 792.

¹⁷C. T. XII, 552, 48-52.

up of sin."¹⁸ More recently (1935), Henninger wrote his judgement on the doctrine of Seripando with the impression that Seripando used and understood the word "*imputari*" in the sense of mere "covering up." Recapitulating the doctrine of Seripando, he uses the following words to show the mind of Seripando, regarding concupiscence existing in the regenerated:

*In renatis non est peccatum primo, quia non imputantur motus exorientes citra consensum, secundo quia renati habent vires sufficientes ad denegandum consensum ita ut illud peccatum non regnet, ideoque non habeat totam et plenam peccati rationem. Est tamen peccatum etiam in ipsis, quia legi Dei repugnant quae non solum consensum, sed etiam ipsos motus concupiscentiae prohibet. Sub gravi vel sub lavi – ad hanc quaestionem frustra responsum quaereremus apud Seripandum, qui etiam alibi ratio indistincte loquacitur de peccatis mortalibus et venialibus.*¹⁹

A little farther, examining the doctrine of St. Augustine, Henninger, says that Seripando who understood concupiscence existing in the regenerated as sin. "*Sensu proprio sed diminuto,*" practically fell into Luther's doctrine of merely external non-imputation of guilt, and differed from St. Augustine who understood the same as sin, "*sensu improprio tantum.*"²⁰

Henninger cannot deny that St. Augustine himself uses the terms: '*imputari*', '*tegi*' and the like, as regards concupiscence.²¹

¹⁸D.T.C. vol. XII art. Péché original by A. Gaudel Col. 515 # 3. "*le general des augustins, celui des servites, avec san Felice, évêque de Cava tout en conversant que le péché, mais qu'il éteint ce qui fait le fond du péché, tout en condamnant l'erreur luthérienne voulaient cependant qu'on ne condamne pas l'école augustiniennne: ils paraissaient admettre que la concupiscence elle-même considéré isolément, a quelque chose qui tient du péché, qui ne s'impute plus d'ailleurs après le baptême; ils admettaient qu'on l'appelât d'une certain façon "péché." Tel est le sens exact des déclarations de Seripandi.*"

¹⁹J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina de duplici Justitia*, p. 18 # 1.

²⁰J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p. 94 # 1. Cfr. also p. 90 where Henninger speaks of the "*non imputation extrinseca*", according to the old Protestants.

²¹J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p. 90, cfr. P. L. 44, col. 430, 434, 471.

But, he says that St. Augustine makes it clear, in other places, that what he means by these terms, is not an external non-imputation or a shaving off, of the sins, but a real deletion of it: "*Dicimus ergo Baptisma dare omnium indulgentiam peccatorum et auferre crimina, non radere (al. rarare) nec ut omium peccatorum radices in mala carne teneantur quasi rasorum in capite capillorum, unde crescant iterum reseccanda peccata.*"²²

We agree with Henninger, in this conclusion, and wish to point out, further, that a study of Seripando's exegetical works would make one reach the same conclusion regarding Seripando too.²³ For, Seripando too, explicitly shows that he understands the terms "imputari" and "non imputari" in a different way from that of Luther, and similar to that of Augustine.

We have but to turn over the pages of Seripando's Commentaries on Rom. 4., where the word "imputari" occurs often. While explaining Rom. 4, 8 Seripando warns the reader to note well, what Paul means by the word "imputari" lest he should be "misled by the treacheries and fallacies of the heretics."²⁴ Then he says: "*Imputare est homini ascribere quod humanae naturae vi neque habet neque habere potest... Non imputare autem est homini non attribueret quod et naturae vitio habet et naturae viribus carere non potest, ut peccatum, de quo dixit: "beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum."*"²⁵ This word is assumed by Paul, from the O.T., in order to show the complete gratuitous nature of the divine gift:

Hac itaque voce quam ex vetere Scriptura Paulus usurpavit, illud potissimum declaratur: in quaerenda justitia, ad fidem primas esse deferendas, quae cum Dei praecipuum sit et singulare munus, imputatur credenti ut per eam justitiam consequatur. At vero, operibus secundum carnem scilicet quae fidem antecedunt, in hac de qua loquimur justitia, nihil omnino loci

²²J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, pp. 90 f. P. L> 44, col. 562 f. Cfr. also P. L. Col. 434, 763.

²³Henninger thinks that Seripando made changes in the Commentaries on Rom. And Gal., after the sessions on Justification. J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p. 9. But we think that Seripando's opinion before and after the Council remained the same, for the reasons we adduce below.

²⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 4, 8, p. 64.

²⁵Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 4, 8, pp. 64 f.

*relinquitur, quibus nihil imputatur, sed debita merces redditur.*²⁶

Hence Seripando understands: "imputari" as a term opposed to "reddi propter meritum." The distinguishing mark is, *not the manner of the act but the motive force of the act*: "imputari" is a giving which is not called for, by the merit of the receiver, while "reddi propter meritum" is a giving which is called for by the merit of the receiver.

That Seripando finds no difference at all, *in the manner of giving*, in the one case and in the other, is clear from his use of the words: "Ascribere" and "dare," indiscriminately, while explaining the meaning of "imputare." Thus, explaining Rom. 4, 4f, Seripando writes:

*Fides quam ille sequitur, qui non operatur, sed credit in Deum, a quo tanquam fonte et capite in impios justitia fluit, proprie imputari dicitur, quia non pro laboribus rependitur, sed benigne ac liberalitate datur, non mercedis sed gratuiti muneris rationem habet, non pro meritis refertur sed gratis ascribitur.*²⁷

It will be, therefore, far from the truth, if we say that, by the word "imputare," Seripando meant a merely external attribution.

"Non imputare," is the contrary term of "imputare"; "imputare" is "a giving," "non imputare" is a "taking away." "Eadem enim secundum rem esse dicimus, et sola cogitatione distingui, non imputare peccatum et imputare fidem, ad primam hanc justitiae partem nanecendam, quae in peccatorum venia posita est."²⁸

That, "imputare fidem" is "dare fidem," we know for certain, from Seripando's explanation of the word. Is "non imputare" a simple negation of giving or a simple forgiving of sins, which act remains only in the mind of God? Does not that act imply a positive "taking away" or "destroying" of the sins that are in the soul of man? Seripando leaves no doubt on this matter, because, while he comments on Rom. 3, 28, he explicitly states that, by faith, (see just above: imputation of faith and non-imputation of sins are, 'a parte

²⁶Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 4, 8, p. 65.

²⁷Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 4, 8, p. 65.

²⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 4, 8, p. 64.

rei", one and the same thing) the sins are destroyed: "*Fide quam nulla quae bona et justa dici possunt, antecedunt opera, peccata delentur.*"²⁹

One may object, saying that this realistic idea of "imputare," found in the Commentaries, was not Seripando's, own, in or before the Council. The Commentaries were ready for publication, only after the sessions of the Council on Original sin and concupiscence. Hence Seripando could have made the necessary changes to conform it to the mind of the Council. Such a conclusion may seem plausible; but we have exactly the same idea, briefly expressed by Seripando, in his *Glossa* on the Romans (cod. Trivulz. 387), which was certainly a finished work, before the Council. This passage, which we quote below, does not contain any after-additions or corrections. It shows that, even before the council, "imputare" meant, for Seripando, an absolutely gratuitous donation of a thing: Rom. 4, 5: "*ei vero qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, reputatur fides ejus ad justitiam (non jam ex debito sed) secundum propositum gratiae Dei (qui donare multos homines hoc praeclaro munere voluit sua benignitate et bonitate).*"³⁰

Hence, when Seripando says, commenting on Rom. 8 that concupiscence which remains in the just, is not imputed to condemnation, he does not mean a simple non-imputation which remains in the mind of God, but a corresponding effect in the regenerated, namely the removal of all that may cause condemnation, namely of all guilt from concupiscence. This is what we have to understand, when we read the words of Seripando's conciliar treatise, which Henninger quotes: "*non est peccatum quia non imputatur. Non est cum reatu conjunctum, quia remissum, quia si sibi non consentiatur, manet ut superatum et peremptum.*"³¹

It follows that, according to Seripando too, concupiscence remaining in the regenerated is no sin, according to the proper sense of the word. There is no wonder, therefore, if, in spite of all his researches, Henninger could not find a single instance where Seripando treats of its gravity.

²⁹Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 3, 28, p. 60 # 1.

³⁰Cod. Trivulz. 378 f.

³¹J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p 14. Cfr. C. T. XII 545, 39-41.

Luther's doctrine on the contrary, was that all the movements of concupiscence were sins.³² In the just, this corruption of nature which is, in it self, mortal, becomes venial.³³ Later, however, Luther seems to have maintained that, in the just, God did not impute anything to sin (either mortal or venial). By the year 1537, he had evolved that idea to such an extent, that he began to laugh at the doctrine of purgatory.³⁴ Still, Luther's "*non imputari*" was an act in the mind of God, and hence, according to him, man remained a sinner, in the proper sense of the word.³⁵

If Seripando, as shown above, conceived the nature of concupiscence remaining in the just, as sin, only in the 'improper sense', why should he have said that it was hateful to God? Heninger rightly observes that Seripando raised an objection against the formula of the decree on original sin: "*In illis (renatis) enim nihil odit Deus*": arguing in the following manner: "*ex concupiscentia oritur peccatum: peccatum odit Deus, ergo et concupiscentiam a qua peccatum descendit, ergo aliquid remanet in baptizatis, quod odit Deus. Ergo illa verba non bene posita in decreto.*"³⁶

The terminology used by Seripando is, indeed, dangerous and misleading; but what he really meant by it, was not against the mind of the Council or against the mind of Paul. According to Seripando's interpretation, Paul says in Rom. 7, 15 that he, the Apostle of Christ, already regenerated in Christ, hates the first indeliberate movements of concupiscence, in as much as they propelled him to evil: "*Quod odi malum illud facio.*" He seems to have argued like this: If the just Apostle hated the first movements of concupiscence, over which he had no power, and which, he knew, were devoid of any guilt before God, for the simple reason that they caused in him an inclination to sin, we can say that God also hates them, in that sense. The word "hate" would be so exaggerated an expression to use in this connection: but if it be understood in this sense, it is neither against Paul nor against the Council, which latter explicitly admits that the

³²Ficker: II p. 212.

³³Ficker: pp. 123, 332.

³⁴Muller Kolde: *Die symbolischen Bueher*, 12th ed. 1912, p. 303.

³⁵Ficker: II p. 104 # 2.

³⁶J. Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p. 15. C. T. V 203, 18-20.

concupiscence existing in the regenerated induces us to sin ("quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinatur").

1.2. Paul's Terminology Misapplied!

Could Seripando rightly say that the word "hate" was used by Paul in connection with the indeliberate movements of concupiscence, which exist in the just! This is a question which has perplexed many an exegete. What is the real import of the words of Paul in Rom. 7, 7-25? Luther and Seripando took these words, as coming from Paul, who spoke in the person of every man, and hence, in the name of the just man too. Understood in this sense, many dangerous conclusions could be drawn from this passage. The terrible battle between the flesh and the Spirit, described by Paul, in these lines, was not more terrible than the one experienced by St. Augustine, even after his conversion. In fact, it is St. Augustine who began among the Latin fathers, to apply these words of Paul to the regenerated. Before him, all the Greek Fathers except St. Methodius, and all the Latin Fathers had applied these words to the non-baptized. Augustine himself, first followed the others, in applying them to the non-baptized; but, in his last days, he thought it better to apply them to the regenerated: *Retract.* II, 1 "Verba Apostoli quibus caro adversus Spiritum conflagere ostenditur (7,14) eo modo exposui (in *divers. Quaest. ad Simplic.* 1, 1) tanquam homo describatur nondum sub gratia constitutus; longe enim postea, etiam spiritualis hominis – et hoc probabilius – esse posse illa verba cognovi."³⁷

1.3. The Augustinian Heritage

The authority of St. Augustine (354-430) had its influence on the later Latin Fathers and the theologians of the middle ages. Even St. Thomas, following Augustine, preferred the more dangerous way.

The strong expressions of Rom. 7, 25, understood in this background, made the Augustinians identify original sin with concupiscence. St. Augustine himself did so, many a time, till the end of 397. But, he also categorically stated that original sin was completely destroyed by baptism (in 420). He affirms, all the same, that, even after baptism, concupiscence continues to exist in us. In the regenerated, however, it does not exist as a stain, but only as a

fact with its relation to the sin of Adam (in 421).³⁸ But these expressions were obscure and sometimes, even audacious, so that many theologians after him, thought that he had identified original sin with concupiscence.

