THE COMMENTARY OF SAINT ROBERT BELLARMINE
ON PSALM 118
IN THE EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial fulfilment of the requirements for
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This thesis examines the commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine on Psalm 118 in his work, the *Explanatio in psalmos*, a commentary on the 150 psalms of the Psalter written in Latin. Psalm 118 is the longest psalm consisting of 176 verses, organised into 22 strophes, with eight verses per strophe. The law of God is the subject of this acrostic psalm.

The examination is focused on the manner in which Saint Robert Bellarmine delivers his message, in terms of structure, style, language, and the use of sources. In looking at the structural aspects, the relative length of the commentary for the strophes, and the nature of subtitles are scrutinised. In stylistic considerations the overall features and the uses of stylistic devices are examined. In the use of sources we look at how, where, and why Saint Robert Bellarmine uses scriptural quotations, cites other authors, and discusses the Greek and Hebrew equivalents of selected phrases.

All instances of use of sources and stylistic devices are listed and commented upon. Comparisons also are made with the methodology of other authors commenting on Psalm 118, namely Saint Augustine, most frequently cited by Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Jerome, the author of Gallican Psalter. References are made to the commentary of Callan, a twentieth-century author.
To promote better understanding of this work, related matters, such as biographical details about Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome is also given as well a presentation in the Psalter, its theme, language and liturgical importance.

The conclusion focuses on the identity of intended audience and the benefits of studying good Latin texts. Besides greatly benefiting priests and religious who use the Psalter in their daily prayers, the intended audience includes Protestants as well, since Saint Robert Bellarmine demonstrates makes such frequent use of Saint Augustine, who is greatly respected by Protestants. Recommendations are made for promoting Latin literacy and methods of commenting on Latin texts are suggested, which would promote this aim.
Dedicated to Patrona Hungariae and her children.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This chapter has the following sections:

- The subject of the thesis
- The importance of the topic
- The rationale for the choice of a psalm commentary
- Comments on the life of Saint Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621)
- Comments on the lives of Saint Augustine (334-430) and Saint Jerome (342-420)
- The organisation of the subject matter

**The subject of the thesis**

This thesis examines the Latin commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine on Psalm 118. Saint Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) was a sixteenth-century Cardinal, imbued with the Jesuit tradition and a highly erudite and respected polemicist at the time of the Counter-Reformation. The commentary on Psalm 118 is taken from his work, *Explanatio in psalmos* (Explanations on the psalms), in which he elucidates sequentially all 150 psalms of the Psalter.
In the course of analysing the *Explanatio in psalmos*, frequent mention for the purposes of comparison will also be made to two other commentaries on the psalms, namely the *Enarrationes in psalmos* by Saint Augustine (354-430) and the *Breviarium in psalmos* of Saint Jerome (circa 345-420).  

Using Saint Augustine as a point of reference seemed an obvious choice; he is the most frequently quoted author in the *Explanatio in psalmos*. Although Saint Robert Bellarmine also quotes from the psalm commentaries of other contemporaries of Saint Augustine such as Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose and Saint Hilary, he does not do it as often as in the case of Saint Augustine. As Appendix K and Appendix L show, out of a total number of 29 references to other authors, Saint Robert Bellarmine mentions Saint Augustine 24 times; in 12 instances, only the opinion of Saint Augustine is quoted.

In searching for a contemporary of Saint Augustine, whose approach was different, Saint Jerome seemed to be the ideal choice. His significance lies in the production of the Vulgate Bible. He is also the author of the Gallican Psalter. This is the psalm text on which the *Explanatio in psalmos*, the *Enarrationes in psalmos*, and his own commentary, the *Breviarium in psalmos* are based.

I have also made occasional references to a twentieth-century English commentary on the psalms, *The psalms*, by Rev. Father Callan OP. It is useful from the point of view of seeing to what degree, if any, did perceptions changed in the intervening three and half centuries. Due to the fact that commentary of Callan was written in

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1 There are different opinions about the birth-date of Saint Jerome. See Murphy, Francis X “Saint Jerome, the irascible hermit” in Murphy, Francis X. ed. (1952) *A monument To Saint Jerome*, 4-5.

2 Callan, C. (1944) *The psalms*. 
English, references to his work are best handled in the concluding session, where the
difficulties inherent in working with a text translated into English rather than with the
Latin version will also be discussed. Putting the English commentary of Callan next to
works written in Latin creates a situation in which one is comparing apples with pears,
leading nowhere and if anywhere, then only to innumerable digressions. In contrast,
references and quotations from Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome are essential
components of the main text.

The importance of the topic

The discussion of a Latin commentary on a work written in Latin will show how
worthwhile it is to comment on a work in the language in which it was written, and will
also serve as the means to advocate the promotion of Latin literacy. Within the last few
decades, Latin literacy has been pushed into the backroom of a few dedicated scholars
whilst the proportion of people able to read original works in the language in which they
were written has decreased. With translation, a certain amount of distortion is inevitable,
even if one is careful to avoid the trap of colouring the original with one’s own
perceptions. Passing along our cultural heritage in a distorted form will culturally
impoverish us all, including future generations. This point is equally valid for the fields
of literature, history, philosophy, poetry and ecclesiastical Latin, where the switch to the
vernacular was drastic enough to result in spirited debates about the wisdom of this trend.

Commentaries on the psalms are in the nature of biblical apologetics and therefore
definitely fall under the heading of ecclesiastical Latin. I am not alone in my belief that
ecclesiastical Latin is not just a poor cousin of secular Latin. Ecclesiastical Latin can be
just as elegant and expressive as the language used for more secular works, and therefore works written in it are fit subjects for serious academic endeavours. The merits of the *Explanatio in psalmos* will serve to illustrate this point.

**The rationale for the choice of a psalm commentary**

The fact that Saint Augustine, and Saint Jerome both wrote commentaries on the psalms was one of the factors in favour of choosing the *Explanatio in psalmos* as the subject of this thesis. The opportunity to make comparison with other authors was not the only factor in the selection of a psalm commentary as the subject of analysis; other types of work such as apologetics could also have been chosen. However, when we bear other factors in mind as well, psalm commentary seems the ideal choice.

The literary output of Saint Robert Bellarmine was considerable, and covered many areas. Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome were also prolific writers, and just as Saint Robert Bellarmine, they also authored works on apologetics. However, the problems of the fourth and fifth centuries were different from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to such an extent that their manner of dealing with the topics of the day differed significantly even on similar topics, let alone the difference in the topics; any comparison would have had to be restricted to language and style.

This point is especially relevant when the focus is on Saint Robert Bellarmine, with his vast literary output. His lengthiest, weightiest and most widely read works are in the genre of apologetics. Both Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome have also written in the defence of the faith, combating heresies by elucidating Catholic dogma and attempting to
show the untenable nature of their opponents’ views. However, the problems of the fourth and fifth centuries were different enough from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to make comparison of apologetic works futile even if we are justified in conceding that the views and beliefs of the apologists essentially were the same and in spite of appearances at first glance, none of the heresies was without some common features.

The argument, which dissuades one against comparing apologetic works because they are too dissimilar, becomes a strong incentive for the choice of commentaries on identical texts. Proceeding this way it is easier to answer the question as to what degree were the perceptions communicated differently and what part did the estimated intellectual capacity and spiritual orientation of the listeners play in the ways of expressing the same truths in a different manner. In psalm commentary, the authors are writing about the same text.

The other challenges represented by comparing commentaries on the psalms hinge on the poetic nature of the psalms. In commenting on poetry the commentator himself becomes a poet to some degree. This internal exchange is perhaps more marked with the purely aesthetic poets where the importance of the form outweighs the importance of communicating a certain message clearly; nevertheless this internal exchange is still there even when the poetic work is perused in the nature of a pronouncement by the poet as vates, e.g. educator, leader and inspirer in the sense of the well known poem, *Odi vulgus profanum* of Horace. It is undeniable that the writers of the psalms belonged to the category of vates. The view that that the authors of the psalms, alongside with all other authors of the Holy Scriptures, were writing under divine
inspiration belongs to the category of dogmatic truths. This was a tenet to which all three commentators were bound to subscribe and did so. Were they also affected, becoming in turn a vates for themselves as well, or did the need to instruct the readers militate against this?

Comments on the life of Saint Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621)

Saint Robert Bellarmine was gifted in many fields. He was preacher, teacher and diplomat, so skilful and capable and so richly endowed intellectually that several popes reigning in his lifetime made a point of having him near them, and made use of his talents by assigning him to committees dealing with issues of particular importance. Parallel with these assignments, Saint Robert Bellarmine also continued to write, except perhaps during his tenure as archbishop of Capua. He made his name whilst quite young when as Professor of Controversial Theology in Rome, when he refuted Protestant doctrines by his lectures which were subsequently published. The Protestants considered him one of their most formidable foes in debates. This was especially so in England where in the questioning of Catholic doctrinal teachings, more ink was spilled on refuting Saint Robert Bellarmine than any of his contemporaries.

From the time of his entry to the Jesuits until his death, Saint Robert Bellarmine remained first and foremost a faithful religious of his Order, more concerned with working for his salvation than with anything else. Indeed, he wept through his investiture as Cardinal, an honour which literally was forced on him by the Pope, who made acceptance of this dignity a matter of obedience.
The *Explanatio in psalmos* marks a watershed in the writing career of Saint Robert Bellarmine, for after the completion of this work he turned his attention away from apologetics and wrote almost exclusively spiritual tracts. Indeed, even the beginning of his work on the *Explanatio in psalmos* marks a milestone, since Saint Robert Bellarmine started his work on the *Explanatio in psalmos* shortly after his installation as a Cardinal as a means of relaxation, written in moments snatched from more public labours. For Saint Robert Bellarmine writing the *Explanatio in psalmos* was similar to a preventive health measure to preserve bodily health. It was his deep faith in action which fuelled his many public acts; however, faith has to be nourished and time needs to be taken for the provision of this through prayer and contemplation. Writing about the psalms was an eminently sensible choice, especially if we bear in mind that then as now, one of the religious obligations of priests consists of praying the Divine Office; in those days this entailed reciting the whole Psalter in the course of each week. As he himself said in the dedication of the *Explanatio in psalmos* to Pope Paul V:

> Quare illas horas quibus a publica functione vacabam ac praesertim nocturna tempora in meditacione davidicorum hymnorum non sine animi voluptate et utilitate consumpsi. (Therefore I spent those hours in which I was free from public function and especially the times of the night in the meditation of the hymns of David not without the pleasure and benefit to my [lit. of] soul.)

**Comments on the lives of Saint Augustine (334-430) and Saint Jerome (342–420)**

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Both Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome are numbered among the Fathers of the Church. They were closely involved in repudiating various heresies and are widely read to this day. Living more than 1000 years before the time of Saint Robert Bellarmine, they are among the earliest authors who provided commentaries on the entire Psalter of 150 psalms and whose works are still extant.

Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome corresponded with each other. They did not agree on everything; however, these differences were not so significant so as to exclude mutual esteem or to call in question the orthodoxy of each other. Although there are points of similarity between Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome, their background and main preoccupations were dissimilar. Their more detailed biographies will be presented in Chapter 2; the few highlights given here will suffice as justification for using their psalm commentaries as a reference point for the comparison between the *Explanatio in psalmos* and their psalm commentaries.

Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in North Africa, was Roman to the very marrow of his bone both by native background and by education. For most of his life, he lived and worked in wholly Romanised North Africa. Although not a monk, he was not entirely a stranger to monastic tradition for he lived in community with others inclined to the contemplative life. Indeed, he is hailed as the author of the Augustinian rule, one of the four rules of religious life approved at the Fourth Lateran Council for the use of religious congregations. Saint Augustine was well versed in rhetoric and noted for his skill as a preacher. There is a connection between rhetoric and philosophy and this is observable in Saint Augustine as well. The great interest in philosophy of Saint

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Augustine enabled him to establish the language of Christian philosophy. This achievement of transplanting philosophy from pagan to a Christian milieu parallels the work of Cicero, who established Latin philosophical language from texts hitherto only using Greek.

Saint Jerome hailed from Illyria, lived in and studied in the Greek speaking East, and spent most of his life in Bethlehem as a monk. His sojourn in the East also gave him the opportunity to study under Saint Gregory Nazianzen in Constantinople. From Constantinople Saint Jerome went to Rome. It was in Rome that Saint Jerome began working on a task which became the principal work for the rest of his life; he was entrusted by Pope Saint Damasus with producing an authoritative edition of the Holy Scriptures, known as the Vulgate. After Rome came Bethlehem. Saint Jerome spent the rest of his life in Bethlehem as a monk, directing the monastic communities which he established there. Saint Jerome neither had such an in depth background in rhetoric as Saint Augustine nor did he exhibit any marked leaning towards philosophy. First and foremost he was a theologian, who was also an outstanding linguist.

Both Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome wrote in Latin. However, the extent to which they were able to make use of source works in other languages depended on their familiarity with other languages, especially Greek and Hebrew.

As far as familiarity with Greek and Hebrew goes, Saint Augustine had very little Hebrew. He studied Greek as a foreign language, and according to his own comments in
the *Confessiones* (Confessions), disliked it.\(^5\) He had sufficient Greek to read the Holy Scriptures written in Greek in the original and also some of the Greek authors.

In contrast, Saint Jerome was a linguist par excellence. He was fluent in Greek as well and also well versed in Hebrew by virtue of studies with Jewish scholars, whom he reimbursed for their instruction on a scale which, according to him, was quite generous. Others have also recognised the gifts of Saint Jerome, witness the fact that he was entrusted by Pope Saint Damasus with producing the authoritative edition of the Holy Scriptures, known as the Vulgate.

**The organisation of the subject matter**

In planning the sequence of the chapters I have endeavoured to ensure that when the central theme, analysis of the commentaries of Saint Robert Bellarmine on Psalm 118 is expounded, enough background information is provided so that it will be easy to see the importance of the psalms in the life of Saint Robert Bellarmine, seeing why he wrote a commentary on the psalms and why he wrote it when he wrote it.

The central focus of this thesis is a detailed analysis of the text of the commentary on Psalm 118 in the *Explanatio in psalmos* in terms of structure and content. Chapters 2 and 3 supply the background information to the backbone of the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides biographical details about Saint Robert Bellarmine. This information serves to indicate the degree to which he was qualified to comment on the psalms, how his psalm commentaries have fitted into his activities, and since he was a prolific writer, into the corpus of his works. Providing background information on the

lives of Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine is helpful towards comprehending their interest in writing commentaries on the psalms and their particular approach to the psalms.

The next step in the process of providing background information is to look at the topic itself, that is, the psalms. Consideration is given to the nature of the genre, the various Latin translations and liturgical use. Generalised statements on the use of the psalms in the devotional life of Catholics shed some light on the reason for the interest of not only Saint Robert Bellarmine, but also of Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine in this topic, also indicating how familiar all three were with the psalm texts. The last consideration in the chapter on the psalms has the aim to justify the selection of Psalm 118, showing that this psalm encompasses enough features of the genre of psalms to be a good representative segment of it.

The structure of the commentary on Psalm 118, auxiliary sources used, its language, and its style are discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Structural considerations deal with length per segment, allocation of paragraphs, and subtitles. Chapter 5 looks at the three principal sources of supplementary information, namely comparison of Latin phrases with their Hebrew and Greek equivalents, use of Scriptural quotations, and reference to the views of other commentators. The concluding chapter examines the circumstances giving rise to the *Explanatio in psalmos*, its effect on the author and others, including those living in the present century.
CHAPTER 2
THE LIFE OF SAINT ROBERT BELLARMINE, WITH NOTES ON
SAINT AUGUSTINE AND SAINT JEROME

This chapter has the following sections:

- Preliminary comments
- A. The life of Saint Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621)
- B. The life of Saint Augustine (334-430)
- C. The life of Saint Jerome (342-420)

PRELIMINARY COMMENTS

When we look at the lives of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome, and we see how greatly they contributed to the intellectual and spiritual formation of souls in their wholehearted dedication of their life to the service of the Catholic Church, we can only bow our heads before such great talents and natural endowments for one single purpose.

In devoting a chapter to biographical details of Saint Robert Bellarmine my principal aim is to see the man behind the pen. There will also be a briefer glance at the details of the lives of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome in order to place the *Explanatio in psalmos* more fully into the intellectual currents which influenced it.
Several questions come to mind:

- Why did they write commentaries on the psalms?
- Why did they write these works at that particular point in their writing careers, rather than sooner or later?
- In what way did the authors themselves benefit from dealing with the psalms?
- What did others, either contemporaries or of subsequent generations, gain from this work?
- What segment of the Catholic Church benefited most from their psalm commentaries?

At this point it may be helpful to summarise some of the similarities in the lives of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome. After looking at this, we shall paint a word portrait for each. Their common characteristics can be summarised in three points:

- They spent a significant portion of their lives in the service of the Catholic Church.
- They all bear the title “Doctor of the Church”.
- They contributed much to the welfare of the Church with their writings.

All three had Catholics in their families but Saint Augustine was baptised only in early adulthood. ¹ However, a fact which applies to him as much as the other two is that

¹ Of the three authors, only Saint Robert Bellarmine was born after the Protestant reformation, so he is Catholic in different sense, e.g. Catholic as opposed to Protestant. In the case of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome Christian would be an acceptable term.
once he was inside the Church, he did not look for truth elsewhere; rather, he energetically combated the prevalent heresies and dogmatic errors of his day. All three of them wrote polemical tracts and two of them, namely Saint Augustine and Saint Robert Bellarmine, were publicly renowned as eloquent preachers. It is true that Saint Jerome also preached, both in Rome and later on in Bethlehem, but his fame as a writer and accomplished linguist took the limelight; we owe the existence of the Vulgate Bible to him. Furthermore, of this trio of commentators, he was the only one whose non-literary activities consisted solely of directing his monastic community. This role made him responsible for the spiritual welfare of his monastic subjects. Spiritual conferences and sermons were among the methods of guidance for the monks and nuns. Although his sermons could, and presumably did, benefit listeners from all walks of life, the aim of guiding the nuns and the monks had to be kept at the forefront.

Although Saints come from all walks of life, Doctors of the Church are usually found among the ranks of clergy and religious. The category of religious includes women as well; for example Saint Theresa of Avila, the Carmelite reformer, is a Doctor of the Church and her writings are the staple of contemplative souls to this day.²

That priestly and religious life are the breeding ground of saintly theologians makes good sense. Teaching is in essence transmitting knowledge and as an old adage says: *Nemo dat quod non habet* (Nobody gives what he does not have). A good teacher

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² Her autobiography, *The way of perfection*, and *The interior castle* are the most noted of her writings. See Peers, Allison, ed. (1946) *The complete works of Saint Theresa of Jesus.*
knows his subject and also is consistently enlarging on his storehouse of knowledge by means of continuous and diligent efforts.  

The qualifications to be selected for a Doctor of the Church are even greater than marks of esteem for university professors in secular academia. Professors in the secular world are usually quite free to speculate high and wide in the name of academic freedom. In the case of Doctors of the Church, excursions into speculation are kept within the boundaries of dogmatic axioms. The Doctor restrains himself or herself from publicly advancing views so speculative that they would confuse or unsettle the audience of the worldwide classroom of the Doctor, namely the Catholic faithful at large. Needless to say, this approach does not require permission before any intellectual exploration; it only entails not transgressing certain limits.

The need to stay within the bounds of orthodoxy may bring with it the obligation to accept a “No!” from ecclesiastical Superiors, which is by no means easy. However, a future Doctor of the Church is usually well prepared for this task by virtue of functioning in a clerical or religious setting, where habitual obedience is instilled into the subject during the formative years. The Doctor of the Church also brings to his or her task the aids provided to acquire a deep spiritual life, namely sufficient time for daily prayer and meditation, which is an aid in the acquisition of confidence and discernment.

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3 Here as elsewhere, when ‘he”, “him” or “his” refers not to an individual but to a category of persons, it should be understood that these words are inclusive of women as well, e.g. “he” is a short-hand for “he” and “she”, “him” is a short-hand for “him” and “her”, and his for “his” and “hers”.
A. THE LIFE OF SAINT ROBERT BELLARMINE (1542-1621).

This section has the following subsections:

- Introductory remarks.
- Saint Robert Bellarmine, Jesuit.
- Saint Robert Bellarmine, Jesuit, at the service of the Holy See.
- Saint Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal.
- The writings of Saint Robert Bellarmine.

Introductory remarks.

The sketch on the life of Saint Robert Bellarmine presented here is based on his Latin autobiography, written towards the end of his life at the behest of his superiors, and on an excellent biography by Rev. Father James Brodrick SJ, *The life and work of Blessed Robert Francis Cardinal Bellarmine, SJ.* This biography was published in 1928. Subsequently, the author revised it and published it in 1961 under the title of *Robert Bellarmine, Saint and scholar.*

The two key points in the life of Saint Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) were his entry into the Jesuit order in 1560 at the age of 18 years, and his elevation to the rank of Cardinal in 1599. From the time of his entry in to the Jesuit order, he devoted his energies

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4 My preference is for the more detailed work of 1928. In the 1928 edition the biography proper consists of 938 pages. There is also an appendix of 87 pages, which includes the autobiography of Saint Robert Bellarmine, excerpts from his writings and documents pertaining to his beatification in 1923. The 1961 edition is a revised version of the first biography and seems to cater more to popular tastes. In trying to adapt to contemporary currents of thought, it is more circumspect or one might even say, less frank, on controversial topics. It is less detailed, consisting of only 423 pages, and it is less rigorous academically, witness the absence of an appendix and even of an index of names, places, etc.
wholeheartedly to serve the Church in a large variety of tasks to which his Superiors directed him. His life was spent in preaching, teaching, administrative duties, diplomatic missions and advisory and consultative work, especially as a Cardinal but to some extent, even prior to this. Chronologically, his activities can be divided into three categories, namely his assignments within the Jesuit order between 1560 and 1589, and his activities as a Cardinal between 1599 and 1621, and the years between 1589 and 1599, the time before his formal elevation to the rank of a Cardinal, when prominent ecclesiastical figures and even popes already made use of his talents for the Church at large.

**Saint Robert Bellarmine, Jesuit.**

When Saint Robert Bellarmine entered the Jesuit order in 1560, signs of his writing ability were already present. He wrote several poems as a schoolboy and took part in some disputations. He and his cousin decided roughly at the same time to enter the Jesuits, but at the request of their families a waiting period of one year was imposed to make sure that their vocations were genuine. It is interesting to note and perhaps typical of the approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine, who demonstrated a tendency to deal with tasks as they presented themselves, that rather than engaging in theological studies before entering the Order, during the waiting period the two boys devoted themselves in a rural setting to the study of the Classics, especially Virgil and Cicero.

It was not long after his entry to religious life that the Jesuits made use of his outstanding abilities. After three years of philosophical studies at the Collegium Romanum, Saint Robert Bellarmine was sent to Florence because of his poor health, where his principal duty consisted in teaching. However, he was asked to deliver one
sermon; after this, his talents for preaching were made use of fully, long before he reached the stage of formation at which it was customary to be assigned such duties. Customarily preachers were ordained priests. When Saint Robert Bellarmine began to preach, he was barely 21 years old and he had not yet begun his theological studies for the priesthood. In Padua, too, where he started his theological studies, he continued to preach. In 1569 he was sent to Louvain to complete his theological studies. The reason why the Superior General decided on the transfer was to make use of his preaching talents there, in order to counteract the influence of Michael Baius, a forerunner of the Jansenists. Within a year of his arrival and after barely three years of theological studies, he was ordained as a priest at the request of the Jesuit Provincial Superior. Within six months of his ordination, Saint Robert Bellarmine was appointed as the first Jesuit professor at Louvain to teach a course in theology newly established by the Jesuits.

He was next assigned to the Collegium Romanum, as Professor of Controversial Theology. The chair of Controversial Theology was first established in 1564 but it was not a success. It had been disestablished at least once before. On the whole, it was allowed to languish; it did not become viable until Saint Robert Bellarmine arrived on the scene. The establishment of the Chair of Controversial Theology was a response to the publication of the *Centuriators of Magdeburg* by Protestant theologians. In this work they pointed to the difference between contemporary Catholic rites and the simple rites of the Church at the time of the Apostles.

This professorial assignment also marked a serious step in his writing career, for the contents of his lectures began to be published in 1584, under the title of
Controversiae (Controversies). The publication of the Controversiae stimulated considerable interest both on the Protestant and on the Catholic side, and were eagerly studied by friend and foe alike. The Protestants recognised a dangerous adversary to their cause and spent much time and energy in refuting the Controversiae, just as they subsequently did other tracts of Saint Robert Bellarmine, with William Whittaker, Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge University, leading the offensive. On the Catholic side, the Jesuits, who had first claim on the energies of Saint Robert Bellarmine, made haste to profit from the presence of an eminent controversialist among them. They sent practically all complicated theological questions for the review and comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine. Rome, too, noticed the emergence of this talented warrior. The Pope and the princes of the Church took notice and, as their subsequent actions showed, soon made good use of his talents. We shall return again to the examination of the writing career of Saint Robert Bellarmine in greater detail, after we have completed the task of tracing his path from assignment to assignment.

Saint Robert Bellarmine, Jesuit, at the service of the Holy See.

Up to 1597, the main assignments for Saint Robert Bellarmine were made by his Superiors, but parallel to these he also carried out tasks given to him by various popes. In 1588 his Jesuit Superiors appointed him as Spiritual Director to the Collegium Romanum; in 1592 he became the Rector of the same College. In 1594 he went to Naples.

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5 Eventually the Controversiae expanded to three volumes. These were published in 1593. See Brodrick (1928) v. 1, 146.

6 1593 is the date of the formal publication; however, copies have been in circulation even before that date, witness Protestant responses to it as early as 1588.
to take up the post of Provincial Superior of Naples. There were also other assignments during this period which he undertook at the behest of various popes. In October 1589 Saint Robert Bellarmine accompanied Cardinal Cajetan on an embassy to France, which at that time was torn by civil war between Catholics and Protestants. There was a danger that the country might fall into the hands of a Protestant ruler and thus cease to be a Catholic country. The sojourn in France included a stay in Paris during its siege by Henry of Navarre. The embassy achieved nothing and it came to an end when Pope Sixtus V died and Cardinal Cajetan had to return to a conclave in Rome to participate in the election of a new pope.

The next task consisted in working on the revision of the Vulgate Bible. This affair stretched over the reign of three popes. The need for this revision had been foreseen four decades previously. The introduction of printing and the emergence of Protestantism resulted in a welter of bibles being in circulation, with misprints occurring rather frequently. The Council of Trent addressed this issue during its fourth session in 1546 by stating in the disciplinary decree *Insuper* (Furthermore) that the Vulgate Bible was the authoritative version of the Bible for use in sermons, public disputations and writings. The Council also ordered a textual revision. The issue of this revision was lying dormant until the arrival of the rather energetic Pope Sixtus V on the scene. Previously, the Pope had already used the assistance of Saint Robert Bellarmine in his revision of the Septuagint and an edition of the writings of Saint Ambrose before he placed him on the commission charged with the revision of the Vulgate Bible. This commission was headed by Cardinal

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7 Subsequently, Henry of Navarre embraced the Catholic faith, made his peace with Rome and was crowned as Henry IV.

8 Brodrick refers to him as a “consecrated whirlwind”; see Brodrick (1928), 277.
Carafa. However, the Pope became dissatisfied with the work of the commission and disbanded it. Unfortunately, Pope Sixtus V decided to carry out the revision single-handedly, with rather disastrous consequences. There were accidental omissions, sometimes of quite long portions of the text. Some of the changes were also inappropriate. In addition, Pope Sixtus V altered the division of the text into verses. At the time of his death, a few copies of his revised text were already in circulation. An attempt was made to buy them all up and the work of revision was restarted once again, with the participation of Saint Robert Bellarmine. The work of revision was completed under Clement VIII and published with a preface which gave credit to Pope Sixtus V for the revision and ascribed the defects to printers’ errors, without detailing the defects of the original Sistine edition.

In 1597 Pope Clement VIII recalled Saint Robert Bellarmine to Rome from Naples and appointed him papal theologian. The last post of Saint Robert Bellarmine to which the Jesuit Superior General assigned him was Rector to the Penintenzieria, a post confining him to Rome. In the same year, Saint Robert Bellarmine became a Cardinal. During these years of double obligations, Saint Robert Bellarmine often interceded with the Pope, or at least presented the view of the Society of Jesus when problems arose.

**Saint Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal.**

As a Cardinal, the main function of Saint Robert Bellarmine was to advise the pope either on a one-to-one basis or as a member of various consultative bodies. His new status brought with it a life of pomp and ceremony, different from the simple way of Jesuit Fathers. His reluctance to accept the honours was so great that he simply had to be
ordered by Pope Clement VIII to submit in obedience. Saint Robert Bellarmine did so; however, he wept throughout the ceremony of his installation.

A Cardinal is a Prince of the Church. In the formal atmosphere of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it meant keeping a largish establishment, with a retinue of servants and gentlemen-in-waiting, who accompanied him when he went to the consistories. The setting also had to be elegant enough for the reception of high-ranking visitors. Saint Robert Bellarmine was surrounded by many members of his household and received many visitors, yet he was separated from those among whom he had lived for close to four decades, namely from his Jesuit brethren. Trying to change the setting would have been inconceivable, for this would make a mockery of his obedience to the wishes of the Pope.\(^9\) However, there were areas in which he could be his own master. The absolute regularity of his prayer life and to a lesser extent, his work routine on those days when other obligations made this possible, were areas under his control, as was his habitual ascetism in terms of fasting and depriving himself of extra heat or extra layers of clothing in winter. He was generous to the needy, providing alms to the poor and giving his attention to the personal problems of those who approached him for help.

In his working life, Saint Robert Bellarmine was involved with all the weighty affairs of the Holy See, such as the troubles of Venice, when that Republic was placed under an interdict, the beginnings of the Galileo affair, the troubles of the Bishop of Lucca, and the question of the oath which the English Catholics were urged to swear when to do so would conflict with their fidelity to the Catholic faith. As regular fare, he was Prefect of four congregations. His religious background and training made him very

\(^9\) He would be a Cardinal but in a setting of his own devising and not in the customary one for Cardinals.
valuable as counsellor and helper to many religious Orders. He became the Cardinal Protector of the Celestines. Probably his most time consuming efforts concerned the work with the Benedictine abbots on the revision of the monastic *Breviarium* and its adaptation for use by the entire Benedictine Order.

As theologian to the Pope he was duty-bound to be cognizant of all the theological controversies of the day. Among these, the dispute about free will and grace between Dominicans and Jesuits occupied a place of prominence both on account of the vehemence of the opposing parties and the length of the conflict. The precipitating event was the publication of the *Concordia* (concord) by the Spanish Jesuit, Molina, after which heated arguments erupted between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. Both parties sought recourse to the Holy See. In 1594 the Pope imposed silence on both, whilst the decision was pending; predictably, both parties chafed under this restriction and the affair gained prominence again. Clement VIII seemed to waver between favouring now one side, now the other. When the size of the dossier on which he was supposed to pronounce judgment had swollen to an enormous size, the Pope sought the advice of Saint Robert Bellarmine, his theologian *ex officio*. When the latter gave definite recommendations on how to bring this affair to a conclusion, the Pope found the advice too straightforward and decided to remove Saint Robert Bellarmine from Rome. Saint Robert Bellarmine was installed as the archbishop of Capua in 1602. As in all areas, Saint Robert Bellarmine was also competent in running his archdiocese. Saint Robert Bellarmine returned to Rome only after the death of Pope Clement VIII, when requested to do so by the new pope, Pope Paul V.
In August 1621 Pope Gregory XV granted the wish of Saint Robert Bellarmine to retire to Saint Andrea, the Jesuit novitiate house on the Quirinal. In less than a month, the Cardinal was dead; he died on September 17, 1621.

The writings of Saint Robert Bellarmine.

The writing career of Saint Robert Bellarmine stretches across all three periods listed above. The theological work, *Controversiae*, which made him famous, was published in 1584, his last book in 1620, just a year before his death. However, he started writing before 1584. His very first book dates from his Louvain period. This was a Hebrew grammar, written shortly after he began to learn Hebrew in order to be able to teach it to his students in the course of their biblical studies. Saint Robert Bellarmine wrote this grammar because he considered most available textbooks too complex and somewhat confusing.

Just as the preaching ability of Saint Robert Bellarmine became evident with practically his very first sermon, so was his fame as a writer established upon the publication of his first volume of the *Controversiae*, based on his lecture notes delivered at the Collegium Romanum when he was appointed as Professor of Controversial Theology.

After the *Controversiae*, Saint Robert Bellarmine wrote several more apologetic tracts. He commented on the Lutheran version on the birth of the Holy Roman Empire and the Book of Concord. His comments on the Book of Concord were not intended for publication, but were a private reply to an acquaintance, who sent him this book from the

10 1569-1576.
Lutheran press. The acquaintance in turn promptly sent the reply of Saint Robert Bellarmine to the printers. The emergence of this book caused a spirited public discussion among the theological faculty of Wittenberg.\footnote{This university was run by the Lutherans.}

In general, the theological questions discussed in the \textit{Controversiae} served to instruct Catholics. The \textit{Controversiae} also occasioned spirited debates among Protestant scholars and produced written rejoinders from them. However, the chapter on the temporal powers of the popes caused heated discussions among Catholics as well. The French attacked the views of Saint Robert Bellarmine because he conceded too much power to the pope; the Roman canonists complained that he conceded too little.\footnote{This sentence is an almost verbatim quotation from Brodrick, just shortened a little. See Brodrick (1928), v. 1, 269.} Indeed, much to the dismay of the Jesuits, Pope Sixtus V put the \textit{Controversiae} on the Index. However, the decree was not yet published when the Pope died, and his successor, Pope Urban VIII, promptly withdrew the decree soon after his ascension to the papal throne.

In his middle period, the majority of the writings of Saint Robert Bellarmine were focused less on theological controversies and were aimed more to deepen the faith of his fellow Catholics. His catechism, a tract on the duties of bishops, and his written recommendation for the \textit{Ratio Studiorum} (the scheme of studies) for the Jesuits at the request of his Superiors belong to this middle period.\footnote{Saint Robert Bellarmine was the secretary of the commission which reviewed drafts from several contributors and formulated the final scheme.} His writings in defence of the characters of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio against attacks by overzealous writers also belong to this period.\footnote{See Brodrick (1928), v. 1, 369-374.}
Next to the *Controversiae*, the written exchanges between Saint Robert Bellarmine and King James I of England generated the most public excitement. These tracts on the rights of kings stretch over several years.\(^{15}\)

The first tract of Saint Robert Bellarmine, *Hieraticon doron*, was a response to the anti-Catholic statements of the *Basilicon doron*, which James I wrote for the guidance of Prince Henry, his eldest son. It seems that once these two eminent figures started, neither side was in a hurry to cease. At the next turn it was King James I who responded to a published letter from Saint Robert Bellarmine. In 1608 the English Archpriest, Blackwell, took the Oath of Allegiance, which the King demanded from Catholic subjects.\(^{16}\) Saint Robert Bellarmine pointed out that this oath was so worded that it could not be taken by Catholics.\(^{17}\) The King published anonymously the *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus* (A threefold wedge for a threefold knot), but both the style and the royal arms on the front page indicated the true authorship of this tract. Pope Paul V requested that Saint Robert Bellarmine reply to this; however, it seemed more prudent not to publish under his own name so he borrowed the name of his almoner, Matthew Torti. This ruse was too transparent; the English accurately surmised the identity of the author. Response upon response followed. Not only did King James I curtail the time spent on his pastimes such as hunting to reply, but others also joined in these exchanges, including some English Catholics, who were in favour of the Oath of Allegiance, namely Barclay and

\(^{15}\) James I had an exaggerated respect for royal prerogatives. His views are usually referred to as the divine right of kings.

\(^{16}\) During the penal times in England, the Holy See did not appoint bishops but there was an Archpriest.

\(^{17}\) The Pope himself made the decision on this.
Widdrington. The last contribution to the debate was by Schulken, a German theologian, who based his reply on a tract by Saint Robert Bellarmine.

The *Explanatio in psalmos* marks a watershed in the writing career of Saint Robert Bellarmine. As noted before, Saint Robert Bellarmine started to write this work as a spiritually refreshing relaxation from his numerous labours. He started writing the *Explanatio in psalmos* in 1599, shortly after becoming a Cardinal, and finished it in 1611. Originally, he may not even have wished to publish it; however, once his friends knew that he was writing on the psalms, they clamoured for the publication of this commentary.

After the *Explanatio in psalmos*, the only work by Saint Robert Bellarmine which is not spiritual in its nature was *The duty of the Christian Prince*, written in 1619 and dedicated to Crown Prince Ladislas of Poland. All his other works were spiritual tracts. They are listed in Table 2.1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tract</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td><em>De ascensione mentis in Deum per scalas rerum creatarum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the ascent of the mind to God through the scales of created things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td><em>De gemitu columbae sive de bono lachrymarum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the sigh of the dove or the good of the tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td><em>De septem verbo a Christo in cruce prolatis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the seven words brought forth on the cross by Christ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1619</td>
<td><em>Admonitio ad Episcopum Theanensem</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advice to the Bishop of Teano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td><em>De arte bene moriendi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the art of dying well.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: The spiritual writings of Saint Robert Bellarmine

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The appearance of so many spiritual works in the space of six years is unusual, especially because Saint Robert Bellarmine wrote nothing of this kind before the Explanatio in psalmos.

Prior to this time, we see Saint Robert Bellarmine chiefly in the trenches of the Counterreformation. He entered the vigorous Catholic-Protestant debates with the Controversiae, based on lecture notes to Catholic clerical students, then veered towards writing chiefly for the Catholic faithful, witness his Catechism and his work on the Ratio Studiorum (the scheme of studies) written for the use of his Jesuit brethren. There are also numerous responses from the pen of the papal theologian and later Cardinal to enquiries both to the different popes and also to other parties, who were either seeking information, or whom he perceived in need guidance to turn them away from the path of error.

The prominent place of the battle of books and tracts with King James I of England fits both into the category of debate with Protestants and into the category of succour to the Catholics of England, who were undergoing quite severe persecution and hence had a great need for theological understanding to strengthen them against persecution or seduction with plausible arguments.

This Jesuit Cardinal was constantly kept busy by others, yet in need of some relaxation as well; so he used his spare time to write about the psalms. The psalms were the daily fare of his prayer life, a prayer life in which recitation of the Breviarium played a major part. The eagerness of others to see the Explanatio in psalmos and soon, may have persuaded Saint Robert Bellarmine to continue this kind of writing, which, besides helping him with his meditations, also benefited others.
B. THE LIFE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE (334-430).

The life of Saint Augustine.

Saint Robert Bellarmine was a Jesuit and a Cardinal. In comparison, the life of Saint Augustine was both more complex and simpler.

The education of Saint Augustine was along contemporary Roman lines in a region where few people spoke Greek. Saint Augustine was taught in Latin but he also knew Punic.¹⁸ His proficiency in Greek was mediocre but he could read the Bible in Greek. Saint Augustine first studied in Madura, then in Carthage. His avocation was teaching rhetoric, which entailed quite deep immersion in philosophy as well.

In line with the prevailing customs of the time, Saint Augustine was baptized in early adult life, yet somewhat later than would have been expected of someone raised by a Christian mother. The delay was due to the dalliance of Saint Augustine with the Manicheans. His wholehearted conversion and acceptance of the Christian faith took place in Milan, where he was appointed as a teacher of Rhetoric in 384. In Milan, he came under the influence of Saint Ambrose. Saint Augustine was an intellectual and he had to know and understand before he could act. He needed time for reflection. Providence intervened in the shape of poor health, which prompted him to retire with some friends to Cassium, where they spent their time in study and discussion. There he had a major conversion experience, most movingly described in the *Confessiones*. He and

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¹⁸ This was one of the reasons why Bishop Valerianus, who did not know Punic well, asked him to preach, even before naming Saint Augustine his auxiliary bishop. See Thurston, H.J., Attwater, D., eds. (1971) *Butler's lives of the Saints*, v. 3, 430.
his friends returned to Milan and Saint Augustine was baptized in Milan in the spring of 387.

The conversion of Saint Augustine was wholehearted. He possessed the heightened fervour and a good intellectual grasp of the essentials of his religion which we often see to this day among converts, both to a new religion or a new political alliance.¹⁹

After his conversion, Saint Augustine sent away his concubine, with whom he had a monogamous relationship since 375 and who was the mother of his son, Adeodatus. In late 387 Saint Augustine set out on the journey to Africa in the company of his mother, Monica, his son Adeodatus, and some friends. His mother died in Ostia during this journey. His son died in 390, shortly after their return to Africa. After a short sojourn in Rome, the party sailed to Africa. Initially, Saint Augustine and his friends settled in the family estate in Tagaste to lead a life of prayer and study in common. It was from this community that the order of the Augustinian Canons, an order still in existence, took its origin. They soon fitted into the category, commonly known as servi Dei (servants of God), who kept close contact with their bishops and priests and were active in the local Christian community.

In those times, there was no formal training for the clergy. Priests were either handpicked by a bishop or elected by acclamation of the congregation. This latter method was especially common when it came to the selection of a bishop.²⁰ Saint Augustine was so afraid of this possibility that he avoided visiting towns which were

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¹⁹ This is quite understandable since conversion is at a great price, often entailing a break with old, familiar associations. One is most unlikely to pay this price without a deep conviction about the rightness of the drastic step taken.

²⁰ This was the way in which Saint Ambrose became bishop of Milan. He went there in his capacity as a Roman official and after addressing the community, he found himself proclaimed bishop when he was still a catechumen. His baptism and ordination to the priesthood followed only after his election. See See Thurston, H.J., Attwater, D., eds. (1971) v. 4, 509.
without a bishop. However, he thought that he could go safely to Hippo to look for a new site for his community, for Hippo had a bishop. Nevertheless, he did not escape his unwanted fate, for the congregation of Hippo chose him for priesthood by acclamation. Bishop Valerianus, who subsequently ordained Saint Augustine, greeted the acclamation with great joy. Bishop Valerianus was Greek, knew Latin, but never became proficient in the Punic dialect. He promptly commanded Saint Augustine to start preaching after his ordination. Since at that time preaching usually was done by the bishop, this was an acceleration of the normal timetable, just as it was in the case of Saint Robert Bellarmine about 1100 years later.

In 394 Valerianus made Saint Augustine his auxiliary bishop. When he died, Saint Augustine was made Bishop of Hippo. After his ordination to the priesthood, Saint Augustine moved his community to Hippo. However, this group soon dwindled to a very small size, as many of his members also became bishops, so that Saint Augustine also became separated from many of his companions, just as Saint Robert Bellarmine was cut off from close contact with his fellow Jesuits when he became a Cardinal.

As a bishop, Saint Augustine was both energetic and enthusiastic. He was diligent in his attempts to safeguard his flock from the Donatists. The Donatists split off from the Catholics when a controversy arose about ordaining a bishop, whom they considered a traitor to the faith during the earlier times of persecution. The Donatists had their own hierarchy and churches and were not averse to forceful methods, using the aid of Circumcellionists, a rather violent group of fanatics. By and large, the Donatists were confined to Roman Africa. \(^{21}\) They represented a menace both to their religious

\(^{21}\) For a short time, there were Donatists in Rome as well.
adversaries and to the Roman government. The bishops of Africa acted in concert both among themselves and with the Roman government. Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, was the leading episcopal figure. He relied greatly on Saint Augustine in this conflict as well in the battle against the Manicheans, and at a later period with the Pelagians.

Concerns with secular affairs were not confined to obtaining the aid of the government against the Donatist violence but also included coping with the ebb and flow of Roman politics. There were several uprisings. In the aftermath of one of these, Marcellus, a staunch supporter of the Catholic side against the Donatists and a long time friend of Saint Augustine, was executed. However, the greatest impact was from the sack of far away Rome by Alaric in 409. In the wake of this, a flood of refugees arrived in Africa, who all told their tales of horror. This event mandated some rethinking of the ideas on the differences between the Church and the political world, putting aside the possibility of a heaven-like Christianised world, very much hoped for after the conversion of Constantine. Saint Augustine put this all down in writing in the De civitate Dei (On the city of God).

The end of life of Saint Augustine was not unlike the beginning and most of his working life, namely, it was tied to the fortunes of Africa. During the Vandalian invasion Hippo was besieged; Saint Augustine died during the siege.

The writings of Saint Augustine.

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22 Catholic as opposed to Donatists or other heretical or schismatic groups.

The writings of Saint Augustine embrace a wide spectrum of subjects. There are commentaries on the books of the Bible, philosophical-moral tracts, works against heresies and a voluminous correspondence. The significance of Saint Augustine lies in establishing the framework of Christian philosophy. Peter Brown traces the steps by which Saint Augustine laid down the bases of Christian philosophy with the use of Neoplatonism.\textsuperscript{24} Marrou shows how Saint Augustine used the Roman educational system to create the Christian curriculum.\textsuperscript{25} For educated pagans, Saint Augustine was striving to show that Christianity makes sense intellectually, and even more so than paganism. He sought to make his Christian audience knowledgeable about their faith and philosophically sophisticated.

Most of the tracts of Saint Augustine were fairly rapidly completed; he continued work on them until he finished, bringing them to completion within a year or so. The exceptions to this are the three works where the preparation stretched over more than five years, namely \textit{Doctrina Christiana} (Christian doctrine), started in 396 and completed in 426, \textit{Enarrationes in psalmos} started in 392 and completed in 420, and \textit{De civitate Dei} (On the city of God), started in 413 and completed in 420.

The \textit{Doctrina Christiana} lays down the foundations of Christian philosophy; the \textit{De civitate Dei} helps believers to keep their faith and to defend it against attacks by the pagans in a world changed by the sack of Rome. Even though the \textit{Enarrationes in psalmos} does not have as specific an agenda as the two works previously cited, the length of time devoted to its composition throws this work into prominence. Furthermore, the

\textsuperscript{24} Brown, Peter (1969) \textit{Augustine of Hippo}, 101.

\textsuperscript{25} Marrou, Henri-Irénée (1938) \textit{Saint Augustin et la fin de culture antique}, 331 & ff.
cogent reasons which made it strongly advisable that the other two works should be written did not exist for a psalm commentary. It is true that Saint Augustine was asked to write something about the psalms; in fact, he received many such requests. When he honoured the request with a tract, it did not take more than one decade to prepare it. It is therefore conceivable that the same motivation, which was responsible for the *Explanatio in psalmos* by Saint Robert Bellarmine, existed here as well, and Saint Augustine wrote the *Enarrationes in psalmos* for himself as well as others. Saint Augustine wrote his commentary on the first 32 psalms in 392, probably in response to a request. After this he probably returned periodically to the psalms. It is likely that the need for some respite was probably greater when Saint Augustine was grappling with *De civitate Dei*, so he wrote more on the psalms at that time. This could explain the fact that these two works were completed in the same year.

The main advantage which the faithful derived from the *Explanatio in psalmos* is the same as from an exposition on any other book of the Bible, namely a deeper understanding of a portion of the Holy Scriptures. The chief beneficiaries would be the laity and the religious community of Saint Augustine; there were not many other monastic communities in that part of the world at that time, or many Latin-speaking communities anywhere. However, the disproportionately long commentary on Psalm 118 offers more than an explanation of the text. Here Saint Augustine often used the text of the psalm as a starting point for digressions on related theological questions raised

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26 *De civitate Dei* runs to 20 books. It is a very detailed tract, with subjects requiring much research, such as the gods in pagan religion, Roman history, and scriptural quotations. One of the main reasons why it was written was to deal with the impact of the sack of Rome in 409. Afterwards, the pagans had to be convinced that this tragedy did not occur because of the wane of paganism. Christians needed to realise that a Christian state was not necessarily protection against temporal evils. Writing this work required a lot of intellectual effort.
elsewhere in the Bible, witness the large number of scriptural quotations. This method is similar to the Platonist dialogues where we start with point A, learn more about point A and in addition, about point B as well, until we are ready to make point C, the conclusion of the author, our own.\textsuperscript{27}

C. THE LIFE OF SAINT JEROME (342-420).

The life of Saint Jerome

Saint Jerome was born around 342 into a well-to-do Christian family in Stridonium on the Dalmatian coast, a part of the world to which he never returned after he failed in his endeavours to establish monastic life there.\textsuperscript{28}

Saint Jerome received a good education in Rome and was an avid scholar both then and throughout his life. Of the three commentators he is the only one who also spent several years in the Greek-speaking parts of the Roman Empire. His desire for monastic life was born in Trier, where he went on a business trip. His attempt to lead a monastic existence near Aquileia came to nought; the group broke up. Whilst still in Aquilea, he met Evagrius from Antioch and on his advice decided to try monastic life in the East. He traversed the East until he arrived at Antioch in Syria. From there he departed to nearby Chalcis to live the life of a solitary monk in the desert for four years. He started to learn Hebrew at this time. In 379 Bishop Paulinus ordained him a priest, but Saint Jerome considered himself too imperfect for such honours and in consequence never exercised any public ministry or even celebrated the Holy Mass. Poor health and internal strife

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Symposium} and \textit{Crito} are good examples of this method.

\textsuperscript{28} Various authors place the date of birth anywhere between 342 and 347.342 is the date given by Thurston, Thurston, H.J., Attwater, D., eds. (1971), v. 3, 686.
within the Christian community made him decide to depart. In 382 Saint Jerome arrived in Rome. Rome provided two important beginnings which were good preparations for his future life. The first thing was his work as secretary to Pope Saint Damasus. The Pope, who noted the linguistic talents of Saint Jerome, directed him to create a good Latin translation of the New Testament out of the welter of translations in circulation at that time. Thus began the work of producing the Vulgate Bible. Although there were numerous intermissions after the death of Pope Saint Damasus in 384, in the end Saint Jerome fished translating the whole Bible in 402. By the time he started working on the Old Testament, he had gained greater proficiency in Hebrew, as he continued to study with a Hebrew tutor in Bethlehem.