In the eleventh century, Hugh of St. Victor (+1141), taught that original sin was a corruption or a vice (which we carry with us, from nativity, in the form of ignorance in the spirit and concupiscence in the flesh).³⁹ He used indiscriminately the terms 'original sin', and 'concupiscence'.⁴⁰ In the *Quaestiones et decisiones in Epistolas B. Pauli*, attributed to Hugh, we are told that concupiscence remains in the baptized, and that, hence, it is impossible for man to observe perfectly the commandment to love God with one's whole heart. God, however, gives man faith out of His bounty. He considers man as if he had perfect justice.⁴¹ Jesus Christ supplies what is wanting to us and answers for us.⁴²

As Paquier says, Peter Lombard (+1160) appears, in many respects, a disciple of Hugh of St. Victor. For him too, original sin is concupiscence. It remains in us after baptism, but is no more imputed to sin. Even the involuntary movements of concupiscence are culpable. These first movements are invincible. It is impossible for us to accomplish the Law and, hence, to possess perfect justice. The concupiscence permeates through all our good works. We are, therefore, at the same time, saints and sinners. The Law has been abolished by the Gospel. It is faith that justifies us.⁴³

ST. ANSELM (1033-1109) intervened with his genius and distinguished the essential element in original sin, from concupiscence. It is "the privation of justice, which every man ought to possess."⁴⁴ Thus concupiscence was thrown to the background. All the same, St. Anselm retained many of the ideas and

³⁸Cfr. Cornely: *Ad Romanos*: pp. 356f. P. L. 44. Col. 563, 858.

³⁹Cfr. Cornely: *Ad Romanos*: pp. 356f. P. L. 176. Col. 299-302.

⁴⁰Cfr. Cornely: *Ad Romanos*: pp. 356f. P. L. 176. Col. 107.

⁴¹Cfr. Cornely: *Ad Romanos*: pp. 356f. P. L. 175. Col. 459 c.

⁴²Cfr. Cornely: *Ad Romanos*: pp. 356f. P. L. 175 col. 477 f. Col.

⁴³J. Paquier: Luther in D. T. C. Vol. IX, col. 1192 #2. Cfr. P. L. 191 col. 317, 318, 652, 1260, 1365, 1368, 1369, 1398, 1401; P. L. 192, col. 84, 115, 722, 726.

⁴⁴P. L. 158 col. 461 f.

³⁷Cfr. Cornely: *Ad Romanos*: pp. 356f. P. L. 32. Col. 629.

terminologies proper to the Augustinians. For him too, all the movements of concupiscence in the non-baptized were sins – mortal sins. The first man never felt those movements. They are the consequence of original sin.⁴⁵ Hence the non-baptized could not but sin.⁴⁶ Anselm even seems, to say that God does not give His grace to all.

ST. BERNARD (1090-1153) was rather a spiritual and mystic writer, than a theologian. But his concept of spiritual life necessarily implies a theology. According to him, concupiscence starting from an evil, viz., from original sin, is itself an evil.⁴⁷ This evil remains in us; one can subdue it, but it is impossible to exterminate it.⁴⁸ It prevents us considerably, from attaining from the greatest degree of love of God. Asking the impossible from us, God wishes us to remain humble.⁴⁹ Let us, therefore, be on our guard, not to count upon anything, in our justification.⁵⁰ Even all our works taken together, will be insufficient to lead us to heaven. They must be supplied by the passion of Jesus Christ.⁵¹

GREGORY OF RIMINI (+1358) too, identifies original sin with concupiscence. Concupiscence is a morbid quality, remaining in the soul.⁵² Baptism takes away the responsibility from original sin but not its essence.⁵³ Gregory seems to affirm that free will remains in the fallen man.⁵⁴ Without grace; however, we are not capable of doing any good act.⁵⁵

⁴⁵Cfr. P. L. 158 col. 529 f.

⁴⁶Cfr. P. L. 158 col. 504, 524 c.

⁴⁷P. L. 183 col. 948.

⁴⁸P. L. 183 col. 1175 f., 1059.

⁴⁹P. L. 183 col. 1021.

⁵⁰P. L. 183 col. 1107.

⁵¹P. L. 183 col. 882 A.

⁵²In Ium Sent. dist XXX-XXXIII c. 1 art. 2 Venice 1503; fol. 101v quoted by Paquier.

⁵³In Ium Sent. dist XXX-XXXIII c. 1 art. 4 Venice 1503; fol. 102r.

⁵⁴In Ium Sent. dist. XXXVIII q. 1 a 3 fol. 136r col. 1.

⁵⁵In Ium Sent. dist. XXVI-XXVIII q. 1 a 2 fol. 84r. 94; dist. XXIX q. 1 a 2, fol. 96v.

GERSON (1363-1419) was a spiritual writer with Augustinian ideas. Meditation on the mystery of Predestination, may lead one to despair, said Gerson; but, if we think of it, with humility, it will turn out to us a source of consolations. We should not place any confidence, in ourselves or in our merits, but must abandon ourselves to God and hope everything from Him.⁵⁶

AUGUSTINE FAVORINI (+1443) a renowned Augustinian theologian and General of the Augustinian order, in the 15th century, has left, in his works, some ideas, typically Augustinian. Here below, it is impossible for man, to attain perfect justice. The Law is not meant for the good, but for the wicked. Our justice does not consist in any habit infused into us, but it is God himself who is our formal justice. God predestines some to heaven and others to hell.⁵⁷

JOHN DRIEDO (1480-1535), who received great applause from Seripando, as a good theologian, was a professor of Louvain. He had been educated by the Augustinians, in his views. In his treatise on Grace and free will, he speaks of concupiscence and original sin. Original sin, according to him, consists of two elements: the lack of original justice and an inclination to covet according to the flesh.⁵⁸ Even after baptism, sin resides in our flesh.⁵⁹ It is a typically Augustinian interpretation of Rom. 7, 20. Driedo calls concupiscence an evil.⁶⁰ Sometimes, Driedo too, substitutes the word 'original sin' by 'concupiscence'.⁶¹

Behold the Augustinian heritage, born of years of speculation on Rom. 7, 7-25, in a line suggested by Augustine. Luther assuredly saw, in Rom. 7, 7-25, a narration of the Apostle's own inner experience. He added to it, his own experience, and that of the people around him. Hugh and Lombard, Anselm and Bernard, Rimini and Gerson had left, in writing, some suggestions which

⁵⁶Opera, 1606 vol. III pp. 6-69, especially 14-22.

⁵⁷Cfr. A. V. Muller: *Agostino Favorini e la Teologia di Lutero in Bilychnis*, Rome, June 1914.

⁵⁸Opera, Louvain, 152 vol. III fol. 118 v. D.

⁵⁹Opera, Louvain, 152 vol. II fol. 30 v. D.

⁶⁰Opera, Louvain, 152 vol. II fol. 125r., 161 r., 165 v.

⁶¹Opera, Louvain, 152 vol. II fol. 119r. A. Cfr. R. Seeberg: "Der Augustinismus des Johannes Driedo," in *Geschichtliche Studien*, Albert Hanck 1916, pp. 210, 219.

pleased him. Their influence is evident in the writings of Luther.⁶² It is easy to find out the fruit born of such influences, in a soul as impulsive as that of Luther. First, Luther too thought that original sin was the privation of original justice.⁶³ But, in his commentary on Rom., he brings forward his theory of the total corruption of man:

What is original sin? According to the subtleties of the scholastic theologians, it is the privation or the lack of original justice.... But according to the Apostles and the simplicity of the Christian sense, it is the entire and universal privation of rectitude and power (for good) in all the energies of both body and soul, in the entire man, in the interior man and in the exterior man.⁶⁴

Luther identifies original sin with concupiscence. Hence our justice cannot be our own (i.e. interiorly possessed by us) but 'imputed' or existing in the mind of God.⁶⁵ Although we are justified, we remain sinners.⁶⁶ All the movements of concupiscence are sins. Without grace, man can do nothing but sin.⁶⁷ In the just, the corruption of nature, which is in itself mortal, becomes venial. This idea Luther changed afterwards, as we have said above.⁶⁸

In consequence, Luther concluded the impossibility of accomplishing the Law and of attaining perfect justice in this world. It is impossible for us, to love God "with all our strength."⁶⁹ Finally, Luther asserts that concupiscence is invincible: "Where is now our

⁶²Paquier in his learned article on Luther, (D. T. C.) indicates the places where this influence is felt, Hugh is quoted in Luther's Commentaries on Romans: Ficker II, pp. 312, 21. (P.L. col. 893 A.); Cfr. also L. W. 9/107, 36 (P. L. 176 col. 796 D). Influence of Anselm: L. W. 9/112, 18 (P. L. 158 col. 530 B). Influence of Bernard. Ficker I, p. 73. II p. 197 (Enders. I p. 260). Peter Lombard's influence: Ficker II p. 97, 306, L. W. 5/110, 37 (P. L. 191 col. 86 c). Gerson's influence L. W. 43/651, 29 (Gerson Opera: II p. 468-495).

⁶³L. W. 9/73, 23; 75, 11.

⁶⁴Ficker II, pp. 143 f.

⁶⁵Ficker II, pp. 1, 2.

⁶⁶Ficker II, pp. 106-108.

⁶⁷Ficker II, p. 212.

⁶⁸Ficker II, p. 234.

⁶⁹Ficker II, pp. 110, 124, 127.

free will?" he asks.⁷⁰ "By ourselves, it is absolutely impossible to accomplish the Law. Freedom for good is nothing but a title without reality."⁷¹

Seripando, too had the same heritage as Luther. He too followed Augustine's "more probable" way, in interpreting Rom. 7, 7-25. Both Luther and Seripando, consequently, reached the conclusion, that according to Paul, "sin" resided even in the just, that, hence, there was, in the just, "something which God hated," that the just still remained "slaves to sin" and that, consequently, it was impossible for man, in this world, to observe, with perfection, the commandments of God.

Luther allowed his impulsive nature to work further upon these conclusions and drive to them their extremes. Seripando took another course. He saw that the Pauline terminology which expressed the universal experience in all its nudity, was, all the same, misleading if left without sufficient explanation. What then are we to do, in proposing the Pauline teaching to the souls who wait for the science of salvation? To strip it of Pauline terminology, and vest it in the language of philosophers? No. Pauline terminology must, by all means, be retained, and necessary explanations must be added to make clear the exact tenor of that terminology.

Thus, we see Seripando insisting, in the Council of Trent, on allowing preachers to speak of concupiscence as "sin" and instructing them to add, immediately, an explanation to show in what sense concupiscence was sin. Those preachers who did not want to use this less exact terminology should also adhere to the same rule.⁷² Seripando was accused of Lutheranism, on account of this bold stand he took in the Council on June 5, 1546. All the same, Seripando continued his efforts to get the biblical terminology retained as far as possible.

Against the clause: "*In illis enim nihil odit Deus*" of the draft read in the general Congregation on June 8, Seripando expressed his opinion, giving at once the explanation, which made it clear that his

⁷⁰Ficker II, pp. 183, 14.

⁷¹L. W. 1/354 Thesis 13. Cfr. J. Koestlin: *Luthers Theologie* I, p. 215; II, p. 124.

⁷²C. T. V. 247 f. Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 321 # 3.

intention was not to introduce a new theology, but to keep intact the Pauline terminology.⁷³

He wanted, by all means, to speak as Paul (Rom. 7, 25), that the just man remained 'a slave to sin'. But he added an explanation which contained the true meaning of the exaggerated terminology:

*Sed vide mihi quaeso et attente considera non esse hanc libertatem a servitute legis peccati, sive propensionis ad peccandum, cui quamdiu vitam hanc vivimus, quantumvis justus simus et sancti, per legem in membris, cupiditatem videlicet addicti sumus, qua ratione, quamquam dixisset: "Ego ipse mense servio legi Dei," mox adjecit: "carne autem legi peccati."*⁷⁴

What Seripando meant by saying that it was impossible for man to observe perfectly the Law of God, in this world, will be clear from a resume of what he gathers from the Apostle's words, regarding the Law, the flesh and the Spirit.

2. The Law, the Flesh and the Spirit

2.1. The Law

St. Paul speaks here (Rom. 7), of the Law promulgated by Moses. That Law which contained the precept: "non concupiscence," added fuel to the fire existing in man viz. concupiscence, which the Apostle continues to call sin.⁷⁵

To make clear the mind of the Apostle expressed in Rom. 7, 8-13, Seripando takes us to the tragic scene in paradise, where the serpent assumed the divine precept, as an instrument to seduce Eve and to make her rebel against God:

This corresponds and fits in well with the fall and death of our first parents. The serpent deceived them with his cunningness and led them to a miserable death. Hence it comes to pass that cupidity born in man by the cunningness of the serpent, remains in man, as the serpent's vice-gerent, to lay in wait for man and kill him, taking occasion from the appearance of that first precept about cupidity, and of all the other precepts.⁷⁶

⁷³C. T. V. 247 f. Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 321 # 3.

⁷⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 121.

⁷⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 7, 8, p. 110.

⁷⁶Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 7, 11, p. 111.

Hence, the Law, which is good and holy, that is to say the Law which tends to lead man to holiness, became an instrument in the hands of concupiscence, to seduce man and to make him heap sin upon sin and to kill himself, or to exclude himself, from that life, which is the true life.⁷⁷

The Law is spiritual, says the Apostle.⁷⁸ But who has been really spiritual, that is, pure and perfect in such a way, as not to feel, within himself the movements which are contrary to the norm of doctrine and the rule of the Holy Spirit? Surely the Corinthians were not spiritual in this sense because Paul wrote to them saying: "*fratres non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritualibus*". Should we go to the Corinthians? One of the mortals, however just and holy, as long as he remained in the body which St. Paul calls "*animale*", could attain this perfection which is absolute in all respects. They could attain it, at that moment, when, "from the animal body that is sown, rises up the spiritual," because then, the cupidity being radically plucked off, it will no more rebel against the Holy Spirit.⁷⁹

The law, therefore, in spite of its tendency to make man spiritual, cannot succeed to do so, because of the flesh, which shelters concupiscence with it. "*Ego carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccato*," bewails the Apostle.⁸⁰

2.2. The Flesh

The word flesh in St. Paul has to be understood in different senses according to different contexts. 'Wisdom according to the flesh' in 1 Cor 1, 16 signifies wisdom according to the world.⁸¹ In 2 Cor 10, 3 'flesh' is used to mean 'man'.⁸² In 2 Cor. 5, 16 it designates 'natural life'.⁸³ 'To live according to the flesh' is a phrase often used by Paul in the Romans and Galatians. Explaining Rom. 8,

⁷⁷Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 7, 12, p. 11.

⁷⁸Rom. 7, 14: "*Scimus enim quia lex spiritualis est ...*"

⁷⁹Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 7, 14 p. 113.

⁸⁰Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 7, 14

⁸¹Ms. Nap. VII A. 36, 1 Cor. C. I. N. XII (1 Cor. 1, 27) in the margin Seripando writes "*secundum carnem, secundum mundum: idem.*"

⁸²Ms. Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Cor. C. X n. II (1 Cor. 10, 3); cfr. *Commentaria*: Rom. 1, 3 and 3, 20.

⁸³Ms. Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Cor. C. V n. VI (1 Cor. 5, 16).

1 Seripando says: "*Secundum carnem eos ambulare dicimus qui una dumtaxat et solitaria fide plene in Christo Jesus se esse jactant et hanc libertatem ita accipiunt ut legem omnino contemnant atque rejiciant, carni prorsus obtemperant cupiditates sequantur et ad peccandum proclivitatem alant atque adaugeant.*"⁸⁴ 'To live in the flesh' has a different signification. Seripando explains it while he handles Gal. 2, 20. The just and holy Apostle was living for God, just as he said a while ago, and yet he was living in the flesh. The life in the flesh is that terrible fight of the flesh with the spirit, which he admirably describes in the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Having described it, with diligence and subtlety, he exclaimed: "*Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?*" Then, he concluded: "*Igitur idem ego menti quidem servo legi Dei*" (which is: to live for God), "*carne autem legi peccati*" (which is: to live in the flesh). The apostle means to say that he feels an inclination and propensity to sin, to which he is subjected in hard slavery, which he is unable to shake off.⁸⁵

The conclusion is that there is no one among the saints who does not feel this rebellion, this battle, this common enemy, and does not deplore it and try to shake it off. St. John's words confirm this idea: "*Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus et veritas non est in nobis*" (1 John 1, 8.) The idea expressed by both these Apostles, is faithfully interpreted by Gregory the Great and St. Augustine.⁸⁶

St. Gregory tells us that, what Paul forbids, is not the existence of sin in the body; but the reign of it. In the corruptible flesh, sin can be made not to reign, but it cannot be made not to exist.⁸⁷

St. Augustine speaks of this in many places. In his last book he writes:

In libris quos adversus Pelagianos edidimus spiritualis hominis jamque sub gratia constituti melius intelligi verba ista monstravimus propter carnis corpus quod spirituale nondum est; erit autem in resurrectione

⁸⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 8, 1, p. 122.

⁸⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*: Gal. 2, 20b, p. 294.

⁸⁶Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 20, p. 115, cfr. also Rom. 7, 14, p. 113.

⁸⁷Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 20, p. 115.

*mortuorum et propter ipsam carnis concupiscentiam cum qua ita confligunt sancti non ei consentientes ad malum ut tamen ejus motibus quibus repugnantibus resistunt, non careant in hac vita. Non eos autem habebunt in illa ubi mors absorbebitur in victoriam.*⁸⁸

2.3. The Spirit

By the spirit, Seripando understands the Holy Spirit, who dwells in the just.⁸⁹ The Holy Spirit has his seat in the mind of the just, as concupiscence has its seat in the flesh.⁹⁰ The law of the mind, namely the law of the Spirit, is opposed to the law of the flesh or to the law of the members, since the Holy Spirit is the adversary of concupiscence.⁹¹ Hence ensues the terrible internal conflict in man, which Paul describes in Rom. 7, 14-24.

Reflecting on the verse (7, 19): "*Non enim quod volo bonum hoc ago, sed quod odi malum illud facio,*" Seripando writes: "What is this good which the holy Apostle wishes to do, and yet he does not? That which he hates and yet he does? Certainly it is nothing else but to act rightly without the opposition of any cupidity, which may forward or resist him."⁹²

Are we to suppose, therefore, that St. Paul thought that even the just man, who was strongly handed and guided by the Holy Spirit, against the attacks of concupiscence, remained a slave to sin? Seripando's answer is contained, in the explanation he adduces, regarding the exact nature of the liberty, which the just enjoy over sin, by reason of the indwelling Holy Spirit. The liberty of the just consists in this that, in spite of their helplessness, as regards the first

⁸⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 20, p. 115.

⁸⁹Sometimes other things are called "*spiritus*" because of their necessary connection with the Holy Spirit. Thus in 1 Cor. 2, 3-5, Paul says that his preaching was "*in ostensione Spiritus*". Seripando explains the word like this: "*sed spiritum, doctrinam scilicet Spiritus Sancti.*" Ms. Nap. VII A 36, 1 Cor. C. II n. II (1 Cor. 2/3-5). In Rom. 8, 11: "*Spiritus vero vivit propter Deum.*" 'Spiritus' is interpreted as '*mens*'; "*verum mens vestra ratione justitiae quam a Dei Spiritu ita receipt ut etiam ipsa Spiritus appelletur*" (*Commentaria*: Rom. 8, 11), p. 129.

⁹⁰Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 8, 9, p. 127.

⁹¹Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 18a, p. 116.

⁹²Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 19, p. 114.

movements of the flesh and conquer the rebellious movements of the flesh, however threatening or crushing they may be, and thus, bring it about that the sin, which resides in them, may not reign over them.⁹³

Because of this constant action of the propensity of evil in man, it is, perhaps ('forsan'), very seldom, that a man resists it, without also sinning in some manner.⁹⁴ This, as we can easily observe, from the wording, was only a practical conclusion drawn by Seripando, in the light of the great corruption that he was witnessing, both within and without the Church, at that time. There was, however, a certain law, which no just man could fulfil, as long as he remained in mortal flesh; it was the law concerning the indeliberate movements of concupiscence (*non concupisces*). Hence Seripando asserted that it was impossible for man to attain absolute perfection in this world. He brought in, the authority of St. Augustine to prove this thesis. In the Council, he met with the objection that St. Augustine was not consistent with this doctrine. Seripando challenged the objectors to show a single instance where Augustine taught otherwise.⁹⁵ Henninger takes up this challenge and, having admitted that Augustine had, indeed, employed some expressions which, at first sight, might lead to conclude as Seripando did, say that Augustine understood the same in a different way.⁹⁶ Here is a solution:

*Solutio, ipso loco citato (i.e., "Non igitur deus impossibilia jubet sed jubendo admonet et faceres quod possis") innuitur prosequitur enim; "ad hoc ergo dixit lex: Non concupisces ut nos in hoc morbo invenientes jacere, medicinam gratiae quaereremus, et in eo praecepto scieremus et quo debeamus in hac mortalitate proficiscendo conari, et quo possit a nobis in illa immortalitate beatissima perveniri; nisi enim, quandoque perficiendum esset, numquam jubendum esset."*⁹⁷

⁹³Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*: p. 121 f. Cfr. Q. 64.

⁹⁴C. T. XII, 546, 25-30.

⁹⁵C. T. XII, 551, 10 f.

⁹⁶Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p. 101 # 1 f.

⁹⁷Henninger: *S. Augustinus et Doctrina.*, p. 102 # 2. P. L. 44, 432.

Henninger seems to think that Seripando had understood Augustine, in a different way; but it seems to us that this very interpretation which Henninger gives to Augustine's words, had been given to them by Seripando himself. Here is Seripando's interpretation:

*Qua de re sane luculenter in his quas sequuntur Paulus ipse aget et Augustinus qui Paulum ubique sectatur pluribus locis egregie disputat, qui illud etiam asseverare ausus est: mandatum hoc 'Non concupisces' ad hanc vitam minime pertinere, sed illud quod monet sapiens: 'Post concupiscentias tuas non eas'. Ideo autem praeceptum fuisse, ut admoneremur, quid fide exposcere, quo spem praemittere et obliviscendo quae retro sunt, in quae anteriora nos extendere debeamus.*⁹⁸

What Augustine meant by this 'anteriora' Seripando shows from Augustine's own words when he speaks of the perfect justice. Perfect justice or the perfect observance of the commandment: 'non-concupiscence' is possible, when "ex animali hoc seminato corpore, exsurget spiritual," i.e., in paradise.⁹⁹

Seripando wanted, as we know, to adhere to Pauline terminology and to the interpretation of Paul, given by St. Augustine. St. Augustine's interpretation of Romans 7,7-25, was dangerous and out of the context: *dangerous*, because it forced the Exegete to apply certain strong expressions which are intended to show the state of the non-baptized, to those who are already regenerated in the waters of baptism; a task fraught with great dangers, as we have seen, in the case of Seripando; *out of the context*, because the context shows that the Apostle wanted, in this chapter, to picture out to us the state in which man was before the Law of Moses and then after the Law of Moses till the coming of Christ, so as to place in great relief, in the next chapter, the benefit man received with the advent of Christ. No wonder, if to-day, we can hardly find a Catholic exegete who follows this dangerous way in handling Rom. 7, 7-25. Even many of the modern non-Catholic exegetes seem to have abandoned this method, which brings with it, many a hard problem.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*: p. 109.

⁹⁹Seripando: *Commentaria*: Rom. 7, 14, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰Cfr. Cornely: p. 357 footnote 2.

We do not say, therefore, that the Augustinian methods cannot, at all, be adapted, it can be; but, with great difficulty, as we have seen, in the case of Seripando, and as is clear from the words of Cornely: "*Neque enim negamus etiam Sancti Augustini sententiam verbis Paulinis, si nuda extra suum contextum considerantur, aliquo modo, adaptari posse ac veram continere doctrinam. Namque in renatis quoque, justisque, uti Apostolus alibi docet, caro concupiscit adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem, ita ut similis lucta eis sit relicta* (2 Cor. & Gal.)."¹⁰¹

3. Conclusion

We see two men formed in the same school. Possessing the same intellectual heritage, living more or less in the same circumstances, both Augustinians, both burning with zeal for reform within and without the church, both dissatisfied with the practice of vesting gospel truths in their philosopher's languages, and both aspiring to restore the science of salvation to its pristine simplicity.

Both Luther and Seripando wished to be instructed directly by the Apostle and both viewed 'the tragic page', from the same dangerous angle. They found there, some very strong expressions, which, in fact, had been stressed upon, by the great teachers of their school from time to time. Their surroundings and their own inner experience endorsed those expressions, in all their tenor.

For Luther it was enough. He would not allow anyone to interfere with his freedom of thought. Helped by his impulsive nature, further reflections drove him to the extremes, and he came forth with his new theology of the total and irremediable corruption of human nature.

What was enough for Luther was not enough for Seripando. He wanted to remain a Biblical theologian in the strict sense of the word, not a theologian who began with scripture and ended with self. He would draw his conclusions from the words of scripture, without swerving from the norms of exegesis. He would not enter on Scripture study, depending on the brilliance of his intellect, but counting on divine help and guidance from those who are competent to direct him, viz. the Church and the Fathers. Hence it is that, although he viewed Rom. 7, 7-25 from a dangerous angle, through the influence of Augustine, and consequently adhered to Pauline

¹⁰¹Cornely: p. 357 # 1.

terminologies, which could easily mislead him, Seripando could, nevertheless, find out, and explain what those terminologies really meant, as we have seen from the foregoing pages. We cannot, however, affirm that the terminologies themselves had no special influence on Seripando. They left in him, an exaggerated sense of the infirmity of nature that remained in man, even after baptism, as can be seen from the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

SUFFICIENCY OF CHRIST'S GRACE

Both Seripando and the reformers were convinced that the grace of Christ was abundantly sufficient to lead man to eternal life. But there was a great difference between the ways they understood this truth.