The other sphere for which the foundation was laid in Rome was the eventual establishment of a monastic community in Bethlehem; Rome provided the first women candidates for this. Several upper class Roman women asked Saint Jerome for spiritual direction. Having so many women under his guidance brought so many malicious attacks on Jerome for impropriety and imprudence in direction that he was compelled to leave Rome shortly after the death of his mentor, Pope Saint Damasus. He travelled to the Holy Land in the company of his brother and a priest-friend Vincent. Paula and her daughter Eustochium joined them a few months later. The group travelled through the

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29 Thurston, H. J., Attwater, D., eds. v. 3, 687. There were several claimants for the position of the Bishop of Antioch. Saint Jerome refused to be drawn into this and simply followed the advice of Pope Saint Damasus on this matter.

30 Thurston, H.J., Attwater, D., eds. (1971), v. 3, 688. Some of these attacks were in retaliation for the rather acidic comments of Saint Jerome on worldly priests.
Holy Land and in the end decided to establish a monastery in Bethlehem. The monastery had separate buildings for men and women, a hospice for visitors and later also a school. It was here that Saint Jerome spent the rest of his life, writing and directing his monastic community. He died in 420. Saint Paula and Eustochium died before him.

The writings of Saint Jerome.

His main literary contribution was the Vulgate Bible. In addition, he wrote commentaries on the books of the Bible, spiritual tracts, and tracts against heresies. His sense of orthodoxy was very acute and unerring. Once convinced that there was danger of theological deviation, he distanced himself from the proponents of doubtful teaching, witness his subsequent condemnation of Origen, whom he had admired greatly beforehand for his biblical exegesis. This cost him the loss of his longstanding friendship with Rufus. Their exchanges were bitter and became almost a byword for rudeness.

Saint Jerome was an avid correspondent; 150 of letters are still extant. His correspondents included Saint Paulinus of Nona and Saint Augustine. Between Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome there was a great deal of mutual respect, although the Vulgate was not the favourite translation of Saint Augustine. However, when it came to dogma or fighting against heresies such as Pelagianism, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome were comrades in arms.

The Breviarium in psalmos does not possess as great significance among the works of Saint Jerome as the psalm commentaries in the case of Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Augustine. It is a rather short work and raises few new ideas. Its nature is close to an intelligent paraphrase of the psalm text, especially where the text is obscure, or where
there the Latin translation of a word or phrase from the original Hebrew creates
difficulties. In sum, this seems to be a work created for the perusal of the monastic
community in Bethlehem. However, its very simplicity, theological accuracy and
attractiveness on account of its beautiful Latin make it a particularly useful tract for those
who wish or need to learn more about the psalms, without spending an undue length of
time on it.
CHAPTER 3

THE PSALMS

This chapter has the following sections:

- Introductory remarks.
- The Psalter, a book of the Bible.
- The nature of the psalms.
- The psalms in the liturgy.
- The Latin versions of the Psalter.
- The choice of Psalm 118 as the portion of the *Explanatio in psalmos* discussed in this thesis.

Introductory remarks.

The *Explanatio in psalmos* of Saint Robert Bellarmine falls into the category of works not intended originally for publication.¹ However, once friends and acquaintances were aware that Saint Robert Bellarmine was working on a psalm commentary in his spare time as a means of relaxation, the result was inevitable, and the copy of the work found its way to the printers. Nowadays this excellent commentary is not particularly well known in the English-speaking world, witness the fact that there seems to be only

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¹ Brodrick (1928), v. 2, 378 & ff.
one English translation in existence\(^2\). This fact acted as a spur on me to make this work known to others.

Writing commentaries on the psalms is not a rare phenomenon. Callan alone, to whom I am greatly indebted for his excellent summary on the history of the origin of the psalms, the history of their translation from Hebrew into other languages and the origin of the version in use in the Breviary, lists 32 works on the psalms written between 1604 and 1944.\(^3\) The authors of 28 of these commentaries are Catholic.

**The Psalter, a book of the Bible.**

The Book of Psalms, also known as the Psalter, is included among the books of the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible in the section titled “Writings or Hagiographa”. The psalm commentaries come under the category of biblical exegesis. The earliest date at which religious leaders decided which writings should have a place in the Bible was made only in the first century by Jewish rabbis; the Christian list of canonical books was only decided upon even later, e.g. in the fourth century.\(^4\) The Psalter belongs to the Protocanonical books accepted by Catholics and Protestants alike as part of the Bible, in contrast to the Deuterocanonical books which are not included in the Protestant Bible.

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\(^2\) O’Sullivan, John tr. *Bellarmine, Robert, Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (1866). However, Brodrick states that there were translations in several other languages, as well as 33 editions. See Brodrick (1928), v. 2, 379.

\(^3\) Callan, Charles OP (1944) *The psalms*, 21.

The Old Testament or Hebrew Bible itself has been studied extensively, read repeatedly and explained by religious leaders. Biblical scholarship has attracted the interest of many serious and talented scholars. In examining afresh the contents of the books of the Old Testament, new archaeological findings and historical research can throw more light on the setting, leading to the discovery of new or additional meanings. Later on we shall examine whether all these discoveries have led to a new and different understanding of the psalms.

Although few authors subjected every book of the Bible to analysis, it is quite rare that anyone commenting on any part of the Bible does not produce a commentary on the psalms. One possible reason for this could be the desire to foster in both writers and in readers the love of the psalms, which have remained an essential part of liturgical prayers from about 1000 BC, the time of King David, down to the present.

Commentaries on the psalms reveal an amazing divergence of views about the history of the psalms, the categories into which they can be subdivided, and their very authorship, with divergent views as to which psalms have been written by King David. However, there is a convergence of opinion about the very essence of the Psalter. The psalms are poems, written and used for the purpose of praising God and for instructing and inspiring believers. In Aristotelian terms, this would constitute the end. One can even take this further by saying that even instructing and inspiring the believers is but a tool rather than the end, namely the means to enable them to praise God more perfectly both in words and deeds. Each psalm can be viewed as a tool in this process.

Scholarship has often advanced diverse views on the role and function of the psalm. This fact is particularly well illustrated in Uriel Simon’s book *Four approaches to*
the Book of Psalms from Saadiah Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra.⁵ The definitions of four different schools of thought listed in this book on the nature of the psalms describe the Psalter in turn as a second Pentauch teaching the law, mandatory prophetic prayers, non-prophetic prayers and poems, and prophetic and sacred poetry.

According to Callan, the Psalter is of a very special kind of poetry.⁶ He explains the inherent structure of the psalms in a very lucid fashion in his book The psalms. Callan says that the psalms are poems, though their rhythm is not a rhythm of sounds, but of a rhyme composed of thoughts, balanced by the parallelism of ideas.⁷ The parallelism of the psalms operates through three different modalities, namely synonymous, antithetic and synthetic ideas in the second line of a verse in response to the idea in the first line of the verse.

This very idea of a balanced rhythm of thoughts can even be taken further to search for other rhythmical patterns of ideas. Indeed, this parallelism is not simply restricted to a line by line response but can even be found between verses or segments consisting of several verses.

The examples to illustrate the three different types of parallelism are taken from Psalm 118.

Psalm 118 is a didactic psalm and therefore lends itself more easily to some forms of expression than to others. Synthesis is the most common form of parallelism encountered, very often with a pattern of the main sentence in the first line of the verse,

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⁶ Callan, J.C. (1944), 14 & ff.

⁷ ibid.
and an explanatory dependent clause in the second. Aleph verse 1 [1] illustrates well this type. However, at times the second line is an independent clause or a simple phrase, completing a simple sentence, as in Gimel verse 1 [17] and Teth verse 1 [65], respectively. In general, this form of expression is used in two situations. If it is a request, then the psalmist states the reasons for his request in more detail in the second line. At other times, when the psalmist is reporting something about himself, he explains the reasons for his actions or thoughts described in the first line.

Antithesis is quite frequent as well. In most instances the actions and dispositions of opponents are contrasted with those of the psalmist. Interestingly enough, the characterisation of the opponent comes first. However, on further reflection this makes good sense since this sequence puts a greater emphasis on the nature and activities of the psalmist. The greater emphasis apparent in the last line is often made use of in situations of guidance. Praise is more fulsome if any faults and defects are disposed of first, whilst the rebuke becomes more stinging if good qualities are acknowledged before focusing on misdeeds. Lamed verse 7 [95] is a good example of this kind of usage.

We see an example of a synonymous response in Nun verse 1 [105]. True examples of synonymous responses are far and few, for the synonymous modality is less

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8 *Beati immaculati in via * qui ambulant in lege Domini* (Blessed are the spotless in the way * who walk in the law of God.).

9 Gimel verse 1 [17]: *Retribue servo tuo, vivifica me * et custodiam sermones tuos* (Recompense Thy servant, vivify me * and I shall guard Thy sermons). Teth verse 1 [63]: *Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo Domine * secundum verbum tuum* (Thou hast done a goodness with Thy servant, Lord * according to Thy word).

10 *Me exspectaverunt peccatores ut perderent me * testimonia tua intellexi* (Sinners awaited me so that they would destroy me * I understood Thy testimonies).

11 *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum * et lumen semitis meis* (Thy word is a lamp for my feet * and a light for my paths).
suited to the nature of a didactic psalm than synthesis, in which the second line takes the
germ of an idea further.

At this point, presentation of some basics of the structure will help towards seeing
the Psalter as a whole and towards explaining why Psalm 118 is the psalm on which my
dissertation is focused.

The title of the book of psalms in Hebrew is Tehillim (praise). The Greek name is
simply Ψάλμοι. In a similarly compact fashion, the Vulgate edition of the Bible in Latin
simply calls the book of psalms Psalms. A more formal title is given to this
book of the Bible by the Council of Trent, which calls it Psalterium Davidicum centum
quinquaginta psalmorum (The book of 150 psalms of the Psalter of David). The term
Psalter is the term used for the collection of the psalms as a whole. The Latin word
psalmus (psalm) is a derivative of the Greek word ψάλμος. In Greek, the original
meaning was twanging a bow, later also used for twanging a stringed instrument. A
verbal form exists in both languages; psallo in Latin and ψάλλω in Greek. However, in
the Dictionary of Lewis and Short no reference is made to twanging a bow. This seems
to indicate that the Greek word was taken up into Latin later, when it had lost its primary
meaning. It may be worthwhile to reflect upon the fact that the original meaning,
twanging a bow, may also have some significance if we consider that having to fight to
preserve their monotheistic religion whilst living in a sea of idol worshippers has also
been prominent in the life of the Jewish people in Old Testament times. Neither is it
unheard of to refer to Christians as warriors, intent on saving their souls and fighting to

12 Council of Trent Sessio IV., Decretum de canonicis Scripturis; see Callan (1944; reprint 1946), 3.
establish the kingdom of Christ in this world; hence the enduring significance of the psalms in Christian liturgical life.

The corpus of the 150 psalms is divided into five books. Scholars have advanced divergent views as to the origin of this division.\textsuperscript{14} Some hold that this division has been made to parallel the division of the Pentauch into five books.\textsuperscript{15} Others consider that the five books represent five different pre-existing collections which then were gathered into one volume.\textsuperscript{16} Repetition of portions of psalms from one book to other tends to favour the latter view.

There are also various subgroups within the main corpus of the Psalter. The psalms within a group may or may not be contiguous. The table showing these specific groups will be given when discussing the choice of the commentary of Psalm 118 as the subject of this thesis.

Different authors have produced schemes for classifying the psalms into various types according to their topic.\textsuperscript{17} These schemes differ about the number and name of types, and consequently about the class, to which a certain psalm belongs. The following comments will give a rough idea of a simple schema. Table 2 in this chapter will show that some psalms are grouped together. Outside these, a rough division would consist of didactic psalms, private prayers and prayers for liturgical use. The laudatory public prayers are often in the form of hymns. Private prayers may be prayers of thanksgiving,

\textsuperscript{14} Boadt (1984), 16; Callan (1946), 3.

\textsuperscript{15} The five books of Moses of the Bible.

\textsuperscript{16} Boadt, (1984), 280.

\textsuperscript{17} For various schemes, see Boadt (1984), 282: Callan (1944), 4.
requests, or praises. The imprecatory or curse prayers are a special subgroup of the category of prayers. Didactic psalms may be historical, ethical or prophetic, such as the Messianic psalms.

Each psalm has a title, informative to various degrees. At times, the title gives the historical background or it may refer to the author or give guidance for its musical performance, including the type of musical instrument to be used.

The numbering of the psalms is consecutive through the whole Psalter and does not restart anew with each book. Traditionally, there was a divergence in numbering between the scheme used by the Hebrews and Protestants on one side and the Catholics on the other, who use the format and numbering of the Septuagint, a Greek translation of the Old Testament done in Egypt in the third century BC.\(^1\)\(^8\) Currently, there are divergent practices within the Catholic Church. Some Catholic authors adopted the Hebrew and Protestant usage, whilst others are continuing to adhere to the previous schema used by the Church.\(^1\)\(^9\) This approach has certain advantages from the view of scholarship, focusing on the Fathers of the Church and other Catholic theologian commentators writing before the later part of the twentieth century, who use the previous schema when the refer to the psalms. Given the great familiarity with the psalms of those bound to the recitation of the Divine Office in full, a mere mention of the number calls to the mind the text of that particular psalm; here, too, not adopting the changes has certain advantages. On the other hand, using the same numbering as the Jewish and Protestant writers use

\(^1\)\(^8\) Boadt (1984), 15, 74.

\(^1\)\(^9\) Catholics adhering to the traditional Latin liturgy of the Church have retained the previous schema of numbering.
promotes interaction with others outside the confines of the Catholic Church for the benefit of all who treasure the psalms.

**The psalms in the liturgy.**

There is a clear trail of the liturgical use of the psalms from the time of David. The earliest predecessors of community prayers were the morning and evening sacrifices at the Temple in Jerusalem in Old Testament times at which the cantors, a special subgroup of the Levites, were charged with singing the psalms in the Temple. The Divine Office, the official liturgical prayer of the Catholic Church, emerged through organic development from the primordial forms of community prayers of the early Christians.

The first Christians were mostly Jewish followers of Christ and thus familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures, called the Old Testament by the Catholic Church and other Christian denominations. From the beginning, the Gentiles adopted the Jewish prayer forms. However, Christians, understandably enough, were not able to hold their religious services in the Temple in Jerusalem, nor were they allowed to hold public services anywhere in the Roman Empire during the centuries of persecution. They therefore prayed in private places, not erecting formal temples until the edict of Milan made Christianity legitimate in 313 A.D.  

The Christians grouped their communal prayers around the Holy Mass. On Sundays and major Feasts, such as Christmas and Easter, liturgical celebrations began

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21 Little, Vilma G. (1957) *The sacrifice of praise*, 7. The author also makes reference to an even earlier custom of morning and evening prayers, without Holy Mass, led by the bishop but references to such a custom are lacking even in works dealing with activities of bishops, such as Van der Meer (1961). *Augustine the bishop.*
with recitation of prayers and singing of hymns the evening before. They then spent at least part of the night praying, singing hymns, and listening to readings from holy texts such as the Bible, and to epistles addressed to the congregation by religious leaders. At sunrise, before the Holy Mass, they offered prayers and sang hymns again. The prayers at these gatherings were prayers of praise and also prayers for the spiritual and temporal welfare of others and themselves. Psalms were also recited or sung at these times of communal prayers. Parallel with these developments in community worship, the practice of the early solitaries in the deserts also included the recitation of the Psalter, several of whom recited all 150 psalms each day. With the establishment of Western monasticism, the two streams, the public prayers of the faithful and the communal prayers of the monks, began to merge. The first monks adopted the threefold times of prayer of the early Christian communities. Since the whole existence of the monks was centered on prayer, three more times for community prayers were added to break up the day into smaller units of time between the hours for prayers. The name of these Hours were *ad Tertiam, ad Sextam* and *ad Nonam*, the Roman names signifying the appropriate times for the recitation of these daytime prayers. Prayers before beginning the day’s work and the evening prayer before retiring were the last additions to the monastic prayer schedule. As the result of the characteristic Roman passion for organising and regulating inherited by the Church, a highly structured format for the regular, daily recitation or chanting of the psalms, with added prayers and hymns, was moulded into the framework of the Divine Office and came into being by the eighth century. This scheme included recitation of all 150 psalms within the space of each week. The appropriate times for chanting or reciting the Hours were also determined, as shown in Table 3.1 below. Appendix B
shows the allocation of the psalms for the Hours of the Divine Office, both for the universal use in the Roman rite and for the Benedictines\textsuperscript{22}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LATIN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>TIME OF THE DAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ad Matutinum</td>
<td>Matins</td>
<td>At night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Laudes</td>
<td>Lauds</td>
<td>Sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Primam</td>
<td>Prime</td>
<td>Before beginning the work of the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Tertiam</td>
<td>Terce</td>
<td>Roman third hour of the day (9 a.m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Sextam</td>
<td>Sext</td>
<td>Roman sixth hour of the day (12 noon).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Nonam</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Roman ninth hour of the day (3 p.m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Vesperas</td>
<td>Vespers</td>
<td>Sunset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Completorium</td>
<td>Compline</td>
<td>Before going to bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: The Hours of the Divine Office.

This basic structure of the Divine Office has remained essentially unchanged until the latter part of the twentieth century. Then, in the wake of the major liturgical reforms in the aftermath of Vatican II, the use of the vernacular was introduced as an option. In 1971, the Divine Office was radically restructured.\textsuperscript{23} The most radical change consisted of re-allocating the psalms in such a manner that the recitation of the whole Psalter now spans a month and not a week; and even here, a further curtailing in the use of psalms

\textsuperscript{22} Religious orders, other than Benedictines adhere to the universal Roman pattern.

\textsuperscript{23} See Appendix “What have they done to our song through the ages?”, one of the three papers written as part of my doctoral coursework during the Spring Quarter of 1997, with the help and guidance of Professor Daniel Reff from Department of Comparative Studies at Ohio State University.
was done by excluding certain psalms and portions of others on the grounds that they are not edifying. An example of this is the exclusion of the imprecatory psalms, cursing the enemies, such as Psalm 108. Also, with the elimination of ad Primam, the number of Hours has been reduced from eight to seven.

However, the ancient tradition of the Church has not been discarded by all. With permission from the Holy See, certain priestly societies, religious communities, and individuals are continuing to use the Latin Divine Office alongside the traditional Latin Mass.24

**The Latin versions of the Psalter.**

There are several Latin versions of the psalms. The text used for the Divine Office from the fourth century to the present day and therefore the one most widely known, is that of the Gallican Psalter. The Gallican Psalter derives its name from its use as the source of psalm texts for the Divine Office from the earliest times in France. The Gallican Psalter, just as the Vulgate Bible, is the work of Saint Jerome. The Council of Trent declared the Vulgate Bible to be the authoritative version of the Bible for the use of preaching and teaching by the Catholic Church. A revised edition was published in 1592 as the Clementine Vulgate. Saint Robert Bellarmine was working on the *Explanatio in psalmos* (Explanations on the psalms) between 1599 and 1610, i. e. at a time when the Clementine Vulgate was in use.25 His commentary relies almost exclusively on the text

24 Commonly referred to as the Tridentine Mass.
25 Galdos, Romualdos ed. (1931) *Societatis Jesu Scriptores*, p. XIV.
of the Clementine Vulgate, save the alternative spelling of *Adspice* for *Aspice* (Look!) in quoting verse 132 of Psalm 118.  

There are two well known pre-existing versions of the Latin Psalter. The oldest version is found in the oldest known Latin translation of the Bible, called Vetus Latina (Old Latin). There is a revised version of the Psalter from this volume, attributed by some but not by all, to Saint Jerome. This Psalter is known as the Roman Psalter because its text was used for the Divine Office only within Rome itself, probably up to the time of the Council of Trent, when the Vulgate Bible was solemnly declared as the authoritative version of the Bible for the Catholic Church. The date of the Roman Psalter coincides with the time when Saint Jerome was working on revising the New Testament of the Vetus Latina of the Bible at the request of Pope Saint Damasus between 382 and 385. It was only later, when Saint Jerome was leading a monastic existence in Bethlehem, that he turned his attention to the Old Testament portion of the Vetus Latina. Between 386 and 391 Saint Jerome began by revising selected books of the Old Testament, using the *Hexapla* of Origen as a guide. The *Hexapla* consisted of 6 parallel columns – Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, Hebrew text transliterated into Greek letters, the Greek translation of Aquila, the Greek translation of Symachus, the Septuagint and the Greek translation of Theodotion. The Psalter was one of the five books revised at this time. This revised version became known as the Gallican Psalter. After further studies with

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26 Galdos, Romualdos ed. (1931), 704.

27 Patrologia Latina (1845-1855), v.26, Admonitio (warning) below the title.

28 Mierow, Charles Christopher (1959) *Saint Jerome, the Sage of Bethlehem*, 40.

29 Mierow, Charles Christopher (1959), 62.
Hebrew scholars to perfect his Hebrew, Saint Jerome undertook between 391 and 401 the work of creating a new Latin translation of the Vetus Latina, basing his translation mostly on the Hebrew Bible. He translated all Protocanonical books, including the Psalter, and the Deuterocanonical books, Judith and Tobias of the Old Testament, between 391 and 406.\textsuperscript{30} These books became the texts of the Vulgate Bible, except the Psalter for which the Vulgate uses the Gallican Psalter. In the \textit{Breviarium in psalmos} Saint Jerome does not adhere to the text of the Gallican Psalter at all times. A comparison with the text of the Gallican Psalter has revealed 36 instances of different wording. Since these psalm commentaries were written with the purpose of correcting erroneous interpretations of Origen, they probably were written after Saint Jerome had joined in the condemnation of Origen after 393, and it is conceivable that Saint Jerome used some ideas from his latest revision of the Psalter. The issue of the Latin text of the \textit{Breviarium in psalmos} will be discussed more fully in Chapter V A, \textit{The psalm text used by Saint Jerome}.

Of the three commentators on the psalms, Saint Augustine relies the least on the text of the Gallican Psalter; his quotations differ in 125 places. This divergence is due to his own particular views on the merits of the Vulgate. Saint Augustine wrote his sermons of the psalms between 392 and 420.\textsuperscript{31} Saint Augustine knew about the work of Saint Jerome on the Old Testament but, at least initially, had some misgivings about its superiority over the older versions.\textsuperscript{32} Part of his concern was pastoral, fearing upset and confusion among the faithful when presented with a new version of a dearly familiar text.

\textsuperscript{30} Mierow, Charles Christopher (1959), 43.

\textsuperscript{31} Brown Peter, \textit{Augustine of Hippo}, 74.

\textsuperscript{32} Mierow, Charles Christopher(1959), 40.
His love of the Septuagint may also have played a part, albeit this factor would be more operational concerning books of the latest translation, which relied less on the Septuagint.

On the whole, the Gallic Psalter as the prime text for the Breviary has shown remarkable resilience, remaining intact in the face of attempted revisions, including those made in the 20th century. A new translation of the Psalter was authorized by Pope Pius XII in 1945. Some recent editions of the Vulgate Bible include both this version and the Gallic Psalter in parallel columns. The footnote affixed below the title Liber Psalmorum (Book of psalms) is as follows:

Vulgatae textui addimus in altera columna novam versionem latinam Instituti Biblici a Pio XII pro usui liturgico approbatam, de 24 martii 1945. (We added to the Vulgate text in the other column the new Latin version of the Biblical Institute, approved by Pope Pius XII for liturgical use after [lit. from] March 24 1945). 33

As the title indicates, the use of this text was intended for the Breviarium. However, to switch to this new Latin version turned out to be impractical in the long run. The lesser difficulty of replacing all previous breviaries with new ones could have been surmounted, even in the face of the rather daunting number of priests and religious, bound to the recitation of the Divine Office. We have a rough idea from the figures available for 1957, giving the number of priests as 700,000 and Sisters as 970,00034. The latter recited or chanted all or some of the Hours of the Divine Office on a daily basis. In addition, there were also always some members of the laity who had their own Breviaries


34 Welles, Sam The world’s great religions (1957), 207.
and made use of them regularly or from time to time. However, the Church has coped with tasks of replacements of liturgical texts before and since so this was not an insurmountable difficulty. Problems greater and more serious than coping with the logistics of switching texts were encountered with the chant, i.e. the sung version of the Divine Office. The musical setting for the Divine Office is the Gregorian chant, in which music and text are harmonised. In order to be able to chant the new version, the music also needed to be rewritten. As the minimum requirement, the number of syllables for each half of each verse would have had to remain the same. Neither could the terminal foot of the meter for each half line, be changed from a dactyl to a spondee or vice versa without affecting the melody.

Another problem, which is not just applicable to those reciting or chanting the Divine Office, but to all who make a study of them, is to make sense of commentaries using psalm texts in which the previous wording is used. The difficulty is even greater when, as in the case of the lessons of ad Matutinum, if one is reading the commentary in segments separated by psalms and prayers from each other.

In the end, common sense has prevailed and to this day the psalm texts for the traditional Latin Breviary of 1962 are still those of the Gallican Psalter. This is also helpful in reading sermons and commentaries quoting from the psalms, where the new wording may or may not fit the commentary.
The choice of Psalm 118.

Wishing to show how Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome and Saint Robert Bellarmine handle the psalms in their commentaries, my aim was to find a text long enough to be able to be used as a representative sample. The other serious consideration was to provide a psalm, which has different kinds of topics. On both counts, Psalm 118 seems to suit admirably. With its 176 verses, grouped into 22 strophes of eight verses in each it is the longest psalm of the Psalter. The main theme, linking the strophes together, is the law of God; each strophe, however, accentuates a different aspect of the main theme.

The choice of options, with length alone as the only criterion, lay between using a single psalm or taking a specific group of psalms. Taking first the case of using one psalm, none of them were long enough; after 118, the second longest psalm is psalm 9, with only 42 verses. Even in the case of a group, none of these groups is as long as Psalm 118 by itself. The table below shows the number and length of psalms included the four major groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Psalm numbers</th>
<th>No. in group</th>
<th>Number of verses</th>
<th>Verse length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coronation psalms</td>
<td>95 - 98</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Hallel</td>
<td>112-117</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2.-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual psalms</td>
<td>119-135</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>5.-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penitential psalms</td>
<td>6, 31, 37, 50.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>8.-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101, 129, 142.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Psalm groups
In three of these series the group consists of psalms in numerical sequence but they are much shorter than the penitential psalms, which however do not have consecutive numbers. Their analysis would therefore necessitate considering the psalms before and after them in sequence and the historical background of each psalm. Such methodology would have the potential drawback of shifting the focus away from the psalm or psalms, and considerations of similarities and differences of interpretation and variation in stylistic devices used by the three authors whose works are being compared.

However, uniformity of theme is less marked in the penitential psalms than in the Coronation and the Great Hallel Psalms. The gradual psalms offer a variety of themes, linked to each other through the central theme of pilgrimage. In this, their structure resembles that of Psalm 118, where a linking theme, the law of God, is also present. However, the text is shorter and the component psalms are of uneven length; and examining the length of commentary relative to the length of the text is another useful parameter. This is fairly easy to do with the 22 strophes of uniform length provided for us in Psalm 118.

One other consideration for choosing this psalm is its importance given to it both in Old Testament times and afterwards. The structure in which the topic is presented seems to be ideal in terms of instructing the faithful.

Psalm 118 is a didactic psalm of 176 verses, expounding on the nature of the law of God, the advantages of keeping it, and showing how to keep it with divine help. It is an acrostic psalm, based on successive letters of the alphabet and divided into 22 strophes corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. There are eight verses in each strophe. The very well defined structure makes it easy to memorise, even given its mostly
abstract content, which deals with dogma and lacks a story line. The acrostic feature
helps both in memorisation and also in long term retention and easy recall. The
advantages of an acrostic structure in memorising texts were also realised and made good
use of by Saint Augustine, when he wished his faithful to grasp quickly some principles.
He composed the acrostic hymn *Abdeceria* which showed why the teachings of the
Donatists should be unacceptable to Catholics.\(^5\)\(^5\) This hymn was then repeatedly sung by
the congregation in Hippo until they got the text down pat and also the lesson imparted
by the words.

Psalm 118 is very well suited for the particular purpose which, according to Saint
Robert Bellarmine, was to keep the pilgrims to Jerusalem singing on the way and
therefore make their journey less fatiguing.\(^5\)\(^6\) The operating principle is the same as for
marching songs for foot weary soldiers. The only difference is that army marching songs
mainly affect the emotions whereas as Psalm 118 imparts solid dogma.

In this long psalm there are themes within a theme. Each strophe is so constructed
that it can stand by itself and communicate a worthwhile idea. At the same time, it also
fulfils the role of being part of a whole and when the strophes are taken together, a full
picture of the whole emerges. Each strophe represents a particular aspect of the law of
God; when taken together, one has a fairly clear idea of the nature of the law, why it
should be followed and how it is possible to do so. The method of instruction is similar to
courses in various academic disciplines. In physiology for instance, the student learns
about the functioning of the digestive system one week, about respiration the next, and

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\(^5\) Bonner, Gerald (1963) *Saint Agustine of Hippo*, 252.
\(^6\) Galdos, Romualdos ed. (1931), 678.
about the kidneys after that. Each chapter can be understood, but only on the completion of the course is there a good understanding how the human body works.

The following 15 gradual psalms, psalms 119 – 133, which are thought to be sung by the pilgrims after Psalm 118, are less dogmatic in nature. They express a variety of sentiments and make references to past history and present us with allegories. Their confident tone implies that the pilgrims singing them love God, understand their faith and have the desire to keep the commandments. The pilgrims are also aware of their human frailty and other obstacles, but confident in the mercy of God, help from Above, and can count on the forgiveness after their lapses. The combined function of Psalm 118 and the gradual psalms, and the sequence of thoughts expressed in them also illustrate the fact that in any long journey, the nearer the destination, the easier it is to make one’s way.

The above comments show the features which make Psalm 118 a good representative psalm for the study of commentaries on the Psalter. Two more factors indicate that others too assign a place of honour to Psalm 118, namely the comments in the introductory paragraph for Psalm 118, and the special place of honour of this psalm in the Divine Office.

Saint Jerome starts his introduction with an Alleluja, and then continues: Iste psalmus magnum in se mysterium continet. (This psalm here contains a great mystery in it). In a similar way to Saint Jerome, Saint Robert Bellarmine also starts his introduction to Psalm 118 with an Alleluia, then adds: Hic psalmus tribus in rebus omnibus aliis antecellit. (This psalm surpasses all others in three things). He then goes on to indicate

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37 Callan (1944), 581.
the three factors, namely, usefulness as an exhortation and guide to a life of keeping God’s laws, its length, and the elegance of its acrostic structure.

Saint Augustine differs from Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Jerome in not writing introductory paragraphs before each psalm, so we can not see his overall view of either the other psalms or Psalm 118. However, he devotes 32 sermons to it. This large number of sermons is significant in itself, given the fact that according to the *Tabula Chronologica* in the *Corpus Christianorum* edition of the *Enarrationes in psalmos*, there are only ten other psalms which have more than one sermon explaining them.\(^{38}\) The next largest number of sermons attached to a psalm is four.\(^{39}\)

The appreciation of Psalm 118 by the Catholic Church is shown by the prominent position of this psalm in the Divine Office. In terms of understanding one’s faith and spiritual benefits derived from meditating on a given psalm, the Catholic Church esteems Psalm 118 highly; therefore she places this psalm more frequently than other psalms in front of the eyes and into the mouths of those obligated to, or customarily engaged in even the recitation of the Divine Office. Whilst it is true that the basic structure of the Divine office provides for the recitation of the whole Psalter within the space of one week, the scheme is different in the case of major Feasts. On all First Class Feasts, both of the Season and of the Saints, the psalms of the particular weekday on which the Feast

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\(^{39}\) Psalm 103, a 36 verses long creation psalm, very rich in imagery.
falls are replaced by the Sunday psalms for all the Hours except *ad Matutinum* and *ad Vesperas*, albeit only occasionally and even then only partially in the latter case.\(^{40}\)

The psalmodic fare of the Sunday Divine Office consists by and large of Psalm 118. Four of the eight Hours of the Divine Office, namely *ad Primam*, *ad Tertiam*, *ad Sextam* and *ad Nonam*, consist purely of segments of Psalm 118. The whole of this psalm is recited in segments in the proper sequence. This means, for instance, that during the Octave of Easter and Pentecost, i.e. the week following these Feasts, from *ad Primam* to *ad Nonam* inclusively, the entire psalmody consists of Psalm 118.\(^{41}\)

In this chapter the psalms and their place in the Divine Office were examined as well as the arguments for choosing Psalm 118 as the psalm on which the commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine is scrutinised. In addition, two other topics, important for obtaining a fuller picture when comparing the approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine to differences in wording those of other commentators, were also presented.

The discussion of the genesis of the various Latin versions of the Psalter will be an aid when we are dealing with variant texts in terms of understanding their nature. The history of the failure to supplant the Gallican Psalter used for the psalm texts in the Breviary with an updated version will be more comprehensible when we see the possible alteration of interpretation when expressions are changed. It may indeed be that it was the examination of very similar texts studied by others in the past and the comparison of

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\(^{40}\) *Breviarium Romanum iuxta editio typical* (rev. ed. 1961) lists 12 First Class Feasts, which always fall on the same Calendar day. Christmas and Epiphany are examples of this category. In addition, there are three First Class Feasts, the occurrence of which is tied to the date of Easter. Pentecost and Easter always fall on a Sunday and the same Office as for the Feast is recited during their Octaves.

\(^{41}\) The Hours of *ad Primam*, *ad Tertiam*, *ad Sextam*, and *ad Nonam* consist of 3 segments each. In the Sunday Office, each segment consists of two strophes of Psalm 118. In the case of *ad Primam*, the segments of Psalm 118 are preceded by another psalm.
their opinions with one’s own which made the prospect of the psalm commentary 
attractive enough to induce Saint Robert Bellarmine to expend time and energy on 
producing the *Explanatio in psalmos* even amidst his innumerable preoccupations of his 
bust life.
CHAPTER 4

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS – STRUCTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter has the following sections:

- Introductory remarks
- The format of the *Explanatio in psalmos*
- Length of chapters in the *Explanatio in psalmos*
- The number of paragraphs per chapter in the *Explanatio in psalmos*
- Comparison of the structure of *Explanatio in Psalms* with the *Breviarium in psalmo*.
- Comparison with Saint Augustin.
- Subtitles for the strophes in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, structural considerations
- Subtitles for the strophes in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, classification
- The absence of subtitles to the strophes for Psalm 118 in the *Breviarium in psalms* and in the *Enarrationes in psalms*
- Subtitles to the strophes for Psalm 118 in *The psalms*
Introductory remarks.

This chapter will focus on matters relating to the structure in which Saint Robert Bellarmine communicated his interpretation of Psalm 118. Since more often than not, Saint Robert Bellarmine delineates the topic for each strophe in a few sentences before commencing the discussion, the question of titles will also be discussed, following the sections on length and paragraphs.

Any commentary made without due respect for the structure is not likely to be able to do justice to the coherent beauty of Psalm 118 or indeed provide an accurate representation of the main ideas. Fidelity to the original aim of the work analysed should show the manner in which the smaller units of text within the framework intermesh. This helps to clarify the ideas presented in other segments and promotes a fuller comprehension of the main message. If this is not done, the result might be an excellent piece of work, but more in the nature of an original work, using the subject of the commentary as a take off point to present new ideas, rather than a commentary.

The 176 verses of Psalm 118 are grouped into 22 strophes, which are clearly marked off from each other. Each strophe corresponds to a letter of the Hebrew alphabet in succession. Verses within the strophe all begin with the same letter as the one given in the title of the strophe.

The approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine to this highly structured psalm is itself highly structured. He organises his comments by strophes, and he often outlines the content of the strophe at the beginning of the discussion. In addition, Saint Robert Bellarmine also presents the underlying idea of the whole psalm in the introductory paragraph.
The format of the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

The format, which Saint Robert Bellarmine used for paragraphs, headings and numbering both in the 1633 Guteri edition and in the 1931 Pontifical University edition is very similar, with only a few insignificant differences. In the Guteri edition, the Roman numerals are used for numbering the verses, all verse texts are in italics, and the Hebrew words are placed on the margins. In the 1931 Pontifical University edition, Arabic numerals are used for numbering the verses. The verse texts are in bold print when they constitute paragraph headings and in italics if embedded in the text. The Hebrew words, on which Saint Robert Bellarmine is commenting, are placed within the text. This placement is perhaps less helpful for those who do not read Hebrew. In the Guteri edition they can glance back and forth at the Hebrew word when they are following a discussion on the ways in which the Hebrew word could be misread in translation. Both editions reproduce the peculiar spelling of some of the Hebrew letters used for headings by Saint Robert Bellarmine. This spelling differs from the spelling used by Saint Jerome, modern Hebrew grammars, the Madrid edition of the Vulgate, and by Callan. ¹ Saint Robert Bellarmine uses Chet for Heth, Theth for Teth, Aiin for Ain, Tsade for Sade and Tsin for Sin. Callan himself differs from others in using Phe for Pe, while the Madrid edition of the Vulgate differs from the rest in using Ghimel instead of Gimel. The preservation of the format of the 1633 Guteri edition in the 1931 Pontifical University edition shows the intelligent appreciation of the editors, who realised that the sense of the commentary in the *Explanatio in psalmos* is best transmitted in the format in which it was written.

Another contributory factor, to which the editors of the 1931 edition do not specifically

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¹ Callan, C. (1944), 552 & ff.
allude in the introduction, may be due because they were familiar with the insistence of
Saint Robert Bellarmine on the use of the format which he chose. He was in the habit of
communicating his wishes to the printers in a very precise fashion and with detailed
specifications. This is borne out by the fact that it took two years after the completion of
the *Explanatio in psalmos* to get it printed.\(^2\)

**Length of chapters in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.**

One way of mirroring the structure of Psalm 118 in the commentary is to have a
separate chapter for each strophe and a separate paragraph for each verse. At first sight,
providing roughly equal amounts of coverage for equal lengths of the psalm texts also
seems praiseworthy, but here the commentator has to take care that he neither brushes
aside important concepts worthy of extra consideration in the name of equality nor leaves
complex and obscure points unexplained. Saint Thomas Aquinas and many other
theologians worthy of note always took care to produce symmetrical, evenly spaced
tracts; however, they were not bound by the limitations of a text of certain size.

Commentators of prose works have the liberty to select portions of variable length for
their paragraph, and if necessary, then add an extra explanatory chapter. This does not
seem to be feasible when commenting on 150 psalms with the avowed aim that the reader
will be left with a clear idea of what each psalm is about. In spite of the awesome length
of Psalm 118, it is still only a single psalm expressing one central idea in various ways in
its verses and showing the more or less standard features of every psalm, namely
explanation, praise, prayer, and feelings evoked.

\(^2\) Brodrick (1928), v. 2, 378.
In the *Explanatio in psalmos*, the commentaries on each strophe are approximately the same length of one and a half pages. This balanced approach is even more amazing when we consider that the contents are by no means uniform, for they do not include all possible elements in every instance. A commentary on any particular strophe may or may not have quotations from the Bible, references to other commentators on the psalms, explanations of the different expressions or linguistic considerations, or deal with the translation of Hebrew and Greek words. These features are variable appendages to the ever-present backbone of presenting the message of the text. The only exceptions to this even distribution of approximately one and half pages of commentary per strophe are the commentaries on the first two strophes, Aleph and Beth, which are three and two and half pages long, respectively. In the absence of an unduly large number of obscure points needing consideration, there does not seem to be any clear reason for this extra length. The greater length of explanations, added to repeated quotations of the text of the verses, may be responsible for the greater than average length. Since Saint Robert Bellarmine started to write the *Explanatio in psalmos* for himself as a means of relaxation rather than as a tract for publication, it almost seems that he was feeling his way, working his way carefully into the text of Psalm 118, needing more words at the start than what would suffice later. The views of Saint Robert Bellarmine on the hidden riches within the psalms are well illustrated by his words addressed to Pope Paul V, to whom he dedicated the *Explanatio in psalmos*:

*Et cum ambigerem quid potissimum ex corpore Sanctarum Scirpturarum mihi desumerem in quo meditando et explanando laborarem obtulit se liber Psalorum quem ecclesiastici omnes quotidie legunt et pauci admodum intellegunt.* (And when I was
hesitating what should I take from the body of the Sacred Scriptures on which I would
labour by meditating and explaining, the Book of the Psalms offered itself to me, which
all ecclesiastics read daily and so far, few understand it).³

The number of paragraphs per chapter in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

Saint Robert Bellarmine does actually reproduce the text of the verse at the head
of each paragraph within the chapter on the strophe, but at times he groups more than one
verse together into one paragraph. Using more than one verse for a heading naturally
decreases the number of paragraphs. The following table will show how often this
compacting takes place:

³ Galdos, Romualdos ed. (1931), xxxix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strophe</th>
<th>Column length</th>
<th>Number of paragraphs</th>
<th>Verses combined into one paragraph</th>
<th>Consecutive verse number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleph</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3, 4; 5, 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>11, 12; 13, 14, 15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghimel</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daleth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vau</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5, 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>45, 46, 47, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zain</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teth</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1, 2; 3, 4; 5, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iod</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7, 8</td>
<td>65, 66; 67, 68; 69, 70; 71, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caph</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>89, 90, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mem</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3, 4; 5, 6</td>
<td>101, 102; 103, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samech</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7, 8</td>
<td>127, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sade</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koph</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>133, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>7.2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: *Explanatio in psalmos* –length and number of paragraphs for each strophe.

In some cases, it is easy to see the reason for putting more than one verse together, in others it is not.
The commentary on Beth is one page longer than the average, yet the number of paragraphs is reduced to four. It looks as if the reduced number of headings serves the purpose of providing a longer first paragraph in which the term *adolescens* (adolescent) is discussed.\(^4\) Putting verses 5 - 8 [13-16] under the same heading is easier to understand than putting verses 3 and 4 [11-12] together.\(^5\) In the former instance all these verses share the same theme, namely the actions of the God-fearing psalmist. In contrast, verses 3 and 4 [11 and 12] have different topics. In verse 3 [11] the psalmist proclaims what he is doing; in verse 4 [12] he is asking for the help of God. The two topics are different enough to have merited separate paragraphs, especially since they are commented on separately within the same paragraph.

On the other hand, it seems reasonable to put Gimel verses 6 and 7 [22 and 23] together, since in both verses Saint Robert Bellarmine describes the activities of the proud, albeit the mode of presentation itself differs in the two verses. Verse 6 [22] is in the form of a request rather than a description; nevertheless Saint Robert Bellarmine handles it as characterisations of the proud and of the psalmist.

For the headings of Teth, Saint Robert Bellarmine uses an approach different from the one used for the other seven strophes, where more than one verse heads a particular paragraph. Customarily he takes between two and four verses for the heading of one paragraph; and, except in the case of Mem, he does this only once in a strophe. In Teth, symmetry is preserved by putting two verses at the head of each paragraph throughout. One possible reason for this may be the nature of this strophe, rich in

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\(^4\) So does Saint Augustine in Sermon V. This will be discussed further later on.

\(^5\) The numbers in brackets are the verse numbers for Psalm 118, as a whole, running from 1 to 176.
imagery and ideas. This could lead the reader to lose sight of the forest whilst gazing at the trees. Saint Robert Bellarmine states in the first sentence of the strophe that the main topic of the strophe is a triple request by the psalmist. When we look at the contents, pairing the verses seems to be highly appropriate, since the verse pairs can be shown to have a single central idea, starting with the fact that God is good, then giving particulars, and ending up with the conclusion that the law of God is good.

In the strophe of Lamed, Saint Robert Bellarmine places the first three verses dealing with the creation of the world into one paragraph. The text itself is quoted in full and in sequence. Given the various and not closely related ideas of the remaining verses, combination would not be feasible there and so five divergent ideas are presented in five paragraphs, giving a clear picture of the nature of the strophe.

In the commentary on Mem there are two instances where two verses are placed into one paragraph. In the case of verses 3 and 4 [99 and 100], this paragraph is the last of the three places in the strophe where the psalmist considers that God gave more prudence to him than to others. Putting these two verses into one paragraph is logical; one verse speaks about teachers and the other about elders, whilst handling the verse about enemies separately. Teachers and elders are close to being identical, for the teacher is usually older than the pupil. Young people can often learn from their elders, whereas in the case of enemies, prudence lies more in outwitting them than copying their ways.

Mem verses 5 and 6 [101 and 102] also share a theme, namely the path taken by the psalmist in terms of avoiding evil and not deviating from the law, but differ in specifics. The psalmist describes two different ways of being righteous, describing his purpose for the action first and the cause for this action in the second verse. The
groupings within the commentary of Mem make sense if we consider the approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine to this strophe. He starts his commentary by defining the topic of this strophe as the usefulness and delightfulness of the law of God and then proceeds to list four particular advantages. He discusses the first advantage in verse 2 [98], the second in verses 3 and 4 [99 and 100], the third in verses 5 and 6 [101 and 102] and the fourth in verse 7 [103], thus allocating one paragraph to each of the four advantages. Neither verse 1 [97] nor verse 8 [104] talk about the advantages but deal with the love of the psalmist for the law of God. The six verses in-between give the reason for this esteem.

In the strophe dealing with Ain, the last two verses are combined into one paragraph. Their meaning is closely related. The psalmist loves the law of God and therefore follows the way of the commandments, not only avoiding but even disliking other paths. The first of these two verses has a simile, likening the law of God to gold and topaz. Saint Robert Bellarmine often slides over similes rather than finding an allegory within an allegory. Here he does the same by simply attaching a verse with a simile to another one without one. He does append a terminal note on the nature of topaz, without talking about the simile itself.

In the commentary on Resh, the longest paragraphs are the first and the last; the former is headed by the first two verses. Enclosing six shorter passages between two longer passages of roughly equal length provides a nice structure. Since in the first verse the psalmist states his case to God rather simply, there would not have been enough material for a long paragraph without the addition of a second verse; though even with this addition the paragraph would have been shorter without the repeating the text of verses 1 and 2 [153 and 154] in segments within the paragraph itself.
Comparison of the structure of *Explanatio in Psalmos* with the *Breviarium in psalmos*.

There are some structural similarities between the *Explanatio in psalmos* of Saint Robert Bellarmine and the *Breviarium in psalmos* of Saint Jerome.

At first glance the *Breviarium in psalmos* shows an even more balanced structure than the *Explanatio in psalmos* in terms of dedicating one paragraph to each verse, and a roughly identical length of commentary for each strophe. There are only three places where one paragraph deals with two verses – in the commentaries for the strophes of Teth, Sade and Koph. In the case of Sade and Koph, the verses combined into one paragraph do not have identical enough themes to make this step reasonable and Saint Robert Bellarmine handles them separately. In Teth, the approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine in combining two verses for each paragraph has certain logic, lacking in the approach of just combining the first two verses.

One feature encountered in the *Breviarium in psalmos* and not found in the *Explanatio in psalmos* is an extra paragraph inserted after comments on the last verses in the commentaries on Zain and Samech. In the case of Samech, the paragraph is simply a linking device, connecting the last verse of Samech to the first verse of Ain. The extra paragraph in Zain is of great interest since in it Saint Jerome refers to Sermon II with the phrase *quas iam in superiori homilia descripsimus* (which we have already described in a
previous homily). This seems to indicate that *Breviarium in psalmos* is truly by Saint Jerome.\(^6\)

In placing the actual texts of the verses at the head of each paragraph, the arrangement used by Saint Robert Bellarmine has certain advantages over the arrangement found in the *Breviarium in psalmos* of Saint Jerome. Placing the actual texts of the verses at the beginning of the paragraph is more advantageous in terms of enabling the reader to follow the discussion whilst the text under scrutiny is in front of the eyes of the reader. In contrast, Saint Jerome breaks the text of the psalms into smaller segments, heading the paragraph with part of the verse line only. Dealing with smaller segments facilitates discussion on an isolated group of words. It is true that Saint Robert Bellarmine also repeats the text of the verse within the paragraph and then comments on these smaller units; however, he never abandons the practice of placing the verse at the head of the paragraph, or, in the case where one paragraph deals with more than one verse, all verses discussed in the paragraph. Furthermore, in the case of Saint Robert Bellarmine every word of the verse is diligently recorded whereas in the case of Saint Jerome, there are some gaps. In two chapters on strophes, he omits the second line of the verse, namely for Jod the second line of verse 3 [75] is omitted and for Nun, the second half of verse 5 [109]. Table 2 below shows the structure of the *Breviarium in psalmos*.

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\(^6\) Patrologia Latina (1845-1855) v. 26, 1. The roughly 8 pages long *Admonitio* (warning) presents the arguments pro and contra for this hypothesis, concluding with “*Diximus Hieronymo tribui*” (We said that it is attributed to Jerome).
### Table 4.2: Breviarium in psalmos, paragraphs and verses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strophe</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Paragraphs</th>
<th>Verses combined</th>
<th>Verses in segments</th>
<th>Missing half line</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1, 2, 4, 6, 8</td>
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<td>2, 4, 6, 8</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caph</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1, 6, 8</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe</td>
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<td>5, 7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>3, 6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tau</td>
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**Comparison with Saint Augustine.**

In contrast to the works of Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Jerome, the format of 32 sermons used by Saint Augustine as commentaries on Psalm 118 is so different that exact comparison hardly seems possible, except in the placement of the text of verses in the text of the sermons. Besides placing the whole of the verse text at or near the
beginning of the paragraph, Saint Augustine may also quote portions of the verse text within the paragraph, just as Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Jerome are wont to do.