The reformers held that the grace of Christ¹⁰² meant 'faith', whereas Seripando understood by it, not only faith but all the benefits that man has received through Christ: "*Ad gratiam vero Christi, non una tantum fides pertinet, quemadmodum recenti ista et nova Evangelii praedicatione contrahitur, in angustumque deducitur, sed et omnia illius erga genus humanum beneficia.*"

¹⁰²The word grace is accepted by Seripando in different senses. Sometimes Paul means by it any gift; sometimes the source of all gifts: '*fons et origo*' by which we please God. (Rom. 1, 7, 1, 5; 1 Cor. 15, 10); sometimes he uses it in the sense of "thanksgiving" (1 Cor. 10, 30; 2 Cor. 9, 14). Sometimes Paul expresses by that word, the absolute bounty of God (Gal. 1, 15), at other times it is considered as if it were a quality or form in the soul of man, (cfr. *Comment.* Rom. 12, 1). Sometimes 'grace' is understood as a particular gift v.g. the ministry of the Apostles 2 Cor. 8, 19. Cfr. 2 Cor. 8, 1; Rom. 11, 6; 2 Cor. 6, 1, 2; Gal. 4, 28.

'The Grace of God' is interpreted constantly, as the good and benign will of God (Cfr. *Comment.* Rom. 6, 1, 2; 11, 36; 2 Cor. 8, 1; Gal. 1, 8). It is the origin of our election and our justice and salvation: *Comment.* 2 Thess. 2, 13; 1 Thess. 1, 1; Rom. 5, 2; 2 Cor. 1, 12; 2 Cor. 8, 1). This grace flows to us through Jesus Christ (*Comment.* Rom. 5, 2; 5, 21; 6, 11; 7, 25; 12, 1). The action of grace within us makes us live a new life, restores to us the benevolence of God, enables us to fight against concupiscence. (*Comment.* Rom. 6, 11; 11, 15).

"The Grace of Christ" is sometimes understood as the Gospel (Gal. 1, 2), at other times it is taken for the merit of Christ (*Comment.* Rom. 6, 5) which is the fountain of the divine gifts to mankind (*Comment.* 2 Thess. 1, 3; Rom. 11, 36; 5, 16; 2 Thess. 3, 18; 2 Cor. 3, 13; Gal. 6, 8). It is therefore absolutely necessary for us (*Comment.* 2 Thess. 1, 3; Gal. 6, 18). Finally, the grace of Christ signifies the sum total of all the advances of God to man (2, 5).

"The Grace of the Spirit" as the power of the Holy Spirit, which makes us God's children by adoption, liberates us from slavery to sin, makes us friends of God and enables us to obey the laws of God, with purity and integrity" (*Comment.* Gal. 4, 30, 31; Rom. 8, 30).

Seripando combats the '*sola fide*' theory and defends the doctrine of justification, through faith and charity, in his *Quaestiones*.

I. Article I: Faith that Justifies

Luther's famous discovery of "the new Gospel," took place between the years 1512 and 1513.¹⁰³ Then came his enlightenment regarding justification by mere faith ('*sola fide*').

I.1. The Protestant Faith: A Naked Faith

All the Catholic theologians of the Middle ages, says Seeberg, have spoken of a cooperation of, man with God. They placed their confidence in the grace of God and the merits of the justified. Luther did not depend on anything but on the grace of God.¹⁰⁴ He exalted faith or, more precisely, trust in Christ, to such an extent that, according to numerous Protestant theologians, it is the only essential point of his "*Credo*".¹⁰⁵ Love was, thrown to the background, and as Paquier says, instead of Augustine's maxim: 'Love and do what you want', Luther took for his: "Believe and do what you want".¹⁰⁶ Erich Roth, in a recent article, on Justification in Luther, points out that Faith, in Luther's understanding of the matter, is a new integration of life. Faith is that which makes the new creature - the Christian - alive. To use a vivid illustration, faith is the umbilical cord which conveys to us from Christ, a new eternal life.¹⁰⁷ Roth is referring to the explanation Luther gave to his 12th Conclusion of the disputation on infused and acquired faith (1520). The conclusion was: "*Etiam sola fides infusa satis est ad justificationem impii.*" Having indicated the Scripture passages, this led him to that conclusion (Rom. 1, 17; 3, 25; 4, 13; 10, 10), Luther says:

Quod autem aliqui non intelligunt, quomodo sola fides justificat, in causa est quod quid fides sit non cognoverint, nec gustaverint unquam, somniantes eam esse qualitatem latentem in anima (opinio Scholasticorum). Verum, quando vrbum Dei sonat,

¹⁰³Cfr. Paquier: art. cit. D. T. C. IX col. 1206 f.

¹⁰⁴Cfr. Seeberg: *Die Lehre Luthers*, p. 234.

¹⁰⁵Cfr. Paquier: art. cit. D. T. C. IX col. 1232 # 4.

¹⁰⁶Cfr. Paquier: art. cit. D. T. C. IX col. 1232 # 4.

¹⁰⁷Erich Roth in *Church Quarterly Review* 153 (1952) 179 # 3.

*quod veritas est, et cor adhaeret per fidem, tunc cor imbuitur eadem veritate verbi et per verbum veritatis verificatur, sicut si lignum frigidum adhæreat ferro ignito ab eodem etiam ignescit et ardet. Corde autem sic per verbum imbuto mox et omnes vires et membra similiter immutantur. Hoc enim faciunt omnia membra quo cor inclinatur sive bonum sive malum. Et sic homo reputatur justus per fidem.*¹⁰⁸

1.2. Faith is Trust!

This faith which justifies, is defined by Luther, as confidence, says Skewington, in his article, on the theology of Luther's lectures on the Romans.¹⁰⁹ Before Card. Cajetan at Augsburg, Luther plainly asserted his certitude about his justification. The same idea is expressed in his Commentary on the Galatians 4, 5: You must believe with a firm trust that Christ died for your own proper sins, that you are one of those whom he has liberated. Behold the faith which justifies you! It will bring it to pass that Christ dwells, lives and reigns in you. That is the testimony of the Spirit to our spirit, that we are the sons of God.¹¹⁰ Luther went even so far (in 1543?) as to say that to doubt about his justification, was to commit an irremediable sin, the sin against the Holy Ghost.

1.3. Seripando's Faith: The Full Faith

It is this twofold characteristic of the Lutheran faith that Seripando often rejects in his *Quaestiones*: 'sola fides' and 'fides fiducialis'.¹¹¹

Faith, in its naked form, or 'sola fides', as the reformers loved to call it, cannot lead man to justification, says Seripando; because, unless man unites with faith, 'the circumcision of the heart', 'a new heart', 'a new spirit', 'the law written in the heart', 'the walking in the way of the precepts of the Lord', – to put all in one word, charity – it will not be the faith preached by the Apostle, namely, the faith which 'works through Charity'; it will bring us neither justice nor

¹⁰⁸L. W. 6/94, 7 ff.

¹⁰⁹Cfr. Skewington: *Scottish Journal of Theology* 3 (1950) 11 # 4.

¹¹⁰L. W. 2/458, 20-26.

¹¹¹Cfr. QQ. 5, 11, 44, 38, 3, 60, 61, 67, 55.

salvation.¹¹² "Non aufert peccata nisi gratia fidei quae per dilectionem operatur", said St. Augustine. In the Council, Seripando called it, after St. Thomas, 'fides formata', in opposition to 'fides informis'.¹¹³

The study of Gal. 5, 6 ("in Christo Jesu neque circumcisio aliquid valet neque praepitium sed fides quae per caritatem operatur"), in the light of Gal. 6, 15 and I Cor. 7, 9, provides Seripando with a solid proof of the above truth. It is confirmed by the words of Paul in I Cor. 13, 2: 'si habuero omnem fidem... caritatem autem non hauero, nihil sum'. We cite, here, Seripando's concluding words: "Haec Pauli verba sunt, ex quibus efficitur ut fides quae per caritatem non operatur, nihil valeat in Christo Jesu, quemadmodum circumcisio neque praepitium. Quod si nihil valet, neque justitiam igitur affert neque salutare quidquam, nuda ista vestra a caritate sejuncta fides."¹¹⁴

Another equally convincing proof is brought forward, from Rom. 8, 9b: "Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus." It follows from this, says Seripando, that, by naked faith, no one can be justified. For, one without the Spirit of Christ is not of Christ; one, who is not of Christ, is not, surely, united with Him. One, who is not united with Him, cannot receive the grace of justification. Hence, he who does not possess, besides faith, the Holy Spirit also, will not be justified.¹¹⁵ In more than 27 of his *Quaestiones*, Seripando shows how alien to the mind of Paul, was the 'Sola fide' theory of the Reformers, and how it had narrowed down the extensive field of the Gospel.

¹¹²Cfr. Q. 5, p. 365.

¹¹³On December 17, 1546, Seripando said, in the Council: "Cum Paulus dicit per fidem justificamur vel informem intelligit fidem vel formatam: si informem, male locutus est, ex ea nimirum non justificamur, si formatam, decretum male loquitur: ex fide enim formata justificamur. Dicit enim Beatus Thomas quod fides per caritatem formata est illa ex qua justitia est. Non dicit: est illa ex qua disponimur ad justificationem." C. T. V, 726, 12-15. Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 388 # 2.

¹¹⁴Q. 61, pp. 503 f.

¹¹⁵Seripando: *Commentaria*, p. 128.

1.4. Faith is Not Trust

The confusing of faith with trust, started from an ignorance of the objects of each, said Seripando. In Q. 55, Seripando treats of the Lutheran conclusion, drawn from Gal. 4, 6 ("*Quoniam autem estis filii, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda vestra clamantem: Abba, Pater*"). It was a sin against faith, they asserted with Luther, to entertain doubts about ones predestination.¹¹⁶

Seripando shows how they confounded faith with trust. He compares Gal. 4, 6 and its parallel text: Rom. 8, 9, with another passage in the Romans, where the Apostle warns us to be careful: "*noli altum sapere... alioquin et tu excideris*" (Rom. 11, 20-22). The same Apostle who, first, inspired us with a firm trust, instils into us, after a while, uncertainty and fear about our salvation. Does the Apostle contradict himself? It is an absurdity to put such a charge on an inspired author. If we do not make the necessary distinction between faith and trust, we will misunderstand Paul. In the first case, the Apostle's words are to be applied to the Church in general or to the Church of the Galatians or Romans, as such, and not to each individual. As applied to the Church, in general, it is an object of faith, and hence, is an absolutely certain truth, to doubt about which, will be a sin. But as applied to each individual it is not an object of faith but of trust which, by its nature, may be mixed with some uncertainty and fear. In the second case, the Apostle speaks of the individual and hence, as applied to the individual, it is an object of faith.¹¹⁷

The act of believing consists in accepting the Gospel of Christ, says Seripando.¹¹⁸ The contents of the Gospel which we accept, by believing, is something well defined viz. the death and resurrection of Christ, for the remission of the sins of man.¹¹⁹ Hence follows the unity of mind in those who belong to Christ.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶Q. 55: "*Argumentum haereticorum*," p. 481.

¹¹⁷Q. 55: "*Refutatio*," p. 483 f.

¹¹⁸Nap. VII A 36, 1 Cor. C. XV n. I (1 Cor. 1, 1 f.).

¹¹⁹Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 24, pp. 76 f. Cfr. also *Commentaria*, Rom. 1, 4; 1, 12; 3, 2; 9, 32; 1 Cor. 5; Rom. 4, 27; 1 Cor. 1, 13.

¹²⁰Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 1, 12; Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Cor. 13, 11: '*Idem sentite*' says the Apostle, that is to say: as regards the things that pertain to faith be at agreement and convinced in thought.

The certainty of our belief is based on the authority of Christ and on the conviction of the debility of our intellect.¹²¹ Christ's words claim our belief because of His resurrection: "If Christ did not rise up from the dead, vain is your faith", said the Apostle; because if Christ did not rise up from the dead, our sins are not forgiven, for He did not conquer death, which is the penalty for sin."¹²²

1.5. More on the Nature of Faith

Seripando clarifies the nature of justifying faith, from the contrasts which the Apostle brings in, between faith and the Law, and between, faith and circumcision.

Commenting on the words: "*ut quod per legem effici non poterat, per fidem fieret*" (Rom. 4, 16), Seripando observes that in two ways THE LAW differs from faith. 1. The Law, as a means of salvation, was applicable only to one nation, whereas faith was accessible to all. 2. The Law promised justice to the merit of having observed it, and hence, it could not be said to confer justice gratuitously, whereas faith which depends solely on the promise made by God, believes that God fulfils the promise of justification, gratuitously, without expecting from the sinner the merits of the observance of the Law.¹²³

CIRCUMCISION cuts off the skin of the body, which was born with man; but faith cuts off the interior thoughts of man, the hopes, desires and counsels to which man is inclined, by nature. Circumcision submits a child to the danger of death, whereas faith puts an end, in some manner, to the desire of things pleasing to the flesh and turns the mind to God and to the observance of His Commandments. Circumcision joins you to the small Jewish nation, but faith makes you enter into a pact of love and good will with the whole human race.¹²⁴

FAITH is considered also on its relations with hope, Charity, and intuitive vision. Faith is the foundation on which our hope rests.

¹²¹Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 18; Nap. VII A. 36, 1 Cor. 11, 23-26 (c. XI n. VII).

¹²²Nap. VII A 36, 1 Cor. 15, 14 (XV n. VI).

¹²³Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 16, p. 71. Cfr. also Gal. 5, 5, p. 325.

¹²⁴Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 18, p. 72.

Hence it is said to be the "*substantia rerum sperandarum*" (Heb. 11).¹²⁵

CHARITY too springs up from faith and preserves faith. "Who does not know" asks Seripando, "that God cannot be loved unless, first of all, He is believed to be propitious? Who, likewise, is ignorant that, by the loss of charity, one loses faith?"¹²⁶

Commenting on 2 Cor. 5, 6b, Seripando says that believing is different from seeing. "We believe what is said of the Lord, we do not see or look at it. Faith is that of which, we have not the sight." This obscure vision will once be changed into "*notitiam alteram*," says Seripando.¹²⁷

Faith is a gift which we receive through hearing, as Saint Paul says. But the external hearing is vain if God does not work interiorly. In that case, the external word can produce no salutary effect on the hearer, not to speak of the sinister ones that may follow. The Apostle expresses his mind on this point, when he says: "*Non enim omnium est fides*."¹²⁸ The justifying faith, this faith "which works through charity," is moreover, a faith "that obeys," "a strong and stable faith," a "living," "active" faith.¹²⁹

¹²⁵Nap. VII A. 36, 1 Thess. 4, 14 (c. III n. III). Cfr. also *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 9, p. 65 f.

¹²⁶Nap. VII A 36, 1 Cor. 13, 7 (c. XIII n. III). Cfr. also 1 Cor. 13, 13 (c. XIII, n. VII) *Commentaria*, Gal. 5, 22, p. 331 f.

¹²⁷Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Cor. 5, 6 sq. (c. V, n. III).

¹²⁸Nap. VII A 36, 2 Thess. 3, 2 (c. III, n. I).

¹²⁹Cfr. Nap. VII A 36, 1 Thess. 3, 6 (c. III, n. III) "*de fide et caritate vestra sine qua manea quodammodo et imperfecta est fides*." Cfr. also 1 Thess. 3, 8, (c. III, n. III).

Cfr. *Commentaria*, Rom. 10, 10: "*Obedientiam requirit sine qua fides in corde non habet domicilium*." Cfr. also *Commentaria*, Rom. 6, 16 b, p. 98. Rom. 4, 23, p. 75, Paul says that we too will be justified like Abraham, "*si tam robusta, constant, obedient fide praediti erimus*." Cfr. also Rom. 4, 20; 5, 19; 4, 22; 1 Cor. 9, 13 (Nap. VII A. 36, c. IX, n. VI); 1 Cor. 10, 29 (c. X, n. IX); 1 Thess. 1, 3 (c. I, n. II), 1 Thess. 3, 10 (c. III, n. III).

Nap. VII A 36, 1 Thess. 1, 4 (c. I, n. II), "*memoria actuosae fidei, operosae caritatis et corroboratae, confirmatae que spei*..." Cfr. also 1 Thess. 1, 5 (c. I, n. II); *Commentaria*, Rom. 10, 10: "*quantacumque fuerit in corde fides, nisi ad eam oris confessio accedat, ad salutem non sufficere*," p. 197.

1.6. The Causality of Faith

The absolute necessity of faith for salvation is obvious from the fact that it is faith that unites us with the Fountain, from which alone, divine pleasure and good will flow to us: in other words: faith is the only way that leads us to justification.¹³⁰

In describing the relation of faith to justice, the Apostle employs different expressions: "*Justitia 'per fidem', 'ex fide', 'fide'*."¹³¹ Interpreting the minds of the Apostle, from these expressions of Paul, Seripando calls faith "the way" and "the conductor," to justice, the "parent," the "foundation," "the origin," and "the root" of justice, and finally, "the cause" of justice.¹³² This last expression made Seripando differ from many of the theologians, at the Council of Trent. Discussion on the place of faith in justification, occupied the prelates, during four sessions.¹³³ Seripando held the causality of faith; but opinions differed. Finally, the prelates agreed on wording suggested by Cardinal Cervini which, ultimately, was put in the final decree: that faith is the "beginning and foundation of all justification."¹³⁴

The question returned, in connection with chapter 8 on justification. Was faith to be listed among the causes of justification? This time, Seripando's reply was in the negative.¹³⁵ This happened, not because he has changed his mind on the point, but because he wanted; by all means, to make use of the occasion, which presented itself, to remind the fathers, once again, that the mysteries of the faith were not to be forced into philosophical formulas. The council should simply say that the effects of Christ's Passion come to us, through faith or Christ's death is applied to us, in baptism, through faith:

Ardua certe quaestio est de, justificatione decernere secundum quatuor genera causarum et ostendere in

¹³⁰Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 1, 5, p. 20. Cfr. also Rom. 5, 1.

¹³¹Cfr. Rom. 3, 22; 3, 29; 3, 33; 4, 16; 5, 1; Gal. 2, 6; 3, 2.

¹³²Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 6, 17, p. 99. Cfr. also Rom. 3, 22; Gal. 5, 6. *Commentaria*, Rom. 9, 30, p. 170; Rom. 10, 11, p. 177. Q. 35, p. 450, where Seripando calls faith, "*initium ... fundamentum, radicem justitiae*."

¹³³Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 388 # 2; C. T. V, 741, 33-39.

¹³⁴C. T. V 733, 11.

¹³⁵C. T. V 742, 36.

*quo genera sit fides responenda, si in nullo genere locum habere potest, quomodo pro dignitate ejus sit mentio facienda cujus Paulus tantam habuit rationem quantam in suis fere omnibus Epistolis videre est. De his enim quae ad justificationem concurrunt doceri possumus ex Sacris litteris atque etiam ex priscis Catholicae Ecclesiae doctoribus. De quatuor causarum generibus, nulla certe ibi mentio, nullum verbum. Confugiendum igitur ad recentiores theologos et praesertim Divum Thomam qui apertius hac de re locutus est.*¹³⁶

Having explained the mind of St. Thomas, whose conclusions are: "Fides est quae conjungit causam principalem instrumentali," "Fides est per quam redemptionis effectus ad nos pervenit," "Mors Christi nobis applicatur per fidem," and having shown the inaptitude of the term: "disposition," to express the real office which the Apostle seems to assign to faith, in justification, Seripando adds:

*Sed has angustias nobis parit philosophia, dum volumus ex ejus praescripto de divinis loqui mysteriis. Dicerem igitur mentionem fidei habendam esse vel cum dicitur, passio Christi est causa meritoria, addendo: cujus effectus per fidem ad nos pervenit, vel cum dicitur: Baptismus est causa instrumentalis, addendo: in quo per fidem mors Christi nobis applicator.*¹³⁷

Seripando's conviction regarding the causality of faith, as regards justification, is clearly expressed in his commentary on Rom. 10, 10.

*Sed harum quatuor rerum, fidei, justificationis salutis aptum et accomodatum, animadvertamus ordinem. Est enim inter eas causae et effectus necessaria connexio, cum ex fide justitia, ex justitia confessio, ex confessione salus exoriatur, qua ratione intelligamus verum esse quod Paulus inquit: "Corde eredi ad justitiam ore autem confessionem fieri ad salutem."*¹³⁸

¹³⁶C. T. V 743.

¹³⁷C. T. V 743; Cfr. Lyonnet: *Verbum Domini*: 29 (1951), 88-97.

¹³⁸Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 10, 10, p. 177.

St. Paul never used the word, 'cause', in describing the relation of faith to justice. All the same, Seripando who wants to adhere scrupulously to Pauline simplicity did prefer to use it, in this case. Seripando's justification of himself follows immediately after the above quoted passage: "*Hanc autem causarum et effectum colligationem agnoscunt illi qui in sanctis litteris didicerunt.*" In fact, the word 'cause', taken in the general sense and not distinguished according to the 'quatuor genera', is as simple as the words "through," "by," etc., to the understanding of the ordinary man.

Moreover, Seripando seems to have found this word more apt to expose the real mind of Paul, to the heretics of the time. Cardinal Bellarmine, Cervini's nephew, writing after the Council of Trent, says that the word 'cause' would have been a happier expression to use, regarding the relation of faith to justice. Although the Reformers preferred to call faith "the instrument by which the Justice of Christ was apprehended" rather than 'disposition', they agreed with Catholics in this: that the act of faith was necessary for the attainment of justice. According to Bellarmine, the temptation to advocate the 'sola fide' theory, sprung up from the conception of the Reformers that faith affected justification, not 'per modum causae', but 'relative', i.e., in such a way that, by the act of believing, one received what God had offered by His promise. "Man", continues the saintly Cardinal, "*si persuaderi possent fides justificare importando ac promerendo ei suo quodam modo inchoando justificationem, sine dubio, non negarent, id etiam dilectioni et paenitentiae, aliisque bonis actibus convenire.*"¹³⁹

Seripando distinguishes two phases in justification, which, a parte rei, are inseparable: namely remission of sins and sanctification.¹⁴⁰ Justification in both these aspects is effected by a faith, which is active. Further, in justifying faith too, there is a two-fold aspect to be taken into account: faith, in the strict sense of the word, and charity, by which faith is made active. To faith, Seripando

¹³⁹R. Bellarminus S. J.: *De controversiis*, Tom. IV Napoli 1858, p. 463 col. 2 # 1.

¹⁴⁰"Spiritus Sanctus" and "Charity" are indiscriminately used by Seripando to indicate the principle of sanctification, because the presence of the Holy Spirit is necessary for the infusion of charity.

ascribes the first part of justification and to charity, the second part of it.

The important thing to be noted is that faith, as long as it remains naked, does not begin the work of justification. When it is full, i.e. when it is made active by charity, it works out the justification of the sinner in both the aspects of it. In this light alone, can we understand the different expressions of Seripando, that we come across, in his Commentaries and *Quaestiones*.

The above-said distinctions are clearly brought out, in Seripando's commentary on 1Cor. 6, 11: "*Fide enim remittuntur peccata, Spiritu vero Sancto sanctificamur, utroque autem in Sacramento abluimur, fide scilicet et Spiritu Sancto.*"¹⁴¹

In some instances, Seripando's expressions may lead one to think that he separates faith from charity and assigns to each its own office, without stressing on its necessity of their simultaneous existence in the soul. Commenting on Rom. 3, 31, he says: "*Fide quam nulla quae bona et justa dici possunt antecedunt opera, peccata delentur, cum qua conjuncta fuerit caritas, otiosum esse hominem non sinit, sed legem implet.*"¹⁴² But Seripando's conviction, without any doubt, was that faith separated from charity, could not effect anything salutary. This he expresses, in forcible language, when he refutes the 'sola fide' theory, in *Quaestio* 61, from Gal. 5, 6 ("*in Christo Jesu neque circumcisio aliquid valet neque praepitium, sed fides quae per Caritatem operatur*"). "*Quod si nihil valet,*" says Seripando, "*neque justitiam igitur affert neque salutare quidquam, nuda ista vestra a Charitate sejuncta fides.*"¹⁴³

In Seripando's treatise on justification, dedicated to Lattanzio Tolomei of Siena, in 1543, he had distinguished six kinds of justification (or six phases in it). There too, he insisted on charity as an essential part of justification.¹⁴⁴ In his conciliar treatise (1546) he distinguishes two main phases in justification, forgiveness of sins and sanctification, which are not distinguished from each other chronologically but only logically. He says that faith and hope are sufficient for the forgiveness of sins. Love springs forth from faith

¹⁴¹Ms. Nap. VII A 36, 1 Cor. 6, 11.

¹⁴²Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 3, 28, p. 60.

¹⁴³Q. 61 (Conclusion of the argument).

¹⁴⁴Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 94-100.

by a psychological necessity. It has no part in the forgiveness of sins. It is rather God's first gift to the forgiven sinner, by which He enables the sinner to perform good works.¹⁴⁵ In the Council, Seripando asserted also that full faith (*fides formata*) was a part of justice.¹⁴⁶

In the Commentaries and *Quaestiones*, we have, thus, the doctrine of faith, in the same form as it was exposed by Seripando, at the council of Trent, if we are to except some terminologies like '*fides formata*', '*justitia operum*', which he could not dispense with, in his discussions with those, who were addicted to the scholastic terminology.

2. Article II: Justification

The Augustinian tradition had its influence on both Luther and Seripando, as regards the doctrine of justification too. Both are accused of having brought forward new theories on justification; Luther that of forensic justice, Seripando that of double justice.