In his 32 sermons on Psalm 118 Saint Augustine discusses the verses in sequence; however, he does not allocate an equal number of verses to each sermon. There are times when Saint Augustine is commenting on a verse which he already has discussed in a previous sermon. The number of verses per sermon is between one and eight. In 16 sermons the sermon deals with a whole strophe. At the other end of the scale, there are three instances where one entire sermon deals only with one verse. Sermon XVIII deals only with one verse, namely Jod verse 1[73]. Verses Aleph 1 [1], 2 [2], and 3 [3] are discussed in Sermon I. Sermons II and III are entirely confined to Verse Aleph 3 [3], or rather, to the complicated questions of sin, forgiveness and belief. Between the greatest and the smallest number of paragraphs per verse there are two instances each of two and three verses per sermon, a single case of a sermon for seven verses, and there are eight sermons in which four verses are discussed. Table 3 below shows the distribution of the verses in the sermons in greater detail.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sermon</th>
<th>Paragraphs</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Strophe &amp; No.</th>
<th>Verse No.</th>
<th>No. of verses</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Aleph 1-3</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
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<td>Aleph 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>III.</td>
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<td>2.75</td>
<td>Aleph 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>IV.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aleph 4-8</td>
<td>4-8</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>Beth 1-4</td>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Beth 5-8</td>
<td>13-16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Gimel 1-3</td>
<td>17-19</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Gimel 3-4</td>
<td>19-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
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<td>2.75</td>
<td>Gimel 5-8</td>
<td>21-24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>Daleth 1-8</td>
<td>25-32</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>He 1-4</td>
<td>33-36</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>XII.</td>
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<td>4.75</td>
<td>He 5-8</td>
<td>37-40</td>
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<td>3.25</td>
<td>Vau 1-4</td>
<td>41-44</td>
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<td>Vau 5-8</td>
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<td>XV.</td>
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<td>2.75</td>
<td>Heth 1-8</td>
<td>57-64</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.25</td>
<td>Teth 1-8</td>
<td>65-72</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Iod 1</td>
<td>73</td>
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</tr>
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<td>XIX.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>Iod 1-8</td>
<td>73-80</td>
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<td>XX.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Caph 1-8</td>
<td>81-88</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXI.</td>
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<td>2.75</td>
<td>Lamed 1-8</td>
<td>89-96</td>
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<td>XXII.</td>
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<td>Mem 1-8</td>
<td>97-104</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>XXIII.</td>
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<td>3.75</td>
<td>Nun 1-8</td>
<td>105-112</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Samech 1-7</td>
<td>113-119</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Samech 7-8</td>
<td>119-120</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ain 1-8</td>
<td>121-128</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pe 1-8</td>
<td>129-136</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>Sade 1-8</td>
<td>137-144</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Koph 1-8</td>
<td>145-152</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXX.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Resh 1-8</td>
<td>153-160</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Sin 1-8</td>
<td>161-168</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII.</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
<td>Tau 1-8</td>
<td>169-176</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Distribution of the verses of Psalm 118 in the *Enarrationes in psalmos.*
The structure of those 16 sermons in which Saint Augustine discusses a whole strophe of eight verses is comparable to the *Explanatio in psalmos* and the *Breviary in psalmos*, where one chapter is allocated to each strophe. It is worthy of note that seven of the 16 sermons, in which Saint Augustine discusses a whole strophe in a single sermon, are the last seven sermons. This pattern seems to suggest that as the work of commenting on the psalms progressed, the interest of Saint Augustine deepened and he began regarding the psalms as sufficient topics for a sermon, rather than simply a starting point.

**Subtitles for the strophes in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, structural considerations.**

In a structured approach, one would expect titles to each chapter. In the case of Psalm 118, each strophe can be regarded as a chapter. In the *Explanatio in psalmos*, the heading for each strophe is the appropriate Hebrew letter. Saint Robert Bellarmine places the verse text itself at the head of each paragraph. In those cases where the paragraph deals with more than one verse all verse texts are placed at the beginning of the paragraph. The verses are numbered from one to eight within each strophe. This is especially helpful when a paragraph deals with more than one verse. In addition to the verse texts as paragraph headings, from Gimel, the third strophe, onwards Saint Robert Bellarmine also summarises the subject of the strophe. These summaries are immediately below the verse text of the first paragraph. The phrase, “*In hoc octonario*” (In this octet) introduces the summary. In the first two strophes, this introduction is absent. There the discussion starts with comments or words occurring earlier in the verse text, e.g. *beati* (blessed ones) in Aleph and *adulescens* (adolescent) in Beth. The method of summarising the contents first appears, albeit in an atypical fashion, for the last four verses of Beth,
which are gathered in one paragraph, with “in his quattor reliquis vesiculis” (in these remaining four small verses), rather than with “In hoc octonario” (In this octet). Given the fact that the summary does not cover eight verses, where the expression in hoc octonario (in this octet) can properly be used, this alternative phraseology is logical.

**Subtitles for the strophes in the *Explanatio in psalmos, classification.***

The list of subtitles shows an intricate pattern which is not easily discernible without serious reflection. Saint Robert Bellarmine meets the challenge of providing summaries for the contents of the strophes in admirable fashion; this by no means is an easy task, because the contents of a strophe are not easy to summarise on account of the immense complexity and wealth of material contained in each. Table 4.4 below lists all subtitles in Latin. Appendix E lists all subtitles in Latin and in English.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strophe</th>
<th>Summary of Saint Robert Bellarmine, introduced with &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleph</td>
<td>Non habet &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>Non habet &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gimel</td>
<td>Enumerat impedimenta legis custodiendae</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daleth</td>
<td>David induit personam hominis imperfecti</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Petit ordine quodam (res IV.)</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vau</td>
<td>Propheta petit misericordiam illam explicans</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zain</td>
<td>Propheta canit aeternam retributionem</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heth</td>
<td>Ponitur haec propositio &quot;Dominus est portio mea&quot;</td>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teth</td>
<td>Multis novis argumentis poscit gratiam legis</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iod</td>
<td>custodiendae</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caph</td>
<td>David inducit personam cupientis servare</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamed</td>
<td>Propheta argumentum.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mem</td>
<td>Iterum redit ad encomium legis.</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun</td>
<td>Laudat legem divinam Propheta.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samech</td>
<td>Propheta detestatur praevaricatori legis</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain</td>
<td>Petit gratiam liberationis a calumniatoribus.</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe</td>
<td>Propheta revertitur ad laudandum legem.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: subtitles showing content in the *Explanatio in psalmos*
Table 4.4 continued

| Sade | Laudatur lex Domini a summa rectitudine et iustitia. | PASSIVE | Praise |
| Koph | Propheta desiderium suum erga divinam legem ardenti oratione demonstrat. | Prophet | Prayer |
| Resh | Propheta orationem fundit ad Deum pro liberatione ab inimicis. | Prophet | Prayer |
| Sin | Demonstrat Propheta constantiam suam in custodiendo legem Domini. | Prophet | Statement |
| Tau | Concluditur Psalmus oratione ad Deum pro gratia et salute saepe petita. | PASSIVE | Prayer |

The four categories of subtitles according to subject are prayer, praise, dogmatic teaching, and self-declaration. However, the designation does not mean that the contents are confined to one particular topic; it only marks the predominant theme. The multiplicity of themes is true of even fairly short psalms, and even more so of the long Psalm 118 with its 176 verses. Furthermore, a variety of ideas occurs even within the uniformly eight-verse-long strophes.

It is easier to see a particular pattern if we look not only at the categories classified according to the nature of contents in the subtitles, but combine these

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7 On the whole, the presence of numerous divergent ideas within one psalm is characteristic of most of the psalms. A predominant pattern in the Psalter is a reference to some event or need, expressions of feelings, remembrance of the promises and goodness of God in the past, prayer for help and expressions of contrition for past sins, which may have drawn the wrath of God on the people, and confidence in the merciful help of God. Naturally, there are exceptions to this pattern, which is extremely variable in itself, since the items listed may be in any sequence and may not even be all present in a particular psalm. Indeed, there are even psalms which seem to have one single topic. Examples of these kinds of psalms are Psalm 103 on creation and nature or the wholly laudatory Psalms 148 and 150.
categories with the *persona* of the speaker. If this is done, it is possible to see an inspiring and thought-provoking pattern in the sequence for each *persona*.

The *persona* assigned to the psalmist is an artificial construct of Saint Robert Bellarmine and it seems most appropriate because the whole psalm is in the form of an address to God. God is specifically addressed in the first verse of all strophes, except in the first strophe, Aleph, where *tu* (Thou) appears first in verse 4 [4]. In the scheme of the subtitles, two statements are in the passive voice, 17 in the active, with the statement or request attributed to the subject. In five instances, the speaker is not specified. David is named as the speaker twice, the Prophet, always capitalised, ten times. However, knowing the views of Saint Robert Bellarmine about the Davidic authorship of Psalm118, we may safely assume that the Prophet is simply an eponym for David. 8

I have placed the two subtitles in which Saint Robert Bellarmine designates David as a speaker into the category of self-declaration since the speaker speaks more about himself than about the law of God. It is especially in this category that we see how more revealing the subtitles become when a persona is also assigned. David simply pours forth his worries, displaying his weakness in the spirit of humility. In the other two instances of self-declaration, in Samech and in Sin, the psalmist speaks in the persona of the Prophet. In the first place, the Prophet expresses his detestation of prevaricators; in the second instance, he lists the examples of his diligence in keeping the law, but in a less plaintive tone than David.

In those subtitles where the Prophet is the *persona*, a pattern emerges when we look at the sequence of the subtitles in that particular category. In the subtitle to the first

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8 Saint Robert Bellarmine often refers to the psalmist as David, or relates the verse text to events in the life of David.
strophe the Prophet presents his needs in prayer and then reflects on dogma. The next subtitle consists of praise for what the Prophet has learnt. Praise for what he has perceived is followed by prayers for help to aid him in safeguarding what he has, with a declaration of intent to remain constant in the observation of the law of God. From this sequence we can see a mirror of spiritual progress of many souls in terms of asking for illumination, then requesting graces to go on, and then bursting out either with praise, pure and simple, or in a self-declaration, which is nothing else than indirect praise in showing confidence in divine understanding by laying our thoughts out in the open.

There are only five strophes in which the speaker lacks a specific identification. It looks as if this unidentified speaker represents the average believer rather than a person as richly endowed spiritually as David or the Prophet. The sequence in this category reflects the most common path of prayerful meditation. We first reflect on the teaching, then seeing what we should ask for, we pray for the necessary things. Next, confident of being heard, we praise God and the law of God and then, strengthened by the very act of praising, we pray again for graces so that we could go on praising God more and better.

The use of the passive voice seems justified in Tau, the last strophe, where *Concluditur* (It is concluded) is a means of making the final subtitle more solemn.

**The absence of subtitles to the strophes for Psalm 118 in the Breviarium in psalmos and in the Enarrationes in psalmos.**

When we were considering the number of paragraphs and the length of the commentary for each strophe, it was possible to compare the approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine with those of Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine, even when faced with the 32
sermons of Saint Augustine. In the case of subtitles, no parallels can be drawn between the *Explanatio in psalmos* of Saint Robert Bellarmine on the one hand and the *Breviarium in psalmos* of Saint Jerome or the sermons of Saint Augustine on the other, for the simple reason that in the latter two works there are no subtitles. At the first glance, it seems justified to attribute the lack of subtitles to the length of the commentaries; too brief in one case, too long in the other.

In the *Breviarium in psalmos* the majority of chapters on the strophes are one page long. Only two chapters, namely those on Heth and Samech, are longer than this but even then, never as long as one and half pages. Six chapters, namely on Lamed and on the last five strophes from Samech to Sin inclusive, do not even amount to a whole page in length. In this rather short work, the commentary on some verses consists of a bare two lines.

Saint Jerome is consistent in placing the appropriate Hebrew letter at the head of each strophe and the whole of the verse, or a portion of it, at the beginning of each paragraph. Interestingly enough in the chapters on Sade and Coph, two of the three strophes, where Saint Jerome puts comments on two verses in one paragraph, he puts the two verse texts at the head of the paragraph without interposing anything between the two verses and without repeating parts of them.

Although short length plays its part, the absence of a summary for strophes also tailors the *Breviarium in psalmos* to the needs of the monastic community, which Saint Jerome was guiding. The monks and nuns were familiar with the text of Psalm 118 by virtue of reciting it frequently. Each and every one of them was likely to have particular ideas associated with the strophe. In a situation such as this, comments on the verses
broaden spiritual horizons without forcing the reader to abandon the previously held view and substitute something else suggested by the subtitle.

Saint Augustine never identifies the strophe by its designated Hebrew letter in his sermons. The whole verse text may be preceded by a few comments; however, these are not in the nature of a summary and often refer to the whole of Psalm 118, rather than to the strophe in question.

Because of the absence of formal subtitles in the commentaries of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome, we do not have an abbreviated statement of their interpretation of various strophes, such as subtitles would provide. However, this fact does not have to deprive us of the benefit of comparing the subtitles of Saint Robert Bellarmine with at least one other person, namely Callan, a twentieth century commentator.

**Subtitles to the strophes for Psalm 118 in The psalms.**

The approach of Callan seems to be original, with no suggestion of borrowing from previous commentators such as Saint Robert Bellarmine. A subtitle is added to each letter heading a particular strophe. There is no named speaker, only a simple statement. His subtitles are not summaries; in the face of the variety of themes within each strophe the relative brevity of his subtitles can not do justice to the task of summarising. He is faced with the difficulty caused by the sheer length of Psalm 118, within which each strophe is almost as independent as an entire psalm and yet the 22 strophes are interconnected. The idea of this connection could conceivably lost if he were to handle each strophe as he does other psalms, with an introductory section with

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9 See Callan (1946), & ff.
background information, followed by the psalm texts in Latin and in English, and concluding with reflections of a spiritual nature. In the case of Psalm 118, a single introductory segment precedes the text. There is one concluding section, albeit divided into paragraphs for the different strophes. His short subtitles usually mark a salient point in a single verse within the particular strophe. They may be about the nature of the law of God or a definition of our obligations towards it. This seems a suitable approach to a didactic psalm. Table 5 shows the topics indicated by the titles, helping us to ascertain whether the sequence of the topics does indeed form a pattern. For this, the subtitles had to be classified according to topics and I have done so in the column titled “Nature”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Hebrew letter</th>
<th>Headings -modified from the titles of Callan Nature of the law</th>
<th>Nature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aleph</td>
<td>The law of God is to be learned</td>
<td>Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>The law of God preserves from sin</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ghimel</td>
<td>The law of God is a comfort to the persecuted</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Daleth</td>
<td>The law of God gives strength to the sorrowful</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>The law of God weans the soul from vanities</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vau</td>
<td>The law of God makes for liberty</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Zain</td>
<td>The law of God brings joy in life's pilgrimage</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Heth</td>
<td>The law of God is to be observed</td>
<td>Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Teth</td>
<td>The law of God is good.</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Iod</td>
<td>The law of God is just</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Caph</td>
<td>The law of God is true</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lamed</td>
<td>The law of God is eternal</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mem</td>
<td>The law of God gives wisdom</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nun</td>
<td>The law of God is help in affliction</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Samech</td>
<td>The law of God is to be loved</td>
<td>Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ain</td>
<td>The law of God is to be prized above treasures</td>
<td>Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Pe</td>
<td>The law of God is marvellous.</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sade</td>
<td>The law of God is righteous</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Koph</td>
<td>The law of God is unchangeable</td>
<td>Nature of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Resh</td>
<td>The law of God is just and will deliver the psalmist</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>The law of God gives joy and peace</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>The law of God gives help</td>
<td>Effect of the law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: subtitles to the strophes in *The psalms*
Table 4.5 uses the modified subtitles of Callan, in which there is less variety of phraseology. The phraseology of Callan varies for virtually the same term from time to time; e.g. sometimes he talks about the law of God, at other times of God’s law or simply the law. Sometimes Callan defines a characteristic of the law of God with a predicate adjective in a complete sentence; at other times he turns the adjective into a noun and the simple sentence into an incomplete one. The modifications, making the language of the titles more uniform, make it easier to classify the topics of the strophes and to search for a possible pattern, linking the ideas expressed in the strophes together.

As the table above shows, the titles fall into three groups, namely directives, the nature of the law of God, and the effects of the law of God. If we look closely at this sequence, it is possible to perceive a step by step guide for a deeper appreciation of the law of God in the Psalm 118.

There are three types of subtitles. Four are directives, seven are about the nature of the law of God, and 11 about the effects of the law of God. The sum of titles called “Directives” and “Nature of the law of God” equals the number of titles termed “Effects of the law of God”. This numerical relationship may convey something, namely that only mastery of a subject will bring the benefits gained through it and this mastery includes both theoretical understanding, such as knowing the nature of the law of God, and competency in the practice of it, such as we acquire by following the directives.

Another way of looking at these subtitles is to consider in what sequence they are grouped around the directives and what these directives are. This approach leads to another perception; we see a pattern in the sequence of the directives, instructing us in a
stepwise fashion to progress to a point where discarding the law of God would be unthinkable.

There are four directives inserted into the list of 22 topics. The directives are:

1. The law of God is to be learned
2. The law of God is to be observed
3. The law of God is to be loved
4. The law of God is to be prized above treasures.

The third directive, namely to love the law is the central one, which of course necessitates first of all being familiar with the object of our love. However, if we like what we learned, then we want to use it; hence a string of reasons follows, listing in what way the law is helpful to us before we are instructed to keep it. Once we have been persuaded to keep it, our appreciation grows by considering its nature and then we are ready to love it; and when we love it, we treasure it. Treasuring a beloved object is almost an automatic response. Therefore the directives to love the law and to treasure it are placed next to each other. However, even treasuring it alongside other things is not enough; the law must be treasured above everything else. We are therefore directed to contemplate its beauty in the next three strophes as the psalmist gives more information on the nature of the law. The last three strophes return to the topic of the effect of the law, albeit in a more generalising way.

I am not postulating here that Callan intended to present us with this pattern nor can I deny with absolute certainty that he did not. Since he makes no reference to a pattern of the subtitles in his commentary, it is even conceivable that he did not intend for
us to perceive his particular pattern. Some readers may not see a pattern; others may see a different one. Coming away with different impressions is most certainly true about most texts, especially poetry, hence its attraction in enabling us to relate to it according to our particular emotional and intellectual make-up and past experiences. This is most certainly true about the Holy Scriptures, which contain many hidden allusions, presenting us with a code which we can decipher only if we are attentive enough. Saint Augustine does discuss this in Book 8 of his *Confessiones*. His hesitancy to formally embrace the Christian faith through baptism was delayed by his disdain for the linguistic simplicity and relative linguistic inelegance of the Bible until he heard Saint Ambrose preach on mystical and allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. Since the Psalter is both part of the Bible and poetry, there is a great likelihood that the attentive reader will discover hidden treasures. Nevertheless it is still amazing that even a list of subtitles, designed by a commentator rather than a divinely or prophetically inspired author, can provide us with so much food for contemplation.

**Comparison between the subtitles of the *Explanatio in psalmos* and *The psalms*.**

When we look at the subtitles, a pattern is discernible in the subtitles of both Saint Robert Bellarmine and Callan, albeit based on a different approach. This is even more interesting when we consider that both commentaries reflect the traditional mindset of the Church.

In comparing the list of subtitles of Saint Robert Bellarmine and Callan, both similarities and differences are evident. The similarity lies in the presence of a pattern

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10 *Confessiones, Book 8.*
detectable in both lists. The titles indicate something of the line of thinking of the commentators. Even if one list is in Latin and the other is in English, yet the difference of contents is so marked that they stand out, making distortions due to the use of different languages negligible.

Saint Robert Bellarmine at times uses different *persona* or simply employs the passive voice, reflecting the variation in the verses between addressing God and making statements. In contrast, all subtitles of Callan are in the form of statements about the law of God. Although in his introduction Callan considers this psalm to be a combination of prayer and instruction, the nature of the subtitles seems to indicate that for him, Psalm 118 is a didactic psalm, pure and simple, where the various forms of expression only have the purpose of making the teaching more effective. This view on even the whole Psalter is not unheard of. Saadiah Gaon, a tenth-century Jewish scholar, considered the whole Psalter simply a second Pentateuch; thus the position of Callan in regarding a particular psalm as an instructive treatise on the law of God is by no means extreme. However, let us note that weekly recitation of the Psalter is not as customary among observant Jews as it was made by the ordinances for Catholics.

Callan, a Dominican, prayed the psalms in Latin week in and week out. Callan, the scholar, wrote about the psalms in English, with recourse to his own very decent translation of the psalms from Latin to English, a translation which forms the backbone of his book. Working with text not in the language in which he was praying it oriented him towards a more dispassionate approach, centered on relating facts without getting involved in subjective nuances.
Saint Robert Bellarmine also has his convictions. Although he acknowledges the
dogmatic value of Psalm 118, for him it is a song of praise and prayer as well; hence he
has a more multifaceted approach. Saint Robert Bellarmine prayed the psalms in Latin
and wrote a commentary in Latin on the Latin text of Psalm 118, bringing to his task
more than sheer linguistic competence and the strong theological background which
Callan also possesses. In the case of Saint Robert Bellarmine, we are also enriched by
prayerful insights on a text, which was the weekly staple of the author, since by his
lifetime the Rubrics of the Divine Office had been established, with Psalm 118 assigned
for Sundays, apportioned between the Hours of *ad Primam*, *ad Tertiam*, *ad Sextam* and
*ad Nonam*. ¹¹

In this chapter we have examined the structural features of the commentary on
Psalm 118 in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, which Saint Robert Bellarmine fashioned with
particular care to enable us to focus on each strophe without losing the thread of the main
line of thought in this rather long psalm. Examining the subtitles enabled us to see the
relationship between the strophes. On structural grounds alone, the *Explanatio in psalmos*
seems the ideal commentary to allow the average learned reader to come to grips with the
essence of Psalm 118. This not to deny the excellence of the commentaries of Saint
Jerome and Saint Augustine, especially if one bears in mind that their commentaries were
intended for different audiences and at an earlier period.

¹¹ See Appendix B.
This chapter is divided into the following sections:

- Preliminary comments.
- A. Comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.
- B. Scriptural quotations in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.
- C. Citing other authors in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

**PRELIMINARY COMMENTS.**

As he states in his letter of commendation of the *Explanatio in psalmos* to Pope Clement VIII, Saint Robert Bellarmine wrote the *Explanatio in psalmos* as a means of relief and relaxation from his other duties in the service of the Church. When he decided to publish the *Explanatio in psalmos*, it became a tool in the service of spiritual welfare for others and a weapon against errors and misconception. Undoubtedly, the clarity and appropriateness of his exposition were not additional features grafted on only later when it was about to be placed before the public, but the result of ingrained habit; for since the
psalms were important to him, Saint Robert Bellarmine was likely to explain the psalms just as carefully to himself as to others.

The questions which the *Explanatio in psalmos* answers are all interconnected. In looking at a particular text one asks – what does it mean? Where else can we find evidence to substantiate this meaning? Did others think differently and if so, why? What are the practical advantages of this added knowledge?

Saint Robert Bellarmine approaches the explication of the text of Psalm 118 in such a way that the meaning of the text is expanded. He uses several methods to achieve this aim. One method consists of simply dissecting a short phrase or even a single word, showing possible alternatives or a clearer meaning by paraphrasing the expression and discussing textual variants, including slightly different meanings of a Latin expression in the Hebrew and Greek versions of the psalm. At other times, Saint Robert Bellarmine shows which other verses of Psalm 118 and of other psalms express the same ideas. His biblical quotations serve either to illustrate the point of the verse line, or to clarify possible obscurities by showing the phrase used in another context where the meaning is clearer, or as an aid to develop further thoughts inherent in the text. If a particular passage invited varying responses from other commentators or a response with which he is not quite in agreement, Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes their opinion. Both in the case of variant texts and in the case of different views, he strives to show a point of convergence from which we can view these differences as simply different aspects of the same basic concept.
A. COMMENTS ON GREEK AND HEBREW EQUIVALENTS OF LATIN EXPRESSIONS IN THE EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS.

This section has the following subsections:

- Introductory remarks
- The history of Latin translations of the Bible.
- The psalm text used by Saint Augustine.
- The psalm text used by Saint Jerome.
- The psalm text used by Saint Robert Bellarmine.
- General comments on the discussion concerning the Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the Explanatio in psalmos.
- The comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the Explanatio in psalmos.

Introductory remarks

In a detailed examination of methodology it is advantageous to give the first place to the most frequently used method. In the case of Saint Robert Bellarmine, the most frequent approach is the analysis of short phrases or even individual words. The latter is seen more frequently when dealing with Hebrew and Greek equivalents of the Latin expression, where the translation is not quite meticulously accurate or where there are variants of the Latin text. We will be in a better position to grasp the advantages of the
approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine to biblical quotations and citations of the other commentators after we have looked at a series of examples of comments on Hebrew and Greek equivalents of the Latin phrases.

Before we embark on that undertaking, precise information may be helpful about the text of the Psalm 118 used by the commentators. As a preliminary to this, a look at what texts were available to them is in order. Here, the exact era makes a difference. In the 4th century, at the time of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome, there were still several Latin versions of the Bible in circulation whilst in the 16th century the Vulgate Bible of Saint Jerome was the canonical text of the Catholic Church. The history of the Gallican Psalter will also be discussed.

The history of Latin translations of the Bible.

In general, working with translated texts presents certain difficulties. Distortion is a potential difficulty. This is not easily avoided even if the translator is competent; in the case of inaccurately translated texts the problems are multiplied. In commenting on the Latin texts of the Psalter, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, and Saint Robert Bellarmine were working with translated texts originally written in Hebrew, then translated into Greek from which Latin versions were later produced. In the time of Saint Robert Bellarmine, a canonical version of the Latin Bible, commonly referred to as the Vulgate Bible, was in use; Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome lived in a period of transition when
the Vulgate was gradually replacing a large number of Latin texts in circulation, collectively known as *Vetus Latina*.

The Books of the Old Testament of the Bible, including the Psalter, were originally written in Hebrew. Translation into Latin occurred later than into other languages such as Greek, Syrian or Aramaic. The first translations of the Hebrew Bible were done for the use of Jewish communities living scattered in the Diaspora, many of which came into being long before the birth of Christ. Boadt mentions that there were sizeable Jewish communities in Egypt and Babylon by the fifth century BC. In the post-Hellenic era, Greek was the most prevalent language, understood and spoken in practically all regions. Of the various languages into which the Hebrew Bible was translated, the focus of the early Christian interpreters of the Holy Scriptures was mainly the Greek versions. There were several variants in use, witness the Hexaplar of Origen, with its four different Greek versions of the Bible side by side in parallel columns. The Septuagint was perhaps the best known Greek version, and later on this was the main text used in the creation of the *Vetus Latina* texts.

When Christianity began to spread, the Eastern regions were still predominantly Greek-speaking; however, Latin as the common tongue was encroaching on the pre-eminence of Greek, especially in the West. This situation brought with it the need to

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3 Unfortunately this work is no longer extant. Our knowledge of it comes through reading the quotations by those who knew it.

4 See footnote 1 of this chapter.
produce Latin texts, including a reliable Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible, for the use of the sizeable number of the Latin-speaking faithful.

At first, there were several Latin versions of widely differing merits in circulation, often differing from each other. Many of the translations were based not on the Hebrew original but on one of the several Greek texts in circulation. Latin texts from this period are collectively known as *Vetus Latina*. When working on the books of the Old Testament translated into Greek, the Latin translation also had to be reconciled to the Hebrew original. Commentators, having more than one version of Latin text at their disposal, thought it advisable to consult both the Hebrew and Greek versions in order to be able to discern which Latin version was closest to the original.

Congruity of Greek and Latin was also important because a number of the patristic authors wrote in Greek, for example Saint Basil, Saint Gregory of Nazienzen, Saint Gregory of Nyssa, and Saint John Chrysostom. Translation errors made when translating into Latin those Greek sermons which quote biblical passages in Greek could result in double distortion, making the thoughts of the author less than clear for the readers, especially when the discourse did not seem to fit closely with the biblical passage. This could arise if the translator of the sermon used a different version of the scriptural text than the author. This was most likely to occur when the author did not actually quote the passage, but just gave the title of the book of the Bible and the number of the chapter and the verse.

Many regarded the multiplicity of versions as a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. Efforts to produce one satisfactory Latin version, intended for universal use,

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5 Brenton, Lancelot C.L. (1851) *The Septuagint with Apocrypha : Greek and English*, v.
began under Pope Saint Damasus. The Pope entrusted this work to Saint Jerome who continued this work for several more decades, even after the death of Pope Saint Damasus. Saint Jerome began with the revision of New Testament translations and after completing this task, he began the work of producing an acceptable Latin version of the Old Testament. The work of revision of the Old Testament was completed by 402.

Saint Jerome also paid careful attention to Hebrew texts. He was knowledgeable enough in Hebrew to be able to do this without having to rely absolutely on the Septuagint, which was one of the Greek translations of the Hebrew texts. Eventually an authoritative Latin text, known as the Vulgate, emerged from the labours of Saint Jerome. For the Book of Psalms, an earlier translation of the Book of Psalms, the so called Gallican Psalter produced in 391, was retained in the Vulgate bible.

We do not see this close adherence to the text of the Gallican Psalter either by Saint Augustine, or rather surprisingly, by Saint Jerome, the author of the Gallican Psalter. Appendix D shows the 125 places where the text used by Saint Augustine is different from the Gallic Psalter and the 41 instances where the text of Saint Jerome differs from it.
The psalm text used by Saint Augustine.

The considerable number of differences from the text of the Gallican Psalter is not surprising in the case of Saint Augustine. Saint Jerome completed his work on the Vulgate in 401, Saint Augustine did not finish his commentaries on the psalms until 420. At the time when Saint Augustine began his commentaries on the psalms in 391 the idea of a standard canonical version probably did not exist; there were several Latin versions in circulation. Presumably Saint Augustine had his own favourite version, probably an African one. Scholars have identified some manuscripts as African. He displays familiarity with many versions, often quoting several existing versions of a given verse line. Unfortunately he seldom if ever identifies the authors of the version, and given the absence of extant copies of whole books of the Old Testament, it is impossible to ascertain who they were.

In the choice of expressions, Saint Augustine demonstrates that he is not averse to a rather eclectic approach. When he cites the text of Beth verse 7 [15], Saint Augustine uses *garrui* (I have chattered), rather than *exercebor* (I shall exercise) of the Gallican Psalter or *meditabor* (I shall meditate) of the Roman Psalter. For Teth verses 1 [65] and 2 [66], Saint Augustine replaces *bonitas* (goodness) with *suavitas* (sweetness), which does not occur in the Roman Psalter either. At times we see similarities between the Roman Psalter and the texts of Saint Augustine in grammatical forms and vocabulary, albeit usually with words of a closely similar meaning.

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7 Ibid.
Ultimately there are more similarities than differences between the psalm texts quoted by Saint Augustine and the text of Psalm 118 in the Gallican Psalter. Furthermore, some of the differences are recurring and thus less numerous in absolute numbers. Examples of this are his preference for *quoniam* (because or since) instead of *quia* (because or since) and the more classical use of the genitive rather than the accusative after *oblivisci* (to forget). The reliance of Saint Augustine on the Gallican Psalter at times can even be shown in the choice of text in his commentaries on the first psalms of the Psalter, which could have been written as early as 391. The choices made by Saint Augustine are more easily explicable than they are in the case of Saint Jerome, who himself was the author of the Gallican Psalter.

**The psalm text used by Saint Jerome.**

The psalm text of the *Breviarium in psalmos* is the Gallican Psalter but not exclusively; the psalm texts cited by Saint Jerome differ from the text of the Gallican Psalter in 41 places.\(^8\) These divergences are especially noteworthy because the author of the Gallican Psalter is Saint Jerome himself.

The divergences could be explained if Saint Jerome used the Psalter from the latest version of his Latin translation of the Psalter. He prepared this version in the course of producing a Latin version of the Old Testament, in which he paid due attention to both Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible. Subsequently, this translation became the Vulgate Bible. However, for the Book of Psalms alone, the text of the earlier version, written

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\(^8\) See Appendix D.
before 391 and commonly referred to as the Gallican Psalter, is used. The later version of the Psalter is commonly known as the Roman Psalter by virtue of the fact that the text of this version was used for the Divine Office only in Rome; the rest of the Church continued to use the Gallican Psalter.

The results of comparing the text of the Roman Psalter with psalm texts used in the Breviarium in psalmos does not support the hypothesis that Saint Jerome used the Roman Psalter even partially; for with the exception of using feci (I have done) in the place of dilexi (I have loved) in Sin verse 6[166] and the addition of et (and) before an independent clause in Vau verse 1 [41], the text of the Breviarium in psalmos corresponds more closely to the text of the Gallican Psalter than to the text of the Roman Psalter.

The differences between the psalm text of the Gallican Psalter and the Breviarium in psalmos are listed in sequence in Appendix 5. These differences fall into eight categories – added words, different expressions, different words, difference in case and/or number of a noun, different verbal form, different word order, missing half line or missing words.

The discussion below will concentrate on the six categories of lesser divergences, leaving the differences of vocabulary for a more detailed discussion later on in the section dealing with the discussion of the Greek and Hebrew equivalents of the Latin expressions.

9 In order to avoid confusion, the Roman Psalter is the text of the version prepared between 391-401 but it is not part of the Vulgate Bible; the Gallican Psalter is the text prepared between 386-391 is part of the Vulgate Bible.
It is conceivable that some of these smaller textual differences are the results of scribal error; however, as a whole, there is a definite pattern which would presuppose a single scribe. It seems therefore worthwhile to consider these smaller differences produced by Saint Jerome or as some would have it, by a pseudo-Jerome. Appendix G shows these differences arranged by categories.

In the *Breviarium in psalmos* there are two places where the second line of the verse is omitted from the psalm text, namely in Nun verse 5 [109] and Coph verse 5 [149]. These lines are not missing in the Roman Psalter. In the case of Coph verse 5 [149], the commentary would be equally applicable with or without considering the second line of the verse. In the case of Nun verse 5 [109], the commentary is merely focusing on the first line, making it unlikely that the omission of the line is an error of the copyist.

Added words are present in eight places. In five places, where Saint Jerome adds *Domine* (Lord, in the vocative) the meaning of the line does not change. This extra *Domine* present in Aleph verse 4 [4], Lamed verse 6 [94], Nun verse 1 [105], Sin verse 5 [165], and Sin verse 8 [168] is absent both from the Gallican and the Roman Psalter. The addition of the conjunction of *et* (and) connecting two independent clauses makes the syntax more correct and it is also present in the Roman Psalter. Adding *iniqui* (unjust) in Ain verse 6 [126] changes the subject from the unspecified “they” to unjust ones and fits the commentary better in classifying the culprits. However, it may be equally arguable that the just would not dissipate the law; and if they did, then a plea for forgiveness would follow and the pronoun would have been more likely to be “we”. Adding *mei* (my

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10 Patrologia Latina (1845-1855) v. 26; *Admonitio* (warning) below the title *Breviarium in psalmos*; Murphy, Francis X., ed. (1952) *A monument To Saint Jerome*, footnote 26 to page 45.
in the genitive case) to *Confitebor tibi in directione cordis* (I shall confess to Thee in the direction of the heart) in Aleph verse 7 [7] may make the phrase more elegant but it does not alter the meaning of the verse line.

As far as the missing words in five places are concerned, the meaning of the verses is not significantly altered by the omission of the extra *et in seculum* (into eternity) in Vau 4 [44] and the lack of *Domine* (Lord, in the vocative) in Koph 5[149]. On the other hand, the meaning of the verse becomes less precisely defined by the omissions of *tuae* (Thy in the genitive singular case) and *omnia* (all, nominative plural) in Sin 4 [164] and Tau 4 [172] respectively. The absent *humiliasti me* (Thou hast humiliated me) in Iod verse 3 [75] changes the meaning of the line; however, Saint Jerome does make a reference to God having humiliated him in the commentary, so the omission could be a copyist’s error.

Saint Jerome used different verbal forms in six cases. In two cases, the change does alter the meaning of the verse. In both cases, not only the Gallican Psalter but also the Roman Psalter differs from the version in the *Breviarium in psalmos*. In Jod verse 7 [79] replacing *convertantur mihi* (let them turn to me) with *convertentur mihi* (they will turn to me), a present subjunctive is changed into the future indicative, lending a note of optimism to the line by assuming, rather than requesting, that the pious turn toward the psalmist in the future. Depending on whether one interprets the *ad te conversi fiant* (so that they would be made to be turned towards Thee) of the commentary as a result or a purpose clause, the text itself would be compatible both with the present subjunctive and future indicative. In contrast, the situation is the reverse in Coph 8 [88]. Here, by changing *et custodiam* (I shall guard) to *ut custodiam* (so that I would guard), an
optimistic statement of keeping the law of God becomes simply a possibility, dependent on the favourable action of God. However, since the commentary indicates that this action may refer both whilst on earth and when salvation in eternal life has been attained, pointing out the need for help is preferable to the assertion of being able to guard the law.

Changing the mood and tense of the verbs may be due to the fact that in Latin the 1st person singular of future indicative and present subjunctive of 3rd and 4th conjugation verbs are morphologically identical; so frequently it is left to the reader of the psalm to assign a sense to the verb which can be either a declaration of future action, a desire to act, or an action dependent on the fulfilment of a condition. By switching tenses and moods in other instances, where the morphology is not identical, it is conceivable that Saint Jerome acts on the assumption that such shading is up to the commentator in the case of these moods and tenses.

In the other four cases the variation makes the sentences syntactically more correct. In the case of Daleth verse 8 [32], where dilastati (Thou expanded) of a cum clause is changed to dilatares (Thou expanded). In Resh verse 6 [158] non custodiebant (were not guarding or kept on not guarding) expresses the continuity and repetitive nature of the action than custodierunt (have not guarded or did not guard). In the case of Tau verse 8 [176], perierat (had perished) is indeed preferable to periit (has perished) after the previously occurring erravi (I erred). However, in this place the Roman Psalter uses a past participle, so exact comparison of the two versions is not possible. For Ain verse 2 [122] an ut (so that) is added before the non (not) to form a result clause, which is

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11 This is equally true whether we translate this clause as a purpose clause or an atypical result clause, without a clear qualifier in the main sentence.
certainly more correct than the simple *non calumnientur* (with added *ut* – so that they do not caluminate); however, the Roman Psalter uses *ne calumnientur* (that they would not caluminate), which, being a purpose clause, fits the sense of the text slightly better following a request.

What conclusions can we draw from looking at the textual differences between the Gallican Psalter and the *Breviarium in psalmos*? We may have a better idea about dating the *Breviarium in psalmos*. Most scholars are hesitant to date it precisely, agreeing only that Saint Jerome wrote this work during the time when he lived in Bethlehem.

The changed forms in these six categories above almost look as if they were automatic corrections to the text of the Gallican Psalter, especially where the differences in verbal forms are concerned; yet the changed expressions are not identical to the language of the Roman Psalter. This makes it likely that Saint Jerome began and completed the *Breviarium in psalmos* before completing the latest Latin translation of the Psalter, which is the Roman Psalter.

The textual differences may also provide evidence about the authorship of the *Breviarium in psalmos*. The deviation from the text of the Gallican Psalter points to Saint Jerome as the author of the *Breviarium in psalmos*. Saint Jerome wrote a commentary based on a text which he himself wrote. Since he also was praying the Psalter frequently, the text was familiar enough to him that he trusted himself to quote from memory. Correcting the text on minor points, especially on points of grammar, would have been
almost a reflex action for him. A pseudo-Jerome would probably have been less likely to change psalm texts produced by Saint Jerome\textsuperscript{12} than the author himself.

**The psalm text used by Saint Robert Bellarmine.**

For Saint Robert Bellarmine, using the canonical version, i.e. the Vulgate, was a *sine qua non*, especially since he wrote at the time when the binding decisions of the Council of Trent on the use of the Vulgate were already in effect. The Gallican Psalter of the Vulgate was also the version familiar to his contemporaries who were literate in Latin. Careful scrutiny shows that the psalm text of Psalm 118 of the *Explanatio in psalmos* deviates from the text of the Madrid edition of the Vulgate and of the Latin Breviary only once when Saint Robert Bellarmine uses the alternative spelling *Adspice* (Look at!) for *Aspice* when quoting Pe verse 4 \([132]\).

**General comments on the discussion concerning the Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.**

No amount of words spent on a general commentary would be as impressive as a fully comprehensive list of the sources to show that the focus of the *Explanatio in psalmos* is on the text of Psalm 118 itself. Restricting oneself to the citation of a few selected examples can serve to demonstrate the “how” but not the “what”. It would not do

\textsuperscript{12}Patrologia Latina (1845-1855) v. 26, 1. The roughly 8 pages long *Admonitio* (warning) presents the arguments pro and contra this hypothesis, concluding with “*Diximus Hieronymo tribui*” (We said that it is attributed to Jerome).

justice to the multifaceted nature of the commentary and to the range of ideas inherent in the text of the *Explanatio in psalmos*. These are the reason why this section and the two following sections, namely the use of biblical quotations and citation from other authors, are organised in a particular way. The methodology consists of assigning two sections to each of the three modalities, namely a generalised discussion followed by a comprehensive list of usages divided into sections according to the strophes. These lists include every place where Saint Robert Bellarmine makes a comment on the Hebrew and Greek equivalents of an expression, adds a scriptural reference, or cites an author.

Concerning the present topic of discussion, the Greek and Hebrew equivalents of particular Latin expressions in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, Saint Robert Bellarmine usually comments when he considers that the Latin translation of a particular expression is inexact, or where there are variations from the text of the Gallican Psalter in commentaries of others. He also notes the use of a different text by others, both when the use of a variant text has resulted in a different interpretation and when it has not. In the majority of cases, he identifies the author using a variant text by name. He also makes an attempt to try and find one interpretation which is equally applicable to different versions of the text.\(^{14}\)

It is also worthwhile to look at the comments of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome from two aspects. First, whether they differ in interpretation when they are commenting on the same expression as Saint Robert Bellarmine? Second, if there are words on which they commented and Saint Robert Bellarmine did not comment.

\(^{14}\) For examples see Daleth 4 [28], Heth 4 [60], and Teth 2 [74].
Examples of comments on inexact translation are found on *corrigit* (he corrects) and *exercebor* (I will exercise myself) in the section of Beth. Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that *corrigit* (he corrects) in Beth verse 1[9] is rendered as *corriget* (will correct) in the Hebrew version. He considers that *corrigere potest* (is able to correct) expresses the meaning of both tenses. In his comments on Beth verse 7 [15] he states that the Hebrew word translated as *exercebor* (I will exercise myself) corresponds more closely to the meaning of *exercebor meditando* (I will exercise myself by meditating) than to *exercebor* (I will exercise myself). In commenting on *vivifica me* (make me alive, restore me to life) in Gimel verse 1 [17], Saint Robert Bellarmine actually prefers the *vivifica me* of the Latin version as more expressive of the meaning of the verse than the *vivam* (I shall live) of the Hebrew version, and the accurately translated Greek version.  

Among the comments on variant texts of Psalm 118 we see that on Teth verse 1 [73] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes a variation of the psalm text by Saint Jerome, stating that Saint Jerome uses *benefecisti* (Thou hast done well) instead of *bonitatem fecisti* (Thou hast done goodness) in verse 1 [73]. However, this variation is present not in the *Breviarium in psalmos* but in the Roman Psalter. Saint Robert Bellarmine made the same kind of error about He verse 1 [33], when he commented that Saint Jerome uses *vestigium* (footstep) in place of *semper* (always). Saint Robert Bellarmine notes that the Hebrew word for *bonitas* (goodness) also means goodness but the Greek word *xrhstoth/ta* (plural of goodness) also means *suavitas* (sweetness or pleasantness). This comment is not quite in line with the dictionary definition. Saint Robert Bellarmine

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15 Here Saint Robert Bellarmine departs from his customary practice of citing the Greek word.
may be influenced by Saint Augustine who uses *suavitas* (sweetness or pleasantness) in the place of *bonitas* (goodness); however he makes no comments on the use of *suavitas* (sweetness or pleasantness).

Saint Robert Bellarmine discusses textual variations in his comments on Nun verse 5 [109]. The Gallican verse text is: *Anima mea in manibus meis semper.* (My soul is always in my hands). Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that the expression *in manibus tuis* (in Thy hands) used by some commentators is a corruption of *in manibus meis* (in my hands) due to a scribal error. In his opinion it is conceivable that the copyist changed the wording because he thought that *anima mea in manibus tuis* (my soul is in Thy hands) makes more sense than *in manibus meis* (in my hands). Saint Robert Bellarmine also states that Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine and Saint Hilary were aware of the existence of the original version, but they thought that the corrupt version was easier to interpret. In this example, Saint Robert Bellarmine identifies the authors of variant texts. In commenting on the textual variants in different versions using *usque valde* (very strongly) or *usque nimis* (very excessively) instead of the *usquequaeque* (altogether) of the Gallican Psalter, he does not.
The comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the
*Explanatio in psalmos.*

**Aleph.**

In verse 8 [8] Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on the use of *usquequaque* (altogether), listing versions using *usque valde* (very strongly) or *usque nimis* (very excessively) which are closer to Hebrew, without mentioning the names of commentators using them, for instance Saint Augustine, who considers that *usque valde* (very strongly) or *usque nimis* (very excessively) is closer to the Greek of the Septuagint and he himself uses *usque valde* (very strongly).

**Beth.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on *adulescentior* (young person, yet growing), on *corrigit* (he corrects) in verse 1 [9], and on *exercebor* (I will exercise myself) in verse 7 [15].

Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on *adulescentior* (young person, yet growing) in verse 1 [9] in the same sense as Saint Jerome, but at greater length, and considers the use of *iunior* (younger) inappropriate. Saint Augustine builds half his sermon on *iunior* (younger) and explains why *adulescentior* (young person, yet growing) would not be right. Neither Saint Robert Bellarmine nor Saint Augustine make any reference to the existence of alternative versions.

Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that *corrigit* (he corrects) is rendered as *corriget* (will correct) in the Hebrew version and considers that *corrigere potest* (is able to correct) expresses the meaning of both tenses. In his comments on verse 7 [15] Saint
Robert Bellarmine states that the Hebrew word translated as *exercebor* (I will exercise myself) corresponds more closely to the meaning of *exercebor meditando* (I will exercise myself by meditating) than to *exercebor* (I shall exercise myself). Saint Jerome also uses *exercebor* (I shall exercise myself), interpreting its meaning as working diligently. Saint Augustine admits that some texts use *exercebor* (I shall exercise myself) but he himself uses *garriam* (I shall chatter or babble) and considers that this passage refers to the lengthy discourses of theologians. It may be profitable to juxtapose the two versions here.

The Gallican text has: *In mandatis tuis exercebor.* (I shall exert myself in Thy mandates). Saint Augustine says: *In mandatis tuis garriam.* (I will chatter or babble among thy mandates.)

The different words of the text used by Saint Augustine give rise to different interpretations; indeed, in the case of *garriam* (I will chatter or babble), even to farfetched explanations, not quite fitting with the overall meaning of the second half of the strophe, which talks about the diligence of the psalmist in acting according to the law of God, whereas *garriam* (I will chatter or babble) refers to theologians talking at length.

**Gimel.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine makes reference to the Greek and Hebrew words used for the Latin expressions in four different places, namely in the sections discussing verse 1 [17], verse 3 [19], verse 6 [22], and verse 8[24]. He considers that *vivifica me* (make me alive, restore me to life) in verse 1 [17] is more expressive of the meaning of the verse than the more exact translation of *vivam* (I shall live) of the Greek and Hebrew versions. Saint Augustine uses *vivam* (I shall live), and Saint Jerome uses *vivifica me* (make me alive, restore me to life) without any comments. Saint Robert Bellarmine explains that
*incola* (inhabitant) in verse 3 [19] has a double meaning in Hebrew, referring both to *peregrinus* (pilgrim) and *advena* (stranger); strangely enough, Saint Robert Bellarmine makes no comment that it does not mean *incola* (inhabitant). In commenting on Gimel verse 6[22], Saint Robert Bellarmine notes that *exquisivi* (I have sought) is also used in the Septuagint; however, the Hebrew text has *custodivi* (I guarded). Saint Robert Bellarmine offers *exquisivi ut custodirem* (I sought that I would guard) as a good way of expressing the meaning of the verse. Saint Jerome makes no comments on the existence of alternate versions but simply comments on *exquisivi* (I have sought). Saint Augustine also uses this word but does not comment on it; his explanations are centered on *testimonia* (testimonies). Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that instead of *meditatio* (meditation) in verse 8 [24], the Hebrew has *gaudium et viri consilii* (joy and the men of council). For Saint Robert Bellarmine, both expressions have the same sense because in doubtful cases, one often consults a council of wise men and in tribulations God’s law and promises can be a source of joy; furthermore, the sense of *meditabor* (I will meditate) in Hebrew is “to play” or “to delight in something”.

**Daleth.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine cites the words of the Greek and Hebrew versions for *pavimentum* in verse 1 [25] (floor or ground), *dormitavit* (has fallen asleep) and *taedium* (weariness) in verse 4 [28], and *via iniquitatis* (way of iniquity) verse 5 [29].

*Pavimentum* (floor or ground) in Hebrew can also mean “dust”, hence an allusion is made to man being made of dust. Saint Robert Bellarmine refers to the views of Saint Augustine, similar to his own, on how being attached to the ground signifies being weighed down by our carnal nature, becoming wholly united spiritually with God only in
heaven. The comments of Saint Jerome are in a similar vein. Here the imagery is more Platonic than Thomist. Saint Thomas Aquinas talks more in terms of sin clouding the intellect, impeding our ability to distinguish right from wrong.

Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that *taedium* (weariness) is less expressive than the Greek word, *akidia* (weariness of doing well), but he does not take it any further. He points out that the Hebrew version has *distillavit* (has dripped or has trickled down) instead of *dormitavit* (has fallen asleep). Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that the use of the latter is the result of an erroneous translation, which can be traced to a copying error in the Septuagint, where these two dissimilar words, *e0nuctazen* (slept or slumbered) and *elstacen* (dripped or dropped down) respectively, resemble each other closely in orthography. Here Saint Robert Bellarmine shows how the two meanings can be tied together by considering that the weary soul melts away until it drips liquids, and then it will be so weak that it will fall asleep.