2.1. Luther and Forensic Justice

The Augustinian pessimism regarding the fallen nature of man, and Luther's own development upon it, logically led the Reformers to quietism. If man is a living evil and if all his activity is vitiated, perfection would consist, in abstaining from all activity and allowing God alone to act in him.

A mind imbued with such an idea, would naturally take in, the words of St. Paul: "*non justificatur homo ex operibus legis nisi per fidem Jesu Christi*" (Gal. 2, 16) with all avidity, and work upon it, with all the creative power of imagination. This is how Luther wrote of the nature of justification, in 1531:

This most excellent justice, the justice by faith, which God imputes to us, through Christ, without our works, is neither the civil justice, nor the one attached to our works; it is absolutely of a different kind; in opposition to all these active justices, it is purely passive. Here we don't do anything; we do not render anything to God, we limit ourselves to receiving and submitting ourselves to the action of another, to the action of God who acts in us.

¹⁴⁵Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 326-338; cfr. C. T. XII, 614-663.

¹⁴⁶C. T. V 725 f.; 741, 31-39.

Hence the best name for this justice by faith or Christian justice is, passive justice.¹⁴⁷

However, it will be wrong to suppose that Luther bade farewell to all activity. His Catholic education had put into him a tendency, which was contrary to his new theory that tendency expressed itself in the following manner, in his theory. Faith enables us to get hold of the justice, which is imputed to us. To take hold of it, and to maintain it, in us, to hold fast to our confidence in God and the certainty of our salvation, Luther would exhort us to an intense activity.¹⁴⁸ However, Luther would repeat that our activity is wholly corrupt and hence, without any merit as regards salvation. We remain at the same time sinners and saints: "*Igitur extrinsece sumus justi, quando non ex nobis nec ex operibus, sed ex sola Dei reputatione justi sumus. Reputatio enim ejus non in nobis nec in potestate nostra est. Ergo nec justitia nostra in nobis est nec in potestate nostra.*"¹⁴⁹ Again: "*Quia, si solum Deo reputante sumus justi, ergo non nobis viventibus vel operantibus. Quare intrinsece et ex nobis impii simper.*"¹⁵⁰

Hence, according to Luther, justice by faith is but a declaration of justice made by God, for the realization of which, in us, we have to try as much as we can; but interiorly, we always remain sinners and hence, our works are worthless both before and after our justification.

2.2. Seripando and Double Justice

Seripando's line of thought was not exactly the same as that of Luther, although some have thought otherwise. In the Council of Trent, Seripando openly proposed a theory, which has been, ever since attributed to him. The following report of October 8, 1546, represents the fact in a slightly different way:

Cujus (Seripandi) sententia maxime eo pertinuit ut quam occultissimi esse vellent, ne dum Lutherum et caeteros sequaces damnare cupiunt, etiam nostros Catholicos damnent. Inter quos Contarenus et Egidius Cardinales

¹⁴⁷L. W. 40 a/ 41, 15.

¹⁴⁸L. W. 6. 275; 42/452, 17-21. Cfr. Erich Roth, p. 179 # 3f.

¹⁴⁹Ficker II, p. 104 # 2.

¹⁵⁰Ficker II, p. 105 # 1.

*sibi hoc decreto damnari videbantur et cum ipsis, Albertus Pighius et alii plures. In eo scilicet unam tantum justificationem esse eamque ex operibus nostris nasci, in decreto ipso firmabatur, eorumque quos supra nominavimus Cardinalium et caeterorum sententiam explicavit, sententia Augustini et Bernardi comprobata ut scilicet in justificatione ipsa hoc est in ipso quidem actu justificandi, dum solutus vitalibus coram tribunali Dei se justum reddere intendit, nedum propria bona opera deferrre, sed etiam ipsius Christi justitiam quae Dei justitia appellatur. ... Addidit se haec Patribus divisisse non ut ita sentiret, sed ut totam rem ob oculos synodi judicandum proponeret, in hoc se saltem Synodo satisfacisse dicens, ne scilicet tot Patres inauditi per synodum damnarentur.*¹⁵¹

This report and Seripando's conciliar speeches on this theory show that Seripando didn't present it as his own, but as one maintained by "*piissimi et eruditissimi viri, doctores quoque celeberrimi et catholici.*" Further in presenting it, he makes it clear from the very outset that he acts as a third person, leaving the judgment to the Council. He defended it, not because he felt a liking for it but because he thought it his duty to enable the Council to consider the question in all its aspects, so that it might not be led to condemn so many Fathers for whom there was none to speak, in the Council.

The "*piissimi et eruditissimi*" Catholic Doctors of whom Seripando speaks here, are first of all Card. Gaspar Contareni who was the Legate at the celebrated conference at Ratisbon, for bringing about some understanding between the Catholics and Protestants.¹⁵² Gropper was the principal counsellor of Contareni in theology. Pighius was Gropper's Professor at Louvain.¹⁵³ Egidius of whom Seripando speaks is, to all appearance, Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo, Seripando's own professor. There was another Egidius (Aegidius

¹⁵¹C. T. I, 105.

¹⁵²Cfr. Rivière: *Mérite* in D. T. C. X, col. 732 f.

¹⁵³Cfr. also J. Paquier: Luther, in D. T. C. IX, col. 1224 f.

Romanus) a famous Augustinian theologian who was often spoken of, as a Cardinal, although he had never been one.¹⁵⁴

Hence, we can see that the theory defended by Seripando, though, not his own (let us believe his own words), was not foreign to the Augustinian thought. Contareni, as Legate, at Ratisbon, had agreed to certain formulas, which the Lutherans said, were their own.¹⁵⁵ About Pighius as Cardinal Quirini assures us, the Protestants had said: "*Totus noster est in causa justificationis.*"¹⁵⁶

Whatever, might have been the doctrine maintained by these theologians, the theory of double justice, defended by Seripando, in their name, at the council of Trent, has been attributed to himself.¹⁵⁷ The theory of double justice, in its general outline, is this: man's good works are so imperfect in final justification that they can be rewarded with eternal life only in view of the justice of Christ so that God's final verdict is based primarily and immediately on Christ's justice, and secondarily on good works.¹⁵⁸

In the Council, Seripando was misunderstood and accused of Lutheranism. The Cardinal president had to take him under his protection and declare that Seripando's theory was not heretical.¹⁵⁹ Out of the council, too, students of Seripandian theology on justification have found it difficult to understand his exact mind.

The fundamental question is: In what does the transmission of the justice of Christ consist, according to Seripando? In solving this question, there are some important considerations to be taken in to account. For, Seripando himself says that the justice of Christ is communicated to us through the sacraments, that it does not inform us, that it is communicated to us according to the measure of our faith and charity.¹⁶⁰

Jedin, the latest historian and close student of Seripando, has come to the following conclusions. The transmission of Christ's

¹⁵⁴Rivière: *Mérite* in D. T. C. X, col. 733.

¹⁵⁵Quirini: *Epist. Reg. Poli* vol. II, *Diatriba ad Epistolas*, p. CXXX, mentioned in the above said art. By Rivière.

¹⁵⁶Quirini: l.c.

¹⁵⁷Cfr. J. Paquier, art. cit., Henninger.

¹⁵⁸Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 336 # 2.

¹⁵⁹On Oct. 12, 1546. C. T. II, 431, 11 ff.; V, 666.

¹⁶⁰Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 348 -392; Henninger, pp. 22-31.

justice consists in the remission of sins, which is logically (not chronologically) followed by the infusion of charity, which has for its purpose the sanctification of man through the justice of works. The transmission of the justice of Christ means, still something more; otherwise the expression that Christ's justice is transmitted according to the measure of faith and charity would be meaningless. In what does this something more consist? Jedin leaves the question here with the following suggestion: "For any future study of the origins of Seripando's doctrine of justification, it should be noted that the term *duplex justitia* is identified with the name of that theologian who did more than any other to spread the idea, John Groppers."¹⁶¹

Henninger takes up this study, with great diligence, and failing to find any satisfactory solution from the writings of those whose authority Seripando quotes in his work: "*Pro confirmanda sententia de duplici justitia Catholicorum quorundam doctrina*" (October 1546), viz., of James Perez and Albert Pighius, he has recourse to the letter of Contareni on justification.¹⁶² From this study Henninger comes to the following conclusion: "*Teneamus ergo ex mente Card. Contareni justitiam Christi simul cum gratia inhaerente constituere causam formalem justificationis nostrae.*"¹⁶³

Taking this conclusion, as the basis, Henninger starts on further studies. He seeks the relation between the transmission of the justice of Christ (*remissio peccatorum per non imputationem*) and the infusion of charity. Seripando's opinion was that the remission of sins was, at least, in '*ordine naturae*', prior to the infusion of charity.¹⁶⁴

But Henninger sees that this view comes into conflict with the other expressions of Seripando: that the justice of Christ supplies the imperfections of our justice, that the justice is communicated to us according to the measure of our charity, all of which supposes the priority of inherent justice to the transmission of the justice of Christ.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹Jedin: *Papal Legate*, p. 350 # 1.

¹⁶²Cfr. Henninger, p. 23 # 3; 24 # 3.

¹⁶³Cfr. Henninger, p. 25 # 2.

¹⁶⁴Henninger, p. 26 f.

¹⁶⁵Henninger, p. 25.

However, Henninger conciliates both these series of ideas in the following manner:

Fortasse omnia ista elementa dispersa in synthesin redigi possunt, si consideratur totus processus justificationis et glorificationis hoc modo: Est aliquis homo peccator, cujus Deus miseretur excitando in eo actus, per quos disponitur ad justificationem. Tunc Deus ei imputat iustitiam Christi, remittit peccata et deinde infundit caritatem, ita ut nunc jam habeat iustitiam inhaerentem et meritorie operetur. Sed simul per totum tempus vitae suae, super eum manet imputatio iustitiae Christi, in qua semper debet confidere et magis quam in sua iustitia inhaerente; tunc in articulo mortis ei applicabitur ad supplendos defectus suae iustitiae et sic salvabitur, "adhaerente sibi misericordia Salvatoris." Sic iustitia hominis praeter iustitiam inhaerentem, consistit in imputata, cujus duplex est effectus: unus acceptatio operum, qua Deus opera bona, licet concupiscentiis et peccatis permixta, inordinatis affectibus foedata, regulam iustitiae non attingentia ac proinde ad meritum vitae aeternae insufficientia, tamen intuitu Christi acceptat et vita aeterna praemiatur; et hic effectus iustitiae imputatae est natura posterior, ille natura prior quam iustitia inhaerens; ille dat "jus ad misericordiam," in justificatione, hic in iudicio.¹⁶⁶

This, Henninger says, is the doctrine of double justice briefly stated, in its primitive and genuine form.

However, in his last defence of the theory, in the Council, (on November 26 and 27, 1546), Seripando gives some clarifications which seem to go counter to Heninger's conclusion. For, Seripando says that the theory of double justice is to be applied only in the case for great majority of Christians who, after baptism, often fall in to greater sins, and not in the case of the children who die after baptism, or of adults who die without having committed any mortal sin, after Baptism.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶Henninger, p. 28 # 2.

¹⁶⁷C. T. V, 668, 23-29; 671, 23-26.

In spite of the fact that Seripando, had explicitly said that this was only a further clarification of the theory and not an alteration of it, Henninger thinks with Pallavicini that this was a real mollification of the genuine theory and hence, not to be taken into account, when we speak of the theory as such.¹⁶⁸

We will expose Seripando's doctrine on justification as he presents it, while commenting on Paul's words, and see if it throws any further light on Seripando's mind expressed in the Council.

2.3. Justification

The word 'justice' is used in different combinations: 'justice of God', 'justice of Christ', 'justice of the Spirit', 'justice of faith'.

JUSTICE OF GOD is a phrase which St Paul uses 8 times in the Rom. and once in 2 Cor..¹⁶⁹ Seripando understands it, in two different senses: 1. as a personal attribute of God, which appears in the fulfilment of the mercy He had promised, on the one hand, and in the demonstration of His anger to those who rebelled against Him (Rom. 1, 16, 17), on the other;¹⁷⁰ and 2. as a gift by which He washes off the sins of men and enriches them with charity, as though with a precious clothe (Rom. 3,22).¹⁷¹ In this latter sense, it is identical with what the Apostle designates by the terms: 'iustitia per Fidem', 'Gloria Dei', 'Gratia Dei', 'caritas', 'beatitudo hominis'.¹⁷²

JUSTICE OF CHRIST is the 'highest and the most perfect obedience of Christ'. It is the source of our justice.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸Henninger, p. 29 # 1; 31 # 2. S. Pallavicini: *Istoria*, L. 8 c. 11 n. 12.