Saint Robert Bellarmine points out the contrast between *adhaesi* (I have adhered to) in verse 1 [25], where the psalmist adheres to carnal nature, and in verse 7 [31], where he adheres to the testimony of God.

He often quotes Saint Augustine at his best, but here he bypasses the elegant wordplay of Saint Augustine in verse 8 [32]. On the other hand, perhaps this elegance, irreproducible in translation, strikes us since we use Latin less than Saint Robert Bellarmine, for whom the beauty of Latin expressions were common place.

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16 The Desert Fathers and spiritual writers frequently commented on *accidia* (weariness in doing well), also referring to this weariness as the noon-day devil. Psalm 90 also refers to this as *daemonio meridiano* (midday daemon in the ablative).

17 Saint Augustine, Sermo X, part of paragraph 6: *Cordis dilatatio iustitiae est delectatio. Haec munus este Dei ut in praeceptis non timore angustemur sed dilectione et dilatatione iustitiae dilatemur.* (The expansion of the justice of the heart is a delight. This is a gift of God so that we would not be constricted by fear in the precepts but expanded by the delight and expansion of justice).
Saint Jerome makes no comments on words in the Hebrew and Greek originals or on alternative versions. Saint Augustine cites the existence of an alternative version, *instrue me* (instruct me), instead of the *insinue mihi* (insinuate into me) which he uses; the Gallican Psalter, Saint Jerome, and Saint Robert Bellarmine are using *instrue me* (instruct me). Interestingly enough, the comments of Saint Augustine fit better with *instrue me* (instruct me).

He.

Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on the Greek and Hebrew versions for *legem* (law, in the accusative singular), *pone mihi* (place for me) in verse 1 [33], and *semper* (always) in verse 3 [35].

Saint Robert Bellarmine states that the exact Hebrew equivalent of *legem pone mihi* (Place a law for me!) in verse 1 [33] is *doce me viam praeceptorum tuorum* (Teach me the way of Thy precepts!). However, the Hebrew word can stand both for teaching and making law. He considers that the Hebrew phrase is clearer than the Latin version, explaining that The translators working on the Septuagint translated the Hebrew as *nomoge/thson* (Make a law! or place a law!) which again has a double meaning and can not be adequately rendered into Latin with just one word. In view of this, it is unnecessary to question why the psalmist asks for establishment of the laws, which we already saw established earlier on; he is simply asking to be taught more about the law.

Saint Robert Bellarmine also states that in verse 1 [33] Saint Jerome uses *vestigium* (footstep) in the place of *semper* (always). *In the Breviarium in psalmos*, Saint Jerome does not use *vestigium* (footstep); he does so only in the Roman Psalter. Saint
Jerome does not state, but Saint Robert Bellarmine does, that the Hebrew word means both “footstep” and “end”; he therefore considers that Latin semper (always) expresses the same idea of following in the footsteps of God to the end.

Saint Robert Bellarmine does not comment on avaritia (avarice or greed) in verse 4 [36]; here he is less informative than Saint Augustine, who cites utilitias (usefulness) and emolumentum (gain from effort or from advantage) as alternative versions in psalm texts. Since the Septuagint has pleonoci/a (greed or simply gain), Saint Augustine does consider avaritia (avarice or greed) the best choice, also remarking that in the first letter of Saint Paul to Timothy, the Greek has φιλαργυρια (love of money) for the Latin avaritia (avarice or greed). 18 Neither does Saint Robert Bellarmine comment on Saint Augustine replacing iucunda (joyful) with suavia (sweet or delightful) in verse 7 [39]. However, in his own commentary he describes the law of God as both suavia (sweet or delightful) and iucunda (joyful), so here an influence of Saint Augustine may play a part.

Vau.

Saint Robert Bellarmine explains that due to the lack of words in Hebrew beginning with Vau, the formal requirement for beginning each verse with the same letter could only be met by using et (and), which is the translation of the Hebrew word Vau. He also comments that the και (and) in the Septuagint and et (and) at the beginning of each verse in the Latin version of Psalm 118 supports the assumption that the Hebrew has been accurately translated into Greek. Saint Jerome makes no comments about this. Saint Augustine does not comment on this structurally dictated necessity for repeated

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18 ) Saint Augustine, Sermo XI., part of paragraph 6.
conjunctions. His only comment is that the *et* (and) at the beginning of the first verse of Vau [41] links this strophe to the last verse of He, the previous strophe.

**Zain.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on the Greek or Hebrew versions in his commentary on verses 2 [50], 5 [53], 6 [54], and 8 [56]. In verse 5 [53] he informs us that the Hebrew word, for which *defectio* (failure or weakening) is used, has several meanings, namely “tremor”, “horror”, “burning” and “heat”. He approves the use of *defectio* (failure or weakening), for this word alone summarises several entities which would cause weakening. For *cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tuae* (Thy justifications were for me things to be sung) the Hebrew has *carmina mihi fuerunt praecepta tua* (Thy precepts have been a song to me). *Carmina* (songs) have the precise meaning of delightful songs; delightful songs point to the laws of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine slides over the difference between *iustificationes* (justifications) and *praecepta* (precepts) of the Hebrew and Latin versions, using the word *leges* (laws) in his discussion. *Haec* (this, in the nominative case, singular, feminine) recurs twice, namely in verses 2 [50] and 8 [56]. In both cases, Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on what the preceding nouns may be, but gives the full explanation, which is of a grammatical nature, only at the end. The Hebrew language has no neuter but uses the feminine form in lieu of it. He also points out that verse 2 [50] is not likely to refer to *spes* (hope), because the Hebrew version does not use a noun but the infinitive, e.g. *me sperare fecisti* (Thou hast made me hope). Saint Augustine questions whether *haec* (this) in verse 8 [56] refers to *lex* (law) or *lux* (light), showing how either can make the verse meaningful, and then he points out at the end of discussion of *lex* (law) that this noun, masculine in Greek, would not fit with the feminine form of *haec* (this) in the Greek. He concedes that *haec* (this, nominative case, singular, feminine) could stand for a *hoc* (this, nominative case, singular, neutral), citing a similar situation in Psalm 26, verse 4, without reference to the peculiarities of Hebrew grammar.  

Saint Augustine comments on alternative versions twice; Saint Robert makes no

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19 Saint Augustine, Sermo XV, paragraphs 8 and 9. The exact quotation from Psalm 26/4 is: *Unam petii a Domino hanc requiram* (I have sought one thing from the Lord, I would require this).

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reference to this. One is the alternative version of *eloquium* (discourse or declaration) in verse 3 [51] for *verbum* (word) which he uses, pointing out how the former fits better with the Greek *lo/gion* (announcement).\(^\text{20}\) His other comment is on the existence of *exhortatus sum* (I have exhorted) as an alternative version of *consolatus sum* (I have been consoled) in verse 4 [52]. In both instances Saint Augustine is making a reference to Greek words.\(^\text{21}\) Saint Jerome makes no references to Greek or Hebrew equivalents at all.

**Heth.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine makes reference to Hebrew and Greek versions in verses 1 [57] and 3 [60]. In verse 1 [57] the Greek version adds *εἰ (=i)* (Thou art); however, even without its presence in the Latin text, most commentators take it in the sense of the Greek. Saint Robert Bellarmine does not specify the commentators. Saint Augustine uses *Dominus* (Lord) instead of *Domine* (Oh, Lord!) and thinks that this makes the meaning of the verse clearer. For me, this is somewhat doubtful. For one thing, this would produce a difference between the Greek and Latin texts, since the form, *εἰ (=i)* (Thou art) in the Greek text fits with *Domine* (Oh, Lord!). As for clarity of meaning, the appropriate form of “to be” is often omitted with the vocative.\(^\text{22}\) Saint Robert Bellarmine notes that in verse 4 [60] the Hebrew has *festinavi et non tardavi* (I hastened and did not delay) in place of *paratus sum* (I have been prepared or I am ready), without distorting the meaning of the verse; both phrases express the same idea. Indeed, it is true that the meaning is close enough, especially if we take *paratus sum* in the sense of “I am ready”.

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\(^\text{20}\) Saint Augustine, Sermo XV., paragraph 6.

\(^\text{21}\) Saint Augustine, Sermo XI., paragraph 5.

\(^\text{22}\) Catullus - *dimidium animae meae* (half of my soul) has no *tu es* (you are or were).
Saint Robert Bellarmine makes no reference to the alternative version of *averti pedes meos* (I have turned my feet away from) in place of *converti pedes meos* (I have turned my feet), which Saint Augustine uses, albeit in the sense of *converti pedes meos* (I have turned my feet).

**Teth.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on the language of verses 1 [73], 2 [74], 3 [75], 4 [76], and 5 [77]. Except in one case, all his comments pertain to Hebrew usage. The exception is when he quotes a variation of the psalm text by Saint Jerome, stating that Saint Jerome uses *benefecisti* (Thou hast done well) instead of *bonitatem fecisti* (Thou hast done goodness) in verse 1 [73]. However, this variation is present not in the *Breviarium in psalmos*, but in the Roman Psalter. Saint Robert Bellarmine made the same kind of error about He verse 1 [33], when commenting that Saint Jerome uses *vestigium* (footstep) in the place of *semper* (always). Saint Robert Bellarmine notes that the Hebrew word for *bonitas* (goodness) also means goodness but the Greek word *xrhstoth/ta* (plural of goodness) also means *suavitas* (sweetness or pleasantness). This comment is not quite in line with the dictionary definition. 23 Saint Robert Bellarmine may have been influenced by Saint Augustine, who uses *suavitas* (sweetness or pleasantness) in place of *bonitas* (goodness).

According to Saint Robert Bellarmine, in verse 2 [74] the Hebrew word standing in place of *disciplina* (instruction or discipline) of the Latin version and the *paidei/a* of the Septuagint means *sapor et consilium* (good taste and plan or
counsel). Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that these three words express the same idea. This seems reasonable, if one considers that the Hebrew word deals in generalities whilst the Latin and Greek words are more specific. On the other hand, there are two examples in the same strophe, where the opposite seems to be true. Deliqui (I have failed in my duty) of the Gallican Psalter in verse 3 [75] is more general than the Hebrew expression meaning “failure through ignorance”. The same holds true of iniquitas (iniquity) in verse 5 [77], where the Hebrew word means mendacium (lying), which is one aspect of iniquity.

Although in the two preceding instances the differences are the same, namely the Hebrew terms are more specific than the Latin words, Saint Robert Bellarmine does not comment on this. In verse 6 [78] the problem is different. The Hebrew text has a completely different word, adipes (fat), for the Latin lac (milk). Saint Robert Bellarmine does not attempt to reconcile the two but simply points out that the difference between the words for fat and milk in Hebrew consists simply in one vowel point. Interestingly enough he makes no reference to ga/la (milk) in the Septuagint, although this would support his own thesis about difficulties with orthographic error. It is worthy of note that both Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome use lac (milk), and furthermore Saint Jerome, a Hebrew scholar, makes no reference to adeps (fat). This may be due to the fact that vowel points came into use long after the time of Saint Jerome and so in all probability writers in his time simply were in the habit of using the more apt expressions in case of words with identical spelling.
Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on two expressions in verse 1 [73] and on one expression in verse 7 [79]. He tells us that in verse 1 [73] the Hebrew expression for *plasmaverunt* (they have formed) means both *parasti* (Thou has prepared) and *formasti* (Thou hast formed or shaped); however, he does not develop the argument further, as Saint Augustine does. Saint Augustine himself uses *finxerunt* (they have formed), but is aware that others use *plasmaverunt* (they have formed), because it is closer to the Greek. He also states that some, but not all authors distinguish between *facere* (to make) as pertaining to the creation of the soul and *fingere* (to fashion or shape) as pertaining to the body.

In his comments on verse 7 [79], Saint Robert Bellarmine names five commentators, including Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome, who use *revertantur* (let them turn back) and not *convertantur* (let them turn). However, neither Saint Augustine nor Saint Jerome use *revertantur* (let them turn back) in their psalm commentaries; the latter uses it in the text of the Roman Psalter and *convertentur* (they will turn to) in the *Breviarium in psalmos*. Saint Robert Bellarmine also points out that *convertantur mihi* (let them turn to me) really means *convertantur ad me* (let them turn to me). Although at first sight this seems to be excessively pedantic, since use of the dative of direction is a customary construction especially in poetry. on further reflection this reminder may be just to clarify that the soul is turning not for its own sake but for the sake of God.

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24 Saint Augustine, Sermo XVIII, paragraph 2. The Septuagint has *e1plasan* (they have formed).
In commenting on this strophe, Saint Robert Bellarmine makes a reference to Greek and Hebrew variants in only one verse, albeit doing so at an uncharacteristically great length. In verse 5 [85] he examines *fabulationes* (fables) and *narraverunt* (they narrated). The Hebrew word for *fabulationes* (fables) is derived from two words, very similar to each other, namely *fabulationes* (fables) and *foveae* (pits). The Septuagint translates this as *αδολεσχια* (babble or chatter) to fit in with the verb *narraverunt* (narrated). The word *αδολεσχιασ* (idle talk, accusative plural) used for *fabulationes* (fables) is translated differently by different commentators, e.g. as *superflua loquacitas* (superfluous loquacity) by Saint Ambrose, as *garrulitas et nugacitas* (garrulity and nonsense) by Euthymius, and as *delectabilis in sermone exercitatio* (delightful exercise in speech) by Saint Augustine. This version does not alter the original meaning of the verse, since these fables are meant to be delightful in order to be seductive.

The basic meaning of the Hebrew verb in place of *narraverunt* (they narrated) is *foderunt* (they have dug). However, the Hebrew verb has also several other meanings such as “to buy”, “to sell”, or “to prepare”. In order not to render *fabulationes* (fables) meaningless, the translators of the Septuagint simply translated the verb as *διηγησαντο* (they described in full). Saint Robert Bellarmine sees no problem with this translation of the original Hebrew word, if it is used in the sense of preparing or buying the fables so that they could sell them. In the opinion of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Jerome seems to be closest to the original in translating the phrase as *foderunt mihi foveas* (they have dug pits for me). Once again, Saint Jerome does not use this version in the *Breviarium in*
psalmos; we find the version of *foderunt mihi foveas* (they have dug pits for me) in the Roman Psalter.\(^{25}\)

**Lamed.**

In this chapter Saint Robert Bellarmine makes no reference to Greek or Latin versions.

**Mem.**

In commenting on verse 8 [104], Saint Robert Bellarmine states that the Hebrew has *prudens et sapiens* (prudent and wise) in place of *intellexi* (I have understood). He considers that the Hebrew wording expresses more fully the idea that love of the law and hatred of sin do not materialise simply by avoiding sin, but by careful study of the mandates of God.

**Nun.**

In commenting on verse 5 [109] Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that *in manibus tuis* (in Thy hands) used by some commentators is a corruption of *in manibus meis* (in my hands). He considers it conceivable that the copyist changed the wording because he thought that *anima mea in manibus tuis* (my soul is in Thy hands) made more sense. Saint Robert Bellarmine also states that Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine and Saint Hilary were aware of the existence of the original version, but they thought that the corrupt version was easier to interpret. Although Saint Jerome uses *in manibus tuis* (My soul is in Thy hands) in his commentary, he uses *in manu mea* (in my hand) in the Roman Psalter, and also states in his letter to Sunnia and Fretella that the *Septuagint* and other

\(^{25}\) See the comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine on He verse 1 [33].
Greek versions have *in manibus meis* (in my hands). It should be noted that Saint Robert Bellarmine is in error concerning the *Septuagint* which has *e)\n ta\^ij xersi/ sou\* (in Thy hands).

Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome not only acknowledge that the version with *in manibus meis* (in my hands) exists, but even offer an interpretation of it. Saint Jerome considers that having our soul in our hands signifies danger, just as Saint Robert Bellarmine does. On the other hand, Saint Augustine considers that the psalmist is offering his soul to God.²⁶

Concerning verse 8 [112], Saint Robert Bellarmine states that instead of the *inclinavi cor meum ad faciendas justitificationes tuas in aeternum propter retributionem* (I have inclined my heart to do Thy justifications in eternity on account of the recompense) of the Gallican Psalter, Saint Jerome uses *inclinavi cor meum ad faciendas justificationes tuas propter aeternam retributionem* (I have inclined my heart to do Thy justifications on account of the eternal recompense). Remarking that this variation does not change the meaning of the verse, Saint Robert Bellarmine is correct in this assertion but he is not correct in stating what Saint Jerome uses. In the *Breviarium in psalmos* Saint Jerome adheres to the text of the Gallican Psalter and even in the Roman Psalter, he uses *inclinavi cor meum ut facerem justitias tuas propter aeternam retributionem* (I have inclined my heart so that I would do Thy justifications on account of the eternal recompense), a text different from the one quoted by Saint Robert Bellarmine.

²⁶ Saint Augustine, Sermo XXIII, paragraph 5.
For this paragraph Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on verses 7 [119] and 8 [120].

In commenting on verse 7 [119], Saint Robert Bellarmine states that Saint Jerome uses *scoria* (dross or slag of metals) instead of *praevricularantes* (lying ones). In Hebrew the difference between *recedentes* (receeding or departing ones) and *scoria* (dross or slag of metals) is only a vowel, Vau. The Septuagint uses *recedentes* (receeding or departing ones) and not *scoria* (dross or slag of metals). *Praevricularantes* (lying ones) means the same as *recedentes* (receeding or departing ones). This variation attributed to Saint Jerome is found only on the Roman Psalter, but not in the psalm text of the *Brevarium in psalmos*. Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that in Hebrew the difference between the two forms of *reputasti* (Thou has considered) and *reputavi* (I have considered) is only a vowel, iota. The Septuagint uses *e0logisa/mhn* (I have considered) for which *reputavi* (I have considered) is an accurate translation and *recedentes* (receeding or departing ones) for *praevricularantes* (lying ones); here, however, Saint Robert Bellarmine does not supply the Greek word. He is inaccurate here because the Septuagint uses *parabaino/ntaj* (the ones standing by, passing by or transgressing). Here, Saint Augustine is more accurate. He also raises the additional point that for *praevricularatores* (liars, accusative) the Greek has *parabaino/ntaj* (standing by, passing by or transgressing, present active participle, in accusative plural masculine), and not *paraba&taj* (standing by, passing by or transgressing, noun, accusative plural, plural masculine).

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27 Roman Psalter version - *Quasi scoriam computasti omnes impios terrae* (Thou hast counted as dross all the impious of the earth).

28 Saint Augustine, Sermo XXIV, paragraph 7.
masculine), which would be the proper equivalent of *praevaticatores* (liars, accusative); however, since he himself uses the *praevaticantes* (lying ones) of the Gallican Psalter for the psalm text, this is rather a moot point.

Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that in the place of *confige carnes meas* (Transfix my flesh!) in verse 8 [120] Saint Jerome uses *horripilavit caro mea* (my flesh bristled with hairs). In Hebrew the verb is the same for both *horripilavit* (bristled) and *confige* (Transfix!) Furthermore, the difference between the past tense and the imperative is only in vowel points. However, once again Saint Jerome adheres to the text of the Gallican Psalter, albeit using the version quoted by Saint Robert Bellarmine in the Roman Psalter. Saint Robert Bellarmine also notes that some commentators who use *confige* (Transfix!) also add *clavis* (with nails), because the Septuagint uses *kqkh/lwson* (Transfix it with a nail!). Saint Augustine makes the same point.

**Ain.**

In his comments on verse 1 [121} Saint Robert Bellarmine does not mention the variation of *persequentibus* (to those who persecute) instead of *calumniantibus* (those who are calumniating) listed by Saint Augustine, who himself uses *nocentibus* (to those who are harming). Saint Augustine himself thinks that *adversantibus* (to those who are opposing) would be more appropriate because the Septuagint has *αντιδικούσι* (to the opponents in the legal sense). Saint Augustine is in error here; the Septuagint has *αδικούσι* (to the wrongdoers). It is interesting to see that Saint Augustine is not following his own preference. It is possible that he wished to use one particular text of the Psalter;
however, the changes from the Gallican Psalter are not numerous enough either in his sermons on Psalm 118 or in other psalms, such as Psalms 1, 2, and 3, to support the hypothesis that his psalm text was other than the Gallican Psalter. Rather, the divergences are probably due to his eclectic approach.

Pe.

Verse 4 [132] is the only place in the whole *Explanatio in psalmos* where the psalm text of Saint Robert Bellarmine differs from that of the Gallican Psalter, albeit only in orthography. Saint Robert Bellarmine uses *Adspice* (Look at!) instead of *Aspice* (Look at!). He points out that the Hebrew word for *iudicium* (judgment) can also mean “custom”, “manner”, and “habit” but the Latin seems to follow *kri=ma* (judgment) of the Septuagint. Interestingly enough, Saint Robert Bellarmine does not comment on possible interpretations of other variants, based on the different meanings of the Hebrew word. In his comment on Verse 6 [134] he also does something which is unusual for him, namely criticising the Latin translation. There is a hint of criticism of the Latin version in mentioning that *redime me* (Redeem me!) lacks the force of *libera me* (Free me!), implying that since the Hebrew word can be translated as either *libera me* (Free me!) or *redime me* (Redeem me!), the former term may have been a better choice. The Septuagint has *λυτρωσαι* (Redeem! or - Release on payment of the ransom!)

Sade.

For this paragraph, Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on verses 3 [139], 4 [140], and 5 [141].
Saint Robert Bellarmine tells us that there are several variants of *zelus meus* (my zeal) in verse 3 [139] and quotes Saint Augustine who lists versions of *zelus tuus* (Thy zeal) and *zelus domus tuae* (zeal for thy house). Of course, he is right in stating that all these expressions are the same, taking it for granted that readers are aware that in the case of *zelus* (zeal) the possessive adjectives may signify the possessor of the zeal or the object of it. Saint Robert Bellarmine lists among those who use *zelus tuus* (Thy zeal) Saint Ambrose, Saint Theodoretus, Saint Hilary, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome. He is not quite accurate here because Saint Augustine uses *zelus meus* (my zeal) and Saint Jerome *zelus domus tuae*, (zeal for thy house), which he also uses in the Roman Psalter. He is accurate in saying that the Greek has *zh=loj sou=* (Thy zeal); however, he deviates from his usual custom of actually quoting the Greek word.

Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that *ignitum* (burning) in verse 4 [140] is an imprecise replacement of *probatum et examinatum* (proven and examined) of the Hebrew word, beginning with the letter Sade; this makes it unlikely that the interpreters of the Septuagint made a mistake; rather, they used *ignitum* (burning) in the sense of gold being purified by fire. Although Saint Robert Bellarmine does not explain this further, this explanation is very likely, especially since the word used in the *Septuagint* is *pepurw&menon*, the prefect passive participle of *puro/w*, which means “to burn” in the active voice but in the passive voice can also mean “to be purified” and “examined by fire”, referring to gold. We are told by Saint Robert Bellarmine that in verse 8 [144] the Hebrew has *iustitia* (justice) and not *aequitas* (evenness or fairness). He also points out that if we take *aequitas* (evenness or fairness) in the sense of *iustitia* (justice), then the meaning of this particular verse is the same, albeit expressed in different words, as that of verses 2 [138] and 6 [142].
Koph

For this paragraph, Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on verses 1 [145], 3 [147], and 6 [150].

In his comment on *iustificationes tuas requiram* (I shall require Thy justifications or that I would require Thy justifications) in verse 1 [145] Saint Robert Bellarmine is not discussing alternative versions but two different meanings of the same word, because of the identical morphology of the 1st person singular future indicative and present subjunctive for verbs of the 3rd and 4th conjugation in Latin. He points out that *requiram* (I shall require or I would require) can have two different meanings; this depends whether one supplies the conjunction *ut* (so that) or *et* (and). Taking it with *ut* (so that), the verse line becomes a subjunctive clause of purpose, with the psalmist asking for graces to desire the law of God. With *et* (and), *requiram* is taken as “I shall require”; then it becomes a promise, contingent on being heard. In passing, it may be noted that this kind of ambiguity is rather frequent in the psalms where the first word is often *audiam* (I shall hear or let me hear) or *exaudiam* (I shall hear clearly or let me hear clearly); this enables one to fashion the verse to one’s inclinations. Do I feel confident and determined to hear or do I feel weak and therefore asking for help that I may hear? If this kind of verb occurs in a clause, introduced by *ut* (so that) or *et* (and) then precise translation is possible. We see this with *ut custodiam mandata tua* (so that I would guard Thy mandates) in verse 2 [146], where Saint Augustine uses an alternative version with *et* (and) instead of *ut* (so that); however, he interprets the text as if this was purpose clause.

Saint Robert Bellarmine also points out that for *in maturitate* (in the right time or in haste or in a perfect manner) in verse 3 [147] some commentators use *immaturitate* (in
untimely haste or before time is ripe). This is probably from a corrupt text, given the fact that Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose and Saint Hilary use *in maturitate* (in the right time or in haste or in a perfect manner). This is a word with several different meanings. Here it can be interpreted as “in haste”, before the normal rising time, hoping to find help on account of believing in the helpfulness of God’s word.

Saint Robert Bellarmine states that Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Augustine use *inique/iniquitate* (impiously/with impiety) instead of *iniquitati* (for impiety) in verse 6 [150]. In Hebrew the difference between *iniquitatis* (of impiety) and to *iniquitati* (to and for impiety) is only one vowel, or rather, vowel points, which were not yet in use at the time of Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Augustine. The Greek is ambiguous since it can be either *iniquitate* (with impiety) or *iniquitati* (for impiety). When translated as “for impiety”, especially if one considers it as a dative of direction, it serves as a nice contrast to the statement that the impious are far from the law.

Saint Robert Bellarmine is accurate in his linguistic statements. To his comments on the Greek version we can add that since in Greek there are only four cases, the *ανομιαι* (for or with iniquity) of the Septuagint could be equivalent either to the dative or the ablative of the Latin, and here either option would make sense, whereas the morphologically equally feasible translation of *a)nomi/ai* (iniquities) as nominative plural would not; neither would this fit with the Hebrew. He also rightly points out that in this particular instance, the difference in case shades the meaning; for the contrast with the *longe* (far away) in the next line is lost.
Saint Robert Bellarmine is incorrect concerning the version used by Saint Jerome. He claims that Saint Jerome uses \textit{inique} (unjustly), whereas Saint Jerome uses the \textit{iniquitati} (to and for impiety) of the Gallic Psalter. It may be worthy of note that where the psalm text of the \textit{Breviarium in psalmos} differs from the text of the Gallican Psalter, Saint Robert Bellarmine attributes the divergence to the use of a version from the Roman Psalter, usually citing accurately the version existing in the Roman Psalter. Here, however, this is not the case, for the Roman Psalter has \textit{appropinquaverunt persecutores mei sceleris} (my persecutors of the crime have approached) and not \textit{appropinquaverunt persequentes mihi inique} (They approached me unjustly).

\textbf{Resh.}

Saint Robert Bellarmine does not comment on other versions or on Greek and Hebrew equivalents in this strophe. Given the numerous instances where Saint Augustine uses variations, it would not be reasonable to expect him to do so in every case. However, in verse 6 [158] the variation used by Saint Augustine seems to make a difference in interpretation, especially since his comments are more on an alternative version than the version used by him. Saint Augustine uses \textit{insensatos} (unaware, insensible) instead \textit{prevaricantes} (dissemblers), but also lists an another variant, namely \textit{non servantes pactum} (not keeping the agreement) and then proceeds to discuss who are those who are not keeping the agreement, e.g. discussing not the text which he uses, but a variant which he has merely quoted.
This is the second successive strophe in which Saint Robert Bellarmine is not making any comments on other versions. The other strophe without comments on Hebrew and Greek equivalents is Lamed.

In commenting on Tau, Saint Robert Bellarmine discusses two expressions, both from verse 5 [173].

In commenting on *fiat manus tua ut salvet* me (may Thy hand be made) in verse 5 [173] Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that in Hebrew the same word is used both for *sit* (let it be) and to *fiat* (let it be done or let it be made). He suggests that here *fiat* (let it be made) should be taken in the sense of *sit* (let it be), e.g. in a different sense from the *fiat lux* (Let light be made!) of Genesis. He also points out that *manus tua* (Thy hand) is an epithet for *potentia et sapientia tua* (Thy power and wisdom). Perhaps his intention is to make the line comprehensible even with the *fiat* (let it be done). Saint Robert Bellarmine does not indicate either the word used in the Septuagint or the comments of Saint Jerome or Saint Augustine. The *fiat/sit* (let it be made or done/let it be) presents an interesting enough problem that it is worthwhile to consider it in more detail.

The Septuagint has *gene/sqw* (let it be made or let it be born), which translates into *fiat* (let it be done or let it be made). Saint Jerome completed the Gallican Psalter before he undertook the study of Hebrew, and the Roman Psalter after he acquired proficiency in Hebrew. Perhaps this is the reason why in the Roman Psalter, which is the later version, he has *sit manus tua auxiliatrix mea* (let Thy hand be my helper) whilst in the earlier Gallican Psalter he was content to follow the Septuagint. Saint Augustine
makes no comments on the language and indeed, he may not even have been aware of the problem of *sit/fiat* (let it be/ let it be done or let it be made). He interprets this line mystically in stating that *manus tua* (Thy hand) represents Christ. In this, he uses an approach suitable for explaining obscure or difficult passages, namely looking for a deeper meaning, not easily discernible from the text at first sight.
B. SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS IN THE EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS.

This section has the following subsections:

- Introductory remarks
- Use of scriptural quotations by Saint Jerome
- Use of scriptural quotations by Saint Augustine.
- Use of scriptural quotations by Saint Robert Bellarmine in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, general comments.
- Discussion on the Scriptural quotations by Saint Robert Bellarmine in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

**Introductory remarks.**

When we looked at the comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of certain words of the Latin text of Psalm 118 in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, we have seen one aspect of Saint Robert Bellarmine’s approach. He shows how divergent expressions may simply accentuate different aspects of a central idea, and strives to reconcile the differences. This approach will also be discernible when we are dealing with citations from various authors, but it is not a method which Saint Robert Bellarmine employs frequently in his use of scriptural quotations. He uses scriptural quotations less for reconciling differences between the text of Psalm 118 and parts of the Bible than for two
other purposes, namely illustrating the idea expressed in a verse of the psalm is one purpose and developing the point further with the aid of a scriptural quotation is another.

In comparing the approaches of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Augustine, we see that the approach of the first two is similar whereas in commenting on Psalm 118 Saint Augustine is in a category of his own.

For Saint Robert Bellarmine, the task of explicating the text of Psalm 118 is enough. This is basically the approach of Saint Jerome as well. However, in contrast to Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Jerome restricts the uses the biblical quotations to illustrate the text of the verse, rather than to explain or develop ideas further. For Saint Augustine, the text of Psalm 118 is a vehicle of instruction in general.

Although to some extent the three commentators tailor their commentaries to the different the needs of their particular audiences, all of them are presenting a united front in terms of expressing their admiration for this particular psalm. Saint Jerome and Saint Robert Bellarmine customarily append a separate introductory paragraph before the commentary of each psalm. Saint Jerome starts his introduction with an Alleluia, and then continues: Iste psalmus magnum in se mysterium continet. (This psalm here contains a great mystery in it). He also comments on the poetical beauty of this acrostic psalm with sequential Hebrew letters for each strophe and its composition in elegiac meter. In order to emphasise the fact that Psalm 118 contains a great mystery, he proceeds to define precisely the following terms: lex (law), mandata (mandates), iustificationes (justifications), testimonia (testimonies), iudicia (judgements), and via (way). This unusual step of giving definitions to terms in the introduction seems to be a warning for the reader to approach this psalm containing a great mystery with great reverence and
attention. Later on in his commentary Saint Jerome uses the precisely defined terms loosely at times, e.g. as substitution for law. As an example, the text of verse Caph 5 [85] says: *Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes sed non ut lex tua* (The impious narrated tales to me but not as Thy law). Saint Jerome then defines the impious as *non conveniunt mandatis Dei* (They do not come together to the mandates of God). Here, disregard for the law becomes disregard for mandates. However, the reader has already been encouraged to think in terms of definitions, and therefore can focus on shades of meaning.

In a similar way to Saint Jerome, Saint Robert Bellarmine also starts his introduction to Psalm 118 with an *Alleluia*, then adds: *Hic psalmus tribus in rebus omnibus aliis antecellit*. (This psalm surpasses all others in three things). He then goes on to indicate the three factors, namely:

1. Usefulness as an exhortation and guide to a life of keeping God’s laws.

2. Length – 176 verses, when the second longest psalm, Psalm 77, contains a mere of 72 verses.

3. Its elegance with the acrostic structure, and symmetry of this, with 8 verses to each letter.

It is also noteworthy that Saint Robert Bellarmine cites here, but interestingly enough, not in the general introduction to the volume, the authors whose psalm commentaries he studied, naming Saint Ambrose, Saint Hilary, Saint Jerome, and Saint Augustine, adding that there were others too. Insertion of this information here also invites us to approach Psalm 118 as a psalm worthy of great attention.

Saint Augustine differs from Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Jerome in not writing introductory paragraphs before each psalm, so we can not see his overall view of
Psalm 118 either. However, he devotes 32 sermons to it. This large number of sermons is significant in itself, given the fact that according to the *Tabula Chronologica* in the *Corpus Christianorum* edition of the *Enarrationes in psalmos*, there are only ten other psalms which have more than one sermon explaining them. 29 The next largest number of sermons attached to a psalm is four. 30 The same table also indicates that Psalm 118 was in the group of psalms commentaries, which were written last, in 418 31.

After a thorough scrutiny of the commentaries of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Augustine, and Saint Jerome we can see something else as well, to which they made no specific allusions; namely the role of Psalm 118 as a bridge between the Old Testament and the New Testament on account of its central theme, which is the law of God. The intermeshing between the Old Testament and the New Testament is quite apparent in the case of the law of God, which is the subject of Psalm 118. The three commentators are familiar with both the Old and the New Testament and are able to use the message of the Old Testament to highlight the message of the New.

In the next section we shall explore the relationship of the two parts of the Bible to each other further.

**The relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament in the Bible.**

In the Old Testament, the law of God has been proclaimed in the Ten Commandments plus other legislative mandates of the Mosaic law. The prophets of the

29 Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (1956), p. XVII-XVIII.

30 Psalm 103, a 36 verses long creation psalm, very rich in imagery.

31 Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (1956), p. XVIII.
Old Testament all had their personal encounter with God, they knew that the Messiah would come, and they saw observance of the law of God as the ways and means of keeping the divine-human bond intact.

When the Incarnation of the Son of God took place, the law had not so much changed as it was expected to be internalised in the Christian believers so that their actions would be not just follow the letter of the law of God but they would act in the spirit of it as well. Love was the basis of this transformation. The love of God for mankind became clearly manifest through the events of incarnation, redemption through crucifixion, and the descent of the Holy Ghost at the first Pentecost. It is true that divine justice was still to be feared by the unrepentant heedless sinner; however, through the expiating sacrifice of Christ on the cross, the mercy of God would become operational whilst also calling forth the grateful love of the redeemed. Keeping the law of God was one way of expressing this love-filled gratitude.

Use of scriptural quotations by Saint Jerome.

In general, Saint Jerome keeps his focus on the psalm text. Of the three commentators, he uses biblical quotations least frequently; there are 50 scriptural quotations in the section Psalm 118 in the Breviarium in psalmos, 76 in the Explanationes in psalmos, 325 in the Enarrationes in psalmos. On the whole, Saint Jerome restricts the use of the biblical quotations to illustrate the text of the verse, rather than to explain or develop ideas further. Often, the biblical text is simply quoted at the end of a paragraph as completion.

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32 Christians born as gentiles were not held to all the prescription of Mosaic laws. See New Testament of the Bible, Acts, Chapter 15.
of the sentence, without any further comments. We see an example of this in the paragraph commenting on Res verse 1[153]. The biblical quotation “quia dixisti: qui se humiliaverit exaltabitur (because Thou has said: He who will have humbled himself will be exalted)” is the concluding phrase of the paragraph.33 The commentary on Pe verse 2 [130] ends with another scriptural quotation after an introductory quia (since):

“abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis(Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and the prudent ones and hast revealed them to little ones)”.

In common with Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Jerome does not necessarily use a scriptural quotation for every strophe. There are four strophes without Scriptural quotations in the Explanatio in psalmos and three in the Breviarium in psalmos. Interestingly enough, two of the strophes without scriptural quotations by either Saint Robert Bellarmine or Saint Jerome are identical, namely Ain and Koph. The topic of both of these strophes is a rather fervent prayer for protection against the impious. Since the type of dangers represented in them had already been explicated in previous verses, the commentators could conceivably have considered that further explanations with the aid of scriptural passages would be superfluous.

Use of scriptural quotations by Saint Augustine.

For Saint Augustine, the text of Psalm 118 is a vehicle of instruction in general. After all, he was not producing these sermons for a monastic community as Saint Jerome did, nor did he write mainly for those who shared his spiritual orientation as was the case for Saint Robert Bellarmine. Saint Augustine wrote for the education of the faithful at

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33 The underlined portion is a quotation from the Gospel of Saint Luke, Ch.14 v.11.
large. His 32 sermons on Psalm 118 are the means to make full use of the potential of Psalm 118 as a vehicle for the discussion of dogmatic questions, thereby broadening their spiritual horizon of the faithful. When it comes to commenting on Psalm 118, the methodology of Saint Augustine is peculiarly his own. As noted before, his commentary on the psalms other than Psalm 118 runs more or less on the same lines as the *Explanatio in psalmos* and the *Breviarium in psalmos*.

Christianity is a dogmatic religion, and the core of its teachings is laid down in the Bible. As preacher and writer, Saint Augustine based many of his sermons on biblical texts. He also continued to bolster his comments with the aid of biblical quotations when writing about the psalms. In his 32 sermons on Psalm 118 we see a profusion of scriptural quotations, more than 25 for four of the strophes. The total number of scriptural quotations in the 32 sermons is 325. The number of quotations per strophe varies from one to 16, with an average of between 10 and 11 quotations per sermon.

In some parts of commentary on Psalm 118 in the *Enarrationes in psalmos* the verse text often simply serves as a jumping off point to a scriptural quotation, which then becomes the focus of the sermon. For instance, we see part of Sermon 1 and the whole of Sermons 2 and 3 dedicated to the topic of sin and forgiveness, quoting Saint Paul and Saint John, with only one verse, namely Aleph 3 [3] at the center.

The audience of Saint Augustine by and large consisted of lay people living in the world, not as well versed in theology or attuned to gain insights through contemplation as the particular flock of Saint Jerome in their monastic setting.

Learning is fastest if the subject is attractive to the learners. The faithful asked Saint Augustine for a commentary on the psalms and he obliged them with enough food
for thought in the commentaries of the preceding 117 psalms that by the time they came to Psalm 118, they were ready for more, namely for a deeper scrutiny of the law of God in the setting of psalm study, with the reiteration and expansion of the ideas in the psalm with the aid of biblical texts. It seems that Saint Augustine himself hesitated to approach this particular psalm earlier on; chronologically, the commentary on Psalm 118 falls within the last year of the 26 years which Saint Augustine spent on writing his commentary of the psalms in instalments.34

Use of scriptural quotations by Saint Robert Bellarmine in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, general comments.

In this and in the following section we will examine how the scriptural quotations contribute to a fuller appreciation of the Psalm 118 and a deeper understanding of the *Explanatio in Psalms*. Quotations cited by Saint Robert Bellarmine are listed in Appendix H.

As we saw previously in this chapter, Saint Robert Bellarmine uses scriptural quotations for reconciling differences less frequently than for two other specific purposes. Illustrating the idea expressed in a verse of the psalm is one purpose, developing the point further with the aid of a scriptural quotation is another.

A good example of reconciling differences is found in the commentary on Aleph verse 2[2] concerning the assertion of the verse text that those who sin do not walk in the way of God and biblical quotations to the contrary.35 Developing further a theme, which

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34 Year of 418; see Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (1956), p. XVII-XVIII.

35 For details, see the next section, Scriptural quotations in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, Aleph.
was expressed in the psalm text is seen in the comments on *Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei* (My eyes led down the outflow of waters) in Pe verse 8 [136]. After considering why the psalmist is weeping, Saint Robert Bellarmine also discusses the nature of sin.  

**Scriptural quotations in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, instances.**

**Aleph.**

In his commentary on Aleph verse 1 [1] Saint Robert Bellarmine uses a quotation from the Holy Gospel of Saint Matthew to support his statement that the state of the *beati* (blessed) refers both to earthly and heavenly life. This quotation delineates further the condition of gaining eternal life. The price for this is to keep the law of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine cites Saint Paul but does not quote him verbatim about the two kinds of laws in our lives, namely the law of God and law of the flesh.

In the commentary on Aleph verse 2 [2] only two words, namely *non occides* (Thou shalt no kill) are given from the text to show that keeping the law wholeheartedly demands more than simply following the Ten Commandments; it is not enough simply not to kill, but even angry words should be avoided.

In Aleph verse 3 [3] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes from the epistle of Saint John in order to answer the question posed by Saint Augustine concerning the apparent contradiction between this passage, which states that none of us are sinless, and the

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36 For details, see the next section, Scriptural quotations in the *Explanatio in psalmos* under Pe.

37 St.Mt.19.17: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata* (If thou wishest to etner the road, keep the commandments).
assertion of the verse text that those who sin do not walk in the way of God. Saint Augustine says: *Qui operantur iniquitatem non utique in viis eius ambulaverunt; aut quia dubium non est eos ambulare in viis Domini, non credantur habere peccatum quod procul dubio falsum est.* (They, who do iniquity of course have not walked in His ways; or, since there is no doubt that they, who are walking in the ways of the Lord, are not believed to have sins, which is no doubt false.) He then explores this question in Sermons 2 and 3 and in the last part of Sermon 1. The answer of Saint Robert Bellarmine is more succinct. He points out that the road is only left temporarily, at the precise time of sinning, and he differentiates between degrees of sin and the different consequences. Those committing mortal sin have left the road; those who are committing only a venial sin are walking beside the road. This delineation and division into categories has an Aristotelian flavour. This particular discussion is an almost irresistible invitation for the reader to reflect on the consequences of sin and the means of obtaining the forgiveness of God.

The two quotations in reference to Aleph verse 5 [5] illustrate the interplay between the virtue of making an effort and grace. This is a concept which is repeatedly stressed throughout the commentary and it is also a contemporary topic of some relevance. There was a prolonged and acrimonious exchange between the Dominicans and the Jesuits on the relationship between free will and grace. This public controversy ended with the Holy See shelving further discussions but promising a definite answer, prohibiting in the meanwhile the opponents from calling the views of each other heretical.38 The comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine give a theologically orthodox

38 See Broderick (1928) v.2, p.66 & ff.
answer, acceptable to all. He interposes his comments between the two scriptural quotations, namely Rom.2.13 and Gal. 2.21: 39 Dixi autem iustiores fieri qui legem observant, quoniam prima iustificatio qua ex peccatoribus efficimur iusti non potest legi tribui sed gratiae. (I said that they who observe the law become more just, because the first justification by which we are made just persons from sinners, can not be attributed to the law but to grace). The scriptural quotations in the commentary on Aleph verse 7 [7] show that the soul says Confitebor tibi (I confess to Thee) because it found God trustworthy and benign.

In the commentary on Aleph verse 8 [8] both quotations show that the pain and sorrow when one feels abandoned by God is not a quite unknown experience for others as well. This therefore is the reason for the request that God not abandon the soul altogether, so that this pain would not be everlasting.

Beth.

The three scriptural quotations in the commentary on verse 1 [9] throw the focus on the words adulescentior (young man, still growing) and corrigit (corrects) in the verse text. These quotations point out the reason for discipline and the benefits of discipline for the young, who are very much under the sway of the desires of the flesh. The stress on the importance of practice instead of wholly relying on intellectual assent is again reminiscent of the view of Aristotle just as is the list of reasons why guidance is so much needed at this age.

In the commentary on verse 2 [10] both quotations are from the Holy Gospels. They give hope that the soul will eventually be rewarded, and with the proper

39 Rom.2.13: Factores legis iustificabuntur. (The doers of the law will be justified); Gal. 2.21: Si ex lege iustitia ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. (If there is justice from the law, Christ died for no purpose).
determination the soul will obtain what David sought. It may be worthy of note that in the *Explanatio in psalmos* the examples of sorrowing heart are all from the Old Testament, optimistic quotations are taken from the New Testament. This feature is a Christocentric slant, indicating that mankind has been redeemed by the crucifixion of Christ with the result that the gates of heaven are open for faithful souls.

The text of verses 3 [11] and 4 [12] shows that the blessings flowing from learning the law of God are followed by praises to God from creatures blessed with this knowledge, who in turn ask to be taught more. The quotation from Psalm 83 verse 8 summarises this process well.\(^40\)

In the one paragraph dealing with the four verses from 5 [13] through 8 [16], a single quotation from the Holy Gospel summarises the theme of the four verses that the love of the law of God is making the task of keeping it not only possible but even enjoyable; the task is *iugum suave et onus leve* (a light yoke and a sweet burden).\(^41\)

**Gimel.**

In pointing out our ignorance about our true worth, the Old Testament quotation in verse 1 [17] emphasises that vivification, which the psalmist asks, pertains to eternal life, as opposed to the permanent death of the damned soul.

Verse 3 [19] states: *Incola ego sum in terra* (I am a dweller in the land). Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that being creatures of the world is one of the impediments to keeping the law, and quotes Saint Paul about the wholly spiritual nature of the law. This will lead the reader further into meditating about the law of the flesh operating in the

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\(^{40}\) *Etenim benedictionem dabit legislator* (For indeed the lawgiver will give a blessing).

\(^{41}\) St. Mat 11.30.
world, the inevitability of struggle between the two, and the forces represented by love of God, and the love of his law as a secondary effect.

In the paragraph dealing with verse 5 [21], both quotations are from the Holy Gospels. The first quotation illustrates the fact that God will strike the proud. The second scriptural quotation is the reply of Christ to the disciples, who are reporting that they were able to exorcise demons in His name. This reply points out the need for humility, for pride was the primary reason for the fall of Satan. Maledicti (cursed) is a word present both in the verse text and in the scriptural quotation. The latter describes their fate of everlasting misery after the Last Judgement.

Daleth.

In the commentary on verse 3 [27], the focus of the commentary is on mirabilia (amazing or wonderful things). All three scriptural quotations are in the nature of commands, namely: Diliges dominum ex toto corde! (You will love the Lord with [lit. from] your whole heart!) Non concupisce! Diliges inimicum tuum! (You will love your enemy!). In the opinion of Saint Robert Bellarmine, mirabilia (amazing or wonderful things) refers to the great demands of God’s law, hence the request for help in the second line of the verse. We are led to meditate on how hard it is to love and not to desire and how marvellous it is that God thinks we are capable of it.

In verse 4 [28] the scriptural quotation, depicting the Holy Apostles slumbering in the Garden of Gethsemane, simply shows an occasion when weariness caused or increased by sorrow has resulted in sleep.\[42\]

He.

\[42\] Saint Robert Bellarmine also comments on the word dormitavit (has slumbered) in conjunction with Hebrew roots; see Comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the Explanatio In Psalmos, Daleth.
In verse 1 [33] the focus of the commentary is on the apparent contradiction between the verse line *legem pone mihi Domine* (place a law for me oh Lord!), asking God to place a law for the soul, and the diction of Saint Paul declaring that no law has been placed in front of the just. 43 The explanation of Saint Robert Bellarmine is both ingenious and plausible. He states that the request is to have the law of God placed in the heart of the psalmist so that he would love it; the result would be that the law of the flesh and the enticements of world would not be attractive. We can then deduce that in this case the law would be so internal that formal external strictures would not be needed.

In verse 3 [35] the scriptural quotation broadens the sense of *ipsam volui* (I wished that thing) in indicating that the request to be led in the way of the mandates of God is realistic, because if God gives the inspiration of desiring something, then God also gives the graces to perform the act.

In verse 4 [36] the two scriptural quotations are echoing the request of the verse line that God does not tilt the soul towards sin, in this case avarice. Saint Robert Bellarmine refutes the idea that God leads anyone into sin by pointing out that rather than directly leading a soul into sin, God is simply withdrawing His graces, and without these one is bound to fail.

**Vau.**

In the commentary on verse 1 [41] there are two specific scriptural quotations and also references to three other books of the Old Testament where the sentences begin with *et* (and), just as do all verses in this particular strophe. There is a fuller explanation

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43 See the comments in this chapter under He in “A. Comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents in the *Explanatio in psalmos*” for the meaning of the verse line.
of this in the section titled “Comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the *Explanatio in psalmos*”.

**Zain**

In the commentary on verse 1[49] the two scriptural quotations about the promises of God to Abraham simply specify the promise to which the psalmist refers in the verse line.

**Heth.**

In the commentary on verse 1 [57] Saint Robert Bellarmine uses scriptural quotations to show that the idea that God is one’s portion is also expressed elsewhere in the Psalter: *Dominus pars hereditatis meae* (The Lord is part of my inheritance); *Pars mea Dominus in aeternum* (The Lord is my portion into eternity). 44 The quotations help to express more fully the idea of the proximity of God to the soul in eternity.

In reference of *particeps ego sum* (I am a partaker) in the commentary on verse 7 [63], there are two quotations from Saint Paul. The first quotation likens individuals within the community to members of a body; Saint Robert Bellarmine takes the *particeps* (partaker) in this sense. However, he includes a second quotation to illustrate more clearly the less commonly held view of Saint Augustine that the reference is to Christ, who through the incarnation became one of us in the nature of flesh and blood. It is noteworthy how far Saint Robert Bellarmine is willing to go in the name of fairness, namely digging up a quotation just in order to explain more fully the point of view of another writer.

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44 Ps. 15.1; Ps. 72.26.
In the commentary on verse 5 [77] Saint Robert Bellarmine gives us three scriptural quotations, all from the New Testament, to show that *vivam* (I shall live) in the verse line refers to life in eternity. These quotations are rather indirect; however, when one refers to them in conjunction with *vivam* (I shall live), one then develops further the ideas connected with it. It is noteworthy that of all scriptural quotations, the one which Saint Robert Bellarmine repeatedly quotes is:

*Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata* (If Thou wishest to enter life, keep the mandates).

This single quotation is the best stimulus for serious study of Psalm 118.

A quotation from Psalm 142 provides yet another simile for the state of the soul described as *uter in pruina* (flask in the frost) in verse 3 [84], namely that of a *terra sine aqua* (dry land without water). One ends up thinking more deeply about grace, likening it first to warmth and then to water in the course of reflections on how grace is nourishing the soul.

The scriptural quotation in connection with verse 3 [91] aids the reader in the scrutiny of *dies* (day), especially in juxtaposition to the eternal now, represented by *hodie* (today). The scriptural quotation makes these concepts clearer, enabling us to see this idea in the verse as well. This developing of an idea so much beyond the confines of the text is reminiscent of the lengthy ways of Saint Augustine with his 32 sermons on Psalm 118.

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45 Saint Matthew’s Holy Gospel, 19.7.
The quotation from Psalm 23, declaring that all created things belong to God, adds another dimension to the psalmist’s declaration of *tuus sum ego* (I am Thine) in verse 6 [94]. Taking the verse line and the psalm quotation together, the declaration is simply an acknowledgment of the reality in terms of the universal rule of God over the whole creation, and also an appreciation of the loving goodness of God, expressed by the desire “*Salvum me fac*” (keep me safe) so that the soul can be close to Him.

**Mem.**

In commenting on verse 3 [99] Saint Robert Bellarmine first erects and then demolishes a potential contradiction with the aid of a quotation from the Holy Gospel “*Non sit discipulus super magistrum*”. (Let not the student be above his master) 46. Saint Robert Bellarmine shows that the idea expressed in the verse, namely the pupil being greater than his teacher, can be explained by the fact that David speaks here in the *persona* of Christ. Were David to speak for himself this would only be true in that sense that he became greater than his parents and tutors, yet he was hardly greater than some of his ancestors, such as Moses and Abraham.

**Nun.**

In verse 3 [107] the focus of the commentary is on *humiliatus sum* (I have been humiliated). The quotation from Saint Paul suggests that humiliations can result from being pious. Adding a second quotation from the Holy Gospel of Saint Matthew, which is often quoted in *Breviarium in psalmos*, seems to recommend welcoming humiliation as an aid to walking the way of God. The last idea expressed in the paragraph, namely that

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46 Saint Matthew’s Holy Gospel, 10.24.
God raises the humble, is repeatedly stressed through the commentaries of all three authors, e.g. Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Augustine, and Saint Jerome.

Saint Robert Bellarmine uses scriptural quotations to illustrate the meaning of the expression *in manibus meis* (in my hands) in verse 5 [109]. The use of *in manibus meis* (in my hands) versus *in manibus tuis* (in Thy hands) was discussed previously when dealing with variant texts. The two scriptural quotations indicate the meaning of this expression as a gesture of courage in the face of approaching danger.

Samech.

In his commentary on verse 6 [118] Saint Robert Bellarmine illustrates the attitude of the proud towards God with the aid of a quotation from Psalm 11.

In commenting on verse 7 [119], Saint Robert Bellarmine again draws our attention to an apparent contradiction between the verse calling all sinners dissemblers whilst Saint Paul states that “*Ubi non est lex nec praevaticio.*” (Where there is no law there is no dissembling). The second apparent contradiction is between the above citation and one from the same epistle appended closely to the first one: “*Qui sine lege peccaverunt sine lege peribunt*”. (Those who sin without a law will perish without a law).

The answer of Saint Robert Bellarmine to the apparent contradiction between the verse text and the first scriptural quotation on one hand, and the two scriptural quotations on the other, is the same as proposed by Saint Augustine: There is a natural law for all

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47 For more comment on this, also see in this chapter “A. Comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the *Explanatio in Psalmos*”, Nun.

48 Romans 4.15.

49 Romans 2.15.
men, including those who do not even know the law of God as such. For both laws, dissembling is a sin.

The scriptural quotation inserted into the comments on verse 8 [120] gives another reason for fear besides fear of divine retribution, namely the fact that sinful desires recrucify Christ. This is most certainly not something which the followers of Christ wish to do.

Pe.

In his comments on verse 1 [129] Saint Robert Bellarmine compares the statement in the first verse line, which states that the testimonies of God are miraculous, with a quotation from the Old Testament stating the opposite. *Mirabilia testimonia tua* (Thy testimonies are marvellous or extraordinary) from Pe verse 7 [119] certainly does state something different from the Old Testament (Deut. 30.11) quotation of *Mandatum hoc non supra te est* (This mandate is not above/beyond you), especially if we consider the assertion of Saint Robert that the original Hebrew says: *Mandatum hoc non mirabile est* (This mandate is not marvellous).50 Saint Robert Bellarmine is of the opinion that the law of God is both miraculous and not miraculous. He also attributes mystical significance to the laws, especially to the laws governing liturgical ceremonies. The brevity and clarity of the language of the Ten Commandments are amazingly impressive, close to miraculous in their perfection; the judicial and moral laws are also simple and easy to understand. The laws governing liturgical ceremonies are also miraculous in the sense of their mystical significance, requiring scrutiny of the meanings behind the words, gestures, and settings. At this point a Catholic reader is likely to to reflect on the sacrificial nature

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50 The Septuagint has θαυμαστα (things to be marveled at).
of the Mass, where both the incarnation and the death of Christ are re-enacted. After making these connections, one can further meditate on the real presence of God in the Blessed Sacrament.

In the paragraph on verse 2 [130] the scriptural quotation is stating essentially the same as the verse line, namely that the word of God is revealed to the little ones (parvuli). Saint Robert Bellarmine takes it in the same sense as Saint Augustine, namely as a reference to humble souls.

The purpose of the scriptural quotation for verse 5 [133] is almost identical as in the paragraph about verse 2 [130], namely a reaffirmation of the statement of the verse line. The verse itself states that if God directs the footsteps of the psalmist, the domination of injustice ceases over him. The Scriptural quotation describes the sinner as the slave of sin.

In the commentary on verse 6 [134] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes the Bible in order to explain the disturbing effect of calumny on the soul, reaffirming the reasonable nature of the request in the psalm verse to be delivered from calumnies.

In verse 8 [136] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes a line from a penitential psalm, albeit in a slightly changed form. The inclusion of this quotation helps to develop the meaning further, referring the cause of tears not only to the sins of others, but also to the sins of the psalmist as well. This more specific delineation enables Saint Robert Bellarmine to discourse on the distinction between the place where sin originates, namely

\[51\] The quotation is: *Lavabat per singulas noctes lectum suum* (He was washing each particular night his couch.) Psalm 6.7 has: *Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum* (I shall wash each particular night my couch).
heart and will, and the natural agents involved in sinning, such as eyes, hands, and tongue.

Sade.

Verse 1 [137] calls God just. The scriptural quotation in this paragraph represents God as a light without shadows.  

52 This serves to illustrate the wholly just nature of God, even when the justness of his judgement is not apparent. This last tenet would be less clear without the scriptural quotation.

Verse 4 [140] speaks of the declarations of God as glowing. The first scriptural quotation from Psalm 11 verse 7 illustrates that the word of God is as pure as precious metal, purified by fire. The second quotation from Deuteronomy, Chapter 33, verse 2, develops further the concept of fiery hot metal which the fire purifies, illuminating the environment with its heat and light with the aim of communicating divine love.

Resh.

Verse 3 [155] states that that sinners are far away from salvation. Using again his favourite quotation from the Holy Gospel according to Saint Matthew, Saint Robert Bellarmine shows that the further sinners are from the way of the law of God, the further they are from being saved for eternal life.  

53 There are two quotations from Psalm 118, which express the same idea as verse 6 [158], and show how the love of the psalmist towards God makes him indignant about transgressors of the law of God.

52 I.Jn.ep.1.5.

In verse 3 [164] the psalmist declares his love for the law of God. The two quotations from the Holy Gospel show that love of God results in love for the law of God. With the aid of these two scriptural quotations the connection can be made to the previous verse where the love of God leads to hatred of sin. The conclusion is that the verse text expresses love of God with proofs of deeds rather than words.

In the comments on verse 4 [164], the first scriptural quotation simply illustrates that in the Holy Scriptures the number seven is used to indicate great frequency. The second quotation is from Heth verse 6 [62] of Psalm 118. Media nocte surgebam (I was rising in the middle of the night) refers to ad Matutinum, the eighth Hour of the Divine Office, which is said in the middle of the night; the other seven Hours are termed the daytime Hours. Saint Robert Bellarmine adds here that the seven Hours of the Divine Office mean that the Church is almost continually engaged in the praise of God.

Verse 5 [165] speaks of the peace of the virtuous souls. The two scriptural quotations illustrate the joyous peace of those who love God.

In his commentary on verse 6 [166] Saint Robert Bellarmine states that the prophet, that is, David, assumes here the persona of the perfected soul. The confident statement of Saint Paul expresses the same trustful optimism of a justified soul.

Verse 7 [167] speaks about the love of the psalmist for the law of God. The three scriptural quotations from the New Testament reiterate some previous points, namely that


55 After the liturgical reforms of 1971 only those who are still adhering to the pre-1971 Divine Office are likely to do this. In the 1971 Rubrics Ad Matutinum is termed the Hour of Readings and it is said in the daytime.

56 2.Tim.4.7 & ff.
love for the law of God helps to keep the law and that love of God means loving and keeping His commandments.

The three scriptural quotations from the Old Testament express the same idea as the second half of verse 8 [168], namely that we are in the sight of God at all times. As Saint Robert Bellarmine remarks, this awareness is a good inducement for virtuous conduct.

**Tau.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine appends a scriptural quotation, in which God promises the gift of intellect, to the verse line 1 [169]. In this verse the psalmist is asking God for the gift of intellect. This explains the *iuxta eloquium tuum* (according to Thy declaration), which gives the assurance that God will hear our prayers.

There is an especially nice connection in verse 2 [170]. With the aid of the scriptural quotation from the Holy Gospel we see that our prayer *eripe me* (Snatch me away!) is the end for which the use of the intellect is the means. 57 This is both Platonic in terms of valuing the intellect and Aristotelian in distinguishing between means and ends.

A scriptural quotation from the Holy Gospel shows that to burst out in a hymn in response to graces received occurs indeed and hence the conditional promise made in verse 3 [171] is likely to be fulfilled. 58

57 St.John.8.32.

58 St.Mt.12.34.
In his comments on verse 5 [173] Saint Robert Bellarmine gives a total of five scriptural quotations to make a grammatical point, namely the use of *fiat* (let it be done or made) when *sit* (let it be) is meant.\(^{59}\)

Both the text of verse 7 [175] and the quotation from Psalm 83 show that the soul restored to life delights in praising God.\(^{60}\) Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that this pertains to eternal life. However, when the reader reflects on this it is evident that the language itself also admits the interpretation that we do this also in this earthly life, for instance when singing psalms and especially when chanting or reciting them in the Divine Office.

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\(^{59}\) I have not been able to locate the quotation cited as I. Cor. 1.24. The editor of the 1931 edition of the text notes in a footnote that I. before Cor. is missing in the manuscript.

\(^{60}\) *Beati qui habitant in domo tua Domine; in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te* (Blessed are those who dwell in Thy house oh Lord; they will praise you forever).
C. CITING OTHER AUTHORS IN THE EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS.

This section has the following subsections:

- Citing other authors by Saint Robert Bellarmine in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, general comments.

- Comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine on the views cited by other authors in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, instances

Citing other authors by Saint Robert Bellarmine in the *Explanatio in psalmos*,

general comments.

The earlier commentators, Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine, did not have a string of Christian authors preceding them. Their quotations are almost totally restricted to the Holy Scriptures. It is interesting in this context that Saint Augustine does not quote Saint Ambrose, who opened his eyes to the inherent beauty and true meaning of the Holy Scriptures.

1200 years later Saint Robert Bellarmine is in a different position. There were many before him who wrote and even several, who wrote commentaries on the psalms. Even so, of the three modalities of outside sources, namely analysis of Greek and Hebrew words, scriptural quotations and citing other authors, citation of authors is the least frequently used source. There are 43 references to Greek and Hebrew usage, 87 scriptural quotations, and Saint Robert Bellarmine cites other authors 29 times. Appendix I shows the frequency of the different types of citations in a tabulated format and Appendix J shows it as a graph.
As far as other commentators on the psalms are concerned, Saint Robert Bellarmine mainly quotes fourth-century Latin Christian authors, such as Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Hilary. Two Greek Fathers, namely Theodoretus and Euthymus, are often quoted but only in cases when a whole string of authors is mentioned. If we divide the authors quoted into three categories, namely Saint Augustine alone, Saint Augustine and others, and others without Saint Augustine, we then see the eminence of Saint Augustine in the eyes of Saint Robert Bellarmine. In the 28 instances where authors are quoted, Saint Augustine is quoted 24 times in all. In 12 cases he is the only author quoted. Table 5.1 below shows the category of authors cited in a tabulated format and Appendix L shows it as a graph.
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Table 5.1: Authors cited in the *Explanatio in psalmos*
Saint Robert Bellarmine seldom does anything at random and even if he seems to do so, in the end a coherent picture emerges. In essence he is citing other authorities for three particular purposes. First, the views of these authors may be the same as his own; in these cases they support his own stance. The second purpose is to present a whole spectrum of different approaches to a given question. At other times, the views of others may seem to be diametrically opposed to his own views. He often addresses these situations by showing that the differing views are basically the same, and only appear to differ because they are accenting different aspects of the same problem. If the differences go deeper, Saint Robert Bellarmine then refutes the stance of the opponent in the shape of a convincing argument.

The commentary on Jod verse 5 [77] gives us an example of citing an author, who agrees with the interpretation of Saint Robert Bellarmine. Saint Augustine concurs with Saint Robert Bellarmine that “life” in this passage refers to eternal life. The views of several commentators are presented in conjunction with media nocte (in the middle of the night) Heth verse 6 [62]. Here Saint Robert Bellarmine first refers to those who agree with him that the reference to the night is a reference to time spent in prayer, but only after quoting the different interpretation of Saint Augustine, who considers that media nocte (in the middle of the night) refers to the times of persecution.

Just as in the case of the comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of the Latin expressions and scriptural quotations, the only way to get the full flavour of the Explanatio in Psalmos is by scrutinizing the actual quotations, which are presented below.
Citing other authors in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, instances.

**Aleph.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes the question of Saint Augustine on the apparent contradiction between the statement in verse 3 [3], which denies that those who sin walk in the way of God, and the statement in the First Epistle of Saint John that none of us are without sin.\(^{61}\) He answers this by discussing the degrees of sinfulness and duration of sinning as they affect the ability to remain in a state of grace; however, he does not quote the answer of Saint Augustine, which is rather lengthy, not too different conceptually, but has no definite end point in terms of resolution of the apparent controversy.\(^{62}\)

**Gimel.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes the comments of Saint Augustine on *concupivi desiderare* (I yearned to desire) in verse 4 [20], even using the same example of the wish of a sick person for appetite in order to be able to eat and to get better. Saint Robert Bellarmine also points out that to desire the mandates of God is different since it is in the will, whilst desiring food is effected through sensations in the body.

**Daleth.**

In his comments on verse 1 [25] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes the observation of Saint Augustine that *adhaesit pavimento anima mea* (my soul has adhered to the floor) refers to a soul attached solely to earthly concerns, but then he develops the point further.

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\(^{61}\) I. St. John 1.8.

\(^{62}\) Saint Augustine begins to discuss this problem at the end of Sermon I with comments on this particular topic occupying most of Sermon II and Sermon III. He comments on temptation, the need to pray to be able to resist them, the dangers of false humility, which results in confession of nonexistent sins, and the danger of confusing inactivity due to languor with absence of sin when inactivity provides no occasions for it.
in describing the glorious state of the soul in eternal life when the soul adheres to God. Here both commentators start from the same point and then explicate different aspects.

**Vau.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine interprets the text of verse 3 [43] in terms of not losing courage to proclaim the word of God forever. He also cites Saint Augustine, who considers that this passage refers to those martyrs who proclaimed their faith after an initial denial. Here the interpretation differs without being contradictory.

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Augustine, who says that *levavi manus meas ad mandata tua* (I raised my hands to Thy mandates) in verse 8 [48] represents a soul who keeps the law for the love of God and not for earthly rewards. Both commentators then enlarge on this point slightly differently.

**Heth.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes four fourth-century authors, including Saint Augustine in support of his interpretation of *portio mea Dominus es* (Thou Lord art my portion) at the beginning of verse 1 [57]. 63

Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that *media nocte* (in the middle of the night) in verse 6 [62] refers to those times when the faithful rise to pray the psalms in the middle of the night. He cites other commentators in agreement with him, but only after he had stated the different interpretation of Saint Augustine, who considers that *media nocte* (in the middle of the night) refers to the times of persecution. Here different views of two

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63 The others are: Saint Hilary, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Jerome.
groups are presented, one group consisting solely of Saint Augustine who interprets this passage more mystically, again making a reference to persecution. 64

Iod.

In commenting on verse 5 [77] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Augustine, who agrees with him that here as well as elsewhere, *vita* (life) often means *vita aeterna* (eternal life). Saint Robert Bellarmine also adduces scriptural quotations to illustrate this particular usage. 65

Caph.

In the paragraph dealing with verse 1[81], Saint Robert Bellarmine first presents the view of Saint Augustine, who considers that this whole strophe refers to the Church awaiting *pie omnino et vere* (wholly piously and truly) Christ, and to the martyrs. Saint Robert Bellarmine himself holds the view that given the fact that the subject of Psalm 118 is the law, this strophe also can be considered as dealing with the keeping of the law.

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes the views of Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine, both of whom consider that *uter in pruina* (bag in hoarfrost) in verse 3 [83] refers to the mortified soul moistened by heavenly grace. 66 He adds their views after stating his own that the phrase represents a soul *destitutus humore gratiae* (destitute of the moisture of grace).

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64 Testimony by martyrdom is a favourite topic of Saint Augustine as shown of his interpretation of *testimonum* (testimony) in this sense.

65 See the paragraph, Scriptural quotations in the *Explanatio in Psalmos*, under Jod.

66 *Anima pruina caelesti respersam* (soul sprinkled with heavenly hoarfrost).
All comments cited in verse 5 [85] are in conjunction with textual variants or with the interpretation of a) dolesxI/a (babble or chatter). Saint Augustine is included in the list of those cited. The others are Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and Euthymus.

**Lamed.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes various interpretations of _finis omnis consumationis_ (end of all completion) in verse 8 [96]. He cites five different commentators, including Saint Augustine. He then adds his own opinion on how the Prophet saw the final end as either glory or punishment.

**Mem.**

In verses 3 [99] and 4 [100] the psalmist says that he understood more than his teachers and elders, respectively. Saint Robert Bellarmine tells us how Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose understood these verses. The former considers that the passage refers to Christ, listening to the learned scribes and asking them questions in the Temple when he was only 12 years old. Saint Ambrose says that it refers to the Christian people in general. On the other hand Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that David surpassing his teachers and elders explains the verses well enough, although it does not refer to all who lived before the time of David, such as Abraham, Moses, and others.

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Augustine adding _in corde_ (in the heart) to the verse text _tu legem posui mihi_ (thou has placed the law for me) in verse 6[102] and then discusses the full meaning of both phrases.67 The expanded phrase used by Saint Augustine also implies loving the law whereas the shorter phrase simply means that God gave the law to the psalmist.

67 Here again “_legem ponere_” stands for placing an existing law rather than making a law. See footnote 43.
Samech.

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Augustine, who points out that in verse 1[113] the Prophet-psalmist does not say that he hates iniquity but he hates the impious; nor does he say that he loves the just, but only that he loves the law of God. His hatred therefore is directed towards the enemies of the law.

Saint Robert Bellarmine notes that Saint Augustine raises a question about the apparent controversy between the text of verse 7[119], which states that sinners are praevaricatores (dissemblers), and the statement of Saint Paul that where there is no law, there is no praevaricatio (dissembling). Whilst Saint Augustine defers discussion of this on the grounds that it is a very complex issue, requiring too lengthy an explanation, Saint Robert Bellarmine cuts the Gordian knot by simply declaring that everyone has in his heart the natural law.

Ain.

Saint Robert Bellarmine lists the views of a whole string of authors on the meaning of tempus faciendi Domine (It is the time of doing it, oh Lord!) in verse 6 [126]. The first group, consisting of Saint Hilary, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Augustine, believes that the phrase expresses a yearning for the Incarnation of Christ to take place. The Greek Fathers, namely Theodoretus and Euthymius, think that the phrase in question is a request for the punishment of evildoers. Saint Robert Bellarmine remarks that recent scholars also follow this interpretation. He himself accepts the validity of both views but prefers the first interpretation as it is more mystical. Saint Robert Bellarmine does not

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68 Romans 4.15.

69 In this case we are dealing with a Messianic prophecy, pure and simple.
give any reason for his views, almost as if he expects the reader to come up with the reasons. One reason may be that the interpretation fits with the overall tone of yearning of this strophe, preference for a more lofty sentiment the other.

Pe.

Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that the tears mentioned in verse 8 [136] are the tears shed by the psalmist, namely David, for his own sins, listing those who are of the same opinion, namely Saint Hilary, Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, and Saint Augustine. However, Saint Robert Bellarmine mentions them only after listing those who believe that David cried because of the sins of others than himself. This group consists of Theodoretus and Euthymius, together with the recentiores (more recent ones), who again are not named. However, in the end all are in agreement that David is weeping about sins.

Sade.

In commenting on verse 2 [138], Saint Robert Bellarmine cites the view of Saint Thomasthat the Decalogue is indispensable since it contains the whole order of divine justice. 70

Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that adulescentulus (adolescent) in verse 5 [141] is referring to the fact that David was the youngest boy in his family, but he also quotes opinions of Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine, who interpret the text more mystically as a reference to the Christian people as younger brothers of the Jews of the Old Testament.

70 I. e. Saint Thomas of Aquinas, a Dominican theologian, to whom Saint Robert Bellarmine simply refers as Saint Thomas throughout the commentary.
Coph.

In discussing the phrase *in maturitate* (in haste) in verse 3 [147] Saint Robert Bellarmine notes that Saint Hilary, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Jerome also use this phrase whilst Saint Augustine cites *immaturitate* (in immaturity). Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that the source of this divergence lies in Saint Augustine using a corrupted text. On further discussing the various possible meanings of *maturare* (to ripen or to hasten) Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes from the *Aeneid*, where *maturare* (to ripen or to hasten) means “to hasten”. 71

Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Thomas Aquinas on the same topic as in Sade verse 2 [138], namely on the Decalogue as the basis of all law, including the ceremonial and judicial laws, which in his opinion are expressions of the moral law.

Resh.

Saint Robert Bellarmine describes two different interpretation of verse 8 [160]. Saint Augustine considers this in an abstract and literal manner as simply declaring that the word of God is based on truth. Euthymius connects it to the words of God forbidding Adam to touch the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. 72 Although Saint Robert Bellarmine does not state which view he holds, the more detailed explanation of the view of Saint Augustine, which Saint Robert Bellarmine has put before the opinion of Euthymius, indicates that Saint Robert Bellarmine sides with Saint Augustine on this matter, whilst also admitting that the phrase could evoke the interpretation of Euthymius.

71 Virgil *Aeneid*, I.137.

72 Genesis 2.16-17
Saint Robert Bellarmine considers that in verse 1 [161] David is describing his lack of vengeance with reference to not desiring the death of Saul, Isboseth and Absalom, all of whom persecuted him unjustly. After laying his case in front of us, Saint Robert Bellarmine mentions that Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine hold that the verse refers to the martyrs who have suffered for the faith. Here we have an example of preference for specific episodes in the Old Testament as opposed to his stance in commenting on Resh verse 8 [160], where Saint Robert Bellarmine opts for the general interpretation.

When discussing the meaning of *septies in die laudem dixi tibi* (seven times a day I told <Thy> praises to Thee) in verse 4 [164] Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Cyprian who says in his sixth sermon that every third Hour of praise is in the honour of the Holy Trinity.\(^{73}\) In reference to *non est illis scandalum* (there is no scandal for them) Saint Robert Bellarmine cites Saint Thomas Aquinas to support his view that neither the Pharisees nor the *pusilli* (puny, petty or tiny) possessed or possesses perfect charity and hence they were or are easily scandalised.\(^{74}\)

In verse 7 [167] the psalmist speaks in the *persona* of the perfected soul imbued with love for the testimonies of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine enlarges on this further with the aid of a quotation from Saint Gregory on love achieving great things.

**Tau.**

Saint Robert Bellarmine is in agreement with Saint Augustine that in verse 4 [172] the psalmist proclaims that he will teach the divine precepts to others, stating that

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\(^{73}\) “Hours of praise” is a reference to the Hours the Divine Office. For further discussion of this topic, see the paragraph on Sin, *Scriptural quotations in the Explanatio in Psalmos*, under Sin.

\(^{74}\) Q.43.art. 576 in 2-2.
this is the more commonly held interpretation. However, he adds that it is also possible to interpret this verse as simply referring to the psalmist praising the law and thus echoing the previous verse.
CHAPTER 6

CONTENTS, STYLE, AND RHETORICAL FIGURES IN THE EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS

This chapter has the following sections:

- Preliminary comments.
- A. Rhetorical questions.
- B. Metaphors and similes.
- C. Repetitions.
- D. Multiform repetitions.
- E. Triplex forms.
- F. Contrasts.
- G. Statements in the negative.

PRELIMINARY COMMENTS.

There are more than 1000 years between the time of the composition of the Breviarium in psalmos by Saint Jerome and the sermons of Saint Augustine on the one hand and the Explanatio in psalmos by Saint Robert Bellarmine on the other. It is therefore rather surprising that a reader accustomed to classical Latin and respect for the rules of rhetoric can read all three commentaries with equal ease and, let us also add, with
equal pleasure. The three works mentioned above do a creditable job of representing the ideas contained in Psalm 118.

If we look at the *Breviarium in psalmos*, Saint Jerome simply presents the contents in a rather summary form. At the other end of the scale, in the 32 sermons of Saint Augustine on Psalm 118 more often than not the idea within a verse or in a strophe simply serves as a springboard for discourses about related topics.

The commentary on Psalm 118 in the *Explanatio in psalmos* is the *via media* (middle of the road). It is longer than the commentary in the *Breviarium in psalmos* but short enough that the focus remains consistently on the text of the verse. Just looking at a work like this, we almost expect an informative albeit rather dry discourse. It is rather gratifying to discover that we are treated to a masterpiece which meets the criteria of effective rhetoric as outlined by Cicero in the *Brutus*; it teaches, delights, and at times deeply moves us. ¹

If the above mentioned criteria outlined by Cicero are met, the result will be a work where the reader is able to grasp all salient points without undue mental strain. In addition, there are no obscurities in it. Furthermore, the arrangement of the material consistently follows the basic pattern, promoting sustained concentration. Imaginative solutions for problematic texts and the attractiveness of the language are other factors which propel the reader to go on reading.

At first sight, the language of the *Explanatio in psalmos* is just simple; on further scrutiny it turns out to be deceptively simple. Using the classification of styles recommended by classical rhetoricians, namely grand, simple, and mixed, the style of the

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Explanatio in psalmos is simple, with occasional mixed features. The simple style was also characteristic of the preaching style of Saint Robert Bellarmine. This switch from the initial grand style was a conscious decision. As Brodrick relates, Saint Robert Bellarmine initially used to carefully write out his sermons in the grand style, avidly studying the flamboyant styles of Friar Gerund and Bishop Cornelius Musso.\(^2\) The incident which caused Saint Robert Bellarmine to adopt a different style occurred fairly early in his career. In 1565 he preached on Christmas day. Immediately afterward, he was urged by the canons of the Cathedral to preach next day as well; so he had to preach without his customary prolonged preparation. Afterwards his listeners told him that he sounded not himself but as an angel from heaven.\(^3\) He never returned to the grand style again.

However, as the examples later on in this section show, the use of stylistic devices and elegant phrasing were so much part of his natural make-up that his writings are full of them and yet they seem to flow effortlessly, avoiding the appearance of something contrived for effect. It is reasonable to assume that his sermons were similarly effortlessly elegant. It is also worthy of note that preaching sermons was the first step in the path of guiding the faithful, for the episode related in Brodrick predates the teaching years of Saint Robert Bellarmine, which in turn heralded in his career as a writer. This is clearly shown by the fact that his first published works consisted of a collection of his lecture notes.

In discussing the style of the Explanatio in psalmos, I employ a methodology slightly different from the previous one. First of all, any comparison with the styles of

\(^2\) Brodrick (1928), v.1, 53-54.

\(^3\) Ibid.
Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome will be very brief in order to keep the focus wholly and totally on the style of Saint Robert Bellarmine. The other point of difference is the change of the order in which the items are listed. When we were discussing structure and use of sources, such as examination of Hebrew and Greek equivalents, quotations from the Bible and citation of other authors, the illustrative examples were presented in the order in which they occurred in the text. In the case of stylistic devices, the sequence of the illustrations will be grouped according to the type of the stylistic device. Proceeding this way, the very selective and proportionate use of linguistic ornamentations can be seen more clearly. However, some general comments are first in order before we look at particulars.

The language of Saint Robert Bellarmine is free from the distortion of Medieval Latin, supporting the fact that Catholic writers were capable of writing in classical Latin.

In their compendium entitled Medieval Latin, Mantello and Rigg dedicate a chapter to the discussion of the issue of Church Latin as a special variety of the language. Various theories are quoted, of which the view of Erasmus appears to be the most reasonable. Erasmus does not consider ecclesiastical Latin a language on its own; rather, the difference between ecclesiastical and classical Latin hinges on the specialized vocabulary used in theological and ecclesiastical discussions and not on syntax and construction. Saint Robert Bellarmine wrote at a time when a return to Ciceronian and classical Latin was in full swing; so, understandably enough, Saint Robert Bellarmine uses neither the spelling nor the vocabulary peculiarities of Medieval Latin in his writing;

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5 ibid p. 140.
he just writes good classical Latin. His most admired authors were Virgil and Cicero, witness the fact that he spent his time by reading these two authors during the year preceding his entry to the Jesuits.

Given the Catholic-Protestant polemics of his age, Saint Robert Bellarmine is relatively dispassionate here as always, as shown in his lectures at the University of Louvain, where he addressed the errors of Michael Baius, the forerunner of the Jansenists, and in the Controversiae which was based on a series of lectures dedicated to refuting Protestant tenets summarised in the Augsburg catechism. The only exceptions to his customarily dispassionate style are his exchanges with James I, King of England, on the nature of kingship. In this particular instance however, Saint Robert Bellarmine himself may have felt that he was deviating from his usual style, hence he used a pseudonym.

The style of the Explanatio in psalmos flows smoothly. Close scrutiny of the text reveals why it is so. The explanation lies in the superbly balanced lengths of the cola, giving the text a rhythmic quality, enabling the reader to devote his or her attention wholly to the content of the discourse.

The arrangement of the clauses is almost totally in the running style, inasmuch that each clause has a closure allowing the reader full understanding, without the need to rely on the previous or succeeding element for comprehension. This however does not

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7 See Chapter 2, p. 18.

8 On Baius, see Brodrick (1928), v. 1, 73; on the Controversiae, v. 1, 175 & ff.

9 Brodrick, v. 2, 144 & ff.

10 For definition of periodic and running styles, see Darwin Lysias (1976).
exclude growing understanding as one reads. Reading one segment, an idea is presented
and one leans back with a satisfied sigh for having learnt something; but then the next
segment, which also presents an idea, meanwhile deepens our understanding of the first
part more fully. The following examples will illustrate this point.

In Coph verse 7[151] Saint Robert Bellarmine describes by the use of clauses,
each antithetical to the preceding one, why God does not allow the persecutors to cause
permanent harm to the soul. *Nam etsi forte dabis illis potestatem in corpus meum, non
dabis in animam meam, et tandem omnis persecutio in coronam gloriae convertetur.* (For
even if perhaps Thou wilt give power against my body, Thou wilt not give against my
soul, and in the end all persecution is converted into a crown of glory). The middle
clause, omitting the repetition of both direct and indirect objects, is also an example of
ellipsis.

The passage in Pe verse 4 [132] passage also illustrates the running style in which
at the end of each cola we are ready to consider the argument concluded yet the addition
also makes sense. The language of Saint Robert Bellarmine becomes very picturesque
here: *Adspice me in oculis pietatis et miserere mei laborantis sub onere praeceptorum
tuorum quae meis viribus implere non possum.* (Look at me with eyes of piety and have
mercy on me, labouring under the weight of Thy precepts which I am not able to fulfil
with my strength).

In analysing the use of stylistic devices of Saint Robert Bellarmine, one has to
bear in mind that whereas the psalm is poetry, the *Explanatio in psalmos*, the
commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine on the psalms, is prose. Furthermore, striving for
clarity is an essential element for Saint Robert Bellarmine. Rather than using constructions such as hypallage, hyperbaton and apostrophe, where violent displacement, sudden changes in direction, and omission may interfere with clarity, Saint Robert Bellarmine concentrates on emphasis by repetition of words in the identical or in grammatically different forms. Another form of repetition is triplex. The style is also enlivened by the use of contrast, often employing a negative statement which more often than not precedes a positive statement. Stating something in the form of a denial rather than a straightforward manner also serves to give emphasis and to provide variety.

We see many of these forms within the Psalter, and naturally in Psalm 118 itself, especially contrast and the use of negatives. Contrast is more often seen between the verses and whole verse lines as a rather standard approach in the poetic armamentarium of the psalms. Repetition also occurs. Repetition of the same root word in different forms is quite marked in the strophe of Teth.

Broadly speaking, the stylistic devices of the Explanatio in psalmos can be grouped into modalities used for explanation and modalities used for emphasis. Rhetorical questions, similes, and contrast belong to the former category. We find repetitions of identical words, multiform repetitions and simple negatives when Saint Robert Bellarmine wishes to emphasise a point. This emphasis may stand by itself or it may be a prelude to a fuller explanation of the idea emphasised.

In Chapter 5 we looked at the way in which Saint Robert Bellarmine illustrated and bolstered his arguments with the examination of Hebrew and Greek equivalents of

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11 See comments on the poetry of the psalms in Chapter 3, p. 43 & ff.

12 Bonitatem (goodness in the accusative), bonus (good, masculine referring to a person), bonum (good, neutral referring to a thing).
selected words and expressions, quotations from the Bible, and citation of other authors. In the same way, the stylistic devices which Saint Robert Bellarmine employs serve the same purpose albeit in a different way; for rather than statements being bolstered by other sources, the commentary itself unfolds mysteries inherent in the text when we have a careful look at the text.

The portion of chapter 5 dealing with the use of the three modalities was organised by assigning two sections to each, namely a generalised discussion with examples and a comprehensive list of usage. We shall employ the same methodology in this chapter as we examine the use of each stylistic device.

A. RHETORICAL QUESTIONS.

Rhetorical questions, general comments.

In this section we will look at two different issues. The first query concerns the response of Saint Robert Bellarmine to the questions in the text. The second issue will focus on the questions which Saint Robert Bellarmine himself poses.

Rhetorical questions, comprehensive list of usage in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

The text of Psalm 118 provides three rhetorical questions, two of which are in the strophe of Caph and one is in Beth. The question in Beth verse 1 [9] is rather general: *In quo corrigit adolescentior viam suam?* (In what [manner] does the rather youthful person correct his way?) Te verse line immediately following gives the answer. Saint Robert Bellarmine enlarges further on this answer.
Te situation is different in the strophe of Caph. In Caph verse 2 [82] the eyes of the psalmist asks: *Quando consolaberis me?* (When wilt Thou console me?). In Caph verse 4 [84] the psalmist would like to know: *Quot sunt dies servi tui?* (How many are the days of Thy servant?). The psalm does not give the answer and neither does Saint Robert Bellarmine; rather, he explains what the question means by means of subsequent questions: For the question in Caph verse 2 [82] he asks: *Quando veniet consolatio illa perfecta ut non amplius timeam casum et legis sanctae praevaricationem?* (When will that perfect consolation come so that I would not fear a disaster and dissembling of the holy law?) For Caph verse 4 [84]. The question of Saint Robert Bellarmine is: *Quando finientur dies tentationis et miseriae ?* (When will the days of temptation and misery be finished?)

Explaining questions by means of questions indicates that Saint Robert Bellarmine considers rhetorical questions a useful modality of instruction. That fact that he puts three questions in the very first strophe of Aleph supports this assumption.

In commenting on Aleph verse 4 [4], Saint Robert Bellarmine asks: *Quis igitur erit qui non continuo applicet animum ad parendum?* (Who then will be the one who does not immediately apply his soul to obeying?). In Aleph verse 5 his question is: *Quid facere debent homines privati?* (What ought ordinary men to do?) e.g. if even a king and a leader trembles in the sight of the mandates of God? In Aleph verse 6 [6]. The question is: *Quis ego sum qui opera mea aut verba mea aut cogitationes meas ausus sum non conformari rectitudini mandatorum summi legislatoris?* (Who am I, I, who dare not to shape my deeds or my words or my thoughts to the correctness of the mandates of the highest lawgiver?)
The questions in this strophe all point to the majesty of God, the perfection of His commandments and to the need for humility. An idea is introduced which resounds throughout Psalm 118 Placing the thought in the form of questions, the reader is invited, or almost compelled, to start reflecting seriously about the nature of God and to continue to do so throughout the whole commentary on Psalm 118.
B. METAPHORS AND SIMILES.

Metaphors and similes, general comments.

Of all stylistic devices, Saint Robert Bellarmine uses similes most frequently, more than one fifth of all modalities, i.e. 21 per 104. In this, he simply adopts a favourite means of expression of the psalm text itself. On account of the large number of these stylistic forms, it seemed prudent to group them according to type rather than to list them sequentially.

The similes in the *Explanatio in psalmos* either refer directly to the similes of the psalm text or present brand new word pictures. Saint Robert Bellarmine may also develop further a simile or a metaphor originally introduced into the text of Psalm 118, enlarging the picture, so to speak. Given the poetical language of the psalm, at times this is not a question of a properly defined simile but a poetic description of something, which only becomes a fully blown simile in the hands of Saint Robert Bellarmine.

Metaphors and similes, comprehensive list of usage in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

At times Saint Robert Bellarmine simply comments on the simile of the text. We see this in Daleth verse 1 [25] where he explains *Adhaesit pavimento anima mea* (My soul has adhered to the floor) and *uter in pruina* (sack in the hoarfrost) in Caph verse 3 [83], where he also cites the interpretations of Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine.

One frequently encounters the imagery in Psalm 118, which is used also in other psalms whereby the soul is pictured passing through earthly life as a travelling pilgrim on his way to heaven. We see this in the very first psalm, Psalm 1, which begins with:
Beatus vir qui ambulat in lege Domini. (Blessed is the man who walks in the law of the Lord). There are also multiple references to the road in the Gospels of the New Testament.\(^\text{13}\)

Saint Robert Bellarmine makes use of the reference to the road mentioned in Aleph verse 1 \([1]\) by referring to the blessed traveller as someone not stained by the dirt of sin from the road. In commenting on Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius (Blessed are those who scrutinise His testimonies) in verse Aleph 2 \([2]\), Saint Robert Bellarmine likens the study of the law of God to the prudent inquiry made by the traveller when aiming for a previously unknown destination. The theme of the pilgrim soul is also expressed in the text of Gimel verse 3 \([19]\). Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on this at length when discussing the Hebrew word for incola (dweller).\(^\text{14}\)

In He verse 3 \([35]\) the word semita (path) rather than via (road) is used in the verse text. Saint Robert Bellarmine dwells on the distinction between the narrow semita (path), trodden by the soul only, and the broad via (road) on which animals, metaphorically representing the passions, also travel.

Another recurring theme, poetically expressed in similes, is the delight of the soul in the riches of the law of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine comments on the two passages where this idea is expressed, with a progression of ideas between Beth verse 6 \([14]\) and Sin verse 2 \([162]\). In the earlier passage, which states that In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum sicut in omnibus divitiis (I have delighted in the ways of Thy testimonies as in all riches) he remarks that on the whole it is rare to find souls with as much

\(^{13}\) St. John 14.6, St. Matthew 3.3 are two examples of such references.

\(^{14}\) See Chapter 5, p. 112-113.
appreciation of heavenly riches as the misers have for material wealth. When the theme recurs in Sin verse 2 [162], where the riches of the law are likened to spoils of the victor, Saint Robert Bellarmine points out the aptness of this comparison from the mouth of David, warrior king, leaving it to the reader to reflect on the difference between the two verses. At first, it was a question of riches to help the traveller on the way; in the later passage it became a reward for a victory in the battle against the devil. On the whole, it is easier to consider these two images separately, for a traveller is not so much likely to fight with soldiers than with robbers, from whom he is not likely to gather spoils.

In Mem verse 7 [103] the text refers to the delight of the soul in the word of God as similar to tasting honey. Saint Robert Bellarmine lists delight in the word of God as the fourth item in the list of advantages given in this strophe, but he does not develop the theme of honey as fully as Saint Augustine does. Saint Augustine talks about the difference between *mel* (honey) obtained effortlessly and *favum* (wild honey or honeycomb), for which effort is needed.

Delight in the taste of honey in particular and delight in eating in general stands in opposition to loss of appetite. Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Augustine how a sick man may desire to have appetite, and therefore it is reasonable to yearn for the desire for good things as the psalmist does in Gimel verse 4 [20], saying: *Ecce concupivi desiderare iustificationes tuas.* (Behold, I yearned to desire Thy justifications.)

Besides digestion, the text of the psalm also uses metaphors of breathing and belching, on which Saint Robert Bellarmine enlarges further. Commenting on *Os meum aperui et attraxi spiritum* (I opened my mouth and drew in the spirit) in Pe verse 3 [131], Saint Robert Bellarmine takes us further on the road of understanding when he points out
that just as we take a big breath before engaging in strenuous activity, so the soul inhales the *spiritum scientiae et pietatis* (the spirit of knowledge and piety) in order to fulfill the mandates of the law of God.

Saint Robert Bellarmine seizes on the word for belching in Tau verse 3 [171] when the psalmist proclaims: *Eructabunt labia mea hymnum* (My lips will belch forth a hymn) and goes to some length to explain how the soul belches forth a hymn in gratitude. It may be worthy of note that describing belching associated with joy also occurs in the beginning of the very poetic nuptial Psalm 44 when the bride sings the praises of the bridegroom: *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum.* (My heart belched forth the good word).\(^{15}\)

Both here and in the previously quoted segment from Pe verse 3 [131] Saint Robert Bellarmine enlarges on references to basic bodily functions. These kinds of allusions are also found in Greek comedies, as a means of finding common ground with all members of the audience, regardless of wealth or social status. In the case of Saint Robert Bellarmine, it may not be so much a quest for common ground, which is a given at any rate among the Catholic faithful who constitute his primary audience, as the reiteration of the basic truth that all human beings have basically the same kinds of bodies as well as souls, which are too weak to become holy enough to reach heaven without the constant aid of omnipotent God.

The basic assumption that God gave us wise laws to guide our footsteps towards eternal life lends itself readily to metaphors and similes about seeing and light. There are several references to this, and Saint Robert Bellarmine unfolds these similes for us.

\(^{15}\) It is somewhat regrettable that in the name of easy comprehension, the twentieth century Bea translation flattens this out to: *Effundit cor meum verbum bonum.* (My heart pours out the good word).
In Gimel verse 2 [18] the psalmist asks God: *Revela oculos meos!* (Unveil my eyes!)

Saint Robert Bellarmine likens the veil covering the eyes to our carnal desires; only when this veil is removed will we be able to appreciate the marvels of the created universe. In reference to *defecerunt oculi mei* (my eyes have weakened) in Caph verse 2 [82] Saint Robert Bellarmine enlarges on the function of the eyes of the soul. This will be further discussed when we look at triplexes.

Nun verse 1 [105] likens the law of God to a lamp, which lights the road for the pilgrim soul. Saint Robert Bellarmine specifies the role of this light as the means of enabling us to distinguish between good and evil. Although Saint Robert Bellarmine does not comment on this, *lucerna pedibus meis* (a lamp for my feet) points to the simile of the journeying soul where the road in front of the feet of the traveller is illuminated. Here as well as in Mem verse 7 [103] there is a distinction which Saint Augustine makes but Saint Robert Bellarmine does not. Saint Augustine differentiates between *lumen* (light) and *lucerna* (lamp) in stating that Christ is the light and the enlightened souls are the lamps.

In his comments on *funes peccatorum* (the ropes of sinners) from Heth verse 5 [61], Saint Robert Bellarmine likens the ropes to temptations from demons or evil men, leaving it to us to think further on the varieties of temptations represented by snares and nets. Saint Robert Bellarmine does not comment on an interesting grammatical feature in this passage, namely that *peccatorum* is the genitive plural of both sin (*peccatum, peccati, n.*) and sinner (*peccator, peccatoris, m/f.*) This double meaning indicates that besides the tempters, our previous sins in particular and our sinful nature in general can also bind us, strengthening the power of certain temptations.

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The text *ignitum eloquium tuum vehementer* (Thy discourse is vehemently fiery) in Sade verse 4 [140] refers to the word of God as a precious metal purified by fire. Saint Robert Bellarmine asserts that the word of God is so pure that that it is not altered by the process of purification.¹⁶

*Erravi sicut ovis* (I have wandered about as a sheep which has perished) in Tau verse 8 [176] is also a rich fountainhead of various reflections. The sheep wishes to be found that it may end up in the heavenly pastures with the other 99 sheep, who never lost their way. As to the reasons for getting lost, Saint Robert Bellarmine says that whilst the lost sheep was seduced, the devil has fallen because of his malice. *Sicut leo rugiens* (as a roaring lion) is a verbal echo of the Short lesson of *ad Completorium*, recited or chanted daily.¹⁷

In the examples quoted above, Saint Robert Bellarmine develops further the similes provided in the text. In addition, there are several places where he presents us with similes of his own. For instance in the course of reflecting on *mirabilia testimonia tua* (wonderful are Thy testimonies) Saint Robert Bellarmine develops a simile of his own, which illustrates what is so breathtakingly amazing about the laws of God. He likens the Decalogue to a seed, which retains all those essential components from which as large trees, all pertinent laws, which are nothing more than conclusions and determinations of the Decalogue grow.

¹⁶ For more comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine on this, see Chapter 5, p. 128.

¹⁷ The lesson is taken from the first epistle of Saint Peter, chapter 5/ 8-9. *Fratres, sobrii estote et vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens p., quem devoret; cui resistite fortes in fide.* (Brethren, be sober and be watchful because your adversary, the devil, is walking around in circles, seeking whom to devour; resist him you, strong in the faith.)
In response to *Faciem tuam illumina super servum tuum* (Illuminate Thy face over Thy servant) in Pe verse 7 [135], Saint Robert Bellarmine likens the grace of God to the sun, which disperses the clouds depriving us of the heat and the light of the sun. The comment here prods us to further reflections. One can consider that the heat is the warmth of charity and the light is the clearly seeing intellect. It is easy to connect this to the cave dwellers in *The Republic* of Plato, who can only see the shadows of things until they come up into the light.\(^{18}\) Alternatively, one could reflect anew on the theological sermon of Saint Gregory Nazienzen, where he deals with the differences between the sun representing God and its rays representing the effect of graces.\(^{19}\)

*Inclinavi cor meum ad faciendas iustificationes tuas* (I inclined my heart to do Thy justifications) in Nun verse 8 [112] is simply a poetic way of speaking; Saint Robert Bellarmine turns this phrase into a fully blown simile of scales with law of the flesh on one side and the law of God on the other. It is the thought of reward which tips the scales. The reader can take this thought further, reflecting on the difference between servile fear focused on fear of eternal punishment and love of the reward of being forever in the presence of God in eternity, which would not be delightful for those who do not love God enough to want to be with him.

**C. REPETITIONS.**

Repetitions, general comments.

\(^{18}\) Loeb Classical Library (1935) *Plato: The republic, 514A-518B.*

\(^{19}\) Patrologia Graeca (1845-1855) vol.
Awareness of the dictum *Repetitio est mater scientiae* (Repetition is the mother of knowledge) may be one of the reasons why Saint Robert Bellarmine makes such frequent recourse to repetitions. Although endless repetition may become tedious, Saint Robert Bellarmine does not seem to be afraid of this possibility because he has reasons to surmise that his primary audience is just as enamoured of the text of Psalm 118 as he is. Furthermore he places his repetitions so artfully so that he provides sufficient variety to prevent boredom. He relies on other modalities of ornamentation as well, to vary the types of reiteration. He may repeat the same word in an identical format or in a different grammatical form, or express a term in different words, in the shape of a string of equivalents. In this section, we will scrutinise only the repetition of identical words. Words repeated in different grammatical form fall under the headings of “Multiform repetitions”, same terms expressed in different words as “Triplex forms”.

It is reasonable to surmise that the *Explanatio in psalmos* is especially attractive to priests and religious, such as Saint Robert Bellarmine was, who lived lives centered on the liturgy and who possessed in depth familiarity with other psalms, the Bible, and other liturgical texts as well. This does not exclude the possibility that the readership also included laity such as married people and those in worldly occupation. The laity may have seen some echoes less easily than priests and religious, but on the other hand, could derive enjoyment and spiritual benefits from new approaches presented to familiar tenets. The average Catholic layman in the seventeenth century also knew the elements of his faith, the liturgy of the Holy Mass, and read and heard sermons on the Bible, psalms

20 These may be different cases and numbers for nouns and adjectives, different tense, mood, voice, person and number for verbs or verbal element in place of the finite form.
included. The variable parts of the Holy Mass, called the Propers, include the Offertory Hymn, the Gradual, the tract and the Alleluia and the Communion hymn, all of which are taken from the psalms. Many of the expressions produce verbal echoes, giving rise to further reflections. We think that we are striking out on our own but it may be that we are simply following the path mapped out for us by Saint Robert Bellarmine.