¹⁶⁹Cfr. Rom. 1, 17; 3, 6; 3, 21-22; 3, 25-26; 10, 3; 2 Cor. 5, 21. Cfr. E. Tobac, *Le Problème de la justification chez S. Paul*, Louvain 1908; *La Dikaïosune Theou dans Saint Paul in Rev. Hist. Eccés.* (1908) 5-18. Frutsaert: *La "justice de Dieu" dans Saint Paul in Rech. De Science Religieuse* (1911) 167-182. F. Frat: *La theologie de Saint Paul II* 291-295 and 549 -550. Lagrange: *Epître aux Romains* pp. 199-22. O. Kirss: *Die Briefe an die Roemer, Kor. Gal.* pp. 39-40. J. Huby: *Epître aux Romains* pp. 62-68. H. Oltramare: *Commentaire sur l'epître aux Romains I* 158-166. S. Lyonnet: *De "Iustitia Dei" in Epistola ad Romanoanos* VD. 25 (1947) (extract).

¹⁷⁰Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 1, 18, p. 27 # 2, Rom. 2, 5, p. 34 # 2; Cfr. 2 Thess. 1, 6: Nap. VII A. 36 (c. I n. II).

¹⁷¹Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 3, 22, p. 56 # 2, Rom. 3, 25, p. 58, Rom. 10, 3, p. 173; Nap. VII A 36: 2 Cor. 5, 20-21, c. V, n. IX.

¹⁷²Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 7, p. 64.

¹⁷³Seripando: *Commentaria*, Rom. 5, 19, p. 88, Rom. 3, 22, p. 56 # 2.

JUSTICE OF THE SPIRIT is that justice which is brought to us by the Apostles, through their ministry of the Spirit.¹⁷⁴

JUSTICE BY FAITH which is, in other words, Justice of God has to be considered here with regard to its source, subject and nature.

THE SOURCE of this justice is the grace or good will of God.¹⁷⁵ It is called the work of the power of God.¹⁷⁶ The immediate author of it is Jesus Christ who conveys it to us through the sacraments He has instituted.¹⁷⁷ This justice is intended for all men. All have need of it. There is no distinction; "*omnes enim peccaverunt et egent gloria Dei*" (Rom. 3, 23).¹⁷⁸

Its NATURE is described as 'a return to grace', 'reconciliation', 'a new life', 'the remission of sins and sanctification'.¹⁷⁹ We get a greater insight into its nature, when we understand its relations to faith, charity, works, salvation, and Law and sin.

FAITH, as we have seen, is the only way to, and the cause of justice. Faith is reputed to justice (*imputari ad justitiam*), as if it were sufficient for the acquisition of justice (which is so precious a thing that no price or reward can procure it). Hence this attribution of justice to faith, is entirely the result of the merciful disposition of God. The Latin codices, says Seripando, add a phrase to Rom. 4, 5, which brings out this idea more fully. The phrase added is: "*secundum propositum gratiae Dei*. It clearly declares that this mode of procuring justice through the medium of faith, is not an

¹⁷⁴Cfr. Nap. VII A. 36: 2 Cor. 3, 9 b, C. III n. III.

¹⁷⁵Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 5, 2, p. 77. Cfr. also Rom. 3, 28, p. 59, Rom. 4, 2, p. 62.

¹⁷⁶Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Cor. 5, 20-21: "*Dicitur enim ea Dei justitia quia divinae tantum potentiae opus*" (c. V, n. IX).

¹⁷⁷Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 3, 21, p. 55; Rom. 4, 12, p. 68. Cfr. also Nap. VII A 36 1 Thess. 2, 13 (c. II, n. V).

¹⁷⁸Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 3, 23, p. 56 # 2. Cfr. also Rom. 9, 32.

¹⁷⁹Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 3, 25, p. 57, Gal. 6, 15, p. 341. Cfr. Nap. VII A. 2 Cor. 5, 16-17 (c. V, n. VI), 2 Cor. 5, 18 (c. V, n. VIII); 1 Thess. 2, 10 (c. II, n. III). Rom. 3, 21, p. 55, Rom. 1, 17, p. 26 # 2, Nap. VII A. 36, 2 Thess. 2, 13 (c. II, n. V).

invention of man, but the disposition of the divine will: (*divinae mentis consilium*).¹⁸⁰

CHARITY is only another name for the justice of God, although the heretics may resent to such a statement, says Seripando.¹⁸¹

WORK brings with it, the idea of merit or reward; but justice is a thing which cannot be merited by any human action. Hence nobody can expect to attain justice, through works. The only way to attain it is, as seen above, faith in Jesus Christ, which itself is a purely gratuitous of God. Hence actions devoid of faith, which the Apostle designates by "works of the Law" cannot have a place in the procuring of justice. The works, however, follow justification, viz., those actions that proceed from faith and the Holy Spirit, preserve, increase and perfect the justice already received and entitle the just man to the crown of justice. The actions that are said to prepare the way for justice are, indeed, useful in as much as they proceed from faith.¹⁸²

SALVATION is the crown of justice, the happy and eternal live.¹⁸³ The just man prepares himself to this end, through works of faith namely the observance of the Law of Christ. If he loses the justice already received, he can regain it, through faith and the sacrament of penance. But in this case, he will have to do penance to satisfy for the temporal punishment due to his sins.¹⁸⁴

THE LAW fulfilled a necessary condition for the attainment of justice, namely it brought in to man, the consciousness of his sins; it foretold the advent of justice through Christ, and revealed its own importance to give man the necessary strength to do what it commanded.¹⁸⁵ Justice by faith writes God's Law in man's heart;

¹⁸⁰Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 5, p. 63 # 2.

¹⁸¹Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 10, 9, p. 176.

¹⁸²Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 50, p. 472, Q. 32, p. 445, Q. 20, 419 ff.

¹⁸³Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 64, p. 517, Rom. 6, 16, p. 98, cfr. also Rom. 5, 10, 5, 19.

¹⁸⁴Cfr. Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, pp. 343-348; Rom. 5, 1, p. 77; C. T. 628, 39-42.

¹⁸⁵Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 3, 31, p. 61, Rom. 3, 21, p. 55; cfr. also Rom. 2, 13; 2, 26; 3, 20; 3, 28; 10, 5-7; 1 Cor. 15, 56 (Nap. VII A 36, 1 Cor. V n. XV); Gal. 2, 21; 3, 11.

and confers on him the gift of the Holy Spirit, who, henceforth, becomes his guide and strengthener.¹⁸⁶ There were some prescriptions of the Law, which were only figures and shadows of the things to come, e.g., circumcision.

These were abrogated by the Church, since they had already served their purpose, whereas others which were made for all time such as prayers and penance, were confirmed by Christ and the Church, and their observance, was made possible, light and sweet by the great gift of the Holy Spirit, so that now, we can be not only hearers of the Law but also doers of it.¹⁸⁷

The sinner loses the justice of God; his mind and body become the habitation of evil; he neither desires nor perfects what is good,¹⁸⁸ he is saddened when he meditates on the law; he has but one law in himself, the law of his members, to which he willingly submits himself, he enjoys and boasts of the good things of this world, in him sin has its dominion, and it will finally drag him to eternal misery. The just man has of course, to fight hard in this life; the nature of his conflict, as described in Rom. 7, is frightening to the first sight;¹⁸⁹ but he always keep sin under check, and merits the crown of justice.

The just man lives by faith i.e. he receives the promise of the Spirit through faith, and under the guidance of that Spirit, he observes the Law of God.¹⁹⁰ He thus becomes the possessor of the promise made to Abraham and a real child of Abraham; he is filled with the peace of justice, the peace that results from reconciliation with God; he is filled with hope for the future glory of the children of God which makes him ever joyful in his adversities.¹⁹¹ As adopted son of God, he is coheir with Christ; sin cannot dominate over him, because he is liberated by justice.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 49. In this connection, Seripando shows the difference between the Law of Moses and the Law of the Spirit. Then he gives a long list of contrasts between the two laws.

¹⁸⁷Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 9, pp. 374-378.

¹⁸⁸Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 7, 25b.

¹⁸⁹Seripando is here speaking of a man who *willingly* follows the inclinations of nature.

¹⁹⁰Cfr. Q. 40, p. 457.

¹⁹¹Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 4, 12, p. 68.

¹⁹²Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 8, 17.

This liberation, however, is not perfect, as long as he lives in mortal flesh, as we have seen above.¹⁹³ Hence perfect justice which consists in complete liberation from the slavery to sin, i.e. even from the involuntary movements of concupiscence, is not possible in this world; perfect justice is the reward that the just man expects at his resurrection.¹⁹⁴

2.4. Idea of Supplementary Justice

Here is a question, which one would naturally put to Seripando. Is the justice received from God, with the good works that were done under its influence, sufficient for a man to merit eternal life? Or has he the need of supplying what is lacking, through the justice of Christ?

The mind of Seripando may be found clearly exposed in Q. 1, which entitles thus: "*De peccatorum expiatione per opera quas satisfactiones appellamus.*"¹⁹⁵ Seripando puts this question to answer the heretics who said that the Catholics depreciated the redeeming value of Christ's death, by attributing the remission of sins to the satisfactory value of their works.

Seripando, first of all, affirms that, if Christ had not died for us, we would not have received any remission of our sins. This is the firm and perpetual foundation of the Catholic Church. But the foundation is not the whole edifice. From the true and profound sense of Holy Scripture, the Fathers have taught us the mind of God, in applying the merit of Christ to the sinner. It may be exposed as follows.

In all grave and mortal sins, there are three things to be taken into account: 1. the guilt, 2. the eternal punishment and 3. the temporal punishment.

If he wishes, Christ can remit all these completely, at His word; and in fact, He does so in Baptism. But, in the case of those who fall again into sin, after Baptism, and regain, justice through the sacrament of penance, He remit only the first two. The third one, namely, temporal punishment, is remitted, only to those who, after their return to grace, perform, not only patiently, but willingly the penance imposed on them, through those works which are judged to

¹⁹³Seripando, *Commentaria*, Rom. 8, 1, p. 121.

¹⁹⁴Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 29, p. 435.

¹⁹⁵Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, p. 343.

be fitting to take away the obligation of the punishment that remains, and powerful to check and bridle the impulses of their nature, which is deprived by the custom of sinning.¹⁹⁶

In proof of the revelation of such a disposition on the part of God, Seripando adduces, Prov. 15; "*Elenco siginis et fide purgantur peccata*" and Eccli. 3, 33; "*Ignem ardentem extinguit aqua et eleemosyna resisti peccatis*". Then he asks: "*Dicant quaeso quid in his locis sonet vox ista peccati? Ex omnibus sane quae sibi ipsis cogitatione fingere poterunt, nihil erit quod in hanc vocem his locis quadrare possit, praeter peccati poenam ad tempus (ut diximus) pendendam.*"¹⁹⁷

Seripando continues, and brings in, the way, God behaved, in forgiving the sin of the sister of Moses (Num. 12, 14), the real meaning of the solicitations of the prophets for not forgiving the sins of their enemies, the signification of the call for penance, by John the Baptist and, finally, the words of our Lord to His Apostles: "*Hoc genus non ejicitur, nisi per orationem et jejunium.*"¹⁹⁸ "*Horrendum illud quidem cruciamentum*", concludes Seripando, "*hanc quam defendimus poenam significabat, quam Christus Jesus, cum sibi voluerit, solo verbo imperioque suo dimitit. Nos vero eandem, nisi ad fidem erga Christum opera sancta, qualia oratio sunt et jejunium adjuxerimus, numquam extinguemus. Neque propterea egere Christus dicitur, nostris operibus, qui cum voluerit, solo sermone, instaurat omnia.*"¹⁹⁹

Seripando's words, "*omnis nostra satisfactio, nullius certe, vi sua atque natura ponderis est, sed via omnem sumit ex ea parte, quatenus unica Christi satisfactione nititur, cujus ratione, benigne a Patre accipitur, atque ejus non tam justitiae quam erga Christum et eos qui in Christo fidunt, amoris et benevolentiae, satis esse dicitur.*"²⁰⁰ seem to give us the clue.

These words seem to suggest that, according to Seripando, our satisfactory works have got some weight, not because they are valuable in themselves, but because they are accepted as such by the

¹⁹⁶Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, p. 343 f.

¹⁹⁷Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, p. 346 f.

¹⁹⁸Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, p. 348.

¹⁹⁹Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, p. 348.

²⁰⁰Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 1, p. 345.

Father in view of the satisfaction offered to Him by Christ, who is our Head. They are sufficient not to the justice of God but to the love and mercy which he cherishes towards Christ and those who confide in Christ. Thus in the case of good works, the acceptance by God, seems to imply two aspects: the acceptance of the works as valuable, in the sight of God, and the acceptance of them as sufficient to pay off debts.

When Seripando speaks of the '*corona justitiae*', which is given to those who duly fight, he does not hint at any such special acceptance. This is how he defends the sufficiency of inherent justice to merit eternal life.