In dealing with simple repetitions, the argument for their presence can be carried ad absurdum; for naturally, commonly used words recur in any kind of discourse and even more so if the discourse is focused on one specific topic, such as the law of God in Psalm 118. The examples of repetitions discussed below have the role of emphasising certain parts of the text. Some reiterate words from within the psalm text, others are paraphrases of the text; these paraphrases often serve as an introduction to new ideas.

**Repetitions, comprehensive list of usage in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.**

In the commentary on Gimel verse 2 [18] Saint Robert Bellarmine repeats *mirabilem* (marvellous) three times in combination with a triplex form. The reasons for this and its effect will be discussed further under Triplex forms. However, we may note here that in order to produce repetition of an identical word, Saint Robert Bellarmine has chosen three feminine nouns in the singular for this expression so that the feminine gender of the adjective could be used for all.

In the commentary on Daleth verse 6 [30] the phrase *ex misericordia* (from mercy) occurs three times. This turns the statement in the verse line *Viam veritatis elegi* (I have chosen the way of truth) into an indirect request for the assistance of God,
showing why God should grant the wish of the psalmist. Saint Robert Bellarmine thinks in the spirit of the psalms; for we see this theme of giving reasons why God should help us in other psalms as well, for example in the penitential Psalm. There the psalmist reminds God that if he perishes God is left without his praises in the following words: *Quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui; in inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi* (for in death there is not anyone who is mindful of Thee; who will confide in Thee in the underworld?).  

Saint Robert Bellarmine repeats *exquiram* (I shall seek out) of the verse line in He verse 1 [33] twice in order to stress the constancy of the quest for the law of God. In the commentary on He verse 6 [38] *petitur* (it is sought) occurs three times, within an antithesis, making the contrast sharper.  

In Vau verse 1 [41] Saint Robert Bellarmine paraphrases both halves of the verse line separately by way of explanation, repeating *id est* (that is) both times in order to emphasise that an explanation is forthcoming. He also does this for Jod verse 7 [79] and Lamed verse 8 [96].  

In Vau verse 3 [43] the psalmist asks that God does not withdraw his guidance. Saint Robert Bellarmine repeats the *auferas* (Remove!) of the verse line once in the positive, and twice in the negative in order to assuage our fears that the withdrawal of the graces of God could be total or permanent.

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21 There are even examples of these kinds of sentiments, alluding to the pleasure of the pagan gods in the sacrifices and praises in classical literature; as in the *Symposium* by Plato and in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.

22 See p. 209 in this chapter.
For Lamed verses 1 [89] 2, [9], and 3 [91] Saint Robert Bellarmine combines his comments into one paragraph. The repeated word is permanet (remains). The first two verses of this strophe speak about the permanence of the word of God, which is true, and of the earth, which is not, given the prophecies about the end of the world. Saint Robert Bellarmine resolves the controversy by explaining that the permanence refers to the immobility of the earth, e.g. its composition, and neatly introduces the feature of permanence as a characteristic of inanimate created things.\(^\text{23}\) It is worthy of note here that Saint Robert Bellarmine, who often uses a negative to state the positive, denies here something without using any negatives.

Saint Robert Bellarmine explains that vivificasti me (Thou hast made me alive) in Lamed verse 5 [93] refers both to the spiritual aspect of our unearthly life and to eternal life by using vitam (life, accusative) twice in an identical grammatical construction, with a qualifying genitive and as a direct object of a gerund, namely vitam gratiae augendo (by increasing the life of grace) and vitam gloriae promittendo (by promising a life of glory). This construction is an example of epanophora, namely repeating the same word at the beginning of successive clauses.

In Lamed verse 6 [94] the psalmist states: Tuus sum ego. (I am Thine). In the commentary Tuus sum ego (I am Thine) is repeated three times in the paragraph in two different forms; twice unchanged, and once as tuum esse (I am Thine, indirect discourse) as part of an indirect discourse, depending on cognosco (I recognise). In turn, esse (to be) is repeated as part of volo esse (I want to be) twice. This passage merits to be quoted

\(^{23}\) This explanation does not make any reference to the rotation of the earth under the sun no doubt because Saint Robert Bellarmine had enough of this topic in connection with the Galileo affair in which he was involved; see Brodrick (1928) v. 2, 326 & ff.
Ego tamen prorpie tuus sum quia agnosco me tuum esse et volo tuus esse et nullius alterius Domini volo esse. (Nevertheless I am properly Thine because I recognise that I am Thine, and I wish to be Thine, and I do not wish to be [the subject] of another master).

In emphasising *veritas* (truth) in Caph verse 6 [86], Saint Robert Bellarmine uses *verissimas* (most true accusative plural) repeated twice for two different nouns, *promissiones* (promises) and *delectationes* (delights). The focus is sharpened by the fact that both these nouns are feminine and therefore their adjectives are morphologically identical.

In citing different opinions of unidentified authors on the meaning of *voluntaria* (voluntary things, here offerings) in Nun verse 4 [108], Saint Robert Bellarmine creates an *epanophora* by referring to these authors as *alii* (others, here some) at the head of two successive clauses.

In Samech 4. [116] the psalmist addresses God with the request: *Non confundas me ab exspectatione tua* (Do not confound me by Thy expectations!). Saint Robert Bellarmine continues in the *persona* of the psalmist with an *epanophora* where two successive *cola* begin with *cupio* (I desire), asking in turn that the impious recede from him and that God approaches him.

In his comments on Samech verse 6 [118] Saint Robert Bellarmine goes into some detail about those whom God has scattered because *iniusta cogitatio eorum* (their thinking is unjust), listing in turn Lucifer, Adam and Eve, and the proud of all times, in each instance ascribing to pride their fall from grace. Saint Robert Bellarmine repeats

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24 *Ab* can also mean from, so an alternative translation would be [away] from. However, “by” fits better here and with the comments following it.
cogitatio (thinking) three times in successive relative clauses, appended to their identification, using haec fuit cogitatio (this has been the thinking) twice and eadem est cogitatio (the thought is the same) at the end, indicating that the proud are still among us.

In Pe verse 5 [133] the psalmist asks God to direct his footsteps secundum eloquium tuum (according to Thy speech). Saint Robert Bellarmine repeats secundum (according to) three times, placing it each time at the head of a clause as he continues to address God directly just as the psalmist does. This repetition also echoes the verse texts in the previous verse, which contain secundum iudicium diligentium nomen tuum (according to he judgment of those who love Thy name). Saint Robert Bellarmine begins by quoting verbatim the text from Pe verse 4 [132] explaining to God why He should be merciful, next comes a conditional clause indicating the probable actions of God in the future, and then a result clause which indicates what the soul is enabled to do if God acts.

Saint Robert Bellarmine cites various interpretations of Pe verse 8 [136] as to whether David is weeping because of the sins of others or because of his own sins. Saint Robert Bellarmine himself opts to see here the transgressions of David, who commits adultery with Bethsabee, and then arranges the virtual murder of her husband. Each step in the process is represented by a clause beginning with inde (hence). Although at first sight the text fits better with the first hypothesis, the interpretation of Saint Robert Bellarmine becomes reasonable if the subject of weeping is not a person, but the eyes of the person, which were responsible for the first indiscretion in the chain of these events.

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26 Bible, Regum II, Chapter 11.
D. MULTIFORM REPETITIONS.

Multiform repetitions, general comments.

Another form of repetition of a single word is what I term multiform, by which I mean repetition of a particular word used in a non-identical form. For verbs, this change may pertain to a change from finite to infinite form, such as replacing a finite form possessing person, number, voice, tense, and mood with a non-finite form such as a participle or an infinitive, which possesses only tense and voice. If using the same finite form, the person, number, tense, voice and mood can also be changed. For a noun, the case and number may be changed, for the adjective the same changes as for a noun, plus gender and degree are also applicable. Change from a verb to a verbal adjective, such as a gerundive or a verbal noun such as the gerund or supine is another possibility.

Repetition of a changed form adds variety inasmuch as the changed form permits greater variety in the syntactical role of the changed element. For the reader, the advantages are twofold. First of all, variety mitigates boredom. Next, whilst repetition of the unchanged form gives greater emphasis to the repeated element, looking at a changed form may promote deeper reflection. The reader may say: “I have seen this word in a different form already. How is the idea using the changed form different, namely is it a brand new idea or simply a development of the previous thought?”

27 I. e. positive, comparative, or superlative.

28 In these categories, Saint Robert Bellarmine uses gerunds often, gerundives sometimes, but avoids the supine perhaps because for the latter a rather complex construction may be needed if unequivocal clarity is to be preserved.
Within the text of Psalm 118 itself, multiform repetition is present only in the strophe of Teth. In the commentary on this particular strophe Saint Robert Bellarmine avoids the use of multiform repetition. Indeed, the biggest gap between strophes where Saint Robert Bellarmine use multiform repartitions is between Zain, the 8\textsuperscript{th} strophe and Mem, the 14\textsuperscript{th} strophe, with Teth, the 10\textsuperscript{th} strophe, dividing this gap close to midpoint. Saint Robert Bellarmine emphasises further the importance of this multiform repetition in the text by abstaining from the use of any stylistic ornamentations in the strophe of Teth. This in turn accentuates further the importance of \textit{bonitas} (goodness), \textit{bonus} (good, referring to a person), \textit{bonum} (referring to a thing). The psalmist sings about the goodness of God, the goodness of His gifts, including those which we do not exactly greet with joy at the first encounter, as illustrated by \textit{bonum [est] mihi quia humiliasti me} (It is good for me that Thou hast humiliated me), and also about gifts which we appreciate more readily: \textit{bonum mihi lex oris tui} (The law of Thy mouth is good for me).

There are 11 instances of multiform repetition in the \textit{Explanatio in psalmos}. Given their divergent nature without any discernible pattern, it seems best to present them sequentially.

\textbf{Multiform repetition, comprehensive list of usage in the \textit{Explanatio in psalmos}.}

In commenting on Beth verse 4 [12], Saint Robert Bellarmine takes up and expands \textit{Benedictus es Dominus} (Thou hast been blessed, Lord!) with some vigour. The theme that God is blessing us and we bless God in return is repeatedly stated by the use of \textit{benediceris} (Thou art blessed or Thou will be blessed), \textit{benedictione (by blessing)} before a quotation from Psalm 83 followed by \textit{benedicitur} (is blessed), \textit{benedicit}
(blesses), *benedicitur* (is blessed), *beneficia* (benefits).  It is almost if one who calls God blessed finds it hard to stop. To have the mind focused, at times almost involuntarily, on a particular phrase occurs often in meditation; repeating the name and attributes of a beloved is also a common occurrence in poetry and on everyday occasions.

In Daleth verse 1 [19] four different forms of *lex* (law) are present in one complex sentence: *Legem observabit, immo non egebit lege quia sine lege implebit ea quae legis sunt.* (He will observe the law, indeed he will not need the law since he will fulfil those things which are of the law). This is a contrasting response to the plea of the psalmist that God makes him come alive when his soul is attached to the lowest possible level, namely the floor. Saint Robert Bellarmine shows us here what will happen when the soul reaches heaven.

The commentary on He verse 4 [36] is the only place where Saint Robert Bellarmine uses an identical stylistic modality twice. He does this in order to accentuate two different parts of *Inclina cor meum* (Incline my heart!), a fairly short portion of the verse text. With the words of *pro affectu* (for the feeling), *affectus* (of the feeling), *affectum* (feeling, accusative) inserted in successive clauses, the psalmist asks God for the right kind of heart, namely a heart full of love for the law of God and with aversion to avarice. The various forms, namely *Inclina* (Incline!), *inclinares* (Thou inclinest, subjunctive), *inclinare* (to incline), *inclinari* (to be inclined), and *inclinet* (let it incline) all intend to show that it is God who gives the strength to us to be virtuous. This sentiment is in contrast with *Inclinavi cor meum* (I have inclined my heart) in Nun verse 8 [112] where the psalmist himself is taking action.

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29 *Etenim benedictionem dabit legislator* (The lawgiver will also give a blessing).
The theme of Zain verse 3 [51] are the proud who act unjustly. Saint Robert Bellarmine shows their *modus operandi* by repeating forms of a word which is not present in the text of Psalm 118, namely *irrises* (mockers) and *irrisionibus* (by mockeries). In passing, mockery seems to be quite a modern *modus operandi*, or at any rate, something seen throughout the whole history of humanity, which we see when our beliefs and actions are ridiculed by opponents as a first step before they resort to sterner measures.

In the previous paragraph we saw how the multiform repetitions highlighted personal characteristics; we see this in the comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine on Mem verse 2 [98] as well. He shows us that the prudent man knows when and how he ought to *loqui et agere* (to speak and to act) in contrast to the those who disregard the rules about *loquendum et agendum* (speaking and acting).\(^{30}\)

In Ain verse 2 [122] the psalmist asks: *Suscipe servum tuum in bonum.* (Receive Thy servant into the good thing!) The last word of this text echoes throughout the paragraph as *ad bonum* (to the good thing), *bonum* (good thing), *bene* (well), *bene* (well), *bonum* (good thing), and *bene* (well) in order to show us how right inclinations can turn into good actions. These repetitions make us more aware of the similarity between the themes of He verse [36] and of this verse.

In Sin verse 8 [168] the psalmist says: *Omnes viae meae in conspectu tuo* (All my ways are in Thy view). After repeating the verse line, Saint Robert Bellarmine uses *in conspectu tuo* (in Thy view), *conspicere* (to view), *conspectus* (view), *conspectus* (view), urging us in reference to our conduct, namely that as we are on our best behaviour when

\(^{30}\) Here we see a nice contrast as well; this will be discussed later on.
in view of princes, we should strive for the same in front of the ruler of heaven who sees us at all times. Saint Robert Bellarmine interposes his comments using the multiform repetition between the repeated verse text and three biblical quotations at the end of the paragraph. The last two of these quotations also have the phrase *in conspectu tuo* (in Thy view).  

In Tau verse 3 [171] the multiform repetition of *gratia* (grace or gratitude), which is not in the text, aims to show that *Eructabunt labia mea hymnum cum docueris me iustificationes tuas.* (My lips will belch forth a hymn when Thou wilt teach me Thy justifications) of the verse text is not so much a statement, than a request and a pledge to do what is pleasing to God if He grants the request.  

The two different meanings of *gratia* (grace or gratitude) allow yet another word play; for in the sequence of *gratiarum* (of thanks or graces), *gratiam* (gratitude or grace, accusative), *gratia* (with gratitude or grace), and *gratiarum* (of thanks or graces), the first and third instances refer to graces, the second and fourth to gratitude.  

The text of Tau verse 4 [172] has *Omnia mandata tua aequitas.* (All thy mandates are fairness.). The commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine stresses the just quality of the mandates of God by repeating the verse line which contains the word *aequitas* (fairness), and then using *aequissima* (most fair) twice.

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31 Genesis, Chapter 17 verse 1: *Dominus in cuius conspectu ambulo* (the Lord in whose sight I walk); 3 Regum, Chapter 17 verse 1: *Vivit Dominus Deus Israel in cuius conspectus sto* (The Lord lives, God of Israel, in whose sight I stand); also cited but not quoted from 4 Regum, Chapter 3 verse 14: *Vivit Dominus exercituum in cuius conspectus sto* (The Lord of the armies lives, in whose sight I stand).

32 See also p. 183 in this chapter for more comments on this.

33 Here, translating the singular of *gratia* as grace or gratitude and the plural as graces or thanks makes good sense.
In Tau verse 7 [175] the psalmist says: *Vivet anima mea.* (My soul shall live.)

Saint Robert Bellarmine puts an emphasis on his belief that the soul of the just will live forever in heaven when he begins his commentary with the repetition of the verse line and then uses *vivam* (I shall live), *vita* (of life), *vivos* (alive, accusative plural), and *vitam* (life, accusative singular). 34 He includes the added consideration that that the soul will be judged by God to see if it merits eternal life.

In Tau verse 7 [175] the psalmist asks: *Quaere servum tuum.* (Seek Thy servant!)

By using *quaere* (Seek!), *quaesieris* (thou has sought), *quaerenda* (to be sought, referring to a sheep). 35 Saint Robert Bellarminre reminds us that God will not cease to look for the lost sheep even if it is foolish enough to be lost more than once.

**E. TRIPLEX FORMS.**

**Triplex forms, general comments.**

Although in triplex forms words are not repeated either in an identical or a grammatically different form, it still makes sense to group triplex forms with repetitions and multiform repetitions. In this modality a central idea is expressed in a threefold manner by restating a concept with different words in order to unfold the full meaning of the entity. Triplex forms belong to the armamentarium of explanation. They tend to emphasise statements, and at times even add the colour of emotion to them.

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34 Of course, morphologically this could also be for life or lives, but these two translations do not fit here.

35 Morphologically this could also be future perfect but that would not fit with the perfect indicative following it.
Another morphological feature in the *Explanatio in psalmos* is the *asyndeton* which is used in seven out of eleven triplex forms. Close scrutiny will show that when a triplex form is used, the presence of a conjunction depends on the relative length of the middle component; for if it is short, then the addition of a conjunction helps to even out the length of the component and produces a better rhythm.

We do not find triplex forms in Psalm 118 and rarely if ever in other psalms because this type of stylistic adornment is not well suited to compact forms. However, for the liturgically sophisticated, to whom the *Explanatio in psalmos* is of great interest, both threefold repetitions and triplex forms are familiar entities for they occur quite often in the ordinary part of the Holy Mass and also in hymns inside and outside the Breviary.

Looking at simple repetitions first, the most striking example is the *Kyrie* of the Mass where each part of the triplex is repeated three times. Simple repetitions also occur in several other places in the ordinary part of the Mass, such as the thrice repeated *mea culpa* (my sin) in the confessions of both priest and the faithful, who make this prayer of contrition both at the beginning of the Mass and before receiving communion. The *Sanctus* is repeated three times before the start of the canon of the Mass. Before both the communion of the priest and of the faithful, they repeat the phrase *Domine non sum dignus* (Lord, I am not worthy) three times.

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36 The basic framework of the Mass is termed the Ordinary. This is the same for Feasts and all seasons with some minor modifications, e.g. the Credo is reserved for major Feasts and Sundays, the Gloria is omitted during the penitential seasons, and psalm 42 is not recited in Requiem Masses and during Passiontide. The other part of the Mass, the Propers, is specific for each Feastday or the seasons and consists of the hymns of the Introit, Offertory, gradual and communion hymns, the collect, secret, and post communion prayers, readings from the Old Testament or the epistles, and readings from the Gospel.

37 The priest does not repeat the *Confiteor* (I confess) before communion but the faithful do.
There are also triplexes of the kind which we find in the *Explanatio in psalmos*, namely a string of three expressions amplifying or emphasising a certain thing or concept. In the hymn *Gloria*, chanted or recited after the *Kyrie*, the phrase *tu solus sanctus tu solus Dominus tu solus altissimus* (Thou alone art holy, thou alone art the Lord, Thou alone art the highest) occurs. In the offertory the priest offers up the bread in atonement *omnibus peccatis offensionibus et negligentibus meis* (for all my sins, offences and negligent acts). In the Canon, after consecration the priest presents to God *hostiam puram hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam* (a pure host, a holy host, an immaculate host). Both here and at the end of the offertory prayers, a reference is made to three events in the life of Christ, namely passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven.

We also find triplex forms in the hymnology outside the Mass. In the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* (We praise Thee oh God) Saint Ambrose uses a threefold repetition of *sanctus* (holy) and a triplex construction to describe those praising God in heaven when he says: *Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus, te prophetarum laudatibilis numerus, te martyrum candidatus ... exercitus* (Thee, the glorious choir of the apostles, Thee, the praiseworthy number of prophets, Thee the shining white army of martyrs)

Saint Thomas Aquinas, that master of hymnody also uses triplex forms both in hymns included in the Breviary and sung on other occasions. Two examples will suffice. In the hymn *Adoro te* (I adore Thee) he lists the senses which can deceive as *visus tactus gustus*. (sight, touch, and taste). In the Eucharistic hymn *Lauda Syon salvatorem* (Syon, praise the Saviour!) he explains the integrity of each part of the consecrated Host, which is *non concisus non confractus non divisus* (not cut, not broken, not divided) by those receiving it in holy communion.
As we see from the above examples, the threefold reiteration and triplex forms indicate a special significance to the faithful as something elevated and lofty. However, when Saint Robert Bellarmine uses triplex forms, oftentimes he does so not so much for ornamentation but in order to provide a fuller explanation of a particular term or to stress a point by means of paraphrases. The examples below will illustrate the heightened flavour which these triplex forms are providing.

**Triplex forms, comprehensive list of usage in the *Explanatio in psalmos.***

In Aleph verse 5 [5] the psalmist sighs: *Utinam dirigantur viae meae!* (Oh, that my ways may be directed!). Saint Robert Bellarmine expresses a desire for whole-sale direction by asking to be directed as to *actiones meae consilia mea sermones mei* (My actions, my plans, my speeches).

In the commentary on Aleph verse 6 [6] the triplex of *opera mea verba mea aut cogitationes meas* (my works, my words and my thoughts, all in accusative) refers to the same entity as in Aleph verse 5 [5]. However, here it is not a wish, but it is part of a rhetorical question, in which Saint Robert Bellarmine asks if we are audacious enough not to act, speak, and think in conformity with law of God. The doubt implied in the question about our ability to do something good is reinforced by the verbal similarity to the triplex in the *Confiteor*.

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38 This particular phraseology has an echo in the Confiteor, a prayer of confession of sins, recited by all participants at *ad Completorium*, and thrice during Holy Mass; first, the priest says it, then the servers and just before communion, the servers say it again. However, the entities are in the ablative and in the reverse order: *cognitionibus verbis et operibus meis* (with my thoughts, with my words and wit may acts).

39 See also p. 166 in this chapter.
In Gimel verse 2 [18] we see a combination of repetition with the triplex; three different nouns have the same attribute adjective. The phrase *mirabilem aequitatem mirabilem sapientiam mirabilem utilitatem* (marvellous justice, marvellous wisdom, marvellous usefulness, all in the accusative) unfold some aspects of the *considerabo mirabilia tua* (I shall consider Thy marvellous things) of the psalm text.\(^{40}\)

In Gimel verse 7 [23] the psalmist says: *Exercebar in iustificationibus tuis.* (I was engaged in Thy justifications). Saint Robert Bellarmine uses the triplex form to describe in greater detail what this exercising means: *considerandis praedicandis et adimplendis* (in considering, preaching and fulfilling). The psalmist uses the imperfect tense, which could mean that he is not doing it now. The gerunds are in a sense lacking in tense, implying the ongoing nature of the action; grammatically it may be permissible to take them as future passive participles, but then the commentary would not fit with the past tense of *exercebar* (I was engaged).

In He verse 5 [37] the psalmist asks God: *Vivifica me!* (Make me alive!) Saint Robert Bellarmine continues in his commentary in the *persona* of the psalmist, retaining the form of direct address to God, as he describes himself as walking in the way of God and keeping the laws of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine probably does this to justify his boldness when he expands the one request of *vivifica me!* (Revive me!) into three, namely *vivifica refice et conserva* (Keep or make me alive, refresh and preserve me!), thus indicating the continuing need for renewal even after becoming alive and the need for perseverance to the end as well. This points to the efforts continuously needed to remain in the state of grace.

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\(^{40}\) See also p. 188 in this chapter.
In He verse 6 [38] the *modus operandi* of inspiring the reader to greater heights closely resembles the methodology of the commentary on the previous verse. The psalmist asks: *Statue servo tuo eloquium tuum* (State Thy speech to Thy servant!). Once again, Saint Robert Bellarmine asks for more, namely that the law *statuatur confirmetur solidetur* (let it be stated, confirmed and solidified).

In Zain verse 5 [53] the psalmist says: *Defectio tenuit me* (weakness has held me) on account of the sinners abandoning the law of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine considers this weakening a manifestation of charity on two counts. First, there is charity towards God; the psalmist is saddened by the offence to God. The psalmist is also charitable towards others since he also fears for the salvation of sinful souls.

These comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine turn the gaze of the reader towards the First and Second of the Ten Commandments. The triplex here, namely *contremiscere ardere deficere* (to tremble all over, to burn, to weaken) indicates a progression of feelings as the sorrow of the psalmist deepens to the point that it incapacitates him.

In Caph verse 1 [81] the psalmist is again weakened but for a different reason, namely because he is yearning for his salvation, to be among the blessed in heaven. Saint Robert Bellarmine expands the *deficit* (has weakened) to *laborare, languere, deficere* (to labour strenuously, to languish, to weaken). The progression indicated here underlines again how we are just becoming weaker and weaker if unaided by the grace of God.

In Sade verse 1 [137] the psalmist exclaims: *Rectum est iudicium tuum*. (Thy judgement is straightforward). Saint Robert Bellarmine develops this further when he

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41 Love God; love your neighbours.
says that straight and just is the *iudicium decretum mandatum* (judgement, decree, mandate). Here too we see progression; for God first makes a judgement, next makes his will known, and then commands that we follow the directives.

The structure of the triplex in the commentary on Koph verse 4 is modified by the insertion of *id est* (that is) before the second entity; however, even with this structural anomaly it is too interesting of a phrase to be omit. The text of the psalm verse contains the word *diliculo* (at dawn). The triplex explains this term as *diluculo id est valde mane ante ortum solis* (at dawn, that is very early in the morning, before the rise of the sun).  

*Valde mane* (very early in the morning) strikes a familiar cord for those acquainted with liturgical texts; for in the Vigil Mass of Easter Sunday the *Benedictus* antiphon begins with *valde mane* (very early in the morning). This is the only place in the Divine Office where *ad Laudes* is included in the Mass. To make this even more poignant, in this Mass and in the ceremonies of lighting the fire beforehand, then carrying the Easter candle lit from this fire into the darkened church the symbolism of light is stressed. Once again, the thought expressed in this triplex can be taken further. First of all, our first thoughts of the day are directed to God. Furthermore, meditating on the words of God will be our occupation in heaven, vouchsafed for us by the redemptive sacrifice of the crucifixion of Christ; the reality of our salvation is indicated by the resurrection.

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42 The exact meaning of *valde mane* is “very much in the morning”.

43 For the Orthodox and for the Catholics of the Byzantine rite, this Mass was always celebrated on Saturday night. In 1954 when the times for the liturgical celebrations during Holy Week were reallocated, Latin rite Catholics also have this Mass on Saturday night, when the appearance of light really stands out.
F. CONTRASTS.

Contrasts, general comments.

In our scrutiny of stylistic devices, we have divided the various entities into two categories, namely forms of thought and formal ornaments. Contrast belongs to the category of forms of thought. It is closely allied to, indeed at times, even identical to antithesis, which is one of the three forms of thought rhythms used throughout the whole Psalter. 44

Saint Robert Bellarmine uses contrasts quite frequently. In the list of 104 stylistic devices, there are 21 constructions with contrast. Morphologically they fall into two groups, namely with and without the use of negatives. The former type is twice as common as contrasts without negatives.

The theme of Psalm 118 readily lends itself to antithesis. There are just souls and there are the ungodly. 45 The former keep the law, the latter do not. The consequences can be heaven or hell. Unaided we fail to reach heaven, and with the help of God we succeed. The psalmist can be sad or happy, can be aided or can be obstructed.

In looking at the examples, we shall present them sequentially, as was the case with the examples of repetitions, multiform repetitions, and triplex forms. This way we will be able to appreciate better how and when ideas and themes are taken up again by Saint Robert Bellarmine.

44 See more on this topic in Chapter 3, p. 44.

45 Theologically, we are all sinners, actual or potential. However, those who rely on God are salvageable.
Contrast, comprehensive list of usage in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

In Aleph verse 1 [1] the psalmist calls blessed those persons who walk in the way of God, omitting any reference to those who do not until Aleph verse 3 [3]. Even then he does not refer to their lack of blessedness. Saint Robert Bellarmine does not seem to want to wait for so long; rather, he summarises some essential differences at the onset, saying:

*Nam beatus est qui habet quicquid vult et nihil mali vult. Viri iniqui multa mala volunt and multa non habent eorum quae volunt. Viri iusti nihil mala volunt et habent quicquid volunt.* (Blessed is he who has whatever he wants and wants nothing evil. Impious men want many evil things and they do not have what they wish. Just men want nothing evil and they have whatever they want).

This is a masterfully complex sequence. We first see what the blessed have and what they do not wish for, and then in changed sequence, what the impious and the just wish and what they do not have. All this leads to the conclusion that just men are blessed.

In his comments on Aleph verse 4 [4], Saint Robert Bellarmine focuses on the word *mandata*, (mandates), discussing it twice in the same paragraph. He points to the author with: *Haec mandata non sunt mandata hominum sed Dei* (these mandates are not the mandates of men but of God), and then defines the manner of delivery as *non consilium dando sed plane imperando* (not by giving counsel but plainly commanding). Here too, more often than not, the negative, namely what it is not and how it is not done, comes first. This approach heightens the curiosity of the reader and makes the reader more receptive to the eventual correct answer.

When we read Daleth verse 2 [26], the picture which comes to mind is a heart to heart talk with God about all our problems, sorrows and joys. In the *persona* of the
psalmist Saint Robert Bellarmine admits his shortcomings with *non erubui confiteri sed palam enuntiavi* (I did not blush to confess but I have announced them openly). This purports to show that we are able to listen to God profitably only after we have repented and are forgiven for our transgressions.

In He verse 1 [33] Saint Robert Bellarmine at first focuses on *legem pone mihi* (Place a law for me!) with two expressions which use contrast. The first one, *ad excitandum affectum et tollendum fastidium* (to stir up the feeling and to take away distaste), shows the manner in which the psalmist can be best stirred up to keep the law. The second statement, *Nullam aliam legem velim nisi legem tuam* (I would want no other law unless Thy law) shows how greatly the psalmist comes to love the law of God. Once again, the idea of progression is embedded here; after living by the tenets of the law, one grows to esteem it.

In his comments on He verse 2 [34] Saint Robert Bellarmine shows the reason why the psalmist will scrutinise the law: *Non enim cupit intellegere ad curiositatem sed ad observantiam* (For he does not desire to understand for the sake of curiosity but for observance). The reader then is likely to reflect on how intention can determine the supernatural worth of an action; for curiosity in itself is not sinful, especially if it is about a godly topic, but it only becomes a virtue if one uses it as a tool to enable oneself to be virtuous through observation of the law of God.

In commenting on He verse 6 [38] Saint Robert Bellarmine contrasts the different requests of the psalmist in this verse with that of He verse 3 [35]: *Ibi enim petitur gratia legis implemendae hic petitur remotio instabilitatis et gratia perseverentiae*. (For there the grace to implement the law is being asked, here the removal of instability and the
grace of perseverance). This comment directs our attention to the progression of ideas. At first we just ask that God leads us but later on we even ask for the constraints of fear in order to persevere. Given our human weakness and love of comfort, this is not an easy thing to do. Once again, with the aid of the comments of Saint Robert Bellarmine we are on the path of reflecting further; this time on the difference between servile fear, based on fear of punishment, and filial fear, based on the fear of offending the one whom we love.  

In Vau verse 8 [48] the psalmist says: 

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\text{Levavi manus meas ad mandata tua quae dilexi. (I raised my hands to Thy mandates, which I loved.) This impels Saint Robert Bellarmine to state that those who keep the law not because of the love of God but for temporary gain non levant sed deprimunt manus (They do not raise but depress their hands.) Here the topic of right intention is aired again. The reader in turn may end up meditating on what are the possible secondary gains, and may end up thinking of the Pharisees and their love of respectability.}
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In commenting on \textit{Memor esto} (Be mindful!) in Zain verse 1 [49] Saint Robert Bellarmine reminds us that since God is perfect, God can not forget; if He does not act it is non oblivione sed iudicio (not by forgetfulness but by judgement). This of course raises in our minds the question of unanswered prayers and the divine concern about not giving us what would not be good for our eternal welfare.

Saint Robert Bellarmine praises the action of the psalmist when the psalmist says in Heth verse 3 [59]: 

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\text{Converti pedes meos (I have converted my feet). The psalmist does so after due reflection, implied by the preceding cogitavi vias meas (I considered my}
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\[46\] See the commentary of Saint Augustine on Psalm 118, Sermo XII, paragraph 3.
ways). The praise consists of pointing out: *Non satis est Deum orare sed oportet etiam cooperari auxilio Dei.* (It is not enough to ask God for aid, but it is also necessary cooperate with the aid of God.) In passing, let us note that both here and in the commentary on Zain verse 1 [59] the construction with the contrast is not in its usual place, but right at the beginning. The purpose of this may be to draw our attention back to the verse text as a passage possessing special significance.

In commenting on the question of the psalmist *quot sunt dies servi tui* (How many are the days of thy servant?) in Caph verse 4 [84] Saint Robert Bellarmine makes the interesting observation that the reason for the question is *non curiose quaerit ....sed explicat his verbis desiderium vitae aeternae* (he does not ask curiously but unfolds with these words his desire for eternal life). This presents the psalmist in a better light than just a person seeking information, giving us an oblique reference to the importance of right intention once more.

We saw previously how Saint Robert Bellarmine developed further the simile of the psalm text *lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis* (Thy word is a lamp for my feet and a light for my paths) in Nun verse 1 [105]. In addition, he uses a contrast to demonstrate how this light, which represents the law of God, helps the just who *non errant neque caecutiunt sed recto tramite ad patriam celestem iter faciunt.* (they do not wander about nor do they see poorly but by a straight path they make their journey to the heavenly homeland).

The statement of the psalm text *Iniquos odio habui* (I held the unjust in hatred) in Samech verse 1 [113] draws forth from Saint Robert Bellarmine a nice couplet of

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47 See also p. 184 in this chapter.
contrasts when he says that the psalmist *odio habuit iniquos non ratione naturae sed ratione iniquitatis sicut contra diligebat inimicos ac per hoc iniquos non ratione iniquitatis sed ratione naturae*. (He held the unjust in hatred not by reason of their nature but by reason of their iniquity; as to the contrary, he loved his enemies and through this the unjust, not by reason of their iniquity but by reason of their nature).

Once again Saint Robert Bellarmine is making distinctions, this time between sin and sinners. By this distinction hatred of sin is legitimised. Defining things precisely enough by means of distinction is reminiscent of the methodology of Aristotle. At first sight one may wonder why the contrast is between sinners and God, and not sinners and the just. On further reflection we see that in comparing these two entities Saint Robert Bellarmine points to the weakness of human nature. We can be seduced by forces less powerful than demons, but for rescue we need God; the just themselves may not be powerful enough.

The psalmist asks God in Samech verse 4[116]: *Suscipe me*. (Take me up!) Saint Robert Bellarmine then builds contrasts based on this word. The first contrast is between departing and approaching: *Ut cupio iniquos a me recedere ita cupio ut tu Domine ad me accedes et in sinum tuum suspicias*. (As I desire that the unjust men recede from me, so I desire that Thou approachest me Lord and takest me into Thy bosom.) The psalmist expects this *de benignitate tua non de meritis meis* (out of Thy kindness and not from my merits). The reversal of the usual pattern of negatives first, positives second may be accidental, or may be due to the fact that Saint Robert Bellarmine does not wish to put the things of God second.
In Ain verse 4 [124] the psalmist asks: *Fac cum servo tuo secundum misericordiam tuam* (Do with Thy servant according to Thy mercy!). Saint Robert Bellarmine paraphrases this as: *non secundum merita ipsius sed secundum misericordiam suam* (Not according to his [e.g. of the psalmist] own merits but according to his [e.g. of God] own mercy). It is interesting to see two almost identical comments on two different verses, namely in this verse and also in Samech verse 4[116]. In both cases although the comments are put in a structure indicating contrast, namely *non... sed* (not…but) the two entities are not opposite to each other. On further reflection one sees that the mercy of God flows from the merits of Christ; hence we are dealing here with two different kinds of merits and so the contrasting comparison makes sense. As to a possible reason for repeating identical principles, this could be an echo of preoccupation with the raging controversy between Dominicans and Jesuits on the relationship between free will and grace in the lifetime of Saint Robert Bellarmine. ⁴⁸

Once again in Ain verse 4 [124], where Saint Robert Bellarmine says that God teaches us through persuasion *non tam scire quam facere* (not so much to know as to do), a construction used for contrast does not consist of juxtaposing opposites; rather, it is a progression from first step to completion. This comment urges us to meditate on the nature of knowledge, which can be a tool for good as well as for evil. We see the same antithetical construction for progression in the comment on *dissipaverunt legem tuam* (they dissipated Thy law) in Ain verse 6 [126], when Saint Robert Bellarmine says of the evildoers: *Non solum utcumque violaverunt sed penitus dissipaverunt.* (They did not only violate it in some way but totally dissipated it). This comment turns our thoughts to the

⁴⁸ See Brodrick, v.2, 26. The decision of the Holy See on this particular controversy is still pending.
theological principle, which states that big sins often occur when one does not combat small faults energetically.

In a similar fashion, the comparison between a soft voice and shout in the commentary on Coph verse 1 [145] compares degrees rather than opposites: *Sicut enim vocem submissam non facile exaudimus clamorem autem non possumus non exaudire* (For as we do not hear easily the suppressed voice, however we are not able not to hear a shout). This comment makes us think that efforts need to be of a certain magnitude to be effective.

In Sin verse 5 [165] the psalmist says: *Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam non est illis scandalum.* (There is much peace for those who love Thy law, there is no scandal for them). Saint Robert Bellarmine partly paraphrases and partly expands this to: *Non est scandalum diligentibus legem Domini sed sine offensione currit ad patriam.* 49 (There is no scandal for those who love the law of God but he runs without injury). Closely on the heels of this statement comes the list of those who are easily scandalised, namely the immature and the Pharisees. Definition by categorising is reminiscent of the *modus operandi* of Aristotle.

In Tau verse 6 [174] the psalmist repeats his often expressed desire: *Concupivi salutare tuum.* (I desired Thy salvation). 50 Saint Robert Bellarmine adds to this: *Non satis est concupiscere salutem...sed necesse est ambulare per viam praeeptorum Dei.* (It is

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49 A rare grammatical hitch with the dative of reference in the plural and the predicate verb referring to this is in the singular.

50 The closest is Gimel verse 4 [20]: *Concupivit anima mea desiderare iustificationes tuas.* (My soul yearned to desire Thy justifications.)
not enough to desire salvation but it is necessary to walk by the way of the precepts of God.)

The aim of this repeated stress on the need for effort may be to refute the tenet of Luther who held that faith alone can save us.\textsuperscript{51}

\textbf{G. STATEMENTS IN THE NEGATIVE.}

\textit{Statements in the negative, general comments.}

A statement put in the negative is a simple stylistic adornment and does not require a complex construction. This rather simple construction often makes the expression more emphatic than a simple positive statement would do.

The style of the Psalter does not easily accommodate lengthy and complex constructions, which are especially difficult to fit into a psalm as didactic as Psalm 118; therefore it is not surprising to see 28 negative statements within the sum total of 54 stylistic adornments in Psalm 118.

In the \textit{Explanatio in psalmos} Saint Robert Bellarmine often uses a whole string of negatives alongside contrasts using negatives. Some of these statements in the negative may have the appearance of an antithesis or contrast, especially if the \textit{non ...sed} (not …but) construction is used. However, on closer scrutiny, sometimes this modality expresses progression rather than contradiction. In these cases it makes good sense to put

\textsuperscript{51} Commonly referred to as \textit{sola fides} (faith alone).
these statements into a category of their own, distinct from the category of contrast with negatives.

The proportion of negative statements in the *Explanatio in psalmos* is less than in the text of Psalm 118, occurring 15 times out of 104. Statements in the negative have roughly the same frequency as contrasts using negatives, 15 and 14 respectively. In other words, stylistic adornment using negatives is just one possibility; Saint Robert Bellarmine avoids fatiguing either his readers or himself with excessive and disproportionate use of this or any other stylistic devices.

**Statements in the negative, comprehensive list of usage in the *Explanatio in psalmos*.**

The use of negatives in the comments on Zain verse 2 [50] and Beth verses 3 and 4 [111 and 112] is simply a necessity for comprehension and not a question of emphasis.

In commenting on He verse 3 [35] Saint Robert Bellarmine shows us how we make greater spiritual progress if we travel on the narrow path, where we are not disturbed by animals, which represent our passions, passing there; for as Saint Robert Bellarmine puts it, on this path *non solent incidere nisi pedites*. (They are not accustomed to enter it unless travellers on foot.) This statement also excludes horseback riders. We then may reflect how a path without animals preserves recollection and how going on foot forces us to make more efforts than if we were riding a horse, signifying that sheer effort without too many comforts is needed if we are to make progress on our spiritual journey.\(^{52}\)

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\(^{52}\) See p. 181 in this chapter.
In his commentary on He verse 7 [39] Saint Robert Bellarmine describes the law of God as *non solum utilis sed etiam suavis et iucunda* (not only useful but also sweet and joyful). This means that once one has embarked on the path of living by the tenets of the law, there is no valid excuse for not following this path.

In Vau verse 8 [148] Saint Robert Bellarmine uses a contrast to which he adds: *Non enim diligent mandata qui legislatorem non diligunt.* (For those who do not love the mandates do not love the lawgiver). 53 This may seem simplistic yet we see and hear examples of this often enough in our working life, when labouring under uninspiring leaders.

In Zain verse 1 [49] the psalmist asks God to remember his own words. Saint Robert Bellarmine refutes most energetically at the very beginning of the commentary the possibility that God may be forgetful where he states that *Non potest oblivisci Deus nec voluntatem mutare nec sententiam retractare.* (God is not able to forget, nor is God able to change His will nor is He able to withdraw His opinion).54

In Heth verse 2 [58] the psalmist prays to God for mercy. Saint Robert Bellarmine shows us that there is indeed a need for whole hearted prayer when he says: *Sine adiutorio Dei vires humanae non sufficiunt.* (Without the help of God human strength does not suffice). This statement borders between emphasis and an approach to ensure clarity. On the other hand the remark *non ut solum sciam sed etiam faciam* (not only that I would know but also that I would do) in the commentary on Iod verse 1 [73] makes the

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53 See also p. 210 in this chapter.

54 See also p. 210 in this chapter.
sentence more emphatic and the use of a *non ... sed* (not…. but) without distinct contrast even more so.

In commenting on *deficit in salutare tuum anima mea* (My heart has weakened for Thy salvation) in Caph verse 1 [81] Saint Robert Bellarmine lists the manifestations of weakness before he says: *Deficere in salutare nihil est aliud nisi exspectando et desiderando salutem laborare, languere, deficere.* (To weaken for salvation is nothing else unless to labour, languish, [and] to weaken in awaiting and desiring salvation). This phrase, combining a statement in the negative with a triplex form, is preceded by a reference to the views of Saint Augustine.55 In using a citation and two stylistic devices in one paragraph, Saint Robert Bellarmine deviates from his usual method of proportionate distribution of adornments and citations. One possible reason for this may be that the yearning for the closeness of God is something of such great importance spiritually both for Saint Robert Bellarmine himself and many of his readers as well that he wishes to adorn a reference to it with a complex phrase. This may lead the reader to reflect upon the means by which one can become or remain close to God.

In Nun verse 7 the psalmist exults in the possession of testimonies of God. Saint Robert Bellarmine in the *persona* of the psalmist chooses to say *non erraverim* (I have not wandered away, subjunctive of indirect question) rather than stating that he adheres to the law of God. At first sight, this does not give any special force to the statement; however, on further reflection it underlines the importance of perseverance more than a positive statement would do.

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55 See Chapter 5, p. 168, and also p. 205 in this chapter.
The psalm text in Resh verse 5 [157] has a negative statement, namely a

\textit{testimoniiis tuis non declinavi.} (I did not lean away from Thy testimonies). As the

psalmist is declaring his woes, Saint Robert Bellarmine, in the \textit{persona} of the psalmist,
reacts by turning to God for assistance, explaining that given both the hardships and his
fidelity, it would be reasonable for God to help him: \textit{Non sine causa postulo.} (I am not
asking without reason.) The addition of \textit{neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram} (neither
to the right, nor to the left ) to the \textit{non declinavi} (I did not lean away) of the text indicates
a serious effort where neither curiosity nor fear of danger is going to interfere with
perseverance.

In Sin verse 5 [165] the psalmist says: \textit{Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam non est illis
scandalum.} (There is much peace for those who love Thy law, there is no scandal for
them). Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that the spiritually advanced soul does not
become scandalised. After explaining why the ignorant and the weak and the Pharisees
are prone to take scandal, he points out that those with perfect charity \textit{nec pusilli nec
pharisaei sunt ac per hoc non est illis scandalum.} (They are neither weaklings nor
Pharisees and through this there is no scandal for them).\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{56} See Chapter 5, p. 169.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis presents a detailed analysis on a portion of the *Explanatio in psalmos* by Saint Robert Bellarmine, namely his commentary on Psalm 118. At the onset, there were two facts which were likely to make the analysis of the *Explanatio in psalmos* a worthwhile endeavour, and invited further exploration and reflection, namely the outstanding contributions of Saint Robert Bellarmine to the welfare the Catholic Church, and the pivotal role of the Psalter as a form of prayer. The work done in the course of writing has resulted in a fuller understanding of these issues and how the two factors relate to each other.

The outstanding contributions of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Jesuit and Prelate, to the welfare the Catholic Church were known even to his contemporaries, witness the description of Brodrick about the crowds present and the honours paid to him at the time of his funeral.\(^1\) In placing him among the canonised Saints and Doctors of the Church, the Catholic Church also recognised publicly the excellence of the achievements of Saint Robert Bellarmine.\(^2\) In the course of analysing his comments on Psalm 118, I saw how

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\(^1\) Brodrick (1928), v 2, 453-460.

\(^2\) The fact that this was done more in 1930 and 1931, respectively, shows that even 300 years after the death of Saint Robert Bellarmine he continued to be read widely enough that eventually he became a Doctor of the Church.
skilled he was as a writer, getting his message across to an even wider audience than it appears on the surface.

I also thought that I was cognizant of the great, yet almost inexplicable attraction of the psalms as a form of prayer and its effect on those who cherish them, witness the pivotal role of the Psalter in its use as the basic staple for Catholic priests and religious of the contemplative Orders, and its place of honour in Protestant and Jewish public worship. However, the realisation that this effect can also be demonstrated in the life of Saint Robert Bellarmine, as shown by the change in the direction in his writings after the completion of the *Explanatio in psalmos*, was a new discovery.

At this juncture several questions arise.

• How did the previous experience of Saint Robert Bellarmine influence his commentary on the psalms, and what were the gains for him from writing the *Explanatio in psalmos*?

• Is Saint Robert Bellarmine saying anything new?

• For whom was his message intended?

• What are the lessons for us today from the *Explanatio in psalmos*?

In the pages below, these questions will be used as section headings.
How did the previous experience of Saint Robert Bellarmine influence his commentary on the psalms and what were the gains for him from writing the _Explanatio in psalmos_?

In general, the _Explanatio in psalmos_ presents a watershed in the literary works of Saint Robert Bellarmine. As we saw in Chapter 3, the _Explanatio in psalmos_ was followed by five spiritual works, and one work which was a guidance for a particular person\(^3\). It is almost as if writing the _Explanatio in psalmos_ opened new vistas for Saint Robert Bellarmine and turned his gaze and pen towards the workings of the soul. However, it would be a mistake to regard this fact as a change of outlook. Rather, in the _Explanatio in psalmos_ Saint Robert Bellarmine brought together everything of importance from his storehouse of riches, well stacked with the treasures gained in the course previous activities. Enriched by the experience of writing the _Explanatio in psalmos_, Saint Robert Bellarmine turned his efforts from the present to the future, contributing to the formation of a spiritually sturdy cadre of future Catholics by his spiritual tracts.

Saint Robert Bellarmine was endowed with considerable talent. His education further enhanced his natural abilities. He gained a good grounding in his teens, including a strong background in Classical Latin. He entered the Jesuits at the age of 18 years, and he received a first class intellectual training and an in-depth spiritual formation. The Jesuits also had the ability to discern where his gifts lay and fostered his gifts by providing him opportunities to develop them further with practice. Saint Robert Bellarmine started preaching very early. Major teaching responsibilities were soon added,

\(^3\) *The duty of the Christian Prince*, written in 1619 to Crown Prince Ladislas of Poland.
which in turn gave rise to his career as a writer. He developed the ability to express
himself clearly and convincingly both as a preacher and a writer.

His spiritual formation taught him how to pray, the importance of good ascetic
habits, love of simplicity, and the profitable ways of poverty and humility. This
grounding provided him with a solid base, enabling him to go from task to task without
having to grapple with incapacitating internal conflicts. Saint Robert Bellarmine became
well fitted to write a work as spiritual as the *Explanatio in psalmos*.

His eloquence, his ability to focus on essentials, and an approach both diplomatic
and non-compromising were so impressive that he was consulted for advice by his Jesuit
Superiors and fellow Jesuits, the Pope, and others of major importance in Rome, and
responsibilities upon responsibilities followed. He was appointed as papal theologian and
subsequently invested with the purple of a Cardinal. Some of these responsibilities
entailed work on committees, where major issues were decided, such as the work on the
Clementine Vulgate, on the *Ratio studiorum* for the Jesuit order and on the revision of the
Benedictine Divine Office.\(^4\) Dealing with the revision of the Vulgate, Saint Robert
Bellarmine advocated keeping textual changes at a minimum and the liberal use of
comments. This experience probably contributed to his love of precision, and shaped his
methodology for the *Explanatio in psalmos*, especially as the rather frequent discussion
of Greek and Hebrew equivalent goes.