*Iam vero libido quam concupiscentiam, vocant numquam tanti fuit ut sanctos homines ne quae de Caritate mandata sunt, diligenter esequerentur plane impedire posset. Bellum illa quidem gerit cum hominibus perpetuum dum in hujus vitae libro versantur et dum adhuc per speculum, in aenigmate Deum agnoscunt, ut gravissimo saepe certamine et acerrima pugna omino sit opus ad ea omnia obeunda et mandata exhaurienda quae nobis caritas imposuit atque praefuit. Sed qui in hoc certamine, cupiditate non frangitur et sese praestat invictum, is solidam illam et constantem justitiam tenet, quae homini mortali potest in hac vita contingere. Itaque cum legitime certaverit, corona justitiae in caelo ubi sempiterno aevo fruitur, merito donabitur.*²⁰¹

The crown of justice according to Seripando is the crown God gives, out of His fidelity to His promises.²⁰²

If we accept this special distinction between satisfactory works and meritorious works in general, which Seripando's above quoted words seem to suggest, we can see some harmony in his conciliar expressions. We can, moreover, base our conclusions on the authority of Seripando's own words, rather than on conjectures.²⁰³

²⁰¹Seripando, *Commentaria*, Q. 64, p. 514.

²⁰²Cfr. Seripando's speech in the Council, on July 23, 1546. C. T. V, 373 f.

²⁰³Henniger's conclusions rest mostly on conjectures as we have shown above, Cfr. pp. 280 ff.

As regards the fundamental question: "In what does the transmission of the justice of Christ consist?" we think we have the answer in Seripando's own words contained in his speech of October 8, 1546:

*Justitiam Christi hac rarione nostram esse, non quod nos informet aut nobis assistat, portenta loquitur, qui haec loquitur, non hominum verba, ac perinde est de his pugnare atque cum larvis luctatri. Sed nostra dicitur quod per sacramenta nobis communicatur, ut nobis prosit, nos adjuvet, nostram suppleat imperfectionem, quemadmodum quae pro defunctis agimus, nonne dici possunt defunctorum esse, quoniam caritatis nostrae vi illis prosunt, illos adjuvant et quod illis deest suppleant? Quanto magis caritas Christi, capitis cujus nos membra sumus, nostros facit justitiae suae thesauros?*²⁰⁴

This kind of transmission supposes inherent justice, and fits in well, with the idea that the transmission takes place according to the measure of faith and charity. It is not necessary, in the case of children who die after baptism and of adults who die without having committed grave sins after baptism. It becomes, on the other hand, necessary, as regards those who, often commit grave sins, after their baptism, and hence, accumulate much temporal punishment to be satisfied. These perform, of course, satisfactory works, but those works will not be really *satisfactory*, unless God the Father accepts them as such in view of the satisfaction offered by Christ. This acceptance does not mean that the works that have been, already performed, and answer to the whole temporal punishment that one had incurred. The measure depends on divine disposition (according to the measure of faith and charity etc.). This seems to have been the mind of Seripando when he said, that the theory of double justice didn't affect the satisfactory power of good works or purgatory. Good works were not affected since, if they needed a complement, they must have some value before God, and purgatory was not affected because the justice of Christ didn't complement human justice to such an extent that the just man is immediately received

²⁰⁴C. T. V. 487, 9-15.

into glory, but only to the extent of that he may pass through the final purification and then be received to eternal happiness.²⁰⁵

However, we cannot understand why Seripando said in the council that in the case of those who had but temporal punishment to satisfy, there was, still, need of a special act of the mercy of God to make them worthy of purgatory.²⁰⁶ There seems to have been some confusion; for as Seripando himself said after wards (November 2, 1546), he was as speaking of practical cases, and not of mere theory.²⁰⁷ Practically speaking, one who used to commit sin often gets bewildered, when he is called to stand before God's Throne of Justice, even though he knows that he has received absolution, through the sacrament of penance. The only recourse, in this bewilderment is to the mercy of God who can set right everything that is wrong, out of consideration for the merits of Christ.

One who had always entertained an exaggerated idea of the infirmity that was left in man, even after baptism, and who consequently, was too diffident in the purity and perfection of the good works performed by those who often fell into grave sins (although, they used to get themselves absolved, through the sacrament of penance), would, practically spending, gives them but little room to count upon their inherent justice, at the moment of death. We must remember that Seripando's theology was built upon the Augustinian exegesis of Rom. 7, 7-25.

This is the conclusion that we are led to draw, regarding the mind of Seripando, expressed in the Council, on double justice, in the light of the data we have got from his commentaries and questions. In these works, Seripando does not make any allusion to a double justice that is transmitted to the sinner in the first justification. Both the remission of sins and the infusion of charity are attributed to the merits of Christ who died for the sins of man. Both are considered to be two aspects of the same act, distinguished only in thought not, in fact. The only suggestion, therefore, that we get for the idea of a supplementary justice is, where Seripando speaks of the necessity of the acceptance of the good works of the

²⁰⁵C. T. V. 488, 1-10.

²⁰⁶C. T. V. 488, 1-10.

²⁰⁷C. T. V. 668, 23-29.

just, by God, as meritorious and satisfactory, in view of the merits of Christ.

Viewed from this standpoint, one can see greater harmony among the diverse expressions of Seripando's, in the Council, and also greater sincerity in his words, than does Henninger. Moreover, in this light, we can see how different is Luther's forensic justice which left man interiorly a sinner, from Seripando's double justice which explicitly taught the remission (deletion) of sins and infusion of charity as the essential aspects of justification.

CONCLUSION

We have in Seripando, a theologian who, urged by the need of his times, earnestly sought to restore theology to its biblical simplicity. With undaunted courage, he fought for his ideal, in the Council of Trent. As in his Commentaries, so in the Council too, Seripando appealed to the science of the Spirit, or to the knowledge of Holy Scripture, in opposition to the doctrine of the Philosophers. More than once, he advised the Council to avoid the philosophers' language which closed up divine doctrine, in narrow terminologies, and to adapt the Apostle's expressions which were simple and intelligible to all, adducing, if necessary, appropriate explanations.

It is true that the Augustinian pessimism, the surrounding corruption and reflections on his own inner experiences caused Seripando to mistake the picture of the sinner, drawn by Paul, in Rom. 7, 7-25, for that of the saint. It is also true that, consequently, he insisted on applying the strong expressions used by Paul to describe the state of the sinner, to the state of the just. But, while this mistake kept him tied to the Augustinian pessimism, he was saved from error, on account of his faithfulness to the exegetical principle of stability (analogy of faith).

Thus, we see Seripando designating concupiscence remaining in the just, by the word 'sin', calling the just still slaves to sin, and asserting that there remains, in the just, something which is displeasing to God. The explanations he adduces, although often forced ones, show that the meaning he gave to these terminologies, was genuinely Augustinian and not non-Pauline or non-Tridentine.

But for this almost unavoidable mistake, committed by Seripando, his ideal of a Biblical theologian is pursued by him, all throughout, with uncommon courage. As a theologian of the Bible, it was Seripando's strict rule not to overstate or understate scriptural truths. He did not find anywhere in Scripture, grace defined as a quality. In his Commentaries, he would describe it as if it were an interior form, but he would not assert that it **was** a form.²⁰⁸ In fact in the Council of Trent, he objected to defining grace as a quality; not because it was not a quality but because he wanted the Council to stick to Biblical terminology.²⁰⁹ Seripando took the same attitude, as

²⁰⁸Cfr. Seripando: *Commentaria*, Introduction to Rom. 12, p. 262.

²⁰⁹C. T. V. 489, 25 ff. Cfr. Jedin: *Papal Legate*, pp. 358 f.

regards '*meritum de condigno*' and '*meritum de congruo*', and the question of deciding the precise class of the '*quatuor genera causarum*' to which faith belonged.²¹⁰ One would say that Seripando, by insisting on biblical simplicity, wished to leave revealed truths, undefined and wanting in precision. Seripando would answer that it is better for us to leave undefined that which God himself wanted to remain undefined.

Seripando vehemently fought against understatements of Biblical truths. The Protestants had narrowed down the vast field of Scripture, by holding to their *sola fide* theory. Seripando shows them the necessity of taking in to account all the aspects supposed by the sacred author. He exemplifies this principle in his description of the faith which justifies (faith which works through charity), of the words '*imputare*' and '*non imputare*' (an absolutely gratuitous giving and taking away) and of the idea of justification (the remission of sins and infusion of charity).

Could we not call Seripando a Biblical Theologian of the Council of Trent? If we are to believe what Catharinus says, Seripando may even be considered as the *first Catholic Biblical Theologian*.

THE FINAL RETROSPECT

Seripando, the preacher, the theologian, the General of the Augustinian order, the Father and Cardinal Legate at the Council of Trent, the member of special committee entrusted with the drawing up of decrees concerning Scripture, and honest and upright worker for the reform of his Order and for that of the Church in general, has left some very important messages to Exegetes and Theologians of today.

A sincere desire to offer to the souls redeemed by the blood of Christ, the doctrine of salvation in its pristine simplicity, caught hold of Seripando, from the thirties of the sixteenth century. He started on studying St. Paul with the help of his great master, St. Augustine. As an exegete, Seripando's ambition was to scrutinize the very words of Paul, in their original form, so as to drink deep of the saving waters, at their purest fountain.

The member of the Special Committee for studying Scriptural questions at the Council dispels all doubt from us, with regard to mind of the Council regarding exegetes. For, in his exegetical works which he dedicated to the President of the same committee, Cardinal Cervini, after the sessions of the Council, on Scripture, Seripando clearly shows that no Church authority had obliged the Catholic Exegete, to follow exclusively the vulgate, either as regards the text it follows or as regards the renderings it gives.

Seripando takes as his standard, the received Greek text and tries to restore it to original purity, through a comparative study of Greek and Latin codices. Although not all the rules he follows in preferring one reading to another, can be taken as ideal, his scope is, all the same, the ideal of the Exegete of every age. In rendering into Latin, the Greek text, thus restored, Seripando sticks to his principle of using words which are the most apt, the most ordinary and the most simple. He seeks help from the Vulgate, Erasmus and Cajetan; but he does not think himself obliged to follow any of them.

In fulfilling his second duty, as an Exegete, sense interpretation, Seripando reduces all the norms by which he was to be governed into two; the rule of flow and the rule of stability. Here too, Seripando makes it clear that the authority of the church and that of the unanimous voice of the Fathers were not an impediment, but a necessary help to the Exegete, in his personal reflections and research work on Scripture texts. A critical study of the numerous

²¹⁰C. T. V. 489.

Protestant exegetical works of his day, had taught Seripando, so much wisdom that the exegetical norms handed down by him, remain unexcelled even to day, as observes Jedin.²¹¹

The need of a Catholic Biblical Theologian had been keenly felt, in Seripando's day, as we have it from his contemporary, Ambrosius Catharinus. Seripando too felt that need, and he tried his best to make the Council too feel that Biblical Theology was the need of the day. He himself came forth with his *Quaestiones* to show the Reformers, from the Bible itself, in a language which savoured of Biblical simplicity and which avoided the philosophers' wisdom as well as terminologies, that it was not the Catholic Church, but they themselves who had misunderstood the Gospel of Paul. In his exposition and defence of the genuine Gospel of Paul, he shows the Protestants how their 'sola fide' theory had narrowed down the extensive field of the Gospel, and his own brethren how far removed he was from Luther, in his teaching on concupiscence, faith and double justice, although he remained an Augustinian at the bottom, due to his mistaken view of the Apostle's tragic page, Rom. 7, 7-25.

Thus, Seripando, the distinguished Biblical Theologian of the Council of Trent, who may be called the very first Catholic Biblical Theologian, has left many a valuable message, to exegetes and theologians of today, through his Commentaries and *Quaestiones*.

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²¹¹Jedin: *Girolamo Seripando*, II p. 395 # 3.

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in the service of

The Word of God

This is the revised version of the first doctoral dissertation defended in the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome by an Indian, in 1952, titled, *Cardinal Seripando: an exegete and biblical theologian*. A study of the exegetical works of Seripando is most opportune at our time, when the many Churches are trying to search out and narrow down the differences among them, so as to hasten the realization of Christ's prayer, "That all may be one." *In the Service of the Word of God*, for Fr. Canisius, Seripando was a model theologian who "burnt with the zeal for Church reform."



Born on 12 May 1914, Fr. Canisius was professor of biblical theology both at S. H. Seminary, Chethipuzha, Kerala and Dharmaram College, Bangalore. His profound scholarship coupled with deep spiritual experience enabled him to be a much acclaimed religious superior with a difference, as Rector of Dharmaram College, Provincial of Devamatha Province, Thrissur and Prior General of Carmelites of Mary Immaculate (CMI). In him we have the unique blending of scholarship with holiness, *in the Service of the Word of God*.

"I was full of admiration for the meticulous presentation of the theme. Fr. Canisius proves that he had a masterly knowledge even of the primary sources. He shows an admiring knowledge of the Greek, Latin, French, German, and Italian languages. According to the author, the exegete's primary duty is to study 'the original text, the restoring of it into its original purity, and rendering of it into the exegete's language, in as apt and as ordinary word as possible.' Indeed, Fr. Canisius' observation should serve as the élan vital for the modern scriptural scholars."

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