Saint Robert Bellarmine was a person of the Counter-reformation in its more
developed stages, e.g. 100 years after the Council of Trent, which laid out dogmatic
tenets of the Catholic faith and mapped out the battle plans for gaining back territories

\(^4\) See Chapter 3 for further biographical details.
and peoples from the Protestants. A major conflict, such as arose in the course of the
Reformation, has greater consequences in its aftermath than simply the effect on the two
combatants facing each other. Within the troops, a combative approach even towards
each other may appear whilst some others are incapacitated by battle fatigue.

Saint Robert Bellarmine fought with his pen just as energetically against internal
currents of thought which the Catholic Church deemed to be dangerous to faith and
morals, as he did in the refutation of Protestant beliefs. Although at first glance it may
seem that when Saint Robert Bellarmine started his writing, his main aim was to
convince Protestants of their error, in truth he was working to strengthen Catholics as
well. His first major work, the *Controversiae*, was based on a lecture series given to
Catholic clerical students. However some of his other writings fall more into the purely
anti-Protestant genre, such as his comments on two Lutheran tracts, namely a book on the
birth of the Holy Roman Empire and on the Book of Concord.

In these exchanges, Saint Robert Bellarmine did not make the mistake of
underestimating his opponents. They were erudite and their convictions were based on
their beliefs and worthy of respect. On the side of Saint Robert Bellarmine clarity and
courtesy were the order of the day. In their turn, the Protestants responded to the
excellence of his writing. A curious type of dialogue ensued, in which both sides
addressed the arguments of the other, without however showing any willingness to
change their views as the result of these exchanges. Perhaps the most vivid appreciation
of Saint Robert Bellarmine comes from King James I. of England who said that “There
was more solid doctrine to be found on a single page of Bellarmine than in all the
writings of his united episcopate.” The King also carried the *De gemitu columbae sive de bono lachrymarum* (On the sigh of the dove or the good of the tears) with him, and praised Saint Robert Bellarmine for writing devotional books, even imitating him by writing a tract on the Lord’s Prayer. When we consider the unusually pugnacious style of the exchanges between King and Cardinal, these comments are truly remarkable.

It seems reasonable to assume that the clarity of the *Explanatio in psalmos* stems in part from the experience of dealing with controversies. Such challenges also taught Saint Robert Bellarmine a respect for the view of others, which avoids wasting time on emotional exchanges and therefore enhances the clarity on the part of the writer and makes for a better acceptance by the readers, who are neither sidetracked nor have their feathers, which may be unknown to the author, ruffled. They are able to focus on what they are reading.

In addition to dealing with the views of adversaries, Saint Robert Bellarmine strove to strengthen the Catholic side on the very same lines as they were laid down by the Council of Trent, namely to help the Catholic faithful to know and to live their faith. There was a need for a two-pronged attack. One concern was to deal with heretical and rebellious tendencies, the other was to define dogmatic teachings more clearly.

Beside the *Controversiae*, which run to three volumes, the works of Saint Robert Bellarmine in which the aim is mainly to expound the tenets of the faith are the *Catechism*, tracts on the duty of the bishops, a tract on indulgences, and a work on the

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5 I quoted this verbatim from Brodrick (1928), 260. See also Appendix A for detailed discussion of the reforms of the *Breviarium in 1971*.

6 ibid.

7 The concern for the welfare of the much harassed English Catholics may explain this combativeness.
duties of a Christian Prince. In addition to these works where Saint Robert Bellarmine was the sole author, the work of Saint Robert Bellarmine in conjunction with others on the Clementine Vulgate Bible and the *Ratio Studiorum* for the training of Jesuits are of major significance. By the time Saint Robert Bellarmine came to write the *Explanatio in psalmos*, he was well versed in the art of explaining the tenets of the Catholic faith lucidly.

**Is Saint Robert Bellarmine saying anything new?**

On the whole, the answer to this question is a qualified no. In the same way as Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine are doing, Saint Robert Bellarmine reproduces what the psalm says. However, just as it is not possible even to produce a telephone directory without the personality and the message of the author showing through, neither is it possible for a psalm commentary not to convey the personal views of the author.

A central idea which strikes a familiar chord in the reader is the lovableness of Psalm 118, even though it is a long didactic psalm, focused on the law of God, not possessing the emotional depths of a penitential psalm such as psalm 50 or the heights of the psalms of praise such as psalm 150, nor the rich imagery of the nature psalms such as Psalm 102. Sometimes nothing expresses the strength of a conviction better than an understatement. In the concluding comments on Psalm 118 Saint Jerome bursts forth with Alleluias and doxology whilst Saint Robert Bellarmine ends up on a matter of fact tone, and simply repeats the last line: *Mandata tua non sum oblitus* (I have not forgotten Thy mandates). The basic message of Psalm 118 is that there is a law of God, God is good and so is His law. If we believe in God and in eternal life, then it behoves us to keep the law of God. To do so is pleasing to God but due to our human frailty, we can only do so with
the help of God. In the course of walking on this path, we are beset by enemies, who are intent to divert us, and from whom God can protect us. This statement could be made in good faith even by Jewish authors who do not believe that the Messiah has already come. On the other hand, Saint Robert Bellarmine, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome were Christians and as such, they take the concept of judiciary justice further; in their commentaries the expiatory sacrifice of Christ also enters into the picture.

The difference between the three commentaries is partly dependent on length. The rather short *Breviarium in psalmos* by Saint Jerome is saying: “Look, how simple and straightforward the whole issue is and how strong is its inherent logic.” In contrast to the compact commentary of Saint Jerome, the 32 sermons of Saint Augustine of Psalm 118, placed against his few pages per psalm on the other 149 psalms, is longer. More often than not the commentary serves as a vehicle for discussion of the Scriptures, which Saint Augustine quotes rather copiously, witness the 325 quotations from the Bible in contrast to the 87 and 50 scriptural quotations of Saint Robert Bellarmine and Saint Jerome respectively.

One other issue is the issue of methodology. Saint Robert Bellarmine does this by piling examples upon examples, as he analyses several words and does so more frequently than Saint Jerome or Saint Augustine. Here, the experience of Saint Robert Bellarmine with the creation of the Clementine Vulgate Bible may play a part. Saint Robert Bellarmine shows that it is not necessary to rewrite the text, but explanation of terms is in order. Furthermore, he even goes into detail on Latin phrases and expressions, about which there is no controversy, yet the meaning behind the word can be examined.
with profit. Two specific examples are presented to show the approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine.

With his predilection for focusing on terms, Saint Robert Bellarmine exploits fully the opportunities provided by analysis of the term “law” to expand our horizons. In commenting on Pe verse 1 [129] Saint Robert Bellarmine expands the meaning of the law to include ordinances concerning ceremonies, besides judicial and ethical laws. The next point is the discussion of the term *lex* (law).

In commenting on Aleph verse 5 [5], Saint Robert Bellarmine points out that the term *lex* (law) embraces other entities as well, such as *praecptum* (precept), *mandatum* (mandate), *sermo* (sermon), *eloquium* (declaration or speech), *verbum* (word), and *testimonium* (testimony). Saint Jerome lists these alternative expressions in the introductory paragraph to Psalm 118, defining each; but then uses them interchangeably. Saint Augustine does not provide the reader with a similar list of close to equivalent terms. On the other hand, Saint Robert Bellarmine takes this point further by stating that *testimonium* (testimony) refers to the promises of God to save mankind from the consequences of original sin is part of the law through Incarnation and Redemption, and this promise is part of the law, the governing ordinance of the universe, which even God follows.

Saint Robert Bellarmine also stresses the importance of grace and free will but allows much more variation of the interplay between the two than the black and white approach of Saint Augustine. Dealing with grace is a mark of the contemporary nature of the work, given the different views of the Protestants on this and also divergent views
expressed within the Catholic Church, witness the arguments between the Dominicans and Jesuits and in addition, some almost sectarian views such as those of the *Illuminati*.

Saint Robert Bellarmine does not devote any space to speak about his own philosophical orientation, but perhaps it is in this area that close perusal of the text unearthed something not easily visible on a cursory reading of the text.

Saint Robert Bellarmine follows the Aristotelian way of classifying entities and laying the accent on praxis as well as on intellectual grasp. He gives summaries for the content of the strophe from the strophe of Gimel onwards. However, the summaries are placed after the verse text, inviting us to keep our focus on the psalm text itself. Saint Robert Bellarmine also classifies many things, especially types of souls. In addition, he makes us think by developing a point step by step in a truly Platonic fashion. In a certain way he is more Platonic than Plato; for leading us toward a conclusion, he leaves us with the issue not fully explored, inviting us to explore on our own. On the other hand, he is very Aristotelian in admitting the views of others and other approaches, showing a kernel of truth in each and also how they may be at least part of the answer.

Whilst the *Explanatio in psalmos* also reflects the basically Thomist philosophy of the author, Saint Robert Bellarmine quotes Saint Augustine more often than anybody else. It is difficult to see whether this approach and its fruits were part of a design or were by instinct, influenced by previous experience and training.

Saint Robert Bellarmine was a Thomist. The Council of Trent was Thomist. Saint Thomas Aquinas was more Aristotelian than Platonic. The stance of the Protestants advocated a return to the simplicity of earlier times, disdain for the scholastic and great
reliance on Saint Augustine. In this atmosphere, Catholic philosophy could be influenced or even derailed by distancing itself too sharply from Saint Augustine.

By emphasising the importance and thereby the orthodoxy of Saint Augustine, Saint Robert Bellarmine indirectly answered a challenge of his time. Although the *Explanatio in psalmos* is structurally follows Thomistic lines, yet it relies on Saint Augustine more than any other author. Appendices K and L give a list of the categories of authors quoted. This shows 29 instances in all. The number of authors quoted in a given place varies from one to more than six. There are only five places in the text where other authors are cited without the mention of Saint Augustine. In 12 citations, Saint Augustine is quoted along with others; in 12 places, he is the sole author quoted. It is also remarkable that Saint Robert Bellarmine seldom, if ever, quotes the opinion of anyone later than the fourth century. We see quotations from Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Hilary and two Greek Fathers, Theodoretus and Euthymius. The intervening centuries are simply bypassed.

Frequent recourse to Saint Augustine and reliance on authors from the fourth century answers some unasked questions. The Church did not reject Saint Augustine by embracing Aristotle through reliance on Saint Thomas Aquinas, neither did the Church alter her teaching. The basic stance of the Church Fathers of the fourth century still holds water in the seventeenth century as well.

For whom is the message intended?

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8 See Appendix K. The topic is also discussed in Chapter 5, p. 158-159.
Psalm commentaries have been a part of religious literature from long before the birth of Christ. In his discussion on Jewish exegetes on the psalms Simon Uriel provides many references to the early Jewish exegetes. Invariably, succeeding generations could also derive benefits from earlier works. The *Explanatio in psalmos* also possesses this timelessness, especially as far as the general audience, is concerned, namely the Catholic faithful. However, if we restrict ourselves to the centuries following the publication of the *Explanatio in psalmos*, a subset of readers, for whom this work is of special interest, emerges. These are the priests and religious of the contemplative orders with the serious obligation of the full recitation of the Divine Office daily. I would go even further in stating that the commentary on Psalm 118 is especially ideal for this subgroup; this commentary is neither as compact as the *Breviarium in psalmos* nor as long as the 32 sermons in the *Enarrationes in psalmos*. They are the ones who benefit most from the multifaceted approach of Saint Robert Bellarmine, especially from his commentary on Psalm 118 which they recite at least one a week. By multifaceted approach I am referring to additional sources introduced into the commentary, which simply round off the picture without altering it. We have quotations from the Bible, comments of other authors and a large number of metaphors to produce variations of the theme in the same way as it is done in classical music.

Another question which comes to mind is whether Saint Robert Bellarmine is also addressing himself to Protestants. Even if it was just often to refute his statement,

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9 Schramm, Lenn J., tr. *Uriel, Simon: Four approaches to the Book of Psalms*.

10 On the contemporary scene this statement applies to that subgroup of Catholic priests and religious, who were permitted to retain the use of the Traditional Divine Office in Latin after the Breviary and Calendar reforms instituted in 1971.

11 See Appendix B..
they have read his works but with the *Explanatio in psalmos* could he have aimed for a common ground? There are two indications of this.

First of all, the commentary on Psalm 118 does not lay any stress on the three major dividing lines between Catholics and others, namely papal supremacy, Marian theology, and the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. This is in slight contrast to some of the subsequent works of Saint Robert Bellarmine.

The other point is the stress on Saint Augustine. In reclaiming him for the Catholic side as well, Saint Robert Bellarmine establishes common grounds with the Protestants.

**What are the lessons for us today from the *Explanatio in psalmos***?

In a way, scrutinising the *Explanatio in psalmos* is a journey of discovery, almost akin to the response of any reader to the running style of the author; for after dealing with particular aspect of the *Explanatio in psalmos*, the reader sees something more in the work and thinks: “Now I have it all”. However, when armed with this insight, one looks at the next topic and the horizon expands anew and anew again. In the end, one may indeed be left a desire to go on reflecting. I am reminded of the way in which my Anatomy Professor used to start and finish his lectures. He began with “Let us then ask…”, and concluded with “Well, now we know what we should ask the next time”. Borrowing his method, I am concluding with some reflections, which could be perhaps serve as an inducement to further questions.

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12 Young J. Z., University College Hospital Medical School London, from where I obtained my medical degree in 1964.
The first point is the advantage of commenting on a work in the language in which the work was originally written.

The *Explanatio in psalmos* is a work of excellence by a highly respected writer and merits our serious attention. However, in one aspect I could not fully do justice to it. The *Explanatio in psalmos* is written in Latin; my commentary is in English. One of the strengths of the *Explanatio in psalmos* is the fact that in which it is written in the same language as the subject of the commentary, the quotations from Vulgate Bible, the commentaries of the majority of the Church Fathers, and an especially important point, as Psalm 118, the subject of the commentary. In other words, it is a work written in Latin, which uses Latin resources.\(^{13}\) This common linguistic base is very advantageous in many ways. These advantages can be best seen in Chapter 6, especially when dealing with repetitions, but with other stylistic devices as well. For one thing, the text can be embedded in the commentary. Saint Robert Bellarmine does this at times, often using *id est* (that is) as a bridge between the verse text and his comment. We see an example of this in the commentary on Sin verse 6 [166]: *Exspectabam salutare tuum, id est salutem aeternam.* (I was awaiting Thy salvation, that is, eternal salvation). The reader, who is familiar with Psalm 118 in Latin, can go on reflecting in Latin, without the need to switch languages.

The second point is to consider using combined approaches as ways and means of increasing Latin literacy step by step, not in order to discard the vernacular path but to preserve another route as well for our cultural enrichment.

\(^{13}\) Except Theodoretus and Euthymus, who wrote in Greek.
I am not denying the existence of good vernacular works. The psalm commentary of Callan is a case in point; it seems a worthwhile, truly scholarly work. He uses a methodology in which for each psalm there is an introductory paragraph, followed by the psalm text with side by side translation, and concluding reflections. There are also footnotes of explanatory nature appended to the psalm text. In other words, the comments at the end are attached in one block, rather than to each verse. The reflections are on some ideas of the whole psalm; we are a bit further away from the text itself. This distancing is especially prominent in a psalm as long as Psalm 118 and is not quite compensated by the fact that the comments appended are organised into one paragraph per strophe. With this approach, the author does all virtually all the work, without a verse by verse dialogue with the reader. One possible approach would be to omit completely the Latin text aside; however, this would entail distancing oneself from the exact text which those reciting the psalms use. However, these features do not retract from the merit of the work, they only place it into a slightly different genre.

My suggestion is not discard this approach but also enrich ourselves by recourse to the type represented by the *Explanatio in psalmos*, or even explore the possibility of other, more Latin based approaches. It could be possible, for instance, to have a Loeb edition, in which the commentaries are also bilingual. Progressive steps in this direction could include a Latin work with a wholly Latin commentary to the text, and then an analysis or interpretation in Latin.

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14 Callan, Charles (1944) *The psalms.*

15 Callan wrote the Psalms in 1944; The Catholic Church did not start using the vernacular for religious orders until the 60-es.
Another interesting question is the value of modifying the language or improvement of an ancient and frequently used text, let it be simplification for the sake of better comprehension or improvement of a text, which itself is a translation form the original. Praiseworthy as these aims are, the results do not always evoke the feelings or associations which the original author intended.

The arguments for simplification gave rise to editions of Shakespeare in contemporary language. Given the fact that English is a living language and therefore subject to modifications, the principle itself is praiseworthy and may even have to be used, where linguistic changes have bee really great, e.g. the language of Chaucer. Latin is not a living language, subject to change, and so far there is no movement to radically alter classical texts; critical editions serve well enough to make use of the findings of manuscript research. With Latin, the problems created by rewriting the text arises more with Church than with the secular Establishment.

The Vulgate Bible has been transformed into Neo Vulgate. In the case of the Psalter, the changes were even more drastic in the Bea Psalter. It is true that the attempt to introduce this version for the use of the Divine Office has failed; however, relying on this version when reading commentaries on a different version of the psalms is somewhat of a nonsensical notion. I confess that I am not convinced by the argument that these new versions are closer to the original Greek and Hebrew. It seems hardly conceivable that present day scholars are as fluent in these ancient languages as their long-time predecessors; however, discovery of additional texts could be used as an argument for modification. However, even if the superiority of the new texts could be proved, it would not alter the fact that for better or worse, the Biblia Vulgata and the Psalter have been the
basic fare for Catholic Church over 1000 years. A better remedy than rewriting the text is the addition of notes, explaining a word or phrase. Here again, Saint Robert Bellarmine shows the way with his comments on Hebrew and Greek equivalents of Latin expressions. This topic is discussed at length in Chapter 5, in “A. Comments on Greek and Hebrew equivalents of Latin expressions in the *Explanatio in psalmos*”.

The fourth lesson in the *Explanatio in psalmos* is in seeing the way in which Saint Robert Bellarmine addresses opinions different from his own. In the *Explanatio in psalmos* he demonstrated that others, living more than a thousand years before, had something worthwhile to say on the psalms. Rather than simply treating the reader to his point of view, Saint Robert Bellarmine is frequently citing other authorities. In many cases, a whole string of opinions is cited. Saint Robert Bellarmine either explains the line of the argument of the author quoted or more often than this, he demonstrates that the difference arises simply because of highlighting different facets of the same issue. This approach is also something which perhaps could be imitated in modern publications as well with some benefit, rather than the “hammer and tong” approach to opponents, or what is even worse, simply declaring that compared to ourselves, anybody writing before the current era was a fool. Maybe it is time that we too spend more time on reflecting on the wisdom of the classicists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, taking their views into consideration, just as Saint Robert Bellarmine did in making use of fourth century commentators in his seventeenth century work.

Let me conclude in the same way as I began, namely quoting Professor J.Z. Young:

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16 with minor modifications in the Clementine Vulgate in the 16th century.

17 In Hungarian literature, this is frequently done in the modern editions of the works of Mór Jókai. Jókai uses a large number of Latin expressions and with Latin literacy on the wane, these notes are necessary. Respect for the author, however, dissuaded editors from changing the words in the text.
“Well, now we know what we should ask the next time”. If we substitute do for ask, the possibilities are endless: analysis of other works of Saint Robert Bellarmine, preparation of a Latin commentary to a Latin text, or another commentary on the psalms?
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APPENDIX A

WHAT HAVE THEY DONE TO OUR SONG
CHANTED THROUGH THE AGES?

(Reflections on the 1971 Breviary and Calendar of the Catholic Church)

By Sister Margarita, Servitores Reginae Apostolorum Institute
-with the advice and help of Professor Daniel Reff, Ohio State University
Spring Quarter, 1988

AD MAIOREM DEI GLORIAM!

Dedicated to Our Lady, Mother of God, help of the afflicted.
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FOREWORD.

As a Religious of the Servitores Regiae Apostolorum Institute, I live my life with the Holy Mass and the Divine Office always at center. By the will of God and the command of those place in authority over me, I'm also labouring in the groves of Academia as a doctoral candidate of Latin and Greek. I've chosen Latin for my field so that I could be instrumental in the preservation of the Latin linguistic heritage of the Church, the language in which the Catholic Church prayed, spoke, thought and taught for several centuries, which, providing one language for the liturgy, has united all Catholics across the globe with each other and with those gone by before them and the language which traditional Catholics still use for the Holy Liturgy with papal approbation.

Given this background, my choice of the Breviary as the topic for my essays will hardly be surprising. The advance and guidance available from vastly different kinds of sources - the knowledgeable Professor Daniel Reff with his wide-ranging interests and Traditional Catholic priests who adhere to the use of the Latin in the Holy Liturgy guarantees availability of sound advice for these essays.

Yes, essays and not essay for the present paper is the third, and hopefully not the last, in the series and encompassing a somewhat controversial topic, demanding the study of texts not as familiar that those of the previously written essays was perhaps the hardest to write.

Happy as I was in writing about the Traditional Breviary, I had no illusions about being able to avoid having also to deal with the 1971 Breviary. As I was working away on papers dealing with the comparison of the 1962 Breviary with its predecessor, dear Professor Reff often asked "But what do you think? Are these changes good or bad?"

I carefully demurred, stating my fidelity to the Catholic Church and thus my
obvious reluctance to be critical of binding ecclesiastical legislation which mandated the use of the 1961 Breviary, which, alongside many other Catholics, is also the Breviary which I'm using. However, evidently I murmured once to often that only comparison with the latest revision could settle the question. In retrospect, it seems that these comments convinced even me, their utterer, that the Rubrics of the 1971 Breviary may be worthy of closer scrutiny.

Since the Servitores are using the 1962 Breviary in Latin, I wasn't dealing with a text which is part of my prayer-life. This fact made me more, rather than less careful about looking for the good in the new version. I do not think that looking for the good of these changes was successful search.

However, it must be unequivocally stated that I, as a Catholic religious Sister in communion with the Holy See, do not attempt and indeed, would recoil in horror at the mere thought of, outright condemnation of a liturgical text used and approved by the Holy See. On the other hand, being the Catholic writer of an academic paper, I can't sink so low as to make statements contrary to my beliefs or even common sense. I've therefore chosen to tread the path of safety by raising a voice of concern about some liturgical issues with a permissible pitch, marching side by side with other Catholics faithful to the Church who are also raising questions of similar kind and which by now are also raised by some Prelates such as Cardinal Stickler and Cardinal Ratzinger.
INTRODUCTION.

The essay titled "What have they done to our song chanted through the ages ?" is the third in a series of three, dealing with revisions of Rubrics of the Divine Office in the 20th century. The focus of the paper is on the description of the essential features of the Divine Office introduced in 1971.

One might say that the similarity ends with placing the essay in the same series as its two predecessors; for trying to compare the 1961 Breviary with its predecessor is a fairly easy task, akin to comparing apples with apples, whilst comparing the 1971 Breviary with anything which went on before is more like trying to compare apples with carrots, e.g. not even apples and pears, both of which are fruits.

The 1971 Divine Office is radical departure from what went on before, in terms of language, content and the availability of options. After examining it, two questions can be answered. Is this liturgical prayer an organic development of a pre-existing form? I do not think so and will not only endeavour to show why I don't think so but also will advance some possible reasons for the introduction of these Rubrics. The other question - whether or not the 1961 Breviary was a preparatory step for the introduction of the 1971 Breviary - is also answered in the negative, with giving some reasons why its usage doesn't represent a break with tradition.
I. THE DIVINE OFFICE IN THE PAST.

From the earliest times of the Church, praying to God, praising God and asking him for our needs was the fulcrum of Christian life. The well developed ancient Jewish liturgical practices associated with temple worship served both as foundation and role model, especially the psalms of King David and the tradition of singing them by cantors or singing led by the cantors with priests, cantors and other participants having well-defined roles. In the Christian area, anecdotal records tell us about the contemplatives of the earliest times often making it their practice to recite all 150 Psalms of the Psalter each day. Since Christians regard both Old and New Testaments as divinely inspired text and since the Psalter is one of the books of the Old Testament, in the spirit of reverence no addition, subtraction or alteration was made in the texts of the Psalms. Gradually, additional elements, expressing specifically Christian tenets were joined to the text of the psalms - hymns, verses with responses and prayers to set the heart aflame with love and readings to nourish the intellect of the believers. With the development of monastic traditions, a well-defined format for the structuring of these prayers emerged. There were some divergences but they were insignificant compared to the similarities such as using the Psalms as the core of the Divine Office, reciting the Canonical Hours at the same set times during the day, chanting in a certain musical mode and adopting various postures such as standing, sitting or kneeling during the recitation. References are made as early as in the legend of Saint Brendan's voyage in which the Saint sees the magical lamps lighting themselves for the Office in the island monastery. Documentation of liturgical practices is available from the time of the birth of the Benedictine Orders in the West in the 6th century.
By and large, before the Protestant reformation in the 16th century, in Europe Christianity was synonymous with Catholicism. This wasn't the first heresy, there were heresies before. However, as several Catholic authors, notably Chesterton and Belloc, have pointed it out, these heresies, besides creating disturbances, had their usefulness, too. They often served as a prod to define the tenets of the faith better and to eliminate what is harmful from the life of the Church. The Council of Nicea and Ephesus delineated dogmatic truths in a clear and precise fashion precisely in order to protect the faithful from straying onto paths which would lead them away from the truths of their faith. In a similar manner the Council of Trent, in essence achieving what it was set up to do, also produced several dogmatic definitions. However, at this time more was at stake than ever before. Protestantism meant massive fragmentation on a previously unprecedented scale, almost totally eradicating Catholicism from some countries, destroying uniformity of belief and of manner of worship in others. The highly effective Council of Trent has responded effectively to the challenge of the times. It tightened the hatches by insisting on better discipline of the clergy and codifying the norms for pertinent practices and conduct to maintain uniformity within the Church. It was the Council's thinking which was put into practice by the liturgical legislation of Pope Saint Pius V. The Tridentine Mass became the normative Mass at that time. Rubrics for the recitation of the Divine Office were set up and adherence to them was made mandatory for those bound to its recitation. Let me add that this wasn't the question of starting from scratch or coming up with something brand new for on reading the "Motu proprio" of Pope Saint Pius V., one is struck by the fairly uniform overall structure of the Divine Office existing even before that time. Pope Saint Pius V.'s main aim was to keep the Psalter central by restoring the custom of recitation of the whole Psalter each week and to coalesce various practices into a uniform format.

Some minor modifications apart, the next major revision of the Rubrics was done by Pope Saint Pius X. in 1911, e.g. more than 300 years later. This Pope, too, comments
on the desirability of recitation of the full Psalter each week whilst also commenting on the proliferation of Saints' Feastdays with the danger of encroachment on the feasts of the Calendar of the Seasons. The biggest change made was that of safeguarding the Sunday Office. From henceforth onward, if a Saint's Feastday fell on a Sunday, that year the Saint's Feastday was only commemorated but of course fully celebrated in those years when it was not on a Sunday. The changes were so minor in character that in the 1943 edition of the Breviary the "Motu proprio"-s of both Popes are printed, the Rubrics given are those laid down by Pope St. Pius V. in 1568, with an additional section of "Additiones et variationes" (additions and variations) covering the changes introduced in 1911.

On the other hand, the 1961 Breviary contains only Pope John XIII.'s Bulla and only the 1961 Rubrics. The Pope's aims are threefold - to simplify the Breviary, removing unnecessary complexities, to shorten the Hours with the excuse that the clergy are too busy and to prune the Saints' Calendar a bit. Here Pope John XIII. is faced with the same problems as Pope Saint Pius X. was but the interval between the last two revisions is markedly shorter than between the Breviary of pope Saint Pius V. and the 1911 revision. Some of the pruning appears to be quite reasonable such as the new classification itself of Feasts but not necessarily the shortening of the readings at ad Matutinum for the Class III Feasts or the whole-sale removal of all the Simplex Feasts from the Calendar and hence abolition of readings about their lives from the Breviary. The removal of accretions from some of the Hours such as ad Primam also appears sensible but the abolition of Preces (intercessory prayers), which were recited during the Penitential Seasons, from several of the Hours and the removal of the suffrage prayers recited on ferial days and lower Class Feasts at ad Laudes and at ad Vesperas is not so much a reduction of complexity but of time sent in prayers for the Church and for others in the name of the Church.

Most of the shortening is effected by reducing the number of Lessons at ad Matutinum form 9 to 3 Lessons for about 180 Feastdays. This change is coupled with
advice to clergy and religious to increase the amount of their reading; advice which is not likely to be followed and can be ignored with less qualms than a mandatory directive. This amount of shortening, done on the basis of clergy and religious being too busy to pray as much as their predecessors, foreshadows the shape of things to come - a tendency to put men and preoccupation with men before God's due in terms of prayers. There was no decrease of vocations at that time, rather the contrary but suddenly priests and religious were too busy to spend as much time in prayers as their predecessors.

In his Bulla the Holy Father makes references to Rubrical changes in 1955, making them appear slightly bigger than they were. These changes affected only the Holy Week, the trimming was minimal and done whilst really desirable changes were made in terms of restoring the liturgical ceremonies to more appropriate times of the day such as moving the Holy Mass of the Easter Vigil form the morning to night-time.

Nevertheless, in 1961 we're still left essentially with same Breviary as the one of 1568, with well-defined Rubrics, with their paragraphs sticking to the point, retaining Latin as the language of the Breviary and without adding new options for universal use, just retaining the variety resulting form the use of particular Feastdays inserted into the so called Particular Calendars of various countries and localities and religious orders. This has been a pre-existing custom, going back to the time of Pope Saint Pius V., but it could be done only with the express permission of the Holy See. The number of Feastdays in the Particular Calendars is not very large and the difference pertains only to the Proper of the day. The uniformity still was so great at this time, that it was possible for people during travels to take part in the Divine Office practically in any locality and occurrence of Feasts of the Particular Calendar so infrequent that those bound to the recitation of the Divine Office could fulfil their obligation even by reciting it in common where a different Particular Calendar was in use.

Between 1961 and the appearance of the latest Breviary in 1971 the Vatican II Council (1962-1965) took place. After the Council, the option of the vernacular was
introduced and bishops were given authority to modify the Rubrics for their particular locality. However, the stated wish of the Council was to preserve and cherish the sacred Liturgy of the Catholic Church.

In summary, from the earliest times on until and including 1961 there was a continuum, then more changes upon the changes introduced in 1961 and then suddenly, something brand new.

Historically, the Catholic Church was always cautious about changes and not even opposed of reversing them, if by the passage of times it became evident that they didn't represent any improvement. Indeed, such reversal has taken place even since the 60-ies when those reciting the Divine Office in Latin have returned to the use of the old Latin rather than the new Latin introduced in 1961. At other times, the option of the vernacular and the concept of changes being introduced locally would have been tried and then quite possibly abandoned. However, such reversal to earlier, true and tried formats is not a possibility with the 1971 Breviary for this is a radically new one, with very tenuous connections to its predecessors.

In reality, the blame can't be really laid at the Vatican II. Council's doorstep for this. As Pope Paul VI states in his Bulla of November 1st 1969 promulgating the new Divine Office, which is now referred to as "the Liturgy of the Hours", this new Divine Office was the work of the "Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution of the Liturgy of Vatican II Council" which for sake of simplicity I shall henceforth call the Consilium.

The work of this Consilium was the revision of the Sacred Liturgy - both that of the Holy Mass and of the Divine Office. The Consilium was composed of Catholic participants and Protestant observers. However, these observers became in fact participants, after an intermediate phase of being "experts" - on the liturgy of the Catholic Church. The extent of their influence is illustrated by the fact that article #7. of the Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani (the instructions for the introduction of the New Mass of 1971) of April
3rd 1969 expressed such an un-Catholic definition of the Holy Mass that it had to be rescinded.

In examining the Divine Office of 1971, there are two issues worthy of closer scrutiny. First of all, the Apostolic Letter of Pope Paul VI, ushering it in, next the Divine Office itself. The two topics will be dealt with in separate chapters.
II. THE APOSTOLIC LETTER OF POPE PAUL VI INTRODUCING THE NEW DIVINE OFFICE.

Pope Paul VI.'s Bulla is much longer than those of his predecessors. Pope Saint Pius V communicates his precepts in 4 1/2 pages, Pope Saint Pius X ushers in his reforms with 3, Pope John XXIII in 3. On the other hand, Pope Paul VI's Bulla is a document of 9 1/2 pages, in which His Holiness doesn't only explain the changes and reasons for it but also talks at length what the Divine Office is about and how the new format presented is basically the same Divine Office as it was before. The Holy Father makes an accurate reference to the Divine Office promulgated by Pope Saint Pius V but then mentions several reforms, stating that Pope Saint Pius X promulgated a new Breviary. Neither the Bulla of Pope Saint Pius X nor the Rubrical instructions for the 1911 Divine Office, printed side by side with the Bulla of Pope Saint Pius V. and the Rubrics of 1568 in the 1943 Breviary support this assertion. As a matter of fact, the changes made in 1911 from the Breviary of 1568 could simply be summarised in a section titled "Additiones et variationes" (Additions and variations), not even requiring a new set of Rubrics. The nearer one gets to 1971, the more inaccurate the statements become. Pope Pius XII is credited with a Breviary reform in 1955 rather than with the limited task of the revision of sacred Liturgy and ceremonies performed during the Holy Week before Easter. It is stated that (Pope) John XXIII "sanctioned only part of the liturgical revision" when in fact he promulgated the revised 1961 Breviary in an Apostolic Letter, making its use mandatory and making no references whatsoever about more reforms to come. In truth, it would have been highly impractical and confusing to all to go through the process of obtaining new Breviaries again, getting the printers to print them, and to learn new
Rubrics which all would have to know well enough to be able to recite the Divine Office but some even well enough to teach it to seminarians, novices and postulants.

References are made to the work of the Vatican II Council on the liturgy. The subtitle states that this Bulla is a "promulgation of the Divine Office revised by the Decree of the second Vatican Council". The text states that the work of liturgical reform was entrusted to the Consilium the decrees of which were approved by the Synod of Bishops in 1967, e.g. 2 years after the end of Vatican II. Council. Whilst there are some footnotes quoting sources for certain parts of the text, it is rather striking that the only view incorporated into the text itself are those of Vatican II. Council. Strangely enough, no opinions expressed at the Council of Trent are cited nor are there any quotations from the two Popes, Pope Saint Pius X. and Pope John XIII., who effected revisions of the Rubrics of the Breviary.

I've commented on the lengthy nature of this Apostolic Letter. The extra length is due mainly to rather long explanations either for the reasons of the changes or on the Divine Office in general and on its role in the life of the Church. At the end, one is left with the impression of being introduced to something radically new which yet claims the status of an organic development arising from pre-existing tradition.
III. 1971 - THE DIVINE OFFICE BECOMES THE LITURGY OF THE HOURS.

The new Rubrics for the Divine Office of 1971 describe a radically modified Divine Office. The new name for the 1971 Divine Office is "The Liturgy of the Hours". Rubrical Instructions became "The general instructions for the Liturgy of the Hours", which simply will be referred to as Instructions. Comparisons will mainly be drawn between the 1961 Divine Office and the 1971 Divine Office. The latter will be referred to under the name used for it in the Instructions - the Liturgy of the Hours.

The Instructions consist of 284 paragraphs, organised into 5 chapters. Discussion first will deal with the structure of the Liturgy of the Hours, leaving comments on the first chapter, titled "The importance of the Liturgy of the Hours" to the last since specific instructions are almost no-existent in this chapter of 33 paragraphs.

In essence, the changes are the following:

#1. The language of the Liturgy of the Hours is the vernacular, with Latin as a permissible option. It is permitted to use more than one language in the course of recitation of the Same Hour. (# 276.) In addition, at least in the English translation, the terminology is changed as often as possible. The anglicised Latin names of the Hours have been discarded. The Hours are now called:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLD NAME</th>
<th>NEW NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ad Matutinum</td>
<td>Office of Readings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad Laudes</td>
<td>Morning prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad Primam</td>
<td>none - suppressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad Tertiam</td>
<td>Daytime Hours - midmorning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad Sextam</td>
<td>Daytime Hours - midday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ad Nonam Daytime Hours - midafternoon
ad Vesperas Evening Prayers
ad Completorium Night Prayers

Some of the names for the Commons of the Saints have also been changed
and new categories were also added. The terminologies are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLD</th>
<th>NEW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apostles</td>
<td>Apostles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martyrs</td>
<td>Martyrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confessor Bishops</td>
<td>Pastors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confessors</td>
<td>Holy men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>Doctors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgins</td>
<td>Virgins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy women not Virgins</td>
<td>Holy women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category didn't exist before</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category didn't exist before</td>
<td>those who worked for the underprivileged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category didn't exist before</td>
<td>teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMV</td>
<td>BMV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication of a church</td>
<td>Dedication of a church</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New terminology is also evident in the Saints' Calendar, again revised in
less than 10 years after the last revision. For the sake of greater clarity, the new
terminology appearing in the wake of the Calendar reform will be discussed under "#6.
Revision of the liturgical Calendar".

**#2. the Number of Hours is reduced from 8 to 5.**

Ad Primam has been abolished. Of the 3 Daytime Hours, only one has to be said by those
bound to the recitation of the Divine Office, saying the other 2 is optional. One may
decide to say any of the 3.

**#3. Drastic changes** in the structure of all the Hours, with added incessant changes
resulting from option to add, remove or change certain parts virtually at will. One change,
however, is consistent - less of the Psalms at every Hour. In addition, now there are
optional homilies and silent periods. Furthermore, most of the Hours may also be
combined with Holy Mass, producing yet another set of variations, most of which translate into further shortening of either the Holy Mass itself or the Hour in question in these combinations (#93. - #98.).

**#4. The 150 Psalms of the Psalter** are not recited in a one week-long cycle but in line with the Protestant Anglican custom, are spread over a 4 weeks' cycle (#126). Strictly speaking, even this 4 weeks' cycle is incomplete. 3 Psalms are to be omitted because their supposed unsuitability, Divine inspiration of the Book of Psalter in the Old Testament notwithstanding. (#131.) In the same spirit of selectivity, certain parts of certain Psalms are also omitted; the Instructions do not even specify which parts. In addition to the discarded Psalms, 3 other Psalms are recited during Advent and Lent only. (#130.) On Saturdays and Sundays, at Night Prayers the same Psalms are recited week after week. (#88.) Furthermore it is permissible to replace the Psalms in any of the Offices with others of one's choice "for spiritual or pastoral reasons". (#252.)

**#5. Expanded selection of readings** with many options. The reading cycle for the Holy Mass is now 2 years, rather than one; for the Liturgy of the Hours, either a one year cycle or a two year cycle may be followed. The expansion of the cycle to two years gives a wide variety of readings. In addition, for both one year-long and two years' long cycles there is a standard text and there are optional texts. In the main-line selections there are more readings from the Holy Bible, less from the Church Fathers and with yet another reduction in the number of Saints' Feastdays in the new Calendar, less hagiographic sections as well. The optional texts, any of which may replace a standard text, include poems by secular people and the writings of Teilhard de Chardin whose works were placed on the Index of unorthodox texts by the Holy See as unfit to read and representing a danger to faith and morals. In addition, bishops may introduce other options at their discretion. (#162.) Presumably, bishops can also give blanket permission to
communities and individuals to make their own choices.

**#6. Revision of the liturgical Calendar**, applicable both to the Holy Mass and to the Liturgy of the Hours.

One tool, discussed to some extent in #1. of this chapter and very much in evidence in the presentation of the new Calendar, seemingly aimed at distancing Catholics from their liturgical traditions, is to replace familiar names with new ones. First of all, the feast are now called "Celebrations". "Feasts" now simply mean a specific class of the "Celebrations". A bare 10 years later after the reclassification of Feasts in 1961, the descriptive names of the Feasts are changed. The terminology of Class I., II., III. or Class IV. Feasts, related to the pre-1961 classification of Feasts, is not used any more.

The new descriptive names (#219.) are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>ENGLISH NAME 1961</th>
<th>ENGLISH NAME 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Festive Offices</td>
<td>Solemnities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Semifestive Offices</td>
<td>Feasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Ordinary Offices</td>
<td>Memoria ls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Ordinary Offices</td>
<td>Memoria ls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under the guise of new names yet another modification has been introduced. There is no obligation to celebrate all Memorials, the class of Feasts representing a very much shrunken residue of the corpus of 1961 Class III. Feasts. Only those termed "Obligatory" are to be observed. Keeping the unspecified Memorials is optional. (#220.)

More radical than mere change in terminology is the pruning of the Calendar of Feasts. Quite a number of Feasts have been eliminated. The 1961 Calendar had 242 Feastdays, the 1971 Calendar has 178. Of these, 80 are optional Memorials, leaving a total of 98 Feasts obligatory, less than half than in the 1971 Calendar. In addition to this rather radical reduction of Feastdays, quite a large number of Feastdays are relocated to different days, detaching the faithful even further from living their devotional life by the
accustomed rhythm of the liturgical year. To make this detachment even greater, the weeks are not designated in relation to various major Feasts throughout the years as for instance "2nd week after Pentecost" or ' week of 2nd Sunday after the Epiphany" but are called "Weeks in ordinary time".

In sharp contrast to the Rubrics of 1961, the chapter "IV. Various celebrations throughout the year" carefully avoids defining precisely what these Celebrations/Feasts are. The chapter is divided into three main headings:

I. The mysteries of the Lord
II. The Saints
III. The Calendar and choice of Office or part of an Office

For contrast, let us look at #35. of the 1961 Rubrical Instructions:

"By Feast is understood a liturgical day on which the Church's public worship is directed in a special way to the celebration of the mysteries of the Lord or to the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Angels or Saints or Blessed."

In the 1961 Rubrical Instruction, the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom a greater degree of reverence, called hyperdulia is due as opposed to the dulia for the Saints, is mentioned foremost. This is not the case in the 1971 Instructions. when discussing the "celebrations in honour of the Saints" the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary doesn't appear even once ; neither are there any reference to the special importance and beauty of her marvellous Feastdays.

In summary, the uniformity of the Divine Office is a thing of the past for those following the new rites. Although the stated intention is to involve the laity as well and to encourage public recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours whenever possible, in truth no one can ever be certain which options will be used. As for those travelling abroad, only born linguistical geniuses would be able to take part in a public recitation, but even then only
if extra liturgical books are available. This situation is markedly different from previous times when whether one recited the Divine Office in choir with others or alone, a sense of bond was created by the awareness that others of the same faith are saying the very same prayers within the very same space of any given 24 hours.

Actually, some of those bound to the recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours may in fact be saying nothing. They are made to understand from paragraph #29. in Chapter I. of the Instructions, that they are supposed to say it; but immediately juxtaposed to this statement there is a plea that they should at least say the Morning and Evening Prayers.
IV. CHAPTER I. OF THE INSTRUCTIONS.

Both the Rubrical Instructions of 1568 and of 1961 as well as the "Additiones et variationes" covering the modifications of the Rubrics decreed by Pope Saint Pius X. begin with and consist entirely of specific instructions on how the Divine Office is to be said. Explanations embedded in these texts are always pertinent to this task. In contrast, the whole of the 1st chapter of the 1971 Instructions is a generalised discussion on the importance of prayer and the role of the Liturgy of the Hours in the prayer-life of the Church.

The full title of this Chapter is: "The importance of the Liturgy of the Hours or the Divine Office in the life of the Church."

This title is both accurate and inaccurate. It is accurate inasmuch the word "importance" in the title indicates that this is going to be a discursive rather than a didactic chapter. The word "Church" on the other hand is misleading for it doesn't really describe the Catholic Church as it is, the body of Christ, with 7 sacraments one of which is the ordination to holy priesthood so that the sacrifice of the Holy Mass can be offered in the name of and for the Church. Rather, it presents the Church as a body of Christians, without a great deal of difference from other Christian communities such as different Protestant denominations. The term "Catholics" or the "faithful of the (Catholic) Church" is carefully avoided. Instead, the group of believers are referred to as "baptised Christians", a term inclusive of Protestants with beliefs not identical with those held by Catholics. The word "Eucharist" is used instead of "Mass" and the text doesn't specifically states that the Holy Mass is the re-enactment of the redemptive sacrifice of the Calgary in a bloodless manner in which bread and wine are changed in the Body and Blood of Christ in the hands of the priest, offering the sacrifice in the person of Christ.
Neither is the description of the origin and nature of the Divine Office can be termed wholly accurate. The Liturgy of the Hours is represented as the appropriate contemporary version of the Divine Office. The Divine Office is represented as nothing more than the derivative of the common prayer of the early Christians, rather than arising out of the monastic tradition, its manner of recitation and the corpus of parts to be recited codified in the Rubrical Instructions of the Breviary for the use of the whole Church since the 16th century; which, together with the Holy Mass, is a component part of the Holy Liturgy of the Catholic Church, expressive of the dogmatic truths of the Catholic Church, offered in the name of the Church, recitation of which has been made part of the obligation of the clergy and contemplative religious and in the recitation of which all the faithful may join and have always been urged to do so.

Although both the Holy Mass and the Divine Office are part of the Holy Liturgy of the Catholic Church, there are some essential differences between them. However, it is difficult if not impossible to perceive throughout the whole of the chapter any distinction in kind being made between the Holy Mass, which is a sacrifice and the Liturgy of the Hours which isn't.

It is somewhat difficult to see how several statements in this chapter are of greater orthodoxy than Article #7. of the "Instructio Generalis Missalis Romani" (general instructions for the Roman Missal of April 3rd 1969, which subsequently formally retracted by the Holy See as contradictory to and not in line with Catholic teaching.

The English translation of the relevant portion of it, taken as quoted in the "Iota unum" of Romano Amerio is as follows:

The Lord's Supper or Mass is the holy assembly or meeting of the people of God, gathered together under the presidency of a priest to celebrate the memorial of the Lord.

To illustrate dogmatic ambiguities present in Chapter 1 of the 1971 Instructions, excerpts
from it will be examined side by side with excerpts from two other sources, one of them Protestant, the other Catholic.
V. EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTER I. OF THE 1971 INSTRUCTIONS SIDE BY SIDE WITH OTHER DOCUMENTS.

This Chapter will consist almost entirely of quotations from texts. Excerpts will be presented under three headings and in the same order as these headings are listed. The headings are:

A. Article 31 of the Anglican 39 articles
B. Excerpts from the "Catechism of the Council of Trent for parish priests
C. Excerpts from Chapter 1.of the 1971 Instructions.

This order, leaving excerpts from Chapter 1.of the 1971 Instructions last, makes it possible to annotate texts from this last source with comments about certain tenets of the Catholic faith which are somewhat ambiguously, or perhaps even inaccurately, are stated. There will be no concluding paragraph to this chapter. Issues raised here and in the other chapters will be discussed in the subsequent concluding chapter.

A. ARTICLE 31 OF THE ANGLICAN 39 ARTICLES.


The offering of Christ, once made, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.
B. EXCERPTS FROM THE "CATECHISM OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT FOR PARISH PRIESTS".

Excerpts are taken from the annotated English translation of Father J. MacHugh OP and Father C. J. Callan OP, published by Tan Books Rockford IL USA, 1982.

In reproducing portions of the text, the format has been carefully preserved, e.g. the headings in bold letters also appear in bold letters in the book.

#1. (p.256)

**The Mass is a True Sacrifice**

Proof from the Council of Trent

With regards to the institution of this Sacrifice, the holy Council of Trent has left no room for doubt, by declaring that it was instituted by Our Lord at His Last Supper; while it condemns under anathema all those who assert that in it is not offered to God a true and proper Sacrifice; or that to offer means nothing else than that Christ is given as our spiritual food.........

#2. (p.228.)

**Three mysteries of the Eucharist**

....... The Catholic Church firmly believes and professes that in this Sacrament the words of consecration accomplish three wondrous and admirable effects.

The first is that the true body of Christ the Lord, the same that was born of the Virgin, and is now seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven, is contained in this Sacrament........

#3. (p. 253.)

**The Minister of the Eucharist**

......... Only priests have power to consecrate and administer the Eucharist.
It must be taught, then, that to priests alone has been given power to consecrate and administer to the faithful, the Holy Eucharist..........

#4. (p.330)

Twofold priesthood.
But as Sacred Scripture describes a twofold priesthood, one internal and the other external, it will be necessary to have a distinct idea of each to enable pastors to explain the nature of priesthood now under discussion.

The internal priesthood.
Regarding the internal priesthood, all the faithful are said to be priests, once they have been washed by the saving waters of Baptism. Especially is this name is given to the just who have the spirit of God and who, by the help of divine grace, have been made living members of the great High-priest, Jesus Christ; for enlightened by faith which is inflamed by charity, they offer up spiritual sacrifices to God on the altar of their hearts. among such sacrifices must be reckoned every good and virtuous action done for the glory of God. ............

The external priesthood.
The external priesthood, on the contrary, doesn't pertain to the faithful at large, but only to certain men who have been ordained and consecrated to God by a lawful imposition hands and by the solemn ceremonies of the holy Church, and who thereby are devoted to a particular sacred ministry..........

#5. (p. 492)

.....We must also have recourse to the intercession of the Saints who are in glory. That the Saints are to be prayed to is a truth so firmly established in the Church of God that no pious person can experience a shadow of doubt on the subject........

.... Another figure presents itself in the great city of Jerusalem, which, in scripture, often
means the Church. In Jerusalem only was it lawful to offer sacrifice to God, and in the Church of God only are to be found the true worship and true sacrifice which can at all be acceptable to God. ........

#6. (108.)

... This Church was founded not by man, but by immortal God himself, who built her on a most solid rock. ....... Since this power, therefore, can not be of human origin, Divine faith alone can enable us to understand that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are deposited with the Church, that to her has been confided the power of remitting sins, of denouncing excommunication, and of consecrating the real Body of Christ; ........

#7. (102.)

The Church has but one ruler and one governor, the invisible one, Christ, whom the eternal Father "hath made head over all the Church, which is His body" (Paul to Eph, 1./22.-23.); the visible one, the Pope, who, as legitimate successor of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, fills the Apostolic chair.

**B. EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTER 1. OF THE 1971 INSTRUCTIONS.**

#1. (From #6.)

......... Prayer directed to God must be linked with Christ, the Lord of all, the one mediator through whom alone we have access to God. He unites himself to the whole community of mankind in such a way that there is an intimate bond between the prayer of Christ and the prayer of the whole human race......

Comments - intercession of the Saints; other religions denying Christ's divinity.
#2. (From #7.)

....... The priesthood of Christ is also shared by the whole body of the Church, so that the
baptised are consecrated as a spiritual temple and holy priesthood through the rebirth of
baptism and the anointing by the Holy Spirit, and become able to offer the worship of the
New Covenant, a worship that derives, not from our powers but from the merit and gift of
Christ. ......

Comments - Sacrament of Holy Orders for priesthood; differences between external and
internal priesthood.

#3. (From #13.)

In the Holy Spirit Christ carries out through the Church "the work of man's redemption
and God's perfect glorification" (Vatican Council II, Sacrosanctum Concilium, 5.) not
only when the Eucharist is celebrated and the sacraments administered but also in other
ways, especially when the Liturgy of the Hours is celebrated. In it Christ himself is
present, in the assembled community, in the proclamation of God's word, "in the prayer
and song of the Church" (Vatican Council II., Sacrosanctum Concilium, 83., 98.)

Comments - Difference between the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament
and His spiritual presence in the community.

#4. (From #18.)

Subtitle above #18, referring to the. Liturgy of the Hours: The apex and source of
pastoral activity

....... Thus by their lives the faithful show forth and reveal to others "the mystery of
Christ and the genuine nature of the Church.............

....... In their turn, the readings and prayers of the Liturgy of the Hours form a wellspring
of Christian life, which is nourished at the table of the Sacred Scripture and the writings
of the Saints (N.B. - not capitalised in the text), and receives strength from the prayers....
Comments - the Church as the source of the Sacraments, the Body of Christ with the Pope at its head as Christ's Vicar on earth; the teaching authority of the Church.

#5. (From #21.)
Where possible, the principal Hours should be celebrated communally in church by other groups of the faithful. The most important of these groups are the local parishes - the cells of the diocese- established under a pastor acting for the bishop. ..............
Comments - By the definition of Canon Law, there are 3 states of life for those not in Holy Orders - religious state, married state, single state in the world. Of these, the religious state is the highest; Canon Law binds clergy and contemplative religious to the recitation of the Divine Office in full each day

#7. (From #23.)
Those in holy orders or with a special canonical mission have the responsibility of initiating and directing the prayers of the community.
Comments - Ministry of those in Holy Orders is also to dispense the Sacraments, celebrate Holy Masses; the personal obligation of those in holy orders or with a special canonical mission to pray the Divine Office; exact meaning of special canonical mission for those not in Holy Orders, does it refer to specific Apostolate of particular Religious Orders? If so, Rules of enclosure make directing community prayers impractical and conducive to serious interference with contemplative life.
IN CONCLUSION - WHERE DID THE 1971 BREVIARY BROUGHT US, WHERE WILL IT TAKE US?

The 1971 Liturgy of the Hours gave the Catholic faithful something radically different from what went on before. Whilst both the 1586 Breviary and its latest revised form of 1961 could be regarded as identical in essential aspects, the 1971 Breviary is a radically new venture. The new Rubrics achieved severing ties with pre-existing liturgical tradition. Variety of several kinds became the norm and each change was a greater break with tradition than it appears on the surface. The 4 major innovations consist of the use of the vernacular, changing the Psalter cycle from 1 week to 4 weeks, introducing variety to the extent of making the Divine Office recited by one person or group quite dissimilar to the Office recited by others because of the large number of options provided virtually for every entity and last, but not least, making Feastdays venerating the saints a much rarer event than before. In the first Breviary reform of the 2nd half of the 20th century 43 Feastdays were abolished, in 1971 another 64, leaving a mere of 178 Feastdays out of which only 98 need to be celebrated; the other 80 are optional.

In essence, there were two reasons, both quite plausible on superficial examination, for this rather radical reform - getting closer to the Protestants and making the Divine Office more popular among Catholic laity. The whole of the Holy Liturgy of the Catholic church, e.g. both Holy Mass and the Divine Office were targeted for reform by the innovators. The commentary will be focused mainly on the Divine Office, with references to the Holy Mass only as needed for the sake of clarity.

Taking the case of ecumenism and hopes of reunion between Catholics and Protestants, considerable efforts were done in this direction. For one thing, the new Breviary is the creation of the same Liturgical Commission, composed of both Catholics
and Protestants, which has given us the Novus Ordo Missae, a liturgical form not so viscerally Catholic as the old form. This lesser exactitude has been commented upon by several Protestant leaders who stated that they would be comfortable with the Novus Ordo Missae, could see their way of using the new form of the Holy Mass in their services. To quote one of them:

"Max Thurian of the Protestant Taize community stated that one of the fruits of the new Mass will probably be that non-Catholic communities will be able to celebrate the Lord's Supper with the same prayers as the Catholic Church; theologically, this is possible."

Romano Amerio: "Iota unum", p. 651.

Those who so spoke hold quite different theological positions on the Blessed Eucharist, Transubstantiation, nature of priesthood and papal supremacy; if a liturgical form is acceptable to them, then this form may not be suitable for Catholics; an important point to remember for the discussion about the effect of the liturgical reform on the Catholic faithful later on.

Given the nature of changes introduced into the Breviary in 1971, it is quite conceivable that many Protestants would feel comfortable with the Liturgy of the Hours as well. Of the 4 major innovations listed above, the use of the vernacular and ability to follow personal preferences through the use of innumerable permissible options is in line with Protestant prayer practices whilst the increased amount of Scriptural reading, at the expense of texts by the Church Fathers and decreased accentuation on the veneration of the Saints in the new Calendar indicates a willingness by the Church to put issues controversial in the Catholic-Protestant dialogue at least out of sight. The whole tenor of the introductory chapter to the Instructions illustrates the great care not to say anything displeasing to Protestants even if it means providing the Catholic faithful only with partial truths if not frank distortions.
The outcome has been somewhat disappointing. Less Protestants are converting to Catholicism than at times when liturgical divergences were greater. The majority of Protestants go on their way as before and without showing any inclination to make their worship services look more Catholic or participate in the liturgical ceremonies of the Catholic Church. Devout Protestants hold dear both their faith and also the forms of worship which are in line with their dogmatic orientation of their faith.

Within the Catholic Church itself, the new Holy Liturgy, of which the new order of the Holy Mass was the more visible component for all the faithful, didn't exactly produce greater unity; rather it resulted in polarisation. To some, so many changes were so confusing that they left the Church. Some, embracing the reforming spirit, now began to attack the Church as not unchanged enough either in liturgy or Church government, accusing Her of not being contemporary enough. In embracing all what was new, in fact eventually they made up a sort of religion of their own which lacked definite dogma or clear, authoritative guidance for conduct. Some, raised on the new liturgy, made it to fit their spiritual lives; however, since at the time of the reforms, there was also a new way of teaching religion, the younger generation often lacked a visceral understanding of the principles of the faith expressed by even the new version of the Holy Liturgy.

The laity's participation in the Divine Office in large numbers never came about. Just as in the case of devout Protestants, prayerful people feel and often rightly that the greater benefit is from their own familiar forms of prayer and loathe to change. Furthermore, when the Divine Office had a uniform structure, more commonly in Europe that in the United States, it was part of the liturgical exercise on retreats and pilgrimages. Public Vespers on Sundays and major Feastdays were not unheard of on either side of the Atlantic. In other words, parts of the Divine Office increased the liturgical splendour of special occasions. Private recitation of the whole of the Divine Office by laity was rarer before the reform for the beauty of the Divine office is best appreciated if the whole of it is said and a life-style inclusive of employment or taking care of small children made
this undertaking somewhat difficult. However, given a strong enough desire to learn it, once it was learnt, participation in the Divine Office was possible. The same factors persisted even after the liturgical reform, adding yet another disincentive - parochialisation, creating a Liturgy of the Hours specific for each locality with even this format being liable to change on the appointment of a new parish priest or appearance of a liturgically minded religious in the parish, who were quite likely to use a different kind of option. In this situation, finding a format with the same options familiar to all for recitation or chanting during a retreat or conference was not very likely even within the same country, let alone the impossibility of everybody using the same language on an international pilgrimage or even viewing on TV or video the Hours celebrated in a different country and understanding the words enough to be uplifted by them. In the same way, each religious community, each priest became liturgically an island, rather an integral part of the same landscape. In addition, for clergy and even more so for contemplative religious, the Holy Liturgy, including both Holy Mass and the Divine Office was part of their daily prayer-life, parts of it often being automatically memorised. They were asked to embrace something radically new. Some of them did so reluctantly, some of them enthusiastically; but actually, for both groups the changes were not easy absorb, often resulting in loss of priestly or religious vocations with laicisation or secularisation as the result on a previously unprecedented scale. those who persevered an were able to adopt became markedly different from their old selves and their predecessors.

In summary, the volume of praise reaching Heaven by Catholic voices is fainter; Protestants didn't become Catholic, the laity have not incorporated the Divine Office into their prayer-life and the number of those specifically entrusted by the Catholic Church to recite the Divine Office has dwindled. In addition, the new norms do not regard it as a major calamity, if those bound to the recitation to the Liturgy of the Hours miss it now and then.
Depending on their views, the optimists either said that everyone will learn to love the new ways and all will enthusiastically pray together as never before or "Everything soon will return to normal - that is, the previous status quo". The pessimists predicted the dissolution of the Church, with the end of the world to follow shortly thereafter. As so often in the past when the Church was facing a major crisis, guesses about the future were not accurate.

Earlier in this essay I remarked that traditionally, the Catholic Church is slow to reform anything, and does its reforms in small and cautious enough steps that going back to the previous status quo is possible. In the case of the liturgical reform, the radical nature of changes precluded simply undoing all of it; so embracing the ways of the 20th century with its love of novel approaches, a novel approach was used by the Catholic Church as well - a whole segment of the Church was allowed to differ on matters liturgical whilst retaining its good standing within the Church.

Vigorous protests and spirited resistance of a sizeable segment of the faithful, who were unable and unwilling to accept liturgical reforms on this scale, eventually brought about the decision of Pope Paul John II. to make the old, Tridentine Mass available, a decision which His Holiness communicated in the encyclical "Ecclesia Dei" (the Church of God) in 1988. Resistance of the innovators to the possibility that their cherished innovations were not regarded by all as something marvellous, resulted at first in an equally spirited resistance to letting in old liturgical forms again in at the backdoor. However, as time went on, more and more bishops became helpful in providing Tridentine Masses, the number of faithful attending them grew, religious orders adhering to the pre-1971 Holy Liturgy started to emerge and what is even more significant, so did the number of priestly societies, attracting enough vocations to the priesthood to ensure survival of the pre-1971 Holy Mass and care of the faithful attached to the Traditional rites.

The Holy See also perceived the essential bond between the two components of
the Holy Liturgy and for any of the priestly associations or groups of religious forming a
traditional branch of their Order, who wish to adhere exclusively to the Traditional rites
of the Holy Liturgy, the permission of the Holy See is given for the use of both pre-1971
Tridentine Mass and 1971 Divine Office. Both are based on the same liturgical Calendar,
preserve Latin as the language of the Liturgy and require disciplined approach by
insistence of following the standard text without innovations; and following the standard
text does give freedom of worrying about format, enabling the faithful to unite
themselves spiritually more deeply with the mysteries and truths presented to them in the
sacred rites and prayers since they're not burdened by worries about format.

In comparison to the public nature of the debate about the Holy Mass, very little,
if any, attention has been directed at the new Divine Office, essentially the domain of
clergy and religious. It was therefore easier for it to survive unobserved than for the
Tridentine Mass; neither was the presence of a priest needed for one to be able to go on
saying even without permission. Because of the prevalence of private recitation
especially among secular priests, e.g. those who were not members of religious orders or
the Jesuits, whose customs didn't encourage frequent public recitation, were in the
position to say whatever they wished on their own. Traditionally minded religious often
left their orders, either living a solitary life close to a church where a priest saying the
Tridentine Mass could be found or in some cases, formed a Traditional branch of their
Order. In either case, when leaving their Orders they have also left the new liturgy
behind. A sufficient number remained, still familiar with both the spirit and the letter of
the pre-1961 Divine Office; and not only those who are bound to it are saying it but
recitation of one or the other of the Hours in Traditional Catholic schools and colleges
and on retreats is almost to be expected just as visitors to Seminaries or monasteries are;
and they come and come eagerly because after all, it is there that they also can have their
precious, life-giving Holy Mass; and once they're familiar with the Divine Office, well,
then they can say it anywhere where fellow-Traditionals gather, let it be in Rome or
Timbuktu......

By dealing almost exclusively with the Divine Office, this paper and its two predecessors are aimed at redressing the relative imbalance in the inter-Church discussions created by the absence of lengthy tracts on the Divine Office. If God gives me the strength to do so, I shall continue writing and I shall continue dealing with this topic for there are many areas awaiting exploration. Certain papal documents could be unearthed and published in bilingual editions. the documents of Vatican II. and other major texts, dealing with the liturgy can again be reviewed in the original Latin and commented upon. It certainly seems worthwhile to study carefully other issues associated with the liturgical reform, reviewing the works of Prelates, Traditional writers and the reform-minded or even to get some Protestant reactions to all this. Let's hope that if I do not live long enough to do all this, there are younger heads whose interest in this subject will be as great as mine. Maybe they're already there - journalists, writers, young talent in colleges, or even babes in the arms, who will one day pound on their computers with due diligence.. So I hope and pray as I'm taking my leave from you, dear readers.
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APPENDIX B

THE ALLOCATION OF PSALMS FOR THE RECITATION OF THE DIVINE OFFICE
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APPENDIX C

PSALM 118, TITLES OF STROPHES, SUMMARY

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<td>Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teth</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>Nature of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iod</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>Nature of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caph</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>statement</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamed</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>teaching</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mem</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>praise</td>
<td>Effect of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>praise</td>
<td>Effect of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samech</td>
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<td>Ain</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
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<td>Nature of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sade</td>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
<td>praise</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koph</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>Nature of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resh</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>Effect of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>statement</td>
<td>Effect of the law of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
<td>prayer</td>
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APPENDIX D

PSALM 118, SUMMARY OF LANGUAGE VARIATIONS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STANZA</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Number] -</td>
<td>Gallican Psalter in the Vulgate Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse No.</td>
<td>Saint Augustine; omits - (x), adds [x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Ps.118.</td>
<td>Saint Jerome omits - (x), adds [x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saint Robert Bellarmine; omits - (x), adds [x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tu (mandasti) [praecipisti] mandata tua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*custodiri nimis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>[Domine] custodiri nimis.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aleph 6 [6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* cum perspexero in omnibus mandatis tuis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*cum (perspexero) [inspicio] in (omnibus mandatis tuis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*[omnia mandata tua]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confitebor tibi in directione cordis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aleph 7 [7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confitebor tibi in directione cordis (mei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* in eo quod didici iudicia iustitiae tuae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* in eo quod (didici) [didicerim] iudicia iustitiae tuae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aleph 8 [8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* non me derelinquas me usquequaequae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(non me) [ne] derelinquas [me] (usquequaequae) [usquevalde]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth 1 [9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In quo corrigit adulescentior viam suam *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*in custodiendo sermones tuos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*in custodiendo (sermones tuos) [verba tua]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth 5 [13]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In labiis meis pronuntiavi *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In labiis meis (pronuntiavi) [enuntiavi] *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth 6 [14]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In via testimonium tuorum delectatus sum *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*sicut in omnibus divitiis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(sicut) [quasi] in omnibus divitiis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth 7 [15]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In mandatis tuis exercebor *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In mandatis tuis (exercebor) [garriam] *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth 8 [16]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*non obliviscar sermones tuos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*non obliviscar (sermones tuos) [verborum tuorum]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gimel 1 [21]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retribue servo tuo vivifica me *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Retribue servo tuo (vivifica me) [vivam] *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*et custodiam sermones tuos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>et (custodiam) [custodibo] (sermones tuos) [verba tua]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gimel 6 [22]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* quia testimonia tua exquisivi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(quia) [quoniam] testimonia tua exquisivi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Gimel 7 [23] * servus autem tuus exercebatur in iustificationibus tuuis
* servus autem tuus exercebatur in iustificationibus (tuis)
Daleth 3 [27] Viam iustificationum tuarum instrue me *
Viam iustificationum tuarum (instrue me) [insinue mihi] *
Daleth 5 [29] *et de lege tua miserere mei.
*et (de) [in] lege tua miserere mei.
Daleth 8 [32] *cum dilatasti cor meum.
* cum (dilatasti) [dilatares] cor meum.
He 6 [38] Statue servo tuo eloquium tuum * in timore tuo
Statue servo tuo eloquium tuum * (in timore tuo) [in timorem tuum]
He 7 [39] *quia iustitia tua iucunda
* quia iustitia tua (iucunda) [suavia]
Vau 1 [41] *salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum
* [et] salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum
Vau 2 [42] * quia speravi in sermonibus tuuis
* (quia) [quoniam] speravi in (sermonibus) [verbis] tuuis
Vau 3 [43] Et ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque *
Et ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis (usquequaque) [usque valde] *
*quia in iudiciis tuis supersperavi
* (quia) [quoniam] in iudiciis tuis (supersperavi) [speravi]
Vau 4 [44] * in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi
* in saeculum (et in saeculum) saeculi
Vau 5 [45] * quia mandata tua exquisivis
* (quia) [quoniam] mandata tua exquisivis
Zain 1 [49] Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo *
(Memor esto) [Memento] verbi tui servo tuo *
*in quo mihi sperd dedisti
in quo (mihi) sperd dedisti [mihi]
Zain 2 [50] * quia eloquium tuum vivificavit me
* (quia) [quoniam] (eloquium) [verbum] tuum vivificavit me.
Zain 3 [51] superbi inique agebant usquequaque*
superbi inique agebant (usquequaque) [usque valde] *
Zain 5 [53] Defectio tenuit me *
(Defectio tenuit) [Taedium detenuit] me *
*pro peccatoribus derelinquentibus legem tuam
*(pro) [a] peccatoribus (derelinquentibus) (relinquentibus) legem tuam
Zain 6 [54] * in loco peregrinationis meae
* in loco (peregrinationis meae) [incolatus mei]
Memor fui nocte nominis tui Domine *
* quia iustificationes tuas exquisivi
* (quia) [quoniam] (iustificationes) [iustitias] tuas exquisivi

Portio mea Domine *
(Portio) [Pars] mea (Domine) [Dominus] *

Deprecatus sum faciem tuam in toto corde meo *
(Deprecatus) [Precatus] sum faciem tuam in toto corde meo *

* et converti pedes meos in testimonia tua
* et (converti) [averti] pedes meos in testimonia tua

* et legem tuam non sum oblitus
* et (legem tuam) [legis tuae] non sum oblitus

* iustificationes tuas doce me
* [et] iustificationes tuas doce me

Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo Domine *
(Bonitatem) [suavitatem] fecisti cum servo tuo Domine *

Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me *
(Bonitatem) [suavitatem] et (disciplinam) [eruditionem] et scientiam doce me *
*quia mandatis tuis credidi.
*quia [quoniam] mandatis tuis credidi.

* propter a eloquium tuum custodivi.
* propter a (eloquium) [verbum] tuum custodivi.

Bonus es tu Domine *
(Bonus) [suavis] es (tu) Domine *
*et in bonitate tua doce me iustificationes tuas.
*et in [tua suavitate] (bonitate tua) doce me iustificationes tuas.

Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me *
Bonum mihi (quia) [quoniam] humiliasti me *

Manus tuae fecerunt me et plasmaverunt me *
Manus tuae fecerunt me et (plasmaverunt) [finxerunt] me *

Qui timent te videbunt me et laetabuntur *
Qui timent te videbunt me et (laetabuntur) [iucundabuntur] *
*quia in verba tua supersperavi
*quia [quoniam] in verba tua (supersperavi) [speravi]

* et in veritate tua humiliasti me
* et (in) veritate (tua) humiliasti me
*et in veritate tua (humiliasti me).

Confundantur superbi quia iniuste iniquitatem fecerunt in me*
Confundantur superbi (quia) [quoniam] iniuste iniquitatem
fecerunt in me*

Iod 7[79] Convertantur mihi timentes te*

(Convertantur) [Convertentur] mihi timentes te*

*et qui noverunt testimonia tua
*et qui (noverunt) [cognoscunt] testimonia tua

Caph 1[81] * et in verbum tuum supersperavi
* et in verbum tuum (supersperavi) [speravi]

Caph 5[85] Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes*

Narraverunt mihi iniqui (fabulationes) [delectiones] *

*Caph 6[86] Omnia mandata tua veritas*

Omnia mandata (tua) [eius] veritas*

* inique persecuti sunt me adivua me
* (inique) [iniuste] persecuti sunt me adivua me

Caph 8 [88] *et custodiam testimonia oris tui.
*(et) [ut] custodiam testimonia oris tui.

*(et) [ut] custodiam testimonia oris tui.

Lamed 3[91] Ordinatione tua perseverat dies *

Ordinatione tua (perseverat) [permanet] dies *

Lamed 4[92] * tunc forte perissem in humilitate mea
* tunc (forte) [fortasse] perissem in humilitate mea

Lamed 5[93] In aeternum non obliviscar iustificationes tuas *
In aeternum non obliviscar (iustificationes tuas) [iustificationum tuarum] *

Lamed 6[94] Tuus sum ego salvum me fac *

Tuus sum ego salvum me fac [Domine]*

Lamed 7[95] * testimonia tua intellexi

* testimonia [autem] tua intellexi

Lamed 8[96] * latum mandatum tuum nimi
* latum mandatum tuum (nimi) [valde]

Mem 2[97] Super inimicos meos prudentem me fecisti mandato tuo *

Super inimicos meos (prudentem) [sapere] me fecisti (mandato tuo) [mandata tua]*

*quia in aeternum mihi est
*(quia) [quoniam] in aeternum mihi est

Mem 5[101] Ab omni via mala prohibui pedes meos *

Ab omni via (mala) [maligna] prohibui pedes meos *

Mem 6[102] * quia tu legem posuisti mihi
*(quia) [quoniam] tu legem posuisti mihi

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Mem 7[103] Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua *
Quam dulcia faucibus meis (eloquia) [verba] tua*
*super mel or meo
*super mel [et favum] or meo

Nun 1[105] Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum*
Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum Domine*

Nun 3 [107] Humiliatus sum usquequaque Domine *
Humiliatus sum (usquequaque) [usque valde] Domine *

Nun 5 [109] Anima mea in manibus meis semper*
Anima mea in manibus (meis) [tuis] semper*
Anima mea in manibus (meis) [tuis] semper*.
*et legem tuam non sum oblitus
*et (legem tuam) [legis tuae] non sum oblitus
*(et legem tuam non sum oblitus)

Nun 6 [110] *et de mandatis tuis non erravi
*et (de) [a] mandatis tuis non erravi
*et (de) [in] mandatis tuis non erravi

Samech 2
[114] *et in verbum tuum supersperavi.
*(et) in verbum tuum supersperavi.
*et in (verbum tuum supersperavi) [verbo tuo spero].

Samech 4
[116] *et non confundas me in expectatione mea
*et (non) [ne] confundas me in expectatione mea

Samech 6
[118] Sprevisti omnes a iudiciis tuis *
Sprevisti omnes a (iudicii) [iustitiis] tuis *

Samech 7
[119] Prevaricantes reputavi omnes peccatores terrae *
Prevaricantes (reputavi) [deputavi] omnes peccatores terrae *
*ideo dilexi testimona tua
*(ideo) [propterea] dilexi testimona tua [semper].

Samech 8
[120] Confige timore tuo carnes meas *
Confige [clavis a] timore tuo carnes meas *

Ain 1 [121] *non tradas me calumniantibus me
*(non) [ne] tradas me (calumniantibus) [nocentibus] me

Ain 2 [122] Suscipe servum tuum in bonum *
(Suscipe) [Excipe] servum tuum in bonum *
Suscipe servum tuum in (bonum) [bono] *
*non calumniantur me superbi
*[ut] non calumniantur me superbi

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Ain 5 [125] Servus tuus sum ego *
S ervus tuus (sum) ego [sum] *
*da mihi intellectum ut sciam testimonia tua
*da mihi intellectum (ut) [et] sciam testimonia tua

Ain 6 [126] Tempus faciendi Domine *
T empus faciendi (Domine) [Domino] *
*dissipaverunt legem tuam
*dissipaverunt [iniqui] legem tuam

Ain 8 [128] * propterea ad omnia mandata tua dirigebar
* propterea ad omnia mandata tua (dirigebar) [corrigebar]
Phe 1 [129] * ideo scrutata est ea anima mea
* (ideo) [propter hoc] scrutata est ea anima mea

Phe 2 [130] Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat *
(Declaratio sermonum) [Manifestatio verborum] tuorum
illuminat *
*et intellectum dat parvulis
*et (intellectum dat parvulis) [et intellegere facit parvulos]
Phe 3 [131] * quia mandata tua desiderabam
* (quia) [quoniam] mandata tua desiderabam

Phe 4 [132] Aspice in me et miserere mei *
(Aspice) [Respice] in me et miserere mei *
(Aspice) [Adspice] in me et miserere mei *
Phe 5 [133] * et non dominetur mei omnis iniquitia
* et non dominetur mei omnis (iniustitia) [iniquitas]
* et non dominetur mei omnis (iniustitia) [iniquitas]
Phe 6 [134] * ut custodiam mandata tua
* (ut) [et] custodiam mandata tua

Phe 8 [136] Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei *
Exitus aquarum (deduxerunt) [descenderunt] oculi mei *
Sade 2 [138] * et veritatem tuam nimis
* et veritatem tuam (nimis) [valde]

Sade 3 [139] Tabescere fecit me zelus meus *
(Tabescere fecit) [Tabefecit] me zelus meus *
Tabescere fecit me zelus (meus) [domus tuae] *
* quia obliti sunt verba tua inimici mei
* quia obliti sunt (verba tua) [verborum tuorum] inimici mei
Sade 4 [140] Ignitum eloquium tuum vehementer *
Ignitum eloquium tuum (vehementer) [valde] *
Sade 5 [141] Adulescentulus sum ego et contemptus *
(Adulescentulus) [junior ego] sum (ego) et contemptus *
Sade 7 [143] Tribulatio et angustia invenerunt me *
Tribulatio et (angustia) [necessitas] invenerunt me *

Aequitas testimonia tua in aeternum *
(Aequitas) [Iustitia] testimonia tua in aeternum *

Koph 1[145]  * iustificationes tuas requiram
*iustificationes tuas (requiram) [exquiram]*

Koph 2[146]  Clamavi ad te salvum me fac *
Clamavi (ad te) salvum me fac *
.ut custodiam mandata tua
(ut) [et] custodiam mandata tua

Koph 3[147]  Praeveni in maturitate et clamavi *
Praeveni (in maturitate) [intempesta nocte] et clamavi *
*quia in verba tua supersperavi
*(quia) in (verba tua) [verbis tuis] (supersperavi) [speravi] *
* quia in (verba tua supersperavi) [verbo tuo speravi]

Koph 4[148]  Praevenerunt oculi mei ad te diluculo *
Praevenerunt oculi mei ad (te diluculo) [matutinum] *

Koph 5[149]  Vocem meam audi secundum misericordiam tuam Domine *
Vocem meam (audi) [exaudi Domine] secundum misericordiam tuam (Domine) *
Vocem meam (audi) [exaudi] secundum misericordiam tuam (Domine)*
* et secundum iudicium tuum vivifica me.
* (et secundum iudicium tuum vivifica me.)

Koph 6[150]  Appropinquaverunt persequentes me iniquitati *
Appropinquaverunt persequentes me (iniquitati) [iniquitate]*

Koph 7 [151]  * et omnes viae tuae veritas
* et (omnes viae tuae veritas) [omnia mandata tua aequitas}

Koph 8[152]  Initio cognovi de testimoniis tuis *
[Ab] initio cognovi de testimoniis tuis *

Resh 3 [155]  Longe a peccatoribus salus *
Longe [est] a peccatoribus salus *

Resh 4 [156]  Misericordiae tuae multae Domine *
(Misericordiae) [Miserationes] tuae multae Domine *

Resh 5 [157]  Multi qui persequuntur me et tribulant me *
Multi (qui persequuntur) [persequentes] me et (tribulant) [tribulantes] me *

Resh 6 [158]  Vidi praevaricantes et tabescebam*
Vidi (prevaricantes) [insensatos] et tabescebam *
Vidi (prevaricantes) [non servantes pactum] et tabescebam*
*quia eloquia tua non custodierunt.
*quia eloquia tua non (custodierunt) [custodiebant].
Resh 7 [159] Vide quoniam mandata tua dilexi Domine *

Resh 8 [160] * in aeternum omnia iudicia iustitiae tuae

Sin 2 [162] Laetabor ego super eloquia tua*

Sin 3 [163] Iniquitatem odio habui et abominatus sum *

Sin 4 [164] Septies in die laudem dix tibi *

Sin 5 [165] Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam *

Sin 6 [166] *et mandata tua dilexi.

Sin 7 [167] * et dilexit ea vehementer

Sin 8 [168] Servavi mandata tua et testimonia tua *

Tau 1 [169] Appropinquet deprecatio mea in conspectu tuo Domine *

Tau 2 [170] Intret postulatio mea in conspectu tuo [Domine] *

Tau 4 [172] Pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum *

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* quia omnia mandata tua (equitas) [iustitia]
* quia (omnia) mandata tua equitas

Tau 5 [173] Fiat manus tua ut salvet me *
              Fiat manus tua ut (salvet) [salvum] me [faciat] *
* quoniam mandata tua elegi
* (quoniam) [quia] mandata tua elegi

Tau 8 [176] Erravi sicut ovis quae perii, quaere servum tuum*
              Erravi sicut ovis (quae perii) [perdita], quaere servum tuum*
              Erravi sicut ovis quae (periit) [perierat], (quaere) [require]
              servum tuum*
APPENDIX E

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS, SUBTITLES IN LATIN AND ENGLISH
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strophe</th>
<th>Introduced with &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;</th>
<th>Person.</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleph</td>
<td>Non habet &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;</td>
<td>Person.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It does not have the phrase &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>Non habet &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;</td>
<td>Person.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It does not have the phrase &quot;In hoc octonario&quot;.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gimel</td>
<td>Enumerat impedimenta legis custodiendae</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He enumerates the impediments to guarding the law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daleth</td>
<td>David induit personam hominis imperfecti</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David puts on the persona of imperfect man.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Petit ordine quodam (res IV.)</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He asks in a certain order (4 things).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Propheta petit misericordiam illam explicans</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Prophet asks for mercy, explaining it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vau</td>
<td>Propheta canit aeternam retributionem</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The prophet sings of the eternal reward.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zain</td>
<td>Ponitur haec propositio &quot;Dominus est portio mea&quot;</td>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This proposition is placed: &quot;The Lord is my portion.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heth</td>
<td>Propheta petit a Deo tria dona neccessaria</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Prophet asks three necessary gifts from God.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multis novis argumentis poscit gratiam legis custodiendae</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He asks the grace of guarding the law with many new arguments.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iod</td>
<td>David inducit personam cupiditis servare mandata</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David introduces the persona of a man desiring to keep the commands.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caph</td>
<td>Propheta argumentum.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The prophet brings up arguments based on the firmness of divine promises.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamed</td>
<td>Iterum redit ad encomium legis.</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He returns again to the praise of the law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mem</td>
<td>Laudat legem divinam Propheta.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Prophet praises the Divine Law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samech</td>
<td>The Prophet detests the transgressors of the divine law.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain</td>
<td>He seeks the grace of being freed from calumniators.</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe</td>
<td>The Prophet returns to praising the law.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sade</td>
<td>The law of the Lord is praised by the highest uprightness and justice.</td>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
<td>Praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koph</td>
<td>The Prophet shows by ardent prayer his desire for the divine law.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resh</td>
<td>The Prophet pours forth his prayers to God for liberation from his enemies.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>The prophet shows his constancy in guarding the law.</td>
<td>Prophet</td>
<td>Statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau</td>
<td>The psalm is concluded with a prayer to God for grace and salvation, often sought.</td>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F

TEXT OF SAINT JEROME IN THE *BREVIARIUM IN PSALMOS* AND IN THE

GALLICAN AND ROMAN PSALTERS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STANZA</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>ST. JEROME - ROMAN PSALTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Number] - verse No.</td>
<td>Vulgate</td>
<td>Saint Jerome; omits - (x), adds [x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Ps.118.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleph 4</td>
<td>*mandata tua custodiri nimi.</td>
<td>praecepta tua custodiri nimi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*mandata tua [Domine] custodiri nimi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daleth 5</td>
<td>*et de lege tua miserere mei.</td>
<td>*et legem tuam dona mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*et (de) [in] lege tua miserere mei.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daleth 8</td>
<td>*cum dilatasti cor meum.</td>
<td>*quoniam dilatasti cor meum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*cum (dilatasti) [dilatares] cor meum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vau 1</td>
<td>*salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum</td>
<td>*et salus tua iuxta eloquium tuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*[et] salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vau 4</td>
<td>*in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi</td>
<td>*in sempiternum et ultra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* in saeculum (et in saeculum) saeculi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iod 3</td>
<td>*et in veritate tua humiliasti me.</td>
<td>*et vere afflixisti me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*et in veritate tua (humiliasti me).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iod 7</td>
<td>Convertantur mihi timentes te*</td>
<td>Revertantur ad me qui timent te*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Convertantur) [Convertantur] mihi timentes te*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caph 6</td>
<td>Omnia mandata tua veritas*</td>
<td>Omnia mandata tua vera*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omnia mandata (tua) [eius] veritas*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caph 8</td>
<td>*et custodiad testimonia oris tui.</td>
<td>*et custodiad testimonia oris tui.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(et) [ut] custodiad testimonia oris tui.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamed 6</td>
<td>Tuus sum ego salvum me fac *</td>
<td>Tuus sum ego salva me *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuus sum ego salum me fac [Domine]*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun 1</td>
<td>Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum*</td>
<td>Lucerna pedi meo verbum tuum*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum Domine*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun 5</td>
<td>Anima mea in manibus meis semper*</td>
<td>Anima mea in manu mea semper*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anima mea in manibus (meis) [tuis] semper*.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*et legem tuam non sum oblitus.</td>
<td>et legis tuae non sum oblitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(et legem tuam non sum oblitus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun 6</td>
<td>*et de mandatis tuis non erravi</td>
<td>*et a praeceptis tuis non erravi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*(et de [in] mandatis tuis non erravi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samech 2</td>
<td>* et in verbum tuum supersperavi.</td>
<td>* verbum tuum exspectavi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* et in (verbum tuum supersperavi) [verbo tuo spero].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samech 6</td>
<td>Sprevisti omnes a iudiciis tuis *</td>
<td>Abiecisti omnes qui aversantur praecepta tua *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sprevisti omnes a (iudiciis) [iustitiis] tuis *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain 2 [122]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Suscipe servum tuum in bonum *&lt;br/&gt;Suscipe servum tuum in (bonum) *&lt;br/&gt;*non calumniatur me superbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain 6 [126]</td>
<td></td>
<td>dissipaverunt legem tuam&lt;br/&gt;*dissipaverunt [iniqui] legem tuam *&lt;br/&gt;*et non dominetur mei omnis in iustitiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phe 5 [133]</td>
<td></td>
<td>* et non dominetur mei omnis in iustitia [iniquitas]&lt;br/&gt;Sponde pro servo tuo in bonum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sade 3 [139]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tabescere fecit me zelus meus *&lt;br/&gt;Consumpsit me zelus meus *&lt;br/&gt;*et secundum iudicium tuum vivifica me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>testimonia tua*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*quia omnes viae meae in conspectu tuo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*quia omnes viae meae (in conspectu tuo) [coram te Domine].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau 2 [170]</td>
<td>Intret postulatio mea in conspectu tuo*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Intret) [Introeat] postulatio mea in conspectu tuo*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ingrediatur laus mea coram te Domine*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau 4 [172]</td>
<td>Pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pronuntiabit lingua mea (eloquium tuum) [eloquia tua]*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* quia omnia mandata tua equitas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* quia (omnia) mandata tua equitas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loquetur lingua mea sermonem tuum *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau 8 [176]</td>
<td>Erravi sicut ovis quae periit, quaere servum tuum*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erravi sicut ovis quae (periit) [perierat], (quaere) [require] servum tuum*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erravi sicut quasi ovis perdita quaere servum tuum*</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G

TYPES OF DIFFERENCES FROM THE GALLICAN PSALTER IN THE

BREVIARIUM IN PSALMOS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>DIFFERENCE</th>
<th>CLOSER TO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gallican Psalter in regular type</strong></td>
<td>FROM VULGATE</td>
<td>GALICAN P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Breviarium in psalmos in Italics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>PSALTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saint Jerome omits ( ), adds [ ]</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mandata tua custodiri nimis.</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mandata tua [Domine] custodiri nimis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[et] salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuus sum ego salvum me fac *</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuus sum ego salvum me fac [Domine]*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum*</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum Domine*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dissipaverunt legem tuam</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dissipaverunt [iniqui] legem tuam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam Domine*</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quia omnes viae meae in conspectu tuo.</td>
<td>Added word</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quia omnes viae meae (in conspectu tuo) [coram te Domine].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suscipe servum tuum in bonum *</td>
<td>Different case/number</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suscipe servum tuum in (bonum) [b]o *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum</td>
<td>Different case/number</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronuntiabit lingua mea (eloquium tuum) [eloquia tua]*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*et in verbum tuum supersperavi.</td>
<td>Different expression</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*et in (verbum tuum supersperavi) [verbo tuo speravi]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabescere fecit me zelus meus *</td>
<td>Different expression</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabescere fecit me zelus (meus) [domus tuae]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quia in verba tua supersperavi</td>
<td>Different expression</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quia in (verba tua supersperavi) [verbo tuo speravi]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*et omnes viae tuae veritas</td>
<td>Different expression</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*et (omnes viae tuae veritas) [omnia mandata tua aequitas]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidi prevaricantes et tabescebam*</td>
<td>Different expression</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidi (prevaricantes) [non servantes pactum] et tabescebam*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quia omnes viae meae in conspectu tuo</td>
<td>Different expression</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*quia omnes viae meae (in conspectu tuo) [coram te Domine].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*cum dilatasti cor meum.

* cum (dilatasti) [dilatares] cor meum.

Convertantur mihi timentes te*

(Convertantur) [Convertentur] mihi timentes te*

*et custodiam testimonia oris tui.

*(et) [ut] custodiam testimonia oris tui.

* non calumnientur me superbi

*[ut] non calumnientur me superbi

*quia eloquia tua non custodierunt.

*quia eloquia tua non (custodierunt) [custodiebant].

Erravi sicut ovis quae periti, quaere servum tuum*

Erravi sicut ovis quae (perii) [perierat], (quaere) [require] servum tuum*

*et de lege tua miserere mei.

*et (de) [in] lege tua miserere mei.

Omnia mandata tua veritas*

Omnia mandata (tua) [eius] veritas*

Anima mea in manibus meis semper*

Anima mea in manibus (meis) [tuis] semper*

*et de mandatis tuis non erravi

*et (de) [in] mandatis tuis non erravi

Sprevisti omnes a iudiciis tuis *

Sprevisti omnes a (iudiciis) [iustitiis] tuis *

* et non dominetur mei omnis iniquitia

* et non dominetur mei omnis (iniquitia) [iniquitas]

Vocem meam audi secundum misericordiam tuam Domine*

Vocem meam (audi) [exaudi] secundum misericordiam tuam (Domine)*

Vide quoniam mandata tua dilexi Domine*

Vide (quoniam) [quia] mandata tua dilexi Domine*

*et mandata tua dilexi.

*et mandata tua (dilexi) [feci].

Servavi mandata tua et testimonia tua*

Servavi (mandata) [praecipit] tua et testimonia tua*

Intret postulatio mea in conspectu tuo*

(Intret) [Introeat] postulatio mea in conspectu tuo*

Erravi sicut ovis quae periti, quaere servum tuum*
Erravi sicut ovis quae (periit) [perierat],
(quaere) [require] servum tuum*
*in misericordia tua vivifica me.
*in [tua] misericordia (tua) vivifica me.
*et legem tuam non sum oblitus.
*(et legem tuam non sum oblitus)*
* et secundum iudicium tuum vivifica me.
*(et secundum iudicium tuum vivifica me.)*
* in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi
* in saeculum (et in saeculum) saeculi
* et in veritate tua humiliasti me.
*et in veritate tua (humiliasti me).
Vocem meam audi secundum misericordiam
tuam Domine*
Vocem meam (audi) [exaudi] secundum
misericordiam tuam (Domine)*
* super iudicia iustitiae tuae
* super iudicia iustitiae (tuae)
* quia omnia mandata tua equitas
* quia (omnia) mandata tua equitas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different word</td>
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<tr>
<td>Different word order</td>
<td>NO</td>
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<td>Missing half line</td>
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<td>Missing word(s)</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX H

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS, SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strophe, verse</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleph 1</td>
<td>NT/G</td>
<td>St.Mt.19.17</td>
<td>Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleph 1</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Rom.8.1-15</td>
<td>not quoted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleph 2</td>
<td>NT/G</td>
<td>St.Mt.5.22-24</td>
<td>Non occides -partial quote Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus ipsi nos seducimus et omne peccatum sit iniquitas</td>
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<td>Aleph 3</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>St.Jn.ep.1.3.4</td>
<td>Factores legis justificabuntur si ex lege iustitia ergo Christus gratis mortuus est</td>
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<td>Gal.2.21</td>
<td>Omnis qui audivit a Patre et didicit venit ad me</td>
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<td>NT/G</td>
<td>St.Jn.6.45</td>
<td>Quam bonus Israel his qui recto suetur corde</td>
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<td>OT/PS</td>
<td>Ps 72.1</td>
<td>Ego dixi in abundantia mea :Non movebor in aeternum</td>
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<td>Ps.29.7</td>
<td>Avertisiti faciam tuam at factus sum conturbatus</td>
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<td>Ps.29.9</td>
<td>Bonum est viro cum portaverit iugum ab adolescencia sua</td>
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<td>Beth 1</td>
<td>OT</td>
<td>Lam.3.27</td>
<td>quam prona est malum ab adolescencia sua (Noe) quem pater eius ab infantia timere Deum docuit et abstiner ab omni peccato.</td>
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<td>Gen.8.21</td>
<td>Quaerite et invenietis iugum suave et onus leve</td>
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<td>St.Mat.7.7</td>
<td>Omnibus qui quaeritis et invenit Etenim benedictionem dabit legislator</td>
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<td>lex autem tota spiritalis est Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de caelo cadentem</td>
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<td>Ps.83.8</td>
<td>iugum suave et onus leve quia nemo scit utrum odio vel amore dignus est</td>
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<td>St.Mat11.30</td>
<td>Invenit eos dormientes praetrisititiae</td>
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<td>NT</td>
<td>Rom.7.14</td>
<td>Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum</td>
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<td>St. Luc.10.18</td>
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<td>I.Tim.1.9</td>
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He 3  NT  Phil.2.13  Qui operatur in vobis velle et perfectione
He 4  NT  Rom.1.28  Tradidit illos in reprobum sensum Quare nos errare fecisti de via tua ?
He 4  OT  Is.63.17  Et factum est (in diebus Achaz)
Vau 1  OT  Is.7.1  Et dixit Dominus (ad me) …Ambula coram me et esto perfectus (Abraham)
Vau 1  OT  Is.8.1  ..Ego ero merces tua magna nimis
Zain 1  OT  Gen.17.1  ..Dominus pars hereditatis meae
Zain 1  OT  Gen.15.1  ..Ego ero merces tua magna nimis
Heth 1  OT/PS  Ps.15.5  Pars mea Dominus in aeternum Pars mea Dominus (dixit anima mea)
Heth 1  OT  Ps. 72.26  et si gaudet unum membrum congaudent omnia membra et si dolet unum membrum condolent omnia membra quia pueri communicaverunt carnem et sanguinem et ipse participavit eisdem
Heth 1  OT  Lam.3.24  et si gaudet unum membrum congaudent omnia membra et si dolet unum membrum condolent omnia membra quia pueri communicaverunt carnem et sanguinem et ipse participavit eisdem
Heth 8  NT  Heb.2.14  non confunditur fratres eos vocare
Heth 8  NT  Heb.2.11  non confunditur fratres eos vocare
Jod 5  NT/G  St.Jn.1.4  In ipso vita erat In resurrectionem vitae
Jod 5  NT/G  St.Jn.5.29  In ipso vita erat In resurrectionem vitae
Jod 5  NT/G  St.Mt.19.17  Anima mea facta est sicut terra sine aqua tibi
Caph 3  OT/PS  Ps.142.6  Adhortamini vos vosmetipsos per singulos dies donec hodie cognominatur
Lamed 1,2,3  NT  Heb.3.13  Domini est omnis terra et plenitudo eius et universi qui habitant in eo
Lamed 6  OT/PS  Ps.23.1  Non sit discipulus super magistrum
Mem 3 & 4  NT  St.Mt. 10.24  Omnes qui volunt pie vivere persecutionem patiuntur
Nun 3  NT  II.Tim.3.12  Omnes qui volunt pie vivere persecutionem patiuntur
Nun 3  NT/G  Mt.19.17  Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata
Nun 5  OT  Iud.12.13  Posui animam meam in manibus meis (Iephte) Posuit animam suam in manu sua et percussit philisthaeum (David))
Nun 5  OT  I.Reg.19.5  Quis noster Dominus est
| Samech 7 | NT | Rom.4.15 | Ubi non est lex nec praevaricatio Qui sine lege peccaverunt sine lege peribunt Qui autem sunt Christi carmen suam crucifixerunt |
| Samech 7 | NT | Rom.2.12 | |
| Samech 8 | NT | Gal.5.24 | Mandatum hoc non supra te est Confiteor tibi Pater quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis Qui facit peccatum servus est peccati |
| Pe 1    | OT | Deut.30.11 | Calumnia enim perturbat sapientem et perdit robur cordis illius |
| Pe 2    | NT/G | Mt.11.25 | not quoted |
| Pe 5    | NT/G | St.Jn.8.34 | |
| Pe 6    | OT | Eccles 7.8 | |
| Pe 8    | OT/PS | Ps.6.7 | Deus lux est et in eo tenebrae non sunt ullaem Eloquia Domini casta argentum igne examinatum In dextera eius ignea lex |
| Sade 1  | NT | I.St.Jn.1.5 | |
| Sade 4  | OT/PS | Ps.11.7 | Eloquia Domini casta argentum igne examinatum |
| Sade 4  | OT | Deut.33.2 | in dextera eius ignea lex |
| Resh 3  | NT/G | St.Mt.19.17 | |
| Resh 6  | OT/PS | Ps.118.53 | Defectio tenuit me pro peccatoribus dereliquentibus legem tuam (Zain) |
| Resh 6  | OT/PS | Ps.118.139 | Tabescere fecit me zelus meus quia obliti sunt verba tua inimici mei (Sade) |
| Sin 3    | NT/G | St.Jn.14.23 | Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit Qui habet mandata mea et servat ea ille est qui diligit me |
| Sin 3    | NT/G | St.Jn.14.21 | Septies in die cadet iustus Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi (Heth) |
| Sin 4    | OT | Prov.24.16 | Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum Caritas gaudium pax…..(Fructus Sancti Spiritus) |
| Sin 5    | NT | Rom.8.28. | Cursum consummavi fidem servavi; in reliquo reposita est mihi corona iustitiae quam reddet mihi… Qui non diligit me sermones meos non servat |
| Sin 6    | NT | II.Tim.4.7 | |
| Sin 7    | NT | Rom.13.10 | |
| Sin 7 | NT | Rom.13.8 | Plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio. Qui diligit legem implevit. |
| Sin 8 | OT | Gen.17.1 | …Ambula coram me et esto perfectus (Abraham) Dominus in cuius conspectu ambulo (Abraham) |
| Sin 8 | OT | Gen.24.40 | Vivit Dominus in cuius conspectu sto (Elias ac Eliseus) |
| Sin 8 | OT | III.Regis.17.1 | |
| Tau 1 | OT/PS | Ps.31.8 | Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te Cognoscetis veritatem et veritas liberabit vos. |
| Tau 2 | NT/G | St.Jn.8.32 | |
| Tau 3 | NT/G | St.Mt.12.34 | et ex abundantia cordis os loquitur |
| Tau 5 | OT | Gen.1.3 | fiat lux |
| Tau 5 | OT | Gen.1.6 | fiat firmamentum |
| Tau 5 | OT | Gen.1.14 | fiant luminaria Sit Christus tuus ad me salvandum - not found |
| Tau 5 | NT | I.Cor.1.24 | Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata |
| Tau 5 | NT/G | St.Mt.19.17 | Beati qui habitant in domo tua Domine; in saecula saeculorum |
| Tau 7 | OT/PS | Ps.83.5 | laudabunt te |
APPENDIX I

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS, USE OF SOURCES, TABLE.
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APPENDIX J

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS, USE OF SOURCES, GRAPH
APPENDIX J

Explanatio in psalmos, use of sources.
APPENDIX K

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS, AUTHORS CITED, TABLE
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APPENDIX L

EXPLANATIO IN PSALMOS, AUTHORS CITED, GRAPH
APPENDIX L
Explanatio in psalmos - authors cited

Authors

Saint Augustine
and others
Others without

Strophe

Aleph  Ghimel  He  Zain  Teth  Caph  Mem  Samech  Pe  Koph  Sin
APPENDIX M

